

Court File Nos: **CV-18-00602494-0000**
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**ONTARIO
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE**

BETWEEN:

CITY OF TORONTO

Applicant

-and-

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO

Respondent

AND BETWEEN:

ROCCO ACHAMPONG

Applicant

-and-

ONTARIO (PREMIER), ONTARIO (ATTORNEY GENERAL), and CITY OF TORONTO

Respondents

AND BETWEEN:

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

-and-

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

Respondents

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(VOLUME 2 OF 2)

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of Ontario



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of Debates
(Hansard)**

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(Hansard)**

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Lundi
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Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF ONTARIO

Monday 30 July 2018

ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE
DE L'ONTARIO

Lundi 30 juillet 2018

The House met at 1030.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Let us pray.
Prayers.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

Ms. Jill Andrew: Good morning, Mr. Speaker. I would like to welcome our visitors today. Within about a day or so, Toronto mobilized and came together under the banner of our city hall. We welcome you here this morning.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): We need to keep the introductions brief. There may be many.

Mr. Robert Bailey: I'd like to introduce a guest of mine up in the east members' gallery: my son Rodney Bailey from the ridings of both Sarnia-Lambton and Oxford.

Mr. Faisal Hassan: I would like to welcome Adam Machado and Brandon Machado, young leaders from York South-Weston.

Mr. Vincent Ke: I would like to welcome Mr. Alan Kasperski from my riding of Don Valley North. Welcome to Queen's Park.

Ms. Kathleen O. Wynne: Please help me welcome my hard-working constituency office staff: Afie Mardukhi, Aafaq Shaikh and Wendy Weston; and summer student extraordinaire Hakan Balpinarli.

Ms. Andrea Khanjin: I want to welcome Steven Mirtsos, who is with us today. He is a student at Ryerson University from my riding, and was a great volunteer for myself. He knocked on countless doors. Welcome, Steven.

Ms. Doly Begum: I would like to introduce my friend and former MP Matthew Kellway, sitting right over there, as well as a friend, Hamdi Ji, who is from the Toronto Youth Cabinet.

Ms. Marit Stiles: I'd like to welcome today Peter Gatti, a local Davenport community activist, and also my daughters, Lila and Mahala Berger-Stiles, who are in the members' gallery today.

I'd also like to acknowledge Amin Ali, who is the Toronto District School Board student trustee.

Mr. Aris Babikian: I would like to welcome Aris Mousessian, one of my volunteers who helped me in the campaign. Welcome, Aris Jr.

Mr. Tom Rakocevic: I'd like to warmly welcome former member of the Legislature Anthony Perruzza, his wife, Kayla, his daughter Angelica and his son Antonio.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): We are pleased to welcome Mr. Perruzza, who was a member of provincial

Parliament for the 35th Parliament, if I recall correctly. Welcome.

Do we have any further introductions of visitors? The member for Toronto-Danforth.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: I'd like to welcome Jean Lim O'Brien, her son Sean O'Brien, and Lester Brown. Welcome to the Legislature. I hope it's illuminating.

Ms. Suze Morrison: I was also going to introduce Lester Brown, but I was beat to it.

I'd also like to welcome to the Legislature Jennifer Hollett, who is the Toronto city councillor candidate for the new ward 21. She's not in the room right now. I understand she's just outside doing media.

I'd also like to welcome Brian Chang, who I understand hasn't made it into the gallery as well, but is here.

Mr. Milke Schreiner: I'd like to introduce a former member of the provincial Legislature. George Smitherman is here today.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Yes, indeed. The member for Toronto Centre-Rosedale in the 37th Parliament, the member for Toronto Centre-Rosedale in the 38th Parliament and the member for Toronto Centre in the 39th Parliament—again, we extend our welcome.

JERRY GADWA

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Point of order, the Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry.

Hon. Jeff Yurek: I believe we have unanimous consent for a moment of silence to honour the life of Jerry Gadwa, the firefighter who lost his life in northern Ontario.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Is there unanimous consent to have a moment's silence to honour the passing of the firefighter? Agreed? Agreed.

Will you please rise.

The House observed a moment's silence.

NOTICES OF REASONED
AMENDMENTS

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I beg to inform the House that, pursuant to standing order 71(c), the member for Toronto-Danforth and the member for Ottawa-Vanier have filed with the Clerk reasoned amendments to the motion for second reading of Bill 4, An Act respecting the preparation of a climate change plan, providing for the wind down of the cap and trade program and repealing the Climate Change Mitigation and Low-carbon Economy Act, 2016.

The order for second reading of Bill 4 may therefore not be called today.

ORAL QUESTIONS

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Andrea Horwath: My first question is for the Premier. The Premier's secret plot to interfere in municipal elections is the act of a bully, not a leader. He never campaigned on it. He never consulted anyone on it, and now he has no mandate whatsoever to inflict his own will on the people of Toronto, Niagara, Peel, York and Muskoka with the most antidemocratic action that this province has seen in years.

When did he decide to be a bully instead of a Premier?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'll ask the Premier to take his seat.

1040

I'm going to caution the House on the use of language. We have to ensure that the Speaker can maintain decorum in this House, and inflammatory language makes it much more difficult to do that. So I would caution members on their language.

Response. Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker, to the Leader of the Opposition: I criss-crossed this province and campaigned on accountability, trust and reducing the size and cost of government.

Unlike the Leader of the Opposition, I fought for the people of this great city for years to reduce the size and cost of government. When I talked to thousands of people in the city of Toronto, not one single person came up to me and said, "Doug, I want more politicians." They want less politicians. They want that money to go to priorities that matter to them. They want to make sure the \$25 million that are saved are going to go to infrastructure, transit that's in gridlock—it's gridlocked just like city hall has been gridlocked for decades.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Stop the clock. Please take your seats.

Start the clock. Supplementary?

Ms. Andrea Horwath: The Premier cooked up his backroom plot to steal power from the people and kept it hidden from 14 million Ontarians for the entire election campaign. There was no consultation and no fair process. That means that, today, there's absolutely no legitimate mandate for this Premier to cancel regional elections and rip up Toronto's wards.

Why is this Premier inflicting his will on millions of voters when he never told them the truth about what he was going to do?

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'm going to ask the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Withdraw, Speaker.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Response. Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: I talked to tens of thousands of people across this province. I talked to thousands of people in Toronto, and every single person I spoke to in

Toronto said that city hall is dysfunctional. It's not getting transit—

Interjections.

Hon. Doug Ford: It has not even put a shovel in the ground for transit in over 20 years. Housing is backlogged by a billion dollars. Infrastructure is crumbling right underneath our feet.

We're going to reallocate that money to things that matter and priorities for the people. We don't believe in bigger government. We don't believe in more politicians or more bureaucracy. We're going to make sure the city of Toronto finally runs more efficiently. My friends—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock.

Final supplementary.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: The Premier's secret plot, cooked up in a backroom and hidden from the people of Ontario for the entire election campaign, doesn't just fit the very definition of a hidden agenda, it's also petty and mean-spirited and it's the vendetta of a man who doesn't want to lead, Speaker. Instead, he wants to bully his way through. He wants to get his own way and exact revenge on his old political opponents.

Why is this Premier abusing his power and showing such contempt for the people of Ontario?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker: The difference between myself and the Leader of the Opposition—

Interjections.

Hon. Doug Ford: The Leader of the Opposition wants to talk about bullying. I'll tell you the definition of bullying, when it comes to the Leader of the Opposition: cutting 7,000 jobs, laying off 7,000 jobs, at the Pickering power station. They would still be looking at how to put food on their table if it was up to you.

We're reducing council by 25 politicians—22 politicians; it should be 25. Twenty-two politicians, and people love the idea. Out of anything I've ever done in politics, I've never had a better response than I've had about reducing the size and cost of government. My friends, even my neighbour—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Take your seat.

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The Premier will take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. The House will come to order. Thank you.

Next question.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Andrea Horwath: My next question is for the Premier. The Premier's plot to undermine Toronto city council and stop elections in Peel, York, Niagara and Muskoka is an assault on our democracy. It robs people of their voice. It robs the people of Toronto of their right to decide how many councillors they elect, and it shows

that the Premier is not interested in doing what's right for Ontario. He's driven by his own desire for power.

Why is this Premier trying to control Toronto city hall from the Premier's office?

Hon. Doug Ford: In the city of Toronto, we have 25 MPs, we have 25 MPPs, and some of those ridings are larger than Prince Edward Island. They're larger than some provinces that your MPPs and my MPPs have to cover.

I can assure you that when we have 25 councillors, it's going to be 500,000 less sheets of paper. I'm protecting the environment. I'm protecting trees, because there's going to be less bureaucracy. It's going to make the mayor's job easier. It's going to make fellow councillors' jobs easier. It's going to make the clerk's job a lot easier, because right now, with 47 people, it would be dysfunctional. Nothing gets done at city hall. There's gridlock on our streets, and there's gridlock at city hall. Nothing—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Stop the clock. Take your seats, please. Restart the clock.

Supplementary?

Ms. Andrea Horwath: The number of councillors that Toronto needs to serve the people of this city is a decision that belongs to the people of this city. But this Premier doesn't care. All he cares about is inflicting his will and his own whims on the people of this city.

Why is this Premier trying to rig local elections? Just to put more power in his own hands?

Hon. Doug Ford: The Leader of the Opposition wouldn't know what it is to serve the people of Toronto because you've never done it. You've never gone out there. You've never talked to the people of Toronto.

Let's do a little comparison here: We have Los Angeles at four million people; we're about half the size, and we have 47 councillors. Mr. Speaker, when I went to Los Angeles and I told the people we had 44 councillors, they said, "How can you get anything done?" My answer was: "We never get anything done." No one gets anything done, because there are too many politicians, too many fiefdoms down there, in the interest of themselves.

I'm glad that my neighbour Councillor Perruzza is here, because we had many conversations, and every other councillor, all 44, have agreed that city hall is dysfunctional. Nothing is happening but spending—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Members will please take their seats. Restart the clock.

Final supplementary?

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Interfering in the middle of local elections to steal power away from the voters is not an act—

Interjections.

Hon. Todd Smith: He runs the House.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I don't need any help, thank you.

I have to ask the member to withdraw.

1050

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Withdraw.

Interfering in the middle of local elections to take power away from the voters is not an act of leadership, Speaker. It is an abuse of power.

Taking revenge on political opponents does not show strength. It is a deeply chilling sign of weakness and insecurity.

And hiding one's secret plans during an entire election campaign does not show respect for voters. It demonstrates utter contempt for the people of Ontario.

Why is this Premier acting like a dictator?

Hon. Doug Ford: Mr. Speaker, to the Leader of the Opposition: You go to the people. Maybe we should go out to the people in the streets, door-knock, and ask what they want. Do they want 25 more politicians that they weren't consulted with, or do they want less politicians? Do they want more police or do they want 800 less police than when I was there to protect the streets? Do they want more transit or do they want less transit? Do they want higher taxes or lower taxes? Because we know you want higher taxes. You want big government. You want a dysfunctional government.

We're going to reduce the size and cost of government, we're going to save the taxpayers \$25 million, and we're going to get things going once and for all with transit. We will get this city moving again.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock.

If you could restart the clock. Next question.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Andrea Horwath: The question is to the Premier, who just indicated that this really is all about him. Let's not forget that this Premier could not get elected as mayor of Toronto. He was soundly defeated by the people of this great city.

In June, the vast majority of Torontonians once again rejected this Premier. But instead of accepting Toronto's verdict, this Premier is trying to settle political scores with the people of this city.

Why is the Premier trying to punish the people of Toronto?

Hon. Doug Ford: Mr. Speaker, granted, I only ended up with 330,000 votes when I ran for mayor, in five weeks. That's more than all the NDPs combined in the city of Toronto.

I think we did a pretty good job in the last provincial election. It's like throwing boulders in a glass house.

Leader of the Opposition: People want less government. They want lower taxes. We aren't going to be laying 7,000 people off, like you were going to up in Pickering. We're going to create jobs, we're going to create transit, we're going to fix the infrastructure, and we're going to take care of the \$1-billion backlog of housing. People are sleeping on the streets because too much money is going to politicians, not into the taxpayers' pocket—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock.

Restart the clock. Supplementary.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: I would dare say that most Ontarians and most Canadians want democracy, not dictatorship, Speaker—democracy.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Once again, I'm going to caution the House and the members who are asking questions today on the use of inflammatory language. We have to ensure that this debate continues in a respectful and civil manner to the greatest extent possible, as we all expect and hope we could achieve today.

Leader of the Opposition.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Speaker, the Premier's decision to behave in this way instead of acting like a leader is the most revealing thing that he has done yet. By keeping his plot secret for the entire election campaign, he has shown that his word is, in fact, worthless. He has revealed that he will steal power away from the people he disagrees with and he will abuse his own office just to—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'm going to ask the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Withdraw.

He will abuse his own office to take mean-spirited revenge on his political opponents.

Why does this Premier have no idea how to act like a Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: Speaker, through you: Leader of the Opposition, you won't ever have to worry about acting like a leader. You will never have to worry about that. Democracy took place on June 7, when the greater Toronto area and the rest of province decided they want smaller government. They want less taxes. They want lower hydro rates. They want accountability for the first time they've seen in God knows how long.

Leader of the Opposition, you're going to have a chance to vote on this—all the power to you. The people voted on June 7 to make sure we start respecting the taxpayers, and that's exactly what we're going to do.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Before I call for the next question, I would remind all members that you make your remarks through the Chair.

Next question.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. Roman Baber: My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. Minister, what a wonderful weekend in Toronto. As a resident of north Toronto, I am excited about our government's plan to enable Toronto to save on costs, streamline decision-making and ensure equal representation for all Toronto residents on city council.

Can the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing tell us how the government is helping Toronto with the upcoming municipal election?

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to thank the member for the question. Local governments deliver critical services to residents. It's in everyone's interest that they are efficient and respect taxpayers' dollars. Speaker, we believe that

the taxpayer in Toronto will benefit from the changes that are proposed in the bill.

I understand that the municipal election period is already under way. Voting day is just three months away. That's why my ministry intends to work with the city to mitigate operational issues under this proposed legislation and to allow candidates to develop revised plans. We're going to be sitting down with the clerk's office. We're going to be extending the nomination period for those council and school board candidates to September 14.

I can tell the member more in the supplementary, but we're working with the city on this issue.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Members will please take your seats. Restart the clock.

Supplementary?

Mr. Roman Baber: Back to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing: Thank you very much, Minister. It's great to hear that you have Toronto's needs in mind, and I'm more optimistic than ever about the future of the city.

Would the minister go back and ask Ontario's Chief Electoral Officer to share the most recent voters list with the city clerk?

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, I want to thank the member. I'm very glad you asked this question. As I said, I believe the taxpayer of Toronto will benefit from the proposed changes in this bill as soon as possible. That's why we've already had conversations with Ontario's Chief Electoral Officer, Greg Essensa. Should the city of Toronto require or request some assistance, the Chief Electoral Officer has agreed to assist the city with moving forward to those new electoral boundaries, including providing revision and updated information from the most recent election.

If passed, Speaker, our proposed legislation would align Toronto's municipal boundaries with those that are already in existence with the federal government and with the members that we just had during the election.

Speaker, we are taking decisive action so that, on October 22, Torontonians can vote for a streamlined government, one that is—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Next question?

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Suze Morrison: My question is to the Premier. Can the Premier tell Ontarians exactly where in his plan for the people he said that he would specifically cut Toronto city council in half in the middle of our election?

1100

Hon. Doug Ford: When I was down at city council, I put it to a vote. I spoke a hundred times about reducing the size and cost of government. As a matter of fact, if you saw on Friday, we had a diverse group of councillors, and you'll probably see them today come down to support reducing the size and cost of government. We had over 12 councillors come out who said, "This is the

right decision. Forty-four councillors, no; it's dysfunctional down there."

Nothing is getting done except wasting taxpayers' money and getting into more debt. We're feeling the pressure of over \$550 million down at the city, and they aren't coming to ask to get bailed out, I can guarantee you that. They're going to start taking care of their own house with a smaller government. Good governance, in any corporation is seven to nine because you can't get anything done if you have 20 people around the table—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. The members will please take their seats.

Restart the clock. Supplementary?

Ms. Suze Morrison: The Premier has no mandate to interfere entirely on his own in Toronto's election. Why does the Premier think that he knows better than the people of Toronto?

Hon. Doug Ford: Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

Hon. Steve Clark: Speaker, during the election, we committed to bringing accountability and trust back to government. We also agreed to reduce the size and cost of government. We believe that under this proposed legislation—

Mr. Michael Coteau: Go to some other cities, then, Steve.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member for Don Valley East.

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member for Don Valley East must come to order.

Hon. Steve Clark: We believe that on October 22, under this proposed legislation, the people of Toronto will have a streamlined council that is ready to work, ready to make those important, efficient and effective decisions on behalf of their constituents, to have the right priorities under an effective council. This is very important for us. We talked about reducing the size and cost of government—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Next question.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Mrs. Robin Martin: My question is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. Our government for the people is committed to reducing the size and cost of government. Can the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing tell us about the steps that the government is taking?

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to thank the member for the question. During the campaign, we received a very strong message from Ontarians, that they wanted us to respect taxpayers' dollars. On June 7, it was clear that they wanted a government that got things done. And, Speaker, that's exactly what we're going to do.

Today I will propose legislation that, if passed, would reduce the number of Toronto councillors to 25. Speaker,

as you know, local government delivers critical services to their residents. It's in everyone's interest that they do so in an effective and efficient manner for their taxpayers. Torontonians, as I've said, can now vote under this proposed legislation for a streamlined council that, when elected, is ready to work on the priorities of its constituents.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Members will please take their seats.

Restart the clock. Supplementary?

Mrs. Robin Martin: Back to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing: Thank you very much, Minister, for the answer. This is great news for Toronto and for the people and the council.

Can the minister tell the House how this legislation would not only benefit Toronto council, but would also improve the lives of all Torontonians?

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, I want to thank the member. As I said earlier, the proposed legislation would reduce the number of Toronto councillors to 25. This is a meaningful change that will dramatically improve the decision-making process at the city of Toronto. For too long, Speaker, that process has been discussions that have went around and around and around, and not been able to make those important decisions.

We believe that this bill will allow the city to make those important decisions, whether they be on infrastructure or whether they be on housing or transit. To have a streamlined council that can make decisions faster, and that, at the same time, over the four years, would save Toronto taxpayers \$25 million—that's an important dollar figure, Speaker. It will allow the city to make quick decisions, but it will also provide a financial benefit to those constituents—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Next question.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. Peter Tabuns: My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. When did the Premier tell the minister his plan to interfere in Toronto's election during the middle of their campaign? When?

Hon. Steve Clark: Speaker, through you to the member: It's very important for me to remind the member of the message that both our party and his party and the other parties received in the June 7 election. Make no mistake: We received a very clear mandate for accountability and trust, and to put that back into government.

We also made it very clear during the election—and I want to remind the member—that discussing reducing the size and cost of government was something that my Premier and members of my caucus made countless times during the election. We went through this campaign, and the Premier and our members talked to tens of thousands of Ontarians. They talked about the interest and the information to be able to provide this to the House today.

As I said before, my plan is to propose this legislation. It will dramatically cut the size of Toronto city council. But it will, more importantly—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Supplementary.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Again to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing: The Premier didn't campaign on interfering in Toronto's election in the middle of a campaign. It didn't come up until Thursday night, three months after the municipal election began. It wasn't in his platform. He didn't mention it in a single debate. He didn't tell Ontarians.

When, Minister, did the Premier tell you his plan?

Hon. Steve Clark: I thank the member for the question. No one in Ontario believes that we need more politicians to make a decision. Any oversized council makes it almost impossible to make those decisions on behalf of their constituents. We believe that the proposed legislation would streamline council and make better decisions.

I don't know about the member, but I certainly believe that having 25 MPs covering an electoral district and 25 MPPs covering the same electoral district is out of touch with having 25 city councillors deal with that same electoral district. I think it provides better government. I think it provides better decisions, faster decisions to be able to deal with the priorities of the citizens of Toronto.

I ask the member: Join us in supporting this proposed legislation.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Mitzie Hunter: My question is for the Premier. Your overnight decision to meddle in the Ontario municipal elections is concerning. Again and again, you drive chaos through this system. Given that the elections have already begun as of May 1—with hundreds of candidates already registered, signs that have been purchased and people who have signed up—this creates chaos at a time when we need stability and strong leadership to focus on things like NAFTA.

The Premier is sending a message to investors that he can't manage a stable government. He speaks out of both sides of his mouth. Consultations—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I would ask the member—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Take your seat. I'd ask the member to withdraw.

1110

Ms. Mitzie Hunter: I withdraw, Speaker.

Why consultations for sexual education and not for municipal election decisions? Will the Premier commit to consultations in this instance for the city of Toronto?

Hon. Doug Ford: Minister of Municipal Affairs.

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to thank the member for the question. As I said, our proposed legislation will change, for this election, the number of councillors within the city of Toronto.

On Friday, we talked about the changes we are proposing that would allow the nomination period to be extended from Friday, July 27, the Friday that was past, to September 14. We've committed, as I said earlier today, to work with the clerk on those transitional issues for candidates. We've also reached out to Ontario's Chief Electoral Officer to try to help the municipality deal with the most important aspect of the newest possible voters list. We're going to continue to work with the clerk's office and the city of Toronto as we manage over the proposed piece of legislation.

Again, it goes back to the underlying principle. We campaigned on respecting taxpayers' dollars—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Supplementary?

Ms. Mitzie Hunter: Mr. Speaker, to the minister, then: Like most people, I was shocked to learn from the Toronto Star overnight that this government is planning to cancel regional chair elections and interfering with local races in Toronto.

From the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing—a former mayor, in fact—we expect better. You stood in this House and voted in favour of the bill for an elected chair in York region, saying, "We all agree that this bill would increase the accountability and make the system more democratic, and the people of York region want ... change."

Minister, why have you changed your tune?

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to again thank the member for the question. The Liberals imposed the bill on this House in 2016. There were many stakeholders who felt it needed to be hitting a pause. The Premier and I on Friday talked about hitting a pause on those four regional governments. They'll go back to the way they operated in the 2014 election. It remains unchanged for the other three regional governments.

I think we were very clear that we are going to move forward with those changes as well as the city of Toronto changes today in the proposed bill. I look forward to engaging our regional government partners in a couple of weeks at the Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference. We're going to start the dialogue on an informal basis, and we'll probably have something more formal in the fall.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Prabmeet Singh Sarkaria: My question is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. Our government for the people is committed to restoring accountability and trust and bringing efficiency back to government.

Can the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing tell us what our government is doing to help regional government work more effectively and efficiently for their taxpayers?

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to thank the member for Brampton South for that question. As I said earlier, it's my intention to present legislation that, if passed, would put a pause on changes brought in in 2016, without con-

sultation, to create a new layer of politicians, elected regional chairs, in York, Peel, Niagara and Muskoka.

Speaker, the last thing that families, businesses and municipal leaders in these regions need is another layer of politicians. We're proposing to go back to the way it was before 2016. The other regional governments would continue to elect their representatives as normal, but in York, Peel, Niagara and Muskoka we're going to take a pause. We intend to reverse legislation imposed on municipalities in 2016.

This is another example, Speaker, of our government getting out of the way and allowing those councils to work in the best interests of their people.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Supplementary?

Mr. Prabmeet Singh Sarkaria: Back to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. Thank you very much, Minister, and thank you for acting now to reverse legislation that was unfairly imposed on municipalities.

What about the other regions? Can the minister tell the House how the government intends to make sure all regional governments in Ontario work more effectively and efficiently for the people?

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, I want to thank the member for the question. Speaker, our government for the people is committed to finding the most effective and most efficient ways for municipalities to work for their taxpayers. As the Premier has said, one thing every politician at every level in every region needs to understand and remember is that we all share the same boss. We all work for the people.

We're going to take a long look at regional government, Speaker: where things have worked and where they haven't worked so well. I'm going to start this review informally, at our discussion at the upcoming Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference in the city of Ottawa. I really want to hear from municipal leaders at that conference, in an informal setting, how they feel things have worked and, in some cases, things they would like to change. After that review, we'll have more discussions, perhaps in a more formal—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Next question.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Sara Singh: My question is for the Premier. In Brampton, we welcomed the opportunity to finally elect a chair to the region of Peel, so we were shocked to learn that, without any public input, this government has decided to drag Brampton backwards. And now this government has taken away the democratic voice of 1.4 million residents in the region of Peel. The people in my community deserve to elect a chair.

Can the Premier explain why he is taking away our community's right to elect their government?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker, I know the people in Brampton very well, extremely well. As a matter of fact, I know the people in Brampton Centre very well, and I think I'm going to do a little door-knocking there to find out, when I door-knock, "Do you want

more politicians? Do you want more layers of government? Because your MPP wants bigger government, more taxes."

I can promise you not one single person in Brampton Centre wants more politicians, wants higher taxes. They want lower taxes. That's what the people of Brampton Centre want. And if I went up to them and said, "Would you be happy to trade in a bunch of politicians for millions of dollars of services?" they would say, "Show 'em the door," and that's what we're going to do.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Members will take their seats.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The House will come to order. Restart the clock.

Supplementary?

Ms. Sara Singh: Back to the Premier: During this government's short time in office, we have seen backroom deal after backroom deal, leaving the people of Ontario worse off. Now the Premier has suddenly taken away the right of a community to elect their own regional chair. This type of unilateral meddling does nothing but move our communities backwards.

1120

I ask you: Which of your insider friends are you propping up to power by manipulating the election in Peel region?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Take your seats. Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker: Back in 2016, I don't remember any consultation happening when the previous government rammed it down the throats of the region of Peel, to have duplication of government. I don't remember any consultation when the city wanted to increase politicians, three more politicians. I don't remember any consultation about raising taxes or increasing politicians, but I can tell—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I ask the Premier to take his seat.

The official opposition has to come to order. I can't hear the Premier.

Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: I just want to remind the Leader of the Opposition and the NDP—you mentioned me running for mayor. I ended up getting 88,646 more votes than the NDP, all combined, in the city of Toronto. So thank you.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Order. Members will take their seats.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order. We still have 20 minutes.

Start the clock. The member for Parry Sound—Muskoka.

FIREFIGHTING IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

Mr. Norman Miller: My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry.

We've all heard the tragic news of Jerry Gadwa of the Kehewin First Nation community in northern Alberta, who died while supporting the fire suppression efforts in Red Lake, Ontario. On behalf of the people of Ontario, I would like to thank him for his services and express my heartfelt condolences to his family. He will always be remembered as a hero.

Can the Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry provide this House with an update on how fire suppression efforts are progressing across Ontario?

Hon. Jeff Yurek: Thank you to the member for the question. I also would like to once again express the government's condolences to Mr. Gadwa's family. I think it's very important that we recognize the bravery and courage that Mr. Gadwa displayed in the name of providing for his family and protecting those areas to which he was deployed. I would like to also express my appreciation to all the staff and volunteers who continue to do their part.

To this date, we have received support from our provincial partners as well as from the United States and Mexico. We anticipate more fire rangers coming from Mexico and more equipment from our provincial partners. We're also exploring an option that would allow retired rangers to come back on the job on a temporary basis to provide added assistance and expertise.

Again, our top priority is the safety of the public, protection of property and the safety of our emergency responders.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Supplementary?

Mr. Norman Miller: Back to the minister: I want to thank all the firefighters from Ontario, other provinces, the United States and Mexico who are working so hard to fight the many fires around northern Ontario. In particular, I want to thank those who are fighting Parry Sound 33 in the north end of my riding. I was pleased to join the minister and the Premier in visiting the brave men and women fighting Parry Sound 33 on Friday.

Can the minister share with this House and with the people of my riding what is being done to stop this and other fires?

Hon. Jeff Yurek: Thank you again for that question. Yes, on Friday the Premier, the member from Parry Sound-Muskoka and myself visited the Britt command centre near Parry Sound to visit those who are fighting the fires and to see the effects for ourselves. We must say, we were truly amazed at the dedication and professionalism of the command centre and those doing their part to keep Ontarians safe.

Currently the fire situation across northern and central Ontario is still active. This is because of warm temperatures, windy conditions, minimal precipitation and frequent thunderstorms with plenty of lightning. We are actively monitoring the fire situation and fighting key fires from the air and on the ground.

Our top priority, as I said earlier, is the safety of the public, protection of property and the safety of our emergency responders. We are fully prepared and ready to protect the public and our natural resources, and I've instructed my department to explore all options as to how we can continue to assist with, and dedicate resources to, these fires.

PUBLIC CONSULTATION

Mrs. Jennifer (Jennie) Stevens: My question is for the Premier. Does the Premier believe that consulting with the public is important to the political process, yes or no?

Hon. Doug Ford: Municipal affairs.

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to thank the member. My Premier has consulted with tens of thousands of people during the election campaign. You know what, Speaker? It was crystal clear during that election that Ontarians embraced our message to respect taxpayers' dollars.

As well, we talked countless times during the campaign about bringing accountability and trust back into this government, to again move forward our legislative agenda where I'll be proposing legislation that will reduce the number of councillors in the city of Toronto, that will press a pause on the regional government changes that the previous government imposed in 2016.

We believe very strongly that the mandate we received and the message that we were given during that election was to respect taxpayers' dollars, to make government accountable and efficient. That's what we're doing in the city of Toronto. I look forward to discussing—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Supplementary?

Mrs. Jennifer (Jennie) Stevens: Mr. Speaker, this government just can't seem to keep their argument straight. First they go on about the importance of—and I quote the Deputy Premier here—"a proper end-to-end consultation that is completely inclusive and that hears from everyone." And then, days later, they turn around and force changes on communities like Niagara, with no word from the people.

We have seen this government rail on and on and on about the importance of public consultation, but they only seem to care when it suits their far-right extremist friends. If public consultation is such an important part of this political process for the Conservatives, why did they think it was appropriate to skip it when removing democratic rights from the people of Niagara?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Members will please take their seats.
Minister?

Hon. Steve Clark: No one but the New Democrats believes that having more politicians is the right thing to do. Over and over again we'll hear from this side of the House talking about a bloated government, more government and more politicians. I don't believe that having more politicians is the right way to go.

We heard clearly during the campaign to respect taxpayers' dollars, to bring back accountability, transparency and trust in government. We're moving forward to reduce the size of government, to make it more streamlined, to be able to make decisions faster for the priorities of their constituents. I'm not surprised that New Democrats are against having efficient government.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Members will take their seats.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order. The House will come to order.

Next question. The member for Hastings–Lennox and Addington. Start the clock.

TAXATION

Mr. Daryl Kramp: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I certainly appreciate the calm in the House right now.

My question is to the Minister of the Environment. Our government was elected on a clear, clear mandate to put people first, and to make life affordable for families in Ontario. That included a commitment to taxpayers to show respect for their hard-earned money.

In her value-for-money review, the Auditor General looked at the previous government's cap-and-trade scheme. It was concluded the program would cost \$8 billion. It would "not significantly lower emissions within the province." In fact, the Auditor General went on to say that this program would achieve only 20% of its desired results. Clearly, Mr. Speaker, that is not value for money. The taxpayers of Ontario deserve more.

1130

Will the Minister of the Environment please assure this House and address the real challenges we face with respect to taxpayers and the—

Interjections.

Hon. Rod Phillips: I thank the member from Hastings–Lennox and Addington for the question.

As we know and as we've discussed, the previous government's cap-and-trade carbon tax was an ineffective program. He quite rightly reminds us that the Auditor General confirmed, through her approach to this, that the government cap-and-trade would actually cost businesses and consumers \$8 billion, and it would only see a slight reduction in emissions. As was mentioned, the talk that it would fall 80% short of the targets that were set was surprising to Ontarians. That is why we ran on a program that would eliminate that. That is why we are saying that the era of carbon tax in Ontario is over.

The NDP would continue that program. The NDP would, in fact, build on that program. The NDP has talked about the highest carbon tax in the world. Our government will stand up for taxpayers. Our government will eliminate the carbon tax.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Restart the clock. Supplementary?

Mr. Daryl Kramp: I certainly thank the minister for his answer that does respect taxpayers.

The conclusion reached by the Auditor General, of course, was the same conclusion reached by the people on June 7. The Liberals' cap-and-trade carbon scheme is nothing more than a complete tax grab.

For years, families have struggled with the increased costs associated with this tax, and I hear stories, and most members do, everywhere we go. I know that's why my constituents are excited to hear that our government is now moving quickly on our promise to eliminate the cap-and-trade scheme that truly punishes families.

Mr. Speaker, we promised that relief would be on the way for the hard-working people of Ontario. Promises made—

Interjections: Promises kept.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: Could the Minister of the Environment commit to my constituents that true relief is on the way?

Hon. Rod Phillips: As with the member, I heard the same thing from my constituents in Ajax. People are tired of being taxed for everything that they do. We are winding down this program to help working families, to help families in Ontario and make sure that they benefit from the program—cheaper gas prices, lower energy bills and more money in their pockets. Eliminating the cap-and-trade carbon tax will save the average family \$260 a year, every year.

In addition to saving families money, it will lower the burden for Ontario business. It's anticipated that through the cancellation of the cap-and-trade carbon tax, Ontario will create an estimated 14,000 jobs.

Our legislation is great news for the people of Ontario. As the member said, promises made, promises kept.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Ms. Marit Stiles: My question is for the Premier. Why has this Conservative government singled out Toronto city council specifically—not any other municipality—with this unilateral action to slash the number of Toronto city councillors? Is it because he has a score to settle with Torontonians who rejected him as mayor?

Hon. Doug Ford: Member of the opposition, we had an election. The people of Toronto, they were very clear. We ended up with more votes than all of the opposition, we ended up with more votes than the NDP, to fulfil our commitment of reducing the size and cost of government.

We were very clear that we're going to have a smaller government. We were very clear about saving taxpayers money, reducing their hydro rates, reducing taxes, getting infrastructure built, getting transit built, taking care of the backlog of housing. That's what our mandate was, and that was the mandate the people of Toronto and Ontario gave to our party, to move forward. That's exactly what we're going to do.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Restart the clock. Supplementary?

Ms. Marit Stiles: This government is proposing to slash the number of Toronto city councillors from 47 to just 25.

Interjection: Shame.

Ms. Marit Stiles: Yes, shame on you. This is being done despite the fact that the city spent two years consulting on this issue—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order. I'll give the member extra time.

Ms. Marit Stiles: Speaker, thank you.

This is being done despite the fact that the city spent two years consulting on this issue and concluded that 47 councillors would be the best in terms of representation and ensuring that every voter is treated equally. Now Toronto will have the same number of councillors as Ottawa, a city with one third of Toronto's population.

So I ask you again: Why is this Conservative government undermining the foundations of our—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I apologize to the member that I had to interrupt her question. I would ask the government side—she's 10 feet away from me and I can't hear her. I'm going to let the member repeat her question so I can hear it.

Ms. Marit Stiles: I ask you again, Mr. Speaker: Why is this Conservative government undermining the foundations of our democracy in order to take revenge on old foes?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker: Member of the opposition, did you see the 12 councillors stand up, the fiscally conservative councillors representing close to two million people in the city of Toronto? They know what their constituents want. They want smaller government. They want transit built for the first time ever in Toronto. That's why we're going to be uploading the subway system. That's why we're finally going to build subways—for the people of Scarborough, Mitzie. Actually, subways are coming to Scarborough.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND ACCOUNTING PRACTICES

Ms. Jane McKenna: My question is for the President of the Treasury Board. My constituents in Burlington are concerned about the state of Ontario's books. Under the previous Liberal government, they have seen our province's debt climb to become the highest of any sub-national jurisdiction in the world. They are also worried that we don't know yet the whole truth. They watched as the Auditor General called into question the previous government's accounting practices and discovered that their promises to return to a balanced budget were hiding an even bigger structural deficit than we imagined.

Mr. Speaker, can the minister explain how our government for the people will begin to dig Ontario out of this mess?

Hon. Peter Bethlenfalvy: Thank you to the member from Burlington. Let your constituents in Burlington know that help is on the way.

We know that Ontario doesn't have a revenue problem, Mr. Speaker, but under the previous government it certainly had a spending problem. We have been clear since day one that we will put Ontario on a healthy financial footing and we will ensure that the province can afford to strengthen and maintain the vital public services the province depends on.

That is why our government has launched an Independent Financial Commission of Inquiry to show us how the province got into this mess, and a line-by-line audit which will begin to show us the way out. This audit will provide the government with a detailed analysis of current spending, benchmark this against other jurisdictions, and recommend areas that can be improved. Mr. Speaker, the government—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Supplementary question?

Ms. Jane McKenna: Speaker, back to the minister: I thank the minister for his answer and his diligence in ensuring Ontarians can trust the government's books. I know the people of my riding and across Ontario are looking to the government to find efficiencies while continuing to deliver our vital services in an effective way.

Can the minister please update the House on our government's efforts to restore the confidence of taxpayers that their money is being spent with prudence and care?

Hon. Peter Bethlenfalvy: Thank you again to the member from Burlington for that important question.

We promised, Mr. Speaker, that we would put an end to the party with the taxpayers' money. We know that fiscal reviews like this one have the greatest potential to help target efforts to find solutions. Mr. Speaker, that is why I'm proud our government has wasted no time in launching a line-by-line audit. This audit includes a clear commitment to transformational change while protecting front-line jobs and services.

1140

Mr. Speaker, we are not only restoring trust and accountability; we are ensuring Ontario is strongly positioned to deliver high-quality, sustainable public services now and in the future. The government and our Premier will not stop until we have restored responsibility and Ontario's finances to a healthy place once again.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Start the clock.

Next question?

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. Gurratan Singh: My question is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

The Premier cannot just wake up one day and unilaterally decide to change the municipal electoral landscape and cancel elections. Money has already been invested and campaigns have been under way for months.

Does the minister know how much this undemocratic decision will actually cost in court challenges that will inevitably come forward?

Hon. Steve Clark: Speaker, I want to thank the member for the question.

I think my Premier was very clear. We had an election. He spoke to many people in the city of Brampton about respecting taxpayers' dollars, about making sure that government at all levels is more effective and more efficient.

Our proposed legislation, other than the changes for the city of Toronto, will only deal with the four regional governments that were part of this previous government's 2016 legislation. All we're doing is pressing the pause button while we move forward with a discussion with our municipal partners about—

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: I know that the opposition benches are going to howl because they're always going to stand up for bigger government, they're always going to stand up for more politicians. That's not the message that we heard from Ontarians. We heard very clearly to respect taxpayers' dollars and to reduce the size and cost of government. That's—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Supplementary question?

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Mr. Speaker, the Premier is acting like a dictator, changing the rules—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order. Order.

The member must withdraw.

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Withdraw.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Question?

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Changing the rules midway through the campaign. We know at least one court challenge has already been filed.

Again, can the minister tell us how much Ontarians will be on the hook for fighting court challenges caused by this dictator-like plot?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order.

I ask the member to withdraw.

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Withdraw.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Response? Minister of Municipal Affairs.

Hon. Steve Clark: Thank you, Speaker. It's very regrettable, some of the words that are being used in this Legislature today—very regrettable.

Our government for the people is committed to finding effective and efficient ways for government to deliver services.

Again, Speaker, in terms of the regional governments, it's only the four that were dealt with in the previous government's 2016 legislation.

I've mentioned very, very clearly that we're going to start an informal discussion with our governments at the Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference in a couple of weeks in the city of Ottawa. We want to engage them to find out things that have worked in our regional government system and also things that I think we need to improve on. It's all, again, a part of us having an efficient and effective way to deliver public services and especially those municipal services that are the

closest services to the people. We want to respect those municipalities. We want to engage them—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Next question?

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. David Piccini: Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

I was out on Friday consulting with the good folks of Alnwick Haldimand township. In fact, Mr. Minister, I met with the mayor. Do you know that the first thing the mayor told me was that the first move they made to restore accountability and trust was to reduce the size of their municipality? As a result, they've been better able to deliver municipal services to their constituents.

My question is for the minister: What is this government doing to ensure we better respect the hard-earned tax dollars of Ontarians?

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, I want to thank the member for the question. There's no doubt, Speaker, that we, on this side of the House, believe in better local government. During our last campaign, we heard very clearly to respect taxpayers' dollars. With the changes that are proposed in this legislation, we want to get to the point that on October 22, the people of Toronto can vote for a streamlined council—just like the council that you talked about. They will vote for a streamlined council that will be ready to make quick decisions in the best interests of their taxpayers. It's the right decision to do.

I, again, ask the members opposite: Join us in making efficient and effective local government something that—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The members will please take their seats.

That concludes question period for today.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Pursuant to standing order 38(a), the member for Toronto Centre has given notice of her dissatisfaction with the answer to her question given by the Premier concerning Toronto's municipal election. This matter will therefore be debated Tuesday at 6 p.m.

There being no deferred votes, this House is recessed until 1 p.m. this afternoon.

The House recessed from 1146 to 1300.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

Mr. Mike Schreiner: I just would like to introduce a former deputy leader of the Green Party of Ontario, Peter Elgie. He comes from a long line of parliamentarians. His grandfather, Goldwin Elgie, served in this Legislature in the 1930s and 1940s. His dad, Bob Elgie, served in the Legislature from from 1977 to 1985. Welcome to Queen's Park.

Mrs. Robin Martin: I would like to introduce my best friend and my biggest supporter; my husband, Jon Martin, who is in the gallery today to hear my inaugural address.

Ms. Suze Morrison: I'd like to introduce Chris Moise and Jennifer Hollett, who are in the members' gallery. They are both municipal candidates in the upcoming Toronto election.

Mr. Bill Walker: I welcome a few Toronto city councillors who are here to witness the tabling of the legislation. They are Michael Ford, Stephen Holyday, David Shiner, Giorgio Mammoliti, Cesar Palacio, Jim Karygiannis, Justin Di Ciano, Michael Thompson, Frances Nunziata, Glenn de Baeremaeker, Vincent Crisanti and Michelle Holland.

Ms. Sara Singh: I'd like to introduce two fantastic young women who have been integral in helping me get elected to this magnificent post. I'd like to introduce Jasdeep Grewal and Bhani Whadwa, who are now officially hired on as my constituency assistants.

Ms. Jill Andrew: I want to acknowledge and thank friend Megann Wilson, municipal candidate in ward 23—she was here earlier—and also John Cartwright, president, Toronto and York Region Labour Council, from this morning.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

RIDING OF HAMILTON WEST— ANCASTER—DUNDAS

Ms. Sandy Shaw: The riding I represent, Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas, is a newly created riding, and I am enormously proud to have been given the opportunity to be its very first representative in this House.

As is widely known, Hamilton has a proud history of strength in our steel industry and the good-paying jobs that have contributed to the well-being of our city. What is not as well known is that, in fact, education and health care is the largest employment sector in Hamilton. Its largest employers are Hamilton Health Sciences, McMaster University and Mohawk College, all of which are located in my riding of Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas. We're known as hard workers who are engaged in our neighbourhoods. We lend a helping hand to those who need assistance.

Mr. Speaker, it is with that same sense of community in mind that I would like to mark a significant event that took place at St. Joseph's Villa in Dundas this morning. A ceremonial groundbreaking for Margaret's Place, a new hospice, marked the launch of their Gift of Love campaign.

In Ontario, governments only cover approximately 60% of operating costs for hospice care. So with Margaret's Place in Dundas, it is a comfort to know that those suffering, and their families, will have access to high-quality hospice care in their time of need.

SPECIAL OLYMPICS

Mr. Stephen Crawford: Tomorrow will mark the start of the 2018 Special Olympics in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. The Special Olympics is a great event where hundreds of people aged eight or older from across the country will compete to qualify for the 2019 Special Olympics World Games in Abu Dhabi.

This year will mark the 50th anniversary of the Special Olympics, which was started by the world-famous Canadian medical doctor Dr. Frank Hayden, who lives in our neighbour riding of Burlington. Dr. Hayden was a pioneer in intellectual disability research, especially as it pertained to children, and he was the first to disprove the long-held belief that children who have intellectual disabilities are not capable of participating in play and recreation.

Last week, I had the privilege of meeting a constituent, Aiden Lee, who will be competing in the games. Aiden is 15 years old and will be competing in the swimming events in the games. He is a dedicated athlete who cares about the well-being of his teammates. Aiden visited my constituency office on Friday to share his knowledge of the competition, and asked for Ontario pins for all of his teammates from Oakville that they could proudly wear.

Mr. Speaker, I want to wish all the athletes from Ontario and especially Oakville all the best of luck when competing later this week. I know they will represent their province and their communities with the utmost commitment to the competition and respect of their fellow athletes. I look forward to meeting with Aiden and his teammates upon their return and to share in the celebration recognizing their efforts.

RIDING OF BRAMPTON CENTRE

Ms. Sara Singh: I'd like to thank the people of Brampton Centre for the opportunity to represent the community I've called home since the day I was born, and I'd like to thank all the members that were involved in my campaign and for the opportunity to be here today.

Growing up in Brampton, I've watched us transform into the ninth-largest city in Canada. We are home to Chinguacousy Park, a 100-acre park that is in the heart of my riding, where families in our community gather every week to celebrate and connect. We are home to this country's largest transportation and manufacturing hubs, moving this province's economy forward. We are also home to some of the world's greatest entrepreneurs and artists, like Alessia Cara, Rupri Kaur and Director X.

While I was knocking on doors in my riding, I met with thousands of people, who all indicated to me that one thing was clear: They wanted change. They wanted a government that was going to represent them and put their needs first. I am so proud to stand here and be that voice for my community, and I look forward to representing those diverse voices in this Legislature.

YORK UNIVERSITY MARKHAM CENTRE CAMPUS

Mr. Billy Pang: On July 23, I had the opportunity to stand with Mayor Scarpitti, colleagues and staff for the unveiling event marking York University's Markham campus' latest milestone. The York University Markham Centre campus will be located west of Markham Pan Am Centre and will offer more than 20 degree programs, including business, education, information technology, and software.

Here are just a few numbers of the impact the new campus will make:

- 4,200 students by 2024 will have access to teaching, learning and research.

- 400-plus on-campus jobs will be created.

- \$500 million in economic benefits from the construction.

- \$37 million of annual impact when it is fully operational.

The opening of the 2021 campus will benefit many residents of Markham and York region, allowing them to gain the skills and knowledge in order for them to be part of the 21st-century economy of Ontario. This expansion was made possible through investments made by the provincial government of Ontario, and it's events like this which allow our government to invest in our children's future.

OPIOID ABUSE

Mrs. Jennifer (Jennie) Stevens: I would like to take a moment to recognize a remarkable member of our community, Mr. Fred Bowering. Fred is a community advocate in St. Catharines who takes it upon himself to fight for compassionate action to be taken in the opioid crisis. He rides his bike to places like Centennial park and to the downtown public library to collect and dispose of discarded needles, sometimes filling multiple containers a day. In 2017, Fred was stuck with a needle at a local park but thankfully did not contract any illness.

In one year, Niagara EMS observed a 335% increase of suspected opioid overdoses. These needles are at our libraries, in our parks, children's play areas and near our businesses.

1310

We need to take action on the opioid epidemic in our city. I am thankful we have people like Fred ensuring our community is safe. However, more needs to be done to ensure people in our community are safe from harm. I hope this government will listen to the people, like Fred, and implement safe injection sites in Niagara.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT GOUVERNEMENT MUNICIPAL

Ms. Kathleen O. Wynne: One of the reasons that I am in this Legislature and I was motivated to run in 2003 was because we had a government in the Mike Harris government that did not respect local governance. So it pains me, Mr. Speaker, to rise today to express my con-

cern and the concern of many, many constituents of Don Valley West and beyond who have already contacted my office regarding the Ford government's perplexing last-minute scheme to meddle in Toronto's municipal election.

As our Liberal caucus has already stated publicly, this bizarre action on the part of Premier Ford creates chaos in Toronto and in Ontario. This erratic proposal to unilaterally cut Toronto city council in half jeopardizes Ontario's strong economic growth by sending the message to the world that Ontario is a risky place to do business.

This is a highly undemocratic proposal. It does not respect the process that the city of Toronto and the regions went through. It does not respect the people who have raised funds, who have paid out of pocket to campaign for election. There was no hint of this erratic action during the election campaign, and the Ford government has never asked the people of Toronto about this proposal. No matter what the Premier may say, travel and rallies are not the same as consultation.

Il est tout simplement irresponsable de procéder à des changements antidémocratiques à ce moment.

Whatever you believe about the ideal number of councillors for Toronto, Mr. Speaker, the way Premier Ford is treating Toronto is wrong. It is vindictive, mean and undemocratic, and it should stop.

FIERTÉ SIMCOE PRIDE

Mr. Doug Downey: I rise today to celebrate 18 flag raisings across Simcoe county that are happening over the next four days. These flag raisings are in support of Fierté Simcoe Pride, and there are proclamations from most municipalities in Simcoe county.

This is Fierté Simcoe Pride's seventh annual Pride across Simcoe county, which features various family-friendly, community-oriented events over the course of two weeks. The celebration of LGBTQ2+ community brings pride to communities big and small and has support from all 18 municipalities in the county as well as Canadian Forces Base Borden, Rama First Nation and Beausoleil First Nation.

This year features the first-ever two-spirit powwow, organized by the youth of Beaujolais First Nation, as well as the third annual Trans Pride March in Orillia and the fourth annual Simcoe County Pride Awards. The awards honour LGBTQ2+ individuals, allies and supportive organizations that are doing work to make it safer and more inclusive in Simcoe county. This work makes our communities better places to live, work and grow. Details of the awards can be found at www.simcoepride.com.

Minister Wilson, Minister Mulroney, Andrea Khanjin, Jill Dunlop and myself would like to wish them a fantastic two weeks of events. We also would like to congratulate the award winners that will be feted on August 11.

FIREFIGHTING IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

Mr. John Vanthof: As we are all aware, northern Ontario has been ravaged by forest fires in the last few

weeks. On behalf of the residents of Timiskaming–Cochrane and, I believe, all Ontarians, I would like to express our sincere condolences to the family of Jerry Gadwa, who lost his life fighting a fire in northwestern Ontario.

Firefighters and people who respond to emergencies are a special breed. They go to danger and they help the rest of us flee from it. To his family and to all the others who are fighting these fires to keep our families safe, our sincerest thanks and our sincerest condolences.

And, for a brief update, the Lady Evelyn fire has been held at, I believe, around 30,000 hectares. The Parry Sound fire, I believe, is the hot spot right now.

This is a very divisive place, but we give credit where credit is due. I would like to thank the MNR and the minister responsible for the work that they've done—there's been no effort spared—along with Emergency Measures Ontario and the firefighters and other workers from other provinces, from America and from Mexico. It has been a united effort, and I'd like to thank everyone. Please stay safe, everyone.

SPECIAL OLYMPICS

Ms. Andrea Khanjin: I am very excited to stand in the House to wish athletes from my riding of Barrie–Innisfil good luck as they leave to compete in the 2018 Special Olympics Canada National Summer Games in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. There are 260 athletes travelling from Ontario to compete in the games, making it the largest team attending.

I would like to personally congratulate Joey Eira, Kristy Alford and Nicholas Cunningham, who are competing in athletics; Emily MacTavish, who is competing in swimming; as well as Maryann Lewtas, who is competing in bocce. These athletes earned their place on the team through hard work, dedication, and their performance at the 2016 provincial spring games, which took place in Guelph. I want to inform the House that Kristy Alford holds the OFSAA record for the 100-metre as well as two gold medals from 2017.

I urge everyone in this House to go to specialolympicsontario.com to be able to follow their athletes from across Ontario. Good luck, team Ontario.

SPECIAL OLYMPICS

Mr. Dave Smith: I too am rising on Special Olympics Canada. For the next seven days, a number of athletes will be competing in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Ontario once again has a very strong contingent of exceptional athletes.

I would like to publicly acknowledge a number of those athletes who will be competing for Ontario from my riding: in the A division of soccer, Brandon VanSickle and Dylan Armstrong; in soccer, Nicole Hewitt, Brian Davis and Candace Bushie.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge one particular athlete who has distinguished herself in a number of

disciplines. This is her second Canada games that she will be attending. Her name is Lisa Butler and she is competing in five events: the 400-metre, the 800-metre, the long jump, the javelin and the shotput. As I like to say, it is her own half-decathlon.

