

**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

**B E T W E E N :**

**CHRIS MOISE, ISH ADERONMU and PRABHA KHOSLA on her own behalf  
and on behalf of all members of WOMEN WIN TO**

Applicants

**- and -**

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO and  
THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF TORONTO**

Respondents

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990,  
Reg 194

**APPLICATION RECORD – VOLUME I OF II**

August 22, 2018

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**APPLICATION RECORD**

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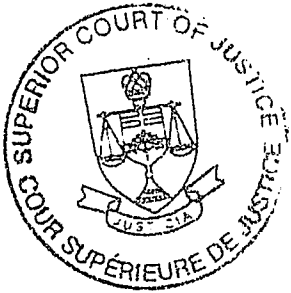


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Court File No. CW-18-00603633-0000

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Respondents

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

AMENDED NOTICE OF APPLICATION

**TO THE RESPONDENTS:**

A LEGAL PROCEEDING HAS BEEN COMMENCED by the applicants. The claim made by the applicants appears on the following page.


THIS APPLICATION will come on for a hearing on August 31, 2018 at 10:00 a.m., at 393 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M5G 1E6

IF YOU WISH TO OPPOSE THIS APPLICATION, to receive notice of any step in the application or to be served with any documents in the application, you or an Ontario lawyer acting for you must forthwith prepare a notice of appearance in Form 38A prescribed by the Rules of Civil Procedure, serve it on the applicant's lawyer or, where the applicant does not have a lawyer, serve it on the applicant, and file it, with proof of service, in this court office, and you or your lawyer must appear at the hearing.

IF YOU WISH TO PRESENT AFFIDAVIT OR OTHER DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE TO THE COURT OR TO EXAMINE OR CROSS-EXAMINE WITNESSES ON THE APPLICATION, you or your lawyer must, in addition to serving your notice of appearance, serve a copy of the evidence on the applicant's lawyer or, where the applicant does not have a lawyer, serve it on the applicant, and file it, with proof of service, in the court office where the application is to be heard as soon as possible, but at least four days before the hearing.

IF YOU FAIL TO APPEAR AT THE HEARING, JUDGMENT MAY BE GIVEN IN YOUR ABSENCE AND WITHOUT FURTHER NOTICE TO YOU. IF YOU WISH TO OPPOSE THIS APPLICATION BUT ARE UNABLE TO PAY LEGAL FEES, LEGAL AID MAY BE AVAILABLE TO YOU BY CONTACTING A LOCAL LEGAL AID OFFICE.

Date August 2<sup>2</sup>, 2018

Issued by   
Local registrar

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APPLICATION

1. THE APPLICANTS MAKE APPLICATION FOR

- a) An order declaring that ss. 5-7 of Schedule 1 and s 1 of Schedule 3 to the *Better Local Government Act, 2018*, SO 2018, c. 11 (the “impugned provisions”) are inconsistent with s. 2(b) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (the *Charter*), and that such inconsistency cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society;
- b) An order declaring that the impugned provisions are inconsistent with s. 2(d) of the *Charter*, and that such inconsistency cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society;
- c) An order declaring that the impugned provisions are inconsistent with s. 15 of the *Charter*, and that such inconsistency cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society;
- d) A declaration that the impugned provisions are inconsistent with the unwritten constitutional principles of the rule of law and democracy in their own right and in combination with the violations of the *Charter* plead above;
- e) An order pursuant to s. 52 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, declaring that the impugned provisions are of no force or effect;
- f) An order pursuant to rule 12.08 authorizing the Applicant Prabha Khosla to bring the herein application on behalf of all members of Women Win TO;
- g) Costs of this application; and
- h) Such further and other relief as counsel may request and this Honourable Court may deem to be just and appropriate.

2. THE GROUNDS FOR THE APPLICATION ARE

A. The Applicants

- a) The Applicant Chris Moise is currently registered as a candidate for Toronto City Council in the 2018 municipal election;
- b) The Applicant Ish Aderonmu is an elector in the City of Toronto in the 2018 municipal election;
- c) The Applicant Prabha Khosla is an elector in the City of Toronto in the 2018 municipal election and a member of Women Win TO, an unincorporated association;

B. The City of Toronto

- d) The City of Toronto ("Toronto") is a municipality in the Province of Ontario, and is continued as a body corporate pursuant to s 125(1) of the *City of Toronto Act, 2006*, SO 2006, c 11, Sch A (the "*City of Toronto Act*" or the "*Act*");
- e) Pursuant to the *City of Toronto Act*, Toronto is required to provide good government to its residents, and is a democratic institution that is required to be responsible and accountable. The *Act* recognizes that the Province and Toronto are required to work together "in a relationship based on mutual respect" and to "engage in ongoing consultations with each other about matters of mutual interest";
- f) The Preamble to the *City of Toronto Act* includes the following:

The Assembly recognizes that the success of the City requires the active participation of governments working together in a partnership based on respect, consultation and co-operation.
- g) Section 1 of the *City of Toronto Act* provides as follows:

1 (1) The City of Toronto exists for the purpose of providing good government with respect to matters within its jurisdiction, and the city council is a democratically elected government which is responsible and accountable.

(2) The Province of Ontario endorses the principle that it is in the best interests of the Province and the City to work together in a relationship based on mutual respect, consultation and co-operation.

(3) For the purposes of maintaining such a relationship, it is in the best interests of the Province and the City to engage in ongoing consultations with each other about matters of mutual interest and to do so in accordance with an agreement between the Province and the City.

(4) The Province acknowledges that the City has the authority to enter into agreements with the Crown in right of Canada with respect to matters within the City's jurisdiction.

- h) As of 2016, Toronto had a population of approximately 2.8 million people. It is the fifth largest municipal government in North America with an annual operating budget of \$12.3 billion in 2017;
- i) Toronto is the most racially diverse city in Canada. According to the 2016 census, Toronto residents include over 1.3 million people who identify as visible minorities or 51.5% of the City's population. Toronto accounts for nearly 44% of the 3,558,585 Ontarians who identified as visible minorities in the 2016 census;
- j) Toronto is governed by a City Council. The City Council is comprised of members – City Councillors – who represent citizens in wards throughout the city. City Councillors are the face of local government in their wards. They are the people Toronto residents call over numerous local issues big and small. These issues include public transit, parks and public spaces, community safety, police relations, affordable housing, and other matters. City Councillors also deal with residents' associations, business improvement areas, and a myriad of other groups and represent their ward's and the City's interest on various committees, boards and commissions;

- k) The members of City Council are currently nowhere near as diverse as the population of Toronto at large. There are very few racialized councillors or women councillors or lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (“LGBT”) councillors, and only one racialized woman who is LGBT, on City Council;

**C. The Toronto Ward Boundary Review**

- l) Prior to the enactment of the impugned provisions, Toronto City Council had the authority to determine its own ward boundaries and the composition of City Council in consultation with the Province;
- m) Since 2000, the City has been divided into 44 wards. Over the years, disparities emerged between wards in terms of their respective populations, and some wards contained more than 130% of the average ward population. In 2013 City Council retained an independent team of consultants to conduct the Toronto Ward Boundary Review. This process was intended to examine the size, shape and number of Toronto’s wards, with the goal of ensuring parity in the population of wards across Toronto. The Boundary Review lasted several years, and followed an extensive 6-step process:
1. Comprehensive research;
  2. Round 1 Civic Engagement and Public Consultation;
  3. Ward Boundary Option Development;
  4. Round 2 Civic Engagement and Public Consultation;
  5. Preparation of Preferred Option & Refinement Analysis;
  6. Recommendation to Council for New Ward Structure;
- n) The Boundary Review considered numerous ward boundary options, including mirroring the electoral districts used for provincial and federal elections. This

option was soundly rejected. As noted in the Final Report of the Ward Boundary Review (pp. 27-28):

During the consultation process the idea of using the federal/provincial riding boundaries as ward boundaries was suggested, although opinion on this issue was divided. There were two variations on this theme. The first was to use the new 25 federal ridings as Toronto's wards. This would result in 25 wards and 25 Councillors with an average ward size of 123,000 people. Only a very small number of Councillors and the public supported this scenario. The second variation was to use the new federal riding boundaries but split them in half. This approach would lead to 50 wards with an average ward population of approximately 60,500 people. This population average is close to Toronto's current average ward population size. It is worth noting that the federal riding boundaries mostly do not align with the current ward boundaries.

The TWBR team assessed these two suggestions to see if either could lead to a viable option. Neither variation of the federal riding approach meets the tests of effective representation going forward. Specifically, the ward population size spread is too large from a voter parity perspective. For 2026, the range is 96,614 – 135,298 in the 25 ward version and 48,307 – 67,649 in the 50 ward version. There seems to be little appetite for wards as large as the 25 ward version and adjusting boundaries to make the 50 ward version respect voter parity will end up resembling Option 1 but with three additional wards. In addition, federal riding boundaries are reviewed and adjusted every 10 years, which does not deliver a long term solution.

- o) In 2016, City Council ultimately decided to adopt the “minimal change” option, which increased the number of wards from 44 to 47. This would have resulted in an average ward size of approximately 60,000 people, with ward populations ranging from approximately 51,850 to 70,150 people;
- p) Toronto By-laws 247-2017 and 464-2017, which implemented the new 47 ward structure for the 2018 municipal election, were the subject of six appeals to the Ontario Municipal Board (now the Local Planning Appeal Tribunal). With the exception of a minor change in one ward boundary, the bylaws were upheld. Leave to appeal the Board's decision was denied by the Divisional Court;

**D. The 2018 Municipal Election**

- q) Since 2006, elections in Toronto have been held every 4 years. Since 2010, election day has been held on the fourth Monday of October. The 2018 Toronto election was therefore scheduled for October 22, 2018. As noted above, this election was to take place under the 47 ward structure approved by Council;
- r) The 2018 campaign period began on May 1, 2018. Individuals interested in running for City Council in wards across the City registered as candidates, often making significant life changes, including quitting jobs, or changing residences, in order to do so. They have spent their own money on their campaigns, raised funds in accordance with complex election rules, and established campaign teams;
- s) The field of candidates for the 2018 election was diverse, including a significant number of women and racialized and LGBT persons;

**E. Bill 5**

- t) On July 30, 2018, three months after the 2018 Toronto campaign had already commenced, the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing introduced Bill 5, the *Better Local Government Act, 2018*, S.O. 2018, c. 11. This legislation made significant amendments to the *City of Toronto Act*, the *Municipal Act*, S.O. 2001, c. 25 and the *Municipal Elections Act*, S.O. 1996, c. 32, Sched. all in ways that altered the already in-progress electoral campaign;
- u) In particular, the impugned provisions of Bill 5 operated to force the provincial/federal electoral district model that was rejected by both the Ward Boundary Review and by Toronto's elected City Councillors. The effect of this was to make the average size of a Toronto ward approximately 123,000, more than double the average ward size under the 47-ward model, and to impose this change mid-way through the election period for the 2018 municipal election;
- v) Wards of these sizes are dramatically out of line with the average ward sizes of other municipalities in Ontario. For example, Ottawa has 23 districts for a



population of 895,000 – or a ratio of 38,913 people per councillor; London has 14 districts for a population of 388,615 - or a ratio of 27,758 people per councillor; and Kingston has 12 districts for a population of 129,653 - or a ratio of 10,750 people per councillor;

- w) The Provincial Government's plan to eliminate nearly half of Toronto's wards was never raised as by any candidate during the recent provincial election, nor did the government consult with Toronto pursuant to the relevant consultation provisions of the *City of Toronto Act*;
- x) During the legislative process, the Provincial Government utilized a time allocation motion to bypass any committee hearings or other means of public consultation over Bill 5;
- y) Bill 5 received royal assent on August 14, 2018;
- z) The Provincial Government breached its statutory obligations of respect, consultation, and co-operation with respect to the passage of Bill 5;

**F. The Impugned Provisions are Unconstitutional**

- aa) As set out in more detail below, the impugned provisions of Bill 5 are unconstitutional. They violate the *Charter* and unwritten constitutional principles, and those violations cannot be saved pursuant to s. 1 of the *Charter*;

Freedom of Expression

- bb) Freedom of expression is one of the most fundamental values of Canadian society, and ought to be interpreted in a large and liberal manner;
- cc) Political expression is one of the core values that is sought to be protected by s. 2(b) of the *Charter*. It is the "lynchpin" of the guarantee. Representative democracy depends on the maintenance and protection of freedom of expression;

- dd) Campaigning for public office, volunteering for political campaigns, communicating with political campaigns, and voting in elections are expressive acts that are protected by s. 2(b). The extent of the protection provided by the provision goes well beyond the bare right to cast a ballot or stand for election, and extends to the right to play a meaningful role in the electoral process;
- ee) The impugned provisions, in both purpose and effect, limit the political speech of Toronto's electors and Council candidates. They do so by virtue of their timing, mid-way through the 2018 campaign period, as well as generally;
- ff) The impugned provisions restrict political expression by imposing barriers on the ability of candidates, their supporters, and politically engaged electors to play a meaningful role in the electoral process. They do so by imposing an unannounced new requirement, mid-way through the campaign period, to organize, campaign, fundraise and operate in materially different areas, and at a scale that is unparalleled amongst Ontario municipalities;
- gg) With respect to the 2018 campaign period, only candidates, groups and individuals who have sufficient resources to engage in political activities on a dramatically expanded scale on effectively no notice can effectively engage in their new ward's boundaries. Many individuals who had planned and made arrangements to engage politically under a more accessible 47-ward structure are unable to effectively participate in the political process where the new boundaries and election rules are changed more than three months into an election campaign, and whose rules still incomplete and unknown, and for which the new "audience" is in excess of 100,000 individuals spread over significantly larger and different geographic areas;
- hh) Effective participation in the 2018 electoral process required candidates to commit financial resources based on the population of a ward. Further, the campaign strategy of candidates and their supporters, including the selection of candidates, is closely tied to the neighbourhoods and communities of interest

forming the municipal ward. The sudden, mid-campaign alteration of Toronto's ward structure undermines the ability of candidates to carry through with their electoral strategies, and has diluted or made irrelevant their expressive political conduct that had occurred prior to the passage of the impugned provisions and the changes to Toronto's ward structure, along with the expressive political conduct of their supporters;

- ii) Because there are no term limits in municipal politics, and because of the difficulty new challengers have to unseating incumbents, political groups have formed seeking to strategically support the nominations and election of new voices in City Council. Their plans for the 2018 election were predicated on the ward structure that was in existence at the time that the campaign commenced. The aspirations of these groups, and their ability to effectively organize, is restricted by the sudden change in Toronto's ward structure;
- jj) Electors and candidates engage in political expression during electoral campaigns by selecting individuals or policies to support; engaging in fundraising, advertising or canvassing; attending local meetings, debates and other events; and engaging with others on political issues well in advance of a vote. All of these activities are protected by s. 2(b), but have been rendered inaccessible or less accessible for the 2018 election due to the impugned provisions;
- kk) While s. 2(b) does not guarantee any particular form or process of elections, once the state has entered the field, any changes it makes to the electoral process cannot be such that it negates, undermines or restricts the expressive actions of individuals by undermining their ability to effectively participate in the electoral process;
- ll) More generally, the impugned provisions dilute the votes of electors to levels that constitute significant impairments of their expressive rights;

- mm) Compared with City Councillors in other Ontario municipalities, the 25 ward structure makes effective representation of residents ineffective due to ward populations well in excess of 100,000 residents;
- nn) These restrictions are particularly acute given the unique role City Councillors play as compared to Members of Parliament and Members of Provincial Parliament;

Freedom of Association

- oo) Legislation will violate the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association where its purpose or effect is to penalize, dissuade or interfere with the ability of individuals to associate;
- pp) Freedom of association is broad. It protects the ability of individuals to join together for the purpose of achieving common goals and to redress imbalances in power, and extends to association for the purpose of exercising other constitutionally protected rights and to engage uniquely associational activities including participation in political campaigns;
- qq) The impugned provisions have impeded the ability of electors to form effective associations in order to campaign and fundraise during the 2018 election. Aside from dramatically altering and expanding the size of wards, making the creation of effective political coalitions more difficult, the alteration of the basic ground rules of the campaign while the campaign was ongoing, without notice and without consultation, has rendered previous associational activity predicated on the 47 ward structure moot, and limited the time during which electors are able to form new political coalitions within the context of a 25 ward structure;
- rr) More generally, the impugned provisions interfere with the ability of electors to form effective associations because of the dramatic expansion of the size of the wards;

Equality

- ss) Section 15 of the *Charter* protects equal access to local government and equal participation in the political process for members of groups characterized by the enumerated grounds contained in the guarantee, or grounds analogous thereto;
- tt) With respect to the 2018 election, the impugned provisions have an adverse impact on women and racialized and LGBT candidates, who are already underrepresented in local government and who will have greater difficulty transitioning from a campaign under the 47 ward structure to one under the 25 ward structure mid-way through the campaign period;
- uu) The impugned provisions will also limit the opportunity for women and diverse candidates to meaningfully run for office in 2018 by “packing” incumbents (or several of them) into new, larger wards. Given the significant incumbency advantage that is typical of municipal elections, underrepresented women and racialized and LGBT candidates often only have a realistic chance of being elected in “open” wards. Reducing the number of such wards by having fewer wards than incumbent candidates imposes a disproportionate burden on women and racialized and LGBT candidates;
- vv) Furthermore, as compared to incumbents, women and racialized and LGBT candidates are less able to adapt to changes to ward structures mid-way through the campaign period, and to mount new campaigns based on different and larger wards, because they have fewer resources and additional personal obligations. As a result of the impugned provisions, women and racialized and LGBT candidates are either required to run against incumbents at a significant disadvantage, or withdraw their candidacies;
- ww) The impugned provisions also limit the opportunity for women and diverse electors to volunteer for political campaigns and to express themselves on political issues in the course of the election, including by reducing the number of diverse candidates and/or the number of seats to which women and diverse

candidates may be elected. Furthermore, women and diverse volunteers are less able to contribute more than the amount of time they had previously set aside to volunteer on a campaign because of their additional responsibilities (including domestic/caregiving), and the mid-campaign change to ward boundaries places a burden on their ability to participate in the electoral process effectively;

- xx) The impugned provisions, and their timing mid-way through the campaign period, reinforce and perpetuate the arbitrary disadvantages that women and racialized and LGBT candidates already face in mounting campaigns for elected office, including having difficulty in finding initial support, needing to combat sexist and racial stereotypes, and often wrongly perceiving themselves to be less qualified and therefore less electable than those who have the benefit of prior representation;
- yy) Due to Toronto's high level of visible minority residents as compared to any other municipality in Ontario, the vote dilution imposed by the impugned provisions – which is dramatically greater than other Ontario municipalities – imposes a disproportionate burden on racialized and LGBT persons;
- zz) The process by which Bill 5 was enacted, including the lack of public consultation and the extraordinary legislative process involved, reflects a disregard for the needs, interests, views and aspirations of Toronto's residents, including women and its large racialized population and LGBT persons. This perpetuates their disadvantage and conveys the message that their interests are not worthy of regard by the Provincial government;
- aaa) More generally, the much larger ward structures, which are significantly larger than elsewhere in the Province, have an adverse impact on the ability of women and racialized and LGBT Torontonians to run for office, serve as councillors, participate in the electoral process, and express their views and concerns to political representatives, in violation of the right to equality;

Democracy, the Rule of Law and Obligation to Consult

- bbb) The impugned provisions undermine the unwritten constitutional principles of democracy and the rule of law;
- ccc) The impugned provisions are inconsistent with the principle of democracy because they fail to respect any consultative obligations to Toronto's electors with respect to the means by which they are to govern themselves, alter an on-going electoral process, dilute voting power to an unprecedented extent, and undermine 'Torontonians' ability to effective access and obtain support from their elected representatives;
- ddd) The impugned provisions are inconsistent with the rule of law because they disrupt the settled expectations of all participants in the 2018 political process in Toronto, through special legislation targeting them alone;
- eee) These aspects of the impugned provisions violate both of these unwritten constitutional principles in their own right;
- fff) The impugned provisions also violate the above noted sections of the *Charter* as they are informed by the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and the obligation to consult;

Section 1 of the *Charter*

- ggg) The above-noted violations, taken individually or in combination, cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society;
- hhh) The impugned provisions do not pursue any pressing and substantial objective;
- iii) In the alternative, the impugned provisions are not proportional in their restriction of *Charter* protected rights, in that they
  - 1. Are not rationally connected to any legitimate objective that Bill 5 may pursue;

2. Do not minimally impair the rights of Torontonians; and
3. Have no salutary effects, or alternatively that any salutary effects do not outweigh the deleterious effects on the *Charter* rights of individuals;

**G. Other Grounds**

- jjj) The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, ss. 1, 2(b), 2(d), 15;
- kkk) The *Constitution Act, 1982*, s. 52;
- lll) The *City of Toronto Act, 2006*, SO 2006, c 11, Sch A;
- mmm) The *Better Local Government Act, 2018*, SO 2018, c 11;
- nnn) The *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194, rr. 12.08, 14, 38, 39; and
- ooo) Such further and other grounds as counsel may advise and this Honourable Court may permit.

**3. THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE WILL BE USED AT THE HEARING OF THE APPLICATION**

- ppp) The affidavit of Chris Moise, sworn August 20, 2018;
- qqq) The affidavit of Ish Aderonmu, sworn August 20, 2018;
- rrr) The affidavit of Prabha Khosla, sworn August 18, 2018;
- sss) The Affidavit of Jamaal Myers, to be sworn;
- ttt) The Affidavit of Moya Beall, to be sworn;
- uuu) The affidavit of Mariana Valverde, to be sworn;
- vvv) Such further and other material as counsel may advise and this Honourable Court may permit.



August 20<sup>21</sup>, 2018

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**TAB 2**

**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

**B E T W E E N :**

**CHRIS MOISE, ISH ADERONMU and PRABHA KHOSLA on her own behalf and on behalf of all members of Women Win TO**

Applicants

- and -

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO**

Respondent

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

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**NOTICE OF CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION**

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The Applicants intend to question the constitutional validity of ss. 5-7 of Schedule 1 and s 1 of Schedule 3 to the *Better Local Government Act, 2018*, SO 2018, c. 11.

The question is to be argued on a day to be set by the Court, at 393 University Avenue, Toronto, ON M5G 1E6.

The following are the material facts giving rise to the constitutional question:

**A. The Applicants**

- a) The Applicant Chris Moise is currently registered as a candidate for Toronto City Council in the 2018 municipal election;
- b) The Applicant Ish Aderonmu is an elector in the City of Toronto in the 2018 municipal election;
- c) The Applicant Prabha Khosla is an elector in the City of Toronto in the 2018 municipal election and a member of Women Win TO, an unincorporated association;

**B. The City of Toronto**

- d) The City of Toronto (“Toronto”) is a municipality in the Province of Ontario, and is continued as a body corporate pursuant to s 125(1) of the *City of Toronto Act, 2006*, SO 2006, c 11, Sch A;
- e) Pursuant to the *City of Toronto Act*, Toronto is required to provide good government to its residents, and is a democratic institution that is required to be responsible and accountable. The *Act* recognizes that the Province and Toronto are required to work together “in a relationship based on mutual respect” and to “engage in ongoing consultations with each other about matters of mutual interest”;
- f) The Preamble to the *City of Toronto Act* includes the following:

The Assembly recognizes that the success of the City requires the active participation of governments working together in a partnership based on respect, consultation and co-operation.

- g) Section 1 of the *City of Toronto Act* provides as follows:

1 (1) The City of Toronto exists for the purpose of providing good government with respect to matters within its jurisdiction, and the city council is a democratically elected government which is responsible and accountable.

(2) The Province of Ontario endorses the principle that it is in the best interests of the Province and the City to work together in a relationship based on mutual respect, consultation and co-operation.

(3) For the purposes of maintaining such a relationship, it is in the best interests of the Province and the City to engage in ongoing consultations with each other about matters of mutual interest and to do so in accordance with an agreement between the Province and the City.

(4) The Province acknowledges that the City has the authority to enter into agreements with the Crown in right of Canada with respect to matters within the City’s jurisdiction.

- h) As of 2016, Toronto had a population of approximately 2.8 million people. It is the fifth largest municipal government in North America with an annual operating budget of \$12.3 billion in 2017;
- i) Toronto is the most racially diverse cities in Canada. According to the 2016 census, Toronto residents include over 1.3 million people who identify as visible minorities or 51.5% of the City's population. Toronto accounts for nearly 44% of the 3,558,585 Ontarians who identified as visible minorities in the 2016 census;
- j) Toronto is governed by a City Council. The City Council is comprised of members – City Councillors – who represent citizens in wards throughout the city. City Councillors are the face of local government in their wards. They are the people Toronto residents call over numerous local issues big and small. These issues include public transit, parks and public spaces, community safety, police relations, affordable housing, and other matters. City Councillors also deal with residents' associations, business improvement areas, and a myriad of other groups and represent their ward's and the City's interest on various committees, boards and commissions;
- k) The members of City Council are currently nowhere near as diverse as the population of Toronto at large. There are very few racialized councillors or women councillors or lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (“LGBT”) councillors, and only one racialized woman who is LGBT, on City Council;

**C. The Toronto Ward Boundary Review**

- l) Prior to the enactment of the impugned provisions, Toronto City Council had the authority to determine its own ward boundaries and the composition of City Council in consultation with the Province;
- m) Since 2000, the City has been divided into 44 wards. Over the years, disparities emerged between wards in terms of their respective populations, and some wards contained more than 130% of the average ward population. In 2013 City Council retained an independent team of consultants to conduct the Toronto Ward

Boundary Review. This process was intended to examine the size, shape and number of Toronto's wards, with the goal of ensuring parity in the population of wards across Toronto. The Boundary Review lasted several years, and followed an extensive 6-step process:

1. Comprehensive research;
2. Round 1 Civic Engagement and Public Consultation;
3. Ward Boundary Option Development;
4. Round 2 Civic Engagement and Public Consultation;
5. Preparation of Preferred Option & Refinement Analysis;
6. Recommendation to Council for New Ward Structure;

n) The Boundary Review considered numerous ward boundary options, including mirroring the electoral districts used for provincial and federal elections. This option was soundly rejected. As noted in the Final Report of the Ward Boundary Review (pp. 27-28):

During the consultation process the idea of using the federal/provincial riding boundaries as ward boundaries was suggested, although opinion on this issue was divided. There were two variations on this theme. The first was to use the new 25 federal ridings as Toronto's wards. This would result in 25 wards and 25 Councillors with an average ward size of 123,000 people. Only a very small number of Councillors and the public supported this scenario. The second variation was to use the new federal riding boundaries but split them in half. This approach would lead to 50 wards with an average ward population of approximately 60,500 people. This population average is close to Toronto's current average ward population size. It is worth noting that the federal riding boundaries mostly do not align with the current ward boundaries.

The TWBR team assessed these two suggestions to see if either could lead to a viable option. Neither variation of the federal riding approach meets the tests of effective representation going forward. Specifically, the ward population size spread is too large from a

voter parity perspective. For 2026, the range is 96,614 – 135,298 in the 25 ward version and 48,307 – 67,649 in the 50 ward version. There seems to be little appetite for wards as large as the 25 ward version and adjusting boundaries to make the 50 ward version respect voter parity will end up resembling Option 1 but with three additional wards. In addition, federal riding boundaries are reviewed and adjusted every 10 years, which does not deliver a long term solution.

- o) In 2016, City Council ultimately decided to adopt the “minimal change” option, which increased the number of wards from 44 to 47. This would have resulted in an average ward size of approximately 60,000 people, with wards populations ranging from approximately 51,850 to 70,150 people;
- p) Toronto By-laws 247-2017 and 464-2017, which implemented the new 47 ward structure for the 2018 municipal election, were the subject of six appeals to the Ontario Municipal Board (now the Local Planning Appeal Tribunal). With the exception of a minor change in one ward boundary, the bylaws were upheld. Leave to appeal the Board’s decision was denied by the Divisional Court;

**D. The 2018 Municipal Election**

- q) Since 2006, elections in Toronto have been held every 4 years. Since 2010, election day has been held on the fourth Monday of October. The 2018 Toronto election was therefore scheduled for October 22, 2018. As noted above, this election was to take place under the 47 ward structure approved by Council;
- r) The 2018 campaign period began on May 1, 2018. Individuals interested in running for City Council in wards across the City registered as candidates, often making significant life changes, including quitting jobs, or changing residences, in order to do so. They have spent their own money on their campaigns, raised funds in accordance with complex election rules, and established campaign teams;
- s) The field of candidates for the 2018 election was diverse, including a significant number of women and racialized and LGBT persons;

E. **Bill 5**

- t) On July 30, 2018, three months after the 2018 Toronto campaign had already commenced, the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing introduced Bill 5, the *Better Local Government Act, 2018*. This legislation made significant amendments to the *City of Toronto Act*, the *Municipal Act* and the *Municipal Elections Act*, all in ways that altered the already in-progress electoral campaign;
- u) In particular, the impugned provisions of Bill 5 operated to force the provincial/federal electoral district model that was rejected by both the Ward Boundary Review and by Toronto's elected City Councillors. The effect of this was to make the average size of a Toronto ward approximately 123,000, more than double the average ward size under the 47-ward model, and to impose this change mid-way through the election period for the 2018 municipal election;
- v) Wards of these size are dramatically out of line with the average ward sizes of other municipalities in Ontario. For example, Ottawa has 23 districts for a population of 895,000 – or a ratio of 38,913 people per councillor; London has 14 districts for a population of 388,615 - or a ratio of 27,758 people per councillor; and Kingston has 12 districts for a population of 129,653 - or a ratio of 10,750 people per councillor;
- w) The Provincial government's plan to eliminate nearly half of Toronto's wards was never raised as by any candidate during the recent provincial election, nor did the government consult with Toronto pursuant to the relevant consultation provisions of the *City of Toronto Act*, which include the following:

The Assembly recognizes that the success of the City requires the active participation of governments working together in a partnership based on respect, consultation and co-operation

...

The Province of Ontario endorses the principle that it is in the best interests of the Province and the City to work together in a relationship based on mutual respect, consultation and co-operation



- x) During the legislative process, the government utilized a time allocation motion to bypass any committee hearings or other means of public consultation over Bill 5;
- y) Bill 5 received royal assent on August 14, 2018;

The following is the legal basis for the constitutional question:

**A. Freedom of Expression**

- z) Freedom of expression is one of the most fundamental values of Canadian society, and ought to be interpreted in a large and liberal manner;
- aa) Political expression is one of the core values that is sought to be protected by s. 2(b) of the *Charter*. It is the “lynchpin” of the guarantee. Representative democracy depends on the maintenance and protection of freedom of expression;
- bb) Campaigning for public office, volunteering for political campaigns, communicating with political campaigns, and voting in elections are expressive acts that are protected by s. 2(b). The extent of the protection provided by the provision goes well beyond the bare right to cast a ballot or stand for election, and extends to the right to play a meaningful role in the electoral process;
- cc) The impugned provisions, in both purpose and effect, limit the political speech of Toronto’s electors and Council candidates. They do so by virtue of their timing, mid-way through the 2018 campaign period, as well as generally;
- dd) The impugned provisions restrict political expression by imposing barriers on the ability of candidates, their supporters, and politically engaged electors to play a meaningful role in the electoral process. They do so by imposing an unannounced new requirement, mid-way through the campaign period, to organize, campaign, fundraise and operate in materially different areas, and at a scale that is unparalleled amongst Ontario municipalities;
- ee) With respect to the 2018 campaign period, only candidates, groups and individuals who have sufficient resources to engage in political activities on a

dramatically expanded scale on effectively no notice can effectively engage in their new ward's boundaries. Many individuals who had planned and made arrangements to engage politically under a more accessible 47-ward structure are unable to effectively participate in the political process where the new boundaries and election rules are changed more than three months into an election campaign, and whose rules still incomplete and unknown, and for which the new "audience" is in excess of 100,000 individuals spread over significantly larger and different geographic areas;

- ff) Effective participation in the 2018 electoral process required candidates to commit financial resources based on population of a ward. Further, the campaign strategy of candidates and their supporters, including the selection of candidates, is closely tied to the neighbourhoods and communities of interest forming the municipal ward. The sudden, mid-campaign alteration of Toronto's ward structure undermines the ability of candidates to carry through with their electoral strategies, and has diluted or made irrelevant their expressive political conduct that had occurred prior to the passage of the impugned provisions and the changes to Toronto's ward structure, along with the expressive political conduct of their supporters;
- gg) Because there are no term limits in municipal politics, and because of the difficulty new challengers have to unseating incumbents, political groups have formed seeking to strategically support the nominations and election of new voices in city council. Their plans for the 2018 election were predicated on the ward structure that was in existence at the time that the campaign commenced. The aspirations of these groups, and their ability to effectively organize, is restricted by the sudden change in Toronto's ward structure;
- hh) Electors and candidates engage in political expression during electoral campaigns by selecting individuals or policies to support; engaging in fundraising, advertising or canvassing; attending local meetings, debates and other events; and engaging with others on political issues well in advance of a vote. All of these

activities are protected by s. 2(b), but have been rendered inaccessible or less accessible for the 2018 election due to the impugned provisions;

- ii) While s. 2(b) does not guarantee any particular form or process of elections, once the state has entered the field, any changes it makes to the electoral process cannot be such that it negates, undermines or restricts the expressive actions of individuals by undermining their ability to effectively participate in the electoral process;
- jj) More generally, the impugned provisions dilute the votes of electors to levels that constitute significant impairments of their expressive rights;
- kk) Compared with city councillors in other Ontario municipalities, the 25 ward structure makes effective representation of residents ineffective though due to ward populations well in excess of 100,000 residents;
- a) These restrictions are particularly acute given the unique role city councillors play as compared to Members of Parliament and Members of Provincial Parliament;

**B. Freedom of Association**

- ll) Legislation will violate the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association where its purpose or effect is to penalize, dissuade or interfere with the ability of individuals to associate;
- mm) Freedom of association is broad. It protects the ability of individuals to join together for the purpose of achieving common goals and to redress imbalances in power, and extends to association for the purpose of exercising other constitutionally protected rights and to engage uniquely associational activities including participation in political campaigns;
- nn) The impugned provisions have impeded the ability of electors to form effective associations in order to campaign and fundraise during the 2018 election. Aside from dramatically altering and expanding the size of wards, making the creation of effective political coalitions more difficult, the alteration of the basic ground

rules of the campaign while the campaign was ongoing, without notice and without consultation, has rendered previous associational activity predicated on the 47 ward structure moot, and limited the time during which electors are able to form new political coalitions within the context of a 25 ward structure;

- b) More generally, the impugned provisions interfere with ability of electors to form effective associations because of the dramatic expansion of the size of the wards;

**C. Equality**

- oo) Section 15 of the *Charter* protects equal access to local government and equal participation in the political process for members of groups characterized by the enumerated grounds contained in the guarantee, or grounds analogous thereto;
- pp) With respect to the 2018 election, the impugned provisions have an adverse impact on women and racialized and LGBT candidates, who are already underrepresented in local government and who will have greater difficulty transitioning from a campaign under the 47 ward structure to one under the 25 ward structure mid-way through the campaign period;
- qq) The impugned provisions will also limit the opportunity for women and diverse candidates to meaningfully run for office in 2018 by “packing” incumbents (or several of them) into new, larger wards. Given the significant incumbency advantage that is typical of municipal elections, underrepresented women and racialized and LGBT candidates often only have a realistic chance of being elected in “open” wards. Reducing the number of such wards by having fewer wards than incumbent candidates imposes a disproportionate burden on women and racialized and LGBT candidates;
- rr) Furthermore, as compared to incumbents, women and racialized and LGBT candidates are less able to adapt to changes to ward structures mid-way through the campaign period, and to mount new campaigns based on different and larger wards, because they have fewer resources and additional personal obligations. As a result of the impugned provisions, women and racialized and LGBT candidates

are either required to run against incumbents at a significant disadvantage, or withdraw their candidacies;

- ss) The impugned provisions also limit the opportunity for women and diverse electors to volunteer for political campaigns and to express themselves on political issues in the course of the election, including by reducing the number of diverse candidates and/or the number of seats to which women and diverse candidates may be elected. Furthermore, women and diverse volunteers are less able to contribute more than the amount of time they had previously set aside to volunteer on a campaign because of their additional responsibilities (including domestic/caregiving), and the mid-campaign change to ward boundaries places a burden on their ability to participate in the electoral process effectively;
- tt) The impugned provisions, and their timing mid-way through the campaign period, reinforce and perpetuate the arbitrary disadvantages that women and racialized and LGBT candidates already face in mounting campaigns for elected office, including having difficulty in finding initial support, needing to combat sexist and racial stereotypes, and often wrongly perceiving themselves to be less qualified and therefore less electable than those who have the benefit of prior representation;
- uu) Due to Toronto's high level of visible minority residents as compared to any other municipality in Ontario, the vote dilution imposed by the impugned provisions – which is dramatically greater than other Ontario municipalities – imposes a disproportionate burden on racialized and LGBT persons;
- vv) The process by which Bill 5 was enacted, including the lack of public consultation and the extraordinary legislative process involved, reflects a disregard for the needs, interests, views and aspirations of Toronto's residents, including women and its large racialized population and LGBT persons. This perpetuates their disadvantage and conveys the message that their interests are not worthy of regard by the Provincial government;

- c) More generally, the much larger ward structures, which are significantly larger than elsewhere in the Province, have an adverse impact on the ability of women and racialized and LGBT Torontonians to run for office, serve as councillors, participate in the electoral process, and express their views and concerns to political representatives, in violation of the right to equality.

**D. Democracy, the Rule of Law, and the Obligation to Consult**

- d) The impugned provisions undermine the unwritten constitutional principles of democracy and the rule of law;
- e) The impugned provisions are inconsistent with the principle of democracy because they fail to respect any consultative obligations to Toronto's electors with respect to the means by which they are to govern themselves, alter an on-going electoral process, dilutes voting power to an unprecedented extent, and undermines Torontonians' ability to effective access and obtain support from their elected representatives;
- f) The impugned provisions are inconsistent with the rule of law because they disrupt the settled expectations of all participants in the 2018 political process in Toronto, though special legislation targeting them alone;
- g) These aspects of the impugned provisions violate both of these unwritten constitutional principles in their own right;
- h) The impugned provisions also violate the above noted sections of the *Charter* as they are informed by the principles of democracy and the rule of law;

**E. Section 1 of the *Charter***

- i) The above-noted violations, taken individually or in combination, cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society;
- j) The impugned provisions do not pursue any pressing and substantial objective;

k) In the alternative, the impugned provisions are not proportional in their restriction of *Charter* protected rights, in that they

1. Are not rationally connected to any legitimate objective that Bill 5 may pursue;
2. Do not minimally impair the rights of Torontonians; and
3. Have no salutary effective, or alternatively that any salutary effects do not outweigh the deleterious effects on the *Charter* rights of individuals;

August 20, 2018

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**TAB 3**



**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

BETWEEN:

**CHRIS MOISE and ISH ADERONMU and Prabha Khosla on her own behalf and on  
behalf of all members of Women Win Toronto**

Applicants

- and -

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO**

Respondent

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

**AFFIDAVIT OF CHRIS MOISE  
(Sworn August 20, 2018)**

I, Chris Moise, of the City of Toronto, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I am a candidate in the upcoming City of Toronto municipal election. I have knowledge of the matters deposed to herein, except where indicated to be based on information and belief and, where so indicated, I believe the same to be true.

My Background and Circumstances

2. I have lived in Toronto for the past 25 years. I identify as a black and openly gay man.

3. I spent 23 years as a healthcare worker (counsellor) at St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto. Since 2005, I have owned a small business (independent pet food store/ pet daycare). In addition, I have volunteered for many organizations in the community. I also worked as a police officer in Waterloo for approximately a year in and around 2001.

4. I am currently the Public School Board Trustee for Toronto-Centre Rosedale. I was elected to this position in a by-election in 2016 after running unsuccessfully in 2010 and 2014. Briefly, the duties of a Public School Board Trustee include monthly visits to each of the 15 of schools in my ward, attending on average at least six committee meetings per month, attending mandatory school board meeting, meeting with parents, ward forums, school council meetings, community events, and responding to constituent concerns. I continued to work at St. Michael's Hospital while holding this position until January 2017, as explained further below.

#### Motivation for Political Expression

5. I am very engaged in issues affecting my neighbourhood and the City of Toronto. I am motivated to address and speak about issues that I see as adversely affecting the communities I belong to, including the black and LGBT communities as well as the Gay Village of Toronto. I am motivated to engage in public service, both in a personal volunteer capacity as well as by speaking out through public forums and roles, such as by acting as a Public School Board Trustee, and through my run for a position on City Council.

6. The black and LGBT communities, and the residents of the Village, have gone through a difficult time over the past several years. There are significant issues that need to be addressed publicly through Council, including issues of community safety, police relations, carding, overrepresentation of racialized minorities in the criminal justice system, as well as incidents of violent interactions with the police. These issues affect me and people I associate with professionally and personally.

7. Political expression on issues facing my communities pertaining to community safety and police relations is important to me, and I have a unique perspective to bring to the issues, as someone who previously served as a police officer. I faced discrimination and homophobia during my service, and after I left, I volunteered with Egale, an LGBT advocacy group, working with various police forces to speak about addressing homophobia in policing. I am motivated and well-equipped, given my past history, to speak to and to represent concerns about homophobia and police relations.

8. I have worked towards addressing these issues in different ways. As a School Trustee, I was involved in the decision to remove community safety officers from schools. I met with parents and students to hear their perspectives, and I believe that they were more candid in expressing themselves to me regarding their concerns because of who I am. I believe that the fact that I was serving as a Trustee enabled some individuals to come out to express themselves, who may not have felt comfortable communicating about these issues if I had not been there. I was able to raise issues affecting diverse communities effectively because of the strong relationships I built, gaining the confidence and trust of individuals from diverse communities to represent them. I gave political expression to voices we as a society do not normally hear from. I believe that having representation from diverse communities on elected bodies is important and enables political expression by those communities.

9. I have also worked towards building relationships with the police, and have had meetings with the Superintendent of 52 Division to voice concerns and address issues I would like to work on with the Toronto Police Service. The Toronto Police Service is overseen by a civilian body, the Toronto Police Services Board, which is made up in part by City

Councillors. My unique experience and community relationships would inform my political expression and the representation I would be able to provide to constituents as a Councillor.

10. My interest in municipal issues and political expression extends broadly to many other issues that affect how we live and our quality of life in Toronto. I am particularly interested in ensuring affordability, walkability, and promoting small businesses. These are all issues on which I express myself with the benefit of my past experiences and my membership in the local community.

11. In addition, I have a particular interest in how mental health is addressed from a municipal perspective, including lack of housing/underhousing, and access to public spaces. I have spent my professional life in my career at St. Michael's Hospital addressing issues of mental health, and I have a unique perspective which informs my political expression. These are issues that I have raised in my campaign for Council and that I regularly speak with constituents about at the door during canvassing.

#### Decision to Run for City Council

12. At the time of my election as a School Board Trustee in 2016, there was a 44-ward model for Toronto City Council. The late Pam McConnell was the Councillor for what was then Ward 28, encompassing Cabbagetown and Regent Park, and Kristyn Wong-Tam ("Wong-Tam") was the Councillor for the Village in what was then Ward 27. A copy of a map showing the 44-ward model is marked as Exhibit "A". School board wards are larger than Council wards, reflecting the difference in the number of issues dealt with by Councillors, and that the Trustee position is intended to be a part-time role. My ward as a

Trustee encompassed both of the former Wards 27-28. My home in Cabbagetown was located within what was then Ward 28.