I would like to wish all of those athletes the best of luck in Nova Scotia. I'm sure they will represent us very, very well. And most importantly, I wish them a safe journey back home.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR L'AMÉLIORATION DES ADMINISTRATIONS LOCALES

Mr. Clark moved first reading of the following bill:

Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 / Projet de loi 5, Loi modifiant la Loi de 2006 sur la cité de Toronto, la Loi de 2001 sur les municipalités et la Loi de 1996 sur les élections municipales.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I heard some noes.

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1319 to 1324.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Will the members please take their seats.

Mr. Clark has moved that leave be given to introduce a bill entitled An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996, and that it now be read for the first time.

All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be counted by the Clerk.

Ayes

Anand, Deepak	Hogarth, Christine	Parsa, Michael
Baber, Roman	Jones, Sylvia	Pettapiece, Randy
Babiklan, Aris	Karahallos, Belinda	Phillips, Rod
Bailey, Robert	Ke, Vincent	Rasheed, Kaleed
Barrett, Toby	Khanjin, Andrea	Rickford, Greg
Bouma, Will	Kramp, Daryl	Roberts, Jeremy
Clark, Steve	Kusendova, Natalia	Romano, Ross
Coe, Lorne	Lecce, Stephen	Sabawy, Sheref
Crawford, Stephen	MacLeod, Lisa	Sandhu, Amarjot
Cuzzetto, Rudy	Martin, Robin	Simard, Amanda
Downey, Doug	Martow, Gila	Smith, Dave
Dunlop, Jill	McDonell, Jim	Smith, Todd
Elliott, Christine	McKenna, Jane	Tangri, Nina
Fedell, Victor	McNaughton, Monte	Thanigasalam, Vijay
Fee, Amy	Miller, Norman	Triantafilopoulos, Effie J.
Fullerton, Merrilee	Mulroney, Caroline	Wai, Daisy
Ghamari, Goldie	Nicholls, Rick	Walker, Bill

Gill, Parm
Hardeman, Ernie
Harris, Mike

Oosterhoff, Sam
Pang, Billy
Park, Lindsey

Wilson, Jim
Yakabuski, John
Yurek, Jeff

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): All those opposed to the motion will please rise one at a time and be counted by the Clerk.

Nays

Andrew, Jill
Armstrong, Teresa J.
Arthur, Ian
Begum, Doly
Bell, Jessica
Berns-McGown, Rima
Bisson, Gilles
Burch, Jeff
Des Rosiers, Nathalie
Fife, Catherine
Fraser, John
French, Jennifer K.
Gates, Wayne
Gélinas, France

Glover, Chris
Gretzky, Lisa
Harden, Joel
Hassan, Faisal
Hatfield, Percy
Horwath, Andrea
Hunter, Mitzie
Laionde, Marie-France
Lindo, Laura Mae
Mamakwa, Sol
Mantha, Michael
Miller, Paul
Monteith-Farrell, Judith
Morrison, Suze

Rakocevic, Tom
Schreiner, Mike
Shaw, Sandy
Singh, Gurratan
Singh, Sara
Stevens, Jennifer (Jennie)
Stiles, Marit
Tabuns, Peter
Vanthof, John
West, Jamie
Wynne, Kathleen O.
Yarde, Kevin

The Clerk of the Assembly (Mr. Todd Decker): The ayes are 60; the nays are 40.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I declare the motion carried.

First reading agreed to.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'd like to recognize the minister for a brief explanation of the bill.

Hon. Steve Clark: The Better Local Government Act amends the Municipal Act, the Municipal Elections Act and the City of Toronto Act to align the city of Toronto's municipal wards and the number of councillors with the number and configuration for the current 25 provincial and federal electoral districts. It extends the nomination period for councillor and school board trustee candidates in Toronto to September 14. The nomination deadline for the position of mayor of Toronto would remain unchanged. It reverses changes introduced in 2016 that mandate the election of new regional chairs in York, Peel, Niagara and Muskoka and return to the system that was in place prior to 2016. Other regional chair elections remain unchanged.

1330

POET LAUREATE OF ONTARIO ACT (IN MEMORY OF GORD DOWNIE), 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR LE POÈTE OFFICIEL DE L'ONTARIO (À LA MÉMOIRE DE GORD DOWNIE)

Mr. Hatfield moved first reading of the following bill:

Bill 6, An Act to establish the Poet Laureate of Ontario in memory of Gord Downie / Projet de loi 6, Loi visant à créer la charge de poète officiel de l'Ontario à la mémoire de Gord Downie.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

First reading agreed to.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I recognize the member for Windsor–Tecumseh with a brief explanation of the bill.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: A very short synopsis: The members who were here before know that this isn't the first time this bill was introduced. It came this close the last time, and then we were prorogued for a day, which knocked it out of the ballpark.

Gord Downie was the lead singer of the Tragically Hip. We all are aware of the cross-Canada tour, watched by 11 million or 12 million people.

A Poet Laureate: Canada has one; other provinces have them. Many municipalities in Ontario have them, including my city of Windsor. I think it's appropriate and it's past overdue. I would anticipate and expect your support when we debate the bill in the future.

PETITIONS

CURRICULUM

Ms. Marit Stiles: I'm proud to present a petition on behalf of my constituent Jacqueline McKenzie. It's entitled "Protecting Children: Forward, Not Backward, on Sex Ed.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the health and physical education curriculum empowers young people to make informed decisions about relationships and their bodies;

"Whereas gender-based violence, gender inequality, unintended pregnancies, 'sexting,' and HIV and other sexually transmitted infections ... pose serious risks to the safety and well-being of young people;

"Whereas one in three women and one in six men experience sexual violence in Canada, and a lack of age-appropriate education about sexual health and healthy relationships leaves children and youth vulnerable to exploitation;

"Whereas one in five parents reported their own child being a victim of cyberbullying; and

"Whereas Doug Ford and the Conservative government is dragging Ontario backward, requiring students to learn an outdated sex ed curriculum that excludes information about consent, sexual orientation, gender identity, sexting, cyberbullying and safe and healthy relationships;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to direct the Ministry of Education to continue the use of the 2015 health and physical education curriculum in schools and move Ontario forward, not backward."

I'm very happy to support this petition. I'll be affixing my signature and asking page Emmanuel to table it with the Clerks.

EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS

Ms. Goldie Ghamari: This petition was influenced and inspired by a number of business owners in my

riding during the campaign when I was organizing a series of conversations called the Carleton Conversations.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas employers are not able to make a fair assessment of an employee's suitability after only one week of work; and

"Whereas the legislation introduced by the previous government ... granted two paid emergency leave days to all new employees after only one week of work; and

"Whereas" this bill "forces employers to pay for two emergency leave days to a potentially unsuitable employee; and

"Whereas many employers, the majority of whom are small business owners or operate family-run businesses, are now facing greater financial risk and cost, especially for those employers hiring part-time employees; and

"Whereas it is recognized and understood that there are situations where a new employee may require emergency leave during their probationary period;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"To re-evaluate the mandatory paid benefit requirements to employees that work less days per week in order to ensure that paid benefits are fair to both employees and employers; to change the time period for entitled paid emergency leave days to three months after an employee's first day of employment, and instead grant two unpaid emergency leave days to all new employees within the probationary period as outlined in their respective employment contracts."

I fully endorse this petition and will be affixing my signature to it.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Jessica Bell: This petition is to stop Doug Ford from interfering in municipal elections.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Doug Ford's decision to reduce Toronto's wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

"Whereas Doug Ford's meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

"Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford's unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford's political gain."

I support this petition and I will be affixing my signature to it.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY

Mr. Billy Pang: This is from a group of constituents from my riding.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas there has been an unprecedented number of illegal border crossers who have entered our country;

"Whereas the federal government is shirking its responsibility to handle the costs of providing social assistance to those illegal border crossers, even though the majority of them will be eventually deported when their claims are rejected by the Immigration and Refugee Board;

"Whereas the Premier and the Minister of Children, Community and Social Services have shown strong leadership by standing up for the financial viability of Ontario and" responsibility "of Canada's immigration system;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to:

"—continue the work that the government is doing to stand up for Ontario's taxpayers by demanding that the federal government pay its bills;

"—take steps to stop the flow of illegal border crossers to Ontario;

"—condemn the practice of illegal border crossing, and thank the provincial government including, notably, the Premier and the minister for their amazing work to manage this crisis."

I fully endorse this petition and affix my signature on it.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Suze Morrison: I would like to table a petition entitled "Stop Doug Ford from Interfering in Municipal Elections.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Doug Ford's decision to reduce Toronto's wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

"Whereas Doug Ford's meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

"Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford's unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford's political gain."

I fully endorse this petition. I will be affixing my signature to it and providing it to page Emmanuel to deliver to the Clerks.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. Faisal Hassan: I have a petition entitled "Stop Doug Ford from Interfering in Municipal Elections.

"Whereas Doug Ford's decision to reduce Toronto's wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

"Whereas Doug Ford's meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

"Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford's unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford's political gain."

I'm supporting this petition, affixing my signature and will be giving it to page Eric.

1340

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Jill Andrew: I am proud to present this petition on behalf of our community: "Stop Doug Ford from Interfering in Municipal Elections."

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Doug Ford's decision to reduce Toronto's wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

"Whereas Doug Ford's meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

"Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford's unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford's political gain."

I proudly support this and will be signing my signature and passing it over to page Emmanuel.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Rima Berns-McGown: This petition is to stop Doug Ford from interfering in municipal elections.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Doug Ford's decision to reduce Toronto's wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

"Whereas Doug Ford's meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

"Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford's unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the

existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford's political gain."

I completely endorse this petition and will be affixing my signature to it and passing it to page Hannah to deliver to the Clerk.

CURRICULUM

Mr. Kevin Yarde: "Protecting Children: Forward, Not Backward, on Sex Ed.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the health and physical education curriculum empowers young people to make informed decisions about relationships and their bodies;

"Whereas gender-based violence, gender inequality, unintended pregnancies, 'sexting,' and HIV and other sexually transmitted infections ... pose serious risks to the safety and well-being of young people;

"Whereas one in three women and one in six men experience sexual violence in Canada, and a lack of age-appropriate education about sexual health and healthy relationships leaves children and youth vulnerable to exploitation;

"Whereas one in five parents reported their own child being a victim of cyberbullying; and

"Whereas Doug Ford and the Conservative government is dragging Ontario backward, requiring students to learn an outdated sex ed curriculum that excludes information about consent, sexual orientation, gender identity, sexting, cyberbullying and safe and healthy relationships;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to direct the Ministry of Education to continue the use of the 2015 health and physical education curriculum in schools and move Ontario forward, not backward."

I fully endorse this. I will be signing it and handing it over to page Emmanuel.

INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

M^{me} France Gélinas: My petition is called "Stop the Cuts to Indigenous Reconciliation.

"Whereas Ontario is situated on the traditional territory of Indigenous peoples, many of whom have been on this land since time immemorial;

"Whereas in 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada released its final report: 'Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future' which made 94 recommendations or 'Calls to Action' for the government of Canada;

"Whereas reconciliation must be at the centre of all government decision-making;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario" as follows:

“—continue reconciliation work in Ontario by implementing the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission;

“—reinstate the Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation;

“—work with First Nations leaders to sign co-operative, government-to-government accords;

“—support TRC education and community development (e.g. TRC summer writing sessions);

“—support Indigenous communities across the province (e.g. cleaning up Grassy Narrows).”

I fully support this petition and will affix my name to it and ask page Eric to bring it to the Clerk.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Doly Begum: “To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

“Whereas Doug Ford’s decision to reduce Toronto’s wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

“Whereas Doug Ford’s meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

“Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

“Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford’s unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford’s political gain.”

I will be affixing my signature to it and handing it to page Hannah.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ms. Sandy Shaw: “Stop Doug Ford from Interfering in Municipal Elections.

“To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

“Whereas Doug Ford’s decision to reduce Toronto’s wards from 47 to 25 was made without any public consultation;

“Whereas Doug Ford’s meddling in municipal elections is an abuse of power;

“Whereas Doug Ford is cancelling democratic elections of some regional chairs;

“Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately reverse Doug Ford’s unilateral decision to dismantle Toronto city hall and cancel regional chair elections; to maintain the existing Toronto municipal boundaries; and ensure that the provincial government does not interfere with the upcoming Toronto municipal election for Ford’s political gain.”

I fully support this petition and I will affix my name.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

POLITIQUES DU GOUVERNEMENT

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Resuming the debate adjourned on July 26, 2018, on the motion regarding government priorities.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Further debate.

M^{me} Marie-France Lalonde: Merci, monsieur le Président. Encore une fois, félicitations pour votre élection.

Il me fait un grand plaisir de partager avec vous. Je sais qu’on parle, chacun de nous, de ce qu’on a vécu durant la campagne. Donc, avec votre indulgence, cher Président, j’aimerais remercier les gens d’Orléans pour m’avoir réélue pour pouvoir les représenter ici, à Queen’s Park, pour cette 42^e législature, cette première session que nous vivons cet été tous ensemble.

I would like to congratulate all of the elected officials who are in this House, 124 of us, who will be sharing the next four years with respect, I hope, and good debate.

And, Mr. Speaker—Madam Speaker, actually; congratulations on your nomination.

Certainly, for me, I also want to take the time to say thank you. Merci à toute l’équipe de la campagne and to all of the individuals who helped me during my campaign. This was my second time. I had the privilege of being elected in 2014. This 2018 campaign brought forward, I would say, hundreds of people coming together in Orléans to ensure that I would come back to this Legislature. So to the people of Orléans but also to my campaign team and all of the wonderful volunteers: Merci. Merci beaucoup.

Madam Speaker, we’ve been talking about many, many things in the past few weeks sitting in this Legislature. This is my first time reflecting on some of the government bills that are coming to the House that have passed or that are being introduced. Certainly, I wouldn’t be myself if I was not going to talk about the cap-and-trade system that has been cancelled.

1350

In 2014 and thereafter, I had the privilege of going to schools, visiting schools in the riding of Orléans. You talk to the future: the people, the young minds who may be here someday helping us make decisions. What those young minds are asking us, every single time that I meet them in classrooms, is, “What’s your plan for climate change? What’s your plan on the environment?” And I had a plan; we had a plan in Ontario, a cap-and-trade system that was there to ensure that the polluter would pay. We would ensure that the sky, the water and everything around us is better. They were glad to hear this, Madam Speaker, I have to say. They were indeed very happy to see that we were taking action.

This government made a decision during the campaign, and they did follow through, cancelling that. But at what cost? What is the cost associated with the cancellation of a cap-and-trade system? What is the message

that this government is sending, not only to the wonderful young people who one day will be voting but also to our Canadian partners, our international partners?

I have to say that I was a little bit shocked. Last week, I believe, I was reading an article in the *Globe and Mail*. There was the ambassador of Germany to Canada who was making reference to this. It was sad. It was actually quite sad for me to hear that coming from an international leader, someone apolitical, sharing with us their thoughts. I will quote here. She warned that, "Ontario's move to cancel" contracts "represents a black mark for the province in the eyes of foreign investors.." That really spoke to me, because when we hear on the other side of the House a government that says that they're open for business, that they're there for the people, I hope they take the time to go to school and meet with the future of Ontario's best.

You ask them about what matters to them, and you know what they say? The environment, climate change, the fact that it is costly, climate change today. Municipalities are suffering for many, many things that are happening that are outside of the control of this Legislature. And we're paying for those events. So I want to reflect on what message we're sending to those young minds. What is this government sending to those young individuals? As I said, I hope that they have the privilege to go to those schools and actually engage and share what their plan is, because I don't think that at this point we really understand what the plan is, other than cancelling a cap-and-trade system that was helping the environment.

Madam Speaker, I also want to talk to you today about when this decision was made—a little bit before. This government, the Premier-elect at the time, said, "Well, we're going to move forward in cancelling some initiatives" that were helping businesses, individuals, seniors in their house renovations, businesses also thriving, selling electric vehicles. I'm very proud to say that in Orléans we have a wonderful dealer who has been very proud to be the number-one sales retailer dealership selling electric vehicles. That was because of some of the incentives from the revenue generated from the cap-and-trade system, going into a program called GreenON.

Not only this program cancelled, but I think in my first week in the constit office I received about 35 calls from residents of Orléans who are very concerned that they signed contracts for home renovations, upgrading their windows, helping them with the efficiencies within their electricity—and that was very important for them. They were told bluntly by this government, "It doesn't matter. We've made the decision. We promised, and we're going to keep our promise at whatever cost, and you're not going to get those rebates." That's what they say governing for the people is.

I don't have the exact number of people who were eligible to vote in 2018, but what I do know is that, sadly, a little bit over 40% did not exercise their right to vote—and I always encourage you, regardless of who you're going to vote for, to vote. Out of those about 60% who chose to vote, less than 40% actually voted for this new

government. Some 60% actually voted for other parties, including the Liberals, the NDP and the Greens.

So again, I ask this government: Who are they governing for? In my view, when you say that you're going to govern for everyone, you have to look at everyone who might not have voted for you and try to identify the areas where you can also help them. In Orléans, it was really hard for me to look at those families and say, "Well, I'm going to see what they can do." And it was very blunt: "I'm so sorry. We made a decision and this is it."

Let's talk about school repairs. I know the minister is going to say, "Oh, there is money for school repairs." Yes, but there was \$100 million earmarked for those school boards and those schools all across the province, where they would be able to help in renovating their schools, to help with their electricity and their footprint, to reduce their GHG emissions. That was actually a good thing happening—when you hear that the students in those schools are particularly interested in this. Let's tell those kids what this government just did.

Municipalities are going to be deeply affected, and actually, a lot of those municipalities are rural municipalities. When you look at the entire province, it's not just Toronto; it's Windsor, it's Perth, it's Thamesville, it's Hawkesbury, it's everywhere. That's another thing: Through the GreenON initiatives and the cap-and-trade system, there were a lot of initiatives that would have helped municipalities all across Ontario. Those are cancelled.

Let's talk about businesses. I'm a former business person, for those who don't know. I owned and operated a retirement residence. As a business, I liked to know what was going to happen next. You try to be predictable. From a business perspective, you have a business plan so that you know. Well, my understanding is that this government just made a decision to cancel a contract with very little notice to those individuals. For me, the rule of law—and I have a wonderful person who whispers every day the rules of law, and that is definitely not where I thought this government would start governing from.

There are a lot of things in the cap-and-trade bill that I'm very concerned about: cancelling of contracts; arbitrary decisions with no proper notification; businesses that had hired staff in good faith, knowing that there would be an incentive at the end of the day so they can increase their revenue from the GreenON initiative. There are lots of things to talk about. I am disappointed but not surprised about what's happening right now. I'm sad about this aspect: I thought that they would at least consult and look at the benefit of what was happening all across Ontario from this system that we just made an arbitrary decision, and a very partisan decision, to cancel.

1400

J'aimerais aussi, madame la Présidente, parler un petit peu en français. Écoutez, le discours du trône n'avait aucune adresse en français, ce qui était vraiment pour moi un désappointement.

Depuis, je sais qu'un des membres du gouvernement a demandé à la ministre déléguée aux Affaires

francophones une question, et elle était très vague dans la perspective de ce qu'ils vont faire pour la francophonie en Ontario. Écoutez, depuis plusieurs années—et je dirais plusieurs années de belles initiatives qui ont fait leur chemin ici à l'Assemblée législative pour promouvoir la francophonie et pour aider à créer une province où les deux langues officielles soient respectées.

C'est intéressant de voir que la ministre déléguée aux Affaires francophones n'a pas pu, à ce moment—c'est encore tôt; on va voir ce qu'ils vont faire. Mais j'étais un petit peu irritée et un petit peu désappointée du fait qu'on n'avait pas parlé de l'OIF, l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie. On est un membre au niveau international. On a pris cette décision pour démontrer à tous qu'on est fier de notre francophonie. Aussi, au niveau économique, madame la Présidente, c'est très important, l'OIF, parce que ça peut amener des investissements et des partenariats très intéressants qui seraient à développer. Pour moi, et pour nous, je pense que c'était un aspect important, et ils n'en ont fait aucune référence depuis le début de cette 42^e législature. Donc, je pose des questions à ce gouvernement. Qu'est-ce qui arrive avec l'OIF?

L'autre aspect, aussi, c'est la Loi sur les services en français. Écoutez, on parle de donner des services en français, d'aider et de développer—je pense que c'est ce que la ministre déléguée nous disait, qu'elle va faire certain que le gouvernement livre les services en français. Écoutez, la province est grande, le gouvernement est grand, mais il y a aussi plusieurs entités qui ont besoin de soutiens. La Loi sur les services en français peut être un très, très bon moyen pour aider encore une fois à faire bonifier la langue française à travers l'Ontario.

Aussi, on n'a pas encore parlé du Programme d'appui à la francophonie ontarienne. C'est un programme, madame la Présidente, qui s'appelle le PAFO. Le PAFO, c'est un million de dollars désignés pour les communautés et les organismes francophones, et ce programme aidait à démontrer l'engagement à la francophonie, de soutenir la francophonie de façon locale—les radios, les petits organismes. C'était quelque chose, vraiment, qui avait été très, très bien accueilli. J'espère que ce nouveau gouvernement ne fera pas des décisions à l'aveuglette, et qu'ils vont prendre le temps et qu'ils vont renouveler la troisième année du programme PAFO, qui est très important à travers la francophonie ontarienne.

Un aspect, aussi, dont on ne parle pas depuis quelque temps—on parle beaucoup d'immigration, mais on ne parle pas de la francophonie. L'immigration francophone, on a une cible de 5 %. On n'a rien entendu, en ce moment, du côté du gouvernement, de leur engagement profond d'atteindre cette cible de 5 % de francophones. C'est certain que pour l'atteindre, on doit travailler en partenariat avec le fédéral, et je vous dirais que dernièrement, les liens entre le fédéral et la province sont un petit peu froids—

Une voix: Tendus.

M^{me} Marie-France Lalonde: Ou tendus, exactement. Donc, j'espère que le gouvernement va ouvrir ses oreilles

et va vraiment rejoindre cette cible. Pour ça, ils doivent travailler en partenariat avec le fédéral et aussi les municipalités.

Je sais que, bon, on était tous fiers en Ontario lorsque le nouveau gouvernement a donné son appui à l'Université de l'Ontario français. J'aimerais juste réitérer que l'Université de l'Ontario français avait été créée par une loi qui a été adoptée en décembre de l'année dernière, et en avril son premier conseil des gouverneurs avait été appointé et nommé. Donc je suis fière qu'ils ne l'aient pas coupé. Je peux dire que c'est plus le fait qu'ils auraient pu couper—le fait qu'on aura l'Université de l'Ontario français.

Donc je vais tenir compte de ce dossier. Nous allons vraiment suivre ce dossier de façon très particulière, parce que c'est important d'avoir un environnement où les jeunes du secondaire vont pouvoir poursuivre leurs études ici, dans la région de Toronto, dans un univers francophone. Donc c'est certain que pour moi, ce sont des choses importantes, et j'ai hâte d'entendre l'engagement profond de ce nouveau gouvernement pour la francophonie de l'Ontario, parce qu'il y a eu quand même de belles réalisations dans les dernières années. Ça serait vraiment triste, madame la Présidente, qu'on prenne des décisions irrationnelles, comme on voit en ce moment, pour les francophones de l'Ontario.

Il me reste une minute et quelques secondes. Je vais terminer encore une fois en disant que durant une campagne électorale, c'est facile de faire des promesses. It's always easy during a campaign to promise everything, and that's what we've heard. But I urge this government to stop campaigning and start governing. Being part of a government means that you need to consult. You need to think. You need to look and engage with every single Ontarian. We haven't seen that much coming from the government at this time, so I encourage the government to maybe take a pause on certain decisions and to continue on la francophonie; lots of great things have happened and we haven't heard any strong commitment coming from that side.

Encore une fois, madame la Présidente, I want to say congratulations to you. I know I started with the Speaker, and the Deputy Speaker is here at this point. Madame la Présidente, congratulations. It's wonderful to see you sitting in this chair. All the very best. Merci beaucoup.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mrs. Robin Martin: Madam Deputy Speaker, I would like to start my inaugural speech by congratulating you, and also all of my fellow MPPs, both new and returning, on all sides of the House. I look forward to working with each one of you. We all have the incredible honour and duty of bringing the voices of our constituents to this place and to the attention of our colleagues, as I hope to do today.

Words cannot describe the honour that I feel to rise here in this House to represent the people of my riding and to play some small part in the making of Ontario's history. In fact, I am a Conservative largely because of

history—maybe because of the French Revolution. At least that was the thing that I studied that made it twig for me.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Hold it a second. Robespierre? Is that what you're comparing yourself to?

Mrs. Robin Martin: No.

The French Revolution teaches us that freedom without restraints leads to anarchy, and utopian dreams like you often hear from the other side of the House often lead to terror or violence. So, following Edmund Burke, I personally have a disposition to preserve, to respect and to study what is best in our culture, while acknowledging, of course, that there are always areas we can and should improve.

I studied history and political science—and political philosophy, really—at McGill, the university in Montreal, with the great Canadian political philosopher Charles Taylor. Some of you may have heard of him. I think he actually ran for the NDP in Westmount in 1968 against a guy whose name was Pierre Trudeau. But he's a brilliant philosopher, and unfortunately most Canadians haven't heard of him, but he has a lot to offer and I recommend all of his books. They're a little dense but well worth the read.

1410

Charles Taylor was a great influence on me. We read together, for my master's thesis, a lot of books—a lot of books in French, actually. We read de Tocqueville; we read Montesquieu's *l'Esprit des lois*; we read Benjamin Constant on the Liberty of Ancients Compared with That of Moderns. Really, freedom was the focus of my thesis. But what is freedom? Freedom clearly isn't just doing what you want. That isn't what freedom is; that's anarchy.

Freedom, in my view, is ordered liberty. In my view, each of us is a link in a historical chain of democratic obligation—past, present and future. Although the individual may be the basic political unit, the family is the basic social unit. I believe that we find our personal freedom by assuming the burden of our natural, inherited and freely chosen obligations and duties—those ones we take on because we want to. We get married. We have children. And we take on those obligations willingly because they make our lives more fulfilling. In fact, you could say they make us more free.

I believe that it is this felt obligation to pursue the good and the well-being of future generations, which is the very thing that can make us heroically devoted to purposes beyond ourselves, even beyond our own families, to the flourishing of our community, our province and our country.

I got into politics because I'm worried about the direction that our culture is going, with our very extreme emphasis on rights—that's all we talk about: the rights that we have—and we have little or no discussion about our duties and responsibilities. In fact, people can be seen sometimes trying to evade those: trying to hide from paying taxes; not wanting to serve in our military; really trying to shirk some of our responsibilities.

I think we're losing our compass. I think we're actually losing what makes us happy, which is those duties and obligations that we freely take on. Sometimes—and I think this was particularly true under the last government in the last 15 years—it seems that we're descending into democratic gluttony, if you will, or doctrinaire selfishness.

One example is near at hand, and that is our debt. All government debt is deferred taxation. Someone has to pay it. And it's being downloaded onto the backs of our children, who cannot defend themselves against our democratically produced gluttony. They don't get a voice. We have to be their voice—our future generations, our children. We're making these decisions and putting the debt on them. That, I think, is the wrong direction.

As I said before, it's an honour for me to rise in this House and to represent the people of my riding. I want to thank those people again for the honour and privilege of serving them. My riding is the riding of Eglinton-Lawrence. I really would not be here today without the help of many people.

I would like to just take a moment to mention a few of them: first of all, my very supportive family, including my husband, who is here today and who I introduced earlier—it's not a secret that we were high school sweethearts, so he's in for the long haul, as it were, but I won't call him long-suffering because it's great to be my husband, obviously; sometimes he suffers—our two grown children, Erik and Alexandra; and my parents, who unfortunately are no longer living but were certain that I would be elected someday; and also my husband's parents, who are like my parents as well.

I was very blessed to have a window into politics at a very early age. My best friend, Jennifer Kaplan, was the daughter of former Solicitor General Robert Kaplan; and my husband's father, Joseph Martin, was the executive assistant to the then Premier of Manitoba, Duff Roblin, back in the day. Those two role models made sure that I caught the political bug early, and they encouraged me.

But my election is the result of many people working hard for many years during many elections and in between those elections. In this campaign, I had a very dedicated team of volunteers, under the leadership of Mitch Wexler, Clare Schulte-Albert, Corey Michaels and Bernadine Morris. And I'd just like to particularly recognize Bob Amaron, Juri Otsason, Richard Tattersall and Katarina Glozic, who never stopped helping through at least two election cycles. One incredible volunteer—you all want one like this—Juri Otsason, canvassed virtually every day for over a year, for more than one election.

I also want to extend my sincere thanks to my campaign co-chairs: former finance minister Joe Oliver; former Senator Consiglio Di Nino; the late Senator Jun Enverga, who was Canada's first Filipino senator; and Senator Linda Frum.

It took a long time and a lot of effort to get here, and I pledge to use every ounce of my energy to shape a positive future for this great province and for its people.

I am the first Progressive Conservative to be elected to the Ontario Legislature in the riding of Eglinton–Lawrence, which came into existence some 19 years ago.

My predecessor, Mike Colle, held the riding for all of that time and, as his many years of service attest, served the constituency ably. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Colle for his years of service to the community.

In case you don't know, Eglinton–Lawrence is in the middle of the city of Toronto, just about five kilometres from Queen's Park, so I encourage all members to come and visit. I'd be happy to show you around. The riding includes a number of important landmarks, including the Columbus Centre, which is the cultural hub for Toronto's Italian Canadian community, and Baycrest Health Sciences, which is a unique research and teaching hospital, with a special focus on brain health and aging.

The eastern part of our riding was settled in the early 1900s and was at that time the northern tip of the old city of Toronto. The western part of the riding was settled mostly by Italian, Portuguese and Jewish immigrants after the Second World War. More recently, the riding has benefited from a burgeoning Filipino population and a host of immigrants from various other backgrounds. It's a diverse and vibrant community which I think of as a microcosm of the city of Toronto.

I have been knocking on doors in all parts of my riding over some 20 years in elections for all levels of government, so believe me when I tell you that I have met the people and I have listened to those people and I have heard those people. They've told me about their concerns and challenges, and I heard those concerns becoming ever more urgent over the past few years. In this recent election, I canvassed every day for over a year. I have a vivid recollection of some of the people that I spoke with and the concerns they shared, and I want to share some of them with you today.

Many people that I spoke with were looking for work and currently unemployed or underemployed, including a very frustrated resident of Albanian background who had a young family and a pregnant wife and who could not find work to support them. In fact, many of the people that I spoke with wondered why the government was making it so hard to work. Recent immigrants told me they came to Ontario for a better life and were very disappointed to discover that good jobs were so difficult to find.

1420

Small business owners that I spoke with expressed similar concerns. One wanted to hire 10 young people into good jobs but was unable to do so because of regulations. Another was getting out of a business that he had been in for years and, as a result, had to lay off his two long-term, skilled and trusted employees, simply because regulatory hurdles had effectively made the business, in his words, "not worth it anymore."

Under the previous government, it almost seemed as if Ontario was closed for business. If there was a going concern, they would tax it. If it carried on, they would

regulate it. When the poor business owner finally threw up her arms in despair and gave up, the government just might come along and subsidize it, or subsidize a competitor.

Stories like these make me glad that our new government is taking steps to reduce the size and cost of government and is making creating and protecting jobs a priority. Many of the struggles people are facing can be resolved or at least made better if people can find a decent job to support themselves and their families. The people I have spoken with recently are genuinely relieved to have a province which is open for business again, and a government which supports businesses and entrepreneurs by lowering taxes and reducing the regulatory burden.

Other people I spoke with during the election expressed frustration with the mounting bills and expenses that they were facing. Many of the people facing the worst challenges are those on a fixed income, such as pensioners or those just starting out, both as young adults on their own for the first time ever or as immigrants trying to build a new life.

One older lady from the Caribbean started to cry as she explained to me that she could not afford to stay in her house and pay her hydro bill, despite cutting her electricity usage to the bare essentials. Another older woman from an eastern European background was in tears because she was going to lose her home even though she had unplugged her refrigerator and did not put up her Christmas lights that year. A young man who required a pickup truck for his job told me that he would line up endlessly at Costco just to save a few cents on a litre of gasoline because he couldn't balance his budget and was afraid that he was going to default on his rent and lose his apartment.

I am thinking of these people and others when I say how proud I am to be part of a government that has already taken steps to reduce gas prices, scrap cap-and-trade and oppose other carbon tax schemes, and lower hydro bills. You can almost hear a collective sigh of relief across Ontario.

Then there are those others who are relying on our public services, who have been holding on for years hoping that things would get better but who never seemed to benefit from all of the previous government's spending. I spoke with numerous people who have simply waited too long to access basic health services. I also heard from more than a few aging parents who worry about how their now-mature but dependent children with developmental disabilities or autism or brain injuries will manage when they are gone. I met a Filipino mother of two teenage boys with severe autism who can barely cope with the daily demands on her. There are many, many other examples.

I'm proud to be part of a government that will take action to address many challenges through our commitment to ending hallway health care, through special funding for autism and through our historic commitment to mental health. I'm particularly looking forward to work-

ing on improving access to those services in my role as the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health, and to offering suggestions on autism in my role as an MPP and mother of a child on the spectrum.

Ordinary people recognize that the biggest threat to Ontario's public services is unsustainable spending. Some I spoke with at the doors were bewildered by the last government's spending spree. These were Liberals, but they said to me, "When is it going to stop?" and they shook their heads in despair. I'm delighted that our government is already taking steps to restore faith in Ontario's public institutions. Putting Ontario on a healthy financial footing will ensure that we can maintain and strengthen our hospitals, our schools and other vital public services.

Unfortunately, my riding has also been impacted by the scourge of gun and gang violence. On July 8, I went to an annual community walk for hope and peace to end gun violence. The walk was started a few years ago by friends of a beloved teacher who was caught in the crossfire and killed because he happened to be outside at the wrong moment. I am glad that our government is prioritizing community safety and that it will ensure our police services have the resources, tools and supports they need to enforce the law and protect innocent people and families from violence.

I am excited about the opportunity we have here to help create a better future for the people I have spoken of today, for others in my riding and, more broadly, for the people of Ontario. This will be a government for the people—which, after all, is what a democracy should be. I strongly support the approach that we have taken as a government, which looks beyond what divides us—our race, our religion, our language, our sexual orientation, our region—and instead is focusing on what unites us, because I believe there is strength in that unity, and I believe that is a better approach. After all, we all want the same things: a better job, a better life. We want our families to have the things they need to succeed, our children to have what they need to succeed. That, I think, is a better focus: strength in unity, because, together, everything is possible. Together, I believe we can overcome the challenges that face us, and together, I believe we can make life better for the people of Ontario.

So let's all, together, roll up our sleeves and get to work for the people.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Madam Speaker, I think I've already congratulated you on your ascendency to the chair once before, but if I didn't, I would be remiss and I want to do it again.

This is an opportunity to have a pretty wide-ranging speech, given what this motion reads, which is, "We're the government. We're great and we do all things wonderful." This will be an opportunity for me to speak about all of those things.

I just want to start on a couple of points.

First of all, I'm going to start on something that's been bothering a lot of us in this Legislature and a lot of

people in this province for a while, given the Trumpish type of approach to the way we treat immigrants to this country and refugees. It's starting to permeate across this side of the border.

When we hear people start talking about illegal border crossers, first of all, it's not factual, and number two, it's quite divisive. I want to remind members of this House, as we listen to the speeches of members who just got elected here talk about how they got to the Legislature, that there's a great number of members in this assembly on both sides of the House, on the government side and on the opposition side of the House, who came here as refugees, who were essentially asylum seekers, who came here because of persecution, either financial, political or whatever it might have been, in their own countries. They decided to make a life for themselves by leaving that country because life for their families was unbearable, and they chose Canada as the country to come to. As a result of that, their families were raised here in this country. They got into this country, many of them, by way of refugee status, many of them as sponsors who never—I'll get to the sponsor thing in a minute, but many of them as refugees who came here and went through the process of having to wait for from six months to a year and a half to be processed, to find out if their claim was able to be substantiated. Those people came to our country, eventually were approved to become citizens, became useful members of our society, contributed to our society, and some of them, my Lord, got elected and came to this Legislature.

1430

When we talk about asylum seekers as illegal border crossers, it flies in the face of what Canadianism is all about. We're a country that has laws and has due process of law. Anybody who crosses the border, one way or another, has to go through a process, through the federal government, through immigration, in order to be vetted. We don't grab people and throw them back out of the country just because they happen to get here by way of seeking refugee status or coming as asylum seekers.

Do we remember what we did to boatloads of Jews in the lead-up to the Second World War? Canada did that. We had entire boatloads of people from Germany who were being persecuted by the Nazis. Some of the Jewish people of Germany wanted out and got onto ships and came to Canada. And what did we do? We threw them out. Many of those people ended up in the death camps of Germany as a result of that decision. This Legislature and our people in this country could never stand for that again.

We need to respect the process.

There are people who don't have it as good as we do in the nations that they come from, and they decide to move to Canada for a different life for their families.

I come from Timmins, a part of northern Ontario where we're all immigrants. There was hardly anybody, except for First Nations, who lived up in Timmins, who worked on the mines or in the bush, who were not refugees, asylum seekers or immigrants to this country.

That's how we populated the workplaces of mining, forestry and all the other jobs. And do you know what happened? Most of you would know, because we come from those families. They came here sponsored by somebody. They got off the boat, and they never kept the condition of their sponsorship. Many of the people who live in my community, and who live in yours, did not meet the conditions of sponsorship and came in by the back door. Eventually, they got work, they raised families, they had kids here, and the country said, "Well, they're upstanding citizens who are giving to this great nation of Canada." We gave them citizenship.

So we forget how people got into this country and how they get into this country today.

When I hear petitions being read in this House and I hear people get up in this House and talk about illegal border crossers, it makes my blood boil, because I understand that there's due process of law. If somebody wants to come to Canada, they have to go through that due process. They either apply to be an immigrant, which is a very long process—you don't get into Canada very easily—or if they come here as asylum seekers or refugees, there's a process they have to go through. They are screened. They are investigated. We find out if there is anything in their background that would make them not be good citizens of this country. And the vast majority do stay because—do you know why they're here? They're here because they're leaving oppression in their own countries, either political oppression, physical oppression or economic oppression.

This is the part that people need to stop and think about: Some 85% of refugees coming into this country—or asylum seekers or whatever you want to call them—come from five countries. Maybe the problem is in those five countries—places like Syria, places like Haiti, and the list goes on. Maybe the issue is over there. Maybe those countries are not exactly friendly to those citizens and they come here for the reasons that our forefathers came to this country.

There's not one member in this House except one who can count themselves to be a true Canadian, as far as somebody who has been here all the time. We are all immigrants. Sol Mamakwa is the only one who can stand here and say, "I didn't emigrate here."

I was joking with Sol the other day. There's a great line by Chief Dan George from Alberta, who said years ago, "The only problem with my forefathers is that we had a very weak immigration policy." Imagine if they would have applied to us what we're applying to them. Most of us wouldn't have gotten here.

I just wanted to put that on the record.

I want to get on to this whole notion of what's going on in this bill that the government introduced today, where they're going to, essentially, reduce the size of council. There are two points I want to make. The first point is, the Premier stands here and says that this is going to make government more efficient. I'll tell you what it's going to do: We're going to have a very small council of 25 people, which means to say that 13 people

will have the power to make all the decisions in the city of Toronto. Thirteen people will have more power than individual cabinet ministers of this House. They will be able to approve whatever they want to approve when it comes to applications in order to get things built and done within the city as far as the zoning laws, as far as what's acceptable and what's not acceptable to build. What you're going to have is 13 people—because you don't need 25 people to pass something in a council of 25; you only need 13. Those 13 are going to have the power to essentially approve almost anything.

This is all going to be about politics by the back door. This is not about helping make things more efficient; this is about the rich getting richer. And for the people who get to council, because there will be larger constituencies, it's a lot more expensive to be able to get elected in those. It's going to be about the radical right controlling council in order to approve the deals that they want. It has nothing to do with democracy. It has nothing to do with saving money. This is all about making sure you guys can control what goes on in the city of Toronto.

I just want to remind you of something. Toronto: the number one city in North America. Why? Because we have a council and we have a city that do some pretty darn good things. We have a diverse city made up of people from across the world. We have a municipal council, now with 45 people, who gather to sit down and figure out how to make the city greater and greater every day.

For the Premier to say that it's not efficient and there's never been any kind of infrastructure ever built in this city because there's gridlock in the city of Toronto—hogwash. This is the best city in North America, and you guys should be proud of that. For you to say otherwise is disrespectful to the people in the city and the fine work that previous administrations have done at the city council of Toronto.

The other thing I want to say very quickly is that there was one foray from a provincial government, once upon a time—another Conservative government, by the name of Mike Harris, that decided to meddle in city politics. What they did is they amalgamated all the towns and cities around Toronto and made one big megacity. They also did it in Hamilton, they did it in Ottawa, and I think they did it in Sudbury as well. Do you know what the outcome was? We didn't save any money. It cost us more money, because now we had bureaucrats who had longer titles and more power and bigger budgets. We now spend more money per resident when it comes to administering services in those cities than we did before amalgamation. And guess what? It's much less representative of the people than it was before.

Do you know what the cost was? People lost the ability to get access to their elected councillors in cities like York, cities like Toronto and others. But the thing is that at the end, the Toronto members that were elected from the Conservative Party all got thrown out of office, because the people of Toronto said, "This is a really bad idea." The Tories were shut out of Toronto electoral

politics at the provincial level for at least three or four elections.

And now you do this? There is going to be a cost. I would be very careful, if I was a Toronto member—as I saw today on the government side—to get up and be a champion of this.

You think this is good politics: “Oh, fewer politicians—who the heck wants a politician? They just happen to get in the way.” Well that’s how King John felt and that’s how King Richard felt—you know, some of the bad kings we’ve had in England? They wanted to do things their own way. They thought, “Boy, if I can just do what I want, everything would be greater.”

The reason that the people—did you ever read about the Peasants’ Revolt? I don’t remember the member’s riding, but she was talking about the French Revolution. The real first revolution in parliamentary democracy as we know it today was actually in England—

M^{me} France Gélinas: Eglinton–Lawrence.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Eglinton–Lawrence—back in the 1340s, if I remember correctly. It was called the Peasants’ Revolt. The Peasants’ Revolt was all about the peasants—that’s “we, the people,” that’s all the working-class people—

Mrs. Robin Martin: And that’s you.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: —who marched up against the king, at that time King Richard II, I believe, the young boy king. He was 14 years old. Was it Richard II? I can’t remember: II or III.

Interjections.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: I’m a peasant, and I’m proud to be a peasant—very proud to be a peasant. I stand with working people, and I stand there square. I don’t have a problem with that.

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My point is, the people back then, who were referred to as “peasants,” because that’s how they were referred to at that time, decided that it was a bad idea for the king to have all of the power so that the king could say you were owned by the lord of the manor who owned the property that you happened to live on, that you had to share whatever you got out of your local garden, the local piece of land that you got in order to sustain your family—you had to share it with the person who owned the land. It was serfdom. It was the Peasants’ Revolt that turned that around.

What is really fascinating, if we take the time to read—I know my friend across the way is interested in history, the member from Eglinton–Lawrence—is that we developed, over a period of 700 or 800 years, a thing called parliamentary democracy. The whole idea was to limit the power of the king or the queen. Don’t allow one unelected, I will say, hereditary person—and I have great respect for our queen; don’t take wrong what I’m saying. Queen Elizabeth II has served us wonderfully over the years that she’s been on the throne. But the point is that the people decided that it was a good idea to have a House of Commons that would put limits on what the

king or queen should do, so that the people had a say. That’s what the House of Commons is all about.

For the government here to stand and say, “We can rid of elected politicians,” and somehow that’s the best thing, throws us right back into the Middle Ages and the Dark Ages, when we didn’t have elected people. It was a hereditary king, it was hereditary peers and it was the landowners who controlled everything. And we, the peasants, had to take whatever crumbs they shook down from up above.

So when I hear the Premier talk about, “Oh, having less politicians is good,” it flies in the face of what historical reality is. The reason we elect people in our democracy is so that people can have a say. The great thing about our jobs is that every four years, if they don’t like what we’ve done, they get to throw us out. That’s the way it should be, right? So for the government to stand there and say, “Less politicians is good” is completely false. First of all, infrastructure has and continues to be built in the city of Toronto. They built subways before you came along. They built buildings. They repaired streets. They built freeways. They’ve done all kinds of things, this city, and they managed to do it as a city council of 45-plus. Before that it was much more than that, because we had local municipalities.

To argue that you’re going back and reducing the size of council is going to make it more efficient—all you’re doing is making it that much easier for the big developers to influence the 13 politicians they’re going to need to pass whatever they want at city hall. This is all about giving an elite few right-wing politicians the ability to do development as they choose. What you need on a municipal council, like you do in this Legislature, is a mix of people who don’t see things the same way, who may be left and who may be right. Having left and right politics in the chamber a good thing. But in the end—

Interjection: No.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Well, the member says that no, it’s not a good thing. That’s fair; that’s your view. We should go back to serfdom; I guess that’s where you want to bring us.

But the point is, having a council of, now, 47, if this legislation doesn’t pass, means to say that there’s full debate. It means to say that the public can have their say and the public can access the elected officials in order to try to influence the outcome. So I just say to the friends on the other side: This is a step backwards to where we don’t need to go.

The other thing I just want to say, with the little bit of time I’ve got left, is that it’s interesting that on the sex ed curriculum this government is saying something that nobody is really in favour of, except for a few social Conservatives—to turn the clock back to the 1990s—and that they’re going to do the biggest consultation in the world. The first piece of legislation that they brought into this House was legislation to allow them to break contracts, remove the right to sue from those companies that had their contracts broken by the provincial government and then put in the legislation that the government

has a right to misrepresent the facts when it comes to a prospectus before the Ontario Securities Commission. And there was no consultation. You went from second reading to third—zero to 60 in two seconds.

Madam Speaker, I might be wrong, but I think that there seems to be a pattern going on here: that when it comes to the legislation that we're going to debate on cap-and-trade and the legislation that we're now going to be debating on the reduction of the amount of elected officials in the city of Toronto, I think that there probably won't be any committee. If there is, it will be a day or two, and boom, it will be done. The public will not have its say, and I think that's rather sad and duplicitous, that the government—

Interjections.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Well, it is duplicitous.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I will remind the member from Timmins that we speak in parliamentary terms. I will ask him to withdraw.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Very good, Madam Speaker. I withdraw.

The point is that it is certainly interesting that the government chooses to consult on an issue that they feel it would be good for them to consult on—I think that at the end it'll backfire, but that's a whole other story—but on issues that really matter, they won't consult the public. I think that is not only passing strange; it's pretty darn undemocratic.

With that, Madam Speaker, I just wanted to put those thoughts on the record. I certainly hope that the government—oh, I was almost going to forget. There was a private member's bill that went through this place—actually, about four of them. Conservative members like Frank Klees—I don't remember what his riding name was—brought forward a bill in order to elect the chairs of those cities, and there was also one that stood, I think, in the name of Mr. Ballard in the last Parliament, where, again, they wanted to have elected chairs and not appointed chairs for Mississauga, Peel and all the other committees.

Hon. Jeff Yurek: He lost the election.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Yes, he lost the election, but how do you explain that all your members always spoke in favour of that legislation, always voted in favour of that legislation—

Interjection: No, no.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Yes, you did, actually. You voted for it. Go back and take a look at the record. You guys supported the idea of elected chairs, and now, all of a sudden, because everybody wants to be in the good graces of Doug Ford—and who knows how much he's bullying his own people? I don't know; I'm not at those meetings. But can you imagine that these same people who were in favour of elected chairs, who got up in this House and spoke in the House in favour of electing regional chairs—and the names are many from the Conservative benches, many who are still here today—all of a sudden flipped their mind? Could it be that on their way to a cabinet position they were somewhat affected by

being able to do what they thought the Premier did in order to get in cabinet or stay in cabinet?

I think there comes a time in politics—and this is why people, I think, are cynical of all of us—that you stand for what you believe in, and if that means to say that you stand against your party, so be it. Either don't vote or vote against, but don't vote in favour.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Before we resume debate, I will remind all members to address their remarks to and through the Chair. Also, if we could do our best to address members by their ridings and not their names.

Further debate? I recognize the member from Hastings-Lennox and Addington.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: Thank you, Madam Speaker.

Applause.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: I appreciate the collegiality, and I know it's reciprocal from across the aisle.

I rise today to speak about Ontario's future and the role of government—all of us—in fixing what ails us. You see, the government can't do everything. Indeed, it can't do a lot of things in some cases, because the nanny state doesn't have its own money; it simply spends yours and mine. The Liberal government just got thrown out by the will of the people because they didn't get that. That money is borrowed in your name and my name and our children's and our grandchildren's names, and our audit is certainly going to get to the bottom of that. But the Liberals only taxed and borrowed and spent. Really, sadly, they tried to lock us into a debtors' prison.

I'll tell you, I came out of retirement to run in this election because I just couldn't stand still when I saw what the Liberals were doing and have done to this great province. I was very, very privileged to work with the late Jim Flaherty when I served as chair of the treasury board advisory caucus when we were dealing with the 2008-09 recession in the States, so I do know the hard work of the line-by-line look at the books needed to get things back on track. Indeed, in Hastings-Lennox and Addington, in my riding, our pitch to voters for this past year was, "Let's get Ontario back on track," because that's what was needed, and it resonated. Of course, we saw that used in many, many other locations.

I can tell you: I'm a blessed man; I really, really am. I have a marvellous wife, going on 48 years, God bless her soul. She has to be one of the most tolerant people I think there is in the world. I think she and the family are coming here tomorrow for a little visit, so I'll introduce her to all you wonderful folks.

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Of course, I have seven grandchildren as well. The world awaits them and their peers, and it's because of them that people like us are all here, because the next generation is so critical. Like those before them, they will make their mark and they will make Ontario, as has been stated in the past, a place to stand and a place to grow, but certainly not as the Liberals left it. Liberals wanted, apparently, all newborns to have a responsibility. It was called to be taxpayers, first and foremost. Sadly, the

Liberals made the debt their biggest accomplishment over the past 15 years that they were there.

When they left office on June 7, Ontario was paying interest of over \$1 billion a month. I remember when they gloated that the time to run up debt was when interest rates were low. Of course, massive, wanton spending and borrowing by the provincial and federal Liberals is helping to force up interest rates these days. That's the part that they never, ever talked about, as if it was going to always continue the same, that there would never, ever be a rise in interest rates. The day of reckoning is approaching now, as we see. And we as the government are acting, before the mess they left becomes an absolute crisis—a crisis that would lead to bankruptcies, unemployment and out-migration of our job-seeking youth.

We made five major commitments in this past campaign. We said that we will put more money in people's pockets by scrapping the carbon tax, by reducing gas taxes by 10 cents a litre, and by giving real tax relief to lower- and middle-class families. We're doing all of those things right now, and as has been said many times in this House, but it bears repeating every time: promises made, promises kept.

And we will clean up the hydro mess by replacing the CEO and board of Hydro One and lowering hydro bills by another 12%. We've done part of that already, and we're doing the rest of it right now. Promises made; promises kept.

We said that we would create and protect jobs by sending the message that Ontario is once again open for business, and by bringing quality jobs back to Ontario by lowering taxes, stabilizing hydro bills and cutting job-killing red tape. We are doing all of these things. Promises made; promises kept again.

We said that we would restore accountability and trust through a commission of inquiry and a line-by-line audit of government spending in order to end the culture of waste and mismanagement in government. Well, that audit is now under way, thank goodness. We will have the results very shortly, in a little over a month from now, and our audit will uncook the Liberal books. Once again, promises made; promises kept.

We said that we will cut hospital times and wait times and end hallway health care by creating 15,000 new long-term beds over the next five years and adding \$3.8 billion in support for mental health, addictions and supportive housing. We are doing all of these things. Promises made; promises kept.

But wait, there's more. We said that we would act quickly to end the York University strike, which has delayed the careers and education of tens of thousands of people. Of course, we are doing that. Promises made; promises kept.

We said that we would fix other vital problems across Ontario. One that's sort of close to my heart and that Premier Ford has committed to fix was front and centre for me just over this past weekend. Our family went for part of a day of fun at the legendary Mazinaw Lake, with its majestic sheer granite cliff that is nearly three times

higher than Niagara Falls and its nearly 500-foot depths of pristine Canadian Shield-cradled water. It's the second-deepest lake in Ontario outside the Great Lakes, and it's found on Highway 41, halfway between Toronto and Ottawa, north of Kaladar in my riding of Hastings-Lennox and Addington. It's shared, of course, with Hastings, Lennox and Addington, and Frontenac counties. If you haven't visited there, boy, you're missing something. You'd better do it. It's similar to the many other hundreds of lakes in my riding, which, if you haven't visited, you should.

There were thousands of people in the area. It was bustling—on the beaches, in the campgrounds, in the cottages and in the excellent local restaurants. It was a tourist postcard just come to life: excellent restaurants; smiles everywhere; excited youngsters creating life-lasting memories; the hazy, lazy days of summer—no, I won't sing it. But there was something missing. Whatever would be missing? There was no cellphone service. I mean not poor, not spotty—none, zero. Who would believe that in this day? Emergency services are near and ready, but only if you have access to one of the dwindling number of land lines, can you actually reach them.

Land lines are disappearing and cellphones have exploded in usage worldwide. But the Liberals ignored these trends, as a lot of rural Ontario doesn't even have access to simple cellular, let alone high-speed. Ontario destinations in rural areas are definitely getting short shrift. Even the high-profile ones—when I say “high,” Mazinaw Rock at 330 feet is about as high-profile as you're going to get in Ontario. I saw the people at risk on the weekend, from babies to great-grandkids, from teens to retirees. No words can excuse the risks that they faced if their loved ones were suddenly in need of help and couldn't get a simple phone call in. So it is truly for the people that we are moving to fix what ails Ontario.

In 2017, we in our Hastings-Lennox and Addington PC association consulted locally on all of the issues that we believed should be fixed. To engage the public we sent emails, we sent letters by snail mail, we Facebooked, we tweeted, we put a survey on our PC website and we held meetings. We heard from the best and the brightest. We heard from the rest and slighted. We heard from people who had inside knowledge and outside experience. We listened, and then we listened again some more. Then we narrowed it down to what we had heard, and submitted five policies to the PC Party process which led to a cross-province vote in November.

I'm proud to say, out of the many policies we put in, almost all accepted, were five sort of key ones that resonated with me, because these all made the final cut and they're embedded in the party's policy. Here are just a few of them, of what we—I'm not going to mention the consultation, because I'd need about 30 pages to 35 pages of notes here to go through, and I don't have that amount of time.

The one policy we submitted was: A PC government will recognize that rural Ontarians deserve equal access

to modern infrastructure. We will put in place a sustainable funding model so rural Ontario citizens have the same access to high-speed Internet, no-gap cell service, safe roads and bridges and fair-priced electricity and other energy resources available to urban dwellers. Does that not just sound fair?

Secondly, we said that a PC government will recognize the heavy budget burden of too much health bureaucracy, use attrition to reduce it and dedicate all savings to increase the ranks of front-line caregivers. You'll notice we said nothing about cutting jobs, but simply putting the focus instead on reallocating all these precious resources.

Thirdly, we said that, given youth unemployment is at an unacceptably high level, a PC government will immediately and aggressively focus on job training and skills development for those in the 15-to-25-year range. The short-term goal is to eliminate existing job gaps and radically reduce youth unemployment. The long-term goal is to create a more balanced workforce with effective pathways, from apprenticeship through to experienced tradesperson.

And, in front of me here—if I'm allowed to mention, of course—is our marvellous MPP from Simcoe North. She has shown us in this past week with her excellent, excellent private member's bill that supports, promotes and reforms the skilled trades in Ontario. As you can tell from our caucus, PC support for the trades is widespread and it is heartfelt, because we don't live in ivory towers on this side of the Legislature. We know who builds Ontario and why we need to support them and their successors.

On education, we heard many things. But in Hastings-Lennox and Addington, this stood out: Rural schools enable elementary students to be educated closer to their home in formative years. Closures must stop immediately. We can't have young people, five or six years of age, spending two to three hours on a bus a day—ridiculous. So we responded by saying that a PC government will stop all rural school closures—and not just rural, but urban as well—until a full study of the local community and student impact is completed. By so doing, we will recognize the core community role of rural and small-town schools and their transcendent importance to current residents and in attracting new rural populations to sustain rural communities. We also recognize the need for a new funding model for rural schools.

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Pithily, we heard the following on the health care challenge: Demography and prudence make it critical that we fix the current unsustainable retirement/health care mix and free up valuable health care facilities across Ontario for the use of all citizens. So we rose to the challenge when we said that a PC government will eliminate the current bottleneck in the province's health care and retirement care system. Currently, too many high-value acute and long-term-care beds are occupied by people who don't need them but have nowhere else to go. Building new retirement home capacity and making it affordable will free up expensive care beds and provide better options for our aging populations.

Of course, the party listened, as we always do. Our government has committed to building 30,000 new long-term-care beds over the next decade. This approach, along with ending hallway health care, directly addresses our health care system bottlenecks. We will engage with professionals who have been there and done that, such as Dr. Rueben Devlin, to ensure that we deploy proven best practices going forward.

We're showing this summer that small is better, small is beautiful, and the sooner, the better. That's why we're moving quickly to do things for all Ontarians, not spacing out needed action for spin value or media deadlines, but now, quickly, to deliver results for Ontarians. Action is needed: We heard that loud and clear.

Indeed, listening was the overriding theme of our local campaign. I certainly have listened. In our riding, we have 16 municipalities that I'm honoured to represent, from Amherst Island to Lake St. Peter, from Adolphus-town to the borders of Algonquin Park, from Yarker to Stirling, from Tamworth to Marmora, from Bancroft to Eldorado to Tweed. Yes, we also listened to Bath and Marlbank and Thomasburg and Ivanhoe and Thurlow and Corbyville and Tyendinaga—wonderful people.

We heard from all these people, who paid increasing amounts for every government service, increasing taxes, increasing power bills, increasing costs for anything the government put its mitts on. We heard about unresponsive government, overpaid government, oversized government and government overreach, as was mentioned today by our Premier. We heard about government usurping local control over the imposition of farmland-destroying wind turbines and solar farms, and we have not forgotten what we heard. We're here to fix this government.

Government can get out of the way, but that alone won't help Ontario become more competitive, because when you ignore competition, you end up with the mess that we've all inherited. We compete with the entire world for customers, for entrepreneurs, for skilled immigrants and for the promise that the future holds. We have done so successfully in the past because we had leaders such as Adam Beck, who harnessed Niagara Falls and allowed us to compete successfully with the US industrial heartland. We had Premiers such as George Drew, Leslie Frost and John Robarts who built subways and expressways and started the vital 400-series highways, despite and against the wishes of the Liberals and others.

The world is a marketplace of ideas. Ultimately, that's where we compete and we win, as long as we stay competitive and keep government out of the way. That's been a big problem for the last 15 years. The nanny-state Liberals kept grabbing the wheel and hitting the brakes, and we saw too much of the ditch and too little of the open road, even as entrepreneurs and the young were expanding their horizons and engaging the world. Developments that should take three to six months were taking three to six years. That's if they weren't abandoned out of frustration. That's just not competitive.

That's the kind of Ontario that the Liberals have left us and one of the reasons that the Liberals found

themselves in a pretty unfortunate situation. I suppose you could call it a comparison, but Ontario has left them behind in the seven seats of their little red minivan.

When we consulted, we heard what real Ontarians think and believe. In our consultations, we heard that while other provinces average about 100,000 rules and regulations, Ontario has over 360,000. Not all of it is red tape, but certainly too much of it is.

The big-government crowd loves this government-knows-best approach. They see themselves as puppeteers. But it's not their Ontario; it's our Ontario. It's still yours to discover and it's ours to recover.

Our policy process found that government outreach has proven to be both expensive and inefficient, so certainly we will scale back government, as is well evident by our actions to date. We will eliminate red tape and return local planning control to communities, subject only to the traditional former role of the Ontario Municipal Board as a provincial referee.

We also found that the government should remove excessive restrictions on the sale of wine and beer in grocery stores and ensure that all local craft beer and alcohol products are sold in all LCBO and beer store locations within a 50-mile radius of where they are produced. I can tell you, in my local area we have 42 wineries that are just world-class now. We've got about another 18 to 20 craft beer operations. If you haven't been down and your palate feels like it needs to be inspired, by all means come on down to Hastings-Lennox and Addington.

We have seen that we weren't alone in these two recommendations aimed at improving our competitiveness, because our government is acting on all fronts. Ontario has lost the competitive edge of cheap power which really made everything possible. We were able to compete, we were able to grow and we were able to take our place as the economic driver in the province of Ontario within the government of this wonderful country. We led the way, and we have become the next thing to the doorstep, indebted \$12-billion-plus a year, on top of a total debt of \$330-billion-plus and counting.

Mr. Bill Walker: Shameful.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: It is shameful. It's disgraceful, because the Liberals' tax-and-spend plan is just further eroding our competitiveness and putting us further and further behind the eight ball. We are at a critical point, a very, very critical point, in the history of this country. It's why I'm here, and I hope I'm not alone.

Interjection: You're not alone.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: And I know, notwithstanding political principles or values or beliefs, that the members on all sides of this House care very, very deeply. While we may have some different thoughts or ideas or philosophies, I'm sure that we all believe in the principle of standing up for what is right within our own mind. This country, and this province, is just a treasure. Like many people, I've had the opportunity to travel throughout the world, and when you do a shop-and-compare, folks, we cannot afford to lose this treasure that we have

here in Ontario. That's why we are all here and that's why we have just an astounding amount of work to do. The responsibility that we have right here is enormous, so let us not take that responsibility lightly. Let's get down to it, get to work, continue the actions of what we're doing because we're doing it for the people.

Interjection: Promise made; promise kept.

Mr. Daryl Kramp: Promise kept.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: This is the first time I'm actually doing a full debate in the House since the election of 2018. It's concerning that I'm debating this motion because it's really just this government patting itself on the back, maybe repeating their slogans during their campaign, without any substance to a platform that they presented to the people. They really sold the people these beliefs and ideas, but no details, and so when we come back to the Legislature—and everyone here is excited about coming back and coming to work—the first thing they bring forward is legislation that apparently works for the people, legislating people back to work who are actually exercising their constitutional right to go on strike for better working conditions, for better educational conditions for their students.

That is what they think “for the people” means: to push people back to work—or force people back to work—against their constitutional right to strike. That is not a government that this member just talked about, who said that our ideologies might be different, our philosophies might be different, but we all have good intentions and we're all here to represent the people who elected us. But we're also here to have a dialogue and debate around bills that are presented, not just to have a time allocation and be muzzled on this side of the House, not just to have a bill that's presented on a Friday afternoon.

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When we go to House leaders' meetings, we ask this government, “What is coming up? What bills do you want to debate?”, and the answer we get is, “Oh, we're not quite sure.” We ask, “Well, what ministry?” “Well, we don't know yet.” “Well, what's the topic?” “Well, we have to check.” Do you know who they're checking with? They're checking with the man who was elected to this province, who has no concept of what people really need. And so we get the surprise on Friday, and the people of Toronto are up here today listening to question period to understand.

Those are not all the voices he thinks his government represents. It's in chaos. City council is in chaos. There are people wanting to have referendums, and even the mayor is going against it. The mayor has had to explain why they didn't talk about this before. Mayor Tory even said that it was just a passing idea—a passing idea. Well, something enters his mind, and all of a sudden he thinks everybody is on board and there's legislation before us.

For the first time since I've been elected, we stood up and divided on an introduction of a bill. You've got to feel pretty strongly when you are going to stand up on an

introduction of a bill and oppose someone bringing a bill forward into a Legislature for debate. That's pretty serious, and yet this government is oblivious to that. And the explanation of the man who was elected to this province was, "When I was on city council, that's what I wanted, and I know best. I know how to run things, and come heck or high water, I'm going to do whatever I want."

Do you know what's interesting, Speaker? The member from Timmins really hit it on the nail: This guy who was elected to this province, to lead this province—

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: This guy? The Premier?

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: This man—he thinks he's the king of Ontario. This is what the member from Timmins talked about. The people who are on the benches over there are really his subjects, because as soon as he has an idea, everybody starts scrambling around how to make it happen, and they slap legislation together that's truly divisive.

I don't think that's why we're all here. We're happy to hear legislation, we are happy to debate legislation, but when you are arbitrarily doing it and you're just taking a hatchet to things, and you're not consulting people—are we going to have time for committee and actually have representation from all of Toronto, not just the voices that this government is hearing? It has to be a democratic process where they're hearing from everyone.

That's how I think we're sometimes feeling on this side of the House. They don't even want to hear us. They don't even want to hear anything. When question period comes around, they're very boisterous. It's not even a question that's actually asking for that boisterous response, but they feel so emboldened by this power that they want to make sure they're heard, even when someone is asking a question in a reasonable tone.

Honestly, this motion is just them being this boisterous representation of a government where he thinks he has the right to do whatever he wants and we're all just going to sit here and just allow it. Well, we do have the opportunity to represent the people who elected us here, and we do have the opportunity to engage in debate, even if they don't want to hear it. We are going to stand up for the people who brought us here, bring their voices to this Legislature. The people of Toronto won't have that opportunity, Speaker, because they're going to slash the representation that gives people access to representation, to leadership. I know it's difficult when you're trying to call someone and they have such a workload and you get voice mail, and you send an email but they've got all kinds of email in their inbox, and the phone is ringing off the hook. Twenty-five councillors are going to handle all of Toronto? That's quite a workload. I certainly don't envy that. I can't imagine that the people they're going to represent are going to have access and that they're going to hear their voices.

The other thing that this government keeps forgetting is that they are acting completely like Liberals—they truly are. "We're going to rip up contracts. You can't hold me accountable. You cannot proceed with action

against me. If I don't like the compensation of this contract that was agreed upon by two parties, I will dictate to you what compensation you will get." How ridiculous does that sound? This sounds like a Liberal government.

Before the 2011 election, the Liberals ripped up two contracts—Mississauga and Oakville gas plant contracts—because they were going to lose the election, and they wanted a majority government. That's the theory. And what happened was that I was elected under a minority government. The Liberal government was short one seat. So they talked to one of the Conservative members at the time, from Kitchener–Waterloo. They resigned and went on to the WSIB. So then we had a by-election happen. And it just feels like it's Groundhog Day again, because that by-election was because the Liberals were legislating teachers back to work.

These are Liberals; make no mistake about it. You've got the gas plant contracts ripped up; you've got the green energy contracts being ripped up. "You can't sue me. You can't take action against me. I can misrepresent things under the Securities Act and I am safe." Holy smokes; I wouldn't have thought I'd see the day where these kinds of pieces of legislation were actually legal—were actually respecting people's rights. Those are the two similarities. You've got the contracts ripped up; You've got gas plants; you've got green energy contracts. And they were all for votes.

Then you have the York legislation, where they're mandating forcing people back to work because they're on strike. You had the Liberal legislation forcing teachers back into the classroom. But there is something called a collective agreement, and that's two parties—they don't respect contracts, though, so how can we trust people who enter into contracts?

Marriage is a contract; hopefully, you respect those contracts.

Speaker, it's just sometimes difficult to understand the people you worked with in a different makeup in this Legislature before 2018, where they voted against certain legislation or for certain legislation. All of a sudden, they've got this power and they have amnesia. They've forgotten that they voted for the election of the Peel chair. They've forgotten those things. "Oh well, I'm now on this side of the room, so it's all good. What I say is true. What I say is now my belief. I believe everything I'm saying now, because I have power. I have the power, so I believe all the horse malarkey that I'm being fed by the Premier."

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I wanted to address the motion in that context, because it truly is a self-fulfilling pat on the back: "We're such great people. We're going to remind you how great we are. The legislation we're going to bring forward is good for you, even if it's not good for you." This motion says, "We're a great government. Rah, rah, rah, rah."

And that's the other thing. It's truly surreal to watch that happen. I hope if I ever become government that my head doesn't get so large and I lose sight of what my values are and what you did in the past. You don't just

say, "I'm completely different now because I can be." Who were you, then, in the first place?

But I'm going to get back to what's really important: the people we represent, the people who gave us their trust and faith to come here and be their voices. One thing that I'm really very concerned about and passionate about since I've been elected is mental health. I presented a bill back in the Legislature, and it was based on an all-party select committee, at a time when you could actually work with your colleagues and you had committees happen and you could hear people's voices. They compiled an all-party select committee that travelled the province and actually heard from families, doctors, patients and people with lived experience about mental health and addictions.

What they wanted to do—their main focus—was actually addressing the problems, and that was in 2010. So we are now eight years here and we still don't have a strategy or a plan, and I know this government has announced that, but we don't know what the details are. It's all a trust-me attitude: "I know best. Don't worry. Don't worry, little Ontarians. We are going to do what's best for you. We're going to pat you on the head and make sure you know that it's coming."

When I brought the bill forward, Speaker, everybody voted for it. That was really amazing. They voted it to go to the committee so that we could have consultation around it. And all those recommendations were going to be discussed in a full way, and people were going to talk about ones they liked and ones they didn't like. I look at all the colleagues there I worked with, and there is a special place in my heart for them. I'm trying to find it again. The recommendations that were in this report—I'm excited to see what they're going to present, because it's really necessary.

I'm going to read the first paragraph of a letter from the members of the Select Committee on Mental Health and Addictions. It says: "Ontario needs a comprehensive mental health and addictions plan. Many families have been touched by mental illness and addictions; it is clear that no one is immune. The Select Committee on Mental Health and Addictions is pleased to present its final report and recommendations. We trust that our work over the last 18 months, summarized in this report, will lead to the development of this much-needed plan and spark a public dialogue."

Eighteen months of consultation: This is something that I hope this government will look over and take some of these recommendations, because some of your colleagues were actually on the committee and are still here. They can probably tell you how important it is to pay attention to this report. There was a lot of work put into this. People travelled the province for 18 months. I know they were very touched by the presentations that came forward. People spoke about the horrible things they were experiencing—either they experienced it themselves or their family members had a mental health or addiction and couldn't get help; there were gaps in the system and they fell through the cracks.

I can tell you, I had someone come into my office very recently, a mother, and she came to me because her son died by suicide. It's a very, very awful story, and I know we've heard them over and over again, probably too many times. He was in crisis and he went to the emergency room on a Monday. He spent, again, three days in the hallway. Finally, when he got a room, the beds were put together and there was only a curtain dividing each person. He went to the hospital to actually get help. The conditions made him feel worse. He told his mother that: "This is actually making me feel worse."

When we're talking about mental health and addictions, please pay attention not just to the voices in your circle, but to the voices on this side of the House, the voices outside of your political insider friends or influencers.

It's truly important because, in this first little paragraph, it says that "it is clear that no one is immune." It doesn't matter on your socio-economic status; it doesn't matter what family you were born into; it doesn't matter what you're doing today. No one is immune, because it's an illness.

When we were chatting, we were wondering, "Why did it take three days?" And this person finally left the hospital after the three days because they could not bear it anymore. They came home on a Thursday afternoon, and by Friday morning, they died by suicide.

The point being is that no one is immune. We need to get it right, and if no one is immune, we need to listen to every sector of society and actually understand what they're going through so we can create policy to address the needs of what people are telling us, because often-times we impose a system on people. We don't create systems to work for people; we make people work for the system. But the system is not working. Then we're saying, "Well, there's help out there."

One of the recommendations in this report says that we need to have system navigators. People actually need access to system navigators because the system is so complicated. It is, truly. France, how many ministries? Twelve ministries, I think it is, encompass mental health. During the campaign—how many ministries was it, France?

M^{me} France Gélinas: Thirteen.

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: Thirteen?

M^{me} France Gélinas: We're down to 11.

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: Oh, we're down to 11.

But the point being is that during the campaign, we said, "Do you know what? We've identified that this is a huge problem." It was identified in 2010; I'm sure it was identified before. But now we're saying, "Do you know what? Let's put a focus on this piece of health care, mental health." You shouldn't have to wait three days to get health care for mental health. You don't wait three days if you break your leg, right? They don't make you stand there for three days with a broken leg, waiting for health care, but they make you wait in a hallway on a stretcher for three days to get mental health care for your illness. It doesn't make sense.

I hope you're going to listen to us and share our experiences around mental health.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate? I recognize the member for Kitchener Centre.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: Merci beaucoup, madame la Présidente, et félicitations.

Before I begin the debate, I just wanted to make sure that I make use of a land acknowledgement. I think it's actually really, really important, given what it is that we are here to discuss. Because we're sitting and having a discussion about the motion of government for the people, I think it's notable that we make clear that this site that we're here and gathered together on is the site of human activity for over 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat, the Petun First Nations, the Seneca and, most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River, who are Anishinaabe Ojibwe people. The territory was the subject of the Dish With One Spoon wampum belt covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and the confederacy of the Ojibway and allied nations to peaceably share and care for their resources around the Great Lakes.

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I think it's important for us to take a minute to think about that, given that we're saying that this is a government for the people. These are the people. This is the foundation. We the people: The foundation starts there.

The focus of my comments, though, will be just on the last three words of the motion: "trust in government." As leaders across Ontario, that trust has to be built. It takes time. It's respect for all of the people across Ontario. It goes beyond our political affiliation.

With that being the case, I want to take a minute to tell a little story of a woman from Oakville, actually—outside of my riding—who I found on Twitter. She has given me permission to use her name: Lindsey Dalrymple. She had a very clear question for the Premier. She had also tweeted at me, had included my hashtag there, about ODSP. She explained to me that she's in a partnership; her partner is disabled and on ODSP. As a consequence, she's working full-time but her income is getting deducted from the full amount of ODSP funds.

She said that she had reached out to the Minister of Children, Community and Social Services and the minister responsible for women's issues and hadn't yet heard back. But she had also reached out to the Premier, and the Premier had, in fact, gotten in touch and not actually commented on her question, which was specifically whether or not, in September, the amount for ODSP would actually be increased as promised. She was concerned. She was worried because, on top of this, she now is waiting for a diagnosis for her son—her second child, I believe—who they believe has cerebral palsy. If the funds don't increase, then there's no way for her to survive. She's worried about where she'll be as of Wednesday, August 1.

I bring up that story because I reached out to her and said, "Part of the challenge is that we're having this

discussion about this being a government for the people." She does not feel like she is being included in this discussion. She has reached out directly to the Premier, who is leading the people, and she doesn't feel heard.

I promised her that I would bring this up at the soonest opportunity I had—I was in touch with her yesterday, and now here I am—and that I would bring that to the attention of the government, not out of malice or out of any kind of negativity but because, if they're truly here for the people, then I want us to be able to share this information. And I'm hoping that they will listen.

I also think it's important to take a minute and think about trust and honesty as leaders in Ontario. Just a few days ago, I had a visit with Waterloo Region Community Legal Services. This group provides support to many people who would not be able to afford a lawyer. These are people who don't necessarily feel represented within Ontario. With the current government, they don't know that they're being heard. So I asked Waterloo Region Community Legal Services for some information, just for some statistics: who were they talking to, how many people are they working with, etc. It turns out that within the last year, they've worked with 3,930 people across Waterloo region, and half of the cases that they've had have been housing cases: discussions with people who are in precarious housing situations. If they don't receive the legal help that they are asking for, they're worried about being homeless within the next moment. They also have a fairly new initiative working with Indigenous people, and their Indigenous justice cases have been 51 so far; this is just because it's a new program.

They're part of legal aid, which is funded provincially, and they had requested funding for two things. One was to keep a program going where they actually have a full-time social worker as part of the program, because they realized that people who are living in precarious situations often have a number of issues that they're dealing with before they can even get to address the legal issues. What they did was they had this social worker who would help them to navigate some of these systems.

They also are part of the immigration partnership. They sit on a committee with the immigration partnership, who made note that due to a change in the demographics in Waterloo region, there are a number of people who need help with immigration law. So they had requested funding to be able to hire a junior lawyer to deal with immigration law and to keep the social worker on full-time.

Legal aid had agreed to provide them with the funding. However, the moment that the government arose and was elected, they put a freeze on those funds, so now we're in a situation where, as of August 1, they will have to let go the social worker and no longer renew the contract that they had. Part of the reason is that legal aid had said, "Yes, we're willing to do the project," but they had to review the plan. Legal aid is scared that if they release the funding, there will be unknown repercussions, because unfortunately, as part of the manner in which leadership is being—I don't know; what's the word that

you would use?—executed by the current government, there is no need to provide information to the people. That's causing businesses and different organizations whose job and mandate is to be there for the people, and for the most marginalized of the people, to not know whether or not they can actually help the people.

And so we are now two days away from knowing whether or not a large number of people across Waterloo region will receive the mental health and navigational support that they need so that they can actually get to the big business, which is to deal with the legal issues that they have, which means that in an area which is already suffering from a homelessness crisis, I'm anticipating that there will be even more homeless folks, who have already gone and trusted and hoped that the government is in fact here for the people, who will be sorely mistaken—unless somebody can tell me whether or not that freeze is in fact going to be lifted anytime soon.

My constituents ask me that. I can't tell them, Madam Speaker, whether or not it will be lifted in a day or five days, or whether it'll be case by case. I can't tell them whether we have to wait a year. I can't tell them what the rationale is. That's not the kind of leadership that engenders the trust of the people.

Right after—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): If I could remind all members that the side conversations are immensely distracting. I'm having a challenge hearing the member, who has a naturally quieter speaking voice, so I would encourage the rest of you to use your quieter speaking voices, or to find another space to talk. Thank you.

Sorry, to the member. Please continue.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: Right after my meeting with Waterloo Region Community Legal Services, I also had an opportunity to visit another particular situation. It is called tent city. Tent city is something that happens annually, where a number of people who are precariously housed set up a tent in Victoria Park, which is a large park in my riding in Kitchener Centre where many, many festivals happen. They were there for a few days, actually, during the time that I was here. They were asked to leave Victoria Park, Madam Speaker, because there were festivals and such that were planned. So they packed up their tents, and they decided, "Fine. We will just set ourselves up right in front of the regional headquarters for housing."

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They're still in my riding. The tents were all set up. I had an opportunity to speak to some of the folks at tent city. Tent city is organized by Julian Ichim, who has been actively doing this work because nothing is changing. Unfortunately, there is no trust, in this particular situation, that this government will do anything differently, because I'm not able to tell them that there's a change or a shift. I can't tell them any of the information that they're asking for. Though I hear that wanting to work for the people is inherent in the work that the current

government would like to do, I'm not able to back that up with a plan, which, unfortunately, is what my constituents are asking for. I would have to say unfortunately for the current government, not unfortunately for people who want our communities and the province to move forward in a really positive way.

We should always be demanding a plan. We have to know how it's going to happen, because it's only when we share the plan that we're able to figure out whether or not that grand plan is actually going to be helpful for everybody. We all come from so many different places, walks of life, families, lived experiences. There are moments where, in all good conscience, you put a plan together and you don't realize the gaps in that plan.

So, Madam Speaker, again, it's not out of a place of animosity; it's out of a place of lived experience, where I, too, have put together, in leadership roles, plans and felt that it was going to be good for all of the people. It's not until somebody came over to me and said, "Hey, wait a second. In my particular situation, that's what that means," that I've realized that I just missed the boat. Building that trust with the people requires us to really listen to them.

Part of why there was a challenge with York University and the notion of ensuring that they go back to work is that I think folks were forgetting that a lot of those faculty members are also students. So when we're saying that we're doing this for the students, what about the students who are also working part-time in five or six different universities because they have to do that to put the money together to afford to live in their homes? What about them?

I was one of them. I was one of them at York University when they went through the first strike, which was also a very long time. What about my reality? What about the fact that I also have aspirations to be able to move, to build a life, to protect my children, to live in a home and afford rent? When we start to be more concerned about our actions being right as opposed to creating a plan that's actually there for everybody, that's when I get nervous.

From tent city, I want to just bring up one other issue, because I do remember that a number of times in the House we've been told that nobody will lose any jobs. I received a letter and an email from Paul Cox, principal of the St. Louis Adult Learning and Continuing Education Centres, Waterloo Catholic District School Board. He had an urgent request. They have been funded through the Ministry of Education continuously for 23 years, and the current agreement with the province expires on July 31. That would be tomorrow. Members have been informed that funding is frozen and will not be released until the new government provides direction. Without this significant funding source—it's their sole funding source—they will not be able to actively support adult and continuing education principals and managers, which they've been doing since 1987, and that means that they will have to lay off staff as of August 1. August 1 is Emancipation Day, my friends, and August 1 has a lot of

things coming up. We are going to have a lot of information on August 1, I'm hoping.

The impact will be significant in the region and beyond because this organization is the sole provincial stakeholder for adults in continuing education, and working through this agreement has resulted in a direct conduit for the Ministry of Education to the over 60 member school boards that deliver adult and continuing education programs. It's important to note that these programs are geared towards new Canadians, adults with low literacy levels who have limited access to the job market—and some of the reasons that they have limited access are because they are marginalized populations that have fallen through the cracks. They are the most marginalized of the people. I'm not able to tell them whether or not the funding freeze will continue. What happens to all of the people who are no longer able to be served? What happens to the people who are now not going to have employment after having a full, long career doing this work?

I'm very, very concerned that now I'm standing here to discuss what it means to have a government for the people, when not all of the people are being thought of. We can very easily say that, no, of course we don't want, let's say, queer communities to feel uncomfortable when they go to school in September. And yet people are asking me whether or not it's true that in 2014 they were using the 1998 health curriculum. I have a master's and PhD in education. I have spent a lifetime writing curriculum, and I know that in 2014, it was the 1998 curriculum that was being used. Madam Speaker, if I'm to sign off on something that says that they are going to be trustworthy, that this government is one that creates trust, how do I do that if they've stood up in this House and said that in 2014 there was a different curriculum that does not exist?

My queer constituents do not feel like they are being heard or felt or valued. They are scared. They're scared to go to school in September. The teachers are scared. The teachers are worried because somebody has decided that the best thing to do is to have private conversations with students about consent, which doesn't make any kind of sense. As an educator, that's not the way that you would go when you have a curriculum that's ready to do that work.

While we'll sit here and debate whether or not it's for the people, and, given the makeup of the House, we know what's going to happen next, I just want to take a moment and say that this is not for me. This government is not working for my interests at the moment, but I'm hopeful, because I am an eternal optimist. That is the reason why Kitchener Centre asked me to be here, because I will stand up and talk about the issues and I hope that at some point, when push comes to shove and we've got to govern, we will start to actually listen to the people.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Amarjot Sandhu: Madam Speaker, I'm honoured to rise today for my maiden speech in this chamber. In addition, I'm especially honoured to be the first international student in the history of Canada to be elected to the provincial Legislature, on behalf of the constituents of Brampton West. I would like to thank each and every one of my constituents for the trust they have placed in me to be a strong voice for our community.

My journey to arrive here has been short in time but long in memories. I'm blessed to have the support of my grandparents, my parents, my in-law family, my wife Manmeen, sons Eshaan and Kabir, my sisters, my friends, my neighbours, all amazing volunteers and the wonderful people of Brampton West who have put their trust in me to be their voice and to represent their interests at Queen's Park.

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I've been incredibly blessed to live what I believe is the Canadian dream. I came to Canada, I completed my studies in wireless networking, and I worked, became a citizen and paid my taxes. I played by the rules. I got married to the love of my life, and we're raising our two young sons in Brampton, Ontario. I've been blessed with the votes of my neighbours and friends in Brampton West, and I pray that I will always live up to the faith they have placed in me.

I came to Ontario in 2008 as an international student from India because I wanted to build the best life possible for myself and my future family. I came to Canada, a land of opportunities and a beautiful country that helps to transform your dreams into reality. In 2008, the year I came to Canada, I had the opportunity to wet my feet in Canadian politics, as federal elections were due. I always believed that it is our duty to advocate for our community, and, therefore, I began knocking on doors with my very great friend and big brother, Parm Gill, in 2008. I began knocking on doors while they share about their issues, dreams and the intervention they seek from the government in different areas.

Something important to be mentioned here: It's been 10 years for me since I came to Canada, and it's been 10 years that I've been a proud Conservative. With all humility, I must say that I am proud to be part of a Conservative team, because every day, my Conservative colleagues inspire me with their enthusiasm and zeal for a better society. They challenge me with their beliefs and with their ideology. They mentor me with their experience. Their knowledge brings substance to our discussions. Most important, they bring humanity and humility to the difficult issues that we face every day as members of this House and as part of society.

When I was knocking on doors during the 2008 election and speaking to Brampton residents, there were three main issues they were concerned with: community safety, expensive hydro rates and unaffordable taxation. Ten years later, as I was knocking on doors for my own candidacy, those were overwhelmingly still the issues that came up. You know what could be the reason? It's

not merely from the political rhetoric that I make this accusation, but I firmly believe that the Liberal government had completely lost its way in the last so many years, making the life of Ontarians worse off.

If I dare say, it happened because my Liberal friends across the aisle, in the past government, instead of believing in a noble vision for society and serving them, actually led it with a mere desire to maintain power. Governments can never sustain themselves on power alone. It needs a vision, passion, and love for society. Securing a beautiful future for our citizenry is what we deserve from government and why we need to be in politics.

The past Liberal government and their policy-making have undermined the importance of fiscal balance. In their continual denial of the fiscal imbalance, their refusal to deal with the need to reform had increasingly made it difficult to maintain balanced budgets and deliver better education, better health care and social programs to Ontarians. Despite continued denial on the part of the previous government, a fiscal imbalance does exist, and we as a responsible government would strive to achieve the fiscal balance without compromising on the quality of education, health care and other social programs for our people. We would do it responsibly and with the consent of the people of Ontario.

This is the most striking difference between our government and the previous government, led by our Liberal colleagues. We respect charter freedoms and we respect the individual. We believe that Ontarians have the ability to make their own decisions, that they know what is best for them, what is best for their children, their families and their communities. Our government's recent work on the sex education curriculum, Hydro One, green energy and standing up for the taxpayers reflects our commitment to make the lives of each Ontarian better. It also aligns so well with our vision of involving people in the decision- and policy-making process for their families, society and the future of Ontario.

Our government has a plan for the people of this province. Our plan includes cleaning up the hydro mess, restoring accountability and trust, ending hallway health care, creating good jobs and putting more money in the taxpayer's pocket.

We are already moving quickly with our first three legislative priorities: bringing an end to the York University strike, repealing cap-and-trade and cancelling wind and solar projects. Promises made; promises kept.

The days of choosing between heating and eating will soon be over as we move to save the average Ontario family 12% on their hydro bills. This is an honest and responsible plan that will save families \$170 on their hydro bill.

As a father of two, one of my major priorities is making the streets safer in all of our communities here in Ontario, including my neighbourhood in Brampton. The year 2018 has seen a large spike in gun violence, not only in Brampton but across the greater Toronto area. Our priority must be to do a better job of keeping guns out of

the hands of criminals and to do what we must to support our front-line police officers. We are blessed to have these men and women in uniform protecting us every day, and our government must do our part by giving them the tools and resources they need to do their job effectively.

Mr. Speaker, we believe in better local government. I'm glad that our Premier is taking action to actually reduce the amount of politicians. During the provincial campaign and my years as a Conservative activist, I knocked on tens of thousands of doors. I never heard a constituent complain that there weren't enough politicians. I did hear that they would love to keep more of their own money, and the residents of Brampton West have kindly requested that the government do our best to keep our hands out of their pockets. I feel this is a reasonable request.

I would like to unequivocally affirm the commitment that I made at those doors during the election: that our government is here for the people and that relief is on the way. With each passing day, I'm proud that our government is working to make the lives of our people easier and more affordable for families in Brampton and across Ontario. After so many years of all talk and no action, I'm proud to be part of a government that is truly for the people and truly does what we say we're going to do.

As the first international student to ever become a member of this Legislature, it is my honour to be here this summer as we begin our work putting this province back on track. To my friends and neighbours in Brampton West, I promise that this government will put your needs and the needs of your families first.

I also look forward to working with my fellow members and engaging Ontarians in debate on the important issues. I do think that, together, we can find a better vision for Ontario. Together, we can and we will make a difference.

We remain committed to standing up for the taxpayer and will continue to innovate ways to improve the quality of their lives and secure a promising future for future generations. We will remain committed to listening to you and serving you with care and passion. We want to make Ontario the envy of Canada.

We listen, we care and we deliver. Together with the people of Ontario, we'll make this work for everyone. I promise we won't let you down.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Hon. Doug Ford: I must admit that it's great to be here for my first maiden speech in a packed House. It's great to see all the NDP cheering me on next door there.

During the campaign, I criss-crossed the province, from one corner to the other corner. I spoke with tens of thousands of people. They all said the exact same thing: They were tired of the same old, same old government. They were tired of a government that didn't listen. They were tired of a government that put the insiders first and forgot about the little guy.

The people of this great province elected a PC government. They elected a government for the people—the

first government for the people. This is why I'm here today, standing in the Legislature, standing up for the little guy, standing up for families and standing up for the most vulnerable.

I ran on a commitment to restore accountability and trust and to reduce the size and cost of government, and that is exactly what we're going to do in the next four years.

1600

Today our Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing tabled an important bill that, if passed, will get things moving at the city of Toronto once and for all, a bill that will streamline Toronto city councillors.

I was down there for a number of years, and every single councillor down there—no matter what side they were on; they could be on the left, the right, the centre—said, “This is absolutely dysfunctional.” It's not against one certain councillor. It's not against the mayor, because I talked to the mayor; he knows it's dysfunctional. Mayor Miller knew it was dysfunctional. Rob knew it was dysfunctional. We couldn't get anything done. You can't get anything done when you have 47 politicians sitting around the table, all having the exact same power, protecting their little fiefdom. That's an issue. No matter if you work in the private sector or if you get elected in the public sector, there has to be structure, and it's like the Wild West down at city hall, I can assure you.

I want to take you back to the years that I was down at city hall, when we were spending like a bunch of drunken sailors—and I apologize to all of the drunken sailors, because at least they spend their own money; they don't spend the taxpayers' money.

In my time there, I fought for accountability and trust, I fought to reduce the size and cost of government, and when we focused on that—surprise, surprise—we saved the taxpayers over a billion dollars.

I fought to make Toronto an even better city, but there was constant gridlock at Toronto city hall. Just as each and every one of us drives around the city, drives around the GTA—no matter where you go, it's absolute gridlock. The reason it's gridlock is, you couldn't get anything done when it came to transit. Every councillor at city hall, every mayor of Toronto, wants to get the city moving. They all want to build transit. They all want the city to grow. But for the last 15 years, as I said earlier, it has been nothing but gridlock at city hall. For far too long, the people of Toronto have watched city council go around and around and around.

If you ask anyone in the city, if you ask anyone in the GTA, if you ask anyone in Ontario, “How does the city of Toronto work?”—every single person I've talked to says that there are too many politicians.

I don't remember any consultation when they wanted to cut the 800 police or they wanted to raise taxes or they wanted to get themselves in debt another \$550 million or if they wanted to increase politicians. Maybe I was away campaigning, but I can tell you that I never heard that whatsoever.

It's about driving efficiencies, respecting the taxpayers, putting money back into the taxpayers' pocket

instead of the government's. It's about empowering the people instead of the government.

I know that the opposition love big government. They love to spend. They love high taxes. We aren't cut from the same cloth. We're cut from a different cloth. We're cut from a cloth of reducing taxes, making smaller government, having accountability and transparency—

Mr. Michael Mantha: Really?

Hon. Doug Ford: Absolutely.

It's kind of fun talking this way.

For far too long, the people of Toronto have watched city council go around and around in circles and fail to act on critical issues facing the city. Gridlock and dysfunction are stopping Toronto from building transit. The deadlock at Toronto city hall has made it even harder to get things done and get things built.

I can tell you that I was there numerous times for a 10-hour debate on getting Mrs. Jones's cat out of the tree. We would sit there and debate about anything for 10 hours. After 10 hours and thousands of pieces of paper going around, nothing got done. Nothing got done. But guess what. At the end of 10 hours, we all agreed to go get Mrs. Jones's cat out of the tree.

That's a waste of time. People get frustrated. It makes it harder to deal with real problems we face. That is why it is time to reduce the size and cost of municipal government.

Madam Speaker, we're going to streamline Toronto city council. We've seen no one stand up, years and years and years, asking politicians to reduce the size of council. When I went down there, I threw it out on the table once. I threw it out on the table, just cold turkey. I'm not going to mention it's like asking the turkeys to vote for Thanksgiving, but I threw it out there cold turkey and I ended up getting 17 votes. I was five votes away from winning, and I'm thinking there's an appetite, because the 17 people that voted to reduce the size of council are listening to their constituents.

I'm going to wander around Toronto. I'm going to hit the areas—I'm going to target some of my areas and the GTA, but I'm going to target some of the NDP and Liberal areas. My first stop is going to be in Brampton Centre. I'm going to go door-knocking, and when they open the door, I'm going to ask them very simply, “Do you want larger government, do you want duplication in government, or would you rather take \$25 million and put it towards priorities that matter to the people?” I will track it. You'll hear from me again this week about every single person, what riding they're from, and how many people agreed on reducing the size of city council, reducing the duplication we see at the regions—and there's a lot of duplication at the regions; I hear it constantly.

My friends, it's time to start respecting the taxpayers. I can't wait. And I can't wait to get up to Timmins and talk to the people up there. I can't wait to tell them that their MPP is against mining, against lumber.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Point of order.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I recognize the member for Timmins on a point of order.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: I just want to assure the Premier that he is always welcome to the city of Timmins and we'd be glad to have you.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): That is not a point of order.

I recognize the Premier.

Hon. Doug Ford: I'm still coming to Timmins. We're going to have a big crowd there, and I'm going to tell them their MPP wants more politicians. He doesn't want to have mining, he's dead against forestry, because he's part of the anti-mining, anti-forestry, high-tax government. We'll see how the folks in Timmins like it.

Mr. John Vanthof: That's like saying I'm anti-dairy farming.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Order.

Hon. Doug Ford: Well, you have anti-mining folks on your team, I'll tell you.

My friends, we have 25 MPPs, 25 MPs, 22 school trustees in the public system, 12 school trustees in the separate, two in the French public and one in the French separate. If I went around Toronto—and I'm going to do this. I could door-knock anywhere—I'll even door-knock in your strongest NDP area—and ask them if they want more politicians. This plan will get action, it will restore trust and accountability, and it will save the taxpayers \$25 million. I've never met anyone, anyone ever, that's run up to me and said, "Doug, I want more politicians, please. More politicians." Some \$25 million back into the kitty.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Order.

Hon. Doug Ford: You're just lucky we don't have a Ford running in Timmins. You're lucky. I could tell you this, Mr. Timmins: Taxpayers will be happy to trade a bunch of politicians like yourself at city hall for millions of dollars that can be reinvested in the city's priorities.

Applause.

Hon. Doug Ford: I thank you, and I appreciate the applause from my opposition. Come on board anytime you want.

1610

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Boy, what an opening here this afternoon. It is an honour to stand up on behalf of the good constituents in Windsor-Tecumseh and speak on this bill.

I listened very intently, Premier, to what you had to say. What I didn't hear during the campaign speeches and announcements and Ford Nation media releases was that you were going to do this if you got elected. You campaigned on smaller government; of course, that's provincial government. But Premier, we didn't hear you on the campaign trail say, "When I'm elected, I'm going to cut the size of Toronto city council in half." That may have been of interest to some of the people in Toronto.

Maybe you would have got more votes, but then again, maybe not. But you weren't open; you weren't transparent. You didn't say to the people in Toronto, "This is what I'm going to do."

I find it somewhat interesting when the Premier says he was down in Toronto for four years and it was dysfunctional, that you couldn't get anything done. And yet, 20 seconds later, the Premier says that he and his brother saved a billion dollars.

Hon. Doug Ford: The whole team did, not just Rob and I.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Well, how do you save a billion dollars in a dysfunctional government?

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Stop the clock.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Good point.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Stop the clock. I would also like to make a good point: that this is a chamber for debate that goes through the Speaker and not just across back and forth. So if we could bring the House back to order and decorum, please.

The member can continue. Please restart the clock.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Thank you for that reminder, Speaker.

Sometimes, Premier, as you know, you've got to read between the lines. Through you, Speaker, I'm saying to the members opposite, including the big guy in the front row, that sometimes you have to read between the lines. So when I hear the Premier of Ontario stand up in the House this afternoon and talk about reducing the size of municipal government and then he ties that into the number of school board trustees we have publicly, we have separately, we have French and we have French public—he's listing all of the trustees. And I'm saying to myself, Speaker, through you to the Premier: In between the lines, is he going to be getting rid of the school boards? Is he going to be eliminating a number of trustees?

He's certainly sending a signal that when you talk in one breath about reducing the size of municipal government, which has nothing to do with school boards—those are the people who deal with municipal issues as opposed to educational issues—just in between the lines, there could be another message coming out of here, a message that wasn't campaigned on. The leader of the Green Party was up front: He said that he was going to amalgamate the school boards, but he's one voice here.

I just think that the inner cabinet of these 25 members at Toronto city hall will probably have more power than the provincial government now because they'll have a smaller number to deal with to get things done.

When you look at what is written in the motion—the wording—that we're dealing with this afternoon, when we hear the words "restore accountability and trust in government," are you kidding me? Here's Toronto, which did—they studied for, what, two, three or four years. Some members opposite weren't paying attention, as has been enunciated this afternoon, but they had decided, after a public consultation process, to increase

the number of councillors to deal with their population. That was to even it out as best they could.

In a democracy, when you have a full and lengthy consultation process—and “process,” I believe, is the key word here—when you have a process, you follow it. You have public consultations. We’ve heard the Premier say that consultation is important. If you think of the changes coming in the Education Act, he says that not enough people were consulted before and they’re going to consult today and have the biggest consultation in the history of Ontario. Well, they just had consultation in Toronto, and they made a decision—a decision that the Premier didn’t like, so now, without a public consultation, he is just going to slam something through.

And so I ask, what’s wrong with this picture? How can you on one hand say, “We haven’t had enough consultation. There was none,” when, in fact, the Liberals say that they consulted widely? The Premier has used numbers in the House about how many parents were actually consulted; it was in the thousands. But then nobody gets consulted; the mayor of Toronto says he heard a word or two in passing but didn’t take it seriously, and Toronto city council certainly wasn’t consulted on this at all.

“We don’t like the results, so we’re going to change it. We don’t talk about it during an election, but we’ll meddle during the municipal election. We’ll create a bit of chaos.” A former Conservative minister by the name of John Snobelen—I believe he was the education minister back in 1995—said, “We will create a crisis in education, and then we’ll resolve it, and that way we’ll get people to buy into what we were pushing if we resolve the crisis.” I think the Premier is creating a crisis at Toronto city hall.

You know, it’s one thing if you campaign against something and you do it, that’s fine. Mike Harris told us exactly what he was going to do in his Common Sense Revolution. He had the book out there. We knew what was coming. The Premier didn’t campaign on getting rid of half of city council. He didn’t campaign on stopping the election of chairs in the four regions, in Peel, York, Muskoka and Niagara. That wasn’t part of anybody’s platform.

It’s like the Liberals in the election previous. They did not go door to door, as we’ve heard many times in this House, saying, “Elect us and we’re going to sell public shares in Hydro One.” They didn’t do it. The Premier at the time stood in this House and said, “I’m not going to sell Hydro One.” Then, of course, we know that the backroom deals were cooked and Hydro One was sold.

Hon. Doug Ford: Apples and oranges, my friend.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Well, apples and oranges; it’s one thing what you say publicly, and it’s one thing what you do in the backrooms.

You may not like the number of representatives you have in Toronto. You say they’re dysfunctional, and you look at how many constituents each councillor has. In fairness, whatever number you’re bringing in in Toronto, is that going to be the provincial formula? Because I

heard in the morning that Ottawa, for example—a good city, with a population less than a million—has 23 councillors for less than a million. We’ve got—what?—three million in Toronto, and we’re going to have 25 councillors.

What I find interesting, though, Speaker, is when I look to my friend, the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, and I look at his home community of Brockville. The city of Brockville has fewer than 30,000 people: 29,830 or something, and they have a mayor and eight councillors for less than 30,000. How much are we going to chop, how many councillors are going to be axed, in Brockville when we do this fairness thing across the province? Are we going to have one or are we going to have two?

Hon. Doug Ford: Let’s just compare 30,000 with a \$12-billion budget—

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Stop the clock. A reminder that the debate goes through the Chair and not across the alleyway, it would seem. Please and thank you.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Yeah, come on.

Hon. Doug Ford: Hurry up, because I’ve got to get going. I’m giving you some respect here.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Thank you, Premier. The people in Windsor would like to see you down there after your visit to Timmins.

Now, I’m sure the Premier knows that his Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing—

Hon. Doug Ford: A great guy.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Yes, and back in 1982, he was the youngest mayor ever elected in Canada.

Interjections.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Yes, and he was there until 1991. He was a former president of AMO, and I think he was 22, right out of university. He had this big Afro; times change. Seriously, look at the photos. I remember it well, as a reporter at the time. This was a big news story back then, a young guy getting elected.

1620

But I didn’t hear the minister when he was campaigning either, saying, “Vote for me this time because as soon as we get in, we’re going to chop up the number of councillors in Brockville, we’re going to make them even”—if we can do it in Toronto, we’ve got to treat everybody fairly. You can’t have one rule for Toronto and a rule for Timmins and a rule for Windsor; you’ve got to treat everybody the same way.

The minister said that he’s going to be consulting at AMO in a couple of weeks. I’ve already put out some feelers to my contacts at AMO, my contacts around the province. I was a vice-president at AMO at one time, when I was a city councillor in Windsor. Some people are really nervous out there because they don’t know what to expect. They do not know if regional government is going to work, not going to work.

I know your friend, my friend, the former mayor of Mississauga, Hazel McCallion, who supported you. On one hand, she supports Mr. Trudeau in Ottawa; and

Charles Sousa, the Liberal incumbent who ran, but was not elected in her riding; but she came out in support of you. I've read her book. I'm sure you have, too. She doesn't want regional council in Peel at all. She says it's a waste of money.

When I hear the Premier say that he's going to put the kibosh on the election that was consulted on and voted on by the members, many of them in cabinet who were in the last Conservative opposition, now in government, they supported the changes that were coming in Peel, in Niagara, in York and in Muskoka. Now we're hearing a different tone, arguments that weren't made during the campaign.

I'll take a moment, if I could, just to congratulate the mayor of Tecumseh, Gary McNamara, a former president of AMO, as many of you know, who was just acclaimed. He has three councillors. He used to have four wards; now they're expanding to five, five wards in the town of Tecumseh for a population of about 25,000 people. Congratulations to Andrew Dowie, Bill Altenhof and Tania Jobin for being acclaimed out there as well. They were incumbents. When I emailed the mayor this morning talking about what was going on, he says, "You know, it's Mike Harris all over again, that you create a crisis. Is it going to be the tip of the iceberg?"

This isn't a prop, Speaker, but I'm going to make reference to it. It's called A Government for the People. It's the throne speech. I opened the throne speech again this morning—and I'm reading some of the key elements of it. I'm just trying to make sense out of what this bill is, compared to what was in the throne speech. Let alone this was not mentioned during the campaign, this was not mentioned in the throne speech.

A government is going to be judged by "the manner in which it conducts itself." Interesting. "It will also require us to move past the politics of division." What is more divisive right now than what has just been introduced?

The thing that I found most intriguing out of all of my highlights in the throne speech, let alone that they are going to assume "responsibility with great humility," was the mention of Toronto in here. Toronto is mentioned. "Your new government will also respect our municipal partners"—respect.

"Whether by partnering with Toronto and other GTA municipalities to build a world-class transit system" or "addressing the transportation needs of other Ontario urban centres" or "putting an end to unfair, unaffordable green energy contracts"—of course. But where is the respect for the municipal partners? "We said we were going to do it in the throne speech, and then out of the blue, we turn around and"—you know Paul Bunyan? You remember, a big guy, had an axe, had an ox named Blue, right? A big, blue ox.

We don't have a bull in a china shop; we've got the full-blown ox in the china shop. And Bunyan, by the way, if you go back to the folklore of the word "Bunyan," where it came from, it's a French-Canadian name. Out of the folklore, it's very similar to a Quebecois expression for "unexpected." What's the other word they

put with it? It doesn't matter, but it's an expression, "bonyienne," which in Quebecois means, "Boy, this is astonishing. Wow, what's going on here?" That's what they must have been astonished at down at Toronto city hall.