13. After I became Trustee, I learned that there would be ward boundary changes affecting my neighbourhood. The two wards, 27 and 28, were ultimately split into four wards. As a result, there would be an "open race" for Councillor. Given that I had a good job and I was also serving as Public School Board Trustee, I was not interested in pursuing a campaign for Council if I would be running against an incumbent. It is well known that incumbents have an electoral advantage and I believe this to be true. In practice and based on my experience, incumbents are able to access experienced campaign managers, donors, volunteers, and other resources necessary to mount a successful campaign. These types of resources are necessary to fully and properly express oneself as a candidate and mount an effective campaign. As a result, I would only run for a Council seat within my community if there was no incumbent. This would allow me to have good access to resources and to express myself effectively as a candidate, with a reasonable chance of success.

14. A copy of the map of the 47-ward model is marked as Exhibit "B". I had followed the ward boundary issue and was aware that the new 47-ward model had undergone a challenge at the Ontario Municipal Board ("OMB"). I thought that once the issue had been determined by Council and upheld by the OMB, the issue was settled, and I made plans accordingly.

15. I spoke with Wong-Tam and learned that under the 47-ward model, she would run in what became Ward 22, encompassing the area around Ryerson University down to the Toronto Island. I decided to run in what became Ward 25, an area encompassing the Gay Village as well as Yorkville. This was an open race with no incumbent running. Because of

my ties to the Village and the LGBT community, it was important for me to run in the ward that encompassed the Village, an area I had represented as a Trustee.

16. I decided to run for Toronto City Council in early 2017. It is not possible to run as both a Trustee and Councillor. Therefore, in making the decision to run for Council, I was also making the decision not to run for Trustee, where I believed I was making a positive impact and where I had a good chance of re-election as an incumbent.

17. With the changes to ward boundaries, my Cabbagetown home did not fall within the new Ward 25. I therefore sold my home and moved into a condominium in Yorkville, which was within the new boundary for Ward 25. I made this decision believing it would increase my credibility with electors on issues facing the community. I believe it is important to live in the community you represent and believe this is also important to voters. I incurred significant financial expense in doing this, and was required to take on a mortgage for my condominium in Yorkville. I also decided to leave my job at St. Michael's Hospital, which allowed me to focus full-time on my campaign for Council. In addition, because of the demands a campaign would place on my time, I hired a store manager for my independent business, because I knew I would not be able to spend much time there.

#### My Campaign for Council

18. I started to assemble a campaign team in early 2017, made up of approximately ten people, including individuals with prior experience running different aspects of campaigns, including individual with experience with Populus (a campaign management platform), websites, policy issues, voter contact strategies, and accounting. We met once a month at the beginning, and eventually biweekly, to strategize and develop a path forward for the

campaign. This included mapping out potential campaign events and possible endorsements over the course of the anticipated campaign. We spent many hours, even before my official registration, preparing for the campaign.

19. I registered as a candidate for Council on May 1, 2018, the day that nominations opened. I held my official campaign launch on June 13, 2018. I initially used some personal funds towards my campaign, but I have also raised funds from donors. My campaign staff and volunteers working on my campaign made substantial efforts to raise funds for my run in Ward 25 and were successful in doing so. As a result of their efforts, I was in a position to effectively mount a very credible campaign for Council, and I believe I was the “front runner” for the Council position in Ward 25.

20. I arranged for a campaign website, [chrismoise.ca](http://chrismoise.ca). Printouts from my campaign website are marked as Exhibit “C”. The issues I have focussed on in my campaign for Council include safe, walkable, bikeable neighbourhoods; better and more affordable transit; making life more affordable; building vibrant communities; more accessible and accountable government; improving public safety and security; supporting small business; and financial sustainability.

21. A campaign for Council is a substantial effort. To date, I have worked extensively to get out my political message. I have canvassed for six hours every day, knocking on doors and discussing issues with electors, and I have also attended many community events. I have received numerous endorsements from prominent members of the local community, who have expressed themselves on my behalf to support the issues I am raising and the positions I am

taking. My campaign staff and volunteers have also worked very hard to express the messages and ideas associated with my campaign.

#### Effects of Bill 5

22. I was devastated to learn about the changes of Bill 5 on the ward boundaries and campaign for Council. I had no idea this was coming and only learned of the proposed boundary changes well into my campaign, well after making many significant life decisions and investing enormous time and effort significant funds into my campaign.

23. If Bill 5 stands, my current ward would be Toronto Centre (what would be the new Ward 13). A copy of the map of the 25-ward model imposed by Bill 5 is marked as Exhibit "D". Toronto Centre extends east all the way to Bayview Avenue (an additional Eastern territory from Jarvis Avenue to Bayview Avenue compared to Ward 25), and south to Mill Street/ The Esplanade (an additional southern territory from Carlton Street to Mill Street/ The Esplanade compared to Ward 25). Toronto Centre does not include certain territory in the north and west of what is now Ward 25, namely from Avenue Road to Bay Street/Yonge Street on the west, and from Charles Street to Rosedale Valley Road on the north.

24. If I ran in the new Toronto Centre riding, my efforts, networks, connections and funds expended to date in my run for Council in the north and west of the current Ward 25 would be rendered futile. I would also be required, on no notice, to commence a new campaign for Council in areas I have never previously campaigned or developed connections in that capacity. The change to ward boundaries significantly affects our political organizing. We would have to find volunteers for my Council run in areas where we never had them before, deal with new and other issues (because every neighbourhood has its own unique concerns



relevant to City Council), and craft messages in a different way to appeal to new and other voters. The change to the ward boundaries mid-campaign is a change to the election ground rules, which disadvantages my campaign. My Council run has low recognition outside of the areas where we have devoted our efforts to date, and we would be disadvantaged reaching out to areas where we have not developed a network for my run Council previously, particularly in trying to do so very quickly.

25. Instead of running in an open race, which I believed was necessary to effectively express myself as a candidate, in Toronto Centre I would instead be running against two incumbents, Kristyn Wong-Tam and Lucy Troisi. Wong-Tam is someone with whom I have a great relationship, and while I would not want to run against any incumbent, it would be particularly difficult to envision running against someone I hold in such high regard. In addition, the personal sacrifice I had made of giving up my long-term home in Cabbagetown is now for nothing, because the Toronto Centre ward boundary encompasses the area where I used to live, but not where I currently live. As a result, if I remained in the race, I would be at a significant disadvantage as a non-resident because I do not live in Ward 13, with the result that a substantial portion of voters may regard me negatively as an outsider. It is not feasible for me to move yet again in such a tight time frame given my current financial circumstances.

26. The Yorkville area is now part of University Rosedale (new Ward 11). I would not run there for several reasons. The first is that there will be incumbents running in University Rosedale (Mike Layton and/or Joe Cressy) and it would be very difficult, particularly this late in the campaign period, to run in an abbreviated campaign against incumbents who enjoy significant name recognition in an area where I am not known. The second is that University Rosedale does not encompass the Village, where I have many important connections and

which I am committed to representing politically for personal reasons. Finally, there is only a very small geographical overlap between Ward 25, where I thought I was running, and the new University Rosedale ward, which extends to the CPR railway to the north and Ossington Avenue to the west. There are huge geographical areas in University Rosedale where I have no connections, history, or visibility (even as a Trustee), and where I have done zero campaigning to date, as I was focused only on the areas within Ward 25. All of the work I have done in my current ward to express myself, build community relations, and to campaign and build an organization for a run for Council has been rendered futile by Bill 5, and I would have to start from scratch in large geographical areas at a huge disadvantage.

27. I am relatively well-known in my own niche community for my commitment to local issues, and I benefit from the relationships I have forged over many years with members of the community in the Village area. In that part of the city, people know me and what I stand for, and they are comfortable with me. Building those kinds of relationships takes time. Earning the trust of a community and gaining recognition also takes time. This is particularly the case for a black and gay man, and having to starting from scratch in totally new geographic areas would be a significant disadvantage for me, especially relative to other non-minority candidates and incumbents in those areas. We would have to find volunteers in areas where we never had them before, deal with new and other issues (because every neighbourhood has its own unique concerns), and craft messages in a different way to appeal to new and other voters. The change to the ward boundaries mid-campaign is a change to the election ground rules, which disadvantages my campaign. We have low recognition outside of the areas where we have devoted our efforts to date, and we would be disadvantaged reaching

out to areas where we have not developed a network before, particularly in trying to do so very quickly. This has significantly affected out political organizing.

28. I had established a campaign in Ward 25, including significant fundraising efforts, on the ground with volunteers. As a result of Bill 5, all of these efforts have been compromised. The planning and strategizing of my election planning committee and all the individuals involved in my campaign has been rendered futile. The collective action my volunteers and I have engaged in, such as canvassing in the ward, attending public events and meetings, and distributing campaign materials has also been interfered with. Everything would have to start over. For example, I had campaign materials printed based on "Ward 25" that have been made useless. While I had enjoyed some success in fundraising for my campaign early on, the pool of donors is limited as are the amounts they are willing to contribute. To go back to my donors and ask them for more money, on the basis that our prior efforts (on which their funds were spent) have been rendered pointless and there is now an entirely different area where I would be running, particularly where I would be running against incumbents at a significant disadvantage, would be very difficult. At this stage of the campaign period, I do not think I could credibly raise additional and sufficient funds for an effective campaign in Toronto Centre or University Rosedale.

29. As a result, I have made the difficult and deeply disappointing decision that I simply can no longer continue my candidacy if Bill 5 stands. This has caused me profound personal stress and anxiety. It has affected my sleep and eating, and my personal life, including my relationship with my partner.

30. But for Bill 5, there could have been as many as three LGBT councillors elected under the 47-ward model, because Kristyn Wong-Tam, George Smitherman and I were all running in different downtown ridings. Instead, under the Bill 5 model, if we had all stayed in the race, all three of us would be running in Toronto Centre for just a single seat. A similar problem exists in terms of visible minority candidates. I am aware of several visible minority candidates who were running in different downtown ridings who now would be running against each other, with the result that fewer people of colour will likely be elected to Council than might otherwise have been the case. Another first-time Council candidate, Ausma Malik, a Muslim woman who was also running in an open race like me after serving as a Trustee, will instead be required to run against an incumbent if she chooses to stay in the race at all, which I understand is unlikely. As a result, it is my belief that Bill 5 will result in reduced representation by minorities compared to what might have been the case under the 47-ward model in place at the commencement of the campaign, and ultimately a City Council that continues to fail to reflect the diversity of Toronto.

31. I have spoken with my supporters about my decision and I know they also feel that Bill 5 has interfered with and compromised their political expression. Doug Kerr, a LGBT activist from the Village who provided an endorsement for my campaign that I featured on my website, advised me that he believes his own political expression has been compromised and will be less effective as a result of the change to the ward structure. In particular, because of the uncertainty surrounding the ward boundaries, candidates remaining in the race are dealing with making major changes to their campaigns, and are not available to discuss LGBT issues with him. Furthermore, it is likely fewer LGBT candidates will be elected who will understand issues from his perspective. We had been working together on issues that included

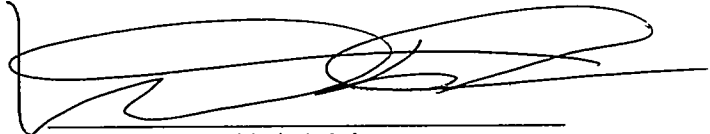
the promotion of independent LGBT-owned small businesses in the Village, and looking at models/approaches used in other countries, particularly cities that have become Rainbow Cities (model cities for LGBT inclusion). Kerr was keen to see Toronto become a Rainbow City, which would require the City to commit significant resources, which may not be likely if fewer LGBT councillors are elected.

32. I swear this affidavit in support of the Applicants' application and for no other or improper purpose.

SWORN AFFIRMED BEFORE ME at the City of Toronto, Ontario this 20 day of August, 2018.



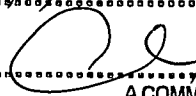
A Commissioner for taking Affidavits (or as may be)



Chris Moise

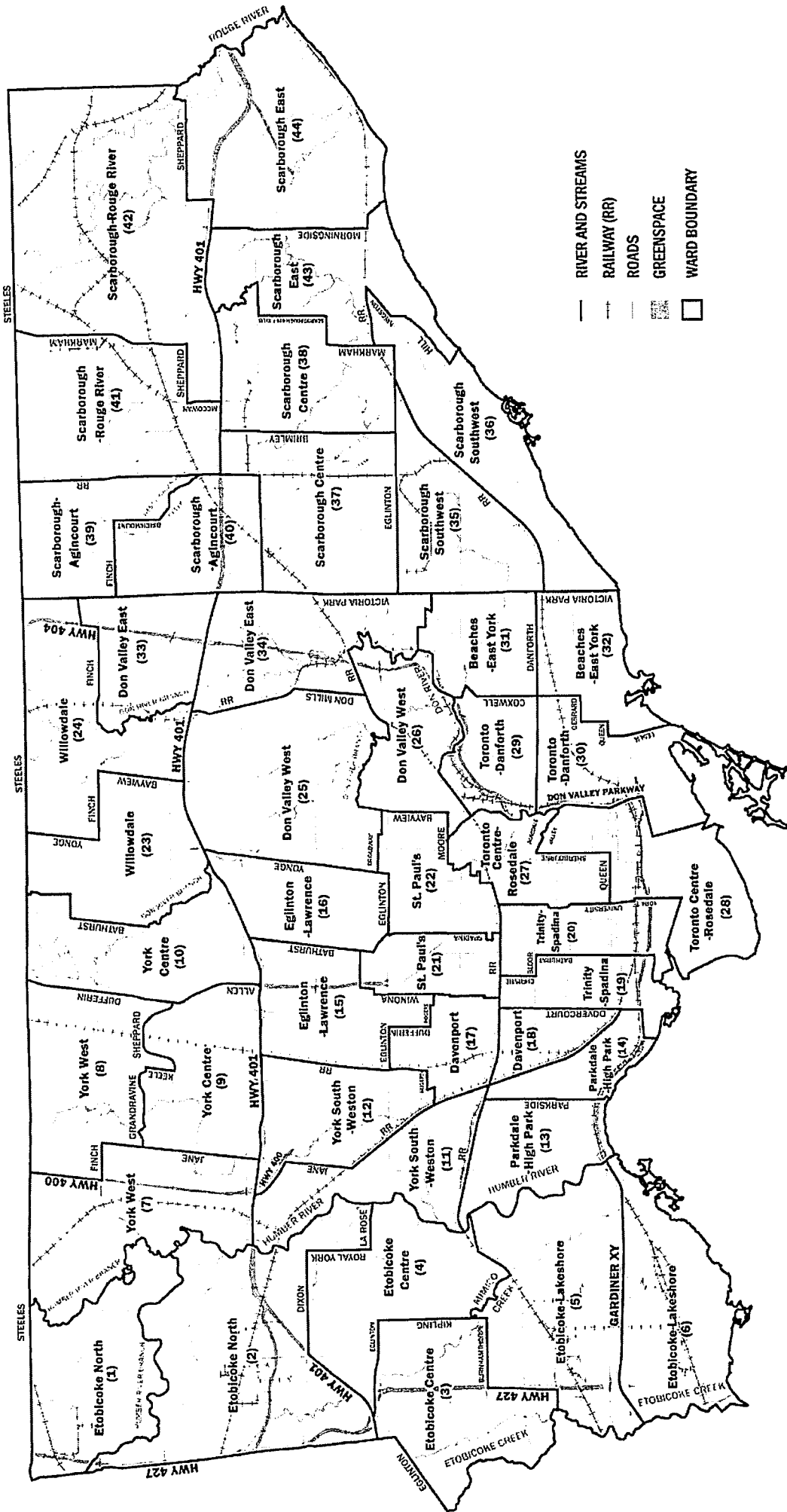
# EXHIBIT "A"

This is Exhibit A referred to in the  
affidavit of Chris Morse  
sworn before me this 20  
day of August 2018

  
A COMMISSIONER, ETC.



**TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW  
EXISTING WARD BOUNDARIES**

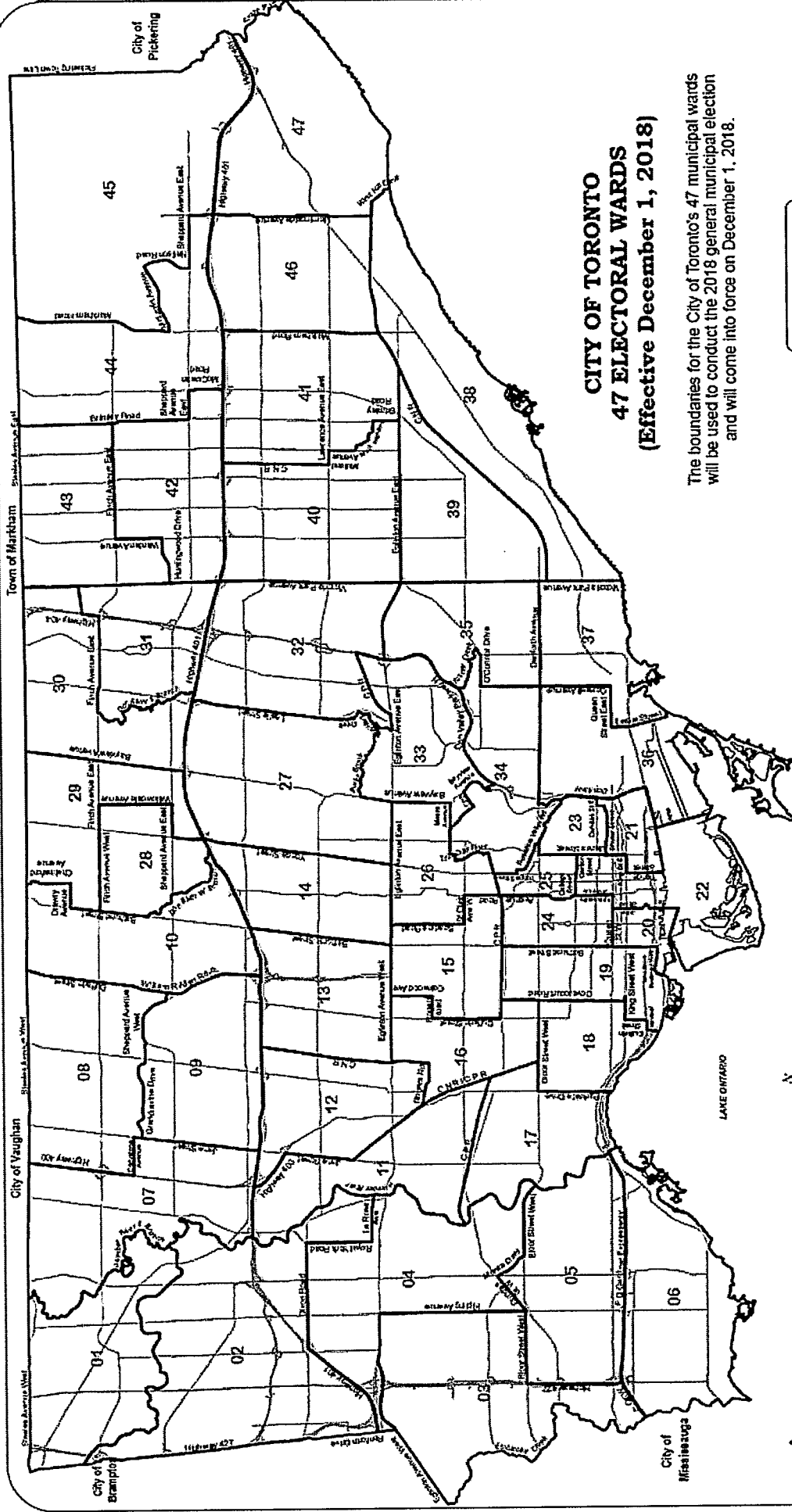




# EXHIBIT “B”

This is Exhibit B referred to in the  
affidavit of Chris Mousk  
sworn before me this 20  
day of August 2015

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A COMMISSIONER, ETC.

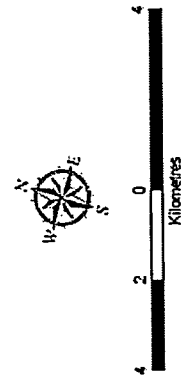


**CITY OF TORONTO  
47 ELECTORAL WARDS  
(Effective December 1, 2018)**

The boundaries for the City of Toronto's 47 municipal wards will be used to conduct the 2018 general municipal election and will come into force on December 1, 2018.

**LEGEND**

- Ward Boundary
- Road
- Major Shoreline



**TORONTO**  
 Map Produced by:  
 Geospatial Competency Centre  
 Information & Technology Division  
 Email: gco@toronto.ca  
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 Print Date: January 2018

# EXHIBIT “C”

This is Exhibit.....<sup>C</sup>.....referred to in the  
affidavit of ..Chas. Morse.....  
sworn before me this.....<sup>20</sup>.....  
day of ..August.....20.....<sup>18</sup>.....

..........  
A COMMISSIONER, ETC.

My friends and neighbours,

**Our work begins.**

In the municipal election on October 22, we elect a brand new Councillor in our brand new ward.

We've made real progress, but there's so much more to be done to keep our neighbourhoods moving forward. We have to hit the ground running to deliver the transit, smart development, safe communities, and services we need.

**I'm Chris Moise, and I'm running to be our first City Councillor in the new Ward 25.**

I'm running because I have the proven leadership, elected experience, and community-building skills that will work to succeed.

And I'm running to build a ward that's safe, liveable, affordable, and commutable.

**As your school board Trustee and former Vice Chair of the TDSB**, I've stood up for and invested in our local schools, while working with families so our children and all our communities share in the opportunity for a brighter future, and I've delivered through projects like the new Jesse Ketchum Park.

**As a former hospital healthcare worker and police officer**, I've provided urgent treatment and assistance to vulnerable people in need, and I know first-hand how

Elect  
**Chris Moise**  
 #forWard25

[MY STORY](#)
[OUR NEW WARD](#)
[OUR PLAN](#)
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delivered through projects like the new Jesse Ketchum Park.

**As a former hospital healthcare worker and police officer**, I've provided urgent treatment and assistance to vulnerable people in need, and I know first-hand how to work with all communities and first responders so that we increase our safety while fostering more equity and inclusion.

**As a small business owner**, I've experienced the challenges of running a local business, and know their importance to our community because I've seen how strong local businesses enhance our neighbourhoods.

**As a resident of Ward 25 who lives near Ramsden Park**, and as a former resident of Cabbagetown and the Village, I know how much we need more transit, smarter development, better infrastructure, and revitalized community services.

I'm running to serve. I'm running because I care. And I'm running because I'm passionate about working to improve our city and making life better here in our downtown core.

Join me - and together we can keep progressing forward.

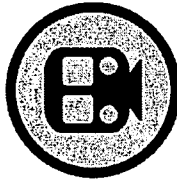
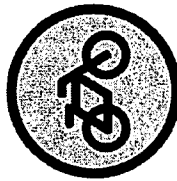
Let's lead the way together for a ward that works.

# OUR PLAN

Over the last several months, I have met and spoken with many of you. I have heard your concerns, and, as a resident of Ward 25, I share them.

We need neighbourhoods and communities that are safe, affordable, livable, and commutable. **We need a City Councillor who will champion them and deliver.**

Now more than ever, we have to hit the ground running after October 22. With my proven leadership experience and a plan of action that we as a community have put together, I am the only candidate who can keep Ward 25 progressing forward.



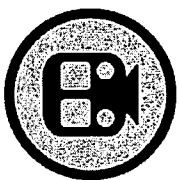




**Safe, Walkable, Bikeable Neighbourhoods**

A vision towards zero safety concerns on our streets

**READ MORE** >



**Better, More Affordable Transit**

The best way to keep our Ward moving forward

**READ MORE** >



**Make Life More Affordable**

Keep our neighbourhoods within reach for everyone

**READ MORE** >



**Build Vibrant Complete Communities**

Let's finish the job and build complete communities

**READ MORE** >

Elect  
**Chris Moise**  
#forWard25

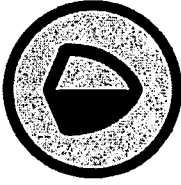
MY STORY OUR NEW WARD OUR PLAN JOIN US CONTACT



### A More Accessible & Accountable Government for All

Our City works for you, so let's make it more open and accountable.

[READ MORE](#)



### Improve Public Safety & Security

Safe and secure communities begin with a strong relationship between the police and the community.

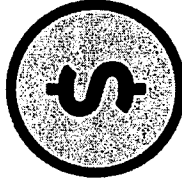
[READ MORE](#)



### Support Small Businesses

Successful small businesses are the surest sign of a vibrant, livable community.

[READ MORE](#)



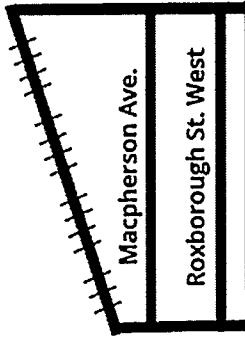
### Financial Sustainability and Fiscal Responsibility

Keep our City standing tall with solid financial practices.

[READ MORE](#)

# OUR NEW WARD

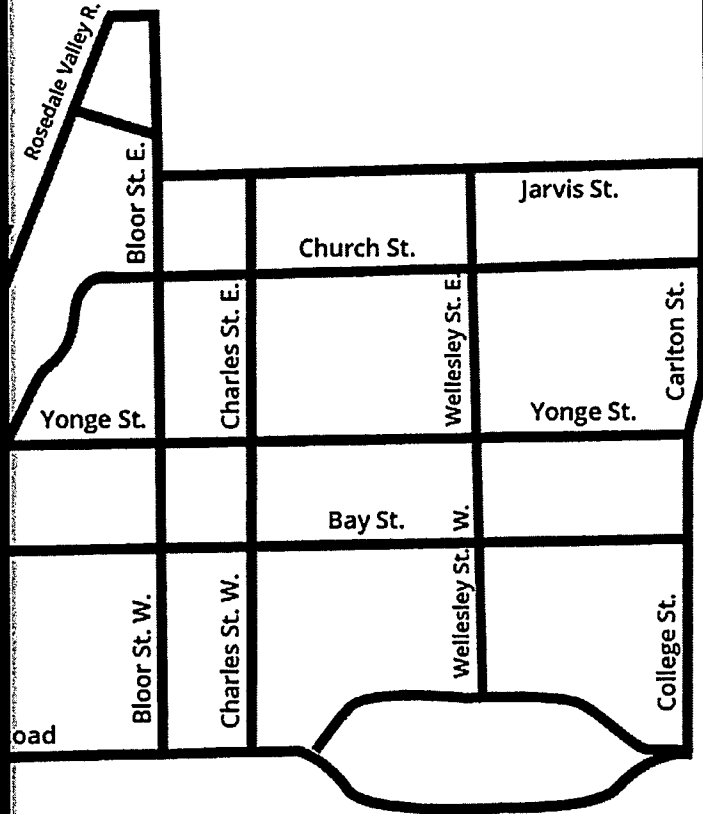
Ward 27, home to one of Toronto's biggest and most diverse communities, is no more. In order to ensure that every vote matters, an independent group has created three new wards and redrawn existing wards. The new Ward 25 covers part of the area previously represented by my friend Kristyn Wong-Tam at City Council and by me as your elected representative at the Toronto District School Board.



Yo


Elect  
**Chris Moise**  
 #forWard5

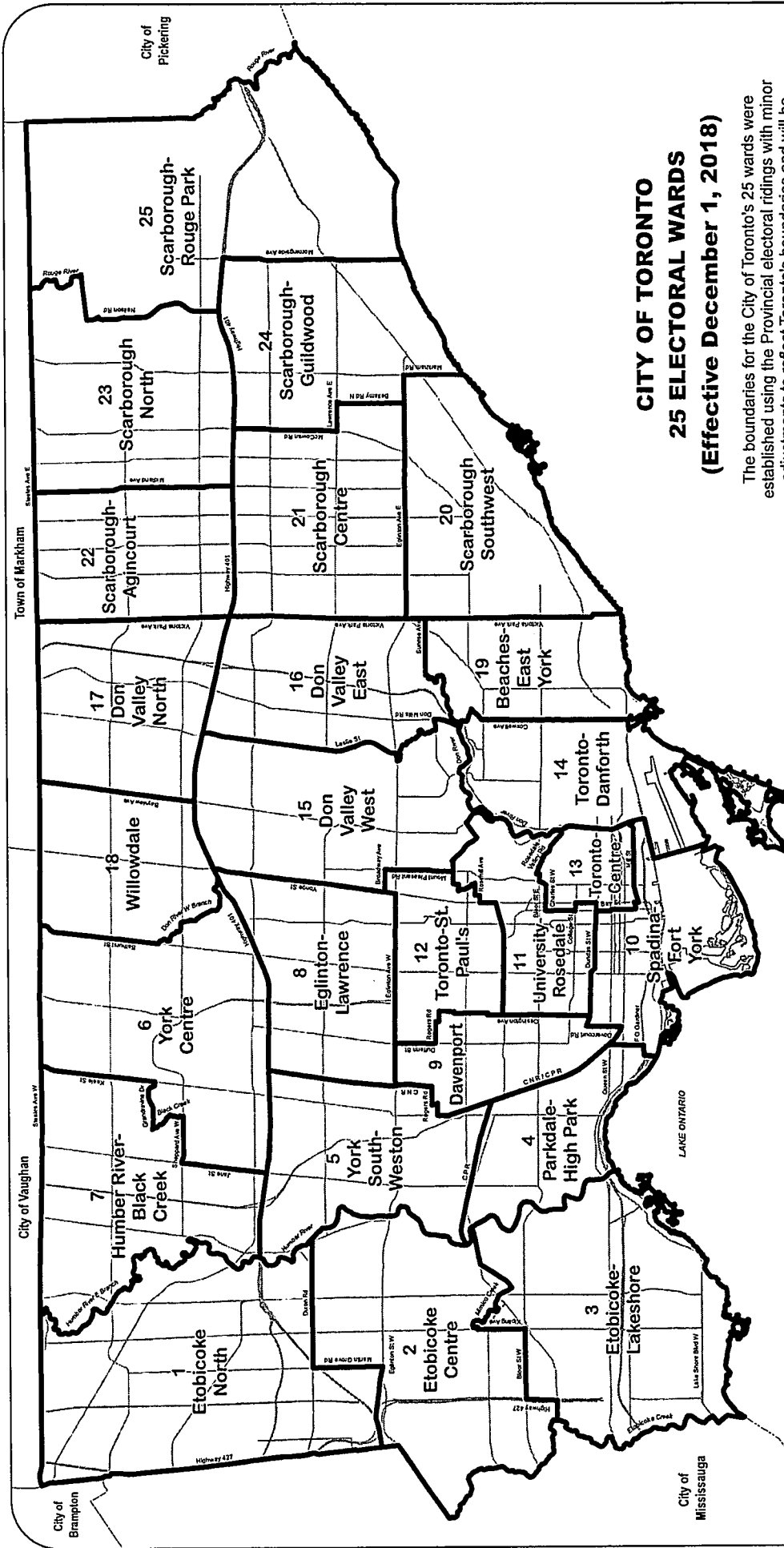
[MY STORY](#)
[OUR NEW WARD](#)
[OUR PLAN](#)
[JOIN US](#)
[CONTACT](#)



# EXHIBIT “D”

This is Exhibit.....D.....referred to in the  
affidavit of.....Chris Moore.....  
sworn before me this.....20.....  
day of.....August.....20.....18

..........  
A COMMISSIONER, ETC.



**CITY OF TORONTO  
25 ELECTORAL WARDS  
(Effective December 1, 2018)**

The boundaries for the City of Toronto's 25 wards were established using the Provincial electoral ridings with minor adjustments to reflect Toronto's boundaries and will be used to conduct the 2018 general municipal election. They will come into force on December 1, 2018.



Map Produced by:  
Geospatial Competency Centre  
Information & Technology Division  
Email: gcc@toronto.ca

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Print Date: August 2018

**TAB 4**



**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

BETWEEN:

**CHRIS MOISE and ISH ADERONMU and Prabha Khosla on her own behalf and on  
behalf of all members of Women Win Toronto**

Applicants

- and -

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO**

Respondent

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

**AFFIDAVIT OF ISH ADERONMU  
(Sworn August 20, 2018)**

I, Ish Aderonmu, of the City of Toronto, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I am an elector in the upcoming City of Toronto municipal election. I have knowledge of the matters deposed to herein, except where indicated to be based on information and belief and, where so indicated, I believe the same to be true.
2. I live in Toronto in the Cabbagetown neighbourhood. I am 34 years old and a Canadian citizen. I was born in a small town in Nigeria, and immigrated to Canada with my family at the age of 3. I volunteer as a legal assistant and hope to go to law school one day to pursue criminal defence, immigration, and public interest law.
3. I became interested in municipal politics after viewing a video of an interaction between Doug Ford, then a candidate for Premier, and Walied Khogali in around March or

April 2018 during the campaign for the provincial election. The interaction was about bringing back the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (“TAVIS”), and Khogali stood up to him and explained the negative impact of TAVIS on diverse communities. I was impressed with Khogali’s bravery and his ability to articulate a political message on behalf of diverse communities.

4. I cold called Khogali repeatedly until he agreed to meet with me. I learned that Khogali intended to run for Toronto City Council in what is now Ward 23, an area that includes Cabbagetown. The boundaries are Jarvis Street on the west, Bayview Avenue on the east, Shuter Street on the south, and Bloor Street East on the north. After a few weeks, in around April 2018, Khogali agreed that I could join his election planning committee for his run for City Council. At that time, Ward 23 was represented by Lucy Troisi, who was appointed to City Council following the death of the former City Councillor, the late Pam McConnell, on the basis that she would not run again. Accordingly, Ward 23 would be an “open race” without an elected incumbent.

5. Khogali is Canadian and immigrated to Canada from Sudan. He is a Muslim man who has been actively involved in fighting against racism and Islamophobia. He also has experience advocating for municipal issues relating to transit, employment, and the environment. Khogali served as the President of the Toronto Environmental Alliance, and is a founding member of the transit advocacy organization, TTC Riders.

6. The election planning committee was made up of approximately 6-8 individuals and met on a weekly basis beginning in around April 2018. Prior to the commencement of the campaign period, the election planning committee focused on developing a platform and a

strategy to introduce and promote Khogali to constituents following his anticipated registration. The committee also divided roles and tasks, which included Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Communications, Research, Fundraising, and Canvassing. Following Khogali's registration, the committee planned a launch event. I was personally involved in planning the launch.

7. Through volunteering with Khogali and serving his campaign, I have discovered my political voice and have enjoyed engaging in political expression for the first time in an effort to secure Khogali's election. As a volunteer in charge of research for the campaign, I have worked on investigating the rules necessary to conduct a proper campaign. I learned the rules of campaign financing and advertising from the *Municipal Elections Act* and the City of Toronto, which I disseminated to the team, many of whom were also new to politics. I have also done other tasks, which have included looking into potential volunteers for different roles, and obtaining information about how to get a short-term lease as well as insurance for a campaign office. I have helped with canvassing, particularly by disseminating literature promoting Khogali's candidacy around the ward. I am proud of the work we have done to date on Khogali's campaign.

8. At present, Toronto City Council is not diverse and does not reflect the demographics of the city. I do not think I would have been motivated to volunteer and express myself politically for another candidate other than one such as Khogali, who better reflects the city's diversity and is able to effectively champion issues affecting its diverse residents. It is important to me to help bring about a more representative City Council.

9. Troisi ultimately registered as a candidate for City Council for Ward 23 shortly before the deadline. However, as she had never been elected to that riding before, we continued to believe Khogali's campaign stood a good chance of success.

10. I believe that Bill 5 will result in reduced representation on council by minorities. Under the prior 47-ward model, there were several diverse candidates running in downtown ridings, including Kristyn Wong-Tam, Chris Moise, Khogali and Ausma Malik, who were each running in different ridings. I am aware that of these, Moise, Khogali, and Malik were first-time candidates for Council, and that Moise and Malik were running in open ridings (not against an incumbent), while Khogali was running against an incumbent who had been appointed rather than elected. With the change to fewer ridings, the candidates who were running in these races will now be at a disadvantage running against incumbents, if they choose to remain in the race at all. From working on Khogali's campaign, I am aware that incumbents, many of whom are not from diverse communities (given the current composition of City Council), generally have superior access to resources compared to first-time candidates.

11. As a result of the changes from Bill 5, Khogali would be running against two incumbent Councillors, Kristyn Wong-Tam and Troisi, in the larger Toronto Centre ward (new Ward 13 under the proposed 25-ward model). This means that two diverse candidates, Khogali and Wong-Tam, will be fighting against each other for one single seat, instead of in different ridings, reducing the total number of diverse candidates who could have potentially been elected under the prior model.

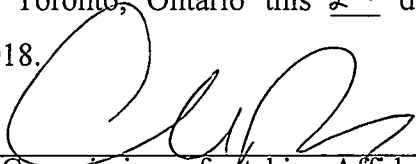
12. I am aware that some of the diverse candidates who were running downtown under the 47-ward model are considering dropping out of the race as a result of these changes, which would wipe out their political expression during this election as well as the expression of the volunteers who have been supporting them. This is deeply disappointing to me as an elector who has been working to advance one of these campaigns, expressing myself politically for the first time.

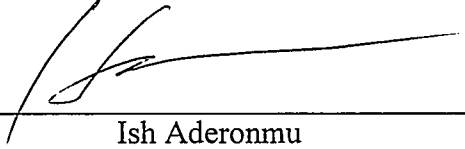
13. I am concerned about the impact of Bill 5 on political expression by citizens like me even after the election. I feel that I would have a harder time reaching out to and being understood by a councillor who lacks any background in the issues faced by diverse communities. In this way, I believe that my political expression as a citizen will be negatively affected by changes that will reduce the chances of a more diverse City Council. I know there are other voters who feel the way I do. At Khogali's campaign launch, there was a woman who spoke up to tell us that her son had died as a result of gun violence. She expressed that she was grateful and excited at the prospect of a more representative council that included people who would better understand the issues she cares about from a shared perspective. She spoke about how important it was to have a diverse candidate who would 'get it' in a way existing councillors did not at present. The impact of Bill 5 will limit these opportunities negatively impacting my political expression, the expression of other citizens from minority groups, and the candidates themselves. In addition, I am similarly concerned that the ward size will increase to over 100,000 residents, and that I will be less able as a result to access my councillor to express my views about municipal issues. I am concerned that this will have a particular impact on residents from diverse backgrounds who already have a hard time reaching out to and being heard by municipal councillors.

14. Fundraising is an important part of a political campaign and affects the ability to communicate the campaign's message. I have been involved in our fundraising efforts, including by contacting potential donors, following up with individuals who have pledged to provide financial support at campaign events, and thanking donors. Khogali has raised funds to date for his campaign for Ward 23. As a result of Bill 5, we have learned he will have to re-register a candidacy for the new Ward 13 with the City. He has not yet done so. At this time, we do not have information about campaign funds in connection with the ward boundary changes. For instance, we do not know whether funds raised in connection with the Ward 23 candidacy can be transferred to a Ward 13 candidacy. We do not know whether a donor who donated the maximum amount to a Ward 23 candidacy can now make a fresh donation to a Ward 13 candidacy. This is important because funds were spent on materials for the Ward 23 candidacy that are no longer useable. For instance, Khogali's campaign printed materials for canvassing that say "Ward 23". We also printed t-shirts that say "We are #23". All of the graphic design and content developed for Khogali's campaign had already been done and would need to be redone. We are not aware of how the wasted funds will be addressed and whether the City or Province will be providing any compensation to assist campaigns to transition. It will likely not be possible to undertake sufficient fundraising to replace all of the items that are no longer usable, particularly given the limited amount of time in the campaign. Prior donors will likely not be able or willing to donate again, and it is unlikely we will be able to find enough new donors to produce sufficient new materials for a fresh campaign for a much larger ward area, particularly compared to more well-resourced incumbents.

15. I swear this affidavit in support of the Applicants' application and for no other or improper purpose.

SWORN AFFIRMED BEFORE ME at the City  
of Toronto, Ontario this 20 day of August,  
2018.

  
A Commissioner for taking Affidavits (or as may  
be)

  
Ish Aderonmu

**TAB 5**



**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

BETWEEN:

**CHRIS MOISE and ISH ADERONMU and PRABHA KHOSLA on her own behalf and  
on behalf of all members of WOMEN WIN TORONTO**

Applicants

- and -

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO**

Respondent

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

**AFFIDAVIT OF PRABHA KHOSLA  
(Sworn August 18, 2018)**

I, Prabha Khosla, of the City of Toronto, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I am a resident of the City of Toronto. I have also been involved in municipal issues in Toronto since the 1990s, with a particular focus on the exclusion of women from public life and decision-making in the City. For these reasons, I have direct knowledge of the matters to which I depose in this affidavit. Where the information in this affidavit is not based on my direct knowledge, but is based upon information and belief from other sources, I have stated the source of that information and I believe the information to be true.

**Background**

2. I currently live in downtown Toronto in what is now Ward 27. I have lived in Toronto, on and off, since 1981. I have voted, and actively participated in encouraging others to vote in

Toronto's municipal elections. It is my intention to vote on October 22, 2018 in the City's municipal election.

3. As I will discuss further below, I am a founding member of the Toronto Women's City Alliance ("TWCA") and an advisor with Women Win TO ("WWTO"). I am also a board member of the Canadian Research Institute on the Advancement of Women, and a founding member of the Riverdale Immigrant Women's Centre. I manage a listserv as well as a group on LinkedIn on women and urban issues.

4. I have a Master's degree in urban planning. For over 15 years, I have worked with a wide range of organizations and institutions including associations of local governments, sub-national and local governments, utilities, international NGOs, private sector companies, Cities Alliance, UN-HABITAT, Gender and Water Alliance, women's groups and local civil society partners. I have worked on these issues in numerous countries including Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Mozambique, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Africa, Uganda, and Tanzania.

5. My work has focused on urban sustainability, gender equality, pro-poor planning and governance, women and local governance, water and sanitation, participatory and environmentally-sensitive planning, and gender mainstreaming. I have worked on the development of training materials on urban and gender issues, as well as capacity development of elected officials, municipal staff and civil society partners on sustainability, gender, governance and water, and sanitation.

6. I have managed international projects and coordinated international staff teams for projects on urban sustainability, gender mainstreaming in Water Resources Management, and

action research projects on urban sustainability and women's safety in low income communities in the context of gender-blind infrastructure and urban basic services.

7. I have authored three books and written numerous articles and papers for books, magazines, and on-line publications. Attached to this affidavit and marked as **Exhibit "A"** is a copy of my current CV.

### **History of TWCA's Activities**

#### *TWCA's Formation*

8. I am a founding member of the TWCA, a grassroots, volunteer-driven organization which formed in 2004. Originally known as Toronto Women's Call to Action, TWCA was formed by a diverse group of women who had been organizing to end the exclusion of girls' and women's voices and issues from municipal politics in Toronto.

9. I was motivated to form a group addressing the silencing of women's voices in municipal politics following my involvement with the Women and Environments international magazine and my international work on women's right to the city. Along with two other women involved with the magazine, I decided to form a group dedicated to raising issues of women's inequality in Toronto. In particular we wanted to focus on the intersecting inequalities women face including those based on race, ethnicity, geographic location, income, poverty, family status, and Indigeneity.

10. We also felt that women were excluded from public life in the City of Toronto (the "City"). Not only were women excluded from public office because City Council is overwhelmingly comprised of white, male councillors, the City's policies and programs were

also not gender inclusive in a city that is 50% racialized, and where women represent 52% of the population.