I mean, you talk about Doug Ford, you talk about Mike Harris, you use their names in a sentence—if you read the Globe and Mail this morning, John Ibbitson was saying that what Mike Harris did way back then—his strategy was to introduce a whole bunch of things, create all kinds of turmoil, get people all upset, and then move on and introduce something else that would get another group all upset. There were a lot of province-wide strikes back then. They closed and amalgamated hospitals. They raised university tuition, amalgamated school boards, stripped them of their power for taxation and forced amalgamation on Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa and other municipalities despite furious local opposition. They downloaded responsibilities to local governments.

Demonizing progressive voters living in the down-towns was part of that strategy. So one has to ask, are we taking notes from the Mike Harris campaign back in 1995 and are we doing that again here? Is this the way we're going to go? Is this the way that we're going to build a province? Is this the way we're going to treat municipalities with respect, by dumping this on them in the middle of a campaign?

I remember when we sat as a committee and we heard from municipalities, municipal leaders and the public here at Queen's Park when we had the public consultation about making these changes on regional government. I remember a regional councillor in Peel from Brampton, Gael Miles, who I used to serve with on the board at FCM, coming and saying, "We've got a problem such that the city of Mississauga, with its population, just controls Peel regional council, so we support the concept of having an elected regional chair as opposed to Mississauga just appointing one of their people all the time to conduct business the way Mississauga wants it." So it was going to make it a more fair way of dealing with that region. Instead of having that elected person, the Premier said, "Let's just put a pause. We're going to push the pause button," as he and the minister have said.

When you read the clippings out of the paper, they're not very favourable at the moment. Of course, things can and things will likely change several times, but of all the clippings you come up with—here's one, Jennifer Yang, staff reporter in the Sunday Toronto Star: "Nearly half of Torontonians disapprove of both Premier Doug Ford and his plan to dramatically shrink"—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Order. I will remind everybody on both sides that right now, the member from Windsor-Tecumseh has the floor—he and he alone. He may continue.

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): In case I wasn't clear, it was not "the member from Timmins" I said; it was, "The member from Windsor-Tecumseh may resume."

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Thank you, Speaker. I could use some quotes from the Toronto Sun, if that's more applicable. "NDP leader Andrea Horwath accused Ford of thinking he's 'king' and acting like a 'dictator,' motivated by a grudge he still holds against Toronto council from the time when he and his brother Rob were members."

Liberal MP Adam Vaughan, written up in the Toronto Sun: "People looking for answers about community safety and other urban issues aren't concerned about how many politicians sit on council...."

"They don't like Toronto," Vaughan said. "This is about demolishing a significant political power base which provides opposition to the actions of Queen's Park.... It's a political stroke of genius if you like breaking cities."

1630

"Toronto Mayor John Tory, ... seeking re-election, said he told Ford that the stunning and massive change mid-campaign was not right...."

"What we don't need, and what I just can't support, is change being rammed down our throats without a single second of public consultation, and on top of that, done in the middle of the election period itself."

Interjection.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Speaker, I know that the Premier has a lot of questions about what's in the media these days, and he has a different take on, perhaps, what the mayor of Toronto has said privately, but what's on the public record is that people don't like it. People think it's somewhat outrageous.

I'm glad I had the opportunity to talk about a few of these things this afternoon.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: Fellow members of the assembly and our guests, it is a privilege to rise here in the chamber to give my inaugural speech this afternoon.

I would like to start by taking the opportunity to congratulate the new Speaker on her election to this important position. I know that with her experience in the assembly, she will serve us very well in debates to come—and there will be debates to come.

I would also like to offer my congratulations to all new and returning members of the 42nd Parliament of Ontario.

Personally, I would not be here without the support of my wife, Marie; my two sons, Michael and Joey; and my incredible volunteer team, as well as my first-time campaign manager, Michael Smith.

When Michael was asked to produce a plan for the campaign, he produced a 92-page plan. When the party saw this plan, they couldn't believe it. He had broken down, poll by poll, what we had to do to get our vote out. At the end, he was off by 100 votes.

I would like to thank them all again for all their hard work. It is a great honour to be elected by the people of Mississauga–Lakeshore to represent them in this assembly.

Mississauga–Lakeshore is a spectacular and diverse riding, from our historic lakefront villages like Port Credit, where I grew up and where my family's roots run four generations deep, to our new and vibrant multicultural communities, to the hidden beauty of the Rattray Marsh and the waterfront trail.

In fact, this building that we're in today was constructed with over 10 million bricks of pink sandstone from our Credit River valley. For those who don't know, it's known as the Credit River because the French fur traders would supply goods to the Aboriginal population on credit against furs that they would deliver to Port Credit the following year. Today they are known as the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation.

Today, Port Credit is the home to cultural festivities: parades, concerts and celebrations throughout the year. I invite you all to come there and enjoy with us.

From Port Credit to Mineola, Clarkson to Lorne Park, from Sheridan to Erindale, Cooksville to Lakeview, so many small communities have joined together to build a bright future all along our waterfront, and a community spirit in our youngest generation and in the residents new to Mississauga–Lakeshore and often new to Canada.

Over 36% of our residents are immigrants or refugees. Our children are growing up in a community that is growing more and more diverse every year, yet the community and our willingness to work together remains as strong as ever. This diversity is our greatest strength, and my wife and I can't imagine raising our children anywhere else.

It has been a great privilege to serve on our local rate-payers' association, our parent councils and as a board member and property manager of the Mississauga Canoe Club.

I know I will be privileged to continue the work in our community of the late Jim Tovey, on the redevelopment of our waterfront from Inspiration Port Credit to Inspiration Lakeview.

In representing Mississauga–Lakeshore, I know that I'll follow in the footsteps of many great MPPs, including two Premiers of Ontario—T.L. Kennedy and Bill Davis. Federally, Mississauga–Lakeshore was once represented by Gordon Graydon, who served as leader of the official opposition in the House of Commons. He helped to build the Conservative Party in Ontario by founding Young Conservatives clubs throughout the province.

More recently, we were represented at Queen's Park by Margaret Marland for 18 years. She served as chair of the PC caucus and as the minister responsible for children in the Harris government. In Ottawa, Paul Szabo represented us for 17 years. Voted the hardest-working MP, he served as chair of the ethics committee. I was truly honoured to have the support of both—Mrs. Marland as a Conservative and Paul Szabo as a Liberal—in my campaign. It was incredible to have a former Liberal MP supporting me. As the Premier said, it doesn't matter what party you supported in the past; people all across Ontario came together to vote for change, for the people.

I must also recognize and thank the former Minister of Finance, Charles Sousa, for his 11 years of service here. Though we often disagreed, he will always have my respect for his work with the Compass food bank and other local charities—which I plan to continue—and for his private member's bill on financial literacy education. I wish him well in his future endeavours.

I would also like to thank Boris Rosolak, our NDP candidate in Mississauga–Lakeshore, for his spirited and honourable campaign. He earned more votes than any other NDP candidate in our riding's history, and I am very proud to call him my friend.

The motto of this place is "Hear the other side," and I can promise that I will always try to do this. I am here to represent all of Mississauga–Lakeshore, including those who voted for Mr. Sousa and Mr. Rosolak.

As I said, my family's roots run four generations deep in Mississauga–Lakeshore. Our original family home is designated as a heritage property—the Cuzzetto Residence—under the Ontario Heritage Act. In 1950, my grandfather owned a shoe repair shop attached to the Vogue Theatre in Port Credit, where the Crooked Cue now stands. It hosted my victory party on election night. The store where my grandmother bought her groceries became my campaign office. Our doctor's office, just across the street from my church and my elementary school, has become my constituency office. I could go on for days on this.

My mother worked at Riverside school.

My father worked at the Texaco refinery. At the time, employees were given a small plot of land for personal gardens. This same land became my home and garden today. Because of his work at the refinery, my dad died of lung cancer and asbestosis when I was 18. Today I'm proud to join Queen's Park's lung health caucus, and my friend Frank Giannone is helping to transform the refinery's land into Port Credit's West Village, a new and vibrant mixed-use community.

I've had a 31-year career at Ford Motor Company's Oakville assembly plant, most recently as a vehicle auditor, checking to ensure that our products meet stringent quality requirements. I'm a 31-year union member, as well, first with the Canadian Auto Workers, and then Unifor. I've also worked for my family's local small business, importing and wholesaling products from Italy to retailers in the GTA and New York.

These experiences have shaped my politics and helped me build relationships with so many residents of our community. They have made me realize how much I want to serve them, but also how much needs to be done to make Ontario a better place for everyone. That's ultimately why I ran for office: to ensure that we make the right decisions here for our children and for the generations that follow them, so that Ontario can remain a place to stand and a place to grow.

I hope to be able to contribute to the development of thoughtful and progressive conservative policies in the 42nd Parliament of Ontario.

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It is important for me to note in my speech in this House my faith in the Progressive Conservative Party and in our Premier to serve the interests of the working people of Ontario, including union members. Many on both sides of this chamber may sometimes forget it, but there is a huge difference between militant union activists and grassroots union members. Over a quarter of Ontario's workers are unionized—more than the entire population of Mississauga—and the vast majority of them are moderate, hard-working people.

When hydro rates skyrocket up to 400% and our businesses struggle to deal with red tape—an average of over 30 new regulations every day for 15 years—Ontario becomes uncompetitive for business. Our grassroots union members know this better than most, as they have suffered as Ontario had lost 350,000 manufacturing jobs, including many well-paying jobs in the automotive industry.

While we can't accomplish everything this summer, by ending the York University strike and by cancelling cap-and-trade and the White Pines Wind Project, I agree with our former Liberal Finance Minister Greg Sorbara that we are off to a great start. Reducing the cost of hydro is critical to Ontario's long-term competitiveness, and it is not fair for our students to lose their academic year because of a five-month-long strike.

Moving forward, the commission of inquiry will restore accountability and trust in our government's financial reports. It will allow us to finally get our debt under control. Historic investments in health care will help us build up our long-term-care and mental health systems and put an end to hallway medicine.

Investment in education will help us address the skills gap, particularly in the skilled trades and the high-tech sector. Tax relief will make life easier and more affordable. It will help to make Ontario the economic engine of Canada once again.

Madam Speaker, I am excited to be part of this government led by the Premier, and I'm excited to see what we can achieve for the people over the next four years. Once again, I would like to thank the people of Mississauga–Lakeshore for placing their trust in me. I will do everything I can to ensure they are well-represented in this assembly, correctly. I look forward to working with everyone here over the next four years.

As well, it is with great pride today that I congratulate canoeist Katie Vincent from the Mississauga Canoe Club and her teammate Sophia Jensen for their gold medals in the 200- and 500-metre events at the world championship in Bulgaria. As a former property manager and board member at the Mississauga Canoe Club, it has been an honour for me to watch Katie develop into one of the world's top athletes in canoe sprint. Katie has also become a true role model for all women and girls in sport.

Katie became a paddler at the Mississauga Canoe Club in 2006 at the age of 10. In 2012, she competed in 19 major international events and achieved a podium result

in all but two: in 2014, junior world champion; in 2016, U23 world champion; in 2017, senior world champion, setting two world-record times; and in 2017, Ontario female athlete of the year.

Earlier this year, Katie was awarded the 2018 Ontario female athlete of the year award at the Ontario Sport Awards. Presented by the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport since 1965, this award celebrates the experience of Ontario amateur athletes, individuals and sport organizations. This is the highest honour the province bestows on an athlete or organization and determines excellence in sport. Together with Sophia Jensen and their teammates, Katie's success over the weekend shows that the future for women's canoeing in Canada is very strong.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Katie's coaches and, of course, the staff at the Mississauga Canoe Club in Port Credit, which has already produced so many world and Olympic medallists.

As our late Councillor Jim Tovey said, the water, both the lakefront and the Credit River, is the community's greatest resource.

With the inclusion of women's sprint canoeing in the Summer Olympics for the first time in Tokyo in 2020, Katie will have the opportunity to compete at the highest level. I know that we all will be cheering for her and for Team Canada.

As well, I would like to speak a little bit about my campaign. When I got into this race—what was it? 18 months ago—I was going against one of the toughest incumbents that the Liberals had to put against me. It was a tough battle. Did I imagine being here today? Probably not.

Interjection: You earned it.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: I kept knocking on doors. I knocked on doors for 18 months and I would continue going back. I knocked on 50,000 doors. I went back to one gentleman, and I still remember him today. He goes, "I was expecting you to come back, Rudy." He goes, "Do you remember me?" I go, "Yes, I do. I remember you were cutting your grass." And he looked at me and he goes, "Wow, how can you remember that?" I said, "I'm very good at remembering things." He goes, "Well, I'm a card-carrying Liberal. I'm going to take your lawn sign and I'm voting for you."

Mr. Percy Hatfield: You didn't need Hazel.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: Yes, Hazel did not support me; she did not.

Mrs. Nina Tangri: And you won anyway.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: Thank you.

But I continued working. I went to communities that we had never gone to in the riding, areas that we had called unwinnable, but I kept knocking on doors. The people came out and said, "Wow, you have been here all your life in this community and we are going to vote for you." It was very humbling at the time; it still is today.

As my family goes back four generations in the Port Credit area, it's unbelievable that I've been there that long. Like I said, the Crooked Cue, where my grand-

father's shoe repair was in 1953—people are still talking about it. If I speak to any of my campaign team out there, I know that all they remember is my roots in the community. Every time I would go to doors I would tell them about my roots, my four generations: my father working at the Texaco refinery that's right in the riding; myself, working at the Ford Motor Co. for 31 years.

Some people go: "You were a union member. Why are you a Conservative?" We've lost 350,000 manufacturing jobs in this province. We have to bring them back. We have to do whatever to create jobs.

As we continued going through that campaign, it got more and more difficult. At one point, we had about 10 volunteers a day and my opponent had 30 to 40 volunteers going door to door. He had everybody on the ground. He had the mayor and the past mayor too on the ground, and we just kept working. I told my volunteer team, "Just keep knocking on doors and the results will come."

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: You got it done.

Hon. Jeff Yurek: I followed you on Facebook. You did an awesome job.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: Thank you. Thank you. It was very difficult because I was working shift work at the time as well at the Ford Motor Co.

Mrs. Nina Tangri: Such dedication and commitment.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: Thank you.

During the days that I was working, in the evening I would keep knocking on doors. And when I was working night shift, I would knock on the doors during the day. We kept doing that until election day.

I'm a proud child of an immigrant family that came here from Italy with a suitcase. All they told me is, "Work hard and you will get ahead." That's what I did: I worked hard, and I ended up here today to speak to you.

1650

Unfortunately, like I said, my father passed away when I was 18, of asbestosis—I had to watch him deteriorate in his bed at home; it was one of the worst things—which was caused by the Texaco refinery. As a young child, I didn't know what I would do at that time, because losing your father at that age, knowing that my mother was a housewife and worked part-time at the school—I knew it was difficult for me to get ahead.

So I just kept working and kept persevering, and today, I ended up here at Queen's Park as your MPP for Mississauga-Lakeshore. I thank you very much for everything.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate? I recognize the member from Algoma-Manitoulin.

Mr. Michael Mantha: Thank you, Speaker. It sure is nice seeing you in that chair.

I'm always happy when I see my friend from Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound sitting across the way. I'll be touching on a few words in my speech later on as I'm talking about this motion.

I want to thank the member from Mississauga-Lakeshore for having shared a lot of the stories, his

personal experiences from home and what got him here. I look forward to maybe having a chat with him in regard to his family.

I remember when I came in—and there were a few members that are still in here. I came in in the class of 2011. We were an eager bunch. When we came in, I remember having discussions as new members as we were sitting in the House and meeting up at receptions downstairs and talking to each other and talking about the decorum—

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: Come on. Come on.

Mr. Michael Mantha: I see the member from Nepean. You were part of those discussions. Oh, I remember you. I remember you. We had many discussions.

Interjection.

Mr. Michael Mantha: Yes, through you, Speaker: I remember those discussions. They were adamant discussions, and we always—“Really? This is how things happen here? This is how we conduct ourselves? Wow! I can’t believe it. We’re going to change things. We’re going to make sure decorum is respected. We are going to do things.”

Mr. Percy Hatfield: And then what happened?

Mr. Michael Mantha: And then we became members.

I stand here with great pride, and I look at the new members who have joined us here in this Legislature. I’m going to challenge you to rise: Rise to the occasion, rise to the decorum, rise on behalf of your constituents and hold yourself with great pride when you do speak here and put away a lot of the partisanship.

I want to remind you about the results in the election. I hear what this government is saying is. They rose. They got 74 seats.

Mr. Bill Walker: Seventy-six.

Mr. Michael Mantha: Seventy-six. They have the balance of power. They have the majority government. However, the other part of that equation is that 60% of Ontarians did not—hold on, let me rephrase that: 60% of Ontarians voted for something else.

Some of them—most of them—voted for promises of better health care. A lot of them voted for promises on tackling our hydro issues. A lot of them voted on changing and making sure that there are no longer waiting times and the crisis that we see in our hospitals and hallway medicine. A lot of them looked for new jobs, new opportunities and better wages. There are a lot of people that voted for those things too.

I want to remind this Conservative government and the new members that have joined these ranks that you’re a government for all, not just for some, not just the 40% that elected you. You’re a government for the entire province.

And I remember the member for Bruce–Grey–Owen Sound—I think he will remember this issue that both of us tackled, a very important issue that was going to hurt the economy of Manitoulin Island. We worked together on tackling the issue of the Chi-Cheemaun. This meant well over \$25 million that was going to be lost if we

didn’t work together in order to get the benefit for people who lived on Manitoulin Island, making sure that the wharf was repaired.

The then Liberal government was punting the ball back to the federal level, saying, “No, no, it’s your responsibility.” We worked together on that issue, and we did get the government to step forward. The funds were put—mind you, I remember the day that I actually went to the docks when there were roughly about 700 people who were at the docks on Manitoulin Island protesting the decision of the government to not get involved. I remember being there, and as I’m stepping out of my car, where unreliable cell service is across northern Ontario—I had one bar—I remember the then Minister of Northern Development and Mines, now the independent member for Thunder Bay–Superior North, was on the phone. He tells me, “Mike, I’ve got some good news for you. We’re going to put the funding forward. We’re going to go to bat and were going to fight with the federal government.” I said, “Are you kidding me? You’re giving me this now when I’m going out and I’m about to blast you for having left us to fall apart?” So I did: I gave credit where credit was due.

I also always recognize my friend from Bruce–Grey–Owen Sound as far as working together and getting this solved. That’s what I’m asking our new members to remember: Rise above. Rise above the partisanship and just don’t forget that we’re all here for the same reason: the advancement of Ontario, the economy and moving the issues of our constituents forward.

Another issue: I know the member from Nepean—I hope she’s listening. I would ask my friend from Bruce–Grey–Owen Sound to please share this story with her because she needs to know what it meant to me. A lot of the members in the House, when they rise for a speech, grab these very large books. They help us to focus on our notes. I have always used my own. In 2012, on June 23, there was a tragic event that happened in Elliot Lake. It’s something that I always use myself—and I never forget—the two books in regard to what happened with the inquiry up in Elliot Lake and the tragic loss of Doloris Perizzolo and Lucie Aylwin. It’s a reminder to me—they’re always with me at my desk—that there is some unfinished business there. There was some unfinished business with the previous government, the Liberal government, that they didn’t finish the job that was done. I’m going to be looking to this Conservative government to pick up where it was left aside, because there are still a lot of things and a lot of unanswered questions that need to be done on that particular issue.

The point I was trying to make is that I wanted to thank the member from Nepean, because as I was going through this tragedy as a newly elected member—I was brand new, right out of the box, maybe about 11 months into my mandate—the first person who called me was the member from Nepean. She said, “Hey, I’m listening. I’m watching. I hope you’re doing good. I’m watching what you’re doing. Keep it up. You’re on the streets. You’re doing a good job.” I never got a chance to thank her then,

and it took me about six months to get through that process, but I came back and thanked her.

The reason why I share those two stories: These are two individuals who are sitting in government. I want to share that, especially with the new members who are here, because again, I'm asking you to rise up. Rise up beyond the partisanship and make sure that you're there for all Ontarians when we're dealing with the issues that are here.

The motion that we're dealing with today covers four points: "That, in the opinion of this House, the current government is a government for the people." I want to go back to what I just finished saying: You're a government for the people, which means all the people, which means 100% of Ontarians, not just the 40%. There's a lot of things that you have been doing lately, since I've been here, that are only serving those 40%. I don't see the benefits that are coming back to Ontarians in my area.

When I was knocking on doors, I heard from individuals who have various views in regard to their political stripes. So I'm asking you once again: Rise up. Make sure that what you're bringing forward as far as a government who claim to be a government for the people is not just a tagline; it's something that you are doing, that you're bringing forward, making sure that it's true to everyone and not just some of the individuals who are here in this province. And when you are talking about those things, make sure that you are protecting jobs.

1700

I want to share with some of the new members where I came from, because I've been part of your inaugural speeches. I gave my inaugural speech quite some time ago. When I came out of high school, do you know what? I grabbed a chainsaw, shoved it on my shoulder and went into the bush, and I did some forestry work for about four or five years. That's what I did. I came out of the forestry sector and got into sawmilling.

After I was finished with my sawmilling days, that's what opened the doors for me to labour organization. I stepped in wholeheartedly in labour and got the training that I needed. Actually, the tools that we're using here today are the same basic tools that I used as a labour representative. As a labour representative, you use tools as far as preparing arguments, looking at a collective agreement, negotiating, standing up for individuals who are hurt and on WSIB—now, there's a big one.

I heard you, Speaker, and I'm glad you agreed with me that we didn't see that in the throne speech and we have not heard those four letters come out of this government yet: WSIB. There are a lot of people hurting in this province. I didn't hear it in your throne speech; I didn't see it in any of your bullet points. We're going to be talking a lot about people and WSIB. They have been left behind for far too long. They've been hurting for a long time. If you want to help somebody, there are a lot of people hurting in this province. Injured workers have been suffering for a very long time. So standing up for those rights, as well, is part of my background. That's what really prepared me for getting into this role.

What has changed, essentially, is that I'm not dealing with companies and supervisors and so on; I'm dealing with MPPs, bureaucracies, legislation and so on. It's the same basic tools, and I've learned from grassroots members in regard to how to perform my job and what I do here, again respecting the views of each and every individual who is in my riding or was within my bargaining unit. Whether you liked what we were negotiating at the table or not, you still heard those views, and it was democratically represented when you made the decisions that were there. It was democratically done, not with a hammer.

There are other things that 60% of Ontarians have been asking for. "What are you going to do about my hydro bill?" I hear it, and I've heard it from a variety of individuals in regard to how we're going to tackle the hydro issue. The 12% that this government is offering: That's relief? Really? That's the best you can do?

The message you're sending—for the previous year, I was the critic for northern development and mines, and I was also the critic for Indigenous relations and reconciliation, so when I hear the new members across the way heckle that I'm anti-mining, my goodness. That's like saying that I'm anti-northern Ontario. I'm as northern Ontario as they come. I'm a small-town northern Ontario forestry guy going into the bush, trapping with my kids, hunting, four-wheeler, mud-playing. It's hard for me to swallow some of the heckling that comes across the way.

Again, I'm asking the members to rise up. Rise up beyond that. Let's look at each other and let's start dealing with some of the issues as far as what we need to work on. How are you going to be able to help me? How can I help you do your job, as well? It's building those relationships and building those bridges. But again, we've got to get through this huff and puff as far as coming back, you know, "Rah, rah, rah! We got 76 seats and you didn't, so we're in power." All right. At the end of the day, get rid of those taglines and let's start working for the benefit of all Ontarians.

I'm going to go back to Elliot Lake and Manitoulin Island. A lot of people are going to be asking me, "What are you going to do about wait times?" Now, the message that you've just delivered to them, with some of the funding that you're cutting, is very problematic and very concerning to them. There was the previous Liberal government, which indicated there was going to be a certain level of funding that was going to go toward mental health and some of the crises that we're having in our hospitals. Some \$330 million has been cut—gone, no longer there. We're going to have to come up with that somewhere. Is it going to be taken out of our services? What jobs are going to be lost? What services are going to be lost? Who is going to suffer from those decisions? What schools aren't going to get the repairs they're rightfully entitled to?

The member from Tecumseh—I hope I get enough time that I can get back to the point that he brought forward. I hope I can get back to raising one of the concerns I have, that I've approached the Minister of Educa-

tion about with regard to a problem that I'm having, where parents are voicing their concerns with regard to having their voices silenced by having their trustee from their local school board removed or excused from his participation at the board level. He still continues to have the ability to perform the tasks as a trustee; however, he has been removed.

If you want to get involved in fixing certain things, this is one of them. I've approached the minister and the minister has basically said, "Listen, I'm not getting involved. It's a board decision at this point in time," but I have had hundreds of complaints from parents who have tried to bring their issue forward, where their voices are not being heard.

I'm going to be putting in a petition, and I'll ask one of the pages to come up and grab the petition, please, and bring it down to the Clerks' table. I want the Clerks to review this petition as to its proper format to make sure I can introduce it later on in the House. Their democratic right and the right of the elected trustee who has been silenced and has been told, "No, you can't come to the board anymore"—the process that was followed is questionable.

Last week, many of the parents on Manitoulin Island gathered in one of the halls and questioned what exactly had happened. It is frightening and it is quite concerning for me, as the MPP, to find out a lot of the issues that were raised at that meeting by parents. We're going to have to challenge those issues. Those are some of the things that are being done.

We still have schools in my area that have lead in their water. We still have schools that are crumbling, that are being shut down. But in the meantime, parents are questioning how it is that the board approved a 32% wage increase to a director. How did that happen? How did an individual get \$60,000 when we have schools that are crumbling and we have lead in our schools? How is it that this board had the ability to find a million dollars in order to further a project within the community of Sudbury, a bubble soccer dome, where the then Minister of Energy made an announcement in Sudbury that instead of a private company having the ability to build this dome and wanting some assistance, the then Liberal member actually gave a million dollars of taxpayer money to the school board to build a soccer dome? In the meantime, there is still deterioration going on in those schools.

The trustee is sitting at home and his voice has been silenced. The frustration of parents is escalating and people are asking questions. The response that I get from the minister is, "I'm not getting involved. At this point in time, it's a board decision."

There have been some decisions where the Ombudsman has been involved and the Ombudsman has directed the board to follow their own policies. That's one issue.

I look forward to working with the minister and I hope she reconsiders looking into this matter, because there are a lot of upset parents on Manitoulin Island who believe that the dollars they're paying towards this board need to be held accountable.

1710

It brings me to one of the points that is contained within this bill: "To restore accountability and trust in government," and I get a no. I bring you a question of restoring accountability and trust, and you're telling me, "I'm not getting involved"? That's what I'm going back to my constituents with? That's what they should expect from this minister?

Listen, I want to go back to the point I said earlier and that I keep stressing: We need to rise up in this House in regard to how we're going to be addressing issues. We need to rise up and not always point the finger and say, "You, you, you." We need to look at the other three that are pointing towards me when we're making decisions, that when we're pointing that finger, there are three more options that are being pointed towards me. We need to rise up.

There's a lot of problems that we have across this province: cutting, eliminating the GreenON fund, the cap-and-trade. The dollars that you guys are taking out of this is costing jobs in my riding. It's putting people and businesses in very tough financial hardship, and you need to find a way to reverse that decision.

The time has gone by, Speaker, and I wish I had more, because I didn't even get to these. But again—

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Thank you.

I beg to inform the House that, pursuant to standing order 98(c), a change has been made to the order of precedence on the ballot list for private members' public business such that Ms. Karpoche assumes ballot item number 44 and Mr. Hatfield assumes ballot number 13.

Further debate?

Mr. Ross Romano: I rise to speak to the motion presently before the House. I do want to thank the member from Algoma-Manitoulin for his words—my neighbouring riding. Actually, more than just a neighbour; sort of surrounding my riding of Sault Ste. Marie.

I've listened for the last few days—weeks, really—since I've had the privilege of being part of this party and part of a government that is, indeed, for the people: the people of this province, from all sectors of this province, and the people of, yes, my riding of Sault Ste. Marie. It's an honour to serve those people. I've listened to the words used by the opposition since we formed government, and I find some of this very troubling. I heard a comment today about speaking out of both sides of your mouth, and I kind of chuckled when I heard that, because that's really what I've heard the opposition do since we got here. In one breath, for the last several weeks, while we've discussed certain legislation, primarily Bill 2 at the time, I heard that while this was something that we campaigned on specifically, there were complaints that these were bad things, for any number of different reasons, and likened to things like the Chicken Little argument: that the sky's going to fall if we do these things. They were campaigned on very specifically. These were areas that we outlined in our campaign. Now we come to this legislation today and the attack from the opposition is:

“You didn’t say it in the campaign; therefore we shouldn’t be doing this.”

If we recall—and I’m sure that we all dealt with this during the campaign period—we all ran as a party, obviously, on our platform. I know in my riding of Sault Ste. Marie the continual attack that I saw from the now official opposition party was that we didn’t have a platform. That really never sat well with me, because I always felt, long before I decided to get involved in politics, that as elections came and went, as a constituent I always felt very disenfranchised, disenfranchised with politics, because I’ve always heard these politicians making all of these different promises coming up to elections, promises that they never kept. I always felt, isn’t it more important to just know who the person is that I’m going to be hopefully voting for, know what their guiding principles are, know what it is that they are about? When we formed our platform, I was very encouraged and I thought, “This is perfect. This is exactly what I believe our province, and certainly my community, needs.” I think all the people of Ontario clearly agreed: What they wanted was a government that would make life more affordable for them and put more money in their pocket. Who can ever argue with that? From all parties, whether you’re with the NDP, the Liberals, the Green Party or the PC Party, who can disagree that people want life to be more affordable, that people want more money in their pockets? Shouldn’t that be a goal of every party, of every person in office? Of course it should be, so I was proud to stand up and say that as a party, we will make life more affordable for our constituents, that we will put more money in your pocket.

We looked at our hydro crisis. Nobody can deny that we have a hydro crisis in this province. Our hydro rates escalated in those 15 years under a Liberal government by 300%. Who can possibly deny that our constituents, the people we work for, the people we represent, need their hydro rates brought under control? Who can really deny what caused the mess with our hydro rates? The problem with our hydro rates came from the creation of energy that we don’t need, that we didn’t need. We never needed that energy and we continually produced energy we didn’t need, spilling water, hydro, good green energy we had because we didn’t need all this mass power we were creating.

Who wouldn’t want to reduce hydro rates for their constituents? That’s what we’re all fighting to do. That was a guiding principle, a guiding principle that was easy for us to stand by—easy for me to stand in front of my constituents, the people who I wanted to serve, and say, “This is what our government will do for you.”

Health care is another area of major concern. Hospital wait times are out of control. People are being treated in hallways. Through the 15 years of Liberal government, we did not see the health issue improve. In fact, we got further into a crisis. Again I ask you, all members from all parties, who wouldn’t want to see an improvement in health care?

It was easy to stand up and say, “These are things that we want to see prioritized. These are things that we want

to see improved for our constituents.” I was very proud to stand behind that principle because it is an important one. Certainly for all of us—I think very much for the members from Algoma–Manitoulin and all of our northern Ontario ridings, and for me in Sault Ste. Marie—there was a major issue looking at trying to create job growth, trying to see not simply maintaining the jobs we have, because for the last number of years, for decades in northern Ontario, we have seen people leave our ridings. We have seen our youth migrating out for jobs elsewhere. We have seen a reduction in our workforce.

Of course we want to see more jobs. Everybody does—not just in the north, but certainly as members for northern Ontario ridings, we want to see increased job growth. We want to bring jobs to our province. There is no shortage of complaints to make on how that was prioritized over the last 15 years when we saw over 300,000 jobs in manufacturing alone leave the province of Ontario. We, sadly, have become a province that is not competitive. That’s what we’ve turned into, and we need to improve that.

When I campaigned to be the MPP for Sault Ste. Marie, I was very proud of the guiding principles we had set, very proud of them. The last one, of course, is restoring trust and accountability in government. Numerous times our Premier, Premier Doug Ford, toured across this province saying he wanted to see a reduction in the size of government, not an increase in the size of it. He wanted to see us be more transparent. He wanted to see a government where when the people said, “Jump,” we say, “How high?” That’s what government should be all about. That’s what we are all about.

1720

When I hear complaints such as those heard today, it doesn’t make a lot of sense. They’re saying, “Well, you didn’t specifically say you were going to do this.” No, we were elected with a mandate by the people to fight for the people of this province, to work on our five principle areas, and that’s what we are doing.

I am very proud to see that we are taking those steps. While most governments would be sitting on the sidelines today, right now, enjoying their summer holidays, we’re here working for the people. We’re here making changes for the people, to reduce the size of government, to make life more affordable, to make your hydro rates more affordable. That’s what we’re doing.

So to hear complaints and to hear the other side reach out and say, “We’ve got to figure out ways to work together,” I agree wholeheartedly. We must find ways to work together. Listen to your own constituents; constituents you know want more accountability and trust in government, constituents you know want better health care services, constituents you know want to have more money in their pockets, constituents you know want more jobs in their communities and who want more affordable hydro rates. That is what we are all here for.

I’m very happy to be a part of a party and a part of a government that is actually working for the people, not

against them; that is actually making promises and keeping them, not forming 180-some-odd-page platforms that they have no ability to carry out, throwing money away that they don't have; that has these imaginary money trees in their backyard that they think we can just continually pluck from. We don't have them.

We need to be realistic. We need to be the adults in the room. I am really happy that we are those adults in the room. I'm really happy to see that we are keeping the promises we made.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: It is my pleasure to rise on behalf of my constituents in Windsor West to talk about this motion before me. I'm going to read the motion in case anybody is just tuning in now or they want to go back. My constituents are likely very interested in what I say, so I will read the motion.

It says: "That, in the opinion of this House, the current government is a government for the people with a clear mandate to pursue policies that put more money in people's pockets; create and protect jobs; address the hydro crisis; reduce hospital wait times; and restore accountability and trust in government."

If you listen to what the member from Sault Ste. Marie just said—and I suspect other members from the government side, the Conservative side, have said the same thing—they talk about how they have been given a mandate to go out and do these things. So I ask this: If you believe you were given a mandate to go out and do these things, if you believe in less government—

Interjections.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: I mean, if you believe in democracy, why do you need a motion—if you believe you were elected and given a mandate to do these things, why are we debating a motion on these things, when we could be talking about so many other things?

We could be debating other things. But instead, they are taking up time in the Legislature to basically talk about themselves and how wonderful they are.

Applause.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: I'm not sure that's something the government side should have applauded. I'm sure there is a name for that kind of thing and I'm also certain that if I was to use that word, I would be told to withdraw, so I won't.

Mr. Bill Walker: Try it.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: "Arrogance" comes to mind.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Stop the clock. A reminder, again, to all members that this is a parliamentary debate and while I appreciate the collegiality and enthusiasm and encouragement, I am sure that the member from Windsor West can do just fine without all of the encouragement. Thank you.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: Thank you, Madam Speaker.

So, again, I ask, why do we need this motion? Why are we debating—legislative time—a motion the government believes they were already given a mandate to do?

We could have spent time hearing from the people of Toronto—there's a novel idea—before they slashed council nearly in half. We actually could have had a fulsome debate on that. It could have gone to committee. We could have had consultation. But instead, we have a motion before us discussing a mandate that they believe they were already given. Why do we need to debate it, why do we need to vote on it, if they believe that was their mandate?

The other thing we could be talking about is the fact that the Conservatives, during the election, talked about minimum wage and how they were not going to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, that it was absolutely not going to happen. Now-Premier Ford had explicitly said during the campaign promise that he would roll back the increase coming next year. There were years of work from workers and labour activists that made that movement happen, that made the increase from \$14 an hour to \$15 an hour happen, and yet we have Conservatives who promised that they would stop that from happening.

It's interesting, because they talk about putting more money in people's pockets, and yet minimum wage earners have more money in their pockets with a higher minimum wage than they do or will have with the tax cuts that the Conservatives have promised. If you really want people to have more money in their pockets, raise minimum wage like it was supposed to be.

Now, we know, based on history and the Conservative government before this one, that they don't want people to have more money in their pockets, not average working people—only their friends and their well-connected insiders. There is a saying that the proof is in the pudding. The proof of that was that the last Conservative government not once raised minimum wage. What was it? I believe it was \$6.85 an hour. Not once did they raise it.

During that exact same Conservative government, they slashed social assistance. People living on social assistance had their funds cut. Not once during the throne speech did they talk about people living on social assistance. In fact, it's pretty clear that those are not the people this Conservative government is for. Again, the proof is in the pudding. By cancelling cap-and-trade, \$7 million in Windsor alone has been clawed back that was going to go into social housing. Low-income earners: It's not those people that they're for. They are not looking to put money in those people's pockets. So I'm asking, who, then? Who are these people that you're for? Because it certainly isn't those people.

Is it for people who are struggling to get their prescription medication when they need it, people who need dental care? Is it those people? Nope, it's not those people either. It's not for people who are struggling to get by. It's for their own friends and their insiders. They have their own agenda, and clearly, by what they just did earlier today, cutting city council seats here in Toronto in nearly half, what they are trying to do is take care of their own people.

Madam Speaker, we all know that when people are healthier, when they have access to dental care, when

they have access to the prescription medications that they need, when they have more money, they are more productive and they contribute to the economy. But instead of recognizing that and investing in those people, this government has not talked about them once. Not once. In fact, what they have done is they have dragged us all backwards and made it harder for those people.

This government had promised during the election to cut \$6.1 billion. Where is it coming from? Where is that going to come from? Interestingly enough, that's pretty darn close to how much the social housing needs are in Windsor. You've actually clawed back more than that from Windsor, but it's pretty darned close to what we need in Windsor to address our social housing needs.

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We also have cycling infrastructure that is affected by this Conservative government. In a little less than the two months that they have been in government, we have already seen \$7 million in social housing evaporate in Windsor alone. We've seen \$1.6 million for cycling infrastructure in Windsor, again, evaporate. This is not a government for those people. It's certainly not a government for the people in Windsor, and I think that was made pretty clear when Windsor once again elected all New Democrats with an incredibly strong mandate.

There are 700 people using a food bank every day—every day—in Windsor. This government not once mentioned helping anybody who needs to access a food bank—not once.

They're not helping anybody by cancelling the programs like cap-and-trade that our municipalities rely on to provide cycling infrastructure, to provide for repairs and upkeep and potentially to build new social housing.

They not once mentioned our manufacturing or automotive sectors—not once. No talk about an auto strategy—well, actually, Madam Speaker, I need to correct my record. They did mention, in a roundabout way, our auto and manufacturing sector when they said that they were going to cut the Jobs and Prosperity Fund, a fund that actually invested in that sector. Madam Speaker, I know that you have a GM plant in your riding as well; there are lots of members in this House who have auto. We are considered the automotive capital, in Windsor; we can still say that even though we lost GM.

By cancelling the Jobs and Prosperity Fund—they call it a slush fund, by the way; I want to point that out. They call it a slush fund. It's a fund that goes into investing in research and development, into R&D; a fund that goes into training; a fund that goes into keeping our auto and our other manufacturing here in the province. I realize that the government side probably isn't aware of this. They have little interest in Windsor generally because we don't vote Conservative down that way. But I want them to know that thousands of people rely on our auto and manufacturing sector in Windsor alone, and that's just Windsor—tens of thousands of people. Expand that across the province. They want to cut a fund that actually helps?

In fact, the Conservatives have a history of attacking the auto sector. They want to see the auto sector die.

They didn't want to see investment. They called it "corporate welfare."

Interjections.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: I want to make a point. You may think it's terrible, but it's the truth. It's your record. Your caucus and your member said it.

Mr. Randy Pettapiece: Whatever.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: It's not "whatever" to the tens of thousands of people who rely on the auto sector.

They call it "corporate welfare"—

Hon. Jeff Yurek: Speak the truth.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: I am speaking the truth, although the government doesn't like to hear the truth.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I think that was the member from Perth—Wellington. He needs to withdraw.

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Or it may have been the Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry.

If there is a member who would like to withdraw, to clear their name, potentially—I would like to recognize the Minister of Natural Resources.

Hon. Jeff Yurek: I'll withdraw.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Thank you.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: It was all John Yakabuski's fault.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): The member from Timmins will come to order.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: Thank you, Madam Speaker. The Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry may not like hearing what I'm saying, but it was his team that had said it.

Anyway, there was no mention of an auto strategy. They think the Jobs and Prosperity Fund is a slush fund. They believe that any investment into our auto or manufacturing sector is corporate welfare. They don't believe in these companies, many of whom received funding that they actually paid back, and then some.

All we have to do is to look at what they've recently done with the educators at York University. They mandated them back to work. They legislated them back to work, stripped them of their right to strike and mandated them back to work. We know that's what Conservatives do—they don't believe in unions and they don't believe in collective bargaining; we understand that—but what they haven't done is that they haven't looked at why those people were out on strike in the first place.

They didn't talk about the fact that many of those people are part-time, precariously or unstably employed people, and that many of them are struggling to get by, much like those who work in our college sector. They're struggling to get by themselves, and this government hasn't talked about it. It was just, "Shame on them for being out on strike and trying to make a better life for themselves"—and for the students, because some of those students are going to graduate, and guess what? They're going to want to go work at a university

themselves, and they're going to be in the same position as those who are trying to teach them and lead them now. The Conservatives aren't addressing that. They're not about creating full-time, stable jobs for the faculty within our post-secondary institutions. What they're about is stripping them of their rights to free and collective bargaining. That's what they're about. They're not for those people.

Then we have to look at the GreenON contracts. The government is ripping up those contracts. That means revenue and job losses for contractors. Some spent a great deal of money training employees, and they've lost that money now. If you want to talk about being responsible with money, it doesn't mean you just walk in and say, "I don't like this program. I'm ripping up a contract," without thinking about what the repercussions are for that, because that is money that employers have spent training their employees or that employees may have gone and spent on their own.

The penalties and the fees for ripping up contracts is money that this Conservative government is going to pass on to the people of the province. The people they say they're for are who are going to pay for what this Conservative government is doing. It's not those people that they're for, not the ones who are going to pick up the tab for a rash decision that they've made.

Then we talk about hydro and the hydro crisis, Madam Speaker. This one is a really tough one to swallow, because it was the last Conservative government that started the privatization of hydro in the first place. In 2014, in that election, they ran on a platform of privatizing hydro, so how can they sit here now and pretend to be supportive of the people of this province? "We want to consult, except for the people of Toronto." We don't want to consult the people of Toronto when it comes to slashing their local representation; we wouldn't want to do that. We just want to consult the far-right-wing extremists within the Conservative team when it comes to the health and physical education curriculum. Those are the people we're going to consult.

They want people to believe that they are actually supportive of lowering hydro costs, that they have a plan to do so, but the fact of the matter is that it was the Conservatives that started the privatization of hydro. Did the Liberals pick up the ball and run with it? Absolutely, they did, but they were following the lead of the Conservatives. In fact, the last Conservative government was taken to court and challenged by CUPE, the same union that challenged the Liberals when it came to privatizing hydro. The only reason they had backed down—

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Public outrage.

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Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: Public outrage. They actually listened to the people of this province.

Mr. Percy Hatfield: Those were the days.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: Those were the good old days.

They talk about reducing wait times in hospitals, but how?

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I would again remind all members that there is a debate going on and it's not just an opportunity to make noise. Thank you.

You may continue.

Mrs. Lisa Gretzky: I'm going to have to skip ahead because I'm almost out of time. But I want to ask this government: What do accountability and trust even mean to them? Because just today, we voted on a bill to interfere in municipal elections in the middle of an election, with no consultation. I just want to point out—because, to me, this is a really important point to make and I know I'm going to run out of time—that we have a Premier who is now saying that it was okay for him to meddle in municipal elections, it's okay for him to do that, that the people of this province gave him a mandate to reduce government, that the people were telling him they don't want any more politicians.

All you have to do is look at the Ford family. The Premier's father was a politician. His brother was a politician. His nephew is a politician. He, himself, whether he likes to admit it or not, is a politician. What this province needs less of are Ford politicians. That's what we need less of. If the Premier wants to have smaller governments, maybe he should look at his own. Maybe he needs to look within his own, because this is not a government that is for all of the people. It's a government that's for a select few who have the same ideals as they do, who have the deep pockets to make it happen and the backrooms to make the deals in.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Bill Walker: Thank you very much, Madam Speaker. I'd like to start off by commending you for sitting in the chair. I know you're going to do a fine job and you're going to allow us to have vigorous debate in here at all times. I'm going to try to add to that today.

It's truly my pleasure to be able to speak to the member from Windsor West. My struggle is that I've only got about 15 minutes, and I've got about 40 minutes' worth of information to get out, but I'm going to do my best.

What I'm going to start off with: She couldn't really understand why we were debating this motion. I just want to point out to her and her colleagues that if we didn't have reasoned amendments that keep coming through on their behalf, we could have been debating things two days ago that they wanted to debate. So at some point you have to be able to be honest with all of the people and say, "We're part of the issue here. We're putting reasoned amendments, which are delaying, so this other debate is now being held today to be able to do that."

She talked a fair bit about mandate in her early comments, about how this isn't the mandate for the people. I'm not going to stand here and try to sound preachy, Madam Speaker. I'm going to go through you to her. But I want her to understand that in this democracy, 76 seats—whether she likes it or doesn't like it; whether

anybody likes it or doesn't like it—form a majority government in the province of Ontario. That's democracy.

People obviously said, "Well, we can choose from the PC plan, we can choose from the NDP platform, the Liberal platform or the Green"—and in my case I had five or six others as well, but we'll stick to those. They had a \$7-billion gap in the NDP platform, Madam Speaker, which I know you're aware of. At the end of the day, I'm not certain people, obviously, chose us because of just that one gap.

They talked about wanting to close Pickering nuclear, and 7,000 jobs could have been at stake. They, I think, probably went back—and I want to talk about my good friend from Windsor—Tecumseh, because I think he just made a comment about, "Those were the days." I think he was referring to the Rae days, perhaps. I know people in my riding talked about those Rae days that they certainly haven't forgotten. They could not even come to grips with thinking we would go through that type of a nightmare after 15 years of the Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne reign of terror. We just could not fathom that.

I want to remind the member again that her party, when she was here—and I would forgive those who are new members who haven't been part of this—they actually propped up the Liberals for two budgets to allow a lot of things like the Green Energy Act to continue. They allowed things like the horse racing industry to be decimated. Now, they didn't vote for that one; they sat on their hands on that one. But it's the same thing, Madam Speaker. So it's interesting to hear what she was talking about on some of those points, but she didn't provide both sides of that debate.

They continued in their platform to have things in there about the cap-and-trade—and I believe one of their members wanted the highest rates in the world, Madam Speaker. Most people are saying to me in my riding of Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound, as I trust most of our collective ridings are, "We want lower prices. We want lower taxes. It's so hard to live in Ontario these days under the Liberal government." Why would we want to go with even higher rates? The highest in the world, I believe that member—and I won't name them; I think they know who they are. At the end of the day, I want to just make sure that we're talking about both sides of this debate, making sure we're bringing all of the people into it.

In this motion, we're talking about things that she says are not really that important, but I would suggest to you that as critic for long-term care for two and a half years, I travelled the province and I heard every single area of the province saying, "I'm very concerned about hallway health care. I'm extremely concerned that there are not enough beds for seniors, for my loved ones to have a long-term-care bed." So our government committed in our plan, when we went to the vote, to 15,000 beds over the first five years and 30,000 beds over 10 years, Madam Speaker.

At the end of the day, I think that's a very important thing to be talking about. I believe the people of Ontario definitely want us to be talking about that and debating

that and ensuring, in fact, that we move on and we take action to do that.

We talk in this motion about accountability and trust. I want to talk about my colleague from Bay of Quinte, the House leader and the Minister of Consumer Services. Madam Speaker, he campaigned in three different elections on: "If you support me, if you bring me back to Queen's Park, I will fight to get rid of the White Pines project in my riding," which the people did not—they were an unwilling host, and the Liberals tried to ram it through. The opposition today—

Hon. John Yakabuski: And they were enabled by the NDP.

Mr. Bill Walker: Enabled by the NDP; you are correct. Even today, they're talking about contracts. By supporting the Liberals—we could have cancelled a number of contracts without any penalty, without one cent to the taxpayers, but they did enable and they did support that.

So I am very proud to stand here to say, about accountability and trust, what that member and all of our members stand behind when we stand in this House and say we're going to do something: Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: So there's another one, Madam Speaker.

The Green Energy Act, as we say, was going to cost 133 billion more dollars. We've said that since the day I got here in 2011, that this is not a good piece of legislation. It's not about the environment. It's really about big business. They had already had cash-for-access dinners. They took accountability away and actually democracy away from the local representatives. We said that we would get rid of that, that we would put a moratorium—

Hon. John Yakabuski: Who was propping them up through all this?

Mr. Bill Walker: Well, the NDP, I think, if someone is asking that question to me in the House. I think the NDP were propping them up. Enabling them, I think, might be the other word.

At the end of the day, we said that we would get rid of the Green Energy Act and we would put a moratorium on any wind turbines. Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: Madam Speaker, the Premier campaigned on a promise to get rid of the CEO and the board of Hydro One. People said that it couldn't be done. I believe many members of the opposition said that this will never—

Hon. John Yakabuski: Zero severance.

Mr. Bill Walker: It was zero severance; you are correct. The Minister of Transportation is bang on when he says that: zero severance. They're going to try to spin that it's X, Y, Z—

Interjection.

Mr. Bill Walker: Those were all negotiated by a Liberal government that, again, the NDP propped up and enabled.

At the end of the day, Madam Speaker, I want to share with the House—

Hon. John Yakabuski: Is the CEO gone?

Mr. Bill Walker: The CEO is gone. Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: The board: Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: So there's all kinds of these things that we're still talking about.

We want to ensure that the people out there, who were talking about more money in their pockets—she said that there is not more money in people's pockets. She's making that assumption, that there's not more money. But I believe that if we reduce that 10 cents per litre on gas, that's going to put a lot more money back.

I know a colleague here from Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke, now the Honourable Minister of Transportation, at least seven times in this House brought up a private member's bill to actually share the gas tax across every municipality in Ontario. That was defeated all seven times, I believe, with the Liberals and—I'm not certain for sure, and he might be able to correct me if I'm wrong, whether the NDP supported or enabled that legislation or didn't support us. But at the end of the day, that could have put a lot more money—because who spends more money on gasoline than the people in rural Ontario, who have to drive to get everywhere?

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Hon. John Yakabuski: Now we're going to put it right in their pockets.

Mr. Bill Walker: We're going to put it directly into their pockets and give them the choice of where they want to spend their money, which will then start the economy all over again and ramp it up.

The Premier campaigned and we campaigned, as the PC team, on less money through gas, less money at the pumps. Promise made—

Hon. John Yakabuski: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: It's going to be kept, absolutely.

Madam Speaker, I want to change gears for a second, because I know that if I don't I'm going to get ramped up here and I'm going to forget.

My good colleague from Algoma-Manitoulin, in his little bit of time that he shared with us today, talked about decorum. He wanted us to rise up and work together. He shared a couple of examples—one with me, working on the Chi-Cheemaun. It stops in the great riding of Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound, at the tip of the Bruce Peninsula, Tobermory, where the Chi-Cheemaun takes off and goes across to South Baymouth and, of course, returns and brings people from great northern Ontario.

Our minister is doing a great job to put time, money, energy and resources back into northern Ontario. I know that the member from Timiskaming-Cochrane is going to be very supportive of that, because he's on our side all the way, I believe, with Timiskaming-Cochrane in northern Ontario. So I'm excited to see that we can work with him like we are with the member from Algoma-Manitoulin.

He shared that we worked together on a project, and it was all about dockage. It was all about the ferry being able to come in and dock, which has a huge impact on northern Ontario's economy—it certainly has a huge impact in my riding; frankly, it's the economy of all of Ontario—because people are coming through, it's vacation time, it's getting goods and services. A lot of agricultural resources are transferred back and forth on that ferry. We worked very hard together, and we can work together. I think his whole message was, "How do we work together? How do we rise up?"

I just want to share that, because there are a number of colleagues across the aisle—and I'm only going to name a couple, because I'll probably forget a couple. My friends from Windsor-Tecumseh, Timiskaming-Cochrane, Nickel Belt, London-Fanshawe and the member from Oshawa—we get along very well, and I think we can all work together.

We can raise the decorum and ensure that we're doing the right things for all Ontarians when we're here in the House if we just drop some of that political banter. I'd just like, for once, particularly, for the member for Windsor West to say, "I agree with what you're doing. I agree that 15,000 more long-term-care beds is a great thing. I'm proud to debate it with you, and frankly, I'm going to support it." I'd like her to enable our government to actually do it the way she enabled the last Liberal government to do a lot of things.

The Premier said that we would open up—

Interjections.

Mr. Bill Walker: Join me and work together.

I'm a big nuclear guy. Obviously, Bruce Power is next door to me in the riding. I worked in a nuclear plant. I hope that they'll be able to sit down with their leader, who seems to be a little angry at times and very challenging with what we're doing—I hope they'll revisit the whole Pickering shutdown, because that's 7,000 direct jobs. There are tons of indirect jobs. I can tell you that at Bruce Power they're going to refurb the remaining six units. I was there working on the unit 1 refurb. Unit 2, of course, has been done. The ripple effect—the indirect and direct jobs that will produce and the clean, green, low-cost energy that's 24/7, not intermittent Green Energy Act power. And what do we do when we don't have enough wind or solar? We actually fire up a gas plant. That's not the most environmentally sound thing that we want to be doing out there. So I'm hopeful that they'll revisit that, because there's a huge opportunity to create a lot of really good-paying jobs—like the auto industry in your riding, Madam Speaker. There's a lot of ripple effect if we make sure that we create the conditions. The highest energy rates in North America have certainly not helped us to maintain that industry and our advantage in that industry.

Again, I say to the member, respectfully, some of your members campaigned on wanting to have even higher rates. I heard all the time from businesses, "I'm not going to expand in Ontario. In fact, I'm probably going to leave Ontario." It's shameful for all of us to even hear those words.

Hon. John Yakubuski: Don't leave.

Mr. Bill Walker: We don't want them to leave. We want to make sure that we actually have jobs for our children in the next generation, because let's not forget that \$330 billion has been put on the bank card of all Ontarians, particularly young Ontarians, by that Liberal government that was propped up, enabled, by an NDP government.

We need to start doing things to get our economy rolling, I know that our Premier, being a business person, is looking through a filter, saying, "How do we make Ontario open for business again? How do we say to the world, 'Come to Ontario'?" He has already toured a number of states, he has worked with a number of governors, even with the free trade initiatives that are going on, to ensure that Ontario is at the table making a difference.

Minister Wilson went down to Washington just a week or so ago because his—

Hon. John Yakubuski: Mr. Wilson goes to Washington.

Mr. Bill Walker: Mr. Wilson goes to Washington, yes, and a great job he did when he went to Washington.

His whole mandate was to protect, maintain and actually create an environment in Ontario with lower energy rates to ensure that we are creating jobs so that the next generation has hope and the willingness to stay in Ontario and not move to the other provinces—because they are moving forward, in many cases, without us because of the damage done by 15 years of Liberal reign.

Madam Speaker, we have to—and I hope the member from Windsor West and all of her colleagues will support this. How could you not support a government for the people? Most of us should have a plate on our desk that reminds us every day: "For the People."

Hon. John Yakubuski: I have one.

Mr. Bill Walker: You have one?

Hon. John Yakubuski: I have one.

Mr. Bill Walker: Does anyone else have one?

Interjection: I've got one.

Mr. Bill Walker: We would make them available for you if you would put them on your desks. I'm sure the Premier would send one across to each of you tomorrow if you would like that and know that you're going to support us on "For the People": more jobs, 15,000 beds for long-term care, a clear mandate to pursue policies that put more money in people's pockets. Lower hydro rates, more money in people's pockets. Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: Ten cents off your gas. Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: Lower energy rates. CEO gone—\$4.5 million. Just remember this: Under the Liberal regime, we paid the CEO of Hydro One \$4.5 million, compared to—

Hon. John Yakubuski: Over six. He got the little raise over six.

Mr. Bill Walker: Up over \$6 million with the little bonus, yes. Quebec and BC Hydro, their equivalent CEOs were at \$450,000. That's 10 times more. I'm not certain how anybody, even an NDP member, could support 10 times more.

Now, maybe if it was the dairy industry, I know one guy who might support that, but I still think he would come back because he's very good at math. We're still kind of wondering why he's on that side and not over here. We're really glad—

Mr. John Vanthof: As long as you don't go over nine and a half.

Mr. Bill Walker: We'll stay at nine and a half just for you, the member for Timiskaming–Cochrane. You bring sound balance to that side of the House. We're worried that if you weren't there—although, Mr. Mantha, you're probably a close second, and, sorry, Mr. Hatfield: Windsor–Tecumseh and Algoma–Manitoulin. You probably can count, but not quite as good as the nine-and-a-half-digit guy.

Madam Speaker, I'm trying to stay very much on topic here.

We want to create and protect jobs. As I said, Minister Wilson goes to Washington with a full mandate to ensure that we're negotiating face to face. The premier business person is there face to face and is making inroads already. He has been to the Premiers' round table and, again, is already forging relationships there to say, "How can we do more trade across our provinces?"

It's hard to fathom that, for 15 years, the Liberal government, with all the opportunity that we had—they had more money; they had the highest revenues. I think the Minister of Northern Development and Mines said today that it's never been a revenue problem; it has been a spending problem. At the end of the day, even across all of our provinces, why can't we open the borders? Why can't we ensure that all that money is staying?

That leads me back, again, to cap-and-trade, which they continue to support and want to bring back. Even though we campaigned and we won 76 seats saying we were going to get rid of the cap-and-trade, they want to bring that back.

I can't fathom that whole idea, that you would actually support—and I know the Green member, as well. I challenge him every day in here that he supports that type of thing, where they want to actually allow people to pay to pollute. There was nothing in that cap-and-trade that actually made them lower emissions. All they could do was get out a chequebook and say, "Yeah, here it is."

Most of that money, frankly, was leaving Ontario. It wasn't going to help jobs; it wasn't going to help people on lower incomes here. It was going to go to California for the most part, and over the years it would be billions and billions of dollars going to support their economy, support their health care, support their schools, not here in Ontario.

So I can't believe that the NDP and/or the Green and/or the individual members who were elected as a seven-person group of individuals would support cap-and-trade again. That's an over-and-done—the Premier

said in our election campaign, "If I get in, cap-and-trade will be gone." Promise made—

Interjections: —promise kept.

Mr. Bill Walker: Madam Speaker, I'm trying to wind up here.

Hydro crisis: When the word "crisis" is used, when the word "crisis" is in the title of anything, you know that somebody is very distraught and very concerned at the state of affairs that we find ourselves in. I can tell you that when I was out on the campaign trail, and for four and a half years before that, hydro became and continued to be the biggest issue I heard from people, whether it was people on fixed income, low income or the less fortunate, who are doubly hit by those type of things, because how do they choose? We kept hearing, "I don't know whether I can afford to heat or to eat." Madam Speaker, that's deplorable in the great province of Ontario.

Interjection: Thirty seconds.

Mr. Bill Walker: Thirty seconds? I thought I had three minutes.

Accountability and trust is the other thing. We have to ensure that there is always trust, that when you stand up and make a promise, you know that you are able to carry that through. In just two and a half weeks, our Premier and our party have already brought home a number of things.

I am just finally going to summarize in my last two seconds to say that this government is here for the people. Promise made, promise kept.

Debate deemed adjourned.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): It being 6 o'clock, this House stands adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 1800.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor / Lieutenante-gouverneure: Hon. / L'hon. Elizabeth Dowdeswell, OC, OOnt.

Speaker / Président: Hon. / L'hon. Ted Arnott

Clerk / Greffier: Todd Decker

Deputy Clerk / Sous-greffier: Trevor Day

Clerks-at-the-Table / Greffiers parlementaires: Tonia Grannum, Valerie Quioc Lim, William Short

Sergeant-at-Arms / Sergente d'armes: Jacquelyn Gordon

Member and Party / Député(e) et parti	Constituency / Circonscription	Other responsibilities / Autres responsabilités
Anand, Deepak (PC)	Mississauga—Malton	
Andrew, Jill (NDP)	Toronto—St. Paul's	
Armstrong, Teresa J. (NDP)	London—Fanshawe	
Arnott, Hon. / L'hon. Ted (PC)	Wellington—Halton Hills	Speaker / Président de l'Assemblée législative
Arthur, Ian (NDP)	Kingston and the Islands / Kingston et les Îles	
Baber, Roman (PC)	York Centre / York-Centre	
Babikian, Aris (PC)	Scarborough—Agincourt	
Bailey, Robert (PC)	Sarnia—Lambton	
Barrett, Toby (PC)	Haldimand—Norfolk	
Begum, Doly (NDP)	Scarborough Southwest / Scarborough-Sud-Ouest	
Bell, Jessica (NDP)	University—Rosedale	
Berns-McGown, Rima (NDP)	Beaches—East York / Beaches—East York	
Bethlenfalvy, Hon. / L'hon. Peter (PC)	Pickering—Uxbridge	President of the Treasury Board / Président du Conseil du Trésor
Bisson, Gilles (NDP)	Timmins	
Bouma, Will (PC)	Brantford—Brant	
Bourgouin, Guy (NDP)	Mushkegowuk—James Bay / Mushkegowuk—Baie James	
Burch, Jeff (NDP)	Niagara Centre / Niagara-Centre	
Calandra, Paul (PC)	Markham—Stouffville	
Cho, Hon. / L'hon. Raymond Sung Joon (PC)	Scarborough North / Scarborough-Nord	Minister for Seniors and Accessibility / Ministre des Services aux aînés et de l'Accessibilité
Cho, Stan (PC)	Willowdale	
Clark, Hon. / L'hon. Steve (PC)	Leeds—Grenville—Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes / Leeds—Grenville—Thousand Islands et Rideau Lakes	Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing / Ministre des Affaires municipales et du Logement
Coe, Lorne (PC)	Whitby	
Coteau, Michael (LIB)	Don Valley East / Don Valley-Est	
Crawford, Stephen (PC)	Oakville	
Cuzzetto, Rudy (PC)	Mississauga—Lakeshore	
Des Rosiers, Nathalie (LIB)	Ottawa—Vanier	
Downey, Doug (PC)	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte	
Dunlop, Jill (PC)	Simcoe North / Simcoe-Nord	
Elliott, Hon. / L'hon. Christine (PC)	Newmarket—Aurora	Deputy Premier / Vice-première ministre Minister of Health and Long-Term Care / Ministre de la Santé et des Soins de longue durée
Fedeli, Hon. / L'hon. Victor (PC)	Nipissing	Chair of Cabinet / Président du Conseil des ministres Minister of Finance / Ministre des Finances
Fee, Amy (PC)	Kitchener South—Hespeler / Kitchener-Sud—Hespeler	
Fife, Catherine (NDP)	Waterloo	
Ford, Hon. / L'hon. Doug (PC)	Etobicoke North / Etobicoke-Nord	Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs / Ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales Premier / Premier ministre
Fraser, John (LIB)	Ottawa South / Ottawa-Sud	
French, Jennifer K. (NDP)	Oshawa	Third Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Troisième vice-présidente du comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Member and Party / Député(e) et parti	Constituency / Circonscription	Other responsibilities / Autres responsabilités
Fullerton, Hon. / L'hon. Merrilee (PC)	Kanata—Carleton	Minister of Training, Colleges and Universities / Ministre de la Formation et des Collèges et Universités
Gates, Wayne (NDP)	Niagara Falls	
Gélinas, France (NDP)	Nickel Belt	
Ghamari, Goldie (PC)	Carleton	
Gill, Parm (PC)	Milton	
Glover, Chris (NDP)	Spadina—Fort York	
Gravelle, Michael (LIB)	Thunder Bay—Superior North / Thunder Bay—Supérieur-Nord	
Gretzky, Lisa (NDP)	Windsor West / Windsor-Ouest	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Première vice-présidente du comité plénier de l'Assemblée
Hardeman, Hon. / L'hon. Ernie (PC)	Oxford	Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs / Ministre de l'Agriculture, de l'Alimentation et des Affaires rurales
Harden, Joel (NDP)	Ottawa Centre / Ottawa-Centre	
Harris, Mike (PC)	Kitchener—Conestoga	
Hassan, Faisal (NDP)	York South—Weston / York-Sud— Weston	
Hatfield, Percy (NDP)	Windsor—Tecumseh	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Deuxième vice-président du comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Hillier, Randy (PC)	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston	
Hogarth, Christine (PC)	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	
Horwath, Andrea (NDP)	Hamilton Centre / Hamilton-Centre	Leader, Official Opposition / Chef de l'opposition officielle
Hunter, Mitzie (LIB)	Scarborough—Guildwood	
Jones, Hon. / L'hon. Sylvia (PC)	Dufferin—Caledon	Minister of Tourism, Culture and Sport / Ministre du Tourisme, de la Culture et du Sport
Kanapathi, Logan (PC)	Markham—Thornhill	
Karahalios, Belinda (PC)	Cambridge	
Karpoche, Bhutla (NDP)	Parkdale—High Park	
Ke, Vincent (PC)	Don Valley North / Don Valley-Nord	
Kernaghan, Terence (NDP)	London North Centre / London- Centre-Nord	
Khanjin, Andrea (PC)	Barrie—Innisfil	
Kramp, Daryl (PC)	Hastings—Lennox and Addington	
Kusendova, Natalia (PC)	Mississauga Centre / Mississauga- Centre	
Lalonde, Marie-France (LIB)	Orléans	
Lecce, Stephen (PC)	King—Vaughan	Deputy Government House Leader / Leader parlementaire adjoint du gouvernement
Lindo, Laura Mae (NDP)	Kitchener Centre / Kitchener-Centre	
MacLeod, Hon. / L'hon. Lisa (PC)	Nepean	Minister of Children, Community and Social Services / Ministre des Services à l'enfance et des Services sociaux et communautaires Minister Responsible for Women's Issues / Ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
Mamakwa, Sol (NDP)	Kiiwetinoong	
Mantha, Michael (NDP)	Algoma—Manitoulin	
Martin, Robin (PC)	Eglinton—Lawrence	
Martow, Gila (PC)	Thornhill	
McDonell, Jim (PC)	Stomont—Dundas—South Glengarry	
McKenna, Jane (PC)	Burlington	
McNaughton, Hon. / L'hon. Monte (PC)	Lambton—Kent—Middlesex	Minister of Infrastructure / Ministre de l'Infrastructure
Miller, Norman (PC)	Parry Sound—Muskoka	
Miller, Paul (NDP)	Hamilton East—Stoney Creek / Hamilton-Est—Stoney Creek	
Mitas, Christina (PC)	Scarborough Centre / Scarborough- Centre	
Monteith-Farrell, Judith (NDP)	Thunder Bay—Atikokan	
Morrison, Suze (NDP)	Toronto Centre / Toronto-Centre	
Mulroney, Hon. / L'hon. Caroline (PC)	York—Simcoe	Attorney General / Procureure générale Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs / Ministre déléguée aux Affaires francophones
Natyshak, Taras (NDP)	Essex	

Member and Party / Député(e) et parti	Constituency / Circonscription	Other responsibilities / Autres responsabilités
Nicholls, Rick (PC)	Chatham-Kent—Leamington	Chair of the Committee of the Whole House / Président du comité plénier de l'Assemblée Deputy Speaker / Vice-président
Oosterhoff, Sam (PC)	Niagara West / Niagara-Ouest	
Pang, Billy (PC)	Markham—Unionville	
Park, Lindsey (PC)	Durham	
Parsa, Michael (PC)	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	
Pettapiece, Randy (PC)	Perth—Wellington	
Phillips, Hon. / L'hon. Rod (PC)	Ajax	Minister of the Environment, Conservation and Parks / Ministre de l'Environnement, de la Protection de la nature et des Parcs
Piccini, David (PC)	Northumberland—Peterborough South / Northumberland—Peterborough-Sud	
Rakocevic, Tom (NDP)	Humber River—Black Creek	
Rasheed, Kaled (PC)	Mississauga East—Cooksville / Mississauga-Est—Cooksville	
Rickford, Hon. / L'hon. Greg (PC)	Kenora—Rainy River	Minister of Energy, Northern Development and Mines / Ministre de l'Énergie, du Développement du Nord et des Mines Minister of Indigenous Affairs / Ministre des Affaires autochtones
Roberts, Jeremy (PC)	Ottawa West—Nepean / Ottawa-Ouest—Nepean	
Romano, Ross (PC)	Sault Ste. Marie	
Sabawy, Sheref (PC)	Mississauga—Erin Mills	
Sandhu, Amarjot (PC)	Brampton West / Brampton-Ouest	
Sarkaria, Prabmeet Singh (PC)	Brampton South / Brampton-Sud	
Sattler, Peggy (NDP)	London West / London-Ouest	
Schreiner, Mike (GRN)	Guelph	
Scott, Hon. / L'hon. Laurie (PC)	Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock	Minister of Labour / Ministre du Travail
Shaw, Sandy (NDP)	Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas / Hamilton-Ouest—Ancaster—Dundas	
Simard, Amanda (PC)	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	
Singh, Gurratan (NDP)	Brampton East / Brampton-Est	
Singh, Sara (NDP)	Brampton Centre / Brampton-Centre	
Skelly, Donna (PC)	Flamborough—Glanbrook	
Smith, Dave (PC)	Peterborough—Kawartha	
Smith, Hon. / L'hon. Todd (PC)	Bay of Quinte / Baie de Quinte	Minister of Government and Consumer Services Government House Leader / Leader parlementaire du gouvernement
Stevens, Jennifer (Jennie) (NDP)	St. Catharines	
Stiles, Marit (NDP)	Davenport	
Suma, Kinga (PC)	Etobicoke Centre / Etobicoke-Centre	
Tabuns, Peter (NDP)	Toronto—Danforth	
Tangri, Nina (PC)	Mississauga—Streetsville	
Taylor, Monique (NDP)	Hamilton Mountain	
Thanigasalam, Vijay (PC)	Scarborough—Rouge Park	
Thompson, Hon. / L'hon. Lisa M. (PC)	Huron—Bruce	Minister of Education / Ministre de l'Éducation
Tibollo, Hon. / L'hon. Michael A. (PC)	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Minister of Community Safety and Correctional Services / Ministre de la Sécurité communautaire et des Services correctionnels
Triantafilopoulos, Effie J. (PC)	Oakville North—Burlington / Oakville-Nord—Burlington	
Vanthof, John (NDP)	Timiskaming—Cochrane	
Wai, Daisy (PC)	Richmond Hill	
Walker, Bill (PC)	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound	
West, Jamie (NDP)	Sudbury	
Wilson, Hon. / L'hon. Jim (PC)	Simcoe—Grey	Minister of Economic Development, Job Creation and Trade / Ministre du Développement économique, de la Création d'emplois et du Commerce
Wynne, Kathleen O. (LIB)	Don Valley West / Don Valley-Ouest	
Yakabuski, Hon. / L'hon. John (PC)	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke	Minister of Transportation / Ministre des Transports
Yarde, Kevin (NDP)	Brampton North / Brampton-Nord	
Yurek, Hon. / L'hon. Jeff (PC)	Elgin—Middlesex—London	Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry

**STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS PERMANENTS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

Standing Committee on Estimates / Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses

Chair / Président: Vacant
Stan Cho, Jill Dunlop
John Fraser, Wayne Gates
Stephen Lecce, Gila Martow
Jane McKenna, Judith Monteith-Farrell
Lindsey Park, Randy Pettapiece
Peter Tabuns
Committee Clerk / Greffier: Timothy Bryan

**Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs /
Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Ian Arthur, Stan Cho
Stephen Crawford, Doug Downey
Sol Mamakwa, David Piccini
Jeremy Roberts, Sandy Shaw
Donna Skelly
Committee Clerk / Greffier: Timothy Bryan

**Standing Committee on General Government / Comité
permanent des affaires gouvernementales**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Jessica Bell, Lorne Coe
Chris Glover, Christine Hogarth
Logan Kanapathi, Daryl Kramp
Natalia Kusendova, Amarjot Sandhu
Mike Schreiner, Dave Smith
Jennifer (Jennie) Stevens
Committee Clerk / Greffier: William Short

**Standing Committee on Government Agencies / Comité
permanent des organismes gouvernementaux**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Roman Baber, Rudy Cuzzetto
Amy Fee, Vincent Ke
Andrea Khanjin, Marie-France Lalonde
Taras Natyshak, Rick Nicholls
Jeremy Roberts, Marit Stiles
John Vanthof
Committee Clerk / Greffière: Jocelyn McCauley

**Standing Committee on Justice Policy / Comité permanent de
la justice**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Roman Baber, Aris Babikian
Nathalie Des Rosiers, Jill Dunlop
Parm Gill, Lindsey Park
Ross Romano, Prabmeet Singh Sarkaria
Sara Singh, Monique Taylor
Kevin Yarde
Committee Clerk / Greffière: Jocelyn McCauley

**Standing Committee on the Legislative Assembly / Comité
permanent de l'Assemblée législative**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Robert Bailey, Rima Berns-McGown
Michael Coteau, Mike Harris
Faisal Hassan, Jane McKenna
Christina Mitas, Sam Oosterhoff
Amanda Simard, Gurratan Singh
Vijay Thanigasalam
Committee Clerk / Greffière: Valerie Quioc Lim

**Standing Committee on Public Accounts / Comité permanent
des comptes publics**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Catherine Fife, Goldie Ghamari
Jim McDonnell, Norman Miller
Suze Morrison, Michael Parsa
Peggy Sattler, Kinga Surma
Daisy Wai
Committee Clerk / Greffier: Christopher Tyrell

**Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills / Comité
permanent des règlements et des projets de loi d'intérêt privé**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Toby Barrett, Will Bouma
Mike Harris, Randy Hillier
Mitzie Hunter, Laura Mae Lindo
Paul Miller, Billy Pang
Kaleed Rasheed, Amarjot Sandhu
Jamie West
Committee Clerk / Greffier: Eric Rennie

**Standing Committee on Social Policy / Comité permanent de
la politique sociale**

Chair / Président: Vacant
Deepak Anand, Doly Begum
Jeff Burch, Amy Fee
Michael Gravelle, Joel Harden
Belinda Karahalios, Robin Martin
Sheref Sabawy, Nina Tangri
Effie J. Triantafilopoulos
Committee Clerk / Greffier: Eric Rennie

TAB 4

Legislative
Assembly
of Ontario



Assemblée
législative
de l'Ontario

**Official Report
of Debates
(Hansard)**

No. 14

1st Session
42nd Parliament
Thursday
2 August 2018

**Journal
des débats
(Hansard)**

N° 14

1^{re} session
42^e législature
Jeudi
2 août 2018

Speaker: Honourable Ted Arnott
Clerk: Todd Decker

Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
Greffier : Todd Decker

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I declare the motion carried.

Second reading agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I'll go to the member to find out what committee he would like it to go to.

Mr. Will Bouma: The Standing Committee on the Legislative Assembly.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Is that agreed? Carried.

GARRETT'S LEGACY ACT
(REQUIREMENTS FOR MOVABLE
SOCCER GOALS), 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR LE LEGS DE GARRETT
(EXIGENCES RELATIVES AUX BUTS
DE SOCCER MOBILES)

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Mr. Cho, Willowdale, has moved second reading of Bill 11, An Act to provide for safety measures respecting movable soccer goals.

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I declare the motion carried.

Second reading agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I go to the member for Willowdale: which committee?

Mr. Stan Cho: I would like to refer it to the Standing Committee on the Legislative Assembly, please.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Agreed? Carried.

Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1608 to 1613.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Members, please take your seats.

Ms. Horwath has moved private member's notice of motion number 7. All those in favour, please rise and remain standing until recognized by the Clerk.

Ayes

Andrew, Jill	Harden, Joel	Natyshak, Taras
Armstrong, Teresa J.	Hassan, Faisal	Rakocevic, Tom
Arthur, Ian	Hatfield, Percy	Schreiner, Mike
Begum, Doly	Horwath, Andrea	Shaw, Sandy
Bell, Jessica	Hunter, Miltzie	Singh, Sara
Berns-McGown, Rima	Kernaghan, Terence	Stevens, Jennifer (Jennie)
Bisson, Gilles	Lindo, Laura Mae	Stiles, Marit
Bourgouin, Guy	Mamakwa, Sol	Tabuns, Peter
Burch, Jeff	Mantha, Michael	Taylor, Monique
French, Jennifer K.	Miller, Paul	West, Jamie
Gates, Wayne	Monteith-Farrell, Judith	Yarde, Kevin
Glover, Chris	Morrison, Suze	

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): All those opposed, please rise and remain standing until recognized by the Clerk.

Nays

Anand, Deepak	Hogarth, Christine	Piccini, David
Baber, Roman	Kanapathi, Logan	Rasheed, Kaleed
Babikian, Aris	Karahalios, Belinda	Roberts, Jeremy
Bailey, Robert	Ke, Vincent	Romano, Ross
Barrett, Toby	Khanjin, Andrea	Sabawy, Sheref
Bethlenfalvy, Peter	Kramp, Daryl	Sandhu, Amarjot
Bouma, Will	Kusendova, Natalia	Scott, Laurie
Calandra, Paul	Lecce, Stephen	Simard, Amanda
Cho, Raymond Sung Joon	Martin, Robin	Singh Sarkaria, Prabmeet
Cho, Stan	Martow, Gila	Skelly, Donna
Clark, Steve	McDonell, Jim	Smith, Dave
Coe, Lorne	McKenna, Jane	Smith, Todd
Crawford, Stephen	McNaughton, Monte	Surma, Kinga
Cuzzetto, Rudy	Miller, Norman	Tangri, Nina
Downey, Doug	Mitas, Christina Maria	Thanigasalam, Vijay
Dunlop, Jill	Mulroney, Caroline	Thompson, Lisa M.
Elliott, Christine	Nicholls, Rick	Triantafilopoulos, Effie J.
Fedell, Victor	Oosterhoff, Sam	Wai, Daisy
Fee, Amy	Pang, Billy	Walker, Bill
Fullerton, Merrilee	Park, Lindsey	Wilson, Jim
Ghamari, Goldie	Parsa, Michael	Yakabuski, John
Gill, Parm	Pettapiece, Randy	Yurek, Jeff
Harris, Mike	Phillips, Rod	

The Clerk of the Assembly (Mr. Todd Decker): The ayes are 35; the nays are 68.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I declare the motion lost.

Motion negatived.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ACT, 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR L'AMÉLIORATION
DES ADMINISTRATIONS LOCALES

Mr. Clark moved second reading of the following bill: Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 / Projet de loi 5, Loi modifiant la Loi de 2006 sur la cité de Toronto, la Loi de 2001 sur les municipalités et la Loi de 1996 sur les élections municipales.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Minister.

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to let the House know I'll be sharing my time with my two parliamentary assistants, the member for Stormont-Dundas-South Glengarry and the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore.

On Monday, July 30, I had the honour of introducing the proposed Better Local Government Act, 2018. This is another example of our government moving swiftly to fulfill our commitment to the people of Ontario. Our commitment is to restoring accountability and trust and reducing the size and cost of government. The people of Ontario expect and deserve an accountable provincial government. We are showing the people of Ontario that their trust in our government is well placed.

When it comes to their local and regional level governments, people expect and deserve that same level of responsibility and accountability. That includes how

their tax dollars are spent. They expect their local governments to run efficiently. This government believes the hard-working people of Ontario have every right to expect that. That is why we are committed to finding efficiencies in local government and to listening to concerns raised by the people of Ontario.

What's more, we are acting on these concerns. We are taking action to address issues that have been ignored far too long. This is a timely piece of legislation. The 2018 municipal elections will be held across Ontario on Monday, October 22. The Better Local Government Act, 2018, is the action we are taking to address two of the issues that involve elected municipal positions. It is intended to institute a series of reforms to municipal government in the city of Toronto, as well as regional governments of York, Peel, Niagara and the district of Muskoka.

Our plan is to have these changes in effect for the upcoming October 22 municipal election. The election date would remain unchanged. I want to repeat: Our proposed legislation, if passed, would not change any municipal election date in Ontario.

Before I get into the details of our proposed legislation, I want to tell you a bit about my background and why this bill is so important to me.

1620

In 1982, I had just graduated from the University of Waterloo and I had decided to run for political office. I thought it was important to be part of the political process and to further policies that would benefit my local community. That is still my belief. It's our government's belief. This is what drives our government commitment to remove red tape, to find efficiencies and to respect the taxpayer.

In 1982, Speaker, I campaigned for the office of mayor of Brockville. I knocked on countless doors and I had hundreds and hundreds of meaningful conversations with the aim to improve my hometown. Why did I do this? I did it because of my drive and commitment to improve my community. Plain and simple, Speaker, I wanted to make changes for the betterment of my community.

Now, as Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, I have the tremendous opportunity to create change for the betterment of communities across Ontario.

As a first step, on Monday, I introduced this important piece of proposed legislation. Speaker, anyone—anyone—who runs for public office must remember who the boss is, and the boss is the people you represent. It's the people you must respect. You must respect the taxpayers. It's for the people of Ontario. Those are the people that we all work for, and that is exactly what we are doing in this government. We are respecting the people we represent and we are respecting their hard-earned taxpayers' dollars.

I followed those principles from the beginning, when I began as mayor of the city of Brockville. I always kept in mind that an elected representative needs to respect and work for the people that brought them into office in the first place.

And now, Speaker, I'm so very fortunate to be part of a government that is working hard to deliver the benefits of those same principles to people in communities large and small and in every corner of this great province.

Given my experience as a former mayor, I think I get it, Speaker. I understand the nuts and bolts of working with a municipal council and the process that can serve the taxpayer, a process that I think we could always make better.

When I consider the demands placed on me first as a mayor, then as an MPP, and now as the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, some things become very clear. Fundamentally, Speaker—and this is a very important point—the rules that I learned when I first took office so many years ago are the same principles that apply today. The taxpayer is the boss. It's their hard-earned dollars the government is spending, and it's up to the government, at every level, to make sure they are spent as wisely, as efficiently and as effectively as possible. Those important rules—

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: Thank you to my colleagues.

The same rules that applied then I think are even more powerful today.

During the recent provincial election campaign, my caucus colleagues and I heard very strongly from Ontarians that they want us to respect those taxpayers' dollars. We heard very clearly from Ontarians that government is supposed to work for them. I think Ontario sent a very clear message on June 7 that they want a government that looks after those taxpayers' dollars, and that is exactly what we're doing with this bill.

So, Speaker, I want to get into some of the details of the bill, and specifically I want to talk first about the city of Toronto. The bill, if passed, would reduce the size of Toronto city council to 25 councillors from the present 47 plus the mayor. This would give the taxpayers of Toronto a streamlined, more effective council that is ready to work quickly and puts the needs of everyday people first. This action is long overdue. Local governments deliver many critical services to residents, and it's in everyone's interest that local governments work quickly, they work efficiently and they respect the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars.

Les administrations locales fournissent quantité de services indispensables aux résidents. Il est donc dans l'intérêt de tout le monde que leur fonctionnement soit rapide, efficace et respectueux de l'argent rudement gagné des contribuables.

The Premier and I both have experience as elected officials at the municipal government level. The Premier served four years as a councillor at Toronto city hall, and I was mayor of Brockville for nine years. I was also a former CAO. Both of us know first-hand that municipal government is the level that's closest to the people, providing services that residents need and they depend on for their everyday lives.

Les administrations municipales, qui sont le palier de gouvernement le plus proche de la population, assurent

les services dont leurs résidents ont besoin et sur lesquels ils comptent au jour le jour.

The more efficiently municipalities are run, the better it is for their residents. Towards that goal, our proposed legislation would reduce the size of Toronto city council by aligning the city's municipal ward boundaries with provincial and federal electoral districts: 25 areas that provide fair and equitable representation and that are familiar to voters. Candidates for council would now have until September 14 to decide in which of the new wards they wish to run. This would be done in time for the October 22 municipal election.

Our proposed reforms would also allow for the redistribution of Toronto-area school board trustee seats. I want to emphasize that the number of trustees would remain the same. As this is governed by a regulation under the Education Act, I have engaged my cabinet colleague the Honourable Lisa Thompson, the Minister of Education, on this item. Her ministry will work with the four district school boards that would be affected by this legislation to undertake the redistribution of school board trustee electoral areas to align with the 25 new wards. Those four boards are as follows: the English public school board with 22 trustees, the English Catholic school board with 12 trustees, the French public school board with three trustees and the French Catholic school board with two trustees.

The new nomination deadline of September 14 would also apply to candidates for these Toronto-area school board trustee seats. I want to emphasize that these timetable changes would only apply to the Toronto city council and school board trustee elections. Furthermore, they would apply to the current election cycle only.

We recognize that some candidates have already filed their nominations to run in the current ward system. If our legislation is passed, to help those candidates transition to the new wards, we would make regulations for that purpose. The regulations would address how their campaign contributions are transferred to their new campaigns, if they choose to run in the new wards or school board electoral areas. There are no changes to nomination dates for the role of head of council, the mayor of Toronto. That date was July 27, and nominations closed, as most people know, last Friday.

Our ministries will work with the city and with the school board staff to ensure that they have the help and support that we can offer to run a successful municipal election this year. There will be savings for the city as well. We estimate that the reduction in the size of Toronto city council would save the taxpayers approximately \$25.5 million over four years. That's \$25.5 million taken out of administration that could be put forward directly helping the residents and businesses of the city of Toronto.

The current size of Toronto city council hinders decision-making. Debates are time-consuming, inefficient and costly. Forty-four independent councillors, each with their own agenda and outlook, hamstringing the city's decision-making on so many, many issues the city is

facing. Allowing Toronto city council to then grow to 47 councillors, I think, would make that even worse. The residents and businesses of Toronto deserve better than that, and our government is acting quickly to deliver on our promise and to deliver to the taxpayers.

Some may wonder if reducing the size of Toronto city council will negatively affect the representation of residents at city council. We looked into that, Speaker. We compared the average population per ward under our proposed legislation to the population per ward of comparatively important cities in other jurisdictions. Under our proposed legislation, the average ward size would be 109,263 people, based on the latest census figures. Speaker, I believe this is a very reasonable number.

The current size of council is unwieldy and a hindrance to decision-making and getting things done at city hall. The opinion was stated on Friday, July 27, by many, many Toronto councillors. A press conference was held with Councillor Vincent Crisanti, Councillor Michael Ford, Councillor Stephen Holyday, Councillor Justin Di Ciano, Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti, Councillor and Speaker Frances Nunziata, Councillor Cesar Palacio, Councillor David Shiner, Councillor Michael Thompson and Councillor and Deputy Mayor, East, Glenn De Baeremaeker. It's important to note that these councillors span a wide range of opinions, and they have different political affiliations. Among them are first-time councillors along with some very-long-term elected members. There is a pre-amalgamation mayor among the group, and three members of the mayor's executive committee—in short, Speaker, a varied and well-respected group of councillors.

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What they all share in common is that they voiced strong support for our reduced council size. They had three main reasons why they say that a smaller council is needed.

First, they agree that a smaller council will lead to better decision-making at Toronto city hall, which would benefit Torontonians as a whole. They gave an example of the current 44-member council having 10-hour debates on issues that would end with the vast majority of councillors voting the same as they would have at the beginning of the debate. Time is wasted, Speaker. They said that their Speaker often had to ask for quiet in the council chambers because no one was listening during these debates. It takes too long to make the right decisions.

Second, they point out that it will save money, and those savings go beyond just the savings of those councillors' salaries. The current 44-member council also creates a huge challenge for the Toronto bureaucracy, which has to respond to motion upon motion, to reports, reports and more reports, and then to deferrals and then more deferrals. Let's use the most recent city council meeting, where there were 128 members' motions presented. If we allowed council to grow to 47 and hadn't acted quickly, many believe the situation would have become worse. Toronto city staff would have to work on

all those reports instead of working on the issues that are important to the people of Toronto, important issues like transit, infrastructure and housing.

Third, it would result in a fair vote for residents, which was the very reason Toronto itself undertook a review of its ward boundaries. The Toronto councillors I referred to earlier reminded everyone that the Supreme Court of Canada said that voter parity is a prime condition of effective representation. They gave examples of the current ward system, where there are more than 80,000 residents in one ward and 35,000 in another. They acknowledge that this voter disparity is the result of self-interest, and that the federal and provincial electoral district process is better because it is an independent process which should apply to Toronto as well. I want to repeat that, Madam Speaker: The wards we are proposing are arrived at through an independent process.

The councillors that I mentioned agree that our proposed solution is fair. They point out that it has worked for both provincial and federal elections. The councillors point out that Toronto's process for achieving voter parity is an ongoing process. If allowed to continue, it would not reach voter parity and fairness until 2026. That's eight years from now. Toronto voters would have to wait another eight years of wasting taxpayers' money and endless debates for a fair election process in the city. However, our proposed legislation, if passed, gives Toronto residents voter fairness this year, in time for the upcoming 2018 municipal election.

How can anyone argue against giving the residents of Toronto a fair vote as soon as possible? Toronto voters will benefit from voter parity if our legislation is passed. Can people who are against our proposed legislation really believe that denying a fair vote for Torontonians is equitable? Is this really what you want to be known for?

After our announcement, many community and business leaders voiced their support to these changes. Our legislation, if passed, will meet the wishes of a majority of Toronto residents. Just as ward 5 Councillor Justin Di Ciano said, "People are in favour of smaller governments, less politicians."

At the current 44 seats and growing to 47 seats, Toronto city council will become increasingly dysfunctional and inefficient. A combination of entrenched incumbency and established special interests hobbles the efficient functioning at city hall.

As ward 7 Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti said at the councillors' news conference, "I think it's quite clear that most of us up here have either made speeches or have moved motions in the past that very clearly pointed to cutting ourselves in half because we are so frustrated with the system." That was his quote.

Let's remember, Mr. Speaker, that as Councillor Di Ciano said, "Going to 25 wards works for the federal level and works for the provincial level and will work for the city of Toronto." Councillor Di Ciano is absolutely right. I don't for one minute think that having the same electoral district for an MP, an MPP and a local city councillor is a bad thing. As I've said in this House over

and over again in question period, I think it's a good thing, and there are many, many others who support our proposed legislation and see the need for this bill.

Ward 24 councillor David Shiner said of last week's Toronto council meeting—let me read his quote; it's a great quote: "I will tell you to look at what has happened in the past week as the fact that we are dysfunctional. We started on Monday. This is the longest meeting we have ever had. It's Friday afternoon and we still have not come close to finishing." He further added, "The fact that our Premier, who has experienced all that frustration here, decided to move quickly and make the decision on that I think is absolutely right and I am 110% supportive of it."

Speaker, these are people who experience the dysfunction at Toronto city council every day and I think their comments carry a bit of weight.

Hamilton mayor Fred Eisenberger reflected on his own experiences at Hamilton city council, where they have 16 councillors. He said, "Sixteen is difficult enough; working with 47 would be virtually impossible." That's his quote.

Sensible solutions to this dysfunction are not new. Here's a quote from ward 11 councillor Frances Nunziata, who said, "When Mel Lastman was mayor ... we had 57 councillors. And at that time, there was a motion to reduce the councillors and we reduced it down to 44. And then when David Miller was mayor, we moved a motion to cut the council to 22."

Ward 3 councillor Stephen Holyday made a very convincing observation about our proposal for 25 wards for Toronto. He said in his quote, "At the federal and provincial level, we have a single representative in an area of that size. They seem to get it done."

Madam Speaker, how can people argue against these comments? How can they argue against people who live with this every day at Toronto council? It works for the federal level. It works for us at the provincial level. Why would it not work at the municipal level?

This is not a new position for our Premier. As ward 37 councillor Michael Thompson said, "[The Premier] is being, basically, steadfast with respect to his position that he has always maintained, that the size of council needed to be addressed in order to be more efficient, more effective, and address the issue around cost."

Overall, I think this was an opportunity to streamline, an opportunity to make decisions faster. We need to make sure that this council can work fast, that it can move quickly after the October 22 election and work on those important issues like infrastructure, like housing, like transit. The people of Toronto should have the opportunity to say they know who their member of Parliament is, to make sure it's the same jurisdiction as their member of provincial Parliament, and then to have the same jurisdiction for their municipal councillor.

I want to talk about the nomination deadline. Our proposed legislation does something else. As I mentioned, if passed, it would change the nomination date in the city of Toronto to September 14. I want to point out, Speaker, that the second Friday in September, September

14, is the exact same day as the previous nomination deadline in the 2014 election. It's a date that is not new for people in the municipal sector. It's the same one, so candidates who ran in the last municipal election in Toronto would be very familiar and comfortable with the deadline. It's one of the steps our proposed legislation includes to be fair to candidates running for Toronto city council and for Toronto school board trustee elections. This gives candidates the time to consider what ward they want to run in and it gives them the time to work out the reporting and the expense side of it. Our government would work with the Toronto city clerk's office to ensure that candidates for municipal council or school board trustee are able to continue their campaign and ensure the contributions they collect are treated fairly. Working with the clerk's office, we would assist the city's efforts to provide clear guidance and rules with regard to spending limits and reporting requirements.

Overall, our goal is to make it straightforward and simple for candidates to determine which, if any, of the new wards they want to run in. And I want to emphasize that this new nomination date would apply to the city of Toronto only. No other municipal election process in Ontario would be affected.

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Now, Speaker, our government is committed to providing a better future for the everyday people of Ontario. Municipal governments are the level, as I said earlier, closest to the people. They play a large and important role in delivering services, and we want to ensure that we get those services to people in the most effective and most efficient way possible.

This bill strengthens the ability of local governments to meet the expectations of ratepayers and residents. That's why, this fall, our government will be building and launching a consultation on a very important level, the regional level of government. What we are going to do is take a long look at regional government across this province. We're going to look at what has been very effective and what hasn't. Since regional governments were created in the 1970s, not much has been done to continue to support them. Many of them have grown large and have to deal with very, very complex issues, like providing infrastructure and services to rapidly growing communities.

Speaker, we want to know what works and what doesn't. We want to figure out what we can do better for the people of Ontario. We also want to engage municipalities in finding solutions and ensuring that these communities have the right form of government to support the needs of their residents and their businesses.

A few weeks from now, the largest municipal conference in Canada will be taking place. This year, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, which many of us fondly call AMO, will hold its annual conference, a conference with more than 1,500 municipal representatives from almost every municipality in Ontario. They're going to gather in the city of Ottawa.

I think the AMO conference is a great opportunity for our government to informally engage in conversations

that will inform us on some of those future decisions. We want to hear from municipalities. If they have other ideas to make government more efficient, if they have ideas on streamlining their operations, getting business done more quickly to ensure that Ontarians are open for business, then our government is all ears. This is an exciting time for municipal government in Ontario.

As I said—and it's worth repeating, Speaker—our government ran on a commitment to restore accountability and trust. We ran on a commitment to reducing the size and the cost of government, including an end of the culture of waste and mismanagement.

In closing, Madam Speaker, I want to reiterate that this bill is all about accountability and respect for the people of Ontario. Our proposal for Toronto ward boundaries to match federal and provincial electoral districts is an example. The electoral districts were established by an unbiased third party.

As the Premier has said, our government is restoring accountability so that everyday people can feel confident that government works for them, not for the insiders, not for the elites. We are focused on putting everyday workers and their families first, lowering taxes and reducing regulatory burdens.

Nos efforts sont principalement axés sur les travailleurs ordinaires et leurs familles, et ce, en réduisant les impôts et en allégeant les fardeaux réglementaires.

I think the people of Ontario sent a clear message on June 7: They want a government that gets things done, and that's exactly what we're doing. Since our swearing-in, our government has already passed our Urgent Priorities Act. Through that act, we ended the strike at York University and ensured that York students can begin their school year next month.

That act also ensures that hydro ratepayers, through our government, will have a say on salaries at Hydro One, and that act cancelled a wind farm in Prince Edward county that local residents didn't want.

We've also tabled our Cap and Trade Cancellation Act, 2018, which is our government's first step towards lowering the price of gasoline in Ontario.

Now we're working to deliver the Better Local Government Act, and it's just a start, Madam Speaker. Our government will continue to make the provincial government and local governments work harder, work smarter and more efficiently to make life better for all Ontarians.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Further debate?

Mr. Jim McDonnell: I'd like to thank the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing for introducing the Better Local Government Act, which highlights the importance of local government and emphasizes that all levels of government must work effectively and efficiently for the people of this great province.

As the minister mentioned, the proposed legislation has two parts. He has explained the proposed changes for the city of Toronto for the members of this House. He has also provided an introduction to the vision, and we

have to review the functioning of regional governments to ensure they better service the needs of their communities.

I'm honoured to be given the opportunity to stand in the Legislature to speak about how this bill, if passed, will improve those regional governments, because our government for the people believes the regional municipalities of Ontario should be the ones to make important decisions about how they serve their residents. That includes how they select regional chairs.

Two years ago, in 2016, the previous government changed the Municipal Act to require that regional municipalities select their chairs by election. Municipalities that used to choose to appoint their regional chairs were no longer allowed to choose. The exception was Oxford county, which was allowed to continue to appoint one of their elected officials to also serve as regional chair.

We are proposing to reverse the changes that were introduced two years ago, changes that were unfair to regions that already had processes in place that work for their local communities. Four regional councils had to change their processes. They were York region, Peel region, Niagara region and the district of Muskoka. As I mentioned earlier, these regional governments had all previously appointed their chairs. We have proposed a return to the system that they used in the 2014 election, a system they designed and delivered before the previous government's legislation was forced upon them. The previous system is one that they are familiar with. It's a system they had decided had worked best for them.

We're reversing the 2016 changes for this election. In the future, regional councils will decide for themselves how to select their chairs. Going forward, we want to give that decision-making power back to the regional municipalities because they understand better than anyone how this intricate two-tiered municipal system works.

In Ontario's regional government model, voters are represented at two levels: at a local municipal level and regionally, where municipalities come together to address issues that affect a larger regional area. Regional governments, working with their member municipalities, decide which is best for their individual communities and the region as a whole.

Some regional governments had already decided to elect their chairs. People in the regions of Waterloo, Durham and Halton have been doing that for years. It was their choice; nothing was imposed on them, and with this bill, nothing would change for them either. But the regions of York, Peel, Niagara and the district of Muskoka didn't have a choice. The previous government imposed legislation on them, forcing them to elect their chair. We want to hit the pause button, allowing them to return to appointing their chairs, the same way they did in the 2014 election.

Regional government is a level of government that is closer to the people than you or I, Madam Speaker. They deal with everything from garbage pickup to waste water, from policing to paramedics and from daycare to retire-

ment homes. They know what their local communities need and they are more than capable of deciding how their regional government should operate. This is something they did on their own for years, and we are very confident they can do so again.

Because every region is different, they deal with the different priorities and different issues. Take Peel region, Madam Speaker. The region has laid out 11 priorities for their regional council: priorities such as increasing affordable housing, planning and managing growth, and increasing waste diversion; priorities such as modernizing service delivery, attracting top talent to the region and making the movement of goods more efficient. These are all things that they deem important to their region and to their municipalities. When you scan this plan, you notice one thing: the majority of the municipalities in this region are focused on urban growth. That means they're dealing with urban issues. They know about the demand for real estate in the 905 and the increased cost to living.

Downtown Mississauga is not a farming community. However, you can bet that agriculture is the number one priority in Niagara region. Niagara boasts some of this province's finest wineries and most bountiful farms. Many of you probably enjoyed Niagara cherries or peaches this past weekend.

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The region attracts tourists who contribute to the economic prosperity of their communities. They need a regional council that stands up for growers and for the tourism that this industry brings to the region and local economy.

While these two regions may share some of the same needs, Peel and Niagara are very different. They rely on very different things to survive and to thrive.

York region is another example. Their strategic plan focuses on urban growth and transportation. They have also put affordable housing high on their priority list. They are feeling the same pressures that most of the municipalities in the greater Toronto and Hamilton area are feeling right now, with an increasing population and a high demand for homes.

However, the same cannot be said about the district of Muskoka. Drive three hours north of where we are right now, and there's a different story. Most of us know Muskoka as cottage country, a place where people from the urban centres of southern Ontario often go to escape and relax. While many people do in fact call Muskoka home, others call it a second home. It's a favourite vacation spot for many in the province and those visiting from other provinces and abroad. That is why the district of Muskoka's official plan has a section that focuses specifically on tourism and resorts—places many families in Ontario have gone to swim, hike or just relax for a weekend. Many of these resorts pride themselves on offering a serene experience in nature, many highlighting outdoor adventures in canoes and kayaks. You don't see much of that being offered in Vaughan, which we all know as a growing part of York region.

Madam Speaker, I say this to underline the strengths and priorities of each area. Not all regions are the same.

That is why we cannot have a one-size-fits-all approach to regional governments. We want them to be able to choose how they select their heads of council—what works best for them.

Last week, when our government for the people announced our intention to propose these changes, the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing said during the press conference, “It doesn’t matter if you’re in a rural or urban municipality, what you see time and time again is that the municipal level of government is the closest to the day-to-day lives of most people.” He said, “This is another example of the province getting out of the way and making local government work harder, smarter and more effectively to make life better for everyone.”

I think most people sitting in this room can agree. Many of the members here today got their start in municipal government. They understand the differences that make municipalities unique, and it’s exactly these differences that make our province so great.

Premier Doug Ford was a Toronto city councillor for four years. The Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, who introduced this bill, was the mayor of Brockville for 10 years.

I’ve also been fortunate to serve at the municipal level. I served three terms as a municipal councillor in Charlottenburgh and South Glengarry townships, and was elected mayor of South Glengarry three times. I’ve been honoured to sit on many committees and boards in eastern Ontario, and served as the warden of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry in 2006. I understand two-tiered municipalities. County and regional governments are two-tier levels of government, and I understand that they are governments filled with experienced, elected representatives who are more than capable of choosing what’s right for their own communities. I understand the important relationships these counties and regions establish with their member lower-tier municipalities to ensure that they collaborate and cooperate to deliver important services to their residents. And I understand why it’s important for them to be able to choose how they select their heads of council of these counties and regions. Be it an elected chair or an appointed one, they can decide, and they should decide.

From day one, some communities opposed the previous government’s decision to force municipalities to elect their regional chairs. Bonnie Crombie, the mayor of Mississauga, has been quoted multiple times in the media as being against it, calling it “a solution to a problem we do not have.” In fact, upon hearing about the changes that our government for the people is proposing here today, she is quoted as saying that this change “will signal that mayors and local councils are being heard on this matter.” In fact, she made Mississauga’s feelings plain, saying to the media that “Mississauga is the third-largest city in Ontario, and our council is perfectly capable of controlling our own destiny and working with the appointed regional chair to do so. In fact, in Peel, we voted 22-1 in 2017 against electing a regional chair.”

This reinforces what we have been hearing all along. Regional governments need to be able to choose what is best for regional governments. They need to be able to take this to their councils and have a full discussion on the matter to debate what is right for their communities.

We propose to revert back to the same processes that these four affected regional municipalities used in the 2014 municipal election for the upcoming October election. We are directing municipalities to do what they have done before. York, Peel, Niagara and Muskoka would appoint their own chairs in October. Waterloo, Durham and Halton would elect them. Oxford county would appoint one of their elected councillors. This is not new to them. It’s the way it was prior to 2016, when these sweeping changes were foisted upon them.

If regional municipalities want to revisit the issue after this election, they would be more than welcome to do so. The Better Local Government Act would, if passed, effectively give regional municipalities back the power to determine how their regional chair is selected in 2022 and thereafter. The imposed decision to add a fourth level of elected government in some of these regions invited dysfunction and discord. We would give the power of choice back to these regional governments. We want all levels of government to work in the best interests of their people.

I’m honoured to stand here before you as a representative of the residents of Stormont–Dundas–South Glengarry. I’m privileged to have served my community in various capacities, including as municipal representative. As a former municipal politician in a two-tiered municipality, I can safely say that they know what’s best for their own communities. I’m looking forward to going to the annual Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference in August. It’s a place where we can continue the conversation about how different levels of government can work together to provide prosperous, efficient service for the people. We can hear what works and what doesn’t work.

I always found it helpful for municipal politicians to have open lines of communication with other levels of government, and we want our government for the people to continue that tradition. We are taking a first step here today by proposing the return of decision-making powers on selecting the heads of council for future elections back to regional governments. Regional governments have other important issues that they need to focus on, and we, as the province, need to get out of the way to make life better for the people whom we serve.