*Policy Priorities TWCA Promoted*

11. TWCA's work included raising issues around the affordability and availability of childcare, access to housing, and transit. We wanted the City to bring back the safer city guidelines which it had originally adopted in 1998, but were dropped after amalgamation. We also wanted to look at how urban planning decisions can make Toronto safer for children, women, and people experiencing racism in public, including on transit in Toronto. We wanted the City's programming dollars, its homelessness and housing strategy, and the membership of its agencies, boards, and committees to be reflective of the diverse women of Toronto, and of women's particular needs and disadvantages.

12. Our ideas and proposed policies for improving the safety of women in Toronto were detailed in an extensive document which made specific guidelines for various aspects of City planning and management that could be more responsive in order to make the City safer for women. A copy of our report titled 'Women-friendly policies for Toronto's Official Plan' is attached to this affidavit and marked as **Exhibit "B"**.

13. We were also frustrated with the City's budget because the City's priorities did not reflect women and children's needs. For example, while women and children largely use public transit, the City's budget was disproportionately spent on road construction and maintenance and did not adequately fund public transit.

14. Another example of the gendered focus in policy and budgeting at the City was that the City did not consider the needs of the diverse communities of women that make up the City in its parks and recreation budget. We wanted the City to consider the needs of diverse groups such as Somali women, South Asian women, and Chinese women, and their children, rather than focusing on the notion of what a generic white man who lives in the City wants from the City's programming dollars and economic initiatives.

15. With respect to housing and homelessness, TWCA observed that City councillors, and policymakers at City Hall, conceived of homelessness based on the ways that men experience homelessness – on the street. Yet City councillors and city policymakers never talked about the unique ways that women's homelessness, and inadequate housing, can be invisible to policy makers because women, who are more likely to have to care for children, may stay with family or friends, or remain in abusive relationships. We were concerned that the City's focus on homelessness was geared towards assessing the number of shelter spaces rather than recognizing the need for long-term solutions including affordable housing.

*Systemic Change TWCA Promoted*

16. In addition to the policy priorities outlined above, TWCA sought to promote structural changes in City governance including:

- (a) a commitment from the City that 50% of members of municipal agencies, boards, commissions, and committees would be women, and that the membership would reflect the City's diversity;

- (b) the creation of a women's Equality and Inclusion office funded and staffed by the City in order to have an institutional and structural form of accountability for progress on gender issues;
- (c) a requirement when the new *City of Toronto Act* was becoming law in 2005 that the City should have to provide a gender equality and anti-racism plan, and be accountable for its implementation as part of the City's annual budget plan.

*TWCA's Proposal for Term Limits for City Councillors*

17. As part of our mobilization while the *City of Toronto Act* was being created, we also proposed term limits for City Council. Under the *City of Toronto Act*, the length of a councillor's term was being extended from three years to four years. TWCA's position was that municipal councillors should be limited to two consecutive terms, and if they wanted to run again, they should have to sit out one election cycle. We proposed term limits because incumbents are a powerful force in municipal politics. Incumbents tend to win because they enjoy the crucial benefit of name recognition. We viewed the absence of term limits as an invisible barrier that excludes women, especially racialized women, as well as racialized men, from gaining access to City Council.

18. TWCA mobilized many women's groups in support of our proposals, lobbied, and made presentations to committees appointed by then Mayor David Miller, and met with numerous City councillors. Unfortunately, we were ultimately unsuccessful in achieving structural change to ensure that City Council was representative of women, and that City

governance structures reflected the central role of women's issues in improving the lives of the City's residents.

### **Women Win TO's Formation And Activities**

19. In 2017, some TWCA members created and became involved with a new group called Women Win TO ("WWTO"). WWTO was formed with a focus on getting women elected to City Council. I have been involved with WWTO in an advisory capacity. Below, I discuss some of the reasons why WWTO was formed, which include the discrimination faced by racialized women candidates, and the experiences of Kristyn Wong-Tam, a feminist, lesbian, Chinese councillor on Toronto's City Council.

#### *The Structural Barriers Women Encounter When Running for Political Office in Toronto*

20. Based on my experiences with municipal politics in Toronto, I am keenly aware that women struggle to get elected in the City. Whenever a woman runs for political office, the first thing she is asked is what her qualifications are. Women have to prove their qualifications at every step, whereas men are presumed to be qualified for public office. In my view, this disadvantage that women face is, in part, deeply rooted in the notion that women should be confined to the private sphere, and should not play a significant role in the public sphere.

21. In Toronto, based on my observations, Indigenous, racialized, and immigrant candidates for public office also face structural barriers when campaigning for public office. Diverse candidates are expected to justify their connection to Toronto, including how long

they've been in Toronto, and are presumed to be unfit to represent Torontonians based on their Indigeneity, race, ethnicity, or migration status.

22. As someone who frequently attended City Council meetings as well as numerous special and committee meetings, I have witnessed sexism and sexual harassment at City Council. The culture that I have observed at City council is rooted in misogyny, patriarchy, and the notion that women do not belong at the highest levels of public life. Women, especially racialized women, must struggle against these attitudes when running for City council, and serving as City councillors. Women candidates are negatively impacted by the sexist, racist, hurtful, and damaging atmosphere at City Council, and in City politics in general.

23. In working on a few election campaigns, I have noticed that women are also disadvantaged in terms of the financial resources and networks they can access because women, on average, earn less than men. Women are also disadvantaged in the amount of time they can devote to campaigning because often women are the primary caregivers in society, and carry additional domestic responsibilities compared to their male counterparts.

*Kristyn Wong-Tam's Election and the Formation of WWTO*

24. The impetus for WWTO comes largely from the election of former TWCA member, Kristyn Wong-Tam, to City Council, and her experiences as a City councillor. Based on Councillor Wong-Tam's experiences on City Council, it became apparent to us that we needed to support more women candidates in order to achieve systemic change in City Council. I discuss how Councillor Wong-Tam's election led to WWTO's formation further below.



25. Kristyn Wong-Tam first ran for City Council and was elected in 2010, when the incumbent for Ward 27, Kyle Rae, retired. TWCA wholeheartedly supported Kristyn Wong-Tam's campaign, not only because she was a member of TWCA, but because our members had realized that we needed more feminist and progressive women on City Council in order for our policies and proposals to be taken seriously. Our experience conducting public advocacy at City Council with TWCA showed us that although we had served on City committees, written reports, and made multiple deputations, we were being dismissed by City Council because we didn't have someone on City Council supporting our point of view. It was clear to us that we were being excluded from decision-making at City Council because we were speaking from the outside, and that we needed someone on the inside.

26. I believe that Councillor Wong-Tam's election was only possible because there was no incumbent running against her in the ward. Even without the opposition of an incumbent, Councillor Wong-Tam's campaign was tough – a lot of TWCA members worked day and night to get her elected. Kristyn Wong-Tam was running against candidates with a lot more money and connections than her. When Councillor Wong-Tam was elected, it was a historic victory. She is the first out lesbian, feminist, Chinese woman elected to political office in Canada.

*Councillor Wong-Tam's Time on City Council*

27. At the time Councillor Wong-Tam was elected to council, Rob Ford was also elected as mayor. As a result, council was often focussed on the mayor's efforts to bring about cutbacks. There simply wasn't the capacity, or the political wherewithal, to also focus on

systemic, structural change in municipal politics. Progressive voices on council were simply trying to focus on saving the existing programs and initiatives that City had.

28. Councillor Wong-Tam's experiences on City council also taught us that it was very difficult to succeed as an LGBTQ and racialized woman within a Council system set up by men, and run by men. Councillor Wong-Tam was excluded from many committees, and I believe this was, in part, due to the fact that Councillor Wong-Tam had previously challenged Rob Ford on his racism towards the Chinese community.

29. In Councillor Wong-Tam's second term she tried to bring in policies that would create structural change. For example, Councillor Wong-Tam wanted the City to collect disaggregated data which would reflect the gender, race, and income, of people accessing City services. Disaggregated data would promote evidence-based decision making at City Council. However, I noticed that even when Councillor Wong-Tam succeeded at getting resolutions adopted by Council, those resolutions were not acted upon or implemented.

30. I recount Councillor Wong-Tam's experiences on City Council, and my observations of her struggles to emphasize that it became clear to me and other members of TWCA that we needed more than one Councillor Wong-Tam on Council in order to be heard and to make structural change at City Council. We also immediately knew, from our experiences with Councillor Wong-Tam's campaign, that getting more progressive, racialized, LGBTQ women and trans City councillors would be an uphill battle. We knew we had to be organized, and that we had to act quickly.

31. As a result, we began to focus on getting more racialized women and trans candidates to run for City Council in Toronto in the 2018 municipal election.

*The WWTO Program*

32. The WWTO program was developed based on Councillor Wong-Tam's experience on City Council. The training and development program is based on what it takes for racialized and Indigenous women, trans, and gender non-conforming individuals to run successful election campaigns, as well as how to push for systemic and structural change once elected.

33. Workshop topics covered in the eight sessions that participants attended included: data collection, 'get out the vote' best practices, fundraising, building the right team, canvassing do's and don't's, communicating your message, staying healthy, and life beyond election day. Copies of printouts from WWTO's website explaining the program and curriculum are attached to this affidavit and marked as **Exhibit "C"**. A copy of an article from the Toronto Star explaining the WWTO program and the reasons it came into existence is marked as **Exhibit "D"** to this affidavit. The participants of WWTO have access to experts on elections that they would not otherwise benefit from as people who are largely new to politics. In this way, WWTO seeks to improve the likelihood that these women will be able to mount effective political campaigns. However, graduates of WWTO still face structural barriers as women, and racialized persons, which persist notwithstanding the benefit they derive from the program, including their own limited financial resources, and limits on their own time in connection with their other personal responsibilities.

34. Many WWTO program graduates intended to run for municipal office, which is where many women begin their political careers. The WWTO program had many participants, and two of the women who were part of the program, Suze Morrison and Jill Andrew, chose to run provincially and were recently elected in June 2018 as Members of Provincial Parliament

as first-time candidates. Based on their successful experiences, we believed there was also a good chance of getting more WWTO graduates elected in the upcoming municipal elections in October 2018.

### **Impact of Re-Drawing Boundaries on Women Candidates for City Council**

#### *Reconstituting Wards During an Election Campaign*

35. The simple fact of reconstituting electoral wards during the election campaign places increased burdens on racialized women, as well as women generally. Changing the ward boundaries a mere months before the election disadvantages candidates with less financial resources, and women, and racialized people tend to have less access to financial resources. All the work that women have put into campaigning, including planning for the election based on the ward boundaries, investing time, and the money they have spent on campaign materials has been undone. Campaign materials that have been distributed based on previous ward boundaries are now useless. Campaign websites have also been developed based on incorrect information – and the community issues and priorities in the new wards will inevitably be different. Because racialized women’s campaigns were already facing an uphill battle, and because their campaigns tend to be under funded and under resourced, their ability to run effective campaigns has been greatly diminished and they may not be able to access the additional resources they need to carry on their campaigns.

36. Participants of WWTO have been planning their campaigns for months, based on the ward boundaries they expected to run in. While WWTO offered tools to help racialized women candidates towards equalizing the playing field, re-drawing the boundaries during the election has meant that the planning and strategizing that women candidates undertook during

the WWTO program has been greatly disturbed. WWTO's ability to assist racialized women candidates, and to promote its objective of increased representation of progressive racialized women on City Council has also been fundamentally interfered with.

37. The collective action that racialized women candidates and their campaign volunteers have engaged in such as canvassing in the ward, attending public events and meetings, and promoting the candidate through campaign materials has also been profoundly interfered with. Candidates and their campaigns will need to start all over based on new ward names, boundaries, and new competitors.

*Doubling of Ward Size During an Election Campaign*

38. Because women and racialized individuals face additional barriers, including attitudinal barriers and limited access to resources such as money and time, their campaigns need to be carefully planned at the outset to maximize and make best use of those limited resources. With the difficulties I have already outlined above that women face when seeking election to City council, doubling the size of wards in Toronto mid-way through the election period will create additional barriers for women, especially racialized women and trans candidates, and indeed racialized men, to campaign effectively.

39. Doubling the size of wards during an election campaign means that candidates will need at least twice as much in financial resources, and at least twice as much time from volunteers to canvas and campaign. Women and trans candidates, especially if they are racialized, will struggle to respond to these changes on short notice. As I discussed above, women tend to have fewer financial resources at their disposal, and also fewer financial resources that they can draw upon within their own networks. Women have greater domestic

responsibilities for childcare, and caregiving, and will struggle more than men to put in the additional hours necessary to campaign and canvass across the new 'mega-wards.' Because of their many additional responsibilities, women are less likely to have existing community relationships outside of their own immediate neighbourhoods.

40. Having been involved in Councillor Wong-Tam's election campaigns, and with WWTO, I know that when women decide to run for public office, it is often a carefully thought out and planned decision that has been considered for a long period of time. This is especially true because of the additional barriers women face in successfully running election campaigns. Women have to determine whether their families can sustain the impact of them quitting their jobs. It is impossible to maintain a full-time job and conduct the kind of campaign necessary in order to succeed in a run for City Council in Toronto.

41. The women involved in WWTO made difficult decisions, and carefully selected wards to run in based on their financial resources, as well as their own personal and community networks. These women will have to start from scratch in the 'mega-wards' placing them at a disadvantage when competing with men in election campaigns (especially incumbents, although not limited to incumbents). I also believe that the increased ward sizes create additional benefits for men who can raise more money because of their access to wealthier financial networks, and who can afford to dedicate more time to their campaign because someone else will assume greater responsibility for childcare, caregiving, or other domestic responsibilities.

42. Not only do 'mega-wards' exclude women and place barriers on women's ability to campaign effectively because of the financial and other resources required, the imposition of a

'mega-ward' structure mid-way during an election period is devastating to women, particularly racialized women. Women who carefully selected wards to run in, based on months and years of work, are now in a weaker position relative to incumbents. Incumbents enjoy name recognition in their own ward, and can more easily shift gears to focus on the new neighbourhoods of the 'mega-ward,' whereas the women of WWTO must campaign all across the 'mega-ward,' without the benefit of planning in advance of the campaign period. Careful advanced planning is necessary to effectively use the limited resources available to women candidates, and because of their more limited access to resources, it is my view that women will be at a significant disadvantage in their ability to adapt to the changing of ward boundaries, and the doubling of the ward sizes partway through an election period.

43. If the women of WWTO had been given notice of the 'mega-wards' prior to the nomination period commencing, they would have been able to work towards building networks and reaching out to volunteers across the new wards. By changing the ward boundaries during the election period, women face the added burden of having this change sprung upon them with no notice whatsoever, and by virtue of their more limited resources, they will be particularly disadvantaged by this change.

#### **Impact of Re-Drawing Boundaries on Women Supporting Candidates for City Council**


44. The impacts of re-drawing ward boundaries to make wards twice as big will also be felt by women who are volunteering on campaigns. Women, because of their many roles, including both paid work and caregiving, often must carefully plan in advance the commitments they are able to make with their time. They are not necessarily able to absorb greater commitments on short notice. Women are less likely to be able to contribute more

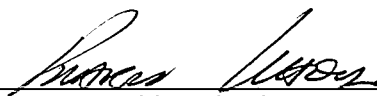
than the amount of time they had previously set aside to volunteer on a campaign. For example, if a woman had previously agreed to set aside 10 hours a week to work on her a candidate's campaign, she is less likely than a man to be able to contribute a further 10 or 15 hours a week because of her domestic responsibilities, including childcare and caregiving.

45. I am fearful that the sudden imposition, mid-way through the election period, of 25 'mega-wards,' means that women's voices will have less of an impact in the municipal election, both as candidates and as campaigners. This will compound the silencing of women in public life on the municipal level which I have detailed above, and reinforce the structural barriers that obstruct women from accessing positions in local governance. I am concerned that graduates of WWTO, who may otherwise have had a reasonable chance of success in the 2018 municipal election, may be thwarted in those ambitions as a result.

46. I swear this affidavit in support of the Applicants' application and for no other or improper purpose.

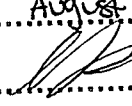
SWORN AFFIRMED)BEFORE ME at the City of Toronto, Ontario this 18<sup>th</sup> day of August, 2018.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
A Commissioner for taking Affidavits

}   
\_\_\_\_\_  
Prabha Khosla



# **EXHIBIT A**

This is Exhibit <sup>"A"</sup> referred to in the affidavit of PRABHA KHOSLA sworn before me this 18 day of August 2018.  A COMMISSIONER, ETC

EXPERTISE

Project Development and Management  
Participatory Urban and Environmental Planning  
Capacity Development

Women's Rights and Gender Equality  
Policy Analysis  
Performance Measurement and Evaluation

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PRABHA KHOSLA CONSULTING 2000 – 2018  
SAMPLE CONSULTANCIES

**Cities Alliance, June 2017- June 2018**

Gender consultant for Cities Alliance's gender mainstreaming strategy. Juror for the Gender Prize. Refinement of tools for monitoring grants for the implementation of CA's gender mainstreaming strategy. Review of grant applications.

**Finnish Consulting Group Asia Pte Ltd , March – August 2017**

Social development and gender specialist for the Pre-Feasibility Study for Supporting the Cities Development Initiative for Asia - PAK: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Inclusive Urban Growth Program. Extensive meetings with local governments, developed a survey on poverty, gender, disabilities and public services for the cities of Abbottabad, Mardan and Peshawar, Pakistan, lead the creation of city-wide Stakeholder Groups for inputs into the Study and provided gender and pro-poor inputs into the development of new public services and infrastructure.

**Tecnosistemas y Peaje, S.A. de C.V. (Tecnopeaje), Mexico City – February 2017 – August 2018**

Gender and participatory governance advisor to a multi-partner research project with lead researchers from the Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero (UAGRO) and Instituto Tecnológico de Acapulco (ITA). The research focuses on climate risks and building gender-responsive urban governance systems for climate resilience in Coyuca's coastal lagoon system, Acapulco, Mexico.

**Gender Resources Inc., January – August 2015**

Managed a scoping study for the Safe Cities Programme of UN Women for Quezon City, Philippines. Meetings with municipal departments, trained a local NGO in research methods for the scoping study, met with potential stakeholders and allies for information gathering and for implementation of the Programme, held discussions with residents, coordinated the research in two low-income neighbourhoods, analyzed the data and wrote the scoping study. The research indicated that girls experience extensive sexual abuse in the two neighbourhoods and harassment in public spaces.

**UN-HABITAT – 2004 – 2014, various locations**

**Housing and Slum Upgrading Branch**

Gender and social development advisor to the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP). Reviewed and revised programme documents, trained staff on gender and social inclusion, presented at workshops, contributed to papers and lobbying documents and acted as the resource person for city teams and the PSUP staff developing slum upgrading strategies and implementation plans. Researched and wrote a new publication: *Women and Housing: Towards Inclusive Cities*.

**Monitoring and Research Branch**

Researched and wrote a chapter on women and cities for the UN-HABITAT flagship publication – State of the World's Cities Report 2008/9. Areas of focus included urban planning, governance, socio-economic and environmental priorities and trends.

**Gender Mainstreaming Unit**

Created a template for briefing sheets on gender and the principal areas of focus of UN-Habitat. Researched and wrote three briefing sheets. Developed the background paper on gender and local governance in Africa for an Expert Group Meeting (EGM) on Building Partnerships for Gender and Local Governance in Africa. Developed the agenda and facilitated the EGM. Wrote the EGM Report and provided feedback to the participants' papers for publication.

#### **Training and Capacity Development Branch**

Researched and wrote *A training package: improving gender equality and grassroots participation through good land governance* for the Global Land Tools Network (GLTN). The training package was developed for land management officials, local governments and communities on the intersection of land tenure and security with governance, community participation and gender equality. Conducted trainings to test the training package.

Led a gap analysis of the literature on women, gender, and local governance. Researched and wrote *Gender in Local Government: A Sourcebook for Trainers*. Thematic areas covered included: governance, participation, urban planning, gender and land, gender-responsive budgets, services provision, gender-based violence and local economic development.

Conducted a gender audit of *The Local Elected Leadership Series*, a popular training manual on leadership in local governments. Second Edition.

#### **Women and Work Research Group, Toronto, May 2013 – February 2014**

Conducted research on the changing nature of women's work in the Greater Toronto Area following the 2008 financial meltdown. The focus of the research was on surfacing women's own voices and analysis, assessing the union advantage for women and the employment prospects for younger women. Organized the launch of *Working Women Working Poor*, organized a press conference, distributed media releases and facilitated interviews with the media.

#### **ActionAid International, March – July 2012**

Researched and coordinated an international scoping exercise with national researchers for the development of a new programme 2012-2017 focused on poor young urban women. The proposed programme would address the inter-linkages between sexual and reproductive health and rights with employment and education options for poor and young urban women in Ghana, India and South Africa.

#### **Women in Cities International, Montreal, and Jagori, New Delhi, February 2009 – July 2011**

As the lead consultant on the Action Research Project on Women's Rights and Access to Water and Sanitation in Asian Cities, adapted the women's safety audit for low-income communities and essential infrastructure and services. Jointly developed a gender-sensitive governance model as an entry point for the provision of affordable and appropriate water, sanitation, drainage and solid waste management services for low-income women and girls in Delhi's resettlement colonies. Contracted an NGO to produce the first ever gender-responsive budgets in the water sector.

#### **Gender and Water Alliance (GWA), 2002 -2007**

As the Programme Manager for the GWA partnership with UN-HABITAT hired and managed staff for two large programmes on water, sanitation, urban environmental management, drainage, solid waste management, and pro-poor governance. Developed gender mainstreaming strategies with local GWA facilitators and city managers, worked with local governments and utilities, identified priorities for capacity building, trained on gender, participated in numerous workshops and conferences and conducted gender audits of cooperative agreements.

Developed and coordinated a strategy for gender mainstreaming of the Water for African Cities (WAC) Phase II with 17 cities in Africa. Developed a rapid gender assessment tool on the themes of the WAC II for multi-stakeholder platforms in the cities, trained locally based gender facilitators, coordinated the engagement of the GWA in the Programme and wrote the final rapid gender assessment synthesis report. Accompanied a Mission to the small towns around Lake Victoria for the development of a capacity building programme on gender and poverty reduction for the Lake Victoria Region Water and Sanitation Initiative.

As an on-going consultant fundraised for the organization, developed projects, met with donors, wrote on gender, poverty, and human rights and water, critiqued national water and sanitation policies, organized country level groups

for gender and water policies, presented on gender, water and sanitation at international meetings and conferences including the 3rd and 4th World Water Forum in Kyoto and Mexico City, developed training modules and conducted trainings of trainers on gender mainstreaming in IWRM.

Co-managed and edited the UNDP/GWA *Resource Guide on Gender Mainstreaming in Water Resources Management*. Identified content areas for the Resource Guide, re-wrote original text, wrote new sectoral overviews and coordinated an international team of eight people writing for the Guide.

#### **Environmental Action Programme (ENACT), Jamaica 2000-2003**

Assisted with the development of a sustainable development planning framework for parish (local) councils. Worked with local governments in three cities/towns. Conducted trainings on participatory planning, participatory land-use processes and ecosystem approaches to city assessments. Developed training modules on sustainability planning. Assisted with creating participatory planning structures for parishes. Researched and co-wrote on policy and legislative frameworks for urban sustainability.

#### **Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), 1999-2001**

Lead consultant for the development of a Can\$10 million project on urban governance and poverty reduction for Maharashtra, India. Participated in fact finding missions to India. Identified potential NGOs partners and relevant training and research institutes in the state and the country. Conducted extensive research on GoM and GoI urban policies and poverty alleviation programmes. Coordinated a team of consultants for primary research on local government and civil society capacity development needs in seven towns and cities in Maharashtra. Prepared papers on policy and project options on urban India and relevant Canadian capacity.

**Additional consultancies:** Asian Development Bank (ADB); Environment Canada; Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM); International Development Research Centre (IDRC); International Research Centre (IRC), Delft, Netherlands; National Network on Environments and Women's Health, Toronto; IUCN, San Jose, Costa Rica; Ontario Federation of Labour, Toronto; United Steelworker Toronto Area Council; United Towns and Development; Women for Water Partnership, Netherlands.

## **EMPLOYMENT**

#### **ICL, Toronto, August 2014 – November 2015**

##### **Director of Programmes**

In partnership with UN-Habitat coordinated a new programme to engage cities in UN-Habitat's City Prosperity Initiative (CPI). Elaborated the components of the Programme: City Prosperity Best Practices, Mayoral City Prosperity Fellowship, Global Fund for CPI, and Promotion and Reporting on the CPI.

Created a framework and time table for the Mayoral City Prosperity Fellowships. Identified criteria for the creation of a web-based application process for the awards. Developed ToRs for and identified individuals for the jury for the selection of CPI best practices. Developed fundraising concept notes for the World Assembly of Islamic Cities (WAIC) CPI Best Practices, the Islamic Cities CPI Atlas and WAIC Housing. In collaboration with WAIC and international partners organized a successful conference of 100 mayors and local government officials for the promotion of the CPI and for evidence-based decision making in Muslim dominant cities. Hired and supervised two contract employees and two support staff. Coordinated the production of flyers and brochures about the Programme. Wrote and reviewed materials for the website.

#### **ICLEI, Toronto, Canada, 1994-1998**

As the Director managed a US\$ 3 million project on sustainable development planning with 17 cities. Developed the programme, hired staff, participated in city selection and developed mechanisms for financial accountability. Previously, as Field Manager for the LA 21 Model Communities Project, managed 10 municipalities in the project: Buga, Colombia; Quito, Ecuador; Santos, Brazil; Jinja, Uganda; Mwanza, Tanzania; Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town, South Africa; Manus Province, Papua New Guinea and Hamilton-Wentworth, Canada. Developed training materials, hired local researchers and consultants, supported the creation of city-wide partnerships of local stakeholders, trained on community consultations, participatory environmental assessments, development of action

plans and sustainability indicators. Coordinated the final reports and results of the research. Participated in numerous international conferences.

**Cooperant in Maputo, Mozambique, 1988-90**

Developed exchange programmes and co-ordinated projects between teachers' organizations and unions in Canada and Mozambique. Researched and produced dossiers on women, housing, unions, culture and the war. Correspondent for *Africa Information Afrique (AIA)* and *Africa South*.

Previous employment with the Emily Stowe Shelter for Women and Shirley Samaroo House, Toronto; Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC).

### INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

**Extensive experience in with local governments and local communities in:** Latin America and the Caribbean (Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Jamaica); Africa (Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe); Asia Pacific (India, Papua New Guinea, Philippines); and Canada. Research and field visits to Cameroon, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines and Sudan.

**Stays for extended periods in:** Nairobi, Kenya; Delhi and Mumbai, India; Rotterdam, Netherlands; Maputo, Mozambique; Lisbon, Portugal; Arusha, Tanzania; and Kampala, Uganda.

### PROFESSIONAL VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES

**Board member** of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW-ICREF) 2016-2019

**Member of the International Advisory Board** of UN-Habitat's State of the World Cities Report 2015-16.

**Member of the Expert Advisory Panel** on transit extension for Sheppard Ave., City of Toronto, Feb- March 2012.

**Member** of the Status of Women Committee, City of Toronto, 2004-2006

**Toronto Women's City Alliance, 2004 onwards**

Founding member of this local feminist group organizing for gender and age inclusive, pro-poor and anti-racist approaches to the City of Toronto's policies and programmes. Wrote advocacy and information documents, coordinated members, lobbied councillors, presented to Council Committees and oversaw the development of two websites.

**Co-Managing Editor of Women and Environments International Magazine, 2002-2006**

Coordinated and managed guest editorial teams, subscriptions database, website and promotional campaigns to expand subscriptions to the magazine. Editorial member of the Women and Global Climate Change issue, Spring 2007. Editor of a special issue on Women and Urban Sustainability, Spring 2006, for the World Urban Forum III. Co-editor of Women and Cities and Feminism and Globalization issues 2004-2005.

### EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

**Program Monitoring and Evaluation**, Ryerson University, Toronto, Jan-April 2018.

**CEDAW and Women's Human Rights**, May 2012, Women's Human Rights Institute, OISE, University of Toronto.

**Urban Management Tools for Climate Change**, at the HIS, Rotterdam, Netherlands. The course covered: vulnerability assessments; mitigation in transport and energy, financing; adaptation, disaster risk reduction, infrastructure and spatial planning; and local climate change plans. May-June 2010.

**Courses** in Facilitated Planning, Organizational Change, Group Facilitation, Legal Options and Strategies for Environmental Protection in Canada, Community Based Research and Editing.

**Master in Environmental Studies (Urban Planning)**, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, 1993.

## LANGUAGES

**English:** excellent reading, writing, and speaking proficiency.

**Portuguese and Spanish:** high level of comprehension, functional proficiency in speaking and reading,

**Hindi/Urdu:** functional speaking proficiency.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books and Key Reports

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- Coordination of an on-line resource on Gender and Integrated Water Resources Management for the Gender and Water Alliance. And new writing and re-writing of many parts of the text.  
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**I have organized, spoken at and moderated numerous panels at conferences and workshops around the world. I can provide a list if you are interested.**

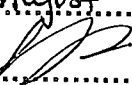


# **EXHIBIT B**

## Women-friendly Policies for Toronto's Official Plan

These Policy Proposals were presented to Staff of the City of Toronto Planning Department Staff on December 6, 2011. They were part of the consultation process for the Official Plan Review. The proposals were supported by METRAC, OWN, YWCA, Toronto Coalition for Better Child Care.

This is Exhibit...  
referred to in the  
affidavit of...  
sworn before me this...  
day of... 2018..

Prabha KHOSLA  
18  
AUGUST  


### Introduction

#### 1. What are women's issues

So called "women's issues" differ from men's in two inter-related ways:.....  
A COMMISSIONER, ETC

In most societies, women continue to be the **main care givers**. The responsibilities of care and life giving are fundamental to social reproduction, and critical to the survival, functioning and welfare of any community. Care giving - be that by men or women - is still under-valued and often not taken into consideration in urban planning decisions.

In addition, women's increasing participation - by choice and necessity - in the paid labour force has simply been added to the number of women's tasks without sharing or lessening their domestic responsibilities. The resulting complex set of navigating between paid and unpaid emotional, physical and occupational work plays itself out in the physical setting of the home, community and city and is therefore part of the urban planning mandate of cities.

The other set of women's issues are related to the socialization of girls and women and to how girls and women have been 'constructed' in various societies. These include discrimination against women and girls due to physical differences and their reproductive abilities; to social norms that value stereotypes of women and girls as weaker than men and in need of 'protection'; to women's weaker economic status; and to persistent patriarchal values of unequal power between women and men and domination of men over women.

#### 2. Global Responses

For many decades women around the world have organized around the links between our 'issues' and our built environments. Women planners, architects, engineers and activists have started to focus on this interface through their own practices and through magazines, web sites, list serves, planning manuals, books and by forming women's organizations to address the collectively.

Women Plan London formed in the early 1980s. It legitimized women's issues as policy and planning themes and came to an end when Margaret Thatcher axed the London County Council.

Women Plan London inspired Women Plan Toronto which - amongst many other activities - surveyed 25 women's groups in Toronto, prepared a women's planning manual and succeeded in getting the 1991 City of Toronto's Official Plan to commit to "consider the needs of women and other vulnerable groups" in five policy areas.

After that, WPT activists were too exhausted and under-funded to monitor these policies and ensure that they were indeed applied to planning and development proposals.

Meanwhile, cities around the world have responded to women, gender and diversity issues by incorporating an intersectional analysis in their planning and governance policies. Some of these cities include Madrid, Zurich, Berlin, Vienna, London, Montreal, San Francisco, Naga City (Philippines), Seoul, and Santo Andre (Brazil). The European Community also mandated its member states to carry out gender mainstreaming in urban planning.

San Francisco implemented CEDAW the 1979 UN Convention to Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The city is gender mainstreaming department by department. The Royal Town Planning Institute of the UK commissioned a *Gender Mainstreaming Tool Kit* to guide UK local governments to gender mainstream their urban planning departments.

Several Latin American cities use gender-responsive budgeting to ensure that public funds are being spent equitably between women and men.

Many European cities have set up 'women's offices' to integrate a gender analysis in civic structures, policies, processes as well as service delivery. We have some power point images to illustrate how this approach has changed parks, housing and street design when we present our policy proposed.

Since our formation in 2004, Toronto Women's City Alliance (TWCA) has been lobbying the city of Toronto for a Women's Equalities Office – to ensure that we have an inclusive city and that this inclusiveness is reflected in the city's governance structures, policies, programmes and budgets.

**3. Who are we**

TWCA a diverse group of women who are organizing to end the growing silence and invisibility of girls' and women's voices, needs and priorities on the political agenda in the City of Toronto. We are concerned about racism, poverty, discrimination, domestic violence and sexual assault, un- and under-employment, lack of affordable housing, lack of affordable and appropriate services such as child care and transit. We strive for an inclusive city – that engages the diversity of its residents in collaborative planning, budgeting and decision making.

**Women-friendly Policies for Toronto's Official Plan**

These Policy Proposals were presented to Staff of the City of Toronto Planning Department Staff on December 6, 2011. They were part of the consultation process for the Official Plan Review. The proposals were supported by METRAC, OWN, YWCA, Toronto Coalition for Better Child Care.

	Themes/Burning Issue/Context	Proposed Policy	Fit in Official Plan
1	<u>SAFETY</u>		

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c/o North York Women's Centre  
 2446 Dufferin Street, Toronto, ON M63 3T1  
 info@twca.ca p. 647.235.8575

90

<p><u>Burning Issue:</u> The only crime to increase in Toronto is violence against women.</p> <p><u>Context:</u> Sexual assault and harassment are daily realities for women and severely restrict their access to the city.</p>	<p><u>3.1.1. 12 Added sentence:</u> These measures include aspects such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) lighting,</li> <li>b) sightlines,</li> <li>c) entrapment spots,</li> <li>d) movement predictors,</li> <li>e) visibility by others, "eyes on the street,"</li> <li>f) activity generators, "round the clock,"</li> <li>g) sense of ownership,</li> <li>f) signage, clarity of orientation,</li> <li>g) access to help,</li> <li>h) land use mix,</li> <li>i) presence of a wide diversity of people.</li> </ul>	<p><u>3.1.1 The Built Environment: The Public Realm,</u> add sentence to 3.1.1.12</p>
<p>2 <u>TRANSPORTATION</u></p> <p><u>Burning Issue:</u> "TTC is too expensive."</p> <p><u>Context:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Women are more transit dependent than men; yet transit schedules, fares, routes and design do not reflect the travel patterns of these major user groups, arising from women's multiple roles, and economic and social realities; both Kingston and Waterloo have discounted monthly passes for persons on low incomes.</li> <li>- As care givers, women are reliant on cars to accompany very young, elderly and frail dependents</li> <li>- On the move, women are more vulnerable to sexual harassment and assault.</li> </ul>	<p><u>New Policy 2.4.10</u></p> <p>The transportation system will address the travel patterns and transportation needs of women care givers, low income earners and vulnerable and minority women, by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) ensuring that transit schedules, fares, routes and design reflect the needs of these user groups;</li> <li>b) providing publicly accessible toilets along major transit and pedestrian travel routes;</li> <li>c) taking women's safety into consideration.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Bringing the City Together – A Progressive Agenda of Transportation Change,</u> insert a new policy 2.4.10</p>
<p>3 <u>HOUSING</u></p> <p><u>Burning Issue:</u> approximately 80,000 on waiting list for affordable (social) housing</p> <p><u>Context:</u></p>	<p>3.2.1.2 -"especially existing affordable rental and social housing" will be maintained and replenished. To this end, projects such as the Tower Renewal Project shall be continued and expanded.</p>	<p><u>The Human Environment – Housing 3.2.1.2</u> insert clause after "the existing stock of housing" will be maintained and</p>

	<p>Because of their social roles and constraints women prevail in low income groups and spend more than 50% of their income on shelter. Further, women who are single parents, victims of abuse or elderly, depend far more on affordable rental and social housing, than men.</p> <p>The Tower Renewal Project has been critical to refurbishing affordable rental housing.</p>	<p><u>New Policies 3.2.1.4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Implement the HOT (Housing Opportunities Toronto, 2010 - 2020) Report recommendation, adopted by Council, to provide 1000 affordable units per year.</li> <li>- Eliminate the social housing waiting list within 10 years.</li> <li>- Permit "Live-work" combination in housing as of right, subject to compliance with environmental protection and nuisance regulations.</li> <li>- (3.2.1.7 a) "double" instead of "full" replacement;</li> <li>- 3.2.1.9 b) First Sentence to read: 25% of the proposed residential units shall be affordable rental housing.</li> </ul>	<p>replenished. Insert new 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence.</p> <p>New Policy following 3.2.1.3:</p> <p>Amend 3.2.1. 7 a)</p> <p>Amend 3.2.1.9 b)</p>
<p>4</p>	<p><b><u>SOCIAL SERVICES</u></b></p> <p><u>Burning Issue:</u> 20,000 children are on the waiting list for subsidized day care.</p> <p><u>Context:</u></p> <p>Women, especially single parenting women and elderly women, depend on affordable and accessible social services such as child care, meals on wheels, senior citizens and recreation centres.</p>	<p><u>New Policies</u></p> <p>3.2.2.1. d) giving priority to areas with concentrations of low income and single parenting households;</p> <p>3.2.2.2 a) Surplus school property shall remain publicly owned and if not needed for community services then to meet social housing needs,;</p> <p>3.2.2.8 Child care and other appropriate social service facilities shall be considered for inclusion in new schools.</p> <p>5.1.7.3 Development charges shall include the cost of social services needed by the population of a given development, especially child care, either by providing space or</p>	<p><u>The Human Environment – 3.2.2 Community Services and Facilities</u></p> <p>New Policy: 3.2.2.1 d)</p> <p>New Policy: 3.2.2.2 a)</p> <p>New Policy: 3.2.2.8</p> <p>5.1.7. <u>Development Charges</u></p>

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 info@twca.ca p. 647.235.8575

		payment in lieu.	New Policy: 5.1.7.3
5	<p><b><u>EMPLOYMENT</u></b></p> <p><u>Burning Issue:</u> Women prevail in low/unpaid, temporary, part-time and shift work while being greatly under-represented in top levels of jobs.</p> <p><u>Context:</u>                  Women's multiple roles as un/underpaid care givers need to be considered in designing and locating employment areas.</p>	<p><u>New Policy</u></p> <p>2.2.4.2 d - recognizing the social and economic reality of low and unpaid care giving work and ensuring land use and transportation policies address the needs of this crucial social function by:</p> <p>i supporting live-work arrangements as a right in all dwellings;</p> <p>ii supporting inclusion of housing, in all single-use non-residential areas, which are free of environmental hazards other nuisances;</p> <p>iii routing and scheduling transit links between employment and neighbourhoods.</p>	<p>2.2.4 <u>Employment Districts: Supporting Business and Employment Growth:</u></p> <p>New Policy 2.2.4.d</p>
6	<p><b><u>INCLUSION</u></b></p> <p><u>Burning Issue:</u> no research or data is available to statistically substantiate women's issues, including those of girls, elderly, single parents, racialized and differently abled women in Toronto.</p> <p><u>Context:</u>                  Discrimination takes place on the basis of more than just age and ability, all major reasons for discrimination need to be stated.</p>	<p><u>New Policy</u></p> <p>5.4.1. f collection and analysing of data by sex, race, class, ethnicity, creed, age, language, sexual orientation, ability, aboriginality and other social variables,</p>	<p>5.4.1 <u>Monitoring and Assessment,</u></p> <p>New Policy 5.4.1.f</p>

# **EXHIBIT C**



Exhibit "C" referred to in the  
 name of Prabha Khosla  
 sworn before me this 18  
 day of August 2018  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 A COMMISSIONER, ETC.



### Mailing List:

First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN

### Tweets by @Women

Women Win TO  
 @WomenWinTO  
 Canvassing #LikeABoss  
 #PutWard11OnTheMap #V

Women Win TO  
 @WomenWinTO

"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it down chair & comms lead @dait latest "You & Elections" co @torontodotcom #Women toronto.com/opinion-story/

Opinion |  
 As sure as  
 toronto.co

Women Win TO Retwe



Embed

Toronto is the most diverse city in the world, but looking at our City Council, you wouldn't know this. Out of 45 elected officials, there are only 6 Councillors who are racialized, only 1 of whom is a racialized woman, and less than a third of Council are women. There are no black, indigenous, trans, or disabled women on Toronto City Council.

## OUR MISSION IS SIMPLE

Women Win TO is a Toronto-based organization dedicated to train and prepare women from diverse backgrounds (including trans and gender non-conforming individuals) to run winning campaigns in the 2018 municipal election. We believe that in order to build a fair and equitable city, we need political leaders that represent the diverse needs of all residents.

In May 2017, the Women Win TO launched its first-ever training program for women of diverse backgrounds to run winning campaigns in the 2018 municipal election. This series of workshops and training sessions walks through many aspects of running of winning campaign, including crafting a narrative, building a campaign team, and leading fundraising initiatives, stakeholder engagement, media and communications, and data management, and health and well-being on the campaign trail.

Workshops and trainings are led by experts in the field – former candidates and campaign managers – who can give candid ins-and-outs of a campaign, which will prepare and increase the representation of racialized, indigenous, queer, disabled, and gender-diverse women.

We are a team of committed volunteers who love working with each other towards this shared vision. We are looking for project managers, communications and social media experts, event organizers and general hands-on support. If you are interested in joining our team, email us!



## WHAT WE BELIEVE

*Inclusion | Equity | Social Justice*

Our aim is to bring together women who are thinking about running for municipal office, and working together to build a more progressive and equitable city.

## WHAT'S THE PLAN?

We are leading a eight sessions to train participants about various aspects of managing a campaign. Workshops are led by experts who have experience as candidates, campaign managers and campaign directors. Sessions start in fall 2017.

## WORKSHOP TOPICS

Data collection, GOTV best pra  
Building the right team, Canvas  
Communicating your message, beyond Election Day

## FOLLOW US





# About

Home / About



## WHAT WE BELIEVE

Our aim is to bring together women who are thinking about running for municipal office who share a vision of building a more progressive and equitable city. Women Win TO will train and prepare women who share a vision of building a more progressive and equitable city to run for municipal office in Toronto's 2018 election.

Donate



## Mailing List:

First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN

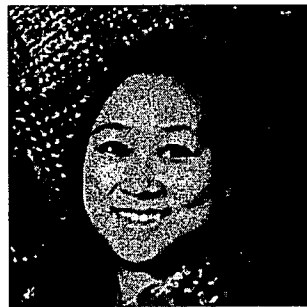
## ORGANIZING TEAM

We are a team of committed volunteers who are excited about the opportunity to train women of diverse backgrounds to run winning campaigns.



**Hema Vyas**

Hema Vyas is the Founder of Women Win Toronto, a passionate feminist and Torontonian who ran to represent Ward 18, Davenport as councillor in 2010. She has volunteered on many federal,



**Melissa Wong**

Melissa Wong is the co-chair of Women Win Toronto and the Director of Policy and Operations for City Councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam. In 2014, she was the Campaign Director for Kristyn Wong-Tam's



**Dai Williams**

Dai is a social media savvy Talent Manager working in the ad industry. Outside of the office, you can find her volunteering with multiple organizations, or hanging out in a dog park with her rescues from Texas. Dai is the interim

provincial and municipal election campaigns. She's currently on a leave of absence.