Thank you, Speaker. Now I turn it back to the member from Etobicoke–Lakeshore.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): The member for Etobicoke–Lakeshore.

Ms. Christine Hogarth: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I just want to thank the minister and the member, my colleague from Stormont–Dundas–South Glengarry, for sharing their time with me today. The reason I wanted to speak is that this act actually affects my riding and will help the people of Etobicoke–Lakeshore, so I just wanted to add some comments to the dialogue today.

Premier Ford and Minister Clark showed great leadership when implementing the Better Local Government Act. During the campaign, Premier Ford was very clear about his desire to find efficiencies and reduce the size and cost of government that will work for the people.

This shouldn't come as any surprise. During his time as city councillor, then-Councillor Doug Ford often spoke about the fact that the city of Toronto was too large, inefficient and simply did not work well for the residents of Toronto. Time and time again, Doug Ford has said that it makes perfect sense for the city of Toronto ward boundaries to mirror the federal and provincial jurisdictions: 25 MPs, 25 MPPs and 25 city councillors.

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Madam Speaker, this issue isn't new. In fact, this issue has been discussed for nearly 20 years, and since amalgamation there have been several ward boundary changes. Former Toronto city councillor Doug Holyday brought this up time and time again, even writing the Minister of Municipal Affairs back in 1999, urging him to reduce the size of council to match their federal and provincial counterparts. Councillor Holyday said it's simple: one MPP per riding, one MP per riding and one city councillor per ward.

Holyday, who served as the last mayor of Etobicoke, deputy mayor of Toronto and an MPP in this Legislature, always knew that inflated council sizes and government waste never served residents well; in fact, it did the opposite.

Today I spoke with Doug Holyday, and he took me on a trip down memory lane and reminded me that it's a very difficult task to get politicians to reduce their role in people's lives and rein in spending. Thankfully, we have a Premier, a minister and Toronto city councillors, including Doug's son Councillor Stephen Holyday, who are taking on the badly needed leadership to get this done and serve the people better.

On August 9, 1999, Doug Holyday was quoted in the *National Post*: "This council is too large. We have completed our agenda only twice since the new city of Toronto was formed, even though council sometimes meets late into the night, and unfortunately, hurried decisions are often made to finish off as much of the agenda as possible."

He was also quoted in the *Toronto Star* that same year: "Council, because of its nature, is unlikely to ever downsize itself, so if this required reduction is to take place, it will have to be instigated by the province."

Twenty years later, Holyday's words have proven truthful. We know that city council needs to be reduced, and we know that the province would have to be involved, which is exactly what is taking place right now, with the leadership of Premier Doug Ford.

It has been brought up at city council twice in recent years. In 2013, then-Mayor Rob Ford tried to get council colleagues to vote in favour of reducing the size of council, but to no avail. Again, in 2016, council revisited this issue, to no avail.

Work is not getting done at city hall. Council has become inefficient and ineffective. Transit projects are never on time, if built at all, and never on budget. Who is losing out? The people of Toronto are losing out, the taxpayers.

I know first-hand of the bloated bureaucracy at city hall. I worked in a councillor's office for several years and saw the endless debate, non-stop roadblocks on transit, and infrastructure projects that should be taking place that are years behind schedule, because all they're doing is talking and talking and nothing is getting done. The system is simply not working.

I stand by and support the city councillors who are in favour of reducing council to 25 seats. Many of them are putting their own re-elections at risk by doing so. I particularly want to recognize the leadership of Councillor Justin Di Ciano, who happens to be my councillor in ward 5, Etobicoke-Lakeshore. Councillor Di Ciano has supported the Premier and the minister in the Better Local Government Act, and he has communicated his message very effectively to the people and to the public on how this act will only improve government services in order for a more efficient government.

Over and above Councillor Di Ciano, I'd also like to recognize other councillors who have joined in to endorse our plan: Councillor Holyday, Councillor Mammoliti, Councillor Ford, Councillor Crisanti, Councillor Nunziata, Councillor Thompson, Councillor Shiner, Councillor Palacio, Councillor Karygiannis, Councillor De Baeremaeker, Councillor Kelly, Councillor Holland, Councillor Crawford and Councillor Di Giorgio, all councillors across party lines.

Hon. Steve Clark: That's a lot of support.

Ms. Christine Hogarth: That is a lot of support; I agree.

These councillors are experienced. They have been councillors for some time now and they know all too well that more politicians is not the answer. As Premier Ford said, when you ask people if they want more politicians, what's the answer? No—no more politicians; less politicians.

In closing, I fully support this initiative and I thank the Premier and the minister for their leadership because I know this will help move my community forward. We need better access to our councillors and this will help streamline the process to get better access, to create more transit and more infrastructure for the city of Toronto and for Etobicoke, and it will finally get Toronto moving.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Questions and comments?

Ms. Jessica Bell: The Conservatives are talking about the need for better representation, and one thing that really concerns me is, why is it only Toronto that is being required to match provincial and federal boundaries? That seems utterly undemocratic to me.

Let me give you some examples. If we applied this rule of matching the federal and provincial boundaries to some other areas in Ontario, let's see how many councillors they would have: Waterloo, one councillor; Guelph,

one councillor; Milton, one councillor; Newmarket, one councillor; Oshawa, one councillor; Ottawa, eight councillors, down from 23; Hamilton, five councillors, down from 15; and Muskoka-Parry Sound, half a councillor each.

And then check this out: The 38 municipalities in Algoma-Manitoulin region would have one councillor for 38 municipalities.

This is not fair. Let's call this for what it is: It's an attack on Toronto and it's an attack on democracy.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Questions and comments?

Mr. Dave Smith: I'd like to just touch briefly on the last comment, that it was an attack on democracy. Elections Canada, in their piece about enhancing the values of redistribution, "Making Representation More Effective," actually has this statement: "A system which dilutes one citizen's vote unduly as compared with another citizen's vote runs the risk of providing an inadequate representation to the citizen whose vote is diluted."

This act will provide parity, or very close to parity, for all of the wards in Toronto. That's completely in line with what Elections Canada has said, and it's a key component of democracy. We're not diluting anyone's vote. This bill, when passed, will give parity, or very close to parity, across Toronto: 25 MPs, 25 MPPs and 25 councillors.

Now, there's been some talk about sizes. None of these wards are actually going to be as big as what my own riding is and I'm able to represent the people in my riding. I'm not sure why it's not possible, then, for other councillors to be able to represent that many people. It's less than what I'm representing.

We made a promise to the people of Ontario that we were going to bring transparency and accountability to government. We know that the current Toronto council is dysfunctional, that they're not able to do the things that they want to do, that they should be doing, to represent their people. By making Toronto council smaller, we're giving better government to them. We're giving better representation to them.

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The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Questions and comments?

Ms. Jill Andrew: I'm just going to read some words from my community members: "It feels like we are screaming into the void right now. Many of us, especially those of us who are not wealthy, who are disabled, are genuinely fearful for what is to come." The initials of that person are L.M.

This person gave permission to give their name: Janet Conway calls this Ford government agenda "an assault of our most basic democratic right." I say it again: She calls it an assault of our democratic right.

I've heard from our friends on the other side that the boss is the people that you represent: fair and equitable representation. Well, listen to your boss, because Toronto-St. Paul's residents were not consulted. That's the piece we're missing here: consult, consult, consult.

You might have asked people a misleading question, like "Well, do you want more politicians?" But did you actually say, "Do you want us to cut city council, nearly by half, cut representation, keep it looking the same way it has forever, predominantly white, predominantly male"—

Interjection: That has nothing to do with it.

Ms. Jill Andrew: Actually, it does. Representation matters, and there's a member across who really shouldn't be laughing when I say that representation matters. It's pathetic.

Equity means that we look at communities and we look at their needs, and we respond to their unique needs. That's the difference from equity and equality. You can't paint every community the same, and that's what Bill 5 is doing.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Questions and comments?

Mr. Vijay Thanigasalam: As someone who grew up in Scarborough, as someone who went to school in Scarborough, who worked in Scarborough, and as I represent the great riding of Scarborough-Rouge Park—it is the east end of Toronto—what Toronto does not need is more politicians, Madam Speaker.

Transportation is the most important issue for the people of Scarborough. We need a transit system that is more dependable. An oversized council makes it almost impossible to build a meaningful consensus and get their job done. As a result, Madam Speaker, infrastructure crumbles, the housing backlog grows and transit isn't built.

We believe in better local government. We are going to reduce the size and cost of Toronto city hall so that decisions can be made quicker, while services can be delivered more efficiently and effectively. We are committed to restoring accountability and trust in government. We also promised to reduce the cost and size of government and end the culture of waste and mismanagement.

The Toronto Star poll shows that 68% of the people are in favour of reducing the councillors to 25. People made their decision loud and clear on June 7 to deliver our mandate. They elected us to serve them, to serve the taxpayers, Madam Speaker. We are not spending \$25 million for more politicians. We need a small government to function effectively and efficiently.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Back to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to take this opportunity not just to thank my parliamentary assistants, the member for Stormont-Dundas-South Glengarry and the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore—

Interjection.

Hon. Steve Clark: I would also like to, despite the heckling from the member from Timmins, thank the members from University-Rosedale, Peterborough-Kawartha, Toronto-St. Paul's and Scarborough-Rouge Park for their comments.

As I said in my address, Speaker, we believe in better local government. We believe in more streamlined

decision-making. We want the council in the city of Toronto, after the election on October 22, to be streamlined and have the opportunity to make those quick and important decisions that will help people's everyday lives.

We also want to hit the pause button on those four regional chair elections that the previous government imposed on them in a bill in 2016. But we're doing in a way that we want to be open and consult. We think that the best opportunity to do that is at the Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference in a couple of weeks in Ottawa, which—we make no apology for it—is the largest conference of its type in the municipal sector. We want to work with our municipalities and we want to listen to what they have to say.

But clearly, in Toronto, for decades, it's been a problem. Decisions have been slow. Councils have been dysfunctional. We've got an opportunity with Bill 5 to put a new direction in Toronto politics, with the election of a smaller council. We listed many, many councillors who supported us, many councillors who I think need their voices heard.

To address something that one of the members opposite said, this is not a laughing matter for me. I know that the member talked about laughing—that's not true. It's a very, very important issue, one that we're listening to—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Thank you.

Further debate?

Ms. Andrea Horwath: I appreciate the opportunity to say a few words on the Bill 5 debate. I will be sharing my time with the MPP for Toronto–Danforth, who will be responding on behalf of the NDP with leadership on this file.

It's incredibly disappointing to all of us and to millions of Ontarians to watch the government, having defeated my motion this afternoon, barge ahead with the most anti-democratic action that this province has seen in years—anti-democratic. The government members are going to couch this as a debate about functionality of a council. What this debate is about is the fundamental premise of our democracy, which is that people should decide how their local councils look and what shape they take.

So I am very proud to be on this side of the argument, because history will show that this caucus, this official opposition, is on the right side of this argument. What this government is doing is wrong. It is an assault on local democracy. And in this day and age, in a country like Canada, in a province like Ontario, this kind of ham-fisted, heavy-handed, anti-democratic approach should not be happening.

The people of Ontario actually care about democracy. The people of our province actually respect each other and respect each other as voters. Every single Ontarian believes that the fundamentals of democracy need to be respected and need to be in place for us to be able to function as an appropriate place where decisions are

made and debates occur in the best interests of the people—not in the best interests of Mr. Ford; not in the best interests of his attempts to kneecap his former political opponents; not in the best interests of Mr. Ford's desire to control a city that rejected him over and over again.

Regardless of political stripe, the process here is the issue. They're going to make a lot of noise as a government, trying to say that this is about functionality, this is about money-saving—a government that's wasting so much money already in lawsuits with the federal government, which are useless, in the tearing up of contracts that are going to cost untold millions and likely billions, just like what the Liberals did, as a matter of fact.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: They learned nothing.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: This government learned nothing from the wails that they made against the Liberals with their tearing up of contracts. They're now doing the same and, at the same time, scaring the heck out of the business community. Oh, my goodness: A Conservative government in Ontario, and they're scaring the business community because of their reckless and partisan and ideological behaviour. It's unbelievable, Speaker.

1720

The thing that's most worrisome of all is the fact that this government caucus is following behind a Premier who is behaving in a very vindictive and inappropriate way, a very personalized way, whose only purpose is to expunge progressives from city council, the very progressives who wouldn't vote for Mr. Ford. Really, that is what is our democracy has been reduced to? Shame on him.

That is not leadership, Speaker. That is not leadership at all. That is something completely different. In fact, leadership is actually embracing the voices of people, of our constituents, listening to what they have to say, giving them an opportunity to have a say not only on how their democracy operates and how their local councils operate but even here at Queen's Park. This government is about to ram this legislation through without even public hearings, just like they've done with everything thus far. It really is worrisome, Speaker, to see a government come into office and behave so badly so quickly.

This Premier's actions are outrageous; they are undemocratic. They're shocking to millions of people. Toronto and Torontonians are the ones who should have a say about their future, their council and their ward makeup. If that's going to change, then so be it. Change it, but do it in a democratic way. Do it with a process that actually engages people in their democracy, not with a knife, not with a machete slashing their rights, slashing their democracy, cutting it off at the knees—absolutely unacceptable, Speaker.

It strikes at the very values that we hold as Canadians, which is why my motion earlier said today very clearly that this is an undemocratic move. It is an un-Ontario move. It's an un-Canadian move, Speaker, and shame on the Premier for undertaking this particular action.

What we have in front of us is a debate and a bill that speaks to the nature of this Premier—his vindictive behaviour, his difficulty with being rejected. I think our member from Toronto—Danforth talked about that a little bit earlier. That's not leadership, Speaker. That's not Premierial behaviour.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I'd just like to mention to this side of the House that I am trying to listen to the speaker on this side of the House. During the hour time that this side of the House had to speak, this side of the House sat quietly. I'm sure they would appreciate it if you would give them the same courtesy.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Thank you, Speaker.

Look, what's very, very clear here is that this initiative was not discussed at all during the election campaign. In fact, people were blindsided by this announcement, which makes it that more disgusting, frankly, Speaker. It makes it that more wrong that out of nowhere, after an election campaign where this was not raised at all, suddenly this move is robbing people of their democratic rights, robbing people of their ability to have a say on how their democracy functions. It is absolutely wrong, Speaker.

Again, it's something that the Conservative Party should have learned from the Liberal Party. People don't like it when you're not upfront about what your intentions are during an election campaign. Here we are, just a month and a half after the election took place, maybe a little bit more than that, a month and maybe two or three weeks. The bottom line is this: The government that we now have is no better than the government we got rid of because they're doing exactly the same things. They did not tell the truth in the election about what they were going to do to the city of Toronto, and now they're doing it. They said they were all about not wasting money, but they're wasting money like crazy. To top it all off, they are cutting off the democratic rights of the people of Toronto and they're dragging our province backwards. It's 2018. People should be electing their representatives. The regional chairs in Peel, in York region, in Niagara region and in Muskoka should not be chosen in the backrooms by other elected officials. They should be voted on by the people, the very people that this party pretended to respect and care about during the election, and six weeks later we find out: Oh, they don't care about the people. They care about their own vindictive agenda. They care about consolidating power, in particular the power for the responsibilities for the city of Toronto, into the Premier's office. This is what this is all about, right? The Premier couldn't get elected as mayor—

Mrs. Robin Martin: Point of order.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I recognize the member from Eglinton—Lawrence on a point of order.

Mrs. Robin Martin: Madam Speaker, on a point of order, the language being used by the Leader of the Opposition is unparliamentary in my view. The word

“vindictive,” under standing order 23(i)—she has been using the word “vindictive,” which imputes motive. She has used it several times now. I do believe that it is inappropriate and that she is debasing the conduct in this House and causing people to create disorder within the House. That's why we're reacting the way—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): When I stand, please sit.

I would caution the member to please be careful with the language that you were using.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Thank you, Speaker.

The bottom line is what this Premier is doing is basically trying to consolidate—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Thank you. I don't need an interaction from the government side of the House when I make a ruling.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: What this Premier is doing is he's trying to consolidate the power for himself in the Premier's chair and trying to take over the city of Toronto, a municipality that has rejected him time and time again. How disgraceful is that? It's like being the worst sport in the world. The worst sport in the world can't win so they change the game, right? They change the rules of the game to rig it so that they can win. That's what a poor sport does. How sad is it for the people of Ontario, the 60% who didn't vote for Doug Ford and even the 40% who did, to see that this is the nature of the Premier elected to this chamber? It's a shameful thing, I think, all the way around.

But one of the things that I think people understand and recognize is that the Premier, no matter how hard he tries, is not the king. He's not the king of Ontario. He's the Premier of Ontario. He should show some respect for the people of Ontario and protect their democratic rights, not tear them up.

In discussing this issue today with the hundreds of people who were on the lawn, hearing what people are saying from Toronto and Niagara and Peel and York and Muskoka, the bottom line is that it's very, very clear that this move is a move that the government should reconsider. The government should withdraw this bill, and we urge them to do exactly that, because it sets a precedent in this place that says that government can behave with a complete lack of interest for the public's interest. That should never be the case. The government should always be for the people, which is what Mr. Ford pretended he was all about during the campaign. But, in fact, we find out afterwards that he's not.

What he's for are his backroom developer friends who are now going to have free rein in Toronto because that's what this is all about for Mr. Ford. It's about making sure his well-connected, rich cronies are able to buy up the TTC because he's going to privatize that after this move takes place. I would expect we'll see developers wanting to buy up some social housing units because that's probably another thing that's going to happen. Social housing will be sold off to his developer friends. It's going to mean the privatization of more public utilities,

like Toronto Hydro, because that's what the conservatives on city council want to see happening.

Really, what is the agenda here? It's not about the democratic rights of Torontonians. It's not about the rights of people to actually elect their representatives in the year of 2018. It's all about the Premier wanting to rule the city of Toronto from the Premier's office and, at the same time, provide his friends and his developer friends and his other friends with the spoils that they couldn't get in a democratic way.

1730

Speaker, I want to say thank you very much for the opportunity to speak on this disgraceful piece of legislation and leave—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Be seated, please.

The member for Eglinton–Lawrence on a point of order.

Mrs. Robin Martin: Madam Speaker, on the same point of order: The member is imputing motive by saying the Premier is trying to rig the elections and other such things. She said it several times and I think she should be sanctioned for it.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Thank you for the point of order.

Further debate?

Mr. Peter Tabuns: It's a pleasure to be able to rise and speak about this bill and the light it throws on the Premier and the way he's going to run this province in the next four years. It's very clear to me, and I think it's very clear to the people of this province, that he's abusing his very vast political power in the way he is dealing with the city of Toronto and with the regions of Niagara, York, Peel and Muskoka.

He's acting like a dictator. This is an extraordinary approach to the way one exercises power in a democracy. He cooked this up in a backroom. He consulted no one and, frankly, he—

Mrs. Robin Martin: Point of order.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I recognize the member for Eglinton–Lawrence on a point of order.

Mrs. Robin Martin: Madam Speaker, the member opposite used the word “dictator,” which is abusive and insulting language. Earlier today, that same word was—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I'd ask the member to withdraw.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Withdraw.

So what do we have before us? A bill that I think would be more appropriately titled the “roll back democracy in Toronto, Peel, Niagara, York, Muskoka, and throw your weight around act, 2018.” That's what we've got on the table.

There are a variety of things I want to touch on, but I'm going to talk about the content of the bill first. When I do that, I need to acknowledge the researchers who did this work. Bilbo Poynter did great work in a very short time, and I have to say that when things go well, we have

to recognize that researchers make us look good. When things go badly, we have to acknowledge it is our fault because they tried to correct us in the first place. So my thanks to them.

Again, this is a caution: When I was new here, I used to go into the details of bills, going clause-by-clause. Frankly, Speaker, you have to caution people to not operate heavy machinery after I do that. It's simply dangerous. Those of you who are driving home tonight, take a little coffee after you hear my speech.

I'm not going to go into every segment of the bill. I think the minister and the parliamentary assistant touched on it. I might have done a bit more, but I'm not going to go into every section. I do want to speak about some elements.

Bill 5 amends the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001—I know you remember that one—and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996, as well as providing—and this is important—the minister of housing and urban affairs the ability to further amend this act through regulation. That's really unusual. Those of you who understand the way we write laws here know we write the legislation that sets the framework within which regulations are written. Often, when a government acts in a way that's outside of the law that has been written—*ultra vires* is the term. When it's outside the law that has been written, the regulations are struck down. But in this, we have an inversion. In fact, the minister will be able to write regulations that will supersede any act that we put forward in this House.

The debate you're having today—frankly, you can debate it. We can go into committee, we can try to amend it, but the minister will be able to rewrite this act much as he wants. This is quite an extraordinary thing. I actually had a chance to talk to our House leader about that, a parliamentarian. I don't think we've seen this before. Maybe I'm wrong. It's highly unusual.

I want to say to you that not only is this a bill that rolls back democracy in the jurisdictions I listed, but it also undermines your power—our power as legislators—to determine what goes out and what exists on the ground. It's an extraordinary piece.

I know that when the minister can do this, it opens a door to those famous overnight regulation-writing binges where you see crates of Scotch and coffee going into the minister's office, where they're going to go overnight and rewrite the legislation because, you know, they feel like it. That's a real problem. I don't think one-man rule is a good idea. I think having debate out in the open amongst legislators, where the public can hear the arguments that are made and, assuming you have consultation, can come and speak about what's there—when you close the door to that, you open a very, very dangerous precedent. A very dangerous precedent.

Now, there's one generous interpretation to this: When the Attorney General's lawyers got the grease-stained napkin from the Tom Jones Steakhouse with all this written on it, they couldn't make it all out. They knew there might be problems when they wrote it up, so they

took down what they could and realized, “We’ve got to throw this in, in case there’s stuff we don’t understand, in case there’s a snag that can be corrected by the minister.” That is the most generous interpretation I can give.

There’s another interpretation in that a lot of games can be played when vague legislation gives a lot of power into the hands of one man. That is a problem. That is a problem.

Schedule 1 of this brief bill amends the City of Toronto Act and strips the city of Toronto’s ability to determine composition of city council and the division of the city into wards. No surprise. That’s his direction. But beyond that, he’s saying not just this election but in future, the city of Toronto won’t have the power to set its wards. It’s gone. One of the largest governments in Canada, bigger than a number of provinces—not exactly amateur hour—and a government that was given the power to determine its structure is being told not only not this time but not in future; forget it.

It’s interesting to me because I hear regularly from the other side these complaints about the nanny state. The nanny state: Higher levels of government are trying to tell us how to live our lives. Well, the nanny has spoken, and when it comes to Toronto, “You naughty kids. God, how is it that you divided up those toys and didn’t talk to us first? From now on, we’re going to tell you how to divide up those toys. Be sure of it; you’re not going to be heard from again, because we get to call the shots.” Not, not, not a democratic approach.

Now, even then, a nanny does have some limits—some limits, Speaker—and those limits express themselves in schedule 2. I know you’ve all read schedule 2: the racy parts, the fascinating parts.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Is this about accommodation of the voter?

Mr. Peter Tabuns: No, no. Schedule 2 is a whole other thing. You’ve got to read it to appreciate it and let it soak into you.

It provides that for the 2018 regular election, the head of council of certain regional municipalities shall be elected by a general vote. You understand that, Speaker. That section is re-enacted except for a number of municipalities: Niagara, Peel, Muskoka and York. No, let’s not re-enact it. They are going to go back to appointments. I’m going to speak about Niagara shortly.

But, interestingly, that section lapses. After 2018—even though this time the Premier is acting towards those who are running in those races in a way that I will describe later—those regions can write their own rules and say, “Ah, we’re going to have an elected regional chair in the future.”

The nanny, when it comes to Toronto—you know, it’s an unruly place. What are you going to do? You’ve got to take it over. But for these regions, this is a one-time-only offer.

So we’re going to have this sort of drive-by beating-up of Patrick Brown in Peel—not that I’m a fan of Patrick Brown. I would have worked very hard to defeat him in the last election, if he had been the leader. But, frankly,

going in and changing the regional government to get at the guy is an extraordinary thing to do with provincial power—and then Steve Del Duca in York. Steve and I fought regularly. He’s not here, so I don’t have to call him by his riding name. Steve and I fought all the time. But using the power of the province to do in those two politicians is an extraordinary abuse of that power; an extraordinary abuse. Now—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I recognize the member from Eglinton–Lawrence on a point of order.

1740

Mrs. Robin Martin: On a point of order, Madam Speaker: Again, the member opposite is using his opportunity to speak to impute motive, which is under—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Thank you. I appreciate the point of order. I will caution the member to choose his words wisely.

Back to the member.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: I want to speak a bit about Niagara region. I’m from Toronto; I know a bit more about Toronto, but my colleagues from Welland, St. Catharines and Niagara are dealing with a very big issue as well.

Niagara region was slated to directly elect their regional chair for the first time. This government stripped the people of Niagara of their democratic choice, of their democratic voice. Many in Niagara were looking forward to the election of the regional chair. Members in Niagara have brought to my attention that there has been an ongoing problem and disagreement at the regional level, a real divergence of opinions on the direction of the region. How do you solve that? Typically, in a democracy, elections seem to be a good idea. I don’t know what everyone who is elected in this room thinks, but I actually think elections are a good idea, and so do the people of Niagara. The people of Niagara had a diverse choice of candidates; I’m sure it was all over the political map. They were going to make a choice on what direction they felt was best for their community—but not anymore. With no notice, the government has stripped them of this election. Beyond not notifying the province, they made the announcement the morning of the deadline for nominations. How do you run elections when you’re changing things so late? This is an extraordinary thing. Those candidates had a very tough time deciding where they were going to go. I don’t think people’s main concern is what happens to candidates—frankly, it’s just not on their radar—but in terms of democratic choice and direction in Niagara, this was a really, really bad decision. It’s a major step backward for the Niagara region. There are about a half million people who live in Niagara. They deserve to be able to make a choice. That is being taken away by this Premier.

I stand with the people of Niagara, and I encourage them to fight, and I encourage this government to withdraw this antidemocratic bill and respect the people of the region.

I note that the point I made right at the beginning about the minister having power to write regulations to

overturn what we will debate here in the Legislature applies to Niagara and these regional races as well. It's quite an extraordinary piece of legislation—very noteworthy.

You have to say, Speaker, when you look at this kind of action taken against these regions, that this is a directed political measure. It is not a measured, thoughtful way of dealing with a problem in a democracy; it's a way of getting at people you don't like and making sure that they're out of the picture.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): I'm going to ask the member to withdraw.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Withdraw.

In Toronto, the Premier has announced that he intends to slash the number of councillors on Toronto city council from 47 to 25, as well as cancel those other races. That race is already well under way. People in Toronto went through a four-year process of consultation—and I'll touch on that later. In fact, the former mayor of Toronto, Rob Ford, initiated that project of consultation. He thought it was a good idea that we decide how many people are needed to run this city.

Interjection.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Amazing, eh?

The news broke last Thursday evening, and the reason the Premier gave was, to reduce the size of government and end a culture of misuse and waste—from someone who wants to spend 30 million bucks on a legal action against the federal government, when his Attorney General in a press conference today could not say “Yes” to the question, “Do you think you can win?” She didn't even say, “Maybe.” That was too strong. She would not answer the question. So 30 million bucks, folks, is being blown on this legal action that is going to wind up in the ditch. That is waste and abuse. So we have a small group on the right flank of Toronto council holding press events on Friday and again on Monday where they supported the Premier's decision. It was pretty clear that at least Michael Thompson knew on the Thursday that this was going ahead—not the rest of us. We don't really count because we're just elected representatives of the people, but Michael Thompson knew that. Intriguing; fascinating.

Two of the councillors appearing with Thompson, Justin Di Ciano and Giorgio Mammoliti, appealed an Ontario Municipal Board decision that upheld a city of Toronto decision to increase the council's seat count to 47 from 44. They appealed it to the OMB and they were rejected. The OMB wrote, “The board rejects that public consultation was inadequate.” The OMB is a pretty conservative body. Those of you who have dealt with it may know they're cautious in their language. They're not generally considered friends of local government and tend to be an obstacle. But in this case they said that “the evidence was clear that the 47-ward structure initially recommended was in fact adjusted to reflect input from stakeholders in respect of communities of interest.”

In a particular rebuke of Mammoliti's “do nothing” proposal, the OMB wrote the following: “Ultimately, the

decision to re-examine the city's ward boundaries is one that lies with council.” The OMB was right. “It has the ability to review its ward structure as often (or as little) as it chooses. The city undertook a lengthy detailed process, incorporating public comment and considered (and reconsidered) various options. Public and stakeholder inputs were incorporated throughout the process.”

There was in fact a multi-year consultation process—something not happening here. Some people liked it; some people didn't like it. That's the nature of an open society. In the end, council adopted a position based on consultation with the people of this city that was upheld by the Ontario Municipal Board against the interests of those who don't like the idea of representation. The OMB ruled to dismiss the appellants' appeal of the council decision and to uphold the council decision.

Now, who would do something like this? Who would ask for a review of council structure so it was better reflective of the people of this city? Was it David Miller? No. Did David Miller do this?

Interjections: No.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: No, no, not him. Was it Mel Lastman?

Interjections: No.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: No. But, who could it be? The mystery deepens. It deepens.

Hon. Rod Phillips: Tell us; tell us.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Mr. Phillips may know that Mr. Lastman wasn't involved; he would have advised him on this matter.

No, it came later. It was 2013. It was the Ford administration. Amazing. How about that? Who would have thought it? Who would have thought it?

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Order, please.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: I actually went and looked at the city council record and the motion of the executive committee, which was intriguing. The motion was to set up this broad consultation and assessment. In fact, it set out responsibilities for those who were going to do the study. The consultant was to “undertake a ward boundary review for Toronto that is legally robust and will withstand legal scrutiny and possible appeals to the OMB.” Well, apparently, they did that. And to “implement a two-stage broad engagement and consultation strategy with the Toronto public, communities, key stakeholders, the mayor and councillors to elicit input on Toronto's current ward boundaries and input on ward boundary options.” Apparently, they did that, because it held up at the OMB. They actually delivered on the instructions given by Mayor Ford's executive committee.

“The consultant will be responsible to undertake a Toronto ward boundary review within the following parameters:

“Develop a ward boundary review process, work plan and engagement and consultation strategy that does not assume a predetermined number of wards or specific boundaries of wards for Toronto.”

They didn't say, "You've got to take it up," or, "You've got to take it down." They said to come back with ward boundaries that reflect the needs of the city of Toronto and to apply "the principle of 'effective representation' as outlined by the Supreme Court of Canada and applied by the courts and the OMB in developing ward boundary options."

1750

Well, I think they did that. They were given instructions to look at what would work for the city of Toronto and they were told to go out and consult and make sure this is something that reflects the will of the people of Toronto—the will of the people of Toronto. And they did that.

So, in the winter of 2013-14, consultants brought in a report, a work plan. Then, in 2014-15, the ward boundary review process started, with the two-stage consultation going on. Then, in the spring of 2016, council considered the final report. So we're talking 2013 to 2016-17, roughly four years.

Tell me if I'm wrong, members of the government side, but I expect you're going to wrap this up in a few weeks. So four years of consultation with the people of Toronto, in an open process meant to elicit from them what they wanted in the way of representation, one that was challenged by those who were unhappy with it—they were rejected by the OMB. We have a decision, which most people would consider democratically arrived at and democratically representative, being thrown in the trash. That's an extraordinary thing. It was not a job creation plan. It was meant to deal with adequate representation of the people of Toronto by their elected representatives, and that's what we have here.

That's an extraordinary thing: being thrown out on a whim—actually, more than a whim, Speaker. I will go into my assessment of why this is happening as I get further into my speech.

The rules and legislation governing this: The city of Toronto is legislated primarily by the City of Toronto Act. Most other municipalities are primarily governed by the Municipal Act, 2001. Those bills are going to be amended.

Now, we know, notwithstanding the OMB ruling, that ultimately the province has jurisdiction, it has power over the city of Toronto. One should always exercise power carefully. You never know what's going to blow up when you exercise it badly. But it's pretty clear the province has power.

I'll note, though, that the City of Toronto Act, 2006, contains a set of governing principles committing the government to maintaining a co-operative relationship with the city and provides that this relationship be formalized in a written agreement. I'll just read from that agreement:

"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."

Who would argue with that? Put up your hands if you don't think there should be a system of consultation and

co-operation. Come on. I look forward to people saying that that's bad news. I generally think that in dealing with municipalities, provincial government should work with them in a consultative and co-operative way—

Interjection.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Yes, Parry Sound. Take your—

Mr. Bill Walker: Owen Sound.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Owen Sound is a great place, a wonderful place, I have to say. But you would want consultation and co-operation in dealing—

Interjection.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Yes.

"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."

So we actually have in the act not a requirement to consultation but an agreement between the province and the city that there will be consultation and co-operation—thrown out the window, irrelevant to this government.

Mr. Taras Natyshak: Aren't they big on consultation?

Mr. Peter Tabuns: Oh, I'm going to speak about consultation further; I appreciate that.

Not only was there an extensive process with the citizenry, there was an agreement between the province and the city for ongoing coordination, consultation and co-operation—not happening. There was no consultation on the bill before us, and there may be none. I look forward to seeing whether time allocation is brought in. Some of us will not be shocked if it is. I think you're wrong to do it. But I don't think you're going to consult. I don't think you're going to go anywhere near what the city of Toronto did with its citizens, because you don't have an interest in it. You've shown no evidence of such interest.

Speaker, we in the last few weeks have been seized with the debate about the sex ed curriculum. I've listened to the Premier, the Minister of Health and the Minister of Education speak at length about the reason we're throwing out a sex ed curriculum meant to keep children from being sexually abused and meant to ensure that we could prevent depression amongst LGBTQ youth. We've been told, "No, you can't go there because there was a bad consultation and we're going to throw it out and we're going to go on a consultation for an unspecified period of time"—

Interjection: "Biggest ever."

Mr. Peter Tabuns: "Biggest ever," yes. Sorry. Thank you. "Biggest ever."

But when there actually is a lengthy consultation by a city government with its citizens, that gets thrown out in a heartbeat; no problem. The cover being used for sex ed is a very thin cover; in fact, it's saran wrap. One can see through it.

I would oppose this bill even if it was being set in place so that it would have effect on the elections four years from now. I would oppose it because I don't think

it makes sense. But that's not what is happening. In fact, what's happening is a disruption of an election process that is already under way, because I have been canvassed at my door by candidates already. I think that's a good thing. I'm very appreciative of the fact that they are out on the street and talking to people now. You've got to do it.

So it's an extraordinary thing, and it would be extraordinary in Ontario if the federal government stepped in when we were in the middle of an election and said, "Oh, you know, we're going to change it all today." It shows utter, total lack of respect for the people of Toronto.

Speaker, I know my time is short, but I know I get more time next week and I'm looking forward to that. I had an opportunity earlier today when we were debating our leader's motion on rejecting this bill to talk a bit about what are the motives here. I gather there's some sensitivity in my talking about the motives, so I will just note that there are two books that I urge every member of this Legislature to read. And I urge that those who are watching today read *Crazy Town* by Robyn Doolittle and *Mayor Rob Ford: Uncontrollable* by Mark Towhey.

Now, Robyn Doolittle is not as sympathetic to Mayor Ford as one might want if one was in favour of Mayor Ford, but it's still a fairly good journalistic piece. *Uncontrollable* by Mark Towhey—let's be gentle. Mark is no leftie. He's a bright guy and, frankly, after I read the book I thought, "This is a guy I'd like to talk to someday." But he has a very clear-eyed assessment of what went well and what went wrong in that administration.

Frankly, those who want to understand how this Premier is dealing with the city of Toronto would be well advised to read those books to see how power is used and abused. Because one can only think that the ego of this Premier was deeply damaged by his experience with Toronto city council. Why else would you do this? Why is this a priority, frankly? Why would this be a priority?

When the city of Toronto was dealing with the chaos of the Ford administration, the mayor of the time and his brother, who, when you read those books, you can see was deeply integrated into the decision-making—and "deeply integrated" may be an understatement—were, those two men, isolated and pushed out by the rest of council, a council composed of people on the right, on the left and in the middle, because they couldn't stand the chaos. We were getting a reputation globally for chaos. I had friends who were in Uruguay on holiday. A guy came up and said, "Where are you from?" They said, "Toronto." "Oh, Toronto, yes. We've heard about that." Michael Prue, formerly from Beaches—East York, was in Taiwan. He picked up the newspaper and there was a big picture of Doug and Rob on the front cover—Taiwan. Oh, no, we hit the big time. So you have a Premier who got locked out by the rest of council who were trying to protect the city.

You look like you want to say something, Speaker.

Second reading debate deemed adjourned.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Lisa Gretzky): Seeing the time on the clock, this House stands adjourned until 9 a.m. on Tuesday, August 7, 2018.

The House adjourned at 1759.

TAB 5

Legislative
Assembly
of Ontario



Assemblée
législative
de l'Ontario

**Official Report
of Debates
(Hansard)**

No. 15

**Journal
des débats
(Hansard)**

N° 15

1st Session
42nd Parliament

Tuesday
7 August 2018

1^{re} session
42^e législature

Mardi
7 août 2018

Speaker: Honourable Ted Arnott
Clerk: Todd Decker

Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
Greffier : Todd Decker

“—reinstate the Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation;

“—work with First Nations leaders to sign co-operative government-to-government accords;

“—support TRC education and community development...;

“—support Indigenous communities across the province (e.g. cleaning up Grassy Narrows).”

I fully support this petition. I’m going to affix my name to it and give it to page Adam to bring to the Clerk.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Pursuant to standing order 30(c), the time for routine proceedings has expired.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR L’AMÉLIORATION DES ADMINISTRATIONS LOCALES

Resuming the debate adjourned on August 2, 2018, on the motion for second reading of the following bill:

Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 / Projet de loi 5, Loi modifiant la Loi de 2006 sur la cité de Toronto, la Loi de 2001 sur les municipalités et la Loi de 1996 sur les élections municipales.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate? I recognize the member from Markham–Stouffville.

Mr. Paul Calandra: I thought somebody else was speaking first. So how do you like that?

Applause.

Mr. Paul Calandra: Well, thank you.

I appreciate the opportunity to rise today to speak a little bit about Bill 5, which brings very important legislation forward which will not only help the city of Toronto but will also help, both directly and indirectly, the regional municipality of York, which I represent, of course—the riding of Markham–Stouffville.

If I can, Mr. Speaker, I’d just ask that perhaps one of the pages could bring me some water. I thought I had a few extra minutes. Thank you very much.

I was actually very happy to see that the member for Etobicoke North, the Premier, brought this bill forward, for a number of reasons. As I said, I represent Markham–Stouffville, so I’m going to begin by focusing some of my comments on that area.

Part of what we had decided to do with Bill 5 was to put an end to regional council chair elections that were supposed to be scheduled for this year. Now, at the outset, obviously a lot of people have suggested on both sides of the House that direct election of a regional chair would be a good thing. But in this particular instance, the people of York region, in particular those who were

elected to the regional council, were very, very clear on the fact that they were not in support of the changes to the council that had been proposed by the previous government. It, of course, was a bill that I think was put in as part of an economic statement by the previous government. All of the mayors who serve on regional council voted against that. In fact, I think only four members of the entire regional council had voted in favour of direct election of the chair.

Now, part of the reason for our desire to hold things back, or as the minister has stated, part of the reason for the pause and the positive reaction that we’ve gotten from York region, was that there had not really been an undertaking to look at how regional government was to represent people going forward, especially in the area of the direct election of a regional chair. York region was created back in 1970. The region was created when 14 municipalities were amalgamated into nine municipalities. Very little had changed in York region with respect to the governance of how we governed ourselves in that time period.

When I had spoken at outreach to the mayors in my community, the mayor of Markham, in particular—I spoke to Chairman Emmerson recently. Part of the thing—and I think it was very intelligent of them. They said, “Listen, the reason why we had to bring a pause and why it was smart for the government to bring a pause at this time is that the cost of running a campaign to be the regional chair was going to be a significant one.” York region is a municipality, as a whole, of 1.3 million people. It has certainly changed since its creation back in 1970. It is a community that has very dense urban areas to the south, but also some very sparsely developed and rural areas to the north.

Part of the things that we had discussed in consulting with constituents and with elected officials in the area is that they wanted to know what would be the powers of regional chairperson following his or her direct election. A chairperson in York region has a significant amount of power, far more power than the mayor of one of the communities that it represents—more power than the mayor of Toronto. But the legislation, as it was presented and passed, did not change the powers of the regional chair, and that was a big concern.

We also heard from a number of other people who suggested that perhaps regional council could be changed in other ways. I had heard two different approaches: that perhaps regional council become something where just mayors sat on with a directly elected chairman, or mayors and an appointed chair; still others thought that mayors should be removed from York region council, and regional councils would be directly elected without mayors. A lot of people had suggested that part of the reason why they wanted to remove the mayors from the council was their divided loyalties. Were they more loyal to the town or city that they represented, or would they have been more loyal to the region of York? There was a lot of discussion that that should have been fleshed out before we moved to a direct election of a regional chair.

There's also the very odd aspect of regional governments in York region—perhaps it's not the case in other areas. But York region councillors, by and large, are all elected at large. When I look at the city of Markham, its four regional councillors—the mayor notwithstanding—are elected at large. They don't represent a specific ward; they represent the entire city of Markham. Individuals have come to me and said that that makes it very difficult to hold regional councillors accountable for the decisions that they make, and still others have said that any modifications of York region council or regional councillors as a whole ought to also consider changing the system of how our regional councillors are elected, and putting them into a ward system. In parts of York region, there is only one councillor who serves on the region.

1640

I look at my town of Stouffville, Mr. Speaker. I'll spend a moment or two talking about my hometown of Stouffville. There's one regional councillor. That regional councillor happens to be the mayor of Stouffville. The mayor of Stouffville—it has been publicized; it's not something that I'm speaking out of turn on—has faced three integrity commissioner investigations. He is currently forbidden from entering the town hall and he is currently forbidden from interacting with town staff, which has made it very, very difficult for this mayor, who serves on regional council, to represent the people of Stouffville at regional council, yet we don't have another option. The people of Stouffville do not have another option at regional council. We have a mayor who has, as I said, been the subject of three integrity commissioner reports and findings of guilt. He has very, very difficult and harsh sanctions against him, for various reasons as outlined by the integrity commissioner, which has left us without a mayor who can practise or do his full job, and at the same time has left us without proper representation on regional council. Direct election of a regional chair would not do anything to solve that problem in those municipalities where only one regional councillor exists.

The other aspect we have, Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned, is York region. I'm just going to focus on York region because that's the community that I represent. York region has a very big divide—urban and rural. That's the same with the community that I represent in Stouffville. The southern part of my riding in Markham is very urban, very dense. Often the issues that are important to the people of Markham are at odds with the people who live in the northern part of my riding in Stouffville, which is still very rural. It depends on farming, which is our number one industry. Decisions, however, that have been made by previous Conservative, Liberal and, in fact, way back, NDP governments in the early 1990s have left the northern parts of some of our communities, including Stouffville, unable to grow their industrial and commercial tax base.

The reason that's important, Mr. Speaker, is because some of these communities, including Stouffville, face what could be double-digit property tax increases because most of the land is frozen. They have been built

out. Once development charges start to decrease, they will have a very difficult time making ends meet and ensuring that their residents have the services they need.

The reason that that's important, Mr. Speaker, is that in the regional context, areas like Stouffville, or King township, which faces a very similar set of circumstances, are going to be relying on the regional government to take up services. This could mean amalgamation of the fire service, in part. Stouffville is a community of some 45,000 people. The southern part is very urban. We have full-time firefighters in the south. In the north, we don't have full-time firefighters. In the north, we don't have high-speed Internet. With a regional government, we were able to get better access to high-speed Internet.

We have policing services. We have ambulance services. But it's becoming very, very clear that, in the very near future, some of the rural communities to the north are going to be needing to rely on the regional government in a much bigger way than they have in the past. That is one of the reasons why a lot of the municipalities—most of the regional councillors voted and wanted this stopped, wanted a pause put on this, because they wanted to make sure that if regional government was to be reformed, it wouldn't just stop with an election of a regional chair; it had to look at all of the things that have happened in government or that government would need to do over the next number of years to make sure that all the municipalities and the residents within those municipalities could afford to live in those communities, could be safe, and have access to similar types of services.

That's why, in part, I was very pleased and, as I said, a vast majority of the regional councillors were pleased that the government put a pause to this. I think, over the next coming years—I know that I've already started to reach out to some of my colleagues on this side of the House who represent the communities in York region, the mayors and different councillors, to talk about how we can make York region governance better than it is today. That may one day include the election of a regional chair, but not before we understand what the powers of the chair will be and, as I said, not before we understand who should do what, what service delivery might be more effective and where the communities that are within York region are at in terms of their growth, where their property taxpayers will be, and can we afford to maintain the levels of service that we've come to expect without regional government taking a bigger approach.

The other area of the bill, and one of the areas that a lot of people have obviously focused on in this House, is the changes at the council of the city of Toronto, the reduction in the size of the council. One of the things I've heard is, if we're going to reduce the size of the city of Toronto council, does that mean we should look at other municipalities and start reducing the size of other municipalities' to match the federal-provincial boundaries? Mr. Speaker, obviously, that is a silly comparison.

Look, I was a federal member of Parliament who represented the largest riding in Canada in terms of population—or very, very close to it. I represented in

Ottawa and there was a provincial member of Parliament who represented the same riding. I represented 350,000 people as a federal member of Parliament, whereas the entire island of Prince Edward Island is about 125,000 people, with four members of Parliament and four senators. My riding had myself and the provincial member of Parliament.

I know in this House that there are members who represent much larger communities than other members. I know that some of the urban areas are twice the size of some of the rural areas. I don't suspect that the rural members who represent smaller communities or smaller population bases—I don't think that they work any less than I do, but they work differently.

There is a convention in this country, or at least in this province, whereby as municipalities grow, we turn to a regional form of government first; that was the case in the city of Toronto when we created Metro. Then there are greater amalgamations that reduce the size of councils and, by that, reduce the number of elected politicians, which was the case in the early 1970s. Fast-forward to the creation of the city of Toronto—again, the elimination of a level of government. But the convention has been, honestly, since the creation of this province, that as a municipality grows, as it begins to prosper, as it becomes more urban and more responsible, the number of politicians decreases and the power and authorities of those councillors increase.

There are a number of municipalities, including many in York region, whose councillors are part-time. They earn a part-time salary. A city of Toronto councillor earns a full-time salary, and they should earn a full-time salary because they have very difficult jobs.

But to suggest that there can't be changes at the city of Toronto that will improve it I think is wrong. There are some 80 different committees at the city of Toronto. It's just staggering when one looks at the committee structure of the city of Toronto. There are 80 different committees that councillors have to sit on or are a part of. Maybe there's one councillor; in many instances, more than one councillor. There has to be change to that. No one would suggest that 25 councillors are going to have to cover 80 different committees, nor should they. But in the absence of making the change that has been required and showing the leadership through the city of Toronto—the Premier has shown that leadership.

Will there be an amalgamation of services within the city of Toronto? Yes, there will be. But members of Parliament in this House have been able to represent their communities very well. Members of Parliament in Ottawa have been able to represent their communities very well. Each of us, whether it's Liberal, Conservative or NDP, have done that, and we have represented our communities, I think, exceptionally well and have made great changes.

1650

One of the reasons why this is so important and why it's important for me as a member of provincial Parliament from York region is because decision gridlock in

the city of Toronto has an enormous impact on us in York region. When I was a member of Parliament, I joined Premier Dalton McGuinty, Mayor David Miller and Prime Minister Harper at the Sheppard bus garage, and we announced—I think it was \$1.2 billion for light rail along Sheppard Avenue, which was going to be built by 2010. It was great for my community because it would have given us access to different access points at Meadowvale and Morningside to get on Toronto transit. It's 2018 and it's still not done. It's expected to be done by—2033 now, I think, is the projected timeline for that.

We announced in co-operation with the then city of Toronto that we were going to increase transit in Scarborough with a Scarborough subway. The last time we built something in Scarborough was 1985, when there was the LRT that was built—1985. There are 700,000 people, I think, in the old city of Scarborough and they haven't had a new transit system built for them since 1985.

Well, the lack of a subway, the lack of that connection has made it increasingly more difficult for the people of York region to get connections to the rail or to the subways or the public transportation that we need. In my riding, Mr. Speaker, and some of the members of Parliament from Durham will know this very well—Steeles Avenue in my riding: I don't know how many times we have talked about this. In Durham region, where Steeles Avenue is completely within the Durham region area, it is a four-lane road and it has been rebuilt. Traffic moves. You hit the border of Toronto and Markham and it turns into one lane each way. The road has not been repaired. We have been studying it. York region has asked for it to be completed. We've said we would pay for it. But the city of Toronto simply cannot figure out what to do with it. They have studied this thing to death, and it harms our people. It is one of the most dangerous roads in all of Ontario, Mr. Speaker.

Ending gridlock at the city of Toronto is good for York region. It will make a huge difference in how our residents get around. It will mean lots for economic growth and development in our area of the GTA, as well. It will mean more economic development for the city of Toronto. We've heard time and time again how people find it frustrating to deal with the city of Toronto, given the amount of gridlock there. This will make big changes. This will help the entire GTA, Mr. Speaker.

It's very clear. Look, this is a big government. It's a \$12-billion government, if I'm not mistaken, in the city of Toronto. But as the city of Toronto goes, so goes the province of Ontario and so goes Canada. When we talk about the economic engine of Canada being Ontario, that engine is driven by the city of Toronto, and gridlock is what is hurting us. It's stopping us from growing the entire region, Mr. Speaker.

That's why, as a member of Parliament from York region, I'm so excited by the changes that have been brought forward by the Premier and the Minister of Municipal Affairs. I'm excited to get the job done because I know that over the next decade we are going to

see transit built like never before and we are going to see economic growth throughout the region. I appreciate the—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Thank you. Questions and comments?

Mr. Tom Rakocevic: Contemplating the substance of what we're hearing from the government on this issue is like contemplating Swiss cheese: It's full of holes.

Just listening to what I heard now, it's surprising to me that this government, Conservatives, are supporting appointments over elections. It is mind-boggling. And to hear the logic that councillors and mayors in these regions all of a sudden don't support elections, that they would rather have appointments—it's quite a double standard because not too long ago a consultation was held in the city of Toronto. I know because I worked there with a city councillor. The councillors favoured increasing by a marginal amount the number of seats, not reducing them. This obviously doesn't matter to this government.

To suggest the city of Toronto is dysfunctional is absurd. Each council meeting, they make hundreds of decisions. Bylaws pass and they pass quick.

Here—I'm a new member—I'm seeing things actually move a lot slower. They also progress very unilaterally because you tend to have majority governments. One side makes all the decisions and things go through. In the previous Conservative government, that meant burying a subway on Eglinton—since these guys want to talk about moving transit along. That included selling the 407. That included amalgamation, which was, in many ways, the cause of so much of the so-called “mess” Toronto has, downloading numerous costs onto municipalities. This is the legacy of unilateral decision-making.

In the city of Toronto, where there is lively debate in a non-partisan environment, so much gets done. I know this because I was there. I think it's really rich to hear this government speak in that way, denigrating the city of Toronto. It is an amazing place, and I believe in democracy in Toronto.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further questions and comments?

Mrs. Daisy Wai: I am here standing in support of the changes to the size of Toronto city council, as well as the changes to regional council chairs, especially in York region. As I was canvassing during my campaign, people in Richmond Hill had been telling me time and time again to cut back the red tape in government and get things done. We are just doing that.

We have promised our people—actually, this is a promise made and promise kept.

Applause.

Mrs. Daisy Wai: Thank you.

I just want to say that when we do that—especially in Toronto, where we have so many councillors that decisions are being held up and the services are not being given out as efficiently as they are supposed to be, we really need this change. I'm so happy that we laid this bill out so quickly to get everything back on track.

I am happy that when we do this, we are committed to having the accountability and the trust of the people back in government and that we are going to reduce the costs. It's a lot of money that we are reducing. This is important for the people.

Just now, the member on the opposition side was saying that because we have a lot of people on this side of the House, obviously we can pass a bill. But it was the people's decision to select so many of us, because this is their wish. This is what they want: They want us to represent them, and we're just doing the job that they asked us to do.

I just want to say that we will be saving \$25 million for them over four years. It is a lot of money. Not only that: The deadline, we're going to keep it—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Thank you.

Further questions and comments?

Ms. Peggy Sattler: I am pleased to rise on behalf of the people I represent in London West to respond to the member for Markham–Stouffville's comments about Bill 5, the Better Local Government Act.

Speaker, I have to say, as education critic for the Ontario NDP caucus, how astonished I am to see this government ramming through an initiative like this—so anti-democratic, such an abuse of power—with absolutely no consultation. At the same time, they are putting the health and safety of young people in this province at risk because they claim to value consultation.

If this government actually valued consultation, if they were actually interested in hearing what the people had to say, they would consult with the people of Toronto about what kind of government Torontonians want to represent them. That's what the city of London did in 2006. When our community revised our boundaries for our municipal wards, there was an extensive consultation with Londoners about what kind of municipal council we felt would represent the concerns of residents fairly and appropriately.

The city of Toronto actually went through this process, Speaker. It was an extensive four-year process that resulted in an agreement that the number of councillors should be increased, from 44 to 47. One of the reasons why this is so important is because we know that women have a very difficult time getting into elected positions in municipal government. Increasing the size of council, ensuring that the number of councillors is appropriate for the number of people who are represented in any community, is critical to enable democratic representation.

1700

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further questions and comments?

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): We have switched. The member for Scarborough–Rouge Park.

Mr. Vijay Thanigasalam: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. As someone who grew up in Scarborough, as I represent the great riding of Scarborough–Rouge Park, I believe that the Better Local Government Act will help improve

the efficiency of government, reduce the size of government and ultimately improve the service delivery of the government.

The reason why we are bringing forward this legislation is to enable the fifth-largest economy in this country to do the business of governing, serve the people, build transit and improve the lives of every single Torontonian. We believe in better government. However, an oversized council makes it almost impossible to build meaningful consensus and get things done. We are going to reduce the size and cost of Toronto city hall so that decisions can be made quicker while services can be delivered more efficiently and effectively.

On June 7, the people of Ontario made their decision loud and clear: To deliver our mandate for the people. We are committed to restoring accountability and trust in government. We also promise to reduce the size and cost of government and to end the culture of waste and mismanagement.

We are not spending \$25 million for more politicians. We need small government to function effectively and efficiently.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): That ends this session of questions and comments.

We return to the member from Markham–Stouffville to wrap it up.

Mr. Paul Calandra: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Let me be very clear. One of the members opposite talked about the appointment of a regional chair being anti-democratic. We have a regional chair under the previous proposal who has more power than a mayor, who has higher signing authority. We have councillors who are voted at large who represent no specific community and have no specific relationship to a ward or to a riding. We have communities within York region that have very different requirements and needs. We have some communities facing double-digit property tax increases. None of that was encompassed in the direct appointment of a regional chair.

The people of York region, the elected regional councillors and the elected mayors who serve on regional council have all said that we need to put a pause on this because there are very important decisions and other changes that have to be made to regional government before we go to the direct election of a regional chair. None of that was encompassed. To say that continuing on with the regional chair is improving democracy—it's just the opposite.

I've not heard one member of the NDP suggest how it is that we would bring truly representative democracy to York region. Are we going to allow the regional chair to continue to have enormous signing authority? Are we going to continue to have the regional chair be more powerful than any other mayor across the province? I don't think so, Mr. Speaker. That's why we had to put the pause button on this.

With respect to reducing the size of councils: This isn't new. Constitutional convention in this country has been the same since Upper and Lower Canada were

created, for the first time creating one Parliament. We saw this again in 1956, when Metro was created, and we had smaller governments. In 1970, when Leaside was incorporated into East York, it meant smaller councils and fewer politicians, but the politicians we had were given more authority, more power, representing larger communities because it reflected their increased support.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Ms. Marit Stiles: It is a great pleasure to speak here in regard to this bill. This is a bill that boggles the mind. I was sitting here listening to the comments across the way and thinking about where to begin because this is legislation that is not just, I think, poor legislation, bad legislation, representing what I think are the really bad decisions that this government is making, but vastly undemocratic legislation.

As my colleague the member from Toronto–Danforth mentioned last week in this debate, I, like he, would oppose this whether or not it was being thrust at the city of Toronto at this point, in the middle of a municipal election that is already under way, in such an undemocratic fashion. Even if this legislation came forward four years from now or three years from now, I think I would still oppose it, because it's just a bad idea.

I want to talk a little bit about some of the issues around this legislation. First of all, as my colleague from University–Rosedale raised in a member's statement last week, the contrast with other municipalities—if you impose the same boundaries, the same formula of the federal-provincial ridings on other municipalities in this province, we end up with something absolutely ridiculous, like one city councillor in the city of Guelph.

I appreciate our leader this morning, the Leader of the Opposition, raising this issue with the Deputy Premier, about her concerns about why they would even be—rather, it was the member from Toronto–Danforth. Does this mean that they're going to impose a similar formula on other municipalities? I think we all know that that's never going to happen. Why? Because it makes no sense.

So why Toronto? This is, I think, the most challenging thing for the people of this city. It's what we keep hearing again and again. I know that the government opposite would like to think this is only an issue in downtown Toronto. I think they're going to find they're quite wrong about that. We're hearing it in neighbourhoods where, yes, they've been cynical in the past about politics and politicians. We're hearing it from all corners of this city, and that voice is getting louder. If I was a member of the government sitting opposite who comes from one of the ridings, perhaps, in this city, I'd be worried right now, because I think this is going to be something that comes back to haunt some members.

I also want to point out the absurdity of comparing the city council size in Toronto to city council size in New York or in Los Angeles. My goodness, just do some basic research. Those municipalities have borough councils and other levels of government that help them meet the needs of constituents—pretty basic.

So again, why Toronto? The government opposite says, "We're going to save money." What is it, \$25 million over four years? It's a drop in the bucket.

I wanted to speak a little bit more on that point, if I may. The Premier talks about \$25 million in savings to be had from slashing city council, and he does this by referencing his amazing record of saving \$1 billion from a city program audit he approved while on Toronto city council that actually only saved \$8 million. While that may seem like a lot to some people, when you're talking about a budget the size of the city of Toronto, it's not very much. Again, a drop in the bucket; really not much at all, and probably not even worth the cost of conducting it.

He holds this process sacred but ignores the very exhaustive Toronto ward boundary review recommendations on how to increase representation for the people of Toronto—a review that was initiated, let's remember, by his own brother when he was mayor.

The lack of consultation around the Premier's really undemocratic decision to slash access to effective representation for three million Torontonians can be understood, though, when we look at some of the back-room deals of this Premier. Let's think back to late in 2017. The OMB rejected the appeal of an earlier OMB decision by a couple of Toronto city councillors who wanted Toronto council slashed from 47 seats to 22. That sounds familiar, doesn't it? That sounds familiar: 47 to 22. Where did that come from?

The day after the Premier's plot to slash Toronto council became public, a small group of those same city councillors—again, shocking, unforeseen; couldn't have seen that coming—do a little media exercise down here to support the Premier's decision. Wow, shocking. These councillors made clear that they had heard from the Premier the night before his announcement. Nobody else seemed to, but those city councillors, strangely, found out about this—though apparently the mayor didn't, or anyone else.

1710

Two of these councillors were the ones who appealed the OMB decision. Let's remember: The OMB, in their decision, ruled that the move by the city of Toronto to 47 seats was the product of extensive public consultation. Wait, that's something that this government likes to talk about, Mr. Speaker. Public consultation is really important when we're talking about things like consent, or teaching kids that it's okay to be lesbian or gay or trans, or even just teaching them the basics of their sexuality, of gender identity. Those things—the basic sex ed curriculum in 2018—require the most expensive, most extensive consultation ever, but changing the fundamentals of democracy and how the people of the largest city in Canada and one of the largest cities in North America, how they are going to be represented in their communities, how they're going to get served when they're dealing with things like sewers and potholes and buses that don't come on time—when we're dealing with those kinds of things, no, no, no, consultation is not good enough for the people of Toronto.

Again, the OMB said, wow, extensive public consultation, including—and this is to quote their decision—over 100 "face-to-face meetings" with "members of council, school boards," stakeholders and 24 "public meetings and information sessions." Now, I've got to tell you, I've gone to a lot of public consultation meetings over the years. At many of them, sometimes you get a couple of people out, but these were something different. People really felt engaged. It really mattered, because the fact is that what happens at city council really matters in the day-to-day lives of so many, especially people who live in a big city like Toronto, where development is happening around the corner from you, where you may have a 40-storey condo tower pop up on the corner. You have no voice except for your city councillor pushing for community consultations, negotiating with the developer for affordable housing units, for community space, for public park space.

That, I have to say, I was struggling—what is the motivation again for this legislation, this really quite draconian legislation? What is the motivation here? I keep coming back to that point, because I know in my neighbourhood—which, again, is downtown Toronto; that's right. But so many communities across the city are like mine in that people are finding themselves confronting these kinds of developments. And I'll tell you something: People in Toronto, we don't usually balk at development. We get that if you live downtown, you know that there's going to be a condo tower probably coming up in your community. But you want some say in how high, maybe, and whether or not there's going to be any green space. Will there be enough child care spaces to accommodate those families?

And don't even get me started about whether those developers should have to pay some contribution to education in our communities, because this government, as well as the previous government, the Liberal government, refused to force developers to pay education development charges for our public school board in Toronto, which would have helped in some way—just some nod toward dealing with a \$4-billion capital repairs backlog, leaky roofs and playgrounds that are falling apart. This is not how kids want to go to school. We wouldn't want to go to work in that environment; we shouldn't expect kids to go to school in that environment. But no, we wouldn't want to ask the developers for that.

So I think, "Why? What is it that these governments, one after another, consecutive governments—why can't they just give developers that one little task?" Please, just a few pennies here and there, a little bit more for each unit that you build so that something will go into the schools. Why? It's because you like developers, right? They like developers, and they like to know that the developers—the free market is just going to figure it all out. Well, do you know what? That has not proved correct. That has not proved true in downtown Toronto. You can see it because there are no schools.

Downtown city councillors fought and fought with school board trustees to have a new school built, and it

was like pulling teeth. This took years, because all of these developments came about with not enough consideration originally, I think, given to where those kids were going to go school, where those families were going to seek child care. We have really tragic child care space shortages in this city. Waiting lists for waiting lists for child care, right?

We have schools that are bursting at the seams, and the only path to building new schools is selling our school buildings. Let me tell you, school board trustees and city councillors—I am a former school board trustee—are used to making some tough decisions. In my own community in my riding, we had to sell off seven and a half acres of public school land—an extremely difficult decision. It raised a lot of money. It raised more money than, I think, anything like that, more than any sale of public land has raised probably in Ontario in a very long time—\$122 million raised for the Toronto District School Board, with a \$4-billion capital repair backlog. So that \$122 million? Gone—poof, gone. You won't see that again.

The price we have already paid is enormous, and yet this government wants to, I think, maybe make it a little easier even for developers and make it harder for the community to push for any kind of community benefit in a situation like that. That is appalling. It's just simply appalling.

So I've been grappling with what is behind this. Is there any way to appeal to the members opposite to reverse their decision to move forward with this legislation? Because it is so antidemocratic and because, ultimately, the only people who are going to gain are probably the developers, on the backs of families who want to live and work in this city.

I was thinking about—again, why Toronto? Why Toronto? Some of it may just simply be wanting to create some chaos. I was reading with great interest this article in the Toronto Star today. It was a very interesting one because when you look at it, there is quite a lot of data. There are more polls coming out every day showing that, as Torontonians start to learn more and hear more about what the implications are of this legislation, they are increasingly disappointed, including a very large segment of the voting population who supported the members opposite in the election—and these are early days. They haven't even seen the chaos that's coming. They haven't even experienced it yet, and already they think they're making a big mistake over there.

I also just want to point out that you don't have to take Abacus or any of those folks at their word; you can even turn to the friends of the members opposite. The right-leaning Fraser Institute—oh, my goodness—said in a blog post that the council cut will not save taxpayers money in the long run, and it will reduce political scrutiny of the city budget, leaving important decisions to city staff over whom voters have no control.

A senior policy analyst at the Fraser Institute reviewed research of then-Premier Mike Harris's decision to amalgamate Toronto in 1998, another really impressive

move and decision on the part of the governing party at the time. Ostensibly, that was to save money. I remember those days. Believe it or not—it's hard to imagine, because obviously I was 12 at the time—I actually worked here in this building at that moment when that legislation was introduced. I recall that the big argument in favour of that amalgamation was saving money.

Here you have a top policy analyst from the Fraser Institute, who has reviewed the implications of that decision, saying that government spending per household on important services such as fire protection, garbage collection and parks and recreation has increased—yes, increased, not decreased. What? Say it isn't true. Oh, my goodness. I think that is actually a pretty interesting insight.

I also wanted to mention something that I was thinking this morning when I noticed that former minister John Snobelen was here this morning, as I recall. He was introduced by one of the members opposite. I was thinking of that very infamous political moment in his career, which was when he was filmed, shortly after he became the education minister in the Harris cabinet, saying that the government needed to bankrupt and create a useful crisis in the education system. What? Creating chaos? Why would a government want to create chaos? What could they possibly seek? In this case, he was talking about creating chaos in the education system.

1720

The point I want to make, Mr. Speaker, is: Given that the city of Toronto clerk's office has said that they will not likely have the time to implement the changes being imposed by Bill 5, it could be said that the Premier's unilateral move will create a "useful crisis" for the people of Toronto during this general election. For what? For the Premier's own political ends? It's like Godzilla crashing through Tokyo. It's chaos—chaos. Very convenient.

I also want to talk about—

Interjection.

Ms. Marit Stiles: It's hard in this case when somebody is talking so loudly over there, but we're talking about this creation of chaos and why he would want to do that. I keep thinking about something that my colleague the member from Toronto—Danforth talked at great length about last week, which is that settling of old scores. Let's just call it what it is. There's a reason the government opposite is not pursuing this in other municipalities. The Premier ran before for another position, let's just say, in the city of Toronto, and he didn't win. He was defeated.

Beyond that, and I just want to share—I'm going to read a little bit; I've got a couple more minutes left—something that the member from Toronto—Danforth said last week when he was responding to the introduction of the bill. He said:

"It is very clear that this bill addresses a number of interests of Mr. Ford: clearly taking control of the city; clearly making sure that the grassroots have less power; clearly making sure that the well-heeled and the well-connected are in a much more powerful position; and

clearly making sure that developers have a much freer hand in the years to come. But aside from all those things, this is about settling political scores; there is no question about it.”

He urged members of this Legislature and those watching to avail themselves of the nearest public library to read Mayor Rob Ford: Uncontrollable by Mark Towhey, somebody who, honestly, we have so little in common with, yet an interesting read; or how about Crazy Town by Robyn Doolittle—who, I have to say, happens to be a constituent of mine, so a big shout-out to Robyn Doolittle—to understand the milieu, to understand the kinds of people that the Ford administration has worked with and the kind of approach they have to power and politics, as they exhibited so clearly in this city when the Ford administration was in charge. It was a time of—there’s that word again—chaos. That’s right. It was a time of battles. It truly was a time of dysfunction.

But it wasn’t because we had too many councillors; it was because we had two people who were trying to ram through an agenda that disrupted the city. The city of Toronto noted this, and the city of Toronto was recognized around the world for this fantastic leadership—oh, yes. It was recognized as a place of chaos and dysfunction. The only thing, ironically, that saved it, that saved us all, was when the left, the right and the centre at city hall came together in opposition to what Mr. Ford and his brother were trying to accomplish.

So let’s call it what it is. This is about settling old scores with those very people. This is about creating chaos in the city of Toronto. All I have to say to you is, I hope we are—

Mr. Lorne Coe: Speaker, a point of order, please.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Point of order.

Mr. Lorne Coe: Standing order 23(i) indicates that a member cannot impute false or unavowed motives. The speaker opposite—I’m hearing that in terms of the Premier of Ontario. For your consideration, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Thank you.

The member has run out of time.

We’ll do questions and comments.

Mr. Paul Calandra: I listened to that speech very intently, and I note a few things. It comes down to this: The member opposite suggested that it’s about settling scores. I found that very, very interesting, because it seems to me to indicate that the members opposite have come to the realization that head-to-head against Conservative councillors in the city of Toronto—

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: They can’t win.

Mr. Paul Calandra: —they don’t have a chance of winning. The people of the city of Toronto will always pick a Conservative over an NDP councillor, every single time. They are in a complete panic on that side of the House. That’s why they’re talking about settling scores, because they know that when the people are asked directly the question, “Would you rather have a Conservative or would you rather have an NDP?” they’re going

to vote for the Conservative all the time. Do you know why they’re going to do that? Because they like to have more money in their pocket. They’re going to do that because they like to have better services, Mr. Speaker.

Not one mention of York region in that. The economic engine of Canada is Ontario, and that has to be driven by the greater Toronto and Hamilton area. It is in nobody’s interest to have decisions, such as repaving Steeles Avenue, on hold for 20 years. It is in nobody’s interest to have the Sheppard extension debated for 25 or 30 years. The people of Scarborough haven’t had a subway or a major transit expansion since 1985. That might be good politics on that side of the House. That might be what they think is the proper way of running things. But on this side of the House, we’ve said, “No. We’ve had enough. It’s time to move forward.”

It’s time to move forward, so I ask the members opposite: Stop worrying about the councillors that you’re about to lose in a municipal election. If they’ve done a good job, they will get re-elected, but your entire thesis of this entire debate has been on saving these councillors, whom obviously you have no confidence in, who obviously are going to be treated poorly by the people—and, Mr. Speaker, we’ve seen it. We’ve seen it because on June 7—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Thank you. Questions and comments?

Ms. Peggy Sattler: I am pleased to rise to speak on behalf of my constituents in London West to Bill 5, the Better Local Government Act. In particular, I want to commend my colleague the member from Davenport on her very passionate and powerful remarks. Certainly, she has lived experience as somebody who served on the school board, as did I. She understands the importance of local representation. She understands the importance of having a well-functioning local democracy, of having elected school board trustees working with local councillors to address neighbourhood issues.

I am fortunate, Speaker, to come from a community, the city of London, where we have 14 councillors and a population of about 280,000 people. From a representational perspective, that means that every councillor in our city represents about 27,400 constituents.

The city of Toronto currently has 44 councillors. Those councillors each represent more than 60,000 constituents. With this fundamentally anti-democratic proposal that the Conservative government is bringing in, each of the 24 councillors that they want to see elected will represent over 100,000 people. There is a fundamental principle of representation that is at stake here. That is what we are talking about. We are talking about the ability of elected people to listen to the concerns of the people whom they represent and to serve those people in a way that meets the needs of communities. That is what local government is about.

As a caucus, on this side, we respect local municipalities and we respect the role of local government, which this government obviously does not.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Questions and comments?

Ms. Goldie Ghamari: It's interesting to hear the members opposite talk about respecting local municipalities. Mr. Speaker, what about respecting the people? What about respecting the people who are paying millions of dollars for these salaries? If you talk to the average person, would they rather save 25 politicians and their jobs or would they rather save \$25 million of taxpayer money? I guarantee you, Mr. Speaker, they would rather save the \$25 million.

When we're talking about fundamental representation, let's make one thing very clear: Toronto has 25 federal MPs, 25 provincial MPPs, and now we will have 25 Toronto city councillors. What's the issue? If it's good enough at the federal level and at the provincial level, why is it a problem?

1730

Why is the opposition party so intent and so focused on saving political jobs when they have no problem cancelling 7,000 jobs for the Pickering plant? To me, the members opposite need to get their priorities in line here, because if we're representing the people, then we're representing everyone.

At the end of the day, Mr. Speaker, this act will be fair to current candidates. It will extend the nomination deadline to September 14, and it will allow current candidates the opportunity to choose where they want to run.

An oversized council makes it almost impossible to build meaningful consensus and get things done. As a result, infrastructure crumbles, the housing backlog grows and transit isn't built. Well, Mr. Speaker, enough is enough. We are here to make sure Toronto moves forward.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Questions and comments?

Mr. Tom Rakocevic: It's not very confusing. This member is tired of hearing nonsense every single day on this subject from people who know nothing about Toronto council but profess to do so. This is what we hear every single day. This was a fait accompli.

Harris comes in against everyone's will, amalgamates the city of Toronto against everybody's will, and says, "Hey, look, we can't pay our bills. Let's download it on the municipalities." Give your debt to your children and then say, "Hey, look, no more debt."

And then, after all that, we're dealing for years to try to figure out how to harmonize the zoning bylaws with the different boroughs in the city of Toronto.

We have a really, really difficult mayoralty that occurred previous to the one here. That is when, across the world, we heard about the so-called—I won't call it dysfunction, but whatever it was that was happening in the city of Toronto.

Interjection.

Mr. Tom Rakocevic: The minister of heckling is weighing in again.

It's absolute nonsense. What is the basis for what they're saying? There is no basis. This is a government of nothing but slogans and nonsense. It would be like

waking up one day and we find out on CP24 that they sold this building because they have a mandate to reduce costs of government and we're going to be meeting on the sidewalk. That's how nonsense this government is—no logic, no nothing. All they do is get up here and repeat the same tired slogans over and over and over. They know nothing about what they're saying. It's the same thing.

Come up with some logical arguments for once, seriously. It would be amazing to actually hear that. You know nothing about the city of Toronto. This is small-minded, bitter, revenge, cheap, cynical politics. That's what it is.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Before I return to the member from Davenport to conclude this part of the debate, I'd like to remind everyone in the House that it's action and reaction. The more you agitate, the more the other side feels a need to respond. We're not that far away from breaking for the day. I would ask everybody to lower the temperature just a bit.

I'll return to the member for Davenport to wrap up, please.

Ms. Marit Stiles: Yes, well, it is a heated debate, I agree. And I feel for my colleague because I think that we, as Toronto MPPs, feel a particular responsibility to fight for our communities because they will be underserved.

I just want to address, before I go into my final comments, that when members opposite talk about the outcome of this next election—and I know that's what they're looking for, but just so we're all clear, I'm really looking forward to October 22 either way, because I don't think the members opposite have done the math on that one and where we're going to end up. But anyway.

I do want to just mention very quickly that I am very concerned about what this government is prioritizing in this province. The fact that this would be one of the first pieces of legislation, when we have forest fires blazing across this province—what was the latest? A hundred and twenty-seven forest fires; 19 of 42 that are blazing in northeastern Ontario have been deemed out of control. We just hear a couple of words, a couple of soft-lobbed questions over there on that issue. Come on; one person died.

Let's talk about social assistance rates, which this government is slashing. They can pretend it's about increasing the rates, but it's absolutely abysmal what they're doing to people who really are the most vulnerable. We have an opioid crisis in this city, we have school repairs that are absolutely critical and we have a government that's prioritizing rolling back the sex ed curriculum to the 1990s as a priority, when we didn't really even have cellphones that showed videos on them yet, and blowing up Toronto city council.

Well done, members opposite. You've really got your priorities straight.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): The member for Don Valley East, the member for Sault Ste.

Marie and the member for Kitchener–Conestoga will please refrain from debating across the aisle when another member has the floor. Thank you.

Further debate?

Mr. Kaleed Rasheed: I will start this debate with a very famous line: Promise made, promise kept.

Mr. Speaker, we must respect the taxpayers. At the end of the day, they have chosen us—and I think this is what democracy is—to respect our taxpayers. It's for the people of Ontario that we all work, and that is exactly what we are doing in this government. We are respecting the people we represent and we are respecting their hard-earned tax dollars, which the government is spending. It's up to government at every level to make sure they spend taxpayers' money wisely—as efficiently and as effectively as possible.

I'm very fortunate to be part of a government that is working hard to deliver the benefits of those same principles to people in communities large and small and in every corner of this great province. Toronto is not an exception.

During the recent provincial election campaign, my caucus colleagues and I heard very strongly from Ontarians that they want us to respect those tax dollars and that government is supposed to work for them. I think Ontario sent a very clear message on June 7, that they want a government that looks after those taxpayers' dollars, and that is exactly what the government is doing by proposing Bill 5, appropriately titled the Better Local Government Act. That is what we are proposing: a more fiscally responsible, effectively run local government.

As I always say, "Promise made, promise kept." I know it hurts sometimes.

Mr. Speaker, we committed to restoring accountability and trust in government. We also promised to reduce the size and cost of government and end the culture of waste and mismanagement. Bill 5 would give the taxpayers of Toronto a streamlined, more effective council that is ready to work quickly, putting the needs of everyday people first. It will challenge the stereotype that politicians do nothing; maybe even break it—and I'm looking forward to that, Mr. Speaker.

An oversized council makes it almost impossible to build a meaningful consensus and get things done. Infrastructure crumbles, the housing backlog grows and transit isn't built or maintained.

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These issues are in the news consistently for Toronto. Reducing council size will save Toronto taxpayers around \$25 million over the next four years. They can reinvest these savings in their city.

Bill 5 also allows for a fair vote for Toronto residents. Currently, there are cases where one ward represents 80,000 residents and another 35,000. Some councillors acknowledge that voter disparity is a result of self-interest and that the federal and provincial electoral district process is better because it is an independent process. My question is, has anyone really read this bill? There was a clause in the existing City of Toronto Act,

2006, to address such an issue of too many politicians and gross spending. Why would the writer of this act include such a thing? To address the situation we are currently facing in Toronto.

Section 128(1) of the City of Toronto Act, 2006, was re-enacted. This section is re-enacted to set out rules that will divide the city into wards whose boundaries are identical to those of the electoral districts for Ontario that are within the boundaries of the city. For the purposes of subsection (1), the electoral districts for Ontario are those determined under the Representation Act, 2015, as it would be read on the day the Better Local Government Act, 2018, would receive royal assent. This will align Toronto with the provincial and federal systems, with 25 federal MPs, 25 provincial MPPs and now 25 Toronto city councillors. This would mean 75 political representatives at all levels within Toronto. How many more politicians do we need?

The current government is not drawing these numbers from a magical hat. We are using fair, well-researched and agreed-upon boundaries already used by the federal and provincial governments. Is the member opposite calling the current electoral districts unfair and unrepresentative?

The people of Ontario do not only expect responsibility and accountability on how their hard-earned taxpayer dollars are spent at the federal and provincial levels; they expect it also from their local governments. They expect their local governments to run efficiently. We are taking action to address issues that have been ignored for far too long.

As we know, local governments deliver many critical services to residents, and it's in everyone's interest that local governments work quickly, work efficiently and respect the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars. Many politicians who have worked at the municipal level of government say the same thing: Municipal government is the level that's closest to the people, providing services that residents need and depend on for their everyday lives.

Our plan is to have these changes in effect for the upcoming October 22 municipal election. The election date would remain unchanged. Candidates for council would now have until September 14 to decide in which of the new wards they wish to run.

We are a government with a transition plan. We are a government with a plan. This gives candidates the time to consider what ward they want to run in and it gives them the time to work out the reporting and the expense side of it. Our government would work with the Toronto city clerk's office to ensure that candidates for municipal council or school board trustees are able to continue their campaign. Working with the clerk's office, we would assist the city's efforts to provide clear guidance and rules with regard to spending limits and reporting requirements.

Shrinking council size is not a new idea. Some Toronto councillors have voiced their approval for decreasing council size as well. It is not a power-hungry government

that is pushing their will on people, as the members opposite have continuously pointed out.

Ward 7 Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti said at the councillors' news conference, "I think it's quite clear that most of us up here have made speeches or have moved motions in the past that very clearly pointed to cutting ourselves in half because we are so frustrated with the system." That was his quote.

The Ward 24 councillor said, "The fact that our Premier, who has experienced all that frustration here, decided to move quickly and make the decision on that I think is absolutely right and I am 110% supportive of it."

Sensible solutions to this dysfunction are not new. Here is a quote from the Ward 11 councillor, who said, "When Mel Lastman was mayor ... we had 57 councillors, and at the time, there was a motion to reduce the councillors and we reduced it down to 44. And then when David Miller was mayor, we moved a motion to cut the council to 22."

Mr. Speaker, how can people argue against these comments? How can they argue against people who live with this every day at Toronto council? It works for the federal level. It works for us at the provincial level. Why would it not work at the municipal level?

My beautiful city of Mississauga has also been impacted by Bill 5. The Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, on August 2, while introducing Bill 5, mentioned that the proposed legislation has two parts. The second, if the bill is passed, will improve regional governments such as Peel, where my constituents reside. Our government for the people believes the regional municipalities of Ontario should be the ones to make important decisions about how they serve their residents. That includes how they select regional chairs.

Two years ago, in 2016, the previous government changed the Municipal Act to require that regional municipalities select their chair by election. Municipalities that used to choose to appoint their regional chairs were no longer allowed to choose. Four regional councils had to change their process. They were York region, Peel region, Niagara region and the district of Muskoka. We are reversing the 2016 changes for the 2018 election. In the future, regional councils will decide for themselves how to select their chairs. Going forward, we want to give that decision-making power back to the regional municipalities because they understand their system best.

1750

Regional government is a level of government that is closer to the people than you or I, Mr. Speaker. They deal with everything from garbage pickup to waste water, from policing to paramedics and from daycare to retirement homes. They know what their local communities need, and they are more than capable of deciding how their regional government should operate. This is something they did on their own for years, and we are very confident, Mr. Speaker, that they can do so again.

The current mayor of Mississauga, Bonnie Crombie, has been against the previous government's decision to force municipalities to elect their regional chair. She has

been quoted multiple times in the media as being against it, calling it "a solution to a problem we do not have." In fact, upon hearing about the changes that our government for the people is proposing, she is quoted as saying that this change "will signal that mayors and local councils are being heard on this matter." In fact, she also made Mississauga's feelings known, saying to the media that "Mississauga is the third-largest city in Ontario, and our council is perfectly capable of controlling our own destiny and working with the appointed regional chair to do so. In fact, in Peel, we voted 22-1 in 2017 against electing a regional chair."

This reinforces, Mr. Speaker, what we have been hearing all along. Regional governments need to be able to choose what is best for regional governments. They need to be able to take this to their councils and have a full discussion on the matter, to debate what is right for their communities.

We are not proposing something new; it is the way it was prior to 2016. We are just allowing municipalities to do what they have done before.

Proposed changes to the regional municipalities' appointment process of their chairs is not the only impact that Bill 5 has on Mississauga. Economically, the city is doing very well. The average household income, according to Stats Canada, is on par with Toronto's and substantially greater than the average household income for Canada and Ontario.

Due to Mississauga's close proximity to Toronto, many Mississauga residents work and play in Toronto. We know that the greater Toronto area's commuting times to work are the nation's longest. The average commute time from Mississauga to downtown Toronto is approximately 100 minutes, which is over 1.5 hours per day. The national average is 25.4 minutes, according to the 2011 National Household Survey.

There is a major condo project being launched in the community of Mississauga East-Cooksville—which is my riding, Mr. Speaker—which will attract many young professionals. Many of them, I assume, will be commuting to Toronto for employment.

A recent study of employees found that those with longer commutes are 46% more likely to get less than seven hours of sleep a night, the recommended level. At the end of the day, it's worse when we are commuting longer and longer and longer. Worse still, 33% are more likely to suffer from depression, 37% are more likely to have money worries and 12% are more likely to suffer from work-related stress.

Our government is committed to providing a better future for the everyday people of Ontario. Municipal governments are the level closest to the people, playing a large and important role in delivering day-to-day services. We want to ensure that we get those services to people in the most effective and most efficient way possible.

I think the people of Ontario sent a very clear message on June 7. They want a government that gets things done, and that's exactly what we are going to do. Promise made; promise kept.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): I beg to inform the House of good news and bad news. We've run out of time for questions and comments this evening.

Second reading debate deemed adjourned.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): This House will stand adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 1756.

TAB 6

Legislative
Assembly
of Ontario



Assemblée
législative
de l'Ontario

**Official Report
of Debates
(Hansard)**

No. 16

**Journal
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42^e législature

Mercredi
8 août 2018

Speaker: Honourable Ted Arnott
Clerk: Todd Decker

Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
Greffier : Todd Decker

“—support Indigenous communities across the province (e.g. cleaning up Grassy Narrows).”

I'm happy to affix my signature to it and give to page Ryan-Michael.

WEARING OF POPPIES

Mr. Michael Mantha: I wear my poppy with pride and respect.

“To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

“Whereas the poppy is a powerful symbol of remembrance worn by millions the world over with respect and gratitude for those who made the ultimate sacrifice to protect peace and freedom for all people;

“Whereas the poppy has been the principal emblem of the Royal Canadian Legion since its inception in 1925;

“Whereas the poppy is an enduring symbol of sacrifice that was initially inspired by the Canadian poet and soldier John McCrae while in the trenches in the Second Battle of Ypres, Belgium, during World War I;

“Whereas the use or reference to the universal poppy symbol for purposes other than remembrance and respect for fallen servicemen and women and peacekeepers worldwide may be offensive and disrespectful in the minds of their family, friends and comrades;

“We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to: educate and promote the poppy as a universal symbol of remembrance of sacrifice, and that its heritage and origin from Canadian roots be highlighted. With this positive focus and purpose in mind,

“We further petition” the Legislative Assembly of Ontario “to demonstrate leadership in this endeavour by exemplifying respect and pride in the poppy symbol when referred to by members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and provincial political parties.”

I wholeheartedly agree with this petition presented to page Justin to bring it down to the Clerks' table.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Ms. Mitzie Hunter: I have a petition here: “Scrapping the Basic Income Pilot Project is Not Being ‘Compassionate’ and ‘for the People.’”

“To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

“Whereas the priorities of the Conservative government are dragging Ontario backwards leaving people with no basic income to those living on low income;

“Whereas the Conservative government is breaking their promises by scrapping the program they said they would keep;

“Whereas cancelling the Basic Income Pilot project will leave 4,000 people living in Thunder Bay, Lindsay, Hamilton, Brantford and Brant county with no basic income, further deteriorating their health, well-being and living conditions;

“Whereas reducing poverty in the province of Ontario does not work by decreasing the rates for Ontario's most disadvantaged and marginalized people on Ontario Works and the Ontario Disability Support Program;

“Whereas Ontarians have a right to know about—and have a say in—the government decisions that affect them;

“We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to direct the Minister of Children, Community and Social Services to continue the Basic Income Pilot project, and to reinstate the regulatory changes that would allow people to keep more of their part-time earnings. If this government is truly for the people, then it should be for all people, including the poor.”

I will sign this petition and give it to page Aidan.

CELIAC DISEASE

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: “To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

“Whereas the IgA TTG blood screening is the internationally recognized standard as the first step in diagnosing a person with celiac disease;

“Whereas celiac disease is an autoimmune disease that can strike people with a genetic predisposition at any time of life and presents with a large variety of non-specific signs and symptoms;

“Whereas many individuals, such as family members of diagnosed celiacs, are at ... risk and pre-symptomatic screening is advised;

“Whereas covering the cost of the simple test would dramatically reduce wait times to diagnosis, save millions to the health care system due to misdiagnoses, unnecessary testing and serious complications from untreated celiac disease and reduce the painful suffering and health decline of thousands of individuals;

“Whereas Ontario is the only province in Canada not to cover this blood test;

“Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Ontario government to cover the cost of the diagnostic blood test (IgA TTG) for celiac disease for those who show symptoms, are a first-degree relative or have an associated condition.”

I fully support this petition, sign it and give it to page Justin to deliver to the table.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR L'AMÉLIORATION DES ADMINISTRATIONS LOCALES

Resuming the debate adjourned on August 7, 2018, on the motion for second reading of the following bill:

Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 / Projet de loi 5, Loi modifiant la Loi de 2006 sur la cité de Toronto, la Loi de 2001 sur les municipalités et la Loi de 1996 sur les élections municipales.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): When we last debated this motion, the member for Mississauga East–Cooksville had given a presentation. We are now moving to questions and comments relating to his presentation. Questions and comments?

Mr. Gilles Bisson: I want to take this opportunity to respond in regard to his speech and overall what this bill does.

Let's not kid ourselves: This bill is a pretty vindictive piece of legislation, I would say, towards the residents of the city of Toronto, because essentially it does two things.

The first thing is, under the guise of making government more efficient, the government says it will reduce the amount of elected people. The first point is that the whole idea of how many representatives you should have at the municipal level—yes, it falls under provincial jurisdiction; however, it is always left to the municipalities to decide the size of the councils. This intrusion into what is normally a municipal duty, I think, is an intrusion on the part of the province and quite problematic in itself.

The second thing that it does—the reduction of the size of the city council is really aimed at assisting developers. They have to lobby less people in order to do things like browning the greenbelt and like building buildings and projects in areas where neighbourhoods may not want them. Currently, the city of Toronto, with their councillors, have a pretty good handle on trying to deal with planning within the city of Toronto. The councillors represent their wards and the citizens in those wards extremely well when it comes to taking local concerns into account. What this bill will do is it will reduce the amount of councillors so that all you're going to need is 13 councillors onside to be able to change the planning in the city of Toronto. Let's not kid ourselves: This has nothing to do with democracy or saving money; this is about giving developers an upper hand. It should be called out for exactly that.

The last point, the one that disappoints me the most—especially with the current minister, because I know he was in favour—is moving away from elected regional chairs. I think that is a step in a completely wrong direction and it's a vindictive move on the part of this Premier, having to do with a former leader of the Conservative Party.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments?

Mr. Will Bouma: It's my pleasure to rise in the House today to talk about Bill 5. This government was elected by the people of Ontario to leave more money in the pockets of the taxpayers of our great province. There's not a single person in this province who, I believe, would agree that we need more politicians in this province.

In fact, if you think about it, it's very difficult for a municipal council to vote themselves out of a job. I know that when we briefly discussed about this issue at my council—because I think we could stand to lose a few council members there to make things run more efficient-

ly—we couldn't even get it past the beginning stages. The fact of the matter is that the only way that something like this can get done is if it's done at the provincial level. I've had multiple requests, in fact, from friends back home asking if we could do the same thing there.

1400

The fact is, we believe that a better local government—we're going to be able to reduce the cost and size of Toronto city hall so that decisions can be made quicker, while services can be delivered more efficiently and effectively.

When you look at the facts, Toronto city council costs a fortune. If you ask anyone on the street whether they would like to save \$25 million that could go into services and things like that, they would be more than happy to agree with you on that. When you look at that cost and what the cost is here for an MPP, it just makes sense that you have 25 federal MPs, 25 MPPs and 25 councillors to deal with a region.

In short, all I can say is that we're doing this for the people, most people are in favour of it, and I look forward to passing this legislation.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments?

Ms. Teresa J. Armstrong: Speaker, this legislation is not, in any way, shape or form, for the people. It's forcing it on the people. You know for a fact that when a government decides to push something on a municipality without consultation, it's not for the people.

We know that there's a reason behind the motivation for this legislation. Coming here to this Legislature and prioritizing things like cancelling the cap-and-trade, decreasing the increase for OW and ODSP recipients, cancelling the pilot project, ripping up contracts, sending people back to work around a strike that is their constitutional right—it's not for the people. It's not a Better Local Government Act. This is a government that is about self-centred policy. Pushing their agenda onto the people of Toronto is wrong-headed and it's the wrong move.

Democracy needs to happen. Representation needs to be had. People are feeling that if you are going to force this legislation and change the level of representation on them, they should have a say, and rightfully so.

I don't know how your leader allows you to speak in your caucus meetings, if you're allowed to talk and—actually, does he consult with you in your caucus meetings, or is it more of a top-down kind of management? Because that's how it feels in this House. This Legislature is like a top-down—they don't want to hear from this side of the House, and they don't want to hear from the people of Toronto, whom their legislation is going to affect. Forcing legislation on people is not a way to govern.

Again, I don't know how you manage your caucus, but it sounds like your Premier doesn't give you much respect.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member from Niagara West will come to order.

Mr. Sam Oosterhoff: That wasn't me.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments?

Mr. David Piccini: Let's be completely honest here. When we look at the redistribution, this government was elected on a mandate of trust, accountability and to reduce the size of government.

Let's look at the real origins. I know that the member is not listening to me now, but let's look at the real origins as to some of her inflammatory language. It's inflammatory to disguise the real reason here, which is that when Toronto city council expanded to 47 wards, it was a deeply, deeply flawed process. OMB hearings show that options to prioritize voter parity were dismissed to most benefit incumbent councillor members and that fewer than 2,000 people were consulted on this.

We know that the real reason they're so up in arms is because they want to defend their activist friends. They want to defend their activist friends, who will not get a mandate from the people in the same manner we just got a mandate from Ontarians in the last election. Their activist friends are angry because they know that when they actually go to the people, when they have to get organized, when they have to take it to the people of the city, they'll categorically reject them, the same way they categorically rejected the NDP platform in the last election, Mr. Speaker. That's the real issue here.

We've got a plan, and that plan is going to reduce the size of government. It's going to ensure that the dysfunctional city council gets back to work to ensure that council moves on gridlock, moves on affordable housing, and ensures parity at the provincial and federal levels. Mr. Speaker, this is in the best interests of Ontarian taxpayers, and I'm proud to support this bill.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): That concludes the questions and comments for this round, but I would remind all members that questions and comments are intended to relate back to the speech that was just given by the member, the substantial speech, whether it be 20 minutes or 10 minutes—questions and comments to the member who just spoke, not a series of short speeches, two minutes long, touching generally on the debate.

I'll now return to the member for Mississauga East-Cooksville to respond to the speech that we just had.

Mr. Kaleed Rasheed: On July 31, I had asked the question of how much a referendum will cost. Our honourable Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing graciously provided the response. Mr. Speaker, we know that in 2012, the city staff indicated that a special referendum would cost as much as an election, or roughly, approximately \$7 million. For comparison, in 2014, the Toronto election cost approximately \$8.3 million. So here's the question I would like to ask taxpayers: Would they rather spend \$7 million to \$8 million on a referendum asking if you should keep more politicians, or would you rather save \$25 million?

Hearing those numbers, I'm surprised anyone would actually think it's a good idea to spend millions of dollars on a referendum. I'm sure taxpayers would rather have

councillors at city hall taking actions to improve their everyday lives, and not wasting time and money on a costly referendum, than investing about \$25 million.

Mr. Speaker, I always say it is about our present but also it is about our children's future—and not only our children; it is about our grandchildren's and great-grandchildren's future. That is the reason why it is so important for us to pass this bill and save approximately \$25 million so our future generations can benefit from it.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Further debate.

Mr. Jeff Burch: It's a pleasure to get up and speak about this undemocratic and atrocious bill which has really stirred the hornet's nest in Niagara. I was inspired by my friend from Toronto—Danforth last week, who very ably summed up the bill, labelling it an abuse of the Premier's vast political power, cooked up in the backroom, and with no consultation whatsoever.

There's no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that it is an abuse of the Premier's vast political power to interfere in municipal elections in the middle of those elections. It was obviously cooked up in the backroom as it targets certain people, and it was done with no consultation whatsoever. The government side knows that they did not campaign on this during the election.

My friend described the bill as unusual and dangerous because it allows the minister of housing and urban affairs to further amend this bill in the future. The minister will be able to write regulations that supersede any act that we put forward in this House, and this gives the minister extraordinary and dangerous powers. It strips power from the city of Toronto and puts it in the hands of one man, the minister—or, as we know, the Premier.

I'm going to concentrate much of my speech on schedule 2. Schedule 2 provides that for the 2018 regular election, the head of council of certain regional municipalities shall be elected, except for Niagara, Peel, Muskoka and York. Those regions can decide to elect their chairs in the future. It seems that, so far, Toronto is the only place the Premier is totally taking over. In the regions, the Premier is only going to impose his will in this election so that he can perform a couple of political drive-bys on his opponents Patrick Brown and Steve Del Duca.

1410

So there are three very different approaches that are being taken in this bill, contradictory approaches: (1) complete control of the city of Toronto—

Mrs. Robin Martin: Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Point of order, the member for Eglinton—Lawrence.

Mrs. Robin Martin: The member opposite is imputing motives, which is prohibited under rule 23(h), I believe. That is prohibited by the rules.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you for drawing that to the Chair's attention. Yes, it is against the rules to impute motive. I would caution the member and ask him to now continue.

Mr. Jeff Burch: So there are three very different approaches, contradictory approaches, in this one bill.

One is total control. Another is, “Well, we’re going to control you for this election, but you can do what you want in the next election.” And the other is, “You can do what you want as a region.” It’s not that hard to see why my friend from Toronto–Danforth described it as written on the back of a cocktail napkin: It’s all over the place.

How can this be explained? Well, I think that he was correct that it’s all about rejection. All you have to do—and we’ve talked about it in the House before—is read *Crazy Town* by Robyn Doolittle or *Uncontrollable* by Mark Towhey to figure out what this is all about. The Premier was a one-term wonder on Toronto council and was frozen out due to incompetence and the erratic behaviour and embarrassing behaviour of him and his brother.

He was rejected as mayor, and was rejected again by Toronto in the provincial election. In Toronto—and the Premier had his numbers mixed up—the NDP won 400,443 votes and the PCs 359,909 votes, for a difference of 40,000 votes; another rejection from the city of Toronto.

Speaker, it’s not just about rejection. It’s not just about getting back at political enemies. It’s also about money. It’s about Conservatives seizing power to make life easier for their developer friends, to cut down on those pesky debates about—

Mrs. Robin Martin: Point of order.

Mr. Lorne Coe: Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): We’ve got two points of order. I’ll listen to Eglinton–Lawrence first.

Mrs. Robin Martin: On a point of order, again, understanding order 23(i)—I had it wrong last time—they’re imputing motive again, and that is prohibited.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you, yes. I’ll again ask the member to stop imputing motive in his speech. If he continues, we will have to move on.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): On a point of order, the member for Timmins.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: We’re using the exact language that the Premier has used at question period in defending his government, so how can it be out of order? It’s the same language.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): You can’t impute motive; that’s clear in the standing orders. I would again caution the member not to impute motive in his remarks. If he continues, I will have to move on.

The member for Niagara Centre.

Mr. Jeff Burch: Cutting down on pesky debates about safer neighbourhoods, healthier communities, livable cities, conservation—which I’ll talk about—preserving heritage buildings, respecting culture: Those are things that get in the way of profit for developers and other friends.

So how did Niagara and Muskoka fit into this tale? I’m from Niagara, and I remember with a cold chill a video of this Premier—

Mr. Lorne Coe: Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Another point of order, the member for Whitby.

Mr. Lorne Coe: It’s been clear. We’re citing 23(i) of the standing orders. The Speaker opposite continues to use references that impute the motivation and characterization of individuals. It is not consistent with what the standing orders call. I would ask for a ruling, please.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: On that point of order—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I’ll listen to the member for Timmins on the point of order.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Speaker, I hear well what the honourable member across the way is saying, but, as the old saying goes, “What’s good for the goose is good for the gander.” That same type of attack is used day in and day out by the Premier of this province at question period. I don’t see him being taken under control and saying that he can’t do it. So if it’s good for the Premier, it should be good for our member—or rule him out of order.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The House will come to order. The member for Timmins will come to order. The Minister of Municipal Affairs will come to order. The member for Bruce–Grey–Owen Sound will come to order. The member for Northumberland–Peterborough South will come to order.

Just to be clear, it is against the standing orders to impute motive. If anyone, in the course of this debate, is imputing motive again and ignores the ruling of the Chair, I will move on.

The member for Niagara Centre has the floor.

Mr. Jeff Burch: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I was just getting into an actual—it’s not imputing; it’s an actual videotape of the Premier during the election. I remember with a cold chill the video of this Premier in a backroom with his friends talking about carving up the greenbelt. It’s on video. He was licking his chops and his friends were sitting around watching him talk about carving up the greenbelt. It’s on video. There’s nothing imputing about what I’m doing.

In Niagara, as in many regions, what happens is that developers get together with political operatives. They supply the money; political operatives supply the party machinery. They elect certain people to regional council. They get the chair appointed, which is what this bill is about. They get members of the conservation authority in the area appointed. They get other people, like the CAO of that region, appointed. And they control things. It’s all about control, and that’s what this debate is about. It’s about control. It’s about getting control so that people with money—

Mrs. Robin Martin: Speaker, on a point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): On a point of order, the member for Eglinton–Lawrence.

Mrs. Robin Martin: On a point of order: He’s again imputing motive, as well as he is not, under 23(b), directing his speech to a matter which is under discussion.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The Speaker is listening very carefully to the presentation. Since I asked him to stop imputing motive, I have not heard him im-

pute motive. He still has the floor. He's got 10 minutes to go. Again, any member who is imputing motive—it's got to stop, and if it continues, we're going to have to move on.

Member for Niagara Centre.

Mr. Jeff Burch: I'm trying really hard. I guess I hit a sore spot over there.

For the past five years, many of the members in this House have listened to former Welland MPP Cindy Forster rally to bring accountability and transparency to the regional government of Niagara. We've had ongoing issues with cabals, corruption and controversy. Many popular Conservative—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'm going to ask the member to withdraw the unparliamentary—

Mr. Jeff Burch: Withdraw.

Not long ago, a regional chair was appointed. What we had next was a series of corrupt activities that are being—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member can take his seat.

Further debate.

Mr. David Piccini: I'm pleased to rise in support of this bill and to share a few comments. The origins of this bill really stem into a commitment and a promise we made Ontarians in the last election. It stems to a promise for more accountability. It stems to a promise to restore trust in government. That was a commitment we made to Ontarians because—

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Point of order, the member for Timmins.

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Mr. Gilles Bisson: He's imputing motive about the legislation. I don't think that should be allowed under standing order 34.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member has the floor.

Mr. David Piccini: —because over the previous 15 years, Ontarians were subject to a number of issues: the Financial Accountability Officer, who regularly had clashes with the previous government—we knew about the \$11-billion budget deficit, and of course, the previous government had said it was \$6 billion; trials of senior staffers; Ornge; the gas plants scandal. All of that spoke to the cynicism and the lack of trust in government.

At the door when I was knocking, a lot of people just slammed it. It's not myself; it could have been any of the other candidates. That was because they had a fundamental lack of trust in our political figures. I think that is actually a shame for all of us who get elected to this place.

We were elected to restore that trust and accountability. We know Ontarians aren't looking for more politicians. They're looking for fewer politicians.

When we talk about restoring trust and accountability in government, it was clear on June 7 that we were elected to deliver on this mandate. We were elected to end the culture of scandal, waste and mismanagement.

When we look at Toronto city council—I just want to take you back to a recent trip: hillsides, vineyards, gondola rides and restaurants. No, as someone of Italian descent, that sadly was not my trip; that was council's trip to Italy—at the expense of who? None other than the Toronto taxpayer.

I want to draw this back to the taxpayers' cynicism in elected officials. When we see examples like this, lavish trips to the Italian countryside—I just got off the phone last night with an Italian family of mine. They didn't even sip wine at those fancy vineyards. Yet it's good enough for Toronto city councillors at the taxpayers' expense.

Again, when we knocked on doors across the GTA, it was clear. People said, "We're not looking for more politicians; we're looking for fewer politicians." So we are acting on that mandate to restore accountability and trust.

Nobody in Ontario believes that we don't have enough politicians, that we need more. We have oversized councils that fundamentally make it impossible to build meaningful consensus. The result? We've seen it. Many of us—although I'm not from Toronto—now coming to the Legislature, witness this firsthand: infrastructure gridlock, crumbling infrastructure, a housing backlog, transit not being built. This is Canada's largest municipal government, and it's dysfunctional. King Street, the Sheppard extension, the Steeles extension: It's not getting done.

We've got to ensure that council truly works for the people. When we talk about our theme, "For the people," about ensuring that we're working for the people, we have to ensure that we have a council that works for the people. When we talk about the people, it's not activist friends. It's not people who are so concerned about their political futures that they lobby heavily to the opposition to say, "Please. We're so disorganized. We're not going to win on a mandate by the people, so we need you to lobby for us, to keep a bloated government, to ensure activist friends are looked after."

We were elected, again, on a mandate to crack down on that, to ensure that taxpayer dollars are respected, to ensure that we're a government that works for the people and that we're nimble and we're efficient, and this makes sense. In fact—

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Point of order, Speaker.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member for Timmins on a point of order.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: The member is impugning motive about our party with regard to what our motives are or are not about something. That should be held to account.

You want to go there?

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I will caution the member. He can't impute motive either. As he saw, if he continues to do that, we will move on.

Mr. David Piccini: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I will withdraw my comment about the activist friends.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Speaker, point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Sorry. Point of order, the member for Timmins.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: You don't withdraw in that way. You either withdraw or you don't. That's the practice around here. That's just trying to be cute.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I would ask the member again to withdraw.