**Lisa Brody Hoffman**

Lisa Brody Hoffman is a Senior Advisor for Councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam. She has directed communications & community engagement on a variety of campaigns and loves political psychology, resilience-building & storytelling for social change. Lisa is currently on leave for the 2018 municipal election.



successful re-election campaign. She's currently on leave until fall, 2018



**Shara Santan**

Shara Santan is a proud Tamil-Canadian woman committed to creating opportunities and cultivating a level playing field for vulnerable members of our society. Shara is the Events Lead for Women Win Toronto.

co-chair and Communications Lead for Women Win Toronto.



**Megan Poole**

Megan Poole is a Toronto-based actor, singer and feminist excited about helping more women get into politics. Megan is the main point of contact for our amazing group of volunteers.



**Tweets** by @Women

**W** Women Win TO @WomenWinTO  
Canvas (g) LikeABoss #PutWomenOnTheMap #V

**W** Women Win TO @WomenWinTO  
"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it - chair & comms lead @dait latest "You & Elections" co @torontodotcom #Women toronto.com/opinion-story/

Opinion | As sure as toronto.co

Women Win TO Retwe RaBIT  
Embed

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**WORKSHOP TOPICS**

Data collection, GOTV best pra Building the right team, Canvas Communicating your message, beyond Election Day

**FOLLOW US**







# 2018 Curriculum

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## Mailing List:

First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN

## CURRICULUM OVERVIEW

### September 2017: Building an election campaign team

- What are key campaign roles?
- Paid and unpaid campaign assistance
- Challenges of building a team over a 6-month campaign period
- Training campaign team and volunteers
- Key events: putting up signs, door knocking, debates
- Team dynamics, collaboration, morale

### October 2017: Developing relationships with key stakeholders

- Building relationships as a candidate
- Garnering support from local & key stakeholders
- Understanding dynamics in the community around the campaign
- Staying consistent in messaging as a candidate and a team
- Asking for official endorsements and support

### November 2017: Fundraising and the art of "the ask"

- Overview of fundraising in the campaign context

- Regulations and municipal campaign fundraising legislation
- How to prioritise campaign spending
- Samples of what campaign teams do on different budgets
- How to budget on creating campaign lit, spending on events,
- Issues to consider - campaign debt and debt recovery

Tweets by @Women



Canvassing #LikeABoss  
#PutWard11OnTheMap #V

### January 2018: E-day, data collection & door knocking

- Collecting data: how to canvass and collect data
- How does it feel to door knock as a candidate
- Campaign lit to take to the door; flyering vs doorknocking
- Doorknocking at houses, in apartment buildings and in condos
- Door knocking tips: conflict, how much time to spend at the door, safety & FUN!

Women Win TO  
@WomenWinTO

"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it down" chair & comms lead @dailyreporter latest "You & Elections" co-host @torontodotcom #WomenWinTO  
toronto.com/opinion-story/

Opinion |  
As sure as  
toronto.co

### February 2018: Crafting a communications strategy

- Telling your story: your campaign narrative
- Building your platform and key messages
- Creating a digital and social media story
- Engaging the media: how to speak with print & online media
- Preparing for debates, developing a debating style

Women Win TO Retwe



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### March 2018: Closing the campaign

- The first six weeks after E-day
- Preparing to take office
- Determining next steps
- Considering political life if you do not win this election
- Hearing from former candidates about their next steps post-election

### April 2018: Taking care of yourself during the campaign

- What to expect - emotionally, physically and psychologically
- Staying healthy while running for office (yes, it's possible!)
- Dealing with and responding to campaign attacks
- Common personal and professional challenges of candidates
- Eating healthy
- Coping with stress
- Creating your Healthy Candidate plan
- Preparing professionally to run for office

## WHAT WE BELIEVE

*Inclusion | Equity | Social Justice*

Our aim is to bring together women who are thinking about running for municipal office, and working together to build a more progressive and equitable city.

## WHAT'S THE PLAN?

We are leading a eight sessions to train participants about various aspects of managing a campaign. Workshops are led by experts who have experience as candidates, campaign managers and campaign directors. Sessions start in fall 2017.

## WORKSHOP TOPICS

Data collection, GOTV best practices  
Building the right team, Canvas  
Communicating your message, beyond Election Day

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# Participants

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## Participants

Our participants possess a depth of life and work experience within their communities. The class of 2017-2018 bring expertise in areas such as community activism, social work and public policy. Congratulations on completing the program!

### Mailing List:

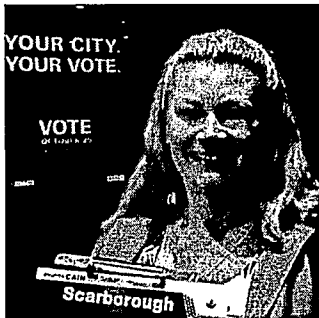
First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN



**Amanda Cain**  
*Participant*  
*Candidate - Ward 45*



**Amber Morley**  
*Participant*  
*Candidate - Ward 6*



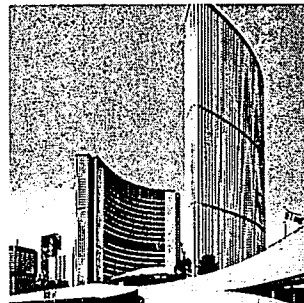
**Andrea Vásquez Jiménez**  
*Participant*  
*Candidate - York Centre, 2018*



**Cheryl Lewis-Thurab**



**Chiara Padovani**



**Jen Q.**  
*Participant*





Participant  
Candidate - Ward 45

Participant  
Candidate - Ward 11

Tweets by @Women

10 Women Win TO  
@WomenWinTO  
Canvassing #LikeABoss  
#PutWard11OnTheMap #W

W Women Win TO  
@WomenWinTO  
"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it chair & comms lead @dalt latest "You & Elections" co @torontodotcom #Women toronto.com/opinion-story/

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**Jill Andrew**

Participant  
MPP - Toronto-St. Paul's



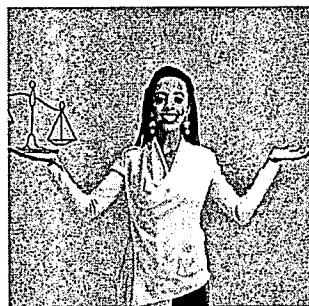
**Megann Willson**

Participant  
Candidate - Ward 23



**Samiya Abdi**

Participant



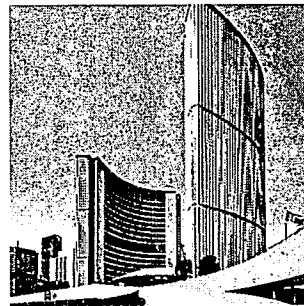
**Saron Gebresellassi**

Participant  
Candidate - Mayor of Toronto



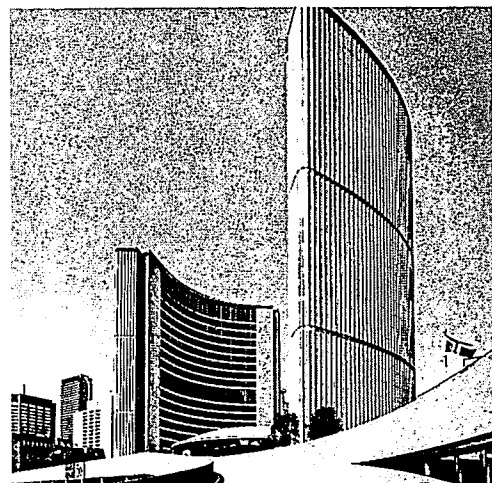
**Suze Morrison**

Participant  
MPP Toronto-Centre



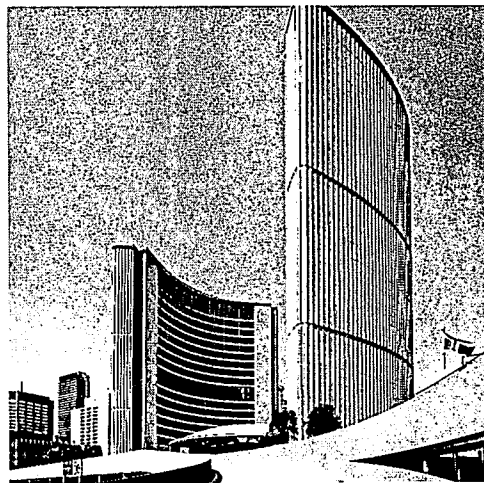
**Rosemary Sadlier**

Participant



**Talisha Ramsaroop**

Participant



**Zahrah Munas**

Participant



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## WHAT'S THE PLAN?

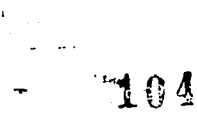
We are leading a eight sessions to train participants about various aspects of managing a campaign. Workshops are led by experts who have experience as candidates, campaign managers and campaign directors. Sessions start in fall 2017.

## 103 WORKSHOP TOPICS

Data collection, GOTV best pra  
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# Facilitators

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## FACILITATORS

Our expert facilitators are seasoned campaign managers, candidates and political organizers with a wealth of knowledge and experience on a range of topics. Here are a few folks who are facilitating workshops over the course of the program.

### Mailing List:

First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN



**Rowena Santos**

*"Building Your Campaign Team"*



**Lindsay Maskell**

*"Building Your Campaign Team"*



**Ruby Latif**

*"Building Relationships: Beyond Stakeholder Engagements"*



**Ange Valentini**

*"Fundraising & the Art of the Ask"*



**Alejandra Bravo**

*"Fundraising & the Art of the Ask"*



**Peggy Nash**

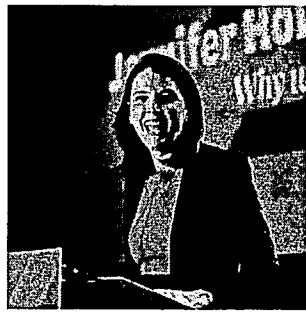
*"Door Knocking & Data Collection"*





**Chris Cowperthwaite**

*"Door Knocking & Data Collection"*



**Jennifer Hollett**

*"Communications, Media Relations & Digital Strategy"*



**Lisa Brody Hoffman**

*"Communications, Media Relations & Digital Strategy"*

Tweets by @Women

W Women Win TO  
@WomenWinTO  
105  
#LikeABoss  
#PutWard11OnTheMap #W

W Women Win TO  
@WomenWinTO

"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it down with our panel of experts. Join our panel of experts on the chair & comms lead @dailylatest "You & Elections" co @torontodotcom #Women toronto.com/opinion-story/

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toronto.co

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**Li Koo**

*"Communications, Media Relations & Digital Strategy"*



**Michal Hay**

*"E-day & Closing the Campaign"*



**Hema Vyas**

*"Sustaining Your Health on the Campaign Trail"*



**Ausma Malik**

*"Sustaining Your Health on the Campaign Trail"*



**Kristyn Wong-Tam**

*"Sustaining Your Health on the Campaign Trail"*

WHAT WE BELIEVE

*Inclusion | Equity | Social Justice*

<http://womenwinto.ca/facilitators/>

WHAT'S THE PLAN?

WORKSHOP TOP ↑

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# Events

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## Thank you to everyone who participated in the Women Win TO Launch event on June 7, 2017!

We were thrilled to see widespread support for the Women Win TO program and excitement around training diverse women to run winning campaigns in Toronto's 2018 municipal election. Past candidates Olivia Chow, Jennifer Hollett, TDSB Trustees Ausma Malik and Tiffany Ford, Alejandra Bravo, and Councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam shared the joys and challenges of being a woman with intersecting identities while on the campaign trail. Below are photos from the event!



### Mailing List:

First Name

Last Name

Email address:

Your email address

SIGN





# #WomenWinTO LAUNCH

Elected officials and past candidates will share the joys and challenges of being a woman with intersecting identities while on the campaign trail.

WHEN: **Wednesday, June 7th, 2017**  
**6:00pm - 7:45pm - Formal Program**  
**7:45pm - 9:00pm - Networking & Social**

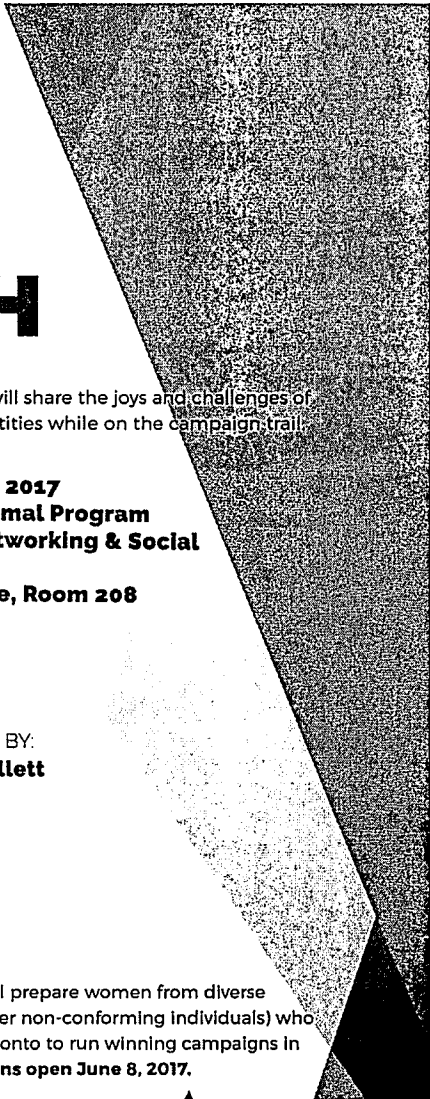
WHERE: **The Multi-Faith Centre, Room 208**  
**University of Toronto**  
**569 Spadina Avenue**

Children are welcome. ♿

OPENING REMARKS: **Olivia Chow**      MODERATED BY: **Jennifer Hollett**

PANELISTS:  
**Alejandra Bravo**  
**Trustee Ausma Malik**  
**Councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam**  
**Trustee Tiffany Ford**

The WomenWinTO Training Program will prepare women from diverse backgrounds (including trans and gender non-conforming individuals) who are working towards social justice in Toronto to run winning campaigns in the 2018 municipal election. **Applications open June 8, 2017.**



Tweets by @Women

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Women Win TO @WomenWinTO  
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Women Win TO @WomenWinTO  
"What are property taxes, why do we need them, and candidates? Let's break it down." chair & comms lead @daily latest "You & Elections" co @torontodotcom #Women toronto.com/opinion-story/

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## Photos from the Launch







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## WHAT WE BELIEVE

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## WHAT'S THE PLAN?

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## WORKSHOP TOPICS <sup>113</sup>

Data collection, GOTV best pra  
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# **EXHIBIT D**

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This is Exhibit "D" referred to in the affidavit of PRABAA KHOSLA sworn before me this 18 day of August 2018. [Signature] A COMMISSIONER, ETC

# Political boot camp for women celebrates its first electoral wins

By JENNIFER YANG Identity and Inequality Reporter  
Tues., June 26, 2018

When downtown Toronto flipped from red to orange in the provincial election, two of the biggest upsets were pulled off by rookies who had the help of a small but ambitious political network.

Jill Andrew and Suze Morrison are newbie NDPs who ran in stubbornly-Liberal ridings: Toronto-St. Paul's and Toronto Centre, both of which have voted Grit since 1999.



Hema Vyas, left, launched Women Win TO as a kind of "incubator" for female politician run for office. Two participants are now newly-minted NDP MPPs, Jill Andrew, centre, a

Morrison, right. (STEVE RUSSELL / TORONTO STAR)

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One might call them establishment outsiders; Andrew is a Black queer woman with diverse advocacy interests, pursuing her PhD while running a body confidence organization with her partner and co-owning the world's oldest-surviving LGBTQ bookstore. Morrison is a communications professional who identifies as having mixed settler and Indigenous heritage, the daughter of a disabled mother who spent her early years living in a school bus.

But on June 7, these two outsiders won. And as they prepare to move into Queen's Park — the ultimate inner sanctum of provincial power — both women are crediting a little-known group for jump-starting their political careers.

"I certainly don't think this would've happened to me now," Andrew says, "if not for Women Win TO."

Almost exactly one year ago, these newly-minted MPPs were among the dozens of Toronto women filling out applications for a new program offered by Women Win TO, a volunteer-run grassroots organization.

Call it an incubator for female politicians: an eight-month boot camp run by political veterans, teaching aspiring politicians the nuts and bolts of running a successful electoral campaign.

Women Win TO has one goal: to get women elected, especially those with diverse backgrounds. And after just a year of existence, the organization is already well on its way. Of its 15 "graduates," three women have already run their first political campaigns, two of whom — Andrew and Morrison — were elected. Another six are now campaigning in the upcoming municipal election, including lawyer Saron Gebresellasi, who is gunning for the mayor's chair.

The road ahead won't be easy, but on Thursday night there was a charge of confidence in the room at Ryerson University, where Women Win TO gathered to celebrate its "Class of 2018." As each woman stepped forward to introduce herself to the cheering crowd, one thing was already clear: the white, male dominance of political power in Toronto is officially on notice.

"I am a proud Afro-Latina," said community organizer Andrea Vásquez Jiménez, who recently ran as an NDP candidate for York Centre. "We all deserve to have a seat at that table."

"Who am I? A Black, Somali, Muslim woman from Scarborough," said Samiya Abdi, a health promotion consultant. "Why now? Because it's time. We're sick of being on the sidelines."

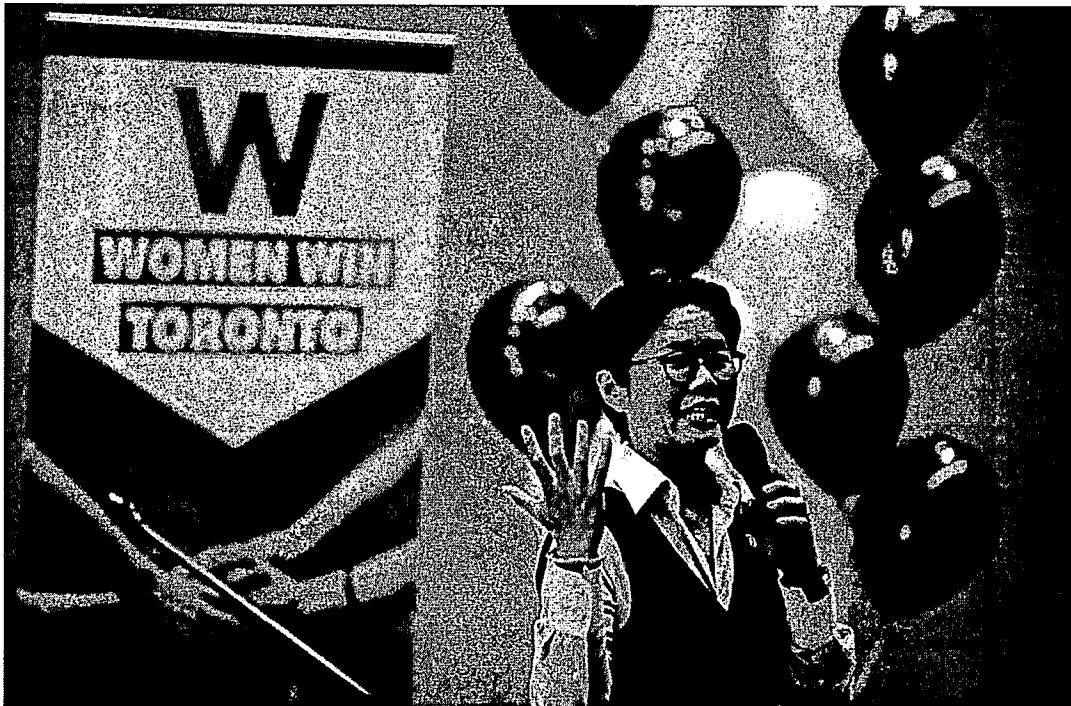
Women Win TO was formed last year by Melissa Wong, a policy director for city councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam, and Hema Vyas, a senior policy adviser in the provincial government who once ran for city council in Ward 18 Davenport.

After the 2014 municipal election, Vyas was alarmed to see the number of female councillors dropping below a third of council. Even more worryingly, council only has six visible minorities, only one of whom is a woman.

“Really, in 2018, we’d like to have more women, especially more diverse women,” Vyas said. “I really felt this sense of urgency, this fear. What if more women aren’t elected to council?”

So over a fateful meal at a Chinese restaurant (“The Lunch,” as Vyas now calls it), she sat down with Wong-Tam and talked about creating an organization that would bring more — and different — women into the political fold.

Winning as a first-time candidate without the backing of a political network is “near impossible,” said Wong-Tam, a key supporter of Women Win TO. But women face additional hurdles, particularly if they are racialized or LGBTQ2.



Toronto councillor Kristyn Wong-Tam addresses the first group of graduates of Women Win TO at a ceremony on Thursday night. She says she was happy to share lessons learned during two elections. (STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR)

Obstacles are often systemic; for example, the fact women are paid less than men, making it financially riskier for them to take time off and run for office. Child care and family considerations often come into play.



But barriers can also be internal; studies have pointed to a so-called “confidence gap” amongst women, largely because of how they are socialized. In a 2013 study of American college students, men were more likely to be encouraged by their parents to enter politics and twice as likely as women to believe they would eventually be qualified for office.

Wong-Tam says on average, women have to be asked between seven and nine times before they seriously consider running for politics. For Women Win TO, part of the goal was to simply tell women: you can do this.

“One: I wanted to empower women, and let them know that they can do it,” she said. “And two, let them know that they don’t have to be alone in that journey.”

After receiving dozens of applications, Women Win TO chose 15 candidates who demonstrated a clear intention to run for city council (Andrew and Morrison both initially considered joining the municipal race but eventually switched gears and ran provincially instead.)

The group met once a month for eight months, learning everything from how to collect data to building a campaign team and crafting a compelling political narrative.

The training wasn’t always technical; the final session was about self-care on the campaign trail. There was also a role-playing session to practise a crucial task that everyone would have to repeat ad nauseam on the campaign trail: door knocking.



Chiara Padovani, who is running for city council in Ward 11, said Women Win TO offered an invaluable opportunity to access the collective wisdom of political

veterans like Kristynn Wong-Tam and former MP Peggy Nash. (STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR)

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“We (practised) in the classroom — knock, knock —and were given 30 seconds. And we all took turns pretending to be different people at the door, with dogs barking or babies crying,” said Chiara Padovani, who is running for city council in Ward 11. “It was so great to be able to do that in an environment like that for the first time, where you can all learn from each other and laugh together.”

Padovani said she has long dreamed about running for office but Women Win TO offered a rare and invaluable opportunity to access the collective wisdom of political veterans like Wong-Tam and former MP Peggy Nash. Other women who volunteered their expertise included war room veterans like political organizer Michal Hay (Jagmeet Singh’s NDP leadership campaign director, who now runs the new non-profit Progress Toronto) and Ruby Latif, a former Dalton McGuinty adviser who worked on Mayor John Tory’s 2014 campaign.

“I think it’s really important that someone like myself — who is an elected official, who has gone through two elections, who has suffered some of the bumps and bruises along the way — is able to share everything she’s learned,” Wong-Tam said.

For Andrew and Morrison, the most valuable resource they’ve gained from Women Win TO is the supportive community of like-minded women. First-time candidates often lack the extensive networks that incumbents and political insiders rely upon for fundraising or volunteer recruitment.



Former Liberal MP Jean Augustine, the first Black woman to be elected to the House of Commons, was keynote speaker at the graduation event. (STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR)

But Women Win TO graduates now have a support system of women who understand the importance of diversity but also how to play the political game.

Both Andrew and Morrison had the full weight of the NDP party machinery behind them during their provincial campaigns, but they still found themselves turning to Women Win TO whenever they needed advice, volunteers, or just a sympathetic ear.

“It was really just about the culture of sisterhood and a culture of support,” Morrison said. “Any time of day, no matter how we were struggling, we knew we had other women in the group and in the leadership that we could call up.

“We knew we weren’t alone.”

Jennifer Yang is a Toronto-based reporter covering identity and inequality. Follow her on Twitter: @jyangstar



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**TAB 6**

**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

BETWEEN:

**CHRIS MOISE and ISH ADERONMU and PRABHA KHOSLA on her own behalf and  
on behalf of all members of WOMEN WIN TORONTO**

Applicants

- and -

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO and CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF  
TORONTO**

Respondents

APPLICATION under Rule 14.05(3)(g.1) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, RRO 1990, Reg 194

**AFFIDAVIT OF MYER SIEMIATYCKI  
(Sworn August 21, 2018)**

I, MYER SIEMIATYCKI, of the City of Toronto, MAKE OATH AND SAY:

1. I have personal knowledge of the matters herein deposed, except where stated to be based on information and belief, in which case I do verily believe them to be true.
2. I am Professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration at Ryerson University. I received my B.A. from McGill University, M.A. from University of Sussex (UK), and Ph.D. from York University (Canada). At Ryerson I have served as Chair of the Department of Politics and School of Public Administration, and I was a founding Director of the Interdisciplinary MA program in Immigration and Settlement Studies. A copy of my *curriculum vitae* is attached as **Exhibit "A"**.

3. My research revolves around intersections of immigration, urban and labour studies in Toronto. I have written several reports and academic articles on municipal governance in Toronto, including issues of under-representation of certain groups in municipal governance. A list of my publications is attached to my *curriculum vitae*, at Exhibit "A".

4. The evidence I provide in this affidavit is my opinion based on my scholarly research and expertise. I understand and acknowledge my duty to the court to provide fair, objective and non-partisan evidence.

5. In order to explain the impact of the *Better Local Governance Act, 2018* ("Bill 5") during a municipal election campaign, it is necessary to describe some of the long-standing issues of diversity and representation on City Council, and the importance of the process that established the 47 ward boundaries for the October 2018 municipal election.

#### ***Toronto's Political Diversity Gap***

6. The City of Toronto is widely recognized for its demographic diversity. It is among the world's most multi-racial, multicultural, multi-religious cities home also to dynamic Indigenous and LGBTQ communities.

7. However, many studies have concluded that the membership of Toronto's City Council does not reflect the population's diversity, and municipal decisions and services are often unresponsive to the needs of distinct, diverse communities.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Myer Siemiatycki. "Toronto: Integration in a City of Immigrants", in C. Andrew et al (eds.), *Immigration, Integration and Inclusion in Ontario Cities*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, 23-48; Myer Siemiatycki. "Governing Immigrant City: Immigrant Political Representation in Toronto", *American Behavioral Scientist*, September 2011, 55(9), 1214-1234; Boudreau, Keil & Young, *Changing Toronto*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009; Myer

8. Municipal politics and by extension political campaigns are often about promoting shared “communities of interest.” Groups with common interest can be based on sexual orientation, gender, religion, racialization, culture, neighbourhood, property ownership, income, may each form communities of interest. Commonality of experience, conditions, and aspirations can give each distinct group its particular priorities with respect to municipal responsibilities and services such as policing, recreation, education, social services, planning and transportation.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most significant barriers to municipal participation from diverse communities of interest in municipal election campaigns is the enduring power of incumbency. In a typical Toronto municipal elections all incumbents seeking re-election will be successful. In the last 2014 Toronto election, 36 of 37 incumbents who ran were re-elected. The reasons for this include: the absence of political parties allowing for candidate platform identification; the impossibility of voters knowing a candidate or councillor’s voting record on hundreds or thousands of issues coming before City Council over its four-year term; and voters’ difficulty knowing the platform of new candidates who may challenge an incumbent.

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Siemiatycki. “Reputation and Representation: Reaching for Political Inclusion in Toronto”, in C. Andrew, J. Biles, M. Siemiatycki, and E. Tolley (eds.), *Electing a Diverse Canada*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008, 23-45; M. Siemiatycki and A. Saloojee. “Ethno-Racial Political Representation in Toronto: Patterns and Problems”, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, Vol. 3 No. 2, 2003, 241-273; Myer Siemiatycki and Engin Isin, “Immigration, Diversity and Urban Citizenship In Toronto”, *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. XX, No. 1-2, 1998, 73-102.

<sup>2</sup> Myer Siemiatycki, “Ontario’s Multiple Identities: Politics and Policy in a Diverse Province”, in *Politics of Ontario*, eds. Cheryl Collier and Jonathan Molloy, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016, 274-292; Myer Siemiatycki. “Toronto: Integration in a City of Immigrants”, in C. Andrew et al (eds.), *Immigration, Integration and Inclusion in Ontario Cities*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012, 23-48; Myer Siemiatycki, T. Rees, R. Ng and K. Rahi. “Integrating Community Diversity in Toronto: On Whose Terms?”, in P. Anisef and M. Lanphier (eds.), *World in A City, Toronto: University of Toronto Press*, 2003, 373-456; E. Isin and M. Siemiatycki. “Making Space for Mosques: Struggles for Urban Citizenship in Diasporic Toronto”, in Sherene Razack (ed.), *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, Ottawa: Between the Lines Press, 2002, 185-209.



9. The result is that name recognition is the most important factor in municipal elections. Faced with a ballot full of names unknown, many voters default to a name they know and can identify with. Incumbents have this great advantage through regular free mailings to constituents, appearances at neighbourhood events, and media coverage.

10. As Toronto has become more diverse in recent decades, the membership of City Council has not. Studies have shown City Council would need four times the number of racialized minorities on Council to match their share of population, two times the number of women, and several significant groups have no members on council. These groups include Indigenous people, Muslims, LGTBQ, youth under 30, tenants and low-income persons. Toronto's political diversity gap undermines equal voice, equal representation, and the legitimacy of our government institutions.<sup>3</sup>

***Promoting Improved Representation and Inclusion in Toronto Elections***

11. Studies have shown that several factors and initiatives can produce more equitable political representation through municipal elections. Historically under-represented groups are most likely to strengthen their participation, impact and representation in municipal elections when: (a) no incumbent is seeking re-election; (b) a marginalized community of interest has a

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<sup>3</sup> Myer Siemiatycki, "Toronto: Integration in a City of Immigrants", in C. Andrew et al (eds.), *Immigration, Integration and Inclusion in Ontario Cities*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, 23-48; M. Siemiatycki. "Governing Immigrant City: Immigrant Political Representation in Toronto", *American Behavioral Scientist*, September 2011, 55(9), 1214-1234. Myer Siemiatycki, "The Diversity Gap: The Electoral Under-representation of Visible Minorities", *DiverseCity*, 2011, 24 pp.; C. Andrew, J. Biles, M. Siemiatycki and E. Tolley (eds.), *Electing a Diverse Canada: The Representation of Immigrants, Minorities, and Women*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

critical mass of population within a ward; and (c) credible, capable candidates of diverse backgrounds seek elected office.

12. In 2013, the City of Toronto engaged in a boundary review process, designed to conform with the criteria for setting electoral boundaries enumerated in the Supreme Court of Canada case, *Reference re Prov. Electoral Boundaries (Sask.)*, [1991] 2 S.C.R. 158 (*Carter*) and, as such, included five possible proposals and multiple rounds of stakeholder engagement with a broad range of constituents.

13. The Ontario Municipal Board (now the Local Planning Appeals Tribunal) applied the *Carter* case to evaluate municipal ward boundary reviews.

14. One of the factors considered in Toronto's ward boundary review, based on the *Carter* factors, was respect for communities of interest. Toronto's ward boundary review considered the locations of communities of interest, which included under-represented groups such as racialized minorities, and made efforts to adjust boundaries so that such groups were not divided amongst multiple wards.

15. The process led to the keeping together of communities of interest, such as the community on either side of Sentinel Road; Regent Park; and Church-Wellesley Village.

16. A 25 ward model was not considered in this process due to significant concerns regarding voter parity, a prime component of effective representation in the *Carter* case. Resolving voter parity concerns in a 25 ward model would require altering the boundaries of several federal ridings and crossing a major natural and historic current ward boundary, which

would contradict the purpose of making federal riding boundaries and ward boundaries consistent.

17. Based on the findings of the Toronto ward boundary review process, a 25 ward model would result in an average ward population of 110,000, compared to an average ward population of 60,000 in the 47 ward model. The Final Report, at pages 27-28, gave reasons for not considering the 25 boundary option (a copy of the Final Report is attached as **Exhibit “B”**):

During the consultation process the idea of using the federal/provincial riding boundaries as ward boundaries was suggested, although opinion on this issue was divided. There were two variations on this theme. The first was to use the new 25 federal ridings as Toronto’s wards. This would result in 25 wards and 25 Councillors with an average ward size of 123,000 people. Only a very small number of Councillors and the public supported this scenario. The second variation was to use the new federal riding boundaries but split them in half. This approach would lead to 50 wards with an average ward population of approximately 60,500 people. This population average is close to Toronto’s current average ward population size. It is worth noting that the federal riding boundaries mostly do not align with the current ward boundaries.

The TWBR team assessed these two suggestions to see if either could lead to a viable option. Neither variation of the federal riding approach meets the tests of effective representation going forward. Specifically, the ward population size spread is too large from a voter parity perspective. For 2026, the range is 96,614 – 135,298 in the 25 ward version and 48,307 – 67,649 in the 50 ward version. There seems to be little appetite for wards as large as the 25 ward version and adjusting boundaries to make the 50 ward version respect voter parity will end up resembling Option 1 but with three additional wards. In addition, federal riding boundaries are reviewed and adjusted every 10 years, which does not deliver a long term solution.

18. Cities vary in the number of wards. For example, Halifax and London (Ontario) councillors represent approximately 25,000 people each, while Calgary and Edmonton’s numbers are about 70,000. In Montreal there are 64 councillors for its population of 1.74 million with an average ward population of 27,203. The ratio of electors to councillors under

the 25 ward boundaries in Toronto leads to significantly larger ratios than in other municipality in Ontario and Canada. For example, Ottawa has 23 municipal districts and a population of approximately 895,000, for a ratio of about 39,000 per district, London has 14 municipal districts and a population of about 389,000, for a ratio of about 28,000 per district, and Kingston has 12 municipal district and a population of about 130,000, for a ratio of about 10,750 per district.

***Importance of Process to Planning Campaigns***

19. The boundary review process was an important process for candidates planning to run the October, 2018 election. The process increased the number of wards from 44 to 47, backed by extensive community consultation, and provided notice of the new ward structure in advance of the beginning of the campaign in May, 2018.

20. The 47 ward structure provided a number of opportunities to run for municipal office, including 13 wards without an incumbent.

21. This process provided an opportunity for new candidates to identify communities of interest and to plan campaigns. This process is particularly important for non-incumbent candidates and those from under-represented groups on City Council, each of whom typically face more significant barriers to participation in municipal elections. Under-represented groups relied on the ward boundary review process to shape the new wards, including that under-represented groups not be split amongst more than one ward where possible.

22. In particular, two rationales for the length of campaign periods are the sufficiency of time for all candidates to gain knowledge of and campaign within the electoral district, and for electors to engage with campaigns and learn about candidates and policies.

23. In Toronto, all wards have a unique set of constituent areas, which means that prospective candidates require time and resources to understand the composition of particular wards.

24. Specific under-represented groups on City Council, such as racialized minorities, do not comprise the entirety of a ward and under-represented groups, such as racialized and LGTBQ groups, are generally scattered unevenly within wards.

*Effects of Bill 5*

25. Changing the ward boundaries, and the associated changes on campaign timelines and campaign finances, in the middle of the campaign will have an adverse impact on all candidates. However, the impact on candidates from under-represented groups will be particularly adverse, as these groups typically face higher barriers to participation.

26. Those campaigns have been planned as part of, and in response to the boundary review process. The change in wards and associated changes in timelines will adversely affect a number of new candidates, including those from under-represented groups, and reduce their participation in the October, 2018 municipal election.

27. The federal electoral redistricting process considered federal, not municipal, boundaries. Bill 5 results in a ward boundary model that has not been assessed in a review process that considers the *Carter* factors as they apply to the City of Toronto, including the

location of under-represented groups. Under-represented groups may have or would likely have participated differently had they been aware that the federal electoral redistricting process would apply to municipal ward boundaries.

28. Prior to Bill 5, Toronto's 2018 municipal election was certain to be one that significantly improved participation, and potentially representation, by and of under-represented groups in Toronto. An unprecedented number of wards had no incumbent running for re-election on the date nominations closed: 13 out of the 47 wards to be contested had no incumbent. The 47 ward boundaries made it highly likely that at least 13 new councillors would be elected, and among them, members of groups under-represented on Council.<sup>4</sup>

29. Prior to Bill 5, the prospect of a historically high number of wards and open races for Council prompted a host of prominent candidates from under-represented groups to register as candidates. This included women, LGBTQ, racialized minorities, and Muslim candidates. For example, no black woman has ever been elected to City Council, and three are or were running: Tiffany Ford, Cheryl Lewis-Thurab, and Renatta Austin. Additionally, in some open wards that were home to more recent clusters of immigrants, their members registered to seek election in hopes of becoming a first direct community presence on council. This included a strong show of Iranian candidates in two wards along the Yonge Street stretch of North York, including candidates Hassan Ardeshir, Saman Tabasinejad, and Sam Moini.

30. With Bill 5's reduction of wards from 47 to 25, there will now be only two wards without an incumbent running. This is because the 25 seat model combines wards from the

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<sup>4</sup> See, <https://seanmarshall.ca/2018/07/06/mapping-the-2018-candidates-for-toronto-city-council/>.

prior 47 seat model. Under Bill 5, in only two instances (Willowdale and Beaches-East York) will there be ward elections without an incumbent seeking re-election.

31. With the implementation of Bill 5, numerous candidates who had previously registered to run for office in the 47-ward election race will likely now withdraw from running for Council. Moreover it is highly unlikely that Bill 5's 25-seat campaign will return more than 2 new councillors, as 23 of 25 ward races will have incumbents seeking re-election. There are several reasons for this outcome.

32. First, many of those who had registered for one of the 13 wards without an incumbent, will likely drop out rather than now face a veteran councillor seeking re-election, particularly given the change in fundraising rules and abbreviated timelines. Indeed, long-time city councillor Glenn de Baeremaeker has announced he would have sought re-election in a 47-ward contest, but is dropping out of the 25-ward race which would pit him against two other incumbents he feels he cannot defeat. If a sitting councillor concedes defeat to another incumbent in a larger merged ward, how much greater are the odds of a novice challenger winning! The nomination period to seek a council seat runs from (today) August 20, 2008 to September 14 2018. That is when we will have final account of the candidate drop-out toll from Bill 5.

33. Second, the cost of campaigning will now effectively be doubled. Rather than an average of 60,000 persons per ward, there will now be close to 120,000. This will make the financial cost of campaigning prohibitive for many new candidates. Campaign contribution limits will be higher accordingly, which will favour incumbents and those with greater access to fundraising.

34. Third, the scale of campaigning will now be doubled under Bill 5. Candidates will literally need to cover twice the territory in search of votes, in barely a one month timeframe from the end of candidate registration to election day. Very few new candidates will have the volunteer complement for such wide outreach.

35. Fourth, some candidates of distinct, under-represented identity will withdraw because the critical mass of their community in a ward of 60,000 is now diluted in the doubled size of Bill 5 wards, and no longer makes a campaign viable when it is based on that candidate's community of interest.

36. For all these reasons, the implementation of Bill 5 has the impact of reducing the number of candidates from under-represented groups seeking office, and likely fewer from achieving office, due to the effects of incumbency.

***Change In Ward Size and Election Representation***

37. A large body of literature demonstrates that a variety of diverse communities in Toronto face statistical and substantive under-representation in municipal elections and governance. Conversely, the literature shows that male, white, heterosexual, Christian, middle-age, affluent professionals and homeowners overwhelmingly predominate on city council. Consequently the issues, concerns and interests of other groups inevitably go under-represented and under-prioritized.

38. There is overwhelming evidence that communities are best able to engage, elect one of their own, and improve government responsiveness where they form a critical mass of the electorate. It is this critical mass that gives a candidate a base of support, and confidence to



run for office. Where that critical mass recedes, group representation recedes. Any number of examples illustrate these dynamics.

### *LGBTQ Representation*

39. For the past two decades, Toronto has only had a single openly gay or lesbian member of city council – first Kyle Rae, then followed on his retirement by Kristyn Wong-Tam. Not surprisingly both have been elected in the city ward where the Church-Wellesley ‘Gay Village’ is located. Both councillors have been city council’s champions of LGBTQ issues and rights while in office.

40. Interestingly, the political geography of the LGBTQ community became a flash point during the recent two year process of ward boundary revision undertaken by the city of Toronto. An original proposal would have seen the ‘Gay Village’ divided between two new wards. Vociferous opposition from the LGBTQ community contended this would dilute their critical mass in any single ward, costing them their only elected official.

41. Bill 5 will cost them the strong likelihood of a second LGBTQ councillor. Under the previous 47 seat configuration, a new neighbouring ward to Wong-Tam’s also had a large LGBTQ population, and no incumbent. One gay and one lesbian contender were by far the highest profile, likely to be elected candidates. Now under Bill 5, this ward and Councillor Wong-Tam’s are combined into the enlarged Toronto Centre ward. Only one councillor will be elected, and with Wong-Tam’s elevated profile, the other two contenders are likely to drop out. The elected councillor will serve a hugely enlarged population, and this will curtail the ability to serve a community with particular issues and needs.

### *Tamil Representation*

42. Neethan Shan was elected in 2017 as the first Tamil member of Toronto City Council. His victory reinforces our points about both incumbency and critical mass. He was elected in a by-election, after the sitting councillor ran and was elected provincially. Shan had tried to defeat the incumbent in an earlier election, but failed. With his predecessor gone, Shan could now capitalize on the huge South Asian and Tamil population in Ward 42, located in Scarborough. Shortly after his election, city council selected Shan as its inaugural Newcomer Advocate. His election not only benefitted the Tamil community, but gave greater priority to all newcomer persons and communities.

43. Bill 5 seriously jeopardizes his re-election prospects. The smaller ward he was elected in had South Asians as 45.6% of the population, of which 17% identified as Sri Lankan and 5.8% Tamil (with very few Sinhalese speakers in the ward it is likely that Tamils interchangeably reported both identities). In the enlarged Bill 5 ward however, South Asians comprise 32.6% of the population, of whom 11% are Sri Lankan and 3.5% Tamil. Add to this the possible competition from another councillor squeezed into this enlarged Scarborough-Rouge River ward, (a merger of Shan's ward 45 and neighbouring ward 47), and Neethan Shan could well fail in his re-election bid. The Tamil community's direct representation on city council could be fleeting, as a result of the reduction in council seats.

### *Portuguese Representation*

44. Few cases better illustrate the significance of diverse community representation on city council than Councillor Ana Bailao in central-west Toronto. Of Portuguese ethnicity, Councillor Bailao was elected in a city ward with the highest Portuguese population –

accounting for 19% of the ward population. She literally and figuratively 'spoke their language', sharing their lived experience.

45. This manifested itself powerfully during a council debate in 2012. Council was considering then-Mayor Rob Ford's proposal to contract out 1000 city cleaner jobs to private cleaning companies. Wages and working conditions in the private sector were considerably inferior. The motion seemed headed for adoption – until Councillor Bailao spoke. It happened that as a teenager, she had worked as an office cleaner alongside her immigrant mother. Portuguese workers then and still comprise a significant proportion of cleaners. Councillor Bailao spoke personally and passionately about difficulties cleaners face working for private companies. She urged council not to privatize the cleaners' jobs until sufficient employment safeguards were in place.

46. City council supported Councillor Bailao's recommendation. There has been no further move to privatize these jobs. One thousand city employees and their families enjoy much better wages and benefits because there was a Portuguese member on council with employment experience common to many in her community.

47. Under the terms of Bill 5, Councillor Bailao's old ward 18 is now combined with ward 17 of the city's only Latin American incumbent Councillor, Cesar Palacio. Both Councillors plan to contest the election; both belong to very large ethnic and immigrant communities. One of these communities will lose its Councillor if Bill 5 prevails.

*Other Examples*

48. In other areas too, shrinking the number of council seats by combining wards into larger constituencies will pit different incumbents and communities against each other. A prime example is the new York Centre ward in North York, which combines the previous smaller ward 9 of Councillor Maria Augimeri and ward 10 of Councillor James Pasternak. Augimeri's ward had one of the city's highest Italian concentrations at 24.3%. She has been a staunch advocate of Italian community service and recreation needs. Pasternak's ward had by far the highest Jewish concentration of any city ward, at 21.9%. Himself Jewish, Councillor Pasternak has been the strongest voice on council calling on the city to combat anti-Semitism. Under Bill 5, only one will prevail in an enlarged ward that is 13.6% Italian and 13.4% Jewish. A smaller council inevitably will come at the expense of reduced community representation and responsiveness. Whatever the outcome, one community in need of a voice will lose a champion.

*Impact on Voter Turnout*

49. Another impact of Bill 5 is likely to be on voter turnout. Voter turnout is a constant problem of elections. If all eligible voters are not equally drawn to the ballot box, there could be consequences for which communities and issues come to be regarded as priorities by elected officials. Additionally, low voter participation can reflect broader dynamics of social exclusion and alienation felt by some voters.

50. Generally speaking, Toronto municipal elections have low voter turnout, reflected in all geographic and demographic parts of the city. However, Toronto's wards and neighbourhoods vary considerably in voter turnout and demographic composition. This produces a distinct "geography of voting" in Toronto.

51. Studies suggest that factors that enhance voter turnout are more diverse candidates, competitive races, active candidate campaigns, and related community organizing.

52. A reduced diversity of candidates will reduce voter engagement and participation in immigrant and visible minority communities. Research has demonstrated a significant inverse correlation in Toronto with areas of high immigrant and visible minority populations yielding low rates of voter turnout. This results from 'mainstream' candidates placing lower priority on such neighbourhoods, and the marginalized populations not seeing themselves reflected in – or canvassed by – the candidate pool.<sup>5</sup>

53. The only exceptions to this pattern have occurred in communities such as Thorncliffe Park and Jane-Finch, when a grass roots campaign is mounted by a local, diverse candidate (ibid). In these circumstances voter turnout has risen dramatically in immigrant and visible minority communities.

54. Prior to the announcement of Bill 5, efforts were in place to train and support the most diverse pool of candidates ever to seek municipal office. Media accounts described the activity and impact of two organizations (Women Win Toronto and Progress Toronto) in this regard. Many of these candidates had registered to contest one of the 47 wards in play. Now, for reasons identified earlier, many will drop out as candidates or be severely disadvantaged if they continue. This not only interferes with the emergence of a new generation of diverse

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<sup>5</sup> Myer Siemiatycki and Sean Marshall, "Immigrant Voting and Voice in Toronto Municipal Elections." Presented at 18<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference, Toronto, 5 March 2016; M. Siemiatycki and S. Marshall. "Who Votes in Toronto Municipal Elections?", Maytree Foundation Report, October 2014; B. Hicks, "Are marginalized communities disenfranchised: Voter turnout and representation in post-merger Toronto", IRPP Working Paper Series 2006-03, Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

municipal leaders; it will reinforce lower voter turnout in communities that would otherwise have seen more robust participation.

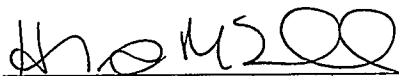
55. On many grounds then, Bill 5 imposes undue disadvantage on a host of communities seeking equitable voice and representation.


56. To the extent that Bill 5 reduces the number of races, dilutes community critical mass, and favour incumbents, and to the extent that grass-roots campaigns will be interrupted or no longer effective or possible, given the precipitous changes in rules mid-way through an election. Based on past studies, the effect is likely to be reduced voter turnout, particularly in wards with higher racialized minority populations and higher immigrant populations.

57. As such, another direct impact of Bill 5 is likely to substantially interfere with voter participation, particularly by under-represented groups, in the October 22, 2018 election.

58. I swear this affidavit in support of the Applicants' application and for no other or improper purpose.

SWORN AFFIRMED BEFORE ME at the City of Toronto, Ontario this 21st day of August, 2018.

  
A Commissioner for taking Affidavits (or as may be)

  
Myer Siemiatycki

# EXHIBIT “A”

# Myer Siemiatycki

## Curriculum Vitae

This is Exhibit A referred to in the **138**  
affidavit of Myer Siemiatycki  
sworn before me this 21st  
day of August 2018  
MEMZOO  
A COMMISSIONER, ETC.

### EDUCATION:

<i>Degree</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Year</i>
Ph.D.	York University	1986
M.A.	University of Sussex (U.K.)	1971
B.A.	McGill University	1970

### ACADEMIC CAREER:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Department</i>	<i>Institution</i>
1978-1982	Instructor		Open College/ Ryerson
1982-Current	Faculty/Full Professor	Politics & Public Administration	Ryerson
1991-1996	Chair	Politics & Public Administration	Ryerson
2004-2008	Founding Director	MA Immigration & Settlement Studies	Ryerson

### HONOURS:

**Alan Shepard Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Award**, Ryerson University, 2017

**Jack Layton Chair**, Ryerson University, 2012-15

**Faculty Service Award**, Ryerson University, Faculty of Arts, 2010.

**“Popular Professors”**, Cited among Ryerson University’s “Popular Professors” in  
*Maclean’s Guide to Canadian Universities*, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 (the last year such  
citations were included in this *Guide*.)

**Ryerson University Merit Awards**: 2007-2008; 2006-2007; 2005-2006; 2001-2002; 2000-  
2001; 1999-2000; 1998-99.

**Distinguished Educator Award**, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE),  
University of Toronto, 1992.



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**M. Siemiatycki.** Review of *Making A Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity*, by Robert C. Vipond (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 249pp.) *Historical Studies in Education* (Spring 2018): 195-97.

**M. Siemiatycki.** Review of *Municipalities and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver* by Kristin Good. *Canadian Public Administration* 54:2 (June 2011), 312-314.

**M. Siemiatycki.** Review of *Patrick Lenahan: From Irish Rebel to Founder of Canadian Public Sector Unionism* by Gil Levine. *Labor History*, 4:2, (May 2000), 248-250.

**SELECTED CONFERENCE & INVITED PRESENTATIONS:**

**M. Siemiatycki.** "Multiculturalism in a Dangerous Time". *19<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference*, Montreal, 18 March 2017.

**M. Siemiatycki.** "Adapt, Engage or Lose: Unions in a Changing Labour Market". *2<sup>nd</sup> National Human Rights Conference, Canadian Labour Congress*, Ottawa: 22 October, 2016.

**M. Siemiatycki.** "Responding to the Sharing Economy". *The Sharing Economy and the Future of Work Conference*, Centre for Labour Management Relations, Ryerson University, Toronto, 3 June 2016.

K. Fuentes and **M. Siemiatycki.** "Reading the Sharing Economy: A Contested Literature Review." *LabourStart 2016*. Toronto: 8 May 2016.

J. Carson and **M. Siemiatycki.** "Cleaning Tips: Lessons from Toronto City Cleaners' Resistance to Precarity." *LabourStart 2016*. Toronto: 7 May 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "We Polish Jews: The Troubled Identities & Legacy of Poet Julian Tuwim, 1894-1953." *Limmud 2016*. Toronto: 6 March 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki** and Sean Marshall. "Immigrant Voting and Voice in Toronto Municipal Elections." *18<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference*. Toronto, 5 March 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Changing Governance in Changing Times." *2016 Cities of Migration Conference*. Toronto: 2 March 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Cross-Cultural Bridging and Betrayal: The Polish-Jewish Identities of Julian Tuwim." Presented at the *45th Annual Meeting of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research*. Portland, Oregon: 19 February 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Inequality & Inclusion in the City." Presented at the *Emancipating the Municipality Forum*. Oshawa: University of Ontario Institute of Technology, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, 10 February 2016.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Precarious Employment: Patterns and Pushback." Presented at the conference *Precarity, Mobilization and Resistance: The Union Response in Québec and Ontario*. Montreal: INRS University, 13 November 2015.

Jenny Carson and **Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Justice and Dignity for Cleaners Campaign." Presented at the *Canadian Association for Work and Labour Studies Conference*. Ottawa: 4 June 2015.

**Myer Siemiatycki** and Jocelyn Kane. "Assessing Ombudsman Impact on the Toronto Public Service." Presented at the Fourth Annual *CAPPA Conference in Public Management: Public Management in Theory and Practice*. Toronto: Glendon College, York University, 26 May 2015.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Resisting Precarity in Toronto's Municipal Sector." Presented at the Centre For Labour Management Relations, *The Good Jobs Research Symposium*. Toronto: Ryerson University, 2 October 2014.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Making Sense of Toronto City Politics: Mission Impossible?" Presented at the School of Policy Studies, *Policy Speakers Series*. Kingston: Queen's University, 24 October 2014.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Canada: Immigration Nation." Presented to the Symposium *Perspectives on Living, Working and Regulating in a Multicultural Society*. Toronto: College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario, 30 October 2014.

**Myer Siemiatycki** and Sean Marshall. "Who Votes in Toronto Municipal Elections?: Findings from the 2003, 2006, and 2010 City Elections." Presented at the Maytree Foundation Get Out the Vote Conference, Toronto, 1 April 2014.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Canada's Immigration Problem: It's Not Immigrants." Invited panel presentation, University of Toronto, 27 February 2014.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The City in the Religious Imagination." Invited Lecture, *City Talks Lecture Series*, Victoria: University of Victoria, 21 November 2013.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Justice & Dignity for Cleaners Campaign: Mobilizing Against Precarity in Toronto." Invited Lecture, *Labour Studies Program Lecture Series*. Hamilton: McMaster University, 16 October 2013.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Visible-Minority Representation in the Greater Toronto Area." Presented at the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP) Workshop *Electoral and Civic Involvement of Canada's Immigrant Communities*. Toronto, 25 October 2013.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Engagement Imperative", presented at the DiverseCity Toronto/Maytree Foundation Conference *CollaborAction: Building Blocks Learning Exchange*. Toronto, 20 March 2013.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "'City Leadership in Immigrant Integration", Webinar presentation, *Cities of Migration*, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki,** "Toronto: Multisectoral Collaboration and Newcomer Engagement", presented to the *14th National Metropolis Conference*, Toronto, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki,** "Immigration, Integration and Inclusion in Toronto", presented to the *14th National Metropolis Conference*, Toronto, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "What Multi-Level Governance Model Works for Cities?", presented to the *Re-Imagining Our Cities Conference*, The City Institute at York University, Toronto, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Race and the Election Races in Toronto: Towards Inclusion?", presented at the *Association of American Geographers Annual Conference*, New York, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "City Leadership in Immigrant Integration." Presentation for Maytree Foundation & Cities of Migration Webinar, *From Practice to Policy: The Role of Municipalities in Immigrant Integration*, 31 October 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Problems in Recent Canadian Immigration Policy", presented to the *Welcome to Canada? Forum*: Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement, Toronto, 2012.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Diversity Gap." Presented at the DiverseCity Symposium *Diversity in Politics: Where Do We Stand?* Toronto, 2011.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Back to the City: Urban Citizenship and Global Migration", presented at the *Challenging Citizenship Conference*, University of Coimbra, Portugal, 2011.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Toronto: A Multicultural Success Story?", presented at the European Union Centre of Excellence International Conference *The Maturing of the Multicultural Experiment: European Challenges Coming to Canada?* Toronto, York University, 2011.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) & Political Participation in Canada", presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference, *Immigration: Bringing the World to Canada*, Vancouver, 2011.

**Myer Siemiatycki** and Phil Triadofilopoulos. "International Perspectives on Immigrant Service Provision", presented to the Forum of Federations Conference, *Immigrant Integration and Canadian Federalism: Exploring the Issues*. Toronto, University of Toronto, 2011.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Open and Shut?: The Ambiguities of Political Inclusion in Immigrant City Toronto", presented to the Political Science Department Faculty Seminar Series, University of Toronto, 2010.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Municipal Franchise and Social Inclusion", presented at the Conference *Who Belongs?: Rights, Benefits, Obligations And Immigration Status*, Toronto: University of Toronto, 2010.

**Myer Siemiatycki & Phil Triadafilopoulos.** "Re-Scaling Immigration Governance: A Road to Recovering Together or Growing Apart?", presented at the conference *Recovering Together? Fiscal Pressures, Federalism and Social Policy*, Kingston: Queen's University School of Policy Studies, 2010.



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**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Immigration Demographics and the Library", presented at the Ontario Library association Conference, Toronto, 2010.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Choice and Voice: Exploring Immigrant Political Representation in Toronto", presented at the *Symposium on Diverse Pathways to Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Florida International University, Miami, 2009.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Immigrant City: Toronto's Response to Global Migration", presented at the *Symposium on Immigration and Integration Policies in a System of Multi-Level Governance: A Canadian-European Comparison from an Urban Perspective*, University of Victoria, Victoria, 2009.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Marginalizing Migrants: Canada's Rising Reliance on Temporary Immigrants", paper presented to the '*Canada as Refuge*' Conference, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 2008.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Role of Research in Immigrant Settlement", presented to the *Settlement Without Boundaries Symposium*, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Toronto, 2008.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Diversity in Canadian Cities: The Role of Libraries", presented to the *Canadian Urban Libraries Council Conference*, Toronto, 2007.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Municipal Voting, Voice and Urban Citizenship", paper presented to the *Immigration, Minorities and Multiculturalism in Democracies Conference*, Montreal, 2007.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Immigrant Voting in Toronto Municipal Elections", paper presented to the *Canadian Political Science Association Conference*, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, Saskatoon, 2007.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Future of Immigration Research", paper presented at the *9<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference*, Toronto, 2006.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Good Host: Receiving Societies as Partners in Diaspora", paper presented to the *Expert Forum Conference on Capacity Building for Peace and Development: Roles of Diaspora*", Toronto, 2006.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Educating the Next Generation of Immigration Researchers", paper presented at *Conference on the Role of Universities in the Integration of Immigrants into the Ontario Economy*, Toronto, 2006.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Dual Citizenship of Hong-Kong Canadians: Convenience or Commitment?", (with V. Preston), paper presented to *Conference on Dual Citizenship Democracy, Rights and Identity in a Globalizing World*, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2005.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Making Immigration Work for Toronto", presented to the Canadian Urban Institute Seminar, Toronto, 2005.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Making Immigration Work for Toronto", presented to the Canadian Urban Institute Seminar, Toronto, 2005.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Cultural Diversity and Newcomer Service Delivery in Toronto", presented at *A Geomatics Approach to Immigrant Settlement Services*, Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS), Toronto, 2005.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "They Vote, They Win: Minorities and Electoral Politics in Toronto", paper presented to the *Canadian Political Science Association Conference*, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, Winnipeg, 2004.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Contesting Sacred Space: The Case of the *Eruv*", paper presented to *Religious Studies Association Conference*, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, Winnipeg, 2004.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Pursuing Democracy's Promise: Toronto's Approach to Immigrant Political Participation", Council on Foundations Conference, Toronto, 2004.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "New Faces/Same Races: Ethnoracial Continuity and Change in Toronto Politics", *National Metropolis Conference*, Montreal, 2004.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Urban Responses to Religious Diversity", *Conference La Religion dans la Sphere Publique*, University of Montreal, Montreal, 2003.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Putting the City Back in Citizenship", presented to the 6<sup>th</sup> *National Metropolis Conference*, Edmonton, 2003.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Political Representation in Toronto: The Formal & Informal Realms", presented to the 6<sup>th</sup> *National Metropolis Conference*, Edmonton, 2003.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Hong Kong Migration, Transnationalism and Citizenship in Toronto: Re-Making Which State?", (with V. Preston), presented at *The Politics of Transnational Ties Conference*, York University, Toronto, 2003.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Taking the Long View on Smart Cities", presented to the *Thinking Smart Cities Conference*, Institute of Political Economy, Carleton University, Ottawa, 2002.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Media Representation of Transnational Communities: Recent Migration from Hong Kong to Canada", presented to the *Canadian Political Science Association Conference*, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, Toronto, 2002.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Leadership, Governance and the Politics of Identity in Canada", *Identity Seminar*, Association of Canadian Studies, Halifax, 2001.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Minority Political Representation in Toronto", presented to the 6<sup>th</sup> *International Metropolis Conference*, Rotterdam, 2001.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Newcomer Youth at Risk: Out of School and Out of Work", presented to the 6<sup>th</sup> *International Metropolis Conference*, Rotterdam, 2001.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Urban Citizenship and Social Cohesion in Toronto: What Place for Newcomers?", presented at *Seminar on Immigration and Citizenship*, Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement -- Toronto (CERIS), 2000.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Multiple Identities & Marginal Ties: The Experience of Russian Jewish Immigrant Youth in Toronto", (with P. Anisef & E. Baichman-Anisef), presented at the *Jerusalem Conference in Canadian Studies*, 2000.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Manipulating Metropolis: The Toronto Megacity Experience", presented to the *Northeast Region Conference of the American Society for Public Administration*, New York City, 1999.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Making Space For Mosques: Struggles Over Citizenship and Belonging in Toronto"(with E. Isin), presented to the 4<sup>th</sup> *International Metropolis Conference*, Washington, DC, 1999.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "The Geo-Politics of Immigration in Toronto", presented to the GTA Forum Network of Urban Studies Faculty, *The Immigrant Experience in Toronto*, University of Toronto, 1998.

**Myer Siemiatycki.** "Labour Studies and Poytechnic Education", presentation to GREET Ryerson Faculty Conference, 1998.

## **RESEARCH GRANTS:**

Principal Investigator, "Social Engagement Through Leadership: Immigrants on Public And Not-For-Public Boards in the GTA, RBC Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion Fund, (\$16,500), 2017.

Principal Investigator, "Gig or Rigged?: Work In The Sharing Economy", Ryerson Centre for Labour Management Relations, (\$6,500), 2016.

Co-Applicant, "Integration Trajectories of Immigrant Families", SSHRC Partnership Development Grant, 3 years, Principal Investigator: Prof. Harald Bauder, Ryerson University,

2013.

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Principal Investigator. "Resisting Precarity: The Municipal Sector Experience in Toronto", Ryerson Centre for Labour Management Relations, (\$7000), 2012.

Collaborator, "Pathways to Prosperity: New Policy Directions and Innovative Local Practices for Newcomer Attraction and Integration", SSHRC Partnership Grant (\$2,513,360.00) 8 years, 2012, Principal Investigator, Prof. Victoria Esses, Western University.

Collaborator, "Pathways to Prosperity: New Policy Directions and Innovative Local Practices for Newcomer Attraction and Integration", SSHRC Partnership Grant LOI Approval, 2011.

Co-Applicant, "The New Suburb: Hybrid Forms in Urban and Visual Culture", SSHRC Research/Creation Grants in Fine Arts, \$112,700/3 years, Principal Investigator, Prof. Robert Burley, Ryerson University, 2011.

Co-Applicant & Case Study Co-Lead, "Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario", SSHRC CURA Grant (\$1,000,000), 5 Years, Principal Investigator: Dr. Wayne Lewchuk, McMaster University, 2010.

Co-Investigator, "Immigrant Youth Identity", SSHRC Standard Grant, (\$82,302), 2 Years, Principal Investigator: Dr. N. Khanlou, University of Toronto, 2003.

Co-Principal Investigator (With Dr. Lucia Lo, York University), "A Geomatics approach to immigrant settlement services", GEOIDE, (\$207,150), 3 Years, 2002.

Principal Investigator, "Ryerson Union Placement Project", McConnell Foundation Grants for Curriculum and Instructional Development Projects \$5,000), 2001

Principal Investigator, "Solidarity in Diversity: Building a Multicultural Union", Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Grant (\$28,000), 1988.

Co-Investigator, "Newcomer Youth at Risk", CIC/OASIS, (\$320,833.70), 2 Years, Co-Principal Investigators: Dr. Paul. Anisef, York University & Dr. Kenise Kilbride, Ryerson University, 2000.

Co-Investigator, "Transnationalism, Citizenship and Social Cohesion: Recent Immigration From Hong Kong to Canada", SSHRC Strategic Grant, (\$375,000), 3 Years, Principal Investigator: Audrey Kobayashi, Queen's University, 1999

Principal Investigator, "Immigrants, Ethnocultural Visible Minority Communities and Civic Participation: Comparing Canadian Metropolises", Department of Canadian Heritage, (\$5000),

1998.

Principal Investigator, "Immigration, Urban Citizenship and Municipal Governance in the Greater Toronto Area", Joint Centre of Excellence for Research in Immigration and Settlement B Toronto (CERIS), (\$15,000), 1997.

Principal Investigator, "Immigration and the Global City", Ryerson Polytechnic University Faculty of Arts SSHRC Grant, (\$4000), 1997.

Principal Investigator, "Solidarity in Diversity: Building a Multicultural Union", Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, (\$25,000), 1988.

**GRADUATE SUPERVISIONS:**

Completed: 1 Ph.D. Doctoral Dissertation Supervisor

Nelson Palacio Doctoral Dissertation Supervisor

Policy Studies Ph.D. Program, Ryerson University, *The Effect of Lack of Citizenship on the Wages of Low-Skilled Non-Permanent Resident Workers in Canada.*

In Progress: Marc Valade

Policy Studies Ph.D. Program, Ryerson University, *The Influence of Collaborative Networks on Migrant Settlement Outside of Big Cities.*

2 Ph.D. Doctoral Dissertation Committee Member

Frederica Gomes

Policy Studies Ph.D. Program, Ryerson University, *Older Portuguese Immigrant Women, Settlement, and Health.* In Progress

Rebecca Hii

Policy Studies Ph.D. Program, Ryerson University. Student has successfully completed doctoral comprehensive examination.

Completed 6 Ph.D.: Doctoral Dissertation External Examiner

Naomi Lightman

Department of Social Justice Education, OISE/University of Toronto, *The Secondary School Transnational Nexus: Student and Educator Reflection Beyond and Within the Nation*, PhD Thesis Defense, 12 June 2015.

Jeff Myers

Adult Education and Community Development Department, OISE/University of Toronto, "*The Institution of Becoming Canadian: A View from the Margins*", PhD Thesis Defense, 25 July 2013.

James Irvine

Political Science Department, University of Toronto, "*Canadian Refugee Policy Paradigm Change in the 1990s: Understanding the Power of International Social Influence*", PhD Thesis Defense, 25 February 2011.

Dennis Paglinawan,

Political Studies Department, University of Auckland, New Zealand, "*The Removal of Racial Criteria from Canadian and New Zealand Immigration Policy: An Application of the Policy Regime Model to the Politics of Immigration Policy Change*", PhD Thesis Defense, 11 August 2010.

Svitlana Taraban,

Faculty of Education, York University, "*Aussiedler, Russen, Rusaki: Identity Dilemmas Among Russian-Speaking Immigrant Youth in Germany*", PhD Thesis Defense 12 December 2006.

Julie Gagnon,

Departement d'études urbaines; INRS UQAM, Montreal, *L'aménagement des lieux de culte minoritaires dans la région montrealaise: transactions sociales et enjeux urbains*, PhD Thesis Defense, 24 March 2005.

18 M.A.: Supervisor of Major Research Paper (Completed)

17: MA Program in Immigration & Settlement Studies, Ryerson  
1: MA Program in Public Policy & Administration, Ryerson

31 M.A.: Second Reader of Major Research Paper (Completed)

28: MA Program in Immigration & Settlement Studies, Ryerson  
3: Master of Public Policy & Administration, Ryerson

## **ACADEMIC PROGRAM REVIEWER**

**Internal/Outside Reviewer:** MA and PhD Program in Environmental Sciences Management, Ryerson University, 2017.

**External Reviewer:** City Institute, York University, 2014.

## **SELECT ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS:**

### **I. Founding Director, MA Program in Immigration & Settlement Studies, 2004-08**

- As part of a team of faculty, developed the proposal to establish Canada's first degree program in Immigration Studies, offering both Full and Part Time streams.
- Served as Founding Program Director.
- Exceptional track record of student applications, admissions and graduation.
- Led a multidisciplinary program of 37 faculty drawn from 16 different Ryerson Schools and Departments.
- Established strong external ties with government and NGOs placing all program students in field internships.
- Impressive record of program graduates gaining employment in the field, and pursuing further doctoral level studies in the field.

### **II. Chair, Department of Politics & Public Administration, 1991-96**

- Led an undergraduate degree program in Public Administration offered in Part Time mode only, designed for adults working in the public and para-public sectors.
- Successfully led highly positive program review.
- Introduced new program curriculum, including a required course on Equity and Human Rights in Canada.

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- Maintained partnership agreements with Government of Canada and Government of Ontario for program courses to be delivered on-site for government employees.
  - Worked closely with Ryerson Continuing Education to offer this program with its 3 accreditation levels of Certificate, Advanced Certificate and degree in Public Administration.
  - Secured active support of both government and public sector unions in promoting the program to their members.
  - Impressive program registration numbers.

### **SELECT RYERSON UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE SERVICE:**

**Member:** Academic Council

**Member:** Academic Standards Committee

**Member:** Awards and Ceremonials Committee

**Member:** Part-Time Program Review Committee

**Member:** Liberal Studies Committee

**Member:** New Faculty Research Grant Adjudication Committee

**Member:** Faculty of Arts Promotion Committee

**Member:** Advisory Committee, Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement

**Member:** Admissions Committee, PhD Program in Policy Studies

**Member:** Chang School Research Fund Adjudication Committee

**Member:** School Council, School of Graduate Studies

**Chair:** Scholarship & Awards Committee, School of Graduate Studies

**Member:** Graduate Program Director Search Committee: MA Immigration & Settlement Studies



**Member:** Ryerson Centre on Immigration & Settlement Director Search Committee

**Member:** Search Committee, Associate Vice-President Academic, Research & International Development

**Member:** Search Committee, Dean of Community Services – Member

**Member:** Search Committee, Director, Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement

**Member:** Search Committee, Program Director, Ryerson MA Program in Immigration and Settlement Studies

**Chair:** Politics Department Departmental Appointment Committee

**Chair:** Politics Department Instructor Appointment Committee

**Chair:** Politics Department Departmental Curriculum Committee

**Chair,** Ryerson Holocaust Education Committee

**Chair,** Ryerson Planning Committee for Council of Ontario Universities Forum on Economic Integration of Recent Immigrants in the Ontario’s Economy

**SELECT RYERSON UNIVERSITY PROJECT LEADERSHIP:**

**Co-Chair:** “The Many Gods of Canada: Religion, Secularism & Public Policy” Conference, October 2017

**Jack Layton Chair:** (2012-15)

**Chair:** Ryerson Holocaust Education Committee (1998-2014)

**Faculty Advisor:** WUSC Ryerson (2007-2010)

**Lead Organizer & Chair:** Conference on “The Role of Universities in the Integration of Immigrants into the Ontario Economy”, Ryerson University, the Chang School of Continuing Education and Council of Ontario Universities (2006)

**Founder & Chair:** Ryerson Union Fair: Introducing Students to the Labour Movement (1985-91)

**SELECT EXTERNAL COMMITTEE ACTIVITY:**

**Member:** Editorial Board of *Directions*, Journal of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation

**Member:** City of Toronto Ward Boundary Review Advisory Committee, *Canadian Urban Institute*

**Executive Member,** Toronto Regional Group, Institute of Public Administration of Canada

**Executive Member,** Canadian Association of University Programs of Public Administration

**Member,** Democratic Renewal Advisory Committee, Government of Ontario

**Member,** City of Toronto Election Finance Review Task Force

**Member,** Diversity Advisory Committee, Career Edge

**Member,** Human Resources Advisory Committee, Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care

**Member,** Board of Directors, Social Planning Council of Toronto

**Domain Leader,** Community Domain, Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS-Toronto)

**Chair,** Domain Leaders Committee, Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS-Toronto)

**Chair,** Adjudication Committee, Research Grant Awards, Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS-Toronto)

**Member,** Conference Planning Committee, 10<sup>th</sup> International Metropolis Conference, Toronto

**Member,** Conference Planning Committee, 4<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference, Toronto

## **SELECT ORGANIZATIONS ADDRESSED AS INVITED SPEAKER**

Canadian Arab Federation

Canadian Civil Liberties Association

Canadian Labour Congress

Canadian Urban Institute

Canadian Urban Libraries Council

Cities of Migration Network

City of Montreal, Intercultural Committee Forum

City of Toronto, Working Group on Immigration

City of Toronto, City Manager's Office

Council on Foundations

DiverseCity

Government of Canada, Canadian Heritage Department, Ontario Region

Government of Canada, Intergovernmental Affairs Department

Government of Canada, Social Development Canada

Government of Ontario, Management Board Secretariat

Government of Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship & Immigration

Government of Ontario, Ministry of Labour

Hamilton Centre for Civic Inclusion

Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance

Maytree Foundation

Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Metropolitan Review of Toronto, Expert Witness

Political Science Department, Faculty Seminar Series, University of Toronto

Statistics Canada

Toronto City Summit Alliance

Toronto Computer Leasing Inquiry  
(Expert Witness called by Madam Justice Bellamy, Commissioner)

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United Nations University for Peace

United Steelworkers of America

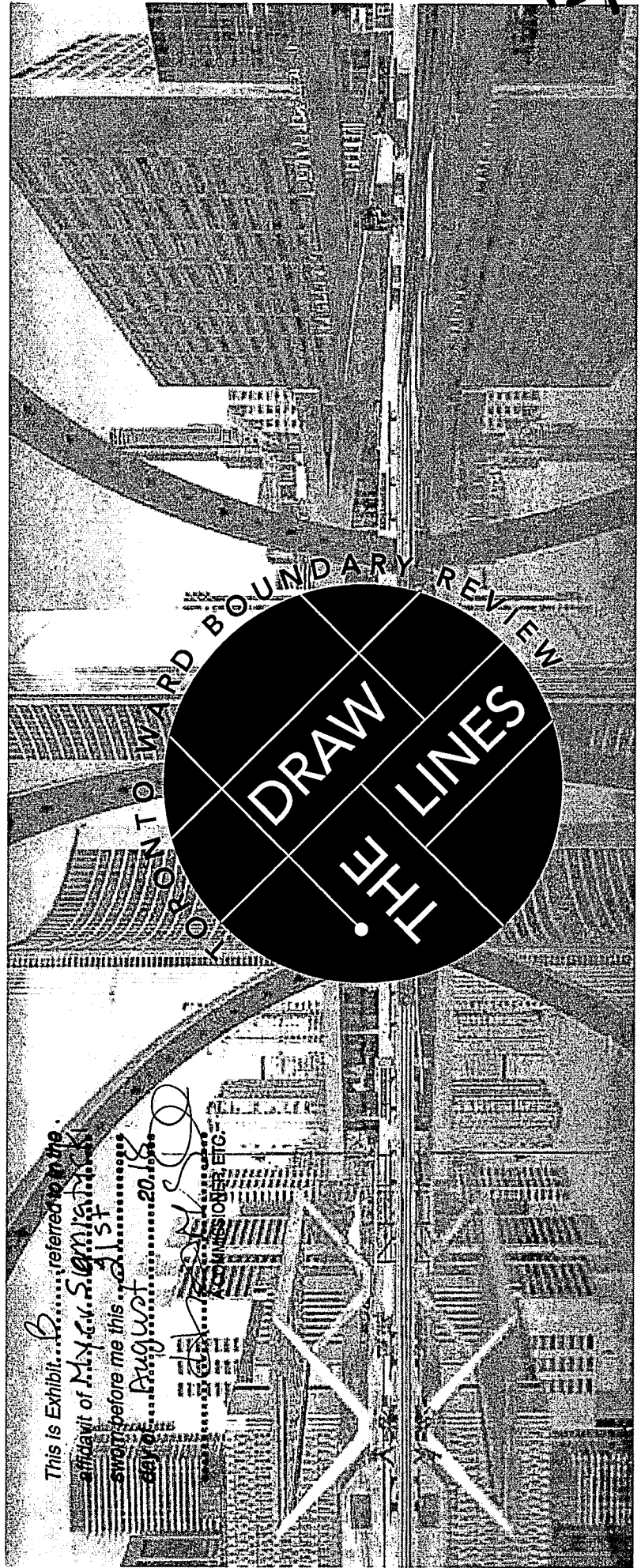
# EXHIBIT “B”

# FINAL REPORT

# NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO

MAY 2016

DRAWTHELINES.CA



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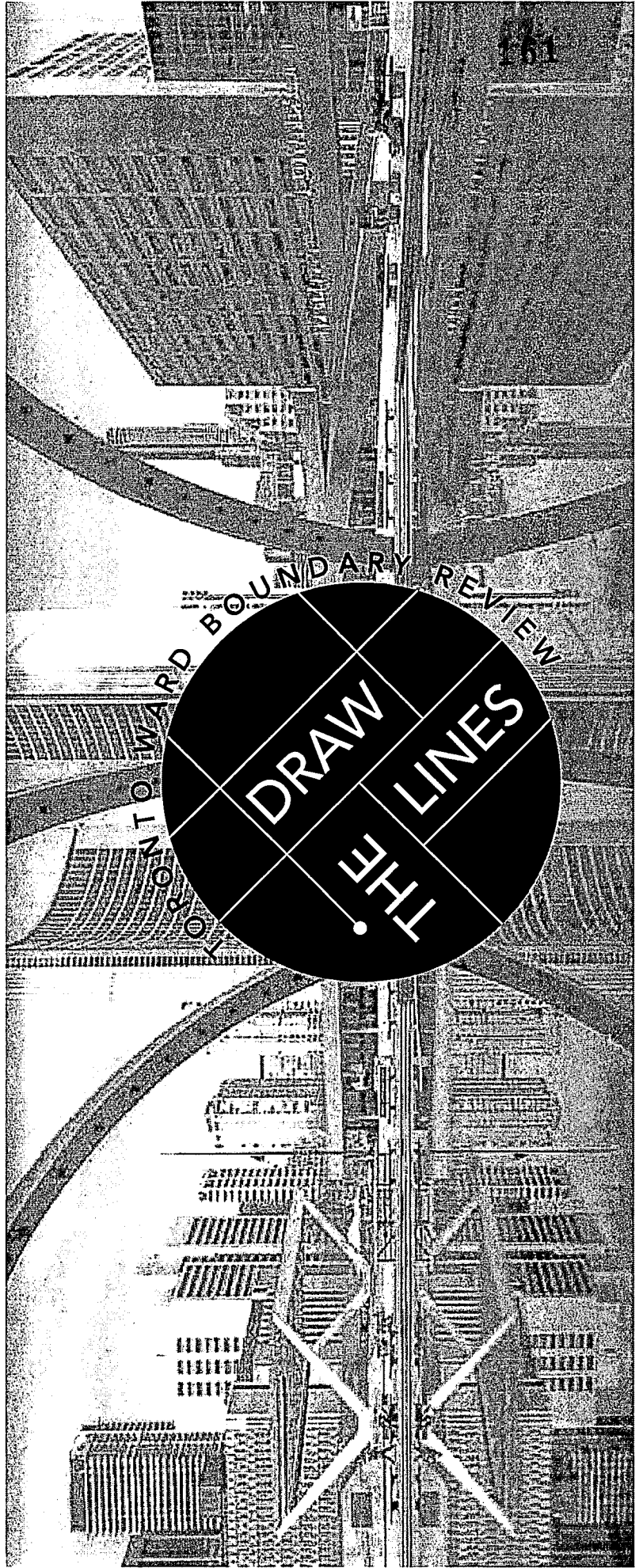
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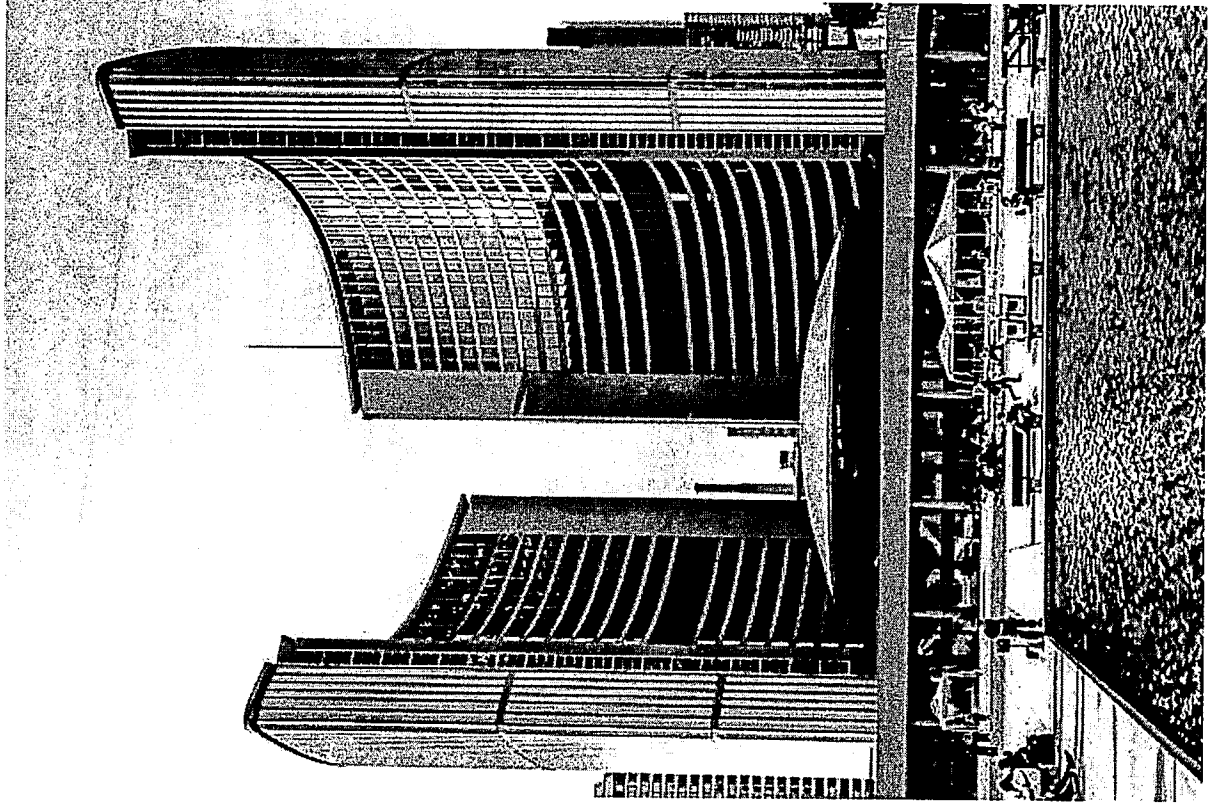
SECTION ONE

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT







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**A ward boundary review seeks to achieve effective representation throughout the municipality. Factors such as the number of people in each ward, geographic communities of interest, future growth, coherent boundaries, the capacity of councillors to represent their constituents and ward history need to be balanced. Any new ward structure can be implemented in the next municipal election.**

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This report presents a recommendation for new wards for Toronto that achieves the principle of effective representation, can be implemented for the 2018 municipal election and will last until the 2030 municipal election.

Toronto's current ward structure, developed approximately 15 years ago, has become unbalanced. This impacts voter parity (similar but not identical population numbers among wards) not just at election time, but every time City Council votes.

All reports prior to this *Final Report* can be found online: [www.drawthelines.ca](http://www.drawthelines.ca)

## RECOMMENDED WARD STRUCTURE

The map **Recommended Wards** on the following page presents the recommended ward structure. The larger version (11x17') can be found in APPENDIX E.

The recommended ward structure is based on Option 1: Minimal Change<sup>1</sup>. This option emerged as the preferred option based on feedback received from Members of Council and the public during the project's civic engagement and public consultation process. Many of the responses also suggested refinements to the Option 1 ward boundaries. The TWBR has examined these refinements, as well as suggested refinements to other options and to existing wards, if they were relevant to Option 1.

The recommended ward structure has attempted to incorporate as many of those refinements as possible. Refinements that upset voter parity or negatively affect any other component of effective representation were not incorporated. All of the suggested refinements together with the "Action" on each refinement are included in APPENDIX C to this report.

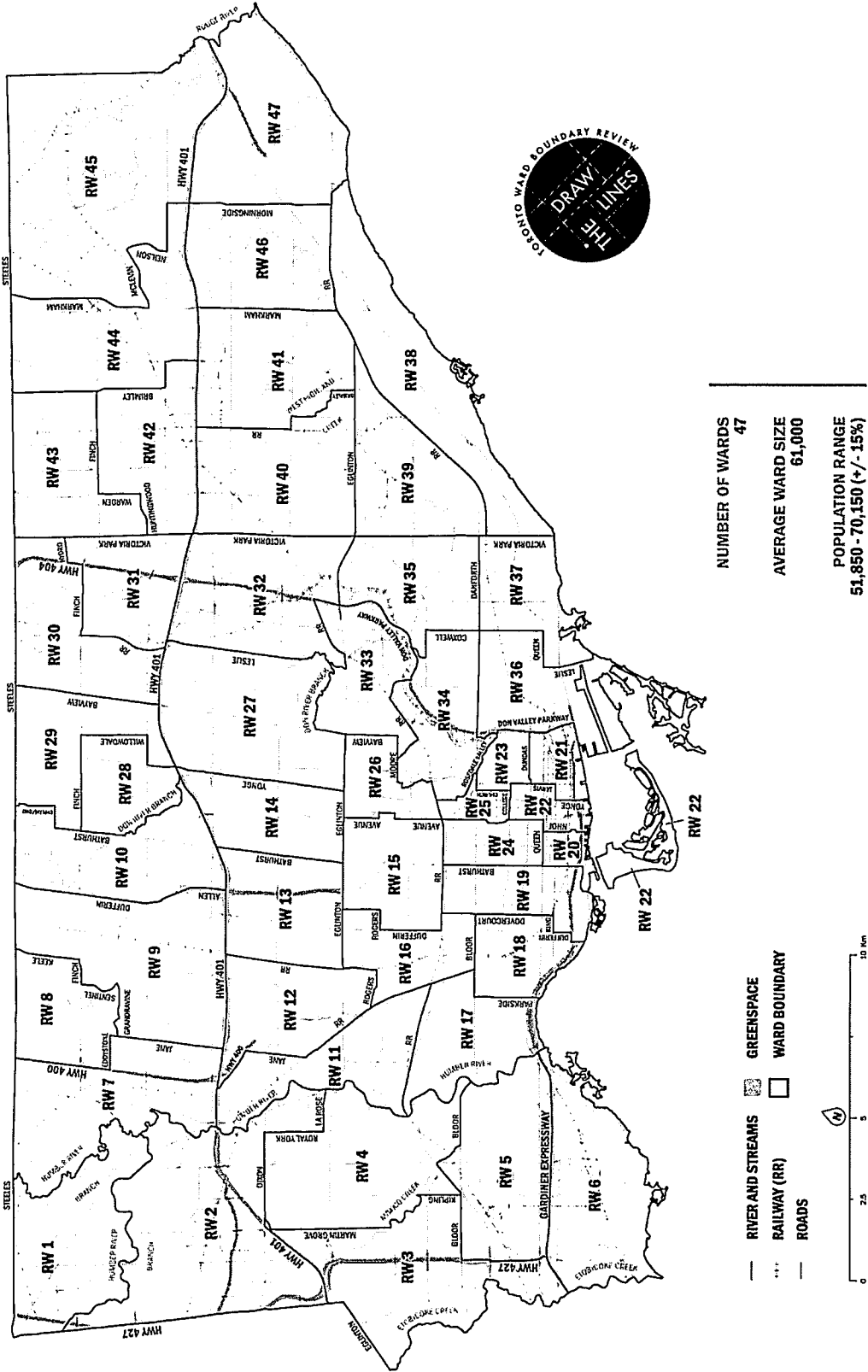
The recommended ward structure:

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<sup>1</sup> Maps of the five options can be found in Appendix B and the full Options Report can be found at [www.drawthelines.ca](http://www.drawthelines.ca)

- **Minimally increases the number of wards** given the need to accommodate the projected rapid growth of the city to 3.2 million people in 2030. The recommended ward structure results in 47 wards - an increase of 3 wards from the current 44 (see APPENDIX A for a map of the current City of Toronto wards).
- **Retains the current average ward size** of 61,000 people.
- **Achieves effective representation in all wards by 2026.** The population variance is limited to plus or minus 15% of the average ward population of 61,000 for 44 of the 47 wards. Two wards are minimally above 15% (RW15 & RW41) and one ward is slightly below 15% (RW20). To review the detailed projected populations and variances of the 47 recommended wards from 2018 (the first election the new wards will be used), to 2030, please see TABLE 1: Recommended Wards - Projected Population and Variance 2018 - 2030.
- **Is designed to last for four municipal elections.** The recommended ward structure can be implemented for the 2018 election and can be used for the elections of 2022, 2026 and 2030.