Mr. David Piccini: Withdraw.

Mr. Speaker, I'd invite this Legislature, this place, to look no further than councillors who themselves have said that things aren't working in an efficient manner. Councillor Thompson, of course, said, "It's hard to get us to make decisions. The business of Toronto could be done in a more timely, efficient manner"—and, Mr. Speaker, here's the kicker—"if we had fewer people talking about the same things over and over."

Mr. Speaker, it's a clear endorsement of this government's plan to reduce the size of Toronto council.

I know we're so focused on the city here, but if we look beyond the city and outside of the GTA to areas like my riding and areas like Alnwick/Haldimand township—I just wrapped up, over the last few weeks, a series of meetings with mayors about this very bill. Before I even got into the government's rationale, one of the first things the mayor of Alnwick/Haldimand said was that they proactively reduced the size of council.

Mr. Speaker, these are the councillors, these are the townships that we've got to look towards that are setting best practices. These councillors aren't on six-figure salaries, taking lavish trips to Italy. These are councillors earning what most people earn in a month, in two months, to serve the constituents of my riding on a yearly basis, working exceptionally hard, working, delivering more with less. They're doing an incredible job for our rural community, Mr. Speaker, and they're proactively recognizing that when you're dealing with a nimble and effective council, you're getting things done.

I don't know why anybody in this place would stand up and defend a bloated, oversized government. It's a question, honestly: why they would stand up and defend increasing the size—a large, bloated, inefficient city council. The people of Ontario will not stand for that. That's why the people of Ontario elected this government to deliver on our mandate to restore trust and accountability in government.

Now to speak to the merits of this bill. This is being done in a fair and timely manner. We're going to extend the nomination deadline, of course, to September 14 to allow councillors to decide where they truly want to run. Of course, this will be done in effect for the fall election, and we know this is going to save the taxpayer \$25 million. Now, think: If I look back to things that members of the opposition on the opposite side have talked about, about housing, about transit, we can truly better deliver on these initiatives with a smaller council, taking the savings that we were elected on a mandate to provide and invest those things into infrastructure, invest them into things like affordable housing.

Again, if one is running for council and they're organized, they have a mandate that will be supported by the people. I do not understand why the opposition

members are so scared to have councillors take this mandate to the people and get elected, because we know that with 25 councillors, those who are organized, those who are running on a positive, clear message—the same way we ran on a message to restore accountability and trust in government—are going to get elected. If they're confident in anyone running for council—if they have a strong message, they'll get elected.

To take it back to the promise we made during the campaign to restore trust and accountability, this really takes it back to broader themes in the last election, and that is bigger government or smaller government. There was a very clear contrast on June 7 between big government and small government. This is yet another example of our commitment to Ontarians to deliver smaller, more efficient government.

If we look at those living on income support, those businesses burdened by red tape, we're going to drastically reduce the number of regulatory and red tape burdens that were on the backs of our small businesses. That's why they supported us in the last election, to reduce the size of government, to get governments off their backs so that they could get on with the business of innovating, of employing Ontarians, of getting our province back to the prosperity that it was once known for.

If we look at health care again—big versus small government—the bureaucratization of our health care system, the increasing sizes of our LHINs: What is that doing? That's taking away from the ability of our health care professionals to deliver patient-centred care. I heard this from nursing groups; I heard this from our health care professionals.

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Again, to tie it back to this bill: This is again our commitment to reduce the bureaucracy, to reduce the size of government. Again, we don't need more politicians; we need fewer politicians. We don't need more bureaucrats in the health care system; we need more health care professionals.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: You're calling elected officials "bureaucrats." Why don't you resign, then?

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member for Timmins will please come to order.

Mr. David Piccini: That's why we've introduced legislation, as well, to get the students back to work. The member opposite had spoken earlier about things the government is not doing. Mr. Speaker, let's look at all the things this government has done, coming back to work in the summer. We've brought the students back at York University. We've invested in their future. We're ensuring that we're going to get more of our nursing students out into the workforce so that we can deliver patient-centred care. We've restructured the hydro CEO. We've restructured Hydro One to replace the broken system that members opposite propped up over the last 15 years—the Liberal government.

Ms. Catherine Fife: Come on. We've fought them every step of the way.

Mr. David Piccini: You know you did. I know you're angry. I know you're angry we've moved swiftly—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The member can take his seat. First of all, he has to make his remarks through the Chair and not react to the opposition in the way he has. Secondly, he has to make sure that his remarks are relevant to the bill.

The member has the floor.

Mr. David Piccini: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

To take this back again to our commitment, the commitments we made during this election: One of the clear commitments was to restore trust and accountability in government. That means trust and accountability in reducing the size of government. That also means restructuring Hydro One, restoring trust and accountability in government to ensure that we have a hydro system that works for Ontarians, that provides relief, lowering the bills for our businesses.

The carbon tax, as well, Mr. Speaker: a commitment we made to ensure that we're not aggressively taxing Ontarians. I know that it's tiring to hear of our commitments to reducing the regulatory burden, to lowering taxes. We want to reduce the size of government, for those members opposite, and we've made a commitment to restoring Toronto city council, to restructuring it.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone who has looked back at the debates over the past number of years, at the increasing size of Toronto city council—let's look at when they went to 47 councillors. I look at Andrew Sancton, who's a professor from Western University: "When we look at the decision to expand council"—a point and an argument so strongly defended by members of the opposition—"it reflected those who actually wanted to expand council, those Ontarians who came out, those Torontonians who got involved."

How many, Mr. Speaker, were so committed, who said, "We need more politicians. We're going to come out and get involved in this"? Fewer than 2,000 Torontonians. That's about 0.1% of the city's 1.8 million electors. That means that the recommendations are based on, Mr. Speaker, "the views of a tiny and self-selecting group of engaged citizens and city councillors." That's a quote taken from that professor.

I just don't understand. This place is meant to work for the people. Why are the members opposite so intent on increasing the size of government, on supporting a bloated 47-person council? I don't understand, Mr. Speaker. It's the same thing—

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Point of order: the member for Timmins.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: The member is imputing motive, clearly. That's not allowed by the standing orders.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I don't [*inaudible*] was in that case. The member has the floor.

Mr. David Piccini: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I was not. I'm just simply asking why, in this debate, the members opposite do support a 47-council municipality in Toronto. They support that. We want to reduce that

size. We want to ensure that it's an efficient, nimble, accountable government.

When we look broader—again, to take you back to larger-versus-smaller government. This is a theme we've seen: larger city councils supporting more politicians, bloated government. Again, looking at the curriculum we're implementing, an apparent intent to not engage our parents—it would be fundamentally wrong that this government wouldn't go back and consult Ontarians. We're not going to execute our policy based on tiny self-selecting activist groups in this government. We're not going to do that. We're committed to acting in the best interest of Ontarians. It was a mandate we were clearly given in the last election.

When we look at why we're doing this, to ensure that we have an accountable government, to ensure that there are fewer politicians and that we can get decisions done, and if we look at the way this will be structured, to provide 25 members of Parliament, 25 members of provincial Parliament and 25 councillors, this will ensure streamlined work among the various levels of government. A taxpayer, approaching any level, can engage with the same boundaries. This takes the decision-making out of this to the electoral commission; not out of self-selecting groups, but to the independent electoral commission on boundaries and future expansion on this. That's the right way to do it.

This government was elected on a mandate to restore trust and accountability and to ensure that we're putting the people first. When we knocked on doors in the last election—I know I can speak on behalf of members on this side of the House and the members on that side of the House who were elected. Of course, we know why we have so many members elected: because the people in Ontario spoke loud and clear. They said, "We don't want more politicians. We don't want government interfering in all aspects of our lives. We want to get government off our back. We want to ensure that government truly works for the people and that it's done in an efficient manner."

We know that with this \$25 million in savings, we're going to deliver better services, better infrastructure, affordable housing. We're going to match that commitment—the \$3.8 billion, of course—that we invested and we committed in the last election to affordable housing, to mental health.

This is what the people of the greater Toronto area want, Mr. Speaker. This is what Ontarians wanted when they elected so many members of the Progressive Conservative Party on June 7. It was a categorical rejection of larger government. It was a categorical rejection of more politicians. They wanted a Premier and a government that spoke to them: people working harder and getting less, seeing those taxpayer dollars going to the lavish trips that I spoke about, seeing the money squandered and wasted. This Premier spoke to them. He struck a chord when he said that we're going to reduce the size of government and we're going to restore trust and accountability.

Mr. Speaker, when I hear the language used in question period, the number of times you have had to step

up—yes, you did it to me earlier, but on a general note here, when I listen to the NDP opposite in question period, it brings a smile to my face and reminds me of ad hominem. Something Prime Minister Thatcher said was that when one personally doesn't have a single political argument left, they use the inflammatory language that we've so often heard over the past number of days to describe a prudent decision this government is making.

The reason we're doing this—

Laughter.

Mr. David Piccini: I know—the chuckles and the laughter.

We're putting the people first. We're reducing the number of politicians. The reason we're doing this is so that we have a government of the people, by the people, for the people. That shall never perish, the character of a smaller government, to ensure we're listening to the people and to ensure that we have a government that respects taxpayer dollars.

This government has made a commitment to the people of Ontario that when we got elected we were going to move quickly, and that's just what we've done. I know it offends the sensibilities of members opposite to see us acting on those promises, to see us acting on the commitment we made to Ontarians when we got elected that we're going to reduce the size of government, restore trust and accountability, and reduce Toronto city council. I've heard nothing but support when I go door to door. I know the Premier said that we're going to get out in Toronto, too, and go door to door. The people of Toronto want this. They don't want more politicians. They don't want more insider activist friends in Toronto city council. They want fewer politicians. They want an efficient government, and that's what we're going to bring.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments related to the presentation by the member for Northumberland–Peterborough South?

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I just wanted to touch on three things from my friend opposite. First, I wanted to be clear that what the NDP supports are the voices of the Torontonians and the voices of people from Muskoka, Niagara, Peel and York, who have the right to decide how they're governed and what that composition of government looks like.

1440

I'd also like to point out, as my second point, that when thinking specifically about Toronto, there has to be some kind of mechanism included that would ensure that however many councillors actually look like and represent the diversity of the Toronto area. Not only do I think it's problematic that we're not allowing Torontonians to make a decision about what that composition is or how many people represent them so that they feel they can go and speak to somebody when they have an issue that's regional; I think there is a huge concern that with the decrease of councillors, there will not be the diversity that they've been striving to have on city council.

One suggestion would be to use some form of an equity lens to ensure that among the 25 councillors,

there's an actual representation that's as diverse as the Toronto area. That's one of the reasons why many of the people who have put their names forward have been, in large part, diverse people who were stepping up to the plate for the first time.

The third thing I'd like to point out is that leadership has nothing to do with the numbers; it has to do with the people at the helm deciding that they are going to lead with integrity, honesty and accountability. If they can't do that, it doesn't matter how many people are sitting at that table.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments?

Mr. Sam Oosterhoff: As I speak, I wish to beg the indulgence of the House. I have a bit of a summer cold going on, so it might make it a little more difficult.

I did want to touch base on something. The NDP is really hitting the snare drum on this particular issue. I think it's important to note that in Niagara, as much as the NDP members from that region—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'm going to remind the member that he is to make comments in relation to the presentation that was just given by his colleague the member for Northumberland–Peterborough South, not to debate the NDP.

The member has the floor.

Mr. Sam Oosterhoff: Absolutely. I think it's so important that I recognize that the member's speech was really a distinct separation from the vision that was presented by the opposition in the past election. Today, the member from Northumberland spoke about something that is integral to not only the people in his riding and the people of Toronto, but also the people in Niagara West and the broader Niagara region, which is ensuring that we're reducing the cost and the size of government, increasing efficiencies within those governments, whatever level that might be, and showing respect for the taxpayer.

In the Niagara region, I know I have received a lot of support for this plan. In fact, I have here Rob, who emailed me. He said, "I applaud your government's initiative on reducing the size of Toronto city council. I would urge and support a similar initiative for the region of Niagara, where we are increasing the size of council from 31 to 33" councillors "for 450,000 people."

It's clear that there is definitely an appetite within our province for change. Although the NDP might not wish to recognize it, as we've heard from the member today in his speech as well, it's important that we listen to the people. As much as the NDP might not want to, the people did speak on June 7. Their voice was very clear—that they wanted a government that was going to be effective and efficient. I believe the changes we're making today will reduce inefficiencies also at the Niagara regional council and make it more accountable to the people.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments? The member for St. Catharines.

Mrs. Jennifer (Jennie) Stevens: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Through you to the people of Niagara I'm

speaking for: I said I'd be their voice and I'm going to be.

The members on the other side of the floor seem to think that government is all about numbers. That's not what the government is about. The government is about representing the people. Just because you decrease the number of politicians doesn't mean that you're going to get representation.

In Niagara, I was a city councillor for 14 years. We debated decreasing the number of councillors in St. Catharines, and I'll tell you, the people in St. Catharines spoke and we did not decrease the numbers of any politicians in Niagara. We made sure that we had representation by population, and representation by population is the democratic right of the voters.

What happened at the eleventh hour last Friday was undemocratic, autocratic and unfair to any of the candidates who put their name forward for the regional chair in Niagara. Those people who put their name forward put it forward for a reason. They wanted to represent Niagara at large. They wanted to make sure that the number of politicians was representing the exact amount of people within Niagara.

Mr. Speaker, I question how much consultation was actually done by the members of the other side within the Niagara region, because I don't think any was done to see if the Niagara chair was to be elected at large. When I knocked on doors, the residents of St. Catharines said loud and clear that they wanted a Niagara regional chair elected at large so that they had their democratic right and they had their say on the ballot.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Questions and comments?

Mr. Logan Kanapathi: I'm glad to stand up and support this bill as a former city councillor from the city of Markham for 20 years. He talked about bringing effectiveness in every sense for the council and the local government. I could talk for more than two minutes, but my time is two minutes.

We committed to restoring accountability and trust in government. We also promised to reduce the size and the cost of the government and to end the culture of waste and mismanagement. Normally in Ontario, we believe that we don't have enough politicians; in fact, it is the opposite. We believe in better local government. We are going to reduce the size and cost of Toronto city hall so that decisions can be made quicker while services can be delivered more efficiently and effectively.

When I started talking about widening Steeles Avenue east of Markham Road—if anybody drives on Steeles Avenue east of Markham Road all the way to the Pickering line, it is a bottleneck. For the last 10 years, people were dying on that street. I was a local councillor at the time. I had been talking to the region of York. We had passed a resolution at the city of Markham unanimously, and we asked the region to deal with the city of Toronto to widen Steeles Avenue east of Markham Road. Steeles Avenue is 100% owned by the city of Toronto. They have it in writing; so far they have done nothing.

York region and the city of Toronto have talked the last 10 years; it's like a political football. The reason I'm saying this is, it's the big size of the government at the city of Toronto. There's no talking.

I came across a head-on collision on Steeles Avenue. This is one example—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

The member for Northumberland–Peterborough South can now respond.

Mr. David Piccini: I thank all of the members for their two-minute remarks on this bill and appreciate all their comments.

I've got to address the flippant remark on numbers over there from the member of the opposition on the opposite side. I know that they don't really care much about skyrocketing numbers—skyrocketing hydro. Of course, they were quite content to prop the previous government up when skyrocketing hydro bills were plaguing the people of Ontario. They want a bloated government, larger councils, bigger government, and we know they support higher taxes, regressive taxes, that disproportionately hurt the very people they claim to represent.

I want to talk about another number: the 2.3 million Ontarians who sent 76 Progressive Conservative members to this place in the last election—so many that we've got to have them on the opposite side as well as this side—who elected us on a mandate to restore trust and accountability in government, who elected us on a mandate to reduce the size of government, and Mr. Speaker, that's exactly what we're going to do. There are 25 members who represent the GTA. That's going to deliver more effective services for the people of Toronto.

When we want to talk about the diversity that the member opposite represented too, I see 25 members in this place from both sides of the House, all parties, who represent the GTA with incredible diversity and incredible ability. I don't see any inability there to represent our people.

We're going to align this in Toronto with the feds and with the province. We're going to deliver better services. We're going to restore trust and accountability in government. I know it offends the sensibilities, as I've often said, of the members opposite to think that we would actually have fewer politicians, to think that we would put the power back in the hands of the people—reduce the number of politicians, shrink the size of government and ensure that money is better spent and in the pocket of the taxpayers.

1450

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Further debate?

Mr. Joel Harden: Thank you for the opportunity to rise and talk about Bill 5 this afternoon.

I made a commitment in my maiden speech in this place and I'm going to try to honour it. The commitment that I made in my maiden speech was that I was going to try my best to resurrect some humanity in this business.

I understand, given the nature of this place—the adversarial nature of this place—how passionate people are in this place, that we tend to beat each other up a little bit,

and I think a certain amount of that is fine. But I think this bill is really important, and I think a lot of ideas have been expressed in this place, including, most recently, by my friend the member from Northumberland–Peterborough South, and expressed with great passion.

But what I often find here is that we're talking past each other. Maybe we're talking past each other because that's convenient to be able to score a perceived political point, or maybe we're talking past each other because that's the reflex of modern debate. But, as I said, in talking about Bill 5, I think it's important to resurrect some humanity and actual exchange on this bill, because it's a seismic change for the city of Toronto. It is important for the city that I was born in, personally, as an elected representative now from downtown Ottawa, to be able to express ideas that connect with the gravity and the severity of this bill.

My friend mentioned that the perception—and I'm just commenting on the words that were said—from the government side is that they believe we're opposed to this bill because we love, as he said, big government; that we want more politicians. I'm going to try to express my remarks this afternoon in language which I think will connect across the aisle. I'm going to call this speech the consultation and efficiencies speech, Speaker. I'm going to try to speak in language that all of us can relate to and understand.

When we think about consultation in this party—or at least people that I have worked with in my community and in other communities—we think about a process by which people can have informed consent, people can have due notice, people can make adjustments to their lives.

It would appear to me that Bill 5 has set in place a significant change in the composition of Toronto city council. Again, I understand that it's being made because my friends on the opposite side of the aisle are suggesting we need to do it; that we must do it; enough dithering; Ontario has the largest subnational debt in the world. We need to figure out a way to find more money for urgent public services, and that will happen if we save \$25 million in reducing the size of Toronto city hall. I'm trying to connect to that passion. I hope you hear that, because I'm listening. But the problem is, it is very difficult for citizens in Toronto to understand the persuasive taste for that during an election. I hope you've heard that as we've critiqued the bill.

Had you presented this as something that could take effect for the next municipal election, had you had the foresight to consider that we need to make sure that when candidates in the future are running for office, for school board or for municipal council, that they have the foresight—because, let's be honest, all of us in this room are serious. We all built teams; we all raised money; we all mentored people to be effective community leaders. That's the way all of us got elected. People have been doing that work in the city of Toronto and in all the other jurisdictions that were named by the council chairs for eight or nine months.

So I ask, on the note of consultation: Which one of us would have liked the rules of the game for us changed in the middle of the provincial election, two or three months outside of the outcome? I think we would have been justifiably outraged.

I think the commitments that people in Ottawa Centre made to me—with money, with time—they would have been, to be honest, insulted at the notion that we would change the composition of this Legislature three months before the actual election. I think we would have all been justifiably outraged had there been an oversight capacity in this place like there is for the city of Toronto's elections and the various regional chairs. We would have been outraged.

But that is not, in my opinion—I really feel like my friends haven't connected enough to that point. I wonder how many of them right now would be willing to forsake the seat they honourably hold in this place because of their commitment to reduce the amount of politicians in this country, in this province, in the city of Toronto—wherever. I really hope that on the issue of consultation, we take this word to heart, because I think there are moments at which you can appreciate—and I'm saying this directly to my friends on the opposite side of the House—the legacy by community organizers in your own party.

I don't mind saying—and it may come as a surprise to you—that in 2014, when my friend Olivia Chow ran for mayor of Toronto, and the person who was the most well-organized candidate opposite Olivia, Rob Ford, was waging his election campaign, doing so at the same time that he was publicly wrestling incredible demons, Speaker, it was tough for me, somebody whose own family has struggled with drug abuse and alcohol abuse, to watch the decomposition of a politician on television and think of the family and think of the people involved. I've got to tell you, I had a lot of my friends on the left sharing with me memes and messages insulting Rob Ford, making fun of his misfortune and what he was struggling with in the context of that mayoral election—and I didn't like it. I didn't like it. I told my friends who call themselves members of the left, “We don't laugh at other people's misfortune. We don't make fun of people for their appearance. And we certainly don't make fun of people for addiction to substances. We don't.”

Addiction is a mental health issue. It's a health care issue. It is not a criminal justice issue and it's certainly not an issue where any one of us should ridicule each other. So I don't mind telling you, Speaker, that in the middle of that I had sent some help to my friend Olivia, although I lived in a different city, but I asked my department chair at the time, at Carleton University, the department of law and legal studies—I walked up to him as a lowly sessional. We're low on the ranking when it comes to the department. But I said to him, “I'd like \$1,000 because I'd like to go to Etobicoke-Rexdale and I'd like to talk to voters because everything I've heard about Rob Ford leads me to believe that he's a serious community organizer who knows his people, and I want

to appreciate that. I'm actually dismayed by what I'm seeing in civic politics in Toronto, by the way friends of mine are using this moment to chastise or belittle Mayor Ford."

I had to go through an approval process. I agreed to do a paper and do a brown-bag talk to the department about it. But I got that \$1,000 and I jumped on the train and I went to Etobicoke-Rexdale. I went to the Steak Queen and I went to the Walmart parking lot and I walked around the Albion mall. I talked to people about Rob Ford, and as Rob Ford was decomposing and coming apart at the seams on international news, they identified with him. I did 55 street interviews with a videographer friend of mine. They identified with him. It would not be a stretch of language, Speaker, to say they loved him.

I talked to 55 people in two days; I heard two people critical of the mayor's record. They all identified with him. When I probed further to ask why, they said:

"We love Rob Ford because he listens to us."

"We have his personal cellphone number."

"He's walked the streets of my community."

"He's been in the Albion mall."

"He's had his hair cut at my hair salon."

At that moment, it was very clear to me—I had been doing community organizing outside electoral politics for 20 years—that this is a community organizer. This is someone who listens. But he did so, Speaker, with a relevance to Bill 5, in the context of the ward boundaries that Toronto has. He did so in a context where people could have access to him. And what I encourage my friends on the opposite side of the aisle to contemplate, given that legacy, which the Premier has benefited from and contributed to as well: What are we going to do to future representatives of this great city in a context where we dramatically reduce the access of elected representatives?

To me, the answer is very clear: People will want to talk to their municipal councillor. They are more likely to get a staff person or somebody working in an unelected capacity, perhaps. And I think that diminishes the business. I think it does. I think there are certain things worth investing in, and political representation is one of them.

So when I took the train back and got my paper written and brown-bag seminar prepared for my department, I was prepared to tell all of my leftist professoriate friends that I was impressed and surprised by the depth and tenacity of Mayor Ford's constituency operation in his own riding and across the city. I was prepared to acknowledge good organizing when I saw it. Even if I disagreed with his politics, I was prepared to acknowledge the model that I saw.

1500

Here's where we can switch—and I'm offering free advice, for which there will be no invoice, because I know that my friends are very interested in efficiencies too. They've couched Bill 5 as a way in which we can save money by reducing the amount of politicians—save the public \$25 million. If you feel any commitment and

fealty to Rob Ford's legacy, to the Premier's legacy, where that community organizing model came from, I would encourage you to consider other efficiencies, some of which we've talked to in the four weeks we've had together in this summer sitting.

My friend talked about the decision the government made to legislate CUPE 3903 back to work, and how that was something of which he was very proud. Well, if Bill 5 is about efficiencies and finding money, I will repeat my advice—as someone who has taught in the university system—for my friends to take a much, much finer-toothed comb over the university sector, because at this very moment, the people you just legislated back to work are the people who have to grind it day in and day out on very minimal pay, often with no benefits, doing most of the on-campus teaching, while a growing group of administrators on university and college campuses continue to suck up more and more of our public resources.

You're excited about saving \$25 million? The president of the university I used to work at, Carleton University, enjoys a salary of \$474,000 a year. That's roughly twice the salary of the Premier. They have a car allowance of \$1,500 a month. They have a housing allowance, if you can believe it, of \$3,000 a month.

The enrolment rate at Carleton, since the year 2000, has only gone up 36%. The amount of upper management—and when I mean "upper management," I'm not talking about people working directly with students, helping them with their problems; I'm talking about associate vice-presidents and their respective assistants. That caste on campus at Carleton has grown by 63%, and this in a context where most of the people I used to represent at Carleton University as the chief steward of my union are losing work, are couch-surfing and are finding it difficult to get by, doing the work that's important for students.

I want to invite the members opposite to consider that as a place where you could save money. When Gordon Campbell and his team do their forensic report of the public's finances, go over every single executive contract in this province. Ask yourselves, as good Conservatives: Is it justifiable to have this floating aristocratic caste governing our public governing our public institutions, or ought it not to be more justifiable to make to make sure that those people live in a way that serves the public, not as CEOs or celebrities that live in bubbles?

I'm thinking of Amit Chakma, the former president of the University of Western Ontario. Revelations were that in 2016, Mr. Chakma had two salaries, earning him a net income that year of over \$900,000—\$900,000 working for the public, administering a public university, while the average salary at that campus was somewhere in the mid-\$40,000s.

I think we can agree that the public's money should be well spent, but instead of massively changing the city of Toronto's governing structure in the middle of an election—something I think all of us would never agree to in the context of the recent provincial election—let's look at much bigger sources for efficiencies to find savings for the Canadian people.

I'll name a few more—one that I was talking about earlier this afternoon. I was talking about the case of Bobbi Assoun, where I live in Ottawa. This is a woman living with multiple sclerosis, in a wheelchair, on the Ontario Disability Support Program, just made homeless because her daughter moved out and she had \$428 taken out of her monthly income as a consequence. Made homeless—that was one of the phone calls I got over the weekend. We've been doing our best to find emergency shelter for Bobbi. We found a place on the east end of the city. But, here we are, a newly elected MPP and our constituency assistants, trying to help one of the most marginalized people in our city find access to housing, while Mayo Schmidt, the person this government fired—I think, perhaps justifiably. This year, Speaker, Mayo Schmidt will cash out his stock options, and when he cashes out those stock options, he won't be the six-million-dollar man. Depending on whose research you believe, he could be the nine-million-dollar man, the 10-million-dollar man or the 12-million-dollar man, because stock options—when one is paid in stock options, and there is a tiny slice of our society who are paid in stock options—are 50% tax-deductible. How could that be? Why do we allow that to persist when someone like Bobbi Assoun in my riding is struggling to find housing, to find access to medication for her chronic pain? And yet, we let Mayo Schmidt walk away under a tax regime that massively advantages him.

I think the words “Paradise Papers” could send a chill down our spine. The revelations that were revealed last year: 3,000 Canadians were named in the Paradise Papers, many of which are our blue chip companies. Loblaw's is an example. Loblaw's is currently being sued by the Canada Revenue Agency for over \$400 million for creating a shell company in the Bahamas and siphoning over \$400 million out of our country that could have gone to hospitals, that should have gone to schools, that could have gone into emergency housing for someone like Bobbi. They are taking advantage of rules that exist that advantage them.

Speaker, I'm saying to my friends that we know you want to save \$25 million at the city of Toronto by cutting seats in the middle of an election. That's small potatoes. That is small potatoes. I invite you to allow the officials at the Ministry of Finance to work with their colleagues collaboratively at the Department of Finance in Ottawa to start the aggressive closing of these tax loopholes that are starving our country.

At the moment, Speaker, we can look at the usage of tax havens. In 1994, Canada lost \$2.1 billion due to tax havens in revenue that could have stayed here, could have built hospitals, could have built schools, could have provided mental health services, could have helped people like Bobbi. In 2016, we've lost \$284 billion. There are two families in this country—one of whom I've already named, the Westons, who own Loblaw's and Shoppers Drug Mart—who have as much wealth as 11 million Canadians. We have presided over the greatest growth of inequality this country has ever seen in the last 10 or 15 years.

If you want to find efficiencies, I invite you not to disrupt the city of Toronto's elections midstream for \$25 million. I invite you to consider what Rob Ford did under the 47-ward structure they had in building up an effective constituency operation that people respected, including me. I invite you to think about the bigger potatoes you've got to go after: the big people, the people who game our tax rules and starve our public services.

When my friends talk about the fact that they went around the province and spoke to people who had to choose between heating or eating, I get that. I heard it too. I'm from rural Ontario. Where I'm from—Vankleek Hill, Ontario, if you know where that is—I heard it too. But instead of suggesting that the city of Toronto's political class is the problem, at a cost of \$25 million, why don't we start looking much higher up our political and social structure? Why don't we start looking at the way in which we are losing billions in this country because no politician yet—yet—has taken a systematic approach to tax evasion? That is like saying “Voldemort,” Speaker, if you'll forgive the Harry Potter talk, but that is the language we've got to start speaking if we want to stand up for the people.

The people need resources and access to services. Important among them are their political representatives. They want to be able to pick up the phone and reach me. It's the approach I use myself. I give out my cellphone number in the riding. Apparently thousands of people have it. It drives staff I work for crazy. But when they get a hold of me, we work on reasonable expectations about their problems and we try to help, like we tried to help Bobbi this last weekend, because that's my job.

But I really think that when it comes to the city of Toronto, we have to think bigger than the political cudgels that we pick up against each other about whether somebody believes in bloated government and another person believes in a leaner, more efficient government. We're talking past each other. I think on both sides of this aisle—let me make the ambitious guess—we both believe in tax fairness. I don't think anybody in this House would agree that there should be a certain tax system for the super-rich and another one for the rest of us. We both want to try to close those loopholes. Let's do that in the next four years.

1510

I think we both believe in due process and citizens having access to their politicians, so let's make sure that can happen. I invite you to consider that if you steamroll this forward, your passion notwithstanding, you're going to take some of that away, which belies the legacy of your own party in the example of Rob Ford.

I also invite you to consider that at the end of the day this isn't about us trying to get under each other's skin in this place; it's about us trying to make the decisions that will help people live healthier, better-off lives.

Thanks for the opportunity, Speaker, in this chamber this afternoon.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Questions and comments?

Mr. Sheref Sabawy: We were elected on June 7 on a promise, which is restoring public trust in government, trust in a government which cares for the people, their families, their interests and their tax money. By reducing the size of government, we are saving money, we are making it more efficient and the decision-making flow would be faster.

Let's ask the member: Did any consultation happen when we added this chair layer, like a fourth layer of government, in 2016? Some 90%, or 80% at least, of the residents don't know exactly about the existence of the regional chair position, and maybe 100% of them, or a very small number of them, are excluded who understand exactly what the difference is between the role of the regional chair and the standard councillor position. In a nutshell, from 2016 to today, I don't think anybody felt that difference in position.

I would also really encourage all members—even the respectable member from the other side—that we need to work for the people. This government came on a promise that it's for people, so we need to work together to make that happen for the service of the people.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Ms. Doly Begum: I want to thank the member from Ottawa Centre for his remarks. I'm glad to hear someone speak to the importance of true representation, because this bill to cut city hall in half really speaks to the danger of representation. You also brought up the ghost of Mayor Ford and how he was an organizer, and I truly believe in that as well.

Over the last few days, we've noticed in this House that members on the other side demonize politicians. We have seen members who are also politicians speak to this bill, talking about city politicians, demonizing them. I want to share that when I joined politics, looking up to a lot of the politicians from before—Speaker, I'm sure there are people you looked up to or people who look up to you right now, for example, as a politician. I think there are a lot of youth in our communities who look up to politicians, because they also want to work for the good, to represent people, to represent their community and how important that is.

When I joined politics, I wanted to represent them and I wanted to be their voice. The idea of city hall and the borders that we have for the wards—for example, in Scarborough Southwest, we have two wards and we have over 100,000 people. For the municipal issues that we deal with, from parking to housing to development to roads to potholes, for all these small but very important issues, we need good representation and good representatives who will talk to these issues, who will bring them up, who will represent the people's voices and make sure that we actually get things done.

What I think this government should do is to actually apologize for demonizing our politicians, because about 70 of them who've made this Premier the Premier are demonizing politicians, and it's really important to recognize that.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mrs. Robin Martin: Thank you to the member for Ottawa Centre for your comments on the bill. Thank you, also, for your comments on our former mayor, Rob Ford. I thought that was very big of you to admit that he had a certain credibility in his organization of his area and in responding to people in the area. I think people know that to be true, and I think it's big of you to say that.

Your focus and your comments were about the \$25 million that we believe we're going to save by shrinking the size of council—at least that was part of your focus. You didn't think that was really the big potatoes, I think you said. Twenty-five million dollars, however, is a significant amount of money. I think we'd all agree that it is money worth saving. So I don't think you need to fear that we're not going to go after the big potatoes; we're going to go after the big potatoes and save a lot of money for the people of Ontario. That's part of what we were elected to do, and we're certainly going to work on that.

But this bill is about dysfunctional government at city hall—at least that part of it is. Even John Sewell, writing in the North Toronto Post in June 2018, said that the Toronto government is dysfunctional and that Premier Ford should do something about it.

So here we are, taking steps to try to make this government more functional and more manageable, and the size of the government is a big part of that. We believe that 25 is a much better number to work with. It will be a bit inconvenient, shall we say, for people who were running. I understand that. We're not against politicians, generally, but what we are sort of against is people who make that kind of thing the most important part of it. We're all here to serve the people.

Reading from what one of my constituents said: "This is not the time for high dudgeon," but rather the time for "an effective and cost-effective city council that is elected on an approximately equal basis." And that's what we're trying to do.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I now return to the member for final comments. The member—

Mr. John Vanthof: We have one more.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Forgive me—one more.

It is the member from Brampton East for final—or for questions and comments.

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Second-last, Mr. Speaker. Thank you so much for giving me the opportunity to rise in this Legislative Assembly, and thank you to the member from Ottawa Centre for his very compelling address to the members in this assembly.

I want to speak a little bit about this rationale, this idea that this reduction in city council size is something that we see across North America. Specifically, there's a reference often made by the Premier to Los Angeles having a council of 15 members plus one mayor. What the Premier has failed to recognize and failed to state is that Los Angeles has, actually, 97 neighbourhood councils that also are part of the democratic and governance

system of Los Angeles, which has an annual budget in the millions. So I disagree with this notion that LA is even an appropriate example to say that they have a smaller council and, thus, they are an example that we can follow.

If we were to follow their model, their model is one which actually has a lot of a community involvement, a lot of engagement, and a system in place which engages directly with the constituents of that city and of those neighbourhoods.

If we look across North America, though, we see that this example is prevalent: Chicago, a city of 2.27 million, has 50 council members plus one mayor; Vancouver, here locally, has a population around 650,000 individuals with 10 council members and one mayor; Montreal, 1.7 million with 65 elected officials; and Edmonton, 900,000 with 12 councillors and one mayor. Once again, we see across the board that the representation in their democratic systems allow for a system that has the appropriate number of elected officials to properly facilitate and communicate and connect with the residents of that city.

So I want to make mention that it is inaccurate to say that LA just has 15 members; it has more, and so do amazing cities across this entire continent.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Now I return to the member from Ottawa Centre for final comment.

Mr. Joel Harden: I want to thank the members from Mississauga—Erin Mills, Scarborough Southwest, Eglinton—Lawrence and Brampton East for their comments.

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Again, I hope that was refreshing for you. It's how I do this business. I like to speak to people, not over, not at them. I don't heckle, if you haven't noticed. I really believe that what I want to do in this space is try to work with people from all sides of the aisle, particularly in the caucus, with the values that I was raised with, to get stuff done. I'm cautioning you—and I love passion. Don't get me wrong; we need more passion in this country. But in the passion that you have to change the city of Toronto's election during the election, I think you're making a mistake. I think you're making a mistake that will come back to haunt you inside your own party, if I can appeal to your self-interest for a moment. I understand that a lot of people, including some of my friends on the left, are frustrated with the process at Toronto city hall. I can say the same thing about the process of city hall in my own city. But I can guarantee you that the city of Ottawa will not work better with six councillors. It won't. It will mean that people in my city will have less access to their councillor.

I was talking to Riley Brockington. My friend the member from Ottawa West—Nepean and I were talking about Riley Brockington not long ago. His anger when I met with him was that in the city of Ottawa, his riding, because of the glitterati that exist in my riding—because I'm near the federal government—gets ignored. Their projects get ignored—and how important it is for him to be accessible, for his phone number to be accessible.

When I hear a story like that from a great councillor like Riley Brockington, I think, "What is going to happen to the city of my birth, the city of Toronto?" I know that efficiency may be apparent on the surface, but in the substance of what we give voters access to, what's the outcome of this experiment? I invite you in your caucus to have that conversation. I hope it's happening.

Thank you, Speaker, for the time to speak.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further debate?

Mr. Michael Coteau: Mr. Speaker, it's an honour to be able to speak in the Legislature today. As you know, we don't get many opportunities in this corner of the House to speak on issues. It is a real privilege to stand in the Legislature to talk about an issue that's important to me as an MPP but also as a Torontonians.

I remember that, the night before the announcement was made, I saw the report on Twitter saying that the new Conservative government was going to consider cutting council in half. I remember speaking to a friend on the phone and I said, "Do you know what? There's absolutely no way that the Premier of this province is going to cut it in half during an election. There's absolutely no way." Actually, I would have bet \$1,000 if the opportunity came up at that time that he would never have done that. I was shocked the next day when the announcement was made and he said he was actually going to do it for this election.

I've never disputed the number—if it's 25, if it's double that, if it's 35. I think that's a healthy conversation in a democracy to have, a conversation about the representation number for a specific body. We just went through that process here in the Ontario Legislature. I just have to remind members that a lot of the members who are sitting here today are here because of the expansion of seats in this very House. On one side, we hear the Premier and the government talking about how less government is more efficient. But we just went through an election where we actually expanded the number of seats in this Legislature.

I didn't believe that it was actually going to take place. I was actually shocked when I did find out that it was going to take place during an election. It sent our city into chaos. There are a lot of people out there who have gone and raised money, who have connected with community groups, who have knocked on doors in a specific area, and now they have to rethink their strategy. There are sitting councillors who work together in their communities who are now battling in their local communities. I think it's irresponsible for any government to change the rules during an actual election.

I agree with the member from Ottawa Centre. I agree with many members in the House who disagree with the process that is being put in place. But make no mistake, Mr. Speaker: This is not about the size of government that I'm concerned about; it's about the way in which it was done. I don't think it was very fair to the city of Toronto.

I think roughly half of the seats in this city are represented by Conservative members. I would have hoped

that the Conservative members in this Legislature who represent ridings in the city of Toronto would have at least had the decency to stand up for their communities and allow them to have a voice when these types of decisions are being made. This is not a decision about how much we're going to spend a specific program; this is not a decision around which road is going to be built; this is a decision about how democracy is done in the largest city in this country.

We always hear on the other side that the city of Toronto itself is dysfunctional. I'd like to remind members in this Legislature that half of the GDP of this province comes from this city. The strongest financial sector outside of New York in this entire region, North America, is in this city. We have a growing interactive digital media and film and television sector, and there were more buildings being built here in 2012 and 2013 than all of North America combined. How does a city council that's dysfunctional actually accomplish that?

To say that the city council is dysfunctional and that's the premise of this change is so irresponsible. For the members who represent ridings in this city, I think it's irresponsible and I think it's turning their backs to the residents of the city—

Interjection.

Mr. Michael Coteau: So the member opposite from Renfrew here who is speaking—I want talk a little bit about his town, for example. Why was it that Toronto was singled out? They said that there are too many city councillors. Roughly, in my part of the city, the Don Mills community, in wards 33 and 32, they have around 50,000 people each. That's one councillor for 50,000. Now it's going to be about one councillor for about 110,000 people.

Let's look at the member from Renfrew in his riding, the Minister of Transportation, who has claimed that this Premier is going to be the greatest transportation minister in the history of this country. In the minister's city in the riding of Renfrew–Nipissing–Pembroke, there's a population of 103,000. They have one mayor, one deputy councillor, five city councillors; one city councillor for every 2,700 people in his hometown—one councillor for every 2,700 people.

Let's take the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, who represents Leeds–Grenville. He also represents the city of Brockville. They have 30,000 people; in fact, it's 29,000. They have one mayor and they have eight city councillors, so they have one city councillor for every 3,700 people.

Think about that for a second. On one side, they're saying, "Oh, in the city of Toronto, there's too many of them. One per 110,000: It's a lot of people, but they can handle that. One councillor can handle 110,000 people." But in their very towns, in Renfrew and Brockville, it's one per under 4,000. Where is the fairness here?

Hon. John Yakabuski: They don't make the kind of money they make in Toronto. What are the wages? What are the wages for those poor councillors in Renfrew?

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Minister of Transportation will come to order.

Mr. Michael Coteau: He says it's about the wages. The member representing Renfrew says it's about the wages. Mr. Speaker, it's about democracy. It's about people having a place to go when they need to get out there and they need to actually access the system.

Let's talk about a few other towns. So Todd Smith, who I actually like—

Interjection.

Mr. Michael Coteau: Oh, sorry; let me resay that, Mr. Speaker—the member who represents Belleville, population of 50,000: one mayor, eight councillors; 6,300 people per councillor.

The Minister of Finance: He's got 75,000 people in his town. He's got one mayor and he's got 10 city councillors—one councillor for every 7,500 people. That's really efficient. Do you know what? There should be one councillor for the entire city, according to the Toronto formula.

Mr. Speaker, we know what this is all about. I had some other names. I'm going to spare you guys. This is about fairness. If they were really serious about making change in this province, open up the process and actually—

Hon. John Yakabuski: We have made change.

Mr. Michael Coteau: Well, a buck a beer is a lot of change.

But if they were really serious about a conversation about democracy, I would ask them to open up this conversation and make it a provincial conversation. Let's talk about the formula that can be used across different municipalities to make governments more efficient. We're not afraid to have that conversation. But just to walk into a city council in between an election and actually say, "I'm sorry; we're going to change everything a couple of months before the election," is just irresponsible, and they know it. They know it.

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This is an attack on the city of Toronto. I'm not going to get into the reasons and I'm not going to try to guess why it's happening, but I think many of us in the House, including on that side, could probably guess why this is taking place. This is about silencing the voice of citizens.

Here is an interesting fact: During the election, they said they were going to get rid of the health and wellness curriculum, otherwise known as the sex ed curriculum. They said that they were going to get rid of it. Now they're saying they're going to do a system-wide consultation because it wasn't fair because, "No one consulted with the people of Ontario, and now we're going to go and talk to the people of Ontario. We're going to have a conversation and we're going to come back with a plan that represents the way people feel."

But when it comes to local democracy, there's a different approach: "Hey, we don't need to have the conversation because the people have spoken. They gave us a mandate." This is what the government is saying: "They gave us a mandate to make things efficient."

Could you imagine how scary it is in a democracy when any decision that you're making can be backed up with one single premise: "We're going to find efficiencies; we're going to make it efficient"?

I got involved in running at the Toronto District School Board back in 2003. I've been elected as a school board trustee for eight years and as an MPP for seven years. When I got to the Toronto District School Board, the salary for a trustee was \$5,000. That's how much Mike Harris reduced it to. I think it was \$40,000, and he reduced it to \$5,000. It was an attack, at the time, on the local voice. It was there to silence the voice of trustees at the Toronto District School Board by pushing those positions down so the voices weren't as loud.

What he didn't realize—Mike Harris at the time, the former Premier—is that a guy like myself, who was in his late twenties, who was on the sidelines, watching what was happening—what he didn't realize is that a new generation of leadership and people who wanted to get involved in politics started to emerge. They started to come forward because democracy was being silenced in the city.

I agree with the member from Ottawa Centre. What they don't realize on the other side is that by silencing the voice of the majority, they're actually investing in the next generation of young men and women in this province who will be challenging the Conservative Party of Ontario the next time around.

There are different ways to do things. There are ways to engage the public. I just believe that what the Conservative Party has done here is not the right way; it's not the fair way. They need to, I think, revisit the approach that they've taken. I would ask the members opposite to really reconsider everything that they're doing in regard to this piece of legislation and actually go out and just talk to people in the city of Toronto.

I think about the way this city is represented now in this House. If you look at their cabinet, besides the Premier there's only one person from this city who is in that cabinet. It's underrepresented in their cabinet. It is underrepresented at the ministry level. They don't have ministers from this city to take on the challenges, besides Minister Cho.

I really believe, Mr. Speaker, that it's up to Torontonians now to rise up and to challenge this government; to say, "You can't silence our voice; you cannot not allow us to participate in democracy, and creating this new model of city council without any type of input is a real insult not only to the city of Toronto but to the people of Ontario."

Interjection.

Mr. Michael Coteau: The member from Renfrew: I've listened to him many, many times in this House. In fact, I think he's probably one of the best speakers in this Legislature. When he speaks, I actually listen to him. He often talks about local democracy. He talks about making sure that the voice of rural Ontario is always represented at the table. I would have thought that the member opposite would extend that same courtesy to a city like Toronto.

Through you, Mr. Speaker, do you really believe that the process that you've engaged in is the right thing to do for this city? To go into the middle of an election and just say, "Stop, we're going to eliminate half the spots and we're going to just change everything, change timelines, and you're going to have to go back and rethink your entire financial"—everything changes. It is unheard of. It has never been done in this city before; it has never been done in this province. I don't know if it has been done in this country.

Interjection: It's very innovative.

Mr. Michael Coteau: One of the members here says that it's very innovative, like their buck-a-beer program. Very innovative programming coming from—I said to these guys yesterday that are just around me here—if they're going to talk, I'm going to respond directly. I said, "Instead of a buck a beer, what about a buck for a book to increase literacy levels for children in this city and in this province?" I think that we need to think of ways—

Hon. John Yakabuski: If the printers volunteer we will allow them to sell a book for a buck.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): The Minister of Transportation will come to order. By the way, that's the second time.

Mr. Michael Coteau: I also did suggest that instead of a buck a beer, what about a buck for a TTC ride? That would be nice for the Minister of Transportation to invest in; get people moving in this city for a buck. Get people reading those books on the buses and the trains that you're here to represent. But no, no, no, no; they're focusing on something very different. They're going to bring us back to the 1980s.

I would love to actually debate in the next round of debates when we get the—I hope the buck-a-beer debate comes into this Legislature and I'm given the time. I'm a fan of grunge music. I like grunge music. I like 1990s hip hop too. I'm hoping they can bring that back too in their little time machine. They're going way back in time and they're bringing things back: a buck a beer, \$2.50 Tuesdays at the movie theatre. Do you remember that? Please bring that back and just subsidize Cineplex Odeon.

There's so much this government could be doing to focus on really building this province and making a difference in this province by building democracy and representation. I would just hope, at the end of the day, as this government goes forward, that this government starts to really—I want this government to do well. I want this government to actually be successful because if the government is successful the people of Ontario are successful. I want them to be successful. I want local councils to be successful. I want governments to be successful.

Interjection.

Mr. Michael Coteau: Someone just said, "Oh, you were there for 15 years." I was in government for six years as a minister.

I hope that this government, this new government, which won the majority of the vote, 40%, which has a clear mandate to represent the people of Ontario—they

have a clear mandate; no one is disputing that—I hope that as they move forward the members in the backbenches and the experienced ministers in the front who have been here for, I don't know, two or three decades, really take the time to encourage the Premier to do things that are actually going to help democracy in this province, that are going to help people get involved and want to participate in democracy and building government.

The people of Toronto would have loved to have engaged this government in a meaningful conversation about how to make democracy and government more efficient, how to make the city of Toronto work better. Instead, they've silenced the majority; they've silenced the people of Ontario and they've told them that their point of view doesn't matter. It doesn't matter. It doesn't matter in this House. What matters to them is to push an agenda that tells city council who's the boss.

It's very clear at this point. It has always been clear that the Premier and the government do have control over municipalities in many ways, but it's the most obviously clear moment in our history in Ontario where we know that this House and, in fact, this government has a lot of control and say in democracy.

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Again, my advice to the members in the back, the members in the front and especially the members from Toronto: Maybe you just have to toe the line in this House, in the backbenches, and just follow what the government says, but in caucus, in cabinet, without an audience, please stand up and speak on these issues. Speak to the issues that matter. Talk about democracy and the need for people to be involved in the process. And don't use legislation to punish; use legislation to build and to make the world a better place around us. I would encourage members to do just that.

Members of the government: Even if you're not from the city of Toronto, if it can happen in the city of Toronto, it can happen in your own city. Could you imagine, Mr. Speaker—I was going to say “Chatham-Kent,” but I'm going to leave you alone; you're in the chair. But could you imagine, overnight, getting a memo from the Premier's office in the middle of an election in Renfrew, in Belleville, in our beautiful towns in this province—imagine, as a councillor or the mayor, getting a memo saying, “I know you're in the middle of an election, but by the way, we've decided in this House, without any consultation, that we're going to cut your council in half”? Could you imagine that?

It's easy to get away with it in Toronto, because it's a big city. It maybe sells well in other places—it's just an immediate reaction—but when we really think about what's going on here as citizens, when we really think about what's taking place, this is a very scary moment in Ontario's history. And the only people who can stop this now are the members opposite. It's not us on this side; we don't have the votes. It's the members in cabinet, it's the members on the other side who can stand up for the city of Toronto, stand up for democracy and make this place, this beautiful province, a better place for all of us.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Questions and comments?

Hon. John Yakabuski: I want to thank the member from Don Valley East for his presentation today. We don't get to enjoy that as often as we used to anymore, because of the configuration of the House, but that's the way democracy works. You see, what happens is that the people all across Ontario voted, and this is the House that they voted for.

But I do want to touch on that, on Bill 5, which the member spoke pretty clearly against today. He's going to have one vote on that bill, the same number of votes that I'm going to get, or anybody else in this House—and that's democracy at work as well. A bill was brought before this Legislature, and it will be voted on, as any other piece of legislation.

I do want to reference the fact that he talked about Renfrew, Belleville, North Bay and other places—and Brockville. See, democracy is at work there as well. I've had the pleasure and the benefit of spending a lot of time in Renfrew, Pembroke, Arnprior, Deep River, Barry's Bay, Eganville and all the different places, and I've seen how those governments work.

I've also had the benefit of spending time here in Toronto, and I congratulate our Premier on recognizing the fact that the people of Toronto have been saying for years that their council has become dysfunctional, it's parochial and it's not getting the job done. So he has taken the measure and brought forth the legislation on what the people have been asking for in Toronto for years: a functional, more working, more efficient, more effective council. Bill 5 will give the people in Toronto exactly what they've been asking for for years.

So I say to the member for Don Valley East: Be with the people, just like Premier Ford. Do it for the people. Vote for Bill 5. It's better for Toronto. It's better for Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Ms. Catherine Fife: I want to thank the member from Don Valley East for contributing his experience to this debate on Bill 5. I think the premise of his comments really does call into question the motivation for Bill 5. When the government says to us that you will save \$25.5 million by reducing the duly elected representatives for the people of this great city, and that that is a value-for-money concept or a return on investment, we have enough research to show that that actually is a false claim. We have the research from multiple municipalities across Canada that the savings that this move will make will actually not be realized. The only thing that will be compromised is the quality of the debate, the quality of the representation that the people of this great province have at their disposal to actually ensure that they have the public services that we all pretend to value.

In fact, rejecting the premise of cost savings—this is actually quoting from the Fraser Institute, which I have to tell you I never thought I would do: “But councillors represent a minor fraction of city spending. According to

Premier Ford, the city will save \$25.5 million over four years—or approximately one-twentieth of one per cent of Toronto's \$11.12-billion annual operating budget." In fact, it will be a savings of \$2.33 per citizen. Is that the cost of compromising the democracy of this great city? I think not.

I will remind the members opposite, as the member from Don Valley did, that the people of Toronto have not asked for less representation; they have asked for better representation. Bill 5 denies them that.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Ms. Lindsey Park: I just want to start off by thanking the member from Don Valley East for adding his commentary and perspective to this debate. I want to touch on one aspect of what you raised, which was this idea that the members for the city of Toronto, the government members, have not consulted their community.

We just went through a provincial election where I know from speaking to my fellow colleagues from the city of Toronto that they were working their tails off to go door to door, to hear from as many people in the community as they possibly could, and they were listening. They