**RECOMMENDED WARDS**



### 1.1 THE TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW

In 2014 Toronto City Council formally recognized that Toronto's existing ward structure was out of balance and launched the Toronto Ward Boundary Review (TWBR). Between July 2014 and February 2015, the TWBR conducted Round One of its civic engagement and public consultation process to collect opinions on Toronto's current ward alignment. The results informed the development of five options for re-aligning Toronto's wards. Round Two of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process solicited feedback on these options between August and November 2015. This report summarizes the entire Toronto Ward Boundary Review process and outlines the methodology used for arriving at the recommended ward structure.

### 1.2 HOW TO READ THIS REPORT

This Report contains six sections and several appendices: Section 2 summarizes the reasons the TWBR was conducted; Section 3 details all major steps completed during the TWBR project; Section 4 describes how the preferred option was determined and how the ward boundary refinements suggested by TWBR participants were analyzed; Section 5 provides the detailed recommendation for new wards for Toronto; Section 6 outlines the conclusion and next steps; APPENDIX A contains the current ward boundary map;

APPENDIX B presents the maps of the 5 options, which were the focus of discussion during Round Two of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process; APPENDIX C contains the numerous suggestions for ward-specific refinements; APPENDIX D lists comments gathered during Rounds One and Two of the TWBR's public process, which are outside of the project's purview; and APPENDIX E is a large version of the recommended new wards for Toronto.

### 1.3 ABOUT WARD BOUNDARY REVIEWS

Designing a ward structure for any municipality is not solely an academic or technical exercise. The population size of a ward affects how residents are represented at City Council not just at election time, but every time Council votes. It also influences how well Councillors can represent the number of people in a ward. Ward boundaries shape the relationship of residents and the business community with their local government and Councillors' link with their electorate. Any changes to ward boundaries can be disruptive. It is therefore important to find the right fit for the City of Toronto.

### 1.4 WHY A WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW?

Since Toronto's existing ward structure was created in 2000, growth in the City has been significant. Toronto's population today is approximately 2.9 million. This is some 400,000 more than when the current wards were put in place.

Between 2011 (a Census year) and 2030, Toronto's population is projected to grow by 500,000 people to a total of 3.2 million.

In addition, there are large variations in ward population sizes. For the 2014 election the smallest ward was 45,440 (Ward 18) and the largest ward was 94,600 (Ward 27). The variance around the average ward population size ranged from minus 25.03% to plus 56.07%. Therefore, the current Council finds itself in a situation where the range in ward populations, from smallest to largest, is over 75%. This range has most likely increased since 2014.

### 1.5 EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

Effective representation is an inclusive phrase used to consider how well residents are represented in our form of government, which we call "representative democracy". At a general level it means that one person's vote should be of similar weight to another person's. Applied to wards, it suggests that wards should be of similar population size. In some jurisdictions this is referred to as "rep-by-pop", or representation by population. In the TWBR it is referred to as 'voter parity'.

In addition to 'voter parity', effective representation includes several other components, which have to be balanced when designing a ward structure. Geographic communities of

interest have to be respected, natural/physical boundaries should be used as ward boundaries and ward history, population growth, the capacity to represent, and the geographic shape and size of a ward have to be taken into consideration.

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**Toronto's population today is approximately 2.9 million. This is some 400,000 more than when the current wards were put in place.**

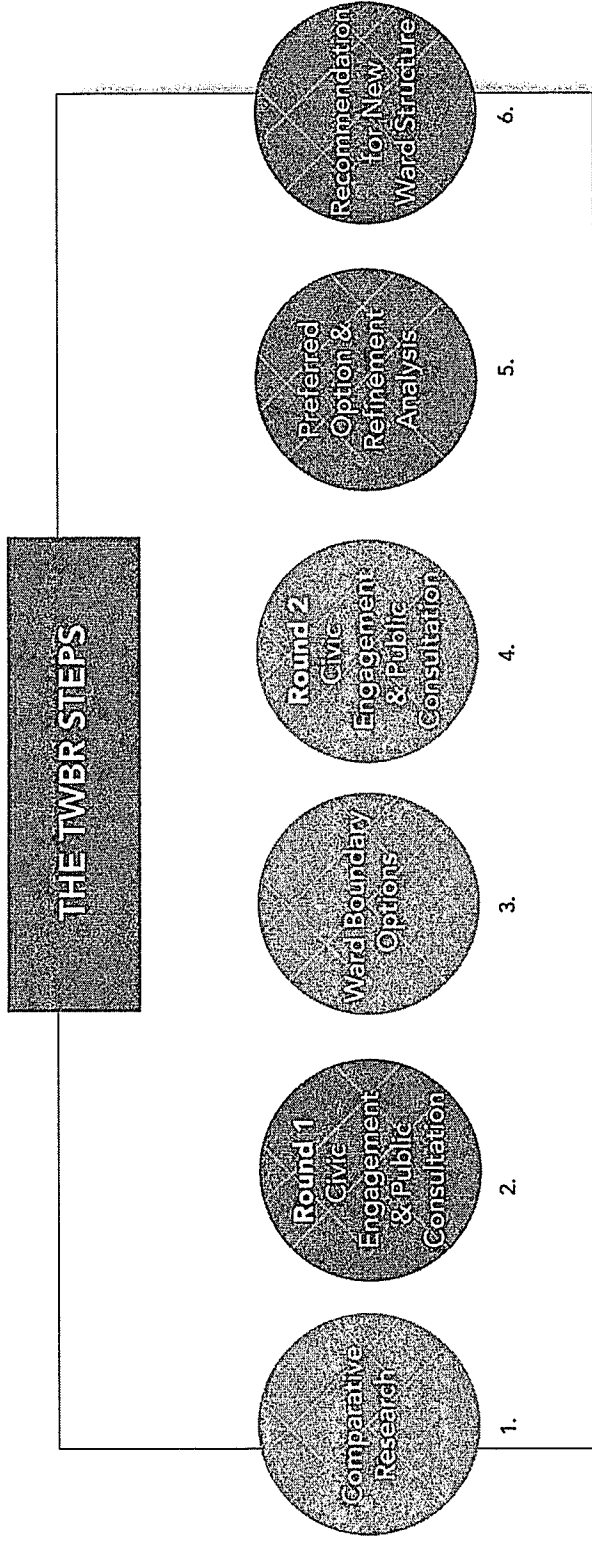
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### 1.6 THE ROLE OF THE OMB

Changing an existing ward structure is a challenging and difficult task. The TWBR makes a specific recommendation for new wards for Toronto but it is up to City Council to make a final decision. Council's decision, or lack of decision, which effectively leaves the current ward alignment in place, can be appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). The recommended new ward structure meets the tests of effective representation and any amendments that City Council may wish to make have to maintain these tests to be defensible at the OMB.

### 1.7 THE TWBR STEPS

The TWBR process included 6 steps:



## 1.8 PROVINCIAL & FEDERAL RIDING BOUNDARIES

During Round One of the TWBR civic engagement and public consultation process, there was little support for reducing the number of wards to 25 to mirror the new federal ridings.

However, there was some interest in aligning new ward boundaries with the boundaries of provincial or federal ridings and then dividing them in two resulting in 50 wards. The TWBR did not pursue this, since such a ward structure would not achieve voter parity, an essential component of effective representation, nor would it address the current discrepancies in ward population sizes. Option 1: Minimal Change comes closest to such a configuration, since Toronto's existing ward structure is based on provincial riding boundaries.

## 1.9 WHERE ARE THE CHANGES

The recommended new ward structure for Toronto increases the total number of wards to 47 from 44. This increase rebalances the existing ward population discrepancies by enlarging small wards and decreasing large wards. It also accommodates the projected population growth to 2030.

Where are the new wards? This seems like a straightforward question but the answer is more complex. Of the 44 existing wards, 38 experience some changes in their boundaries and are, therefore, "new wards". Only 6 existing wards (Wards 1, 2, 6, 10, 11 and 35) retain their exact current boundaries.

To demonstrate where the "additional" wards are located, it is helpful to examine the major natural and physical boundaries of the recommended ward structure and the seven geographic areas of the city they delineate.

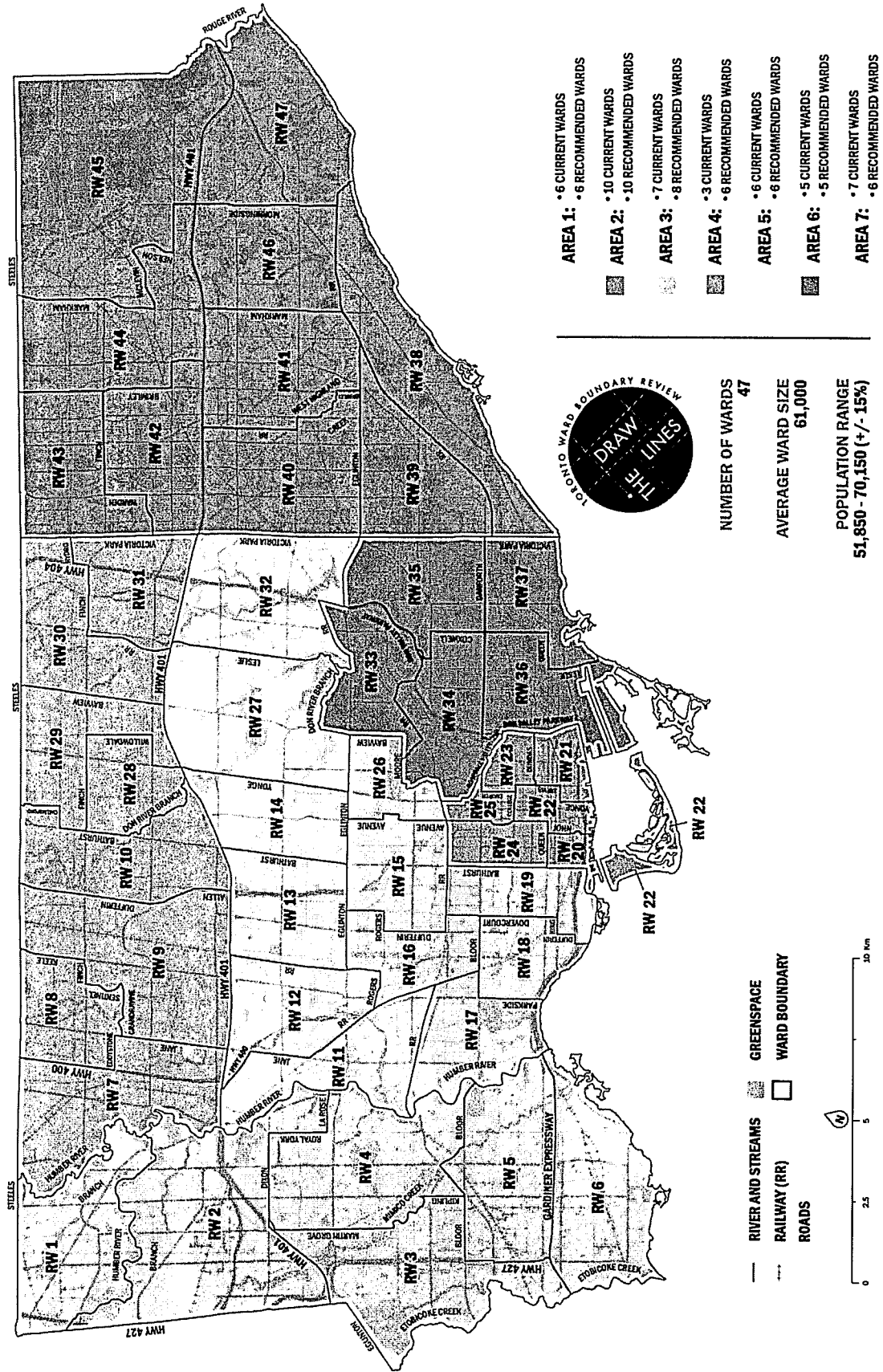
The major boundaries are: the Humber River, Victoria Park Avenue, the "Downtown", as defined by the Official Plan, Hwy. 401, and, in general, Eglinton Avenue. In four of the areas there are no changes in the number of wards. These are: the area west of the Humber River (6 wards); the area east of Victoria Park Avenue (10 wards); the area south of Hwy. 401, generally to Eglinton Avenue, between the Humber River and Victoria Park Avenue (6 wards); and, the area east of Downtown to Victoria Park and generally south of Eglinton Avenue (5 wards).

In two areas wards are added. The first is the area north of Hwy. 401 between the Humber River and Victoria Park Avenue. This area goes from 7 to 8 wards. The one ward is added between Bathurst Street and Victoria Park Avenue. The second area is the Downtown. Three wards are added and the Downtown goes from 3 to 6 wards.

Finally, in the area west of the Downtown, generally south of Eglinton Avenue to the Humber River, there is one less ward. This area goes from 7 to 6 wards.

## WHERE ARE THE CHANGES

This map illustrates the 7 areas and the changes between the current number of wards and the recommended number of wards.





In summary the “additional” wards can be attributed to three areas of the city.

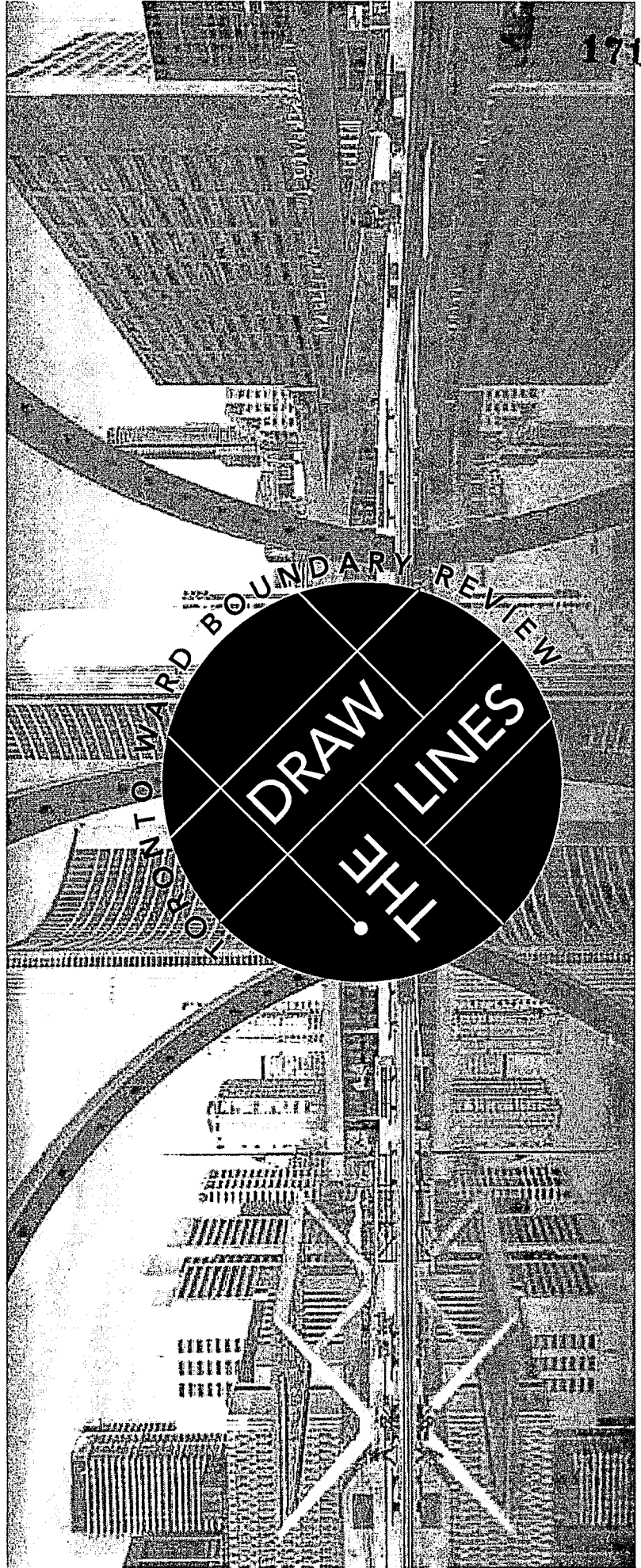
1. One additional ward north of Hwy. 401 between Bathurst St. and Victoria Park Ave.
2. Three additional wards in the Downtown area.
3. One less ward in the area west of the Downtown and south of Eglinton Ave.

All other areas retain the same number of wards they currently have, although most of their ward boundaries have been adjusted. As noted, 6 of the recommended wards are the same as the current wards. This is a reflection of the “cascading effect” as ward populations are balanced, suggested refinements are incorporated and as many geographic communities of interest as possible are respected.

SECTION TWO

# WHY A TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT



Designing a ward structure for any municipality is not solely an academic or technical exercise. The population size of a ward affects how residents are represented at City Council not just at election time, but every time Council votes. The number of people in a ward also influences how well Councillors can represent their constituents. Ward boundaries shape the relationship of residents and the business community with their local government and Councillors' link with their electorate. Any changes to ward boundaries can be disruptive. It is therefore important to find the right fit for the City of Toronto.

## 2.1 PURPOSE OF THE TWBR

The purpose of the TWBR is articulated in the Toronto Ward Boundary Review Project Work Plan, Civic Engagement and Public Consultation Strategy approved by City Council in June 2014:

- be able to withstand a challenge most likely at the OMB, but possibly in court;
- include civic engagement and public consultation approaches that educate, inform and involve residents of Toronto, stakeholders and Council members;
- be based on a current understanding of ward boundary determination principles and practices;
- consider in detail the growth that Toronto has experienced and will experience over the coming years;
- develop a series of ward boundary options for effective representation for consideration and comment by the public, stakeholders and Council members;
- respect Toronto's equity policies;
- be conducted in an objective, neutral and independent fashion; and,
- provide City Council with a specific recommendation for a new ward structure.

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**To bring a recommendation to Toronto City Council on a ward boundary configuration that respects the principle of effective representation, as defined by the courts and the Ontario Municipal Board**

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During the almost two years of the project, the TWBR has operated at arms-length from City of Toronto staff and Members of Council. Council members were interviewed for their opinions on the current ward alignment and on the five options proposed, but they did not comment on the final recommendation prior to its presentation to the City of Toronto Executive Committee and City Council.

To achieve this goal, the TWBR process must:

Since the existing ward structure was created in 2000, growth in the city has been significant. Currently, Toronto's population is approximately 2.9 million. This is some 400,000 more than when the existing wards were put in place. Between 2011 (a Census year) and 2030, Toronto's population is projected to grow by 500,000 people to a total of some 3.2 million.

This rapid growth has focused on certain areas, primarily the Downtown and designated growth centres.

The growth has followed the policies of the Official Plan. The Official Plan directs growth to specific areas and stipulates that 75% of Toronto's neighbourhoods will remain stable.

Most new residents live, and will continue to live, in the Downtown and in the city's growth centres. The concentration of growth has altered the population size of Toronto's wards. While wards are supposed to be similar in population size, currently the largest wards are twice the size of smaller wards. This imbalance, resulting from the city's continuing growth, drives the need for a review of Toronto's ward boundaries. The TWBR faces two challenges; first to correct the current imbalance in ward populations and secondly to accommodate anticipated growth over the next decade.

The TWBR is recommending a new ward structure for Toronto that can be implemented in time for the 2018 municipal election and last until 2030.

## 2.2 COMPONENTS OF EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

Effective representation is an inclusive phrase used to consider how well residents are represented in our form of government, which we call "representative democracy". At a general level it means that one person's vote should be of similar weight to another person's. Applied to wards, it suggests that wards should be of similar population size. In some jurisdictions this is referred to as "rep-by-pop", or representation by population. In the TWBR it is referred to as 'voter parity'.

In the Canadian context, the Supreme Court of Canada has employed the term "effective representation" to set the standard for creating municipal ward boundaries and provincial and federal riding boundaries. Effective representation has evolved to include several components, all of which need to be considered in designing a ward structure. These components are:

### **Voter Parity**

Voter parity speaks to the relationship between a ward's population and the average ward population of all municipal wards. To achieve parity, ward populations need to be similar but not identical. Voter parity is a criterion that has special prominence in weighing the attainment of effective representation. It is assessed in terms of incremental percentage ranges around the average ward population. A range of plus or minus 10% is considered ideal. Population variances can be greater, in limited instances, in order to satisfy other criteria. However, if the range gets too large, effective representation is lost.

### **Natural/Physical Boundaries**

Natural boundaries such as rivers, ravines and green areas are often used as boundaries to separate wards. In Toronto the Humber River is an excellent example. Similarly, major infrastructure such as expressways, railways, hydro corridors and arterial roads create barriers and are used as ward boundaries. Highway 401 is a ward boundary throughout much of the city and major arterial streets, such as Yonge Street and Victoria Park, also serve as ward boundaries. Natural/physical boundaries are highly recognizable and often separate communities of interest.

### **Geographic Communities of Interest**

Communities of Interest is a frequently used term in ward boundary reviews but is difficult to define precisely. Sometimes it refers to ethno-cultural commercial areas such as Chinatown, Little Italy or Little India. The term is also used to define neighbourhoods such as The Annex, Rexdale, Malvern, Mimico, Mount Dennis or St. Lawrence. To form a basis for determining ward boundaries, communities of interest must be geographically contiguous. There is no comprehensive list or map of Toronto's communities of interest or neighbourhoods with precise boundaries. Some areas of the city have strong neighbourhood groups and residents associations with well-defined boundaries, while other areas do not.

It is important to avoid dividing geographic communities of interest and/or neighbourhoods when creating wards. However, this objective cannot always be achieved. Sometimes a community is so large that to respect voter parity it must be split among more than one ward. The Jane-Finch community and Don Mills fall into this category. Also, some communities may already be split by natural boundaries, such as Malvern in Scarborough. Given the diversity and number of Toronto's various communities, wards will often contain many different communities and/or neighbourhoods.

### **Ward History**

The history of some wards extends to well before amalgamation and those wards have developed a strong identity. Ward design should, where possible, attempt to consider the history of the ward. For example, Victoria Park Avenue has historically been the western boundary of five of the Scarborough wards. However, ward history, in and of itself, cannot override other major criteria such as voter parity, strong natural/physical boundaries and communities of interest.

### **Capacity to Represent**

Capacity to represent is often equated with Councillors' workload. It encompasses ward size, types and breadth of concerns, ongoing growth and development, complexity of issues, etc. For example, wards with high employment, major infrastructure facilities, tourism attractions, or special areas such as the Entertainment District, generate a host of issues a Councillor has to deal with, in addition to the concerns of local residents.

The courts have noted that Councillors perform two functions. The first is legislative and refers to passing by-laws and considering city-wide issues. All Councillors have this role in common. The courts have referred to the second function as the "ombudsman role", which is interpreted as a

constituency role. It speaks to a Councillor's responsibility to represent the interests of a ward's residents to the city government and its administrative structure.

This latter function, the constituency role, is captured by the concept of the "capacity to represent". This role can vary greatly depending on the issues prevalent in any given ward.

There is no specific information or data set to quantify this criterion. Some data on development pressures can be gleaned from development pipeline reports and areas that play a special role in the city's economic life are known.

Wards with these types of issues can remain in the lower reaches of the voter parity range. Homogeneous, stable wards can rise to the upper end of the voter parity range.

### **Geographic Size and Shape of the Ward**

All wards cannot be the same geographic size. Some areas of the city are more densely populated than others and some wards have more open space. Comments during Round One of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process noted that many suburban wards are physically larger and take longer to get around in. However, in a built-up city like Toronto equalizing the geographic size of wards is not a relevant consideration.

## Population Growth

Any changes that City Council makes to the current ward alignment will be used for the 2018 municipal election. However, the wards created should also work for future elections. The TWBR looks at the next four elections in 2018, 2022, 2026 and 2030. The target election for an evaluation of effective representation has been set for 2026. This allows for Toronto's expected growth to be factored into ward boundary calculations.

If the new ward structure works in 2026, it should hold until the 2030 municipal election. After that another review of Toronto's ward boundaries will likely be required.

Wards that will grow dramatically over the next decade can start out smaller, as they will achieve acceptable voter parity ranges by the municipal elections of 2022 or 2026. Similarly, more stable wards, from a population growth perspective, may start larger than average or at the top of the voter parity range, but come closer to average by 2022 or 2026.

## Balancing the Components of Effective Representation

Designing a new ward structure requires balancing all the components of effective representation. While all of the components have to be taken into consideration, they are not all equal. Some need to be weighted more heavily than

others in determining a new ward configuration. Voter parity is pivotal and is a key determinant of effective representation. Respecting communities of interest is another high priority consideration, along with well-defined, coherent ward boundaries.

The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that voter parity is required based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provision of the "right to vote". Besides just voting, the right to vote asserts that one person's vote must be similar in weight to any other person's vote. Voting weights do not need to be identical but they must be 'similar' and within a reasonable range. Within this range other factors such as geographic communities of interest or capacity to represent are considered.

Ward boundary reviews need to look into the future. Toronto is growing at a rapid rate. In its pursuit of effective representation, the TWBR looks ahead to 2030 when Toronto's population will have grown to approximately 3.2 million.

The TWBR uses total population numbers in a ward and not electors. Councillors, once elected, represent all people in a ward, not just those eligible to vote. Also, as a ward alignment lasts for several elections, some people not eligible to vote currently will become voters in future elections.

### 2.3 THE STATUS QUO IS NOT AN OPTION

In November 2014 the TWBR produced a report entitled **Why Is Toronto Drawing New Ward Boundaries** that explored the city's current ward structure in depth to determine what would happen to the principle of effective representation if no changes were made. The report concluded that the status quo is not an option (all TWBR reports prior to this Final Report can be found online: [www.drawthelines.ca](http://www.drawthelines.ca)).

City staff had pointed out the large variation in ward population sizes, when the TWBR was launched. For the 2010 municipal election, based on 2011 Census data, ward populations in Toronto ranged from 44,935 (Ward 29) to 88,440 (Ward 23). This represented a variation from 24.4% below to 48.8% above the average ward population of 59,433.

By the 2014 election the smallest ward was 45,440 (Ward 18) and the largest ward was now 94,600 (Ward 27). The variation around the average ward population size ranged from minus 25.03% to plus 56.07%. Therefore, the current Council finds itself in a situation where the range in ward populations, from smallest to largest, is over 75%. This unsustainable range has most likely increased since the election of 2014.

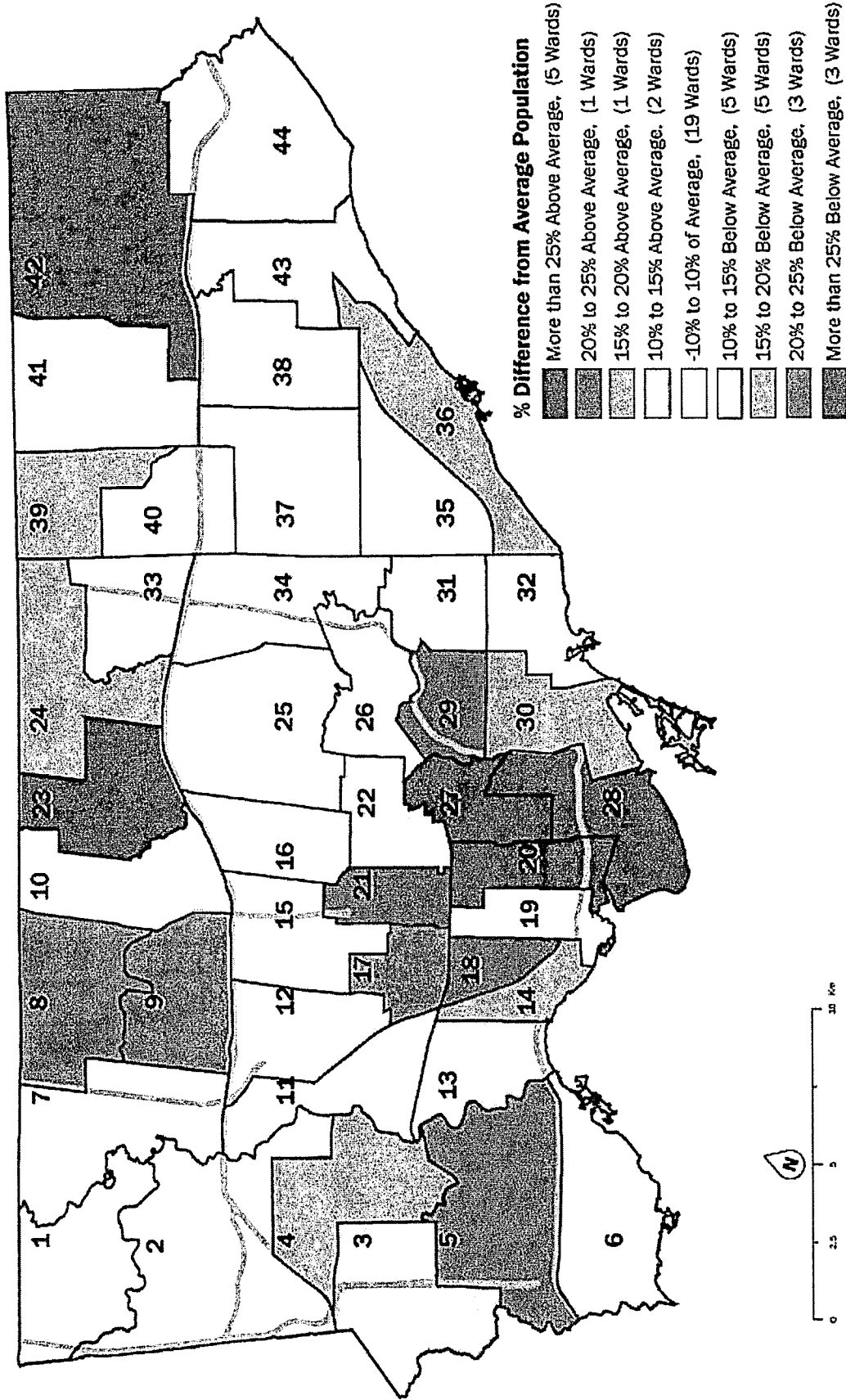
The TWBR team set out to track the variations in ward populations, if no changes were made to the existing ward structure, for the four future elections of 2018, 2022, 2026 and 2030. For analytical purposes ward populations were grouped into 9 population ranges from 25% below the average ward population size to 25% above the average. These ranges are key indicators of whether or not the voter parity component of effective representation is being achieved.

Maps showing the ward population ranges around the averages for all of the next four elections can be found in the **Options Report**. To reveal the general trend, only the maps for the elections of 2018 (Map 1) and 2026 (Map 2) have been included in this report. The 2018 election is the election that will first implement any new ward structure for Toronto and the 2026 election represents the target election year used throughout the TWBR project to determine voter parity.

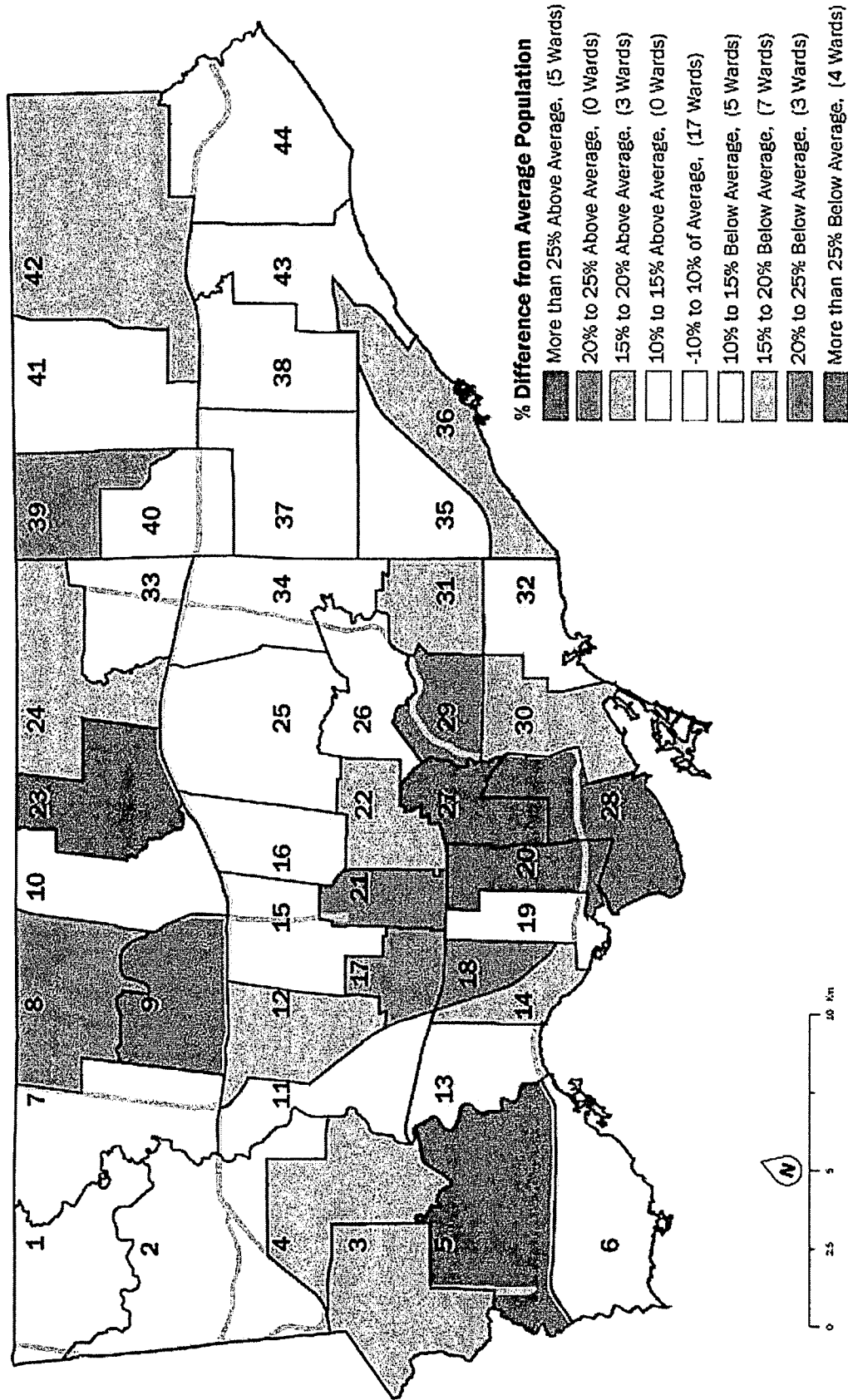
The maps show voter parity ranges in 5% increments both above and below a 10% range around the average ward population. As noted previously, wards within a 10% range of the average are ideal. As the variances increase above 10%, concerns about voter parity increase and above 15% it becomes problematic, unless convincing extenuating circumstances are involved.



MAP 1 | VARIANCE BY CURRENT WARD 2018



MAP 2 | VARIANCE BY CURRENT WARD 2026



The emerging pattern is clear. With each election the number of wards outside of the 10% variation range of the average ward population size increases. By 2018, 19 wards are outside plus or minus 10%, the variance range deemed desirable for voter parity. By 2026, 27 wards are outside the 10% range, with 19 of them larger than 10% of the average.

Toronto's population growth has been and will be concentrated in the downtown wards and the city's designated growth centres. As noted, Toronto will grow by approximately 500,000 people between 2011 and 2030. The current ward structure can simply not accommodate this amount of growth. The ward structure was already starting to tip out of balance in the 2014 election and by 2026 over half of the wards will fall outside a reasonable range in terms of voter parity. As pointed out in the TWRB analysis of the existing ward structure, the status quo is not an option.

#### **2.4 THE ROLE OF THE ONTARIO MUNICIPAL BOARD (OMB)**

The current Toronto ward structure is out of balance and the situation will worsen with every election. The TWBR recommends a new ward structure that will achieve effective representation starting with the 2018 election and continuing until the election of 2030. This recommendation addresses the two key issues facing the existing ward structure: its current population imbalance and the rapid and concentrated growth projected for Toronto.

Changing an existing ward structure is a challenging and difficult task. Ward boundaries are imbued with considerable history, and residents and Councillors have worked together in many communities for a long time. While the TWBR team makes a specific recommendation for a new ward structure for Toronto, there are a multitude of competing interests involved in making the final decision. In such a situation a stalemate can be the result. Such a stalemate, or lack of a decision, would by default leave the current ward structure in place.

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#### **TWBR CHALLENGES**

- 1. Overcome the current imbalance in ward populations**
  - 2. Accommodate 3.2 million people by 2030**
- 

The decision on the new ward structure is up to Toronto City Council. However, that decision, or lack of a decision, can be appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). The TWBR has crafted a recommendation that achieves effective representation and is defensible at the OMB. To remain defensible any amendments City Council may wish to make will have to maintain the tests of effective representation.

If Council does not enact a new ward structure, a group of citizens, an NGO or any other interested party can refer the matter to the OMB. Prior to the TWBR process, there were two referrals regarding the City's ward boundaries to the OMB. These were withdrawn on the understanding that the City planned to undertake a comprehensive ward boundary review. Non-action by Council could see these parties come forward again. It is preferable for City Council, an elected, representative body, to make the decision on a new ward structure than having an appointed quasi-judicial body impose a ward structure.



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**A ward boundary review must make sure that boundaries among wards make sense based on: the number of people in each ward, geographic communities of interest and neighbourhoods, future growth, physical and natural boundaries (e.g. ravines, roads and railway tracks), the ward's history and other relevant considerations. Changes will come into effect for the municipal election in 2018.**

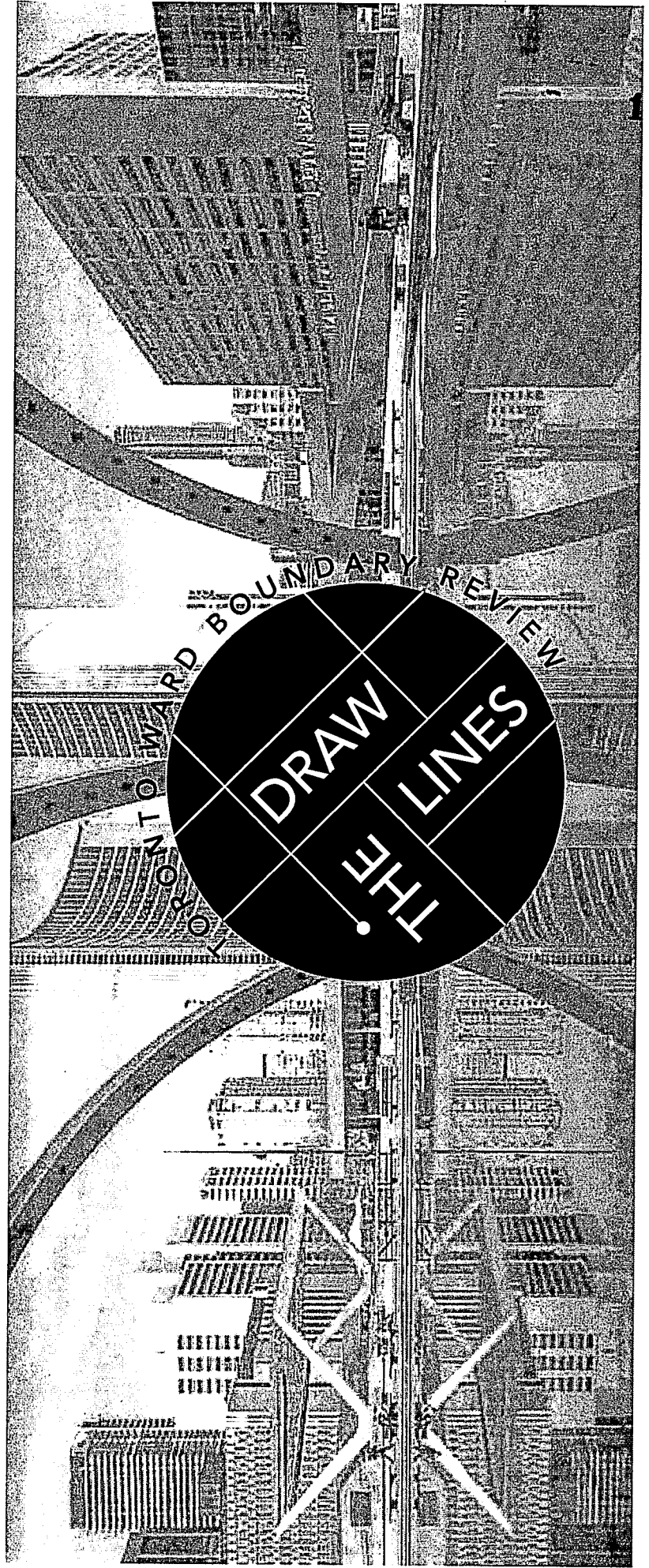
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SECTION THREE

# THE TWBR STEP-BY-STEP

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT



### 3.1 OVERVIEW

- **Comparative Research**
- **Round One Civic Engagement & Public Consultation** (input on current ward structure)
- **Ward Boundary Options**
- **Round Two Civic Engagement & Public Consultation** (feedback on options)
- **Preferred Option and Refinement Analysis**
- **Recommendation for New Ward Structure**

### 3.2 COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

The TWBR project began with research into the ward structures of other municipalities. The background report, titled **Toronto Ward Boundary Review: Background Research Report**, December 2014, includes an assessment of Toronto’s ward structure within the context of other municipalities in Ontario, Canada and a few international examples.

Direct comparisons between Toronto’s ward structure and those of other cities in Canada, or internationally cannot be made. Various provincial laws and local practices limit how comparable other jurisdictions can be. For example, Vancouver has 10 councillors but they are all elected at large.

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<sup>2</sup> All figures are from the 2011 Census.

At the other end of the council size spectrum, Montreal has 65 elected officials, but the city uses a party-based system within its municipal government.

Average ward population sizes amongst Canada’s largest cities were examined to determine how Toronto’s average ward population size of approximately 61,000 compares<sup>2</sup>. Average ward populations range considerably across the country. In Montreal, wards (termed electoral districts) have an average population of 28,439. At the larger end of the scale, Calgary’s average ward population size is 78,345. Edmonton and Mississauga are in the 60,000 range. Overall Toronto’s average ward population is slightly higher than that of other large Canadian cities.

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**Overall, Toronto’s average ward population is slightly higher than that of other large Canadian cities.**

The research report also examined 13 Ontario cities where ward boundary reviews have occurred since 2005. This helped to confirm the context for the guiding principles used in ward boundary reviews, along with the overriding principle of effective representation established by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Ward boundary reviews in Ontario have been appealed in several instances. Of the 13 municipalities assessed, 6 were appealed and the City of Ottawa was appealed twice.

A review of the OMB decisions is informative and assists in an understanding of what Toronto might encounter should the TWBR be appealed.

Comparative information on the situation in other cities helps provide some context for the TWBR. However, Toronto is the largest and fastest growing city in Canada and this raises unique challenges for the determination of ward boundaries.

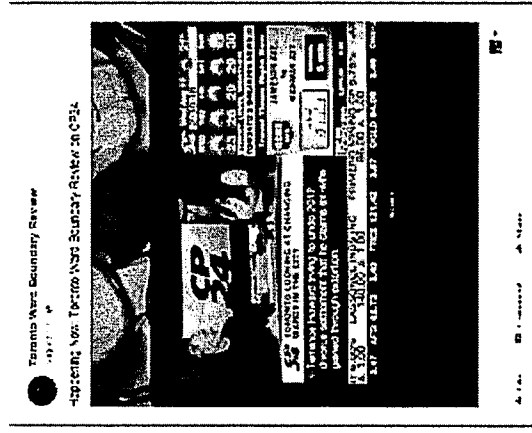
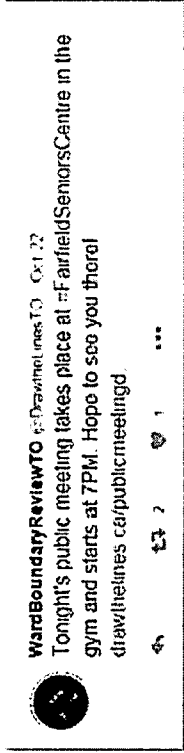
### **3.3 TWO STAGE PROCESS FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT & PUBLIC CONSULTATION**

The TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process has been extensive and thorough and will be able to withstand an OMB challenge, should this occur. The process was designed at the beginning of the project and approved by City Council in Spring 2014 (see **The Toronto Ward Boundary Review Project Work Plan, Civic Engagement and Public Consultation Strategy**).

The TWBR has made a distinction between “civic engagement” and “public consultation”. The former focused on all web-based activities and communication with the public, Members of Council and other stakeholders via e-mail, print, social media and a user-friendly interactive project web site [www.drawthelines.ca](http://www.drawthelines.ca). The latter included face-to-face discussions with Members of Council and stakeholder groups, 24 public meetings and a webinar.

## TWBR by the Numbers

- 2811 contacts on TWBR distribution list
- 1803 direct participants
- 474 social media contacts
- 337 posts on the TWBR social media twitter account @DrawtheLinesTO
- 331 average monthly visits to the drawthelines.ca website
- 198 posters in public library branches
- 103 face-to-face meetings (inc. Members of Council, School Boards other stakeholder groups)
- 55 advertisements (mix of online and print)
- 24 of public meetings and information sessions
- 18 maps posted to the drawthelines.ca website
- 12 e-news issued to the TWBR distribution list
- 11 media releases
- 7 reports available on the drawthelines.ca website
- 1 webinar





The TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process has been delivered in two rounds. Round One (July 2014 to February 2015) solicited opinions about Toronto's current ward structure through individual meetings with Members of Council and a number of stakeholder groups. The general public provided their input via an online survey, e-mail and 12 public meetings (3 in each Community Council area). The schedule of the public meetings was constrained by the 2014 municipal election. Community meetings could not begin until after the new City Council took office in early December.

Round Two of the process (August 2015 – November 2015) collected feedback on five options for a new ward structure from the public and Members of Council, again through individual interviews, another online survey, e-mail, a webinar and a second set of 12 public meetings.

Both sets of public meetings were held on weekday evenings and Saturday mornings to invite the broadest possible participation. Meeting locations ranged from community centres and church halls to public library branches and seniors' centres, all of them accessible to people with limited mobility. American Sign Language interpreters were present at every public meeting, and interpretation in 11 languages as well as attendant care services were available on request. Project print materials, such as the online surveys,

advertisements in community newspapers and the public library posters publicizing the 24 public meetings, all communicated the availability of translation services, if required.

The public process produced many comments that are outside of the scope of the TWBR. They are largely related to the way City Council currently governs itself. The project team had agreed at the outset to report these comments and suggestions separately. A list of the 'out-of-scope' comments and suggestions can be found in APPENDIX D to this report. More detailed summaries are included as Appendix C of the

**Round One Report on Civic Engagement + Public Consultation**, March 2015 and Appendix B of the **Round Two Report on Civic Engagement + Public Consultation: Feedback on the Options for New Ward Boundaries for the City of Toronto, February 2016**.

Throughout the TWBR, the project has benefitted from the ideas and observations of an outside Advisory Panel with expertise in municipal law, business, academe, civil society research and the OMB. The Panel met three times during the course of the project.

### 3.4 ROUND ONE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT & PUBLIC CONSULTATION

Round One of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process was the 'input' phase of the project. It collected opinions about the current alignment of Toronto's 44 wards from the general public, Members of Council and stakeholder groups, such as the various school boards, Civic Action (Emerging Leaders Network), Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), Social Planning Toronto, Toronto Association of Business Improvement Areas and United Way.

The project established a website, [www.drawthelines.ca](http://www.drawthelines.ca) and a database of community associations and stakeholder groups, including 59 different Toronto-based ethno-cultural organizations. These groups were encouraged to share information about the TWBR with their networks. Five TWBR news releases and a number of City of Toronto releases were sent out to highlight the Round One public process.

In all 919 individuals participated as follows:

- Public Meetings – 192
- Online Survey – 608
- E-mail/Twitter/website – 9
- Members of Council (2010 – 2014) – 44
- New Members of Council – 7

- Stakeholder groups – 59

During Round One interviews, surveys and public meetings focused on issues with current ward boundaries, communities of interest, ward size, total number of wards and congruity of City ward boundaries with those of federal/provincial ridings.

#### Key Findings

##### Ward Size

- Generally, there seemed to be commonality across all participant groups regarding ward size. Responses from all groups were comfortable with a ward size close to the current average of 61,000. Many comments suggested 'up to 60,000 people per ward' and 'current size or slightly smaller or larger'.
- A small minority favoured large wards in the 90,000 to 105,000 plus range, accompanied by additional resources to be allocated to Members of Council.

##### Total Number of Wards

- A large majority of Council members and responses from public meetings agreed that there should be 44 wards or more (44 – 50 wards).
- Survey responses favoured even more wards, i.e. 54 – 75 wards.

1874

- A small minority of survey and Council members' responses suggested 22 - 25 wards to mirror provincial or federal ridings.

### **Follow Provincial or Federal Riding Boundaries**

- Opinions on this issue were divided among survey and public meeting responses.
- Members of Council suggested that this should not be the major criterion for re-aligning Toronto's wards boundaries.
- Stakeholder group responses were in favour of following provincial or federal riding boundaries.

In addition to comments on specific issues such as ward size, total number of wards and whether Toronto's ward boundaries should follow those of the federal/provincial ridings, Round One participants also made suggestions on how current ward boundaries could be improved to become more 'logical' and/or better reflect existing communities of interest. These ward-specific comments from all participants can be found in Appendix D of the Round One report.

### **3.5 CREATING THE OPTIONS**

In designing the options, a methodology was developed to:

- Account for Toronto's population growth
- Ensure validity for four municipal elections
- Balance ward population sizes
- Offer a set of diverse and distinct options
- Achieve effective new ward boundaries

The background research and the input from Round One of the civic engagement and public consultation process informed the development of five options for a new ward structure for Toronto. All five options respect the principles of effective representation. From this perspective, any of the options developed could be approved by Council and, in the opinion of the TWBR team, withstand an appeal at the OMB.

Two critical factors had to apply to all options. Toronto's projected growth of approximately 500,000 over the time frame of the TWBR (2011 to 2030) needs to be accommodated in the areas where the Official Plan indicates that the bulk of the growth will occur. Secondly, to balance ward population size, the large wards must get smaller and the small wards larger.

The parameters for the five options are as follows:

- Option 1 reflects the goal of making minimal changes. This refers to both average ward population size (61,000) and retaining current ward boundaries where possible.

- Option 2 focuses on keeping the current number of wards and Councillors at 44. Given the anticipated growth, the average ward population increases to 70,000.
- Options 3 and 4 are based on setting average ward population sizes and creating options that reflect these ward populations. Option 3 (Small Wards) targets an average ward population of 50,000. Option 4 (Large Wards) uses an average ward population of 75,000.
- Option 5 starts with major natural and physical boundaries, such as rivers and expressways, and designs a ward structure based on these boundaries. Unlike the other options, this option is not based on the existing ward structure.

Within these general parameters, the TWBR has used small area population data projections, natural and physical boundaries, community of interest information, and ward history to design the five options and determine exact, possible boundaries.

The TWBR has applied these small area population projections to determine the ward population size for each of the wards in the five options.

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<sup>3</sup> A complete discussion of the methodology for determining the five options can be found in the Options Report.

The population projections were provided to the TWBR by the City Planning Division. Those projections were based on 2011 Census data and projected out to 2041 for each Census year. From this data, the TWBR has developed its own projections for the municipal election years of 2018, 2022, 2026 and 2030. The TWBR has used the projection scenario that coincides with the growth targets for the City of Toronto in the provincial Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe.

In designing the five options, population ranges around the average ward population size have been developed. The ideal range is plus or minus 10% of the desired average ward population size.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 1 provides overview information on each option.

TABLE 1 | SUMMARY OF OPTIONS

OPTION	NAME	AVG WARD POPULATION	WARD POPULATION RANGE	NO OF WARDS
1	Minimal Change	61,000	51,850 - 70,150	47
2	44 Wards	70,000	63,000 - 77,000	44
3	Small Wards	50,000	45,000 - 55,000	58
4	Large Wards	75,000	67,500 - 82,500	38
5	Natural/Physical Boundaries	70,000	63,000 - 77,000	41

In the final analysis effective representation is about the balance amongst its various components. All five options have a different balance. However, they all achieve effective representation.

**Federal and Provincial Ridings**

During the consultation process the idea of using the federal/provincial riding boundaries as ward boundaries was suggested, although opinion on this issue was divided. There were two variations on this theme.

The first was to use the new 25 federal ridings as Toronto’s wards. This would result in 25 wards and 25 Councillors with an average ward size of 123,000 people. Only a very small number of Councillors and the public supported this scenario.

The second variation was to use the new federal riding boundaries but split them in half. This approach would lead to 50 wards with an average ward population of approximately 60,500 people. This population average is close to Toronto’s current average ward population size. It is worth noting that the federal riding boundaries mostly do not align with the current ward boundaries.

The TWBR team assessed these two suggestions to see if either could lead to a viable option.

APPENDIX B to this report contains a map for each of the five options showing specific boundaries for each of the possible wards.

The Options Report has provided a number of options. Each has its strengths and weaknesses. For example, the ‘Small Ward’ option is stronger with respect to “capacity to represent” than the ‘Large Ward’ option; the ‘Large Ward’ option has tighter voter parity numbers than the ‘Minimal Change’ option; and, the ‘Minimal Change’ option represents existing ward history better than the other options.

Neither variation of the federal riding approach meets the tests of effective representation going forward. Specifically, the ward population size spread is too large from a voter parity perspective. For 2026, the range is 96,614 – 135,298 in the 25 ward version and 48,307 – 67,649 in the 50 ward version. There seems to be little appetite for wards as large as the 25 ward version and adjusting boundaries to make the 50 ward version respect voter parity will end up resembling Option 1 but with three additional wards.

In addition, federal riding boundaries are reviewed and adjusted every 10 years, which does not deliver a long term solution.

### **3.6 ROUND TWO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT & PUBLIC CONSULTATION**

Round Two of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process was the 'feedback' phase of the project. It sought comments on the five options outlined in the Options Report released on the project website on August 11, 2015 from the same groups as those consulted during Round One. Current Members of Council (2014-2018), stakeholders and the general public were asked to rank the options, suggest possible refinements and provide whatever other comments they thought appropriate via individual interviews, by e-mail, during a webinar and by completing an online survey.

During the public meetings the five options were outlined, suggestions for refinements to the options were collected and meeting participants were encouraged to complete the survey individually in hard copy or online.

In order to promote public discussion and feedback, direct e-mails with a link to the Options Report were sent to the project's distribution list of over 2,800 contacts, which includes community organizations, NGOs, specific ethno-cultural organizations and individuals who subscribe to the TWBR mailing list. Separate e-mails were also sent to all Members of Council, the various Boards of Education and other stakeholder groups. In addition, the TWBR as well as the City of Toronto issued news releases drawing attention to the report's availability online.

In all 884 individuals participated in Round Two as follows:

- Public Meetings – 112
- Online Survey – 717
- General submissions – 15 (5 included a completed survey)
- Lunch-time webinar - 3
- Members of Council – 42
- Mayor's office staff – 3
- Visits to TWBR website during feedback period – approximately 10,000

There were no individual meetings with stakeholder groups. Instead, members of these groups were encouraged to complete surveys online and/or attend one of the 12 public meetings. The TWBR was active on social media through Twitter and Facebook to spread the news of the release of the Options Report and to reach out to community members to promote local public meetings. The project was supported in this endeavour by the City of Toronto's social media accounts, but more particularly by the engagement of many Councillors who shared e-news and tweets/posts about the public meetings with their constituents.

**The Round Two Report on Civic Engagement + Public Consultation: Feedback on the Options for New Ward Boundaries for the City of Toronto** contains the rankings of the five options from all participants as well as overall comments received on each option. Ward-specific suggestions for refinements from all Round Two participants are consolidated by option and ward in Appendix C of the Round Two Report and additional comments on specific communities of interest and suggestions for refining existing wards can be found in Appendix D of that report.

In addition to providing feedback on specific options, Round Two participants also provided other comments about the proposed ward boundaries and the ward boundary review

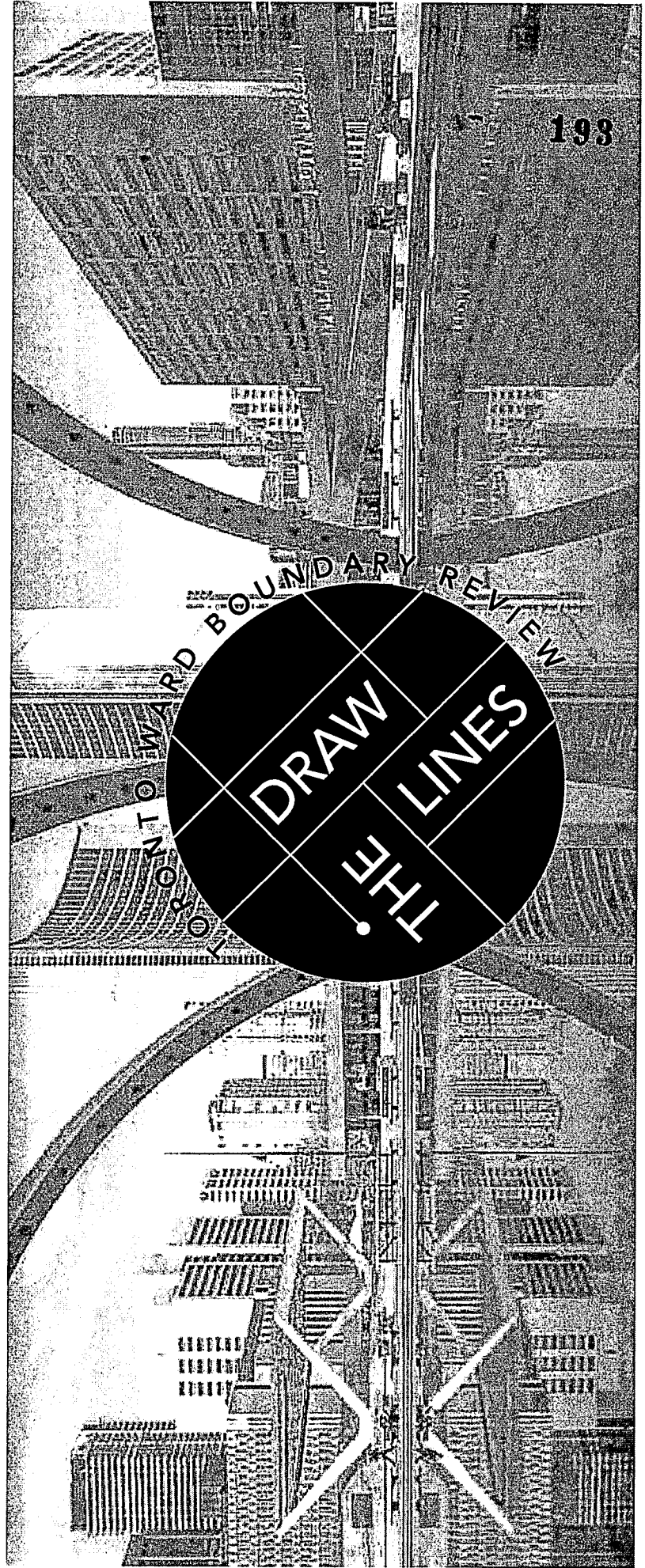
process. These comments have been captured thematically in the Round Two Report.

A detailed analysis of the rankings of the five options from Round Two of the TWBR's civic engagement and public consultation process as well as an analysis of the proposed refinements can be found in the next section of this report and in APPENDIX C.

SECTION FOUR

# PREFERRED OPTION & REFINEMENTS

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT





Round Two of the TWBR’s civic engagement and public consultation process helped establish preferences and acceptability of the five options presented in the Options Report. It also gathered a multitude of suggestions for refining the various options, some of them contradictory. This section of the report provides a summary of the feedback received, discusses the preferred option and describes the TWBR’s approach to the proposed refinements.

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**This section of the report provides a summary of the feedback received, discusses the preferred option and describes the TWBR’s approach to the proposed refinements.**

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#### 4.1 RANKING THE OPTIONS

The interviews and the Round Two public survey allowed current Members of Council and the public to rank the five options by selecting their first, second, third, fourth and fifth choices. The data and analysis from the Round Two report are provided in this section.

Not all survey participants ranked all the options. For example, some only provided their first two or three choices or, perhaps, no choices at all. In these cases the ‘blank’ options were listed as “not ranked”. Some Councillors

indicated that they do not like some option at all, a “no-way” comment. In those cases, the option was ranked as a “No”. Members of the public did not use the “No” approach.

In addition to the ‘first choice’ analysis, the TWBR team also applied a ‘ranked score’, which is able to weigh selections beyond the first choice. A ‘ranked score’ assigns a numerical value to each choice, and the sum of those values determines the overall result.

The following is the way the choices were scored to determine a ‘ranked score’ for each option:

<b>FIRST CHOICE</b>	<b>5 PTS</b>
<b>SECOND CHOICE</b>	<b>4 PTS</b>
<b>THIRD CHOICE</b>	<b>3 PTS</b>
<b>FOURTH CHOICE</b>	<b>2 PTS</b>
<b>FIFTH CHOICE</b>	<b>1 PT</b>
<b>NOT RANKED</b>	<b>0 PTS</b>
<b>‘NO’</b>	<b>0 PTS</b>

The total rankings, both from the public and Members of Council, are presented separately to maintain their statistical significance and have been analyzed in four different ways.

First, the number of times an option received a “first place” vote is shown. This indicates which option has the most support. Second, a ranked score is presented. This reveals the total score received by each option. The ranked score approach and “first-place” analysis do not always yield the same results.

Since determining a preferred ward option is a matter of building consensus, options that are viewed as strongly negative can sway the ultimate outcome. Therefore, information is presented on the fifth placed option, the least preferred, and, in the case of the Councillor interviews, options that were rated as “No”.

Fourth, a comparison Chart contrasts the number of first and last, or “No”, choices. This information indicates how contentious an option may be along with its level of support.

**Public Survey Results**

In total, 717 people participated in the public survey. The number of surveys received by ward is presented in TABLE 2.

TABLE 2 | PUBLIC SURVEY RESPONSES BY WARD

WARD	# OF RESPONSES	WARD	# OF RESPONSES
1	0	23	33
2	3	24	10
3	5	25	47
4	9	26	17
5	11	27	70
6	9	28	39
7	2	29	21
8	1	30	29
9	1	31	21
10	6	32	83
11	13	33	10
12	1	34	4
13	11	35	8
14	22	36	19
15	9	37	3
16	6	38	1
17	21	39	4
18	15	40	7
19	23	41	3
20	44	42	4
21	23	43	9
22	19	44	13
Ward not identified in response:	8	Total Surveys:	717

TABLE 3 | RANKING BY OPTION PLACEMENT – PUBLIC SURVEY

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 44 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
First ranked	126	81	186	162	139
Second ranked	166	167	73	94	157
Third ranked	169	221	80	72	111
Fourth ranked	121	146	97	117	169
Fifth ranked	71	35	224	229	105
Not ranked	64	67	57	43	36
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>717</b>

TABLE 3 represents the results of the public survey, the base data, and indicates how each option was ranked in the public survey. It is from this table that the relevant data for the public's preferred option has been derived.

TABLE 4 | FIRST PLACE CHOICE – PUBLIC SURVEY

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 44 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Times first ranked	126	81	186	162	139

Option 3 (Small Wards – 50,000) received the most first place votes with 186, followed by Option 4 (162), Option 5 (139), Option 1 (126) and finally Option 2 (81).

TABLE 5 | TOTAL RANKED SCORE – PUBLIC SURVEY

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 44 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Total Score	2114	2063	1880	1865	2027

The second way the data has been analyzed is by looking at how an option fared across all ranks – first to fifth. This gives credit to second to fifth place choices, as well as first. This produces a 'ranked score', which is shown in TABLE 5.

CHART 1 | TOTAL RANKED SCORE – PUBLIC SURVEY

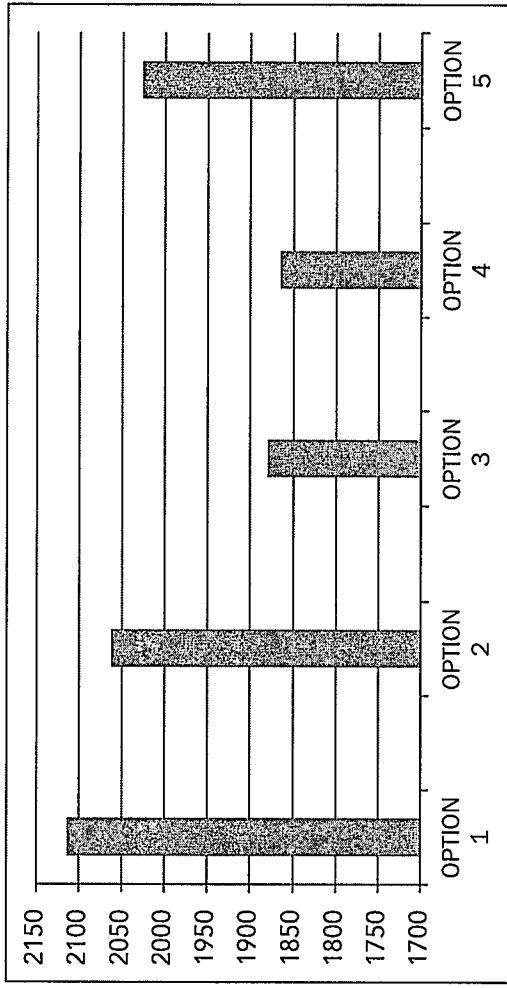


CHART 1 shows TABLE 5 in graphic form, for ease of comparison.

Based on a 'ranked score' approach, Option 1 is preferred while Option 3, which received the most first place choices, falls to fourth place. Option 2 which received the fewest first place votes rises to second place when a ranked score is used. When consideration is given to how an option does overall a different picture emerges from solely a first place choice consideration.

Implementation of a new ward structure is not just about which option places first but just as much about which option a consensus can be built around. That is why it is important to know which option placed last and can be considered a "no way" option. Also, a comparison between first and last can assist in revealing options around which a consensus may be difficult to achieve.

TABLE 6 provides information on how the options distributed themselves in fifth or last place in the public survey.

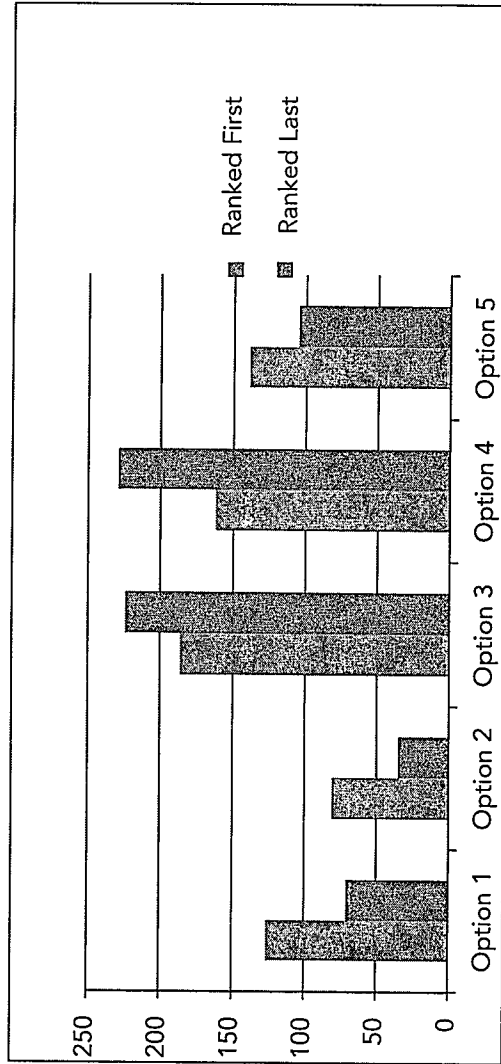
TABLE 6 | FIFTH PLACE CHOICE – PUBLIC SURVEY

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 44 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Times ranked fifth	71	35	224	229	105

Here Option 2 is ranked fifth the fewest times (35). It is “the least-worst” option; followed by Option 1 (71), Option 5 (105), Option 3 (224) and Option 4 (229).

This perspective indicates significant opposition to Options 3 and 4, an important consideration for acceptance and implementation.

CHART 2 | COMPARISON FIRST & FIFTH CHOICE – PUBLIC SURVEY



Finally, Chart 2, Comparison – First and Fifth Choice, graphically illustrates first and fifth choice options from the public survey. This chart, to some extent, reveals how strongly respondents feel about the options in both a positive and negative sense. Both Options 3 and 4 rank high on both first and fifth choices. Respondents seem to love them or hate them.

Options 1 and 2, on the other hand, have fewer first place votes but even fewer fifth place votes. Option 5 is somewhere in the middle, but with fewer fifth place votes than first place ones.

Depending on one's perspective, different, often conflicting, observations can be drawn from the public survey responses. From a "first place" perspective Option 3 (Small Wards – 50,000) is the favoured option. However, when second to fifth choices are considered in a ranked score approach, then Option 1 (Minimal Change) is the respondents' favoured option. Option 2 (44 Wards) is the least disliked, as measured by fifth place choices, while Option 4 is the most disliked.

### **Members of Council - Results**

The results from interviews with Members of Council are analyzed in the same fashion as the results from the public survey. In all, 42 Members of Council participated. The questions posed to Councillors were similar to those in the public survey and the approach to the ranking of the options was identical.

Most Councillors tied their rankings to refinements to the ward boundaries of various options. That is, a first place choice would have to include certain refinements to be acceptable. The impact of these suggestions is described later in this report.

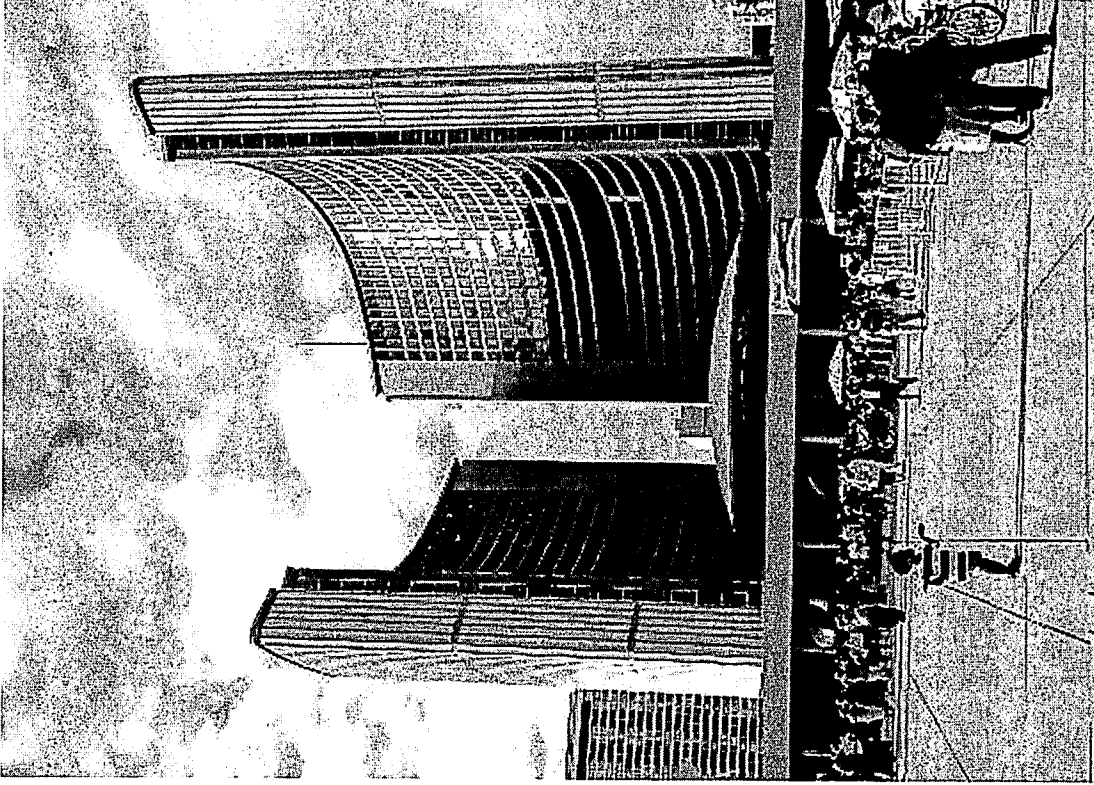


TABLE 7 | RANKING BY OPTION – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

	OPTION 1/ MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2/ 44 WARDS	OPTION 3/ SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4/ LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5/ NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
First ranked	13	9	10	3	3
Second ranked	12	7	3	4	3
Third ranked	4	4	3	0	5
Fourth ranked	1	1	1	1	0
Fifth ranked	0	0	1	0	0
Ranked 'No'	4	2	8	9	10
Not ranked	8	19	16	25	21
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>

TABLE 7 provides the base data for analyzing how Members of Council ranked the five options.

The presentation of the data follows the same approach as that used in the analysis of the public survey. The option with the most first place choices is presented in TABLE 8, First Place Choice.

TABLE 8 | FIRST PLACE CHOICE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

	OPTION 1/ MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2/ 44 WARDS	OPTION 3/ SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4/ LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5/ NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Times ranked first	13	9	10	3	3

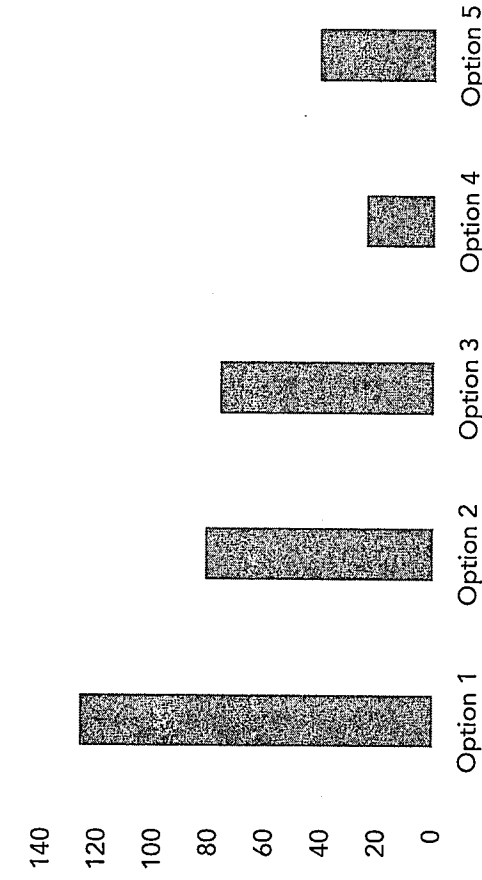
Option 1 is the favoured choice amongst Members of Council, followed by Options 3 and 2. Options 4 and 5 have minimal support for first place.

TABLE 9 | TOTAL RANKED SCORE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

	OPTION 1/ MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2/ 44 WARDS	OPTION 3/ SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4/ LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5/ NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Total score	127	82	77	25	42

TABLE 9 presents the ranked score for each option and CHART 3 shows this information graphically.

CHART 3 | TOTAL RANKED SCORE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL



When the ranked score is examined there are a few changes in preference. Option 1 is still the favoured option amongst Members of Council. However, Options 2 and 3 have switched positions and Option 2 is now in second place. Options 4 and 5 remain at the rear of the group.

The next issue is how many times an option has been ranked in last place. This is shown in TABLE 10.



TABLE 10 | FIFTH PLACE CHOICE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 45 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Times ranked fifth	0	0	1	0	0
Ranked 'No'	4	2	8	9	10
Not ranked	8	19	16	25	21

A fifth place ranking was rare. However, if the "No" rankings are included, then a picture of those options least favoured or discounted all together appears. Options 3, 4 and 5 are the least favoured by an almost similar number of Councillors.

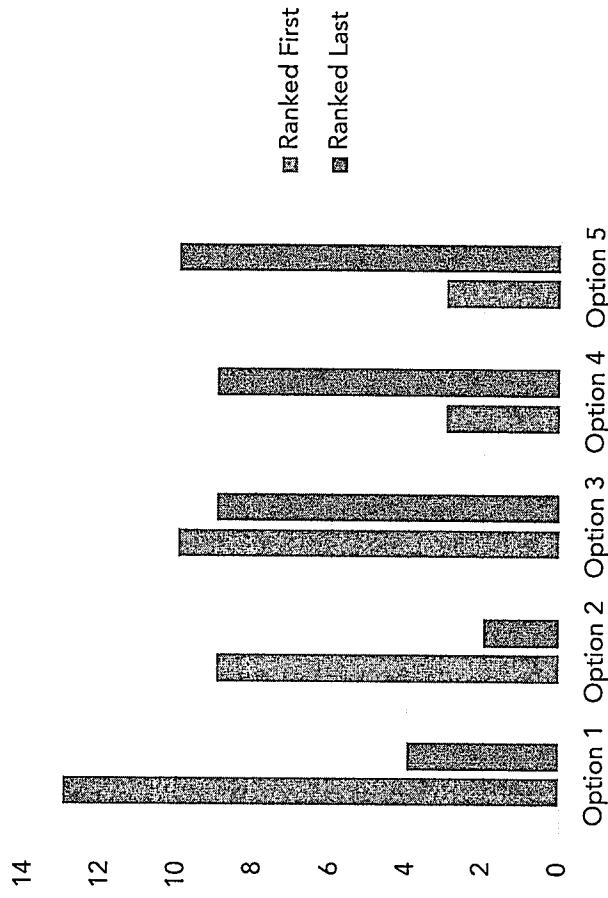
Option 2 has only 2 "No's" and Option 1 only 4. The "not ranked" responses are difficult to interpret. Options 2, 3, 4 and 5 have a high number of incidents of not being ranked. Only Option 1, not ranked 8 times, is low in this regard. A comparison of first and fifth choices of Councillors is presented in TABLE 11 and shown graphically in CHART 4.

TABLE 11 | FIRST & LAST CHOICE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

	OPTION 1 MINIMAL CHANGE	OPTION 2 45 WARDS	OPTION 3 SMALL WARDS	OPTION 4 LARGE WARDS	OPTION 5 NATURAL/ PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES
Times ranked first	13	9	10	3	3
Times ranked fifth or 'No'	4	2	9	9	10

The comparison of first and fifth choice that was employed in the public survey analysis cannot be directly replicated for the Councillor interviews. The reason is that very few Councillors ranked all options from first to fifth. Rather, they either left various options unranked or indicated a "No" to the option. If one takes the fifth ranked option and the "No's" as indicating a "last place" standing, then a rudimentary comparison between first and last choice can be constructed.

**CHART 4 | FIRST & LAST CHOICE – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL**



What can be observed from the first and last choice data is that Options 1 and 2 are viewed more positively than negatively. Option 3 draws very mixed reactions, almost an equal amount of Councilors rank it first and last. Options 4 and 5 are viewed very negatively.

#### 4.2 PREFERRED OPTION

To determine the preferred option the two data sets derived from the public survey and Members of Council interviews have to be examined and compared.

Initially, these data sets are dealt with separately to reflect the statistical nature of how they were generated. The information from the public was generated randomly based on who chose to respond to the public survey. The information from Members of Council is based on responses from 42 of the 45 Members of Council.

The basic data was presented in the section above. This section analyzes and compares that information to determine which of the five options is preferred. The analysis considers two dimensions of the data, positive and negative preferences. The reasons for taking into account the positive preferences are obvious. It is important to know which of the five Options people prefer. The need to pay attention to negative preferences is not as apparent. However, negative preferences are critical for determining where consensus may be difficult.

This analysis considers four dimensions of each data set and then compares them. The four dimensions are:

- First place choices
- Ranked scores
- Last place choices
- Comparison of first and last place choices

##### First Place Choices

An obvious starting point, as it indicates the option that was preferred by most respondents.

Public survey results place the options as follows:

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Option 3 - Small Wards                 | 186 |
| 2. Option 4 - Large Wards                 | 162 |
| 3. Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries | 139 |
| 4. Option 1 - Minimal Change              | 126 |
| 5. Option 2 - 44 Wards                    | 81  |

Members of Council provide a much different ranking when expressing their first place choice. They place the options as follows:

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 1. Option 1 - Minimal Change              | 13 |
| 2. Option 3 - Small Wards                 | 10 |
| 3. Option 2 - 44 Wards                    | 9  |
| 4. Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries | 3  |
| 5. Option 4 - Large Wards                 | 3  |

There is a considerable difference between how the public judge the options and how Members of Council view the options. Generally, the public is more open to large changes in the ward structure and places the three options that reflect the most change at the top of their list.

On the other hand, Members of Council gravitate towards maintaining the existing situation through either minimal change or retaining 44 wards. The area of most convergence is around Option 3 (Small Wards), which tops the public list and comes second with Members of Council.

**Ranked Scores**

The public and Members of Council were asked to rank the options in order of first to fifth choice. By assigning a numerical value to each of these choices, a ‘ranked score’ was produced that allows choices other than the first to be considered and evaluated. The public surveys result in the following total ranked scores for the options:

- 1. Option 1 - Minimal Change 2114
- 2. Option 2 - 44 Wards 2063
- 3. Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries 2027
- 4. Option 3 - Small Wards 1880
- 5. Option 4 - Large Wards 1865

Interviews with Members of Council result in the following total ranked scores for the options:

- 1. Option 1 - Minimal Change 127
- 2. Option 2 - 44 Wards 82
- 3. Option 3 - Small Wards 77
- 4. Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries 42
- 5. Option 4 (Large Wards) 25

Based on the ranked score there is considerable concurrence between the public and Members of Council. Both rank Option 1 and Option 2 as the top two options. Both rank Option 4 in last place. There is a slight difference in how Options 3 and 5 are ranked, trading 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> place between the two data sets.

**Last Place Choices**

The public ranking for last place is:

- 1. Option 4 - Large Wards 229
- 2. Option 3 - Small Wards 224
- 3. Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries 105
- 4. Option 1 - Minimal Change) 71
- 5. Option 2 - 44 Wards 35

The last place ranking for Members of Council is:

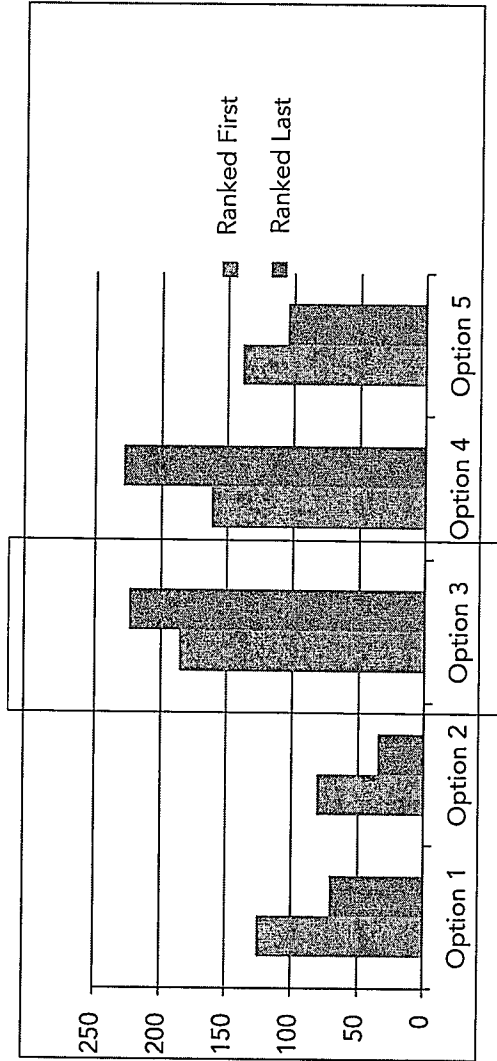
1.	Option 4 - Large Wards	34
2.	Option 5 - Natural/Physical Boundaries	31
3.	Option 3 - Small Wards	24
4.	Option 2 - 44 Wards	21
5.	Option 1- Minimal Change	12

This data set indicates which options are the least preferred. As with the ranked scores, there is considerable convergence between the views of the public and Members of Council. Options 3, 4, and 5 are the least favoured options by both groups. Options 1 and 2 have the fewest last place choices in both groups.

### **Comparison of First and Last Place Choices**

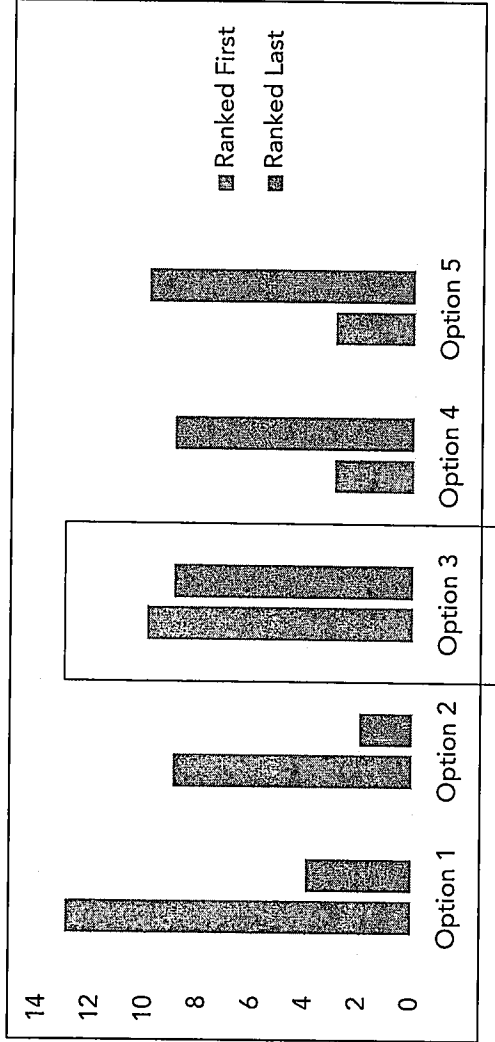
This comparative data set is best shown as a chart, both for the public survey results and for the results from interviews with Members of Council.

CHART 5 | COMPARISON FIRST & LAST PLACE CHOICES – PUBLIC SURVEY



A key observation from comparing these two Charts revolves around Option 3 (Small Wards). In both the responses from the public survey and Members of Council interviews, there is a high degree of first and last choices for this option. In some respects, Option 3 is the “love it or hate it” option. It would be the option that would be the most difficult to form a consensus around, because of the strong positive and negative reactions to it.

CHART 6 | COMPARISON FIRST & LAST PLACE CHOICES – MEMBERS OF COUNCIL



### Conclusions – Preferred Option

The results of the public survey and Members of Council interviews give clear preference to Option 1 in three of the four ways the data has been examined. The only divergence from this perspective is in the first place choices, with the public preferring Option 3 (Small Wards) and Members of Council preferring Option 1 (Minimal Change).

However, when ranked scores are applied, Option 1 is the favoured option by both groups. Also, as the comparison of first and last place choices indicates, Option 3 would be the most difficult option to form a consensus around.

Based on an assessment of all these factors, Option 1 (Minimal Change) is the preferred option and the option that provides the starting point for the recommended new ward structure for the City of Toronto.

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**Based on an assessment of all these factors,  
Option 1 (Minimal Change) is the preferred option  
and the option that provides the starting point for  
the recommended new ward structure for the  
City of Toronto.**

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### 4.3 REFINEMENTS

The Minimal Change option, Option 1, is the preferred option and forms the basis for the new ward structure for Toronto recommended in this report. However, it is only the basis and not the final recommended ward structure. During the Round Two civic engagement and public consultation process both the public and Members of Council were asked for “refinements” to the options. The purpose of these refinements was to improve the options with regard to communities of interest, ward history and more ‘coherent’ ward boundaries.

The refinements suggested by Members of Council and the general public through the online survey, submissions and at public meetings have been integrated by option, ward and community of interest (see Appendices C & D of the Round Two report).

Some of the refinements have been put forward more than once, which indicates a particular interest in an issue, and, as can be expected, some contradict each other.

Since Option 1 was the preferred option, all the refinements suggested for that option have been explored. Refinements suggested for other options have also been examined, if they are relevant to Option 1.

In addition, numerous suggested refinements relate to the boundaries of existing wards and communities of interest. Again, those refinements relevant to Option 1 have been analyzed. It has not been possible to accommodate 'refinements', which have recommended no change to the existing ward boundaries in areas where the 2026 ward populations will be well below the average ward population of 61,000. As well, it has not been possible to keep most Business Improvement Areas in one ward, since BIAs almost always include both sides of arterial roads, which are recognizable ward boundaries.

By definition, the suggested refinements alter the Minimal Change option. Incorporating certain suggested refinements changes more of the current ward boundaries than occurs in Option 1, as boundary changes in one area cascade into adjacent wards.

To determine whether suggested refinements are feasible, Option 1 wards were grouped based on natural/physical boundaries, e.g. west of the Humber River, north and south of the 401, downtown and east of Victoria Park. In particular, the boundaries of the downtown wards have been adjusted to coincide with the Official Plan boundaries for the Downtown. Both members of the general public and Members of Council strongly suggested that "downtown wards should be inside the Downtown".

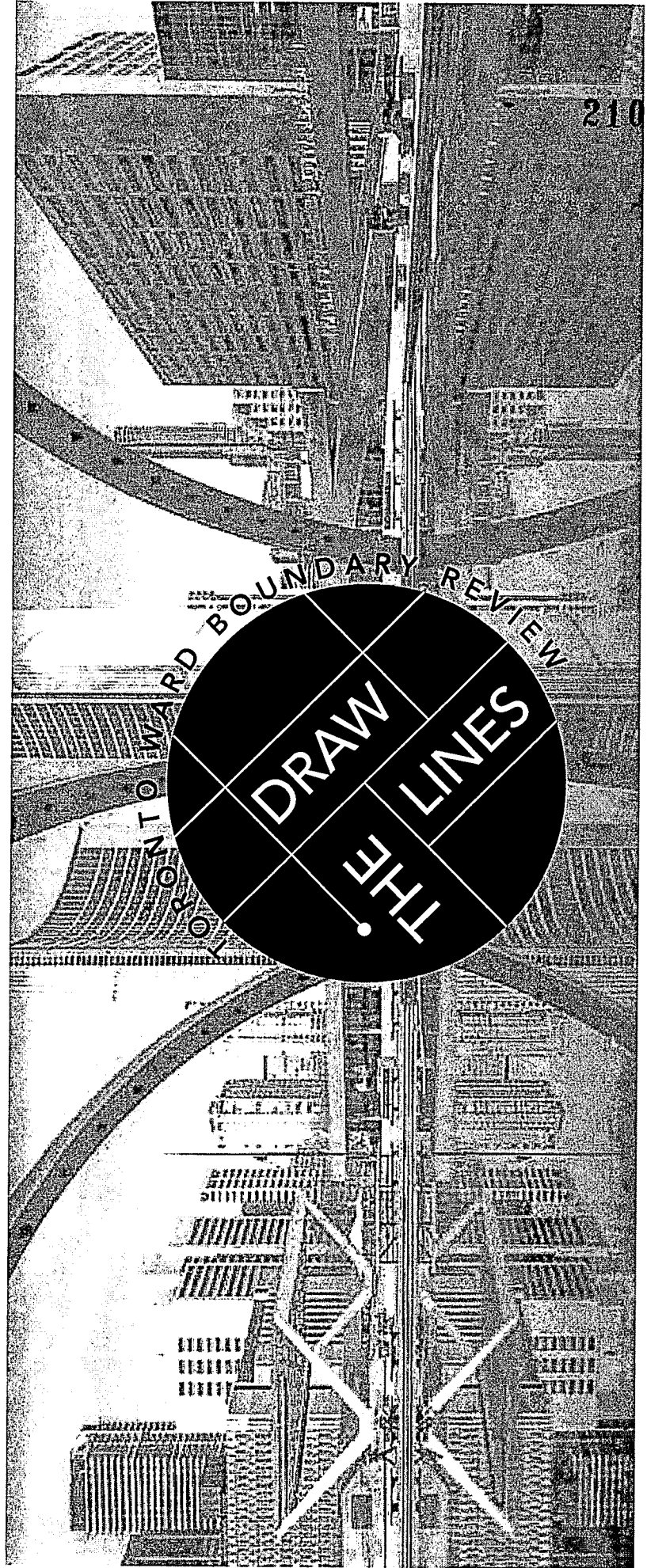
Within these groupings suggested refinements to Option 1 wards have been assessed to determine whether they maintain effective representation, that is improve or upset voter parity, achieve more coherent ward boundaries and/or keep communities of interest together. There are over 125 'relevant' refinements. These refinements as well as the 'action' by the TWBR team are included as APPENDIX C to this report.



SECTION FIVE

# RECOMMENDATION FOR NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT



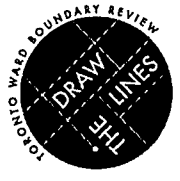
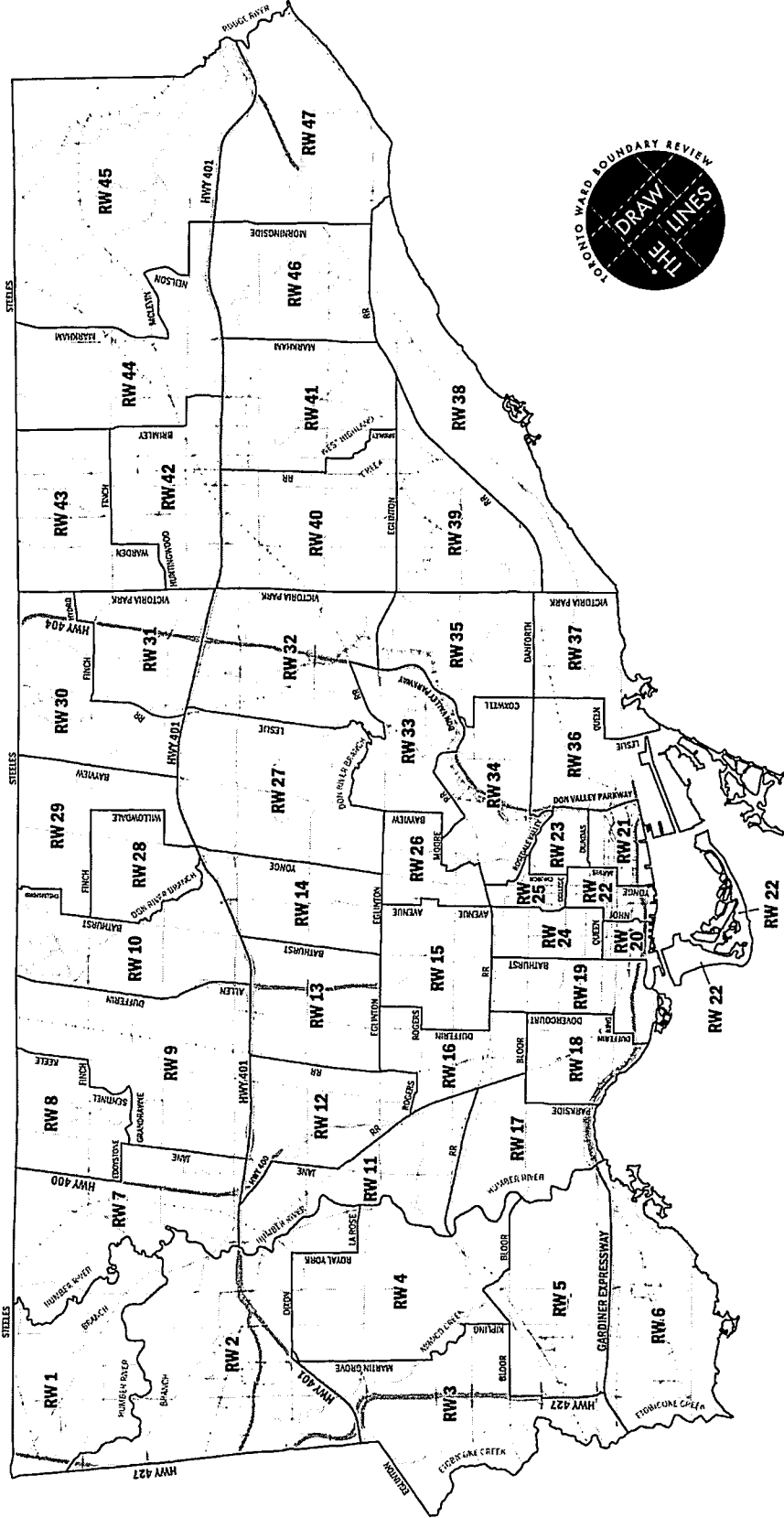
### 5.1 A NEW WARD STRUCTURE

The recommended new ward structure is centered on three components. The first bases the new wards on Option 1, the preferred ward option from the Round Two Civic Engagement and Public Consultation process. The second incorporates the suggested refinements to Option 1 that are feasible and relevant to that option. And finally, the recommended ward structure meets the tests of effective representation.

The following map shows the recommended new ward structure for Toronto. The wards in the recommended new ward structure are labeled RW for “Recommended Ward”. The ward numbering system follows the current numbering system that starts in the northwest corner of the city.

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO – FINAL REPORT MAY 2016

RECOMMENDED WARDS



NUMBER OF WARDS	47
AVERAGE WARD SIZE	61,000
POPULATION RANGE	51,850 - 70,150 (+/- 15%)

RIVER AND STREAMS  
 RAILWAY (RR)  
 ROADS  
 GREENSPACE  
 WARD BOUNDARY

0 2.5 5 10 Km

Although the base for the recommended ward structure is Option 1, the relevant refinements are quite numerous with the result that the boundaries of 6 of the recommended wards are the same as those of the current wards. (In Option 1, 18 wards have the same boundaries as the current wards). The recommended new ward structure results in 47 wards, the same as in Option 1.

Option 1 meets the criteria for effective representation. Therefore, the changes brought about by the suggested refinements have been analyzed in terms of how they affect effective representation. The recommended ward structure maintains the following principles underlying Option 1:

- Average ward population - 61,000
- Ward population range – 51,850 – 70,150 (plus or minus 15% of the average)
- 47 wards
- Target year - 2026

Most of the suggested refinements focus on two issues, keeping communities of interests or neighbourhoods together in the same ward and/or suggesting more appropriate ward boundaries.

The following Table demonstrates how the recommended ward structure achieves voter parity, an essential component of effective representation. The Table “Recommended Wards – Projected Population and Variance, 2018 - 2030” presents this information for the four election years from 2018 to 2030. The variance figures are based on the target ward population size of 61,000. The year 2026 is highlighted, as that is the year that is used to determine voter parity. The Table covers the period 2018, the year of implementation, to 2030, the end of the time frame of the TWBR. After 2030 it may be time for another review of Toronto’s ward boundaries.

**RECOMMENDED WARDS - PROJECTED POPULATION AND VARIANCE 2018 – 2030**

RECOMMENDED WARD	2018	VARIANCE	2022	VARIANCE	2026	VARIANCE	2030	VARIANCE
RW 1	60,154	-1.39%	59,918	-1.77%	60,122	-1.44%	60,412	-0.96%
RW 2	59,298	-2.79%	59,205	-2.94%	59,935	-1.75%	60,886	-0.19%
RW 3	62,791	2.94%	63,747	4.50%	65,044	6.63%	66,551	9.10%
RW 4	63,419	3.97%	64,810	6.25%	65,507	7.39%	66,299	8.69%
RW 5	58,254	-4.50%	62,838	3.01%	70,010	14.77%	71,220	26.59%
RW 6	65,500	7.38%	67,540	10.72%	69,434	13.83%	71,557	17.31%
RW 7	55,133	-9.62%	55,670	-8.74%	57,043	-6.49%	58,825	-3.57%
RW 8	48,062	-21.21%	49,114	-19.49%	54,748	-10.25%	57,884	-5.11%
RW 9	54,677	-10.37%	55,182	-9.54%	56,380	-7.57%	58,076	-4.79%
RW 10	64,410	5.59%	64,986	6.53%	66,096	8.35%	67,360	10.43%
RW 11	61,420	0.69%	61,923	1.51%	64,304	5.42%	66,844	9.58%
RW 12	52,645	-13.70%	53,073	-13.00%	54,213	-11.13%	55,653	-8.77%
RW 13	58,726	-3.73%	59,584	-2.32%	62,255	2.06%	65,165	6.83%
RW 14	58,823	-3.57%	59,524	-2.42%	60,077	-1.51%	60,667	-0.55%
RW 15	69,412	13.79%	69,971	14.71%	70,313	15.27%	70,641	15.81%
RW 16	65,645	7.61%	65,779	7.84%	66,141	8.43%	66,530	9.07%
RW 17	64,645	5.98%	66,165	8.47%	66,846	9.58%	67,522	10.69%
RW 18	65,946	8.11%	66,428	8.90%	67,253	10.25%	68,135	11.70%
RW 19	64,392	5.56%	65,401	7.22%	66,683	9.32%	67,892	11.30%
RW 20	38,154	-37.45%	45,542	-25.34%	51,350	-15.82%	53,131	-12.90%
RW 21	47,180	-22.66%	58,859	-3.51%	63,625	4.30%	68,940	13.02%
RW 22	47,425	-22.25%	54,356	-10.89%	60,987	-0.02%	65,905	8.04%
RW 23	55,416	-9.15%	60,270	-1.20%	61,181	0.30%	64,922	6.43%
RW 24	47,020	-22.92%	50,248	-17.63%	55,692	-8.70%	60,357	-1.05%
RW 25	47,686	-21.83%	54,404	-10.81%	60,450	-0.90%	63,582	4.23%
RW 26	53,241	-12.72%	57,018	-6.53%	58,560	-4.00%	59,983	-1.67%

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO – FINAL REPORT MAY 2016

RECOMMENDED WARD	2018	VARIANCE	2022	VARIANCE	2026	VARIANCE	2030	VARIANCE
RW 27	64,743	6.14%	66,332	8.74%	66,822	9.54%	67,279	10.29%
RW 28	57,443	-5.83%	58,037	-4.86%	59,815	-1.94%	61,549	0.90%
RW 29	59,020	-3.25%	60,233	-1.26%	62,378	2.26%	65,069	6.67%
RW 30	53,371	-12.51%	54,726	-10.28%	55,527	-8.97%	56,387	-7.56%
RW 31	60,082	-1.51%	61,318	0.52%	62,177	1.93%	63,103	3.45%
RW 32	68,522	12.33%	69,136	13.34%	69,527	13.98%	69,966	14.70%
RW 33	55,167	-9.56%	56,019	-8.17%	56,841	-6.82%	57,638	-5.51%
RW 34	55,616	-8.83%	55,463	-9.08%	55,576	-8.89%	55,706	-8.68%
RW 35	66,789	9.49%	67,026	9.88%	67,720	11.02%	68,605	12.47%
RW 36	57,817	-5.22%	58,490	-4.11%	58,637	-3.87%	58,764	-3.67%
RW 37	53,553	-12.21%	53,974	-11.52%	54,372	-10.87%	54,748	-10.25%
RW 38	63,014	3.30%	64,242	5.32%	67,016	9.86%	70,194	15.07%
RW 39	61,940	1.54%	62,821	2.98%	64,495	5.73%	66,757	9.44%
RW 40	65,979	8.16%	66,413	8.87%	68,542	12.36%	71,172	16.68%
RW 41	67,393	10.48%	68,402	12.14%	70,307	15.26%	73,894	21.14%
RW 42	63,507	4.11%	65,643	7.61%	66,889	9.65%	68,503	12.30%
RW 43	68,045	11.55%	67,681	10.95%	67,619	10.85%	67,350	10.41%
RW 44	66,035	8.25%	66,253	8.61%	66,060	8.30%	66,237	8.59%
RW 45	64,969	6.51%	64,979	6.52%	64,864	6.33%	64,714	6.09%
RW 46	58,644	-3.86%	59,616	-2.27%	60,815	-0.30%	62,215	1.99%
RW 47	50,847	-16.64%	51,327	-15.86%	51,952	-14.83%	52,646	-13.69%

**5.2 EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION**

**Voter Parity**

The range established for voter parity in Option 1 was 15% above or below the target average ward population of 61,000. As noted, this allows for ward population sizes to range from 51,850 to 70,150, which becomes the acceptable ‘voter parity’ range.

Forty-four of the 47 wards in the recommended new ward structure fall within this range. Two wards have a variance above 15% and one ward has a variance of below 15%.

Looking at ‘voter parity’ in more detail the following pattern emerges.

VARIANCES	NUMBER OF WARDS	RECOMMENDED WARDS INCLUDED
+/- 15% of average	44	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47
Below 15% of average	1	20
Over 15% of average	2	15 & 41

Recommended Ward 20 is 15.82% below the targeted ward population of 61,000. This is one of the fastest growing recommended wards. In total, 6 wards grow by more than 10,000 during the period 2018 to 2030. These are wards: RW5 (18,968), RW20 (14,977), RW21 (21,760), RW22 (18,480), RW24 (13,336) and RW25 (15,896). RW20 has the fastest growth rate and by 2030 is within the 15% variance range. Except for RW5 all these high growth wards are in the Downtown where the Official Plan’s policies allocate much of Toronto’s growth.

**The range established for ‘voter parity’ in Option 1 was 15% above or below the target average ward population of 61,000.**

Recommended Wards 15 and 41 are slightly above the 15% threshold at 15.27% and 15.26% respectively. RW15 is a relatively stable ward and is expected to grow by slightly over 1,000 people between 2018 and 2030. RW41 is just over 15% in 2026 (15.26%), but is a growing ward and will be over 21% above average in 2030. It is one of the wards, along with Recommended Wards 5, 6 and 40 that may lead to a ward boundary review following the 2030 election.

Attempts were made to reduce RW41's population, but RW40's population is also high and RW41's boundaries on its other three sides are quite distinctive. Reducing RW41's population would have required moving ward boundaries onto residential side streets.

### Ward History

Option 1's goal is Minimal Change, which respects, to some extent, ward history. There are two components to Minimal Change. The first is retaining the current average ward population size of 61,000. The other is minimizing the change in ward boundaries.

The recommended ward boundaries maintain the 61,000 average ward population as the base for calculating voter parity. Option 1 retains the existing boundaries of 18 wards. The recommended ward structure retains only 6. These are:

- Existing Ward 1 = RW 1
- Existing Ward 2 = RW 2
- Existing Ward 6 = RW 6
- Existing Ward 10 = RW 10
- Existing Ward 11 = RW 11
- Existing Ward 35 = RW 39

The change of so many of the current ward boundaries from Option 1 is due to refinements suggested by the public and

Members of Council during the Round Two consultation process. Many of the suggested refinements aim to improve existing ward boundaries, often to include various communities of interest.

### Population Growth

Toronto is growing at a rapid rate. The TWBR anticipates an additional 500,000 people over the project's time frame of 2011 - 2030.

This projected growth has been incorporated into the recommended ward configuration. As noted previously, the year 2026 has been used as the target year. This allows City Council to consider a recommended ward structure that will last for 4 elections, up to 2030. The projected growth of the recommended wards is shown in the Table Recommended Wards - Projected Population and Variance 2018 – 2030, above.

### Geographic Communities of Interest

A great effort has been made to keep geographic communities of interest together. It has not always been possible. Some communities of interest are too large to fit into a single ward and in some cases keeping communities of interest in one area splits communities in other areas or disrupts voter parity significantly.



One example that has been tested repeatedly is the Regent Park community. The recommended ward structure uses Dundas Street as a boundary between RW21 and RW23. This separates Regent Park North and Regent Park South. A boundary configuration that keeps them together has a significant impact on voter parity. Keeping all of Regent Park in RW23 produces a variance in that ward of +20.41% and a variance in RW21 of -15.81%. Boundary adjustments in other parts of RW23 have been considered but result in dividing other communities. This part of Toronto is very dense and boundary changes of even a few blocks can have a significant impact on voter parity.

#### **Natural/Physical Boundaries**

The recommended ward structure attempts to use recognizable major natural and physical boundaries. Often this supports ward history. Some of the major boundaries used in the recommended ward structure are:

- The “Downtown” as defined by the Official Plan
- Highway 401, a major physical boundary
- The Humber River, a major natural boundary and the current ward boundary for the “Etobicoke” wards
- Eglinton Avenue across much of mid-town
- Victoria Park Avenue, a major artery and the current ward boundary for the “Scarborough” wards

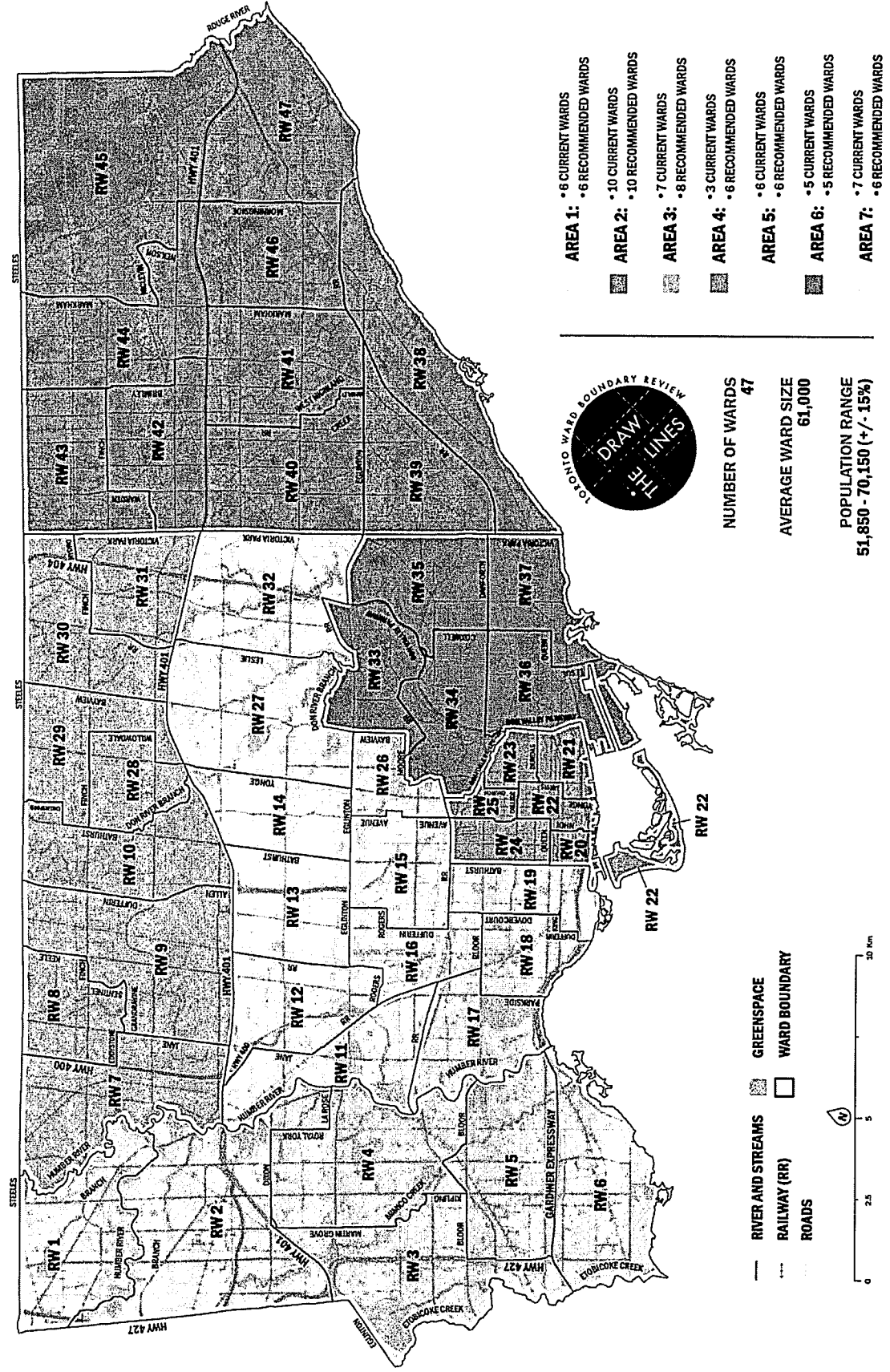
### **5.3 WHERE ARE THE CHANGES**

As outlined above, the recommended ward structure for Toronto increases the total number of wards to 47 from 44. This increase re-balances the existing ward population discrepancies by enlarging the populations of small wards and decreasing the populations of large wards. It also accommodates the projected population growth to 2030. This is accomplished by adding three wards, while maintaining the current average ward population size of approximately 61,000.

Where are the new wards? This seems like a straightforward question but the answer is more complex. Of the 44 existing wards, 38 experience some changes in their boundaries. Only 6 existing wards retain their exact current boundaries. These are the current wards 1, 2, 6, 10, 11 and 35. Therefore, the recommended ward structure for Toronto creates, in fact, 38 “new” wards.

To demonstrate where the additional wards are located, it is helpful to examine seven major geographic areas of the city and compare the number of current wards with the number of recommended wards. The map on the following page illustrates this comparison. Comments describe the changes in more detail.

WHERE ARE THE CHANGES



DESCRIPTION	CURRENT WARDS	RECOMMENDED WARDS	COMMENTS
Area 1: West of the Humber River	1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6	RW1, RW2, RW3, RW4, RW5 & RW6	This area has the same number of wards at 6. Current Wards 1, 2, & 6 do not change. Wards 3, 4 & 5 are changed to accommodate current and projected growth in Ward 5.
Area 2: East of Victoria Park Ave.	35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 & 44	RW38, RW39, RW40, RW41, RW42, RW43, RW44, RW45, RW46 & RW47	This area has the same number of wards at 10. Current Ward 35 remains the same and becomes RW 39. All other wards are adjusted to balance populations, use Hwy. 401 as a natural boundary and reflect suggested refinements.
Area 3: North of Hwy. 401 from the Humber River east to Victoria Park Ave.	7, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24 & 33	RW7, RW8, RW9, RW10, RW28, RW29, RW30 & RW31	This area has one additional ward at 8. Current Ward 10 remains the same. Current Wards 7, 8 & 9 are adjusted to balance populations and reflect suggested refinements. One ward is added between Bathurst St. and the Don Valley Parkway to accommodate both current and projected growth.
Area 4: Downtown, as defined in the Official Plan, generally, Bathurst St. to the Don Valley Parkway, south to Lake Ontario and north to Rosedale Valley Road and the railroad tracks	All of 28, most of 20 & 27.	RW20, RW21, RW22, RW23, RW24 & RW25	The Downtown has three additional wards at 6. The 3 wards are added to accommodate both current and projected growth.

DESCRIPTION	CURRENT WARDS	RECOMMENDED WARDS	COMMENTS
Area 5: South of Hwy. 401, generally to Eglinton Ave. and from Victoria Park Ave. west to the Humber River	11, most of 12, 15, 16, most of 25 & 34	RW11, RW12, RW13, RW14, RW27 & RW32	This area has the same number of wards at 6. Current Ward 11 stays the same. Other wards are adjusted to balance populations, generally use Eglinton Ave. as a boundary and incorporate suggested refinements.
Area 6: East of Downtown to Victoria Park Ave. and generally south of Eglinton Ave.	29, 30, 31, 32, most of 26	RW33, RW34, RW35, RW36 & RW37	This area has the same number of wards at 5. All current ward boundaries experience some change to balance populations and incorporate suggested refinements.
Area 7: West of Downtown to the Humber River and generally south of Eglinton Ave.	13, 14, 18, parts of 17, 19, 21 & 22	RW15, RW16, RW17, RW18, RW19 & RW26	This area has one less ward at 6. All current ward boundaries are adjusted to reflect the use of Eglinton Ave. as a general boundary, balance populations given the three current small wards (Wards 13, 14 & 21) and incorporate suggested refinements.

In summary the “additional” wards can be attributed to three areas of the city.

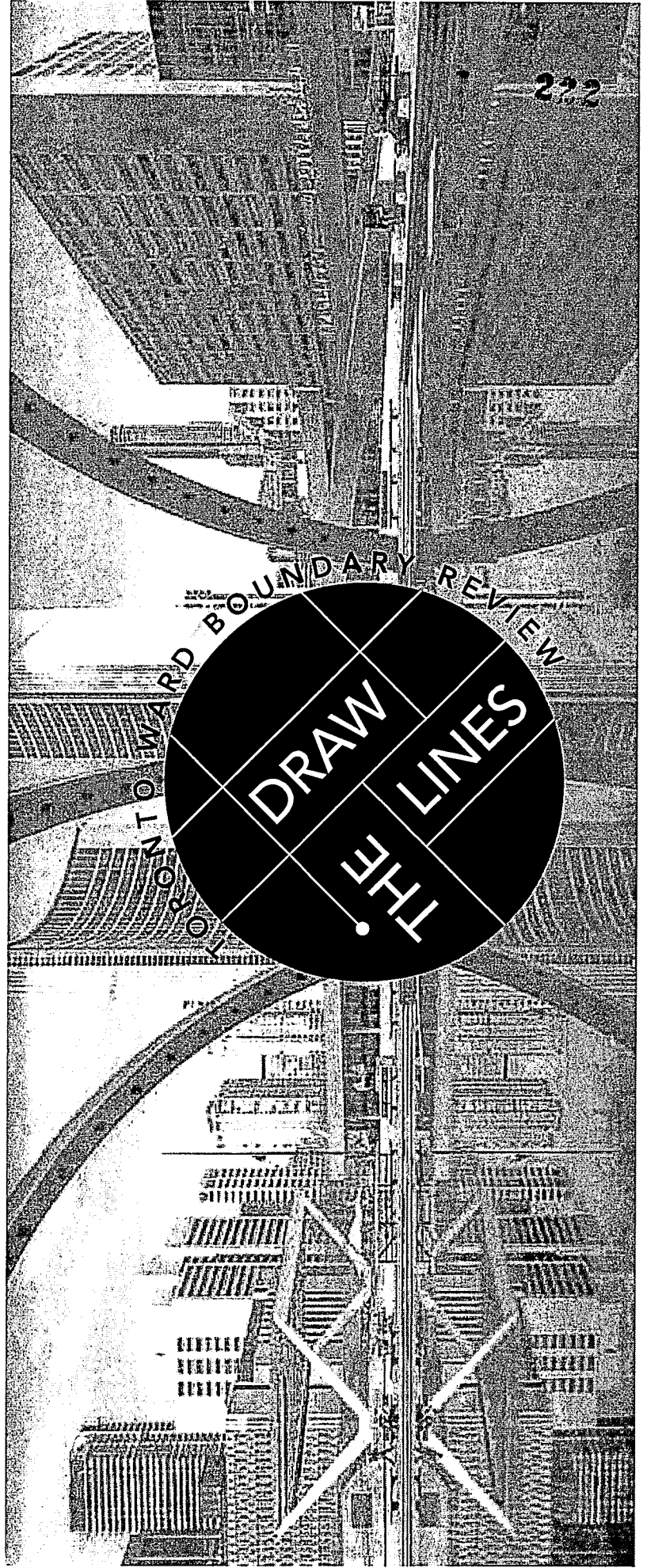
1. One addition ward north of Hwy. 401 between Bathurst St. and Victoria Park Ave.
2. Three additional wards in the Downtown area.
3. One less ward in the area west of the Downtown and south of Eglinton Ave.

All other areas retain the same number of wards they currently have, although most of their ward boundaries have been adjusted in some way to balance ward populations, reflect a set of coherent boundaries and incorporate suggested refinements. As noted, only 6 of the recommended wards are the same as the current wards. This is a reflection of the “cascading effect” as ward populations are balanced and as many geographic communities of interest as possible are respected.

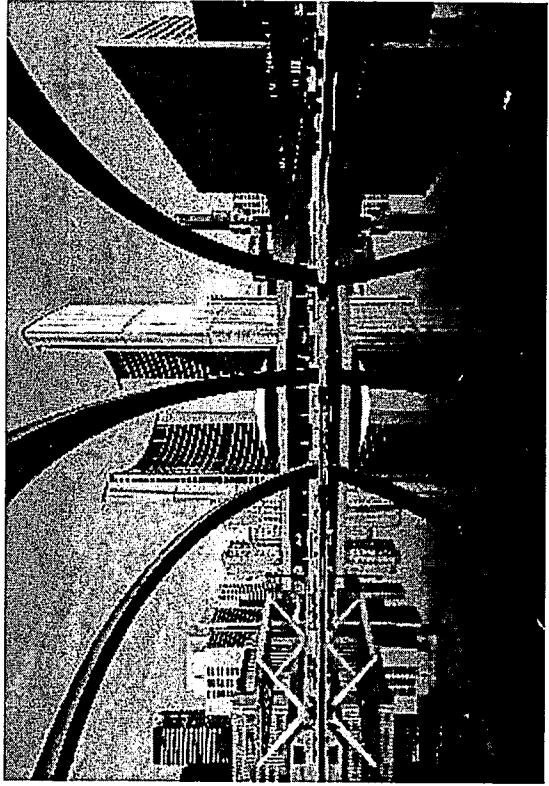
SECTION SIX

# CONCLUSION & NEXT STEPS

TORONTO WARD BOUNDARY REVIEW / NEW WARDS FOR TORONTO / FINAL REPORT



The recommended new wards for the City of Toronto are shown on the map entitled **Recommended Wards** contained within the report and attached in a larger format as APPENDIX E to this report. Creating a new ward structure that achieves effective representation for a city as complex as the City of Toronto, and with Toronto's growth rate, requires an appropriate balance among the components of effective representation and the input received during the TWBR's two rounds of civic engagement and public consultation. Different points-of-view often exert a pull in conflicting directions. The TWBR has accomplished an appropriate balance by recommending a ward structure that achieves effective representation while incorporating many of the suggestions from the public, stakeholders and Members of Council.



To implement the new ward structure in time for the 2018 municipal election, the following timeline is anticipated:

- Discussion of TWBR Final Report by the City of Toronto Executive Committee (May 2016)
- Discussion of the TWBR Final Report by Toronto City Council (Summer/Fall 2016)
- City Council decision on New Wards for Toronto (by the end of 2016)
- Potential OMB Hearing (January – June 2017)
- Implementation of a new ward structure for Toronto (by the end of 2017)

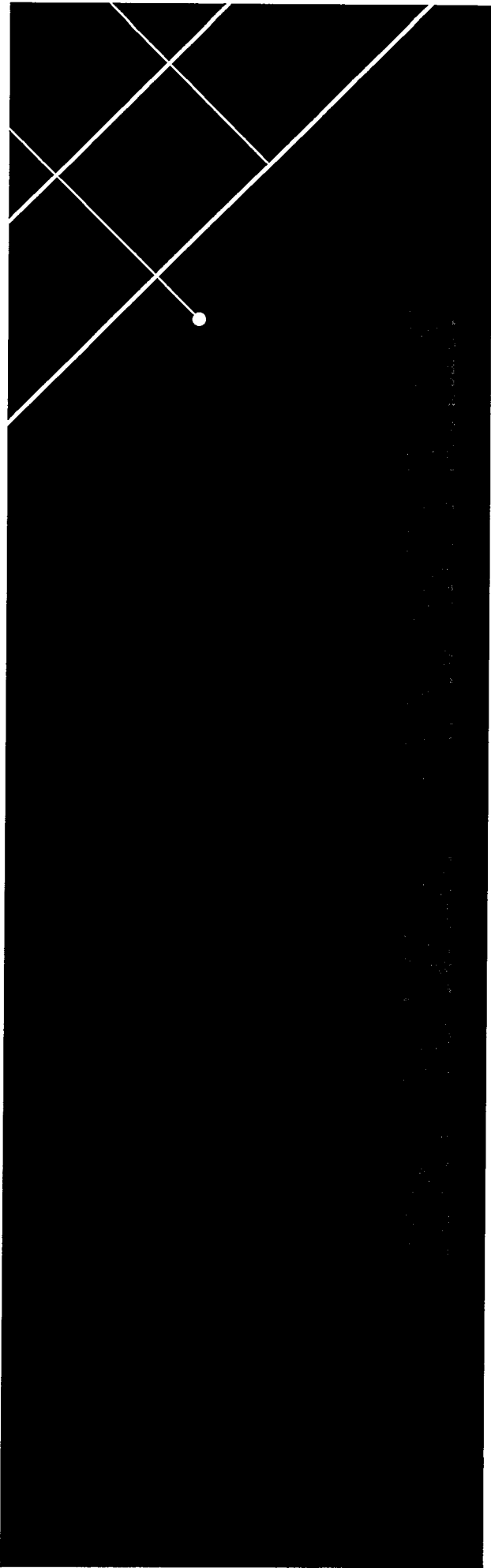
Adherence to this timeline is critical. Based on experience from other ward boundary reviews, and the fact that Toronto's ward system has been appealed in the past, an OMB hearing on a new ward structure is probable. There needs to be sufficient time in 2017 to resolve such a hearing, should it occur.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

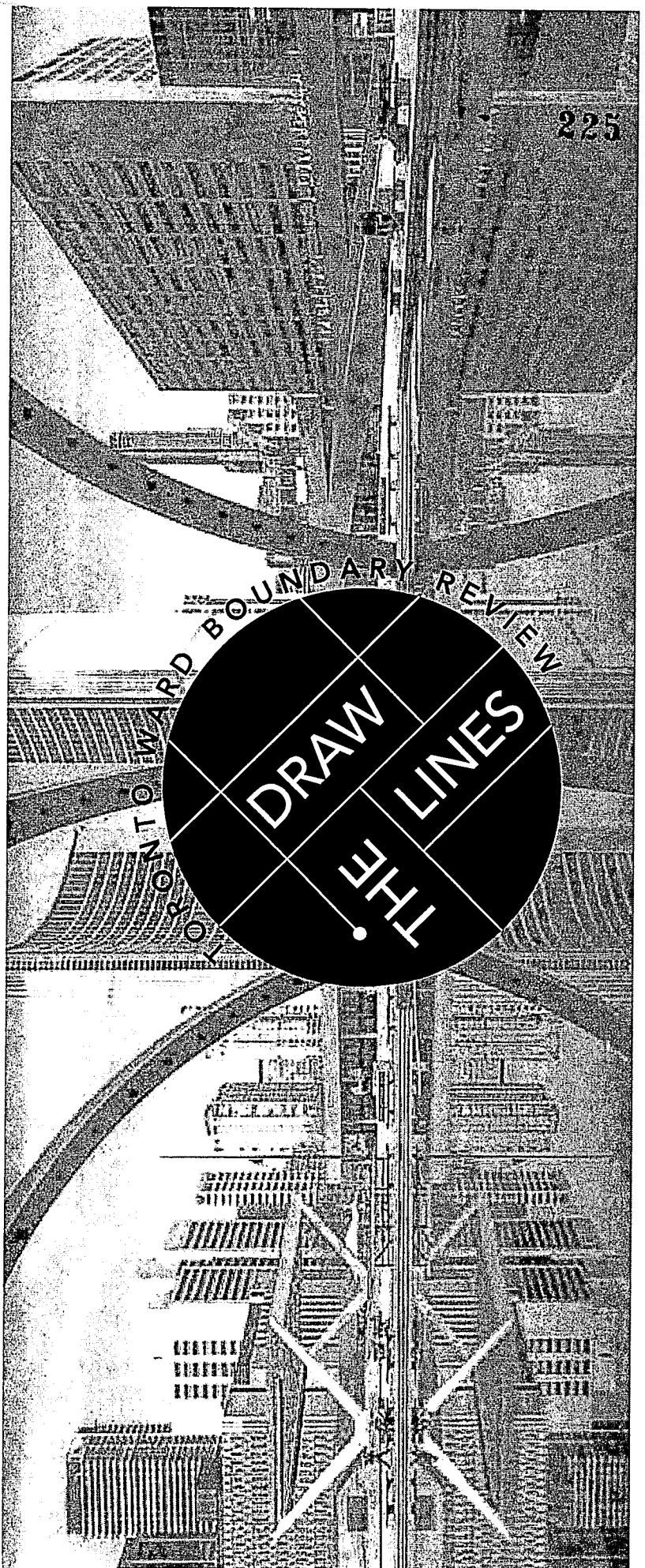
The Toronto Ward Boundary Review (TWBR) began in June 2014 and will end with the presentation of this report to the City of Toronto Executive Committee in May 2016 and City Council thereafter. Funding for this project was provided by the City of Toronto. The TWBR team appreciates the many individuals and organizations who participated in and provided input to this project. This includes: Members of Council, School Board representatives, neighbourhood associations, other stakeholder groups and members of the public. All of your contributions have helped make our final recommendation for new wards for Toronto possible. Thank you.

We would also like to give recognition to the **TWBR Advisory Panel** for contributing their time and collective expertise: Fred Dean, Municipal Lawyer; Beverley Don, Vice President and Director, Toronto Association of Business Improvement Areas (TABIA) and Proprietor, Ardith One Canadian Pottery and Crafts; Don Granger, former member and vice chair of the Ontario Municipal Board (1997-2012), Regional Councillor, Hamilton-Wentworth (1988-1994), Mayor, Flamborough, Ontario (1991-1994); Dr. Patricia O'Campo, Director, Centre for Research on Inner City Health and Professor, Dalla Lana School of Public Health Sciences, University of Toronto; and Dr. Myer Siemiatycki, Professor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University.

The **TWBR Team** is a partnership among: Beate Bowron Etcetera: Beate Bowron FCIP, RPP; Canadian Urban Institute: Ariana Cancelli, Lisa Cavicchia, Shannon Clark, Jonathan Critchley, Jeff Evenson, Glenn Miller, Robyn Visheau; The Davidson Group: Gary Davidson FCIP, RPP; and Thomas Ostler MCIP, RPP.



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CHRIS MOISE, et al. v. ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO, et al.

Court File No.: CV-18-00603633-0000

**ONTARIO  
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

Proceeding commenced at Toronto

**APPLICATION RECORD – VOLUME I OF II**

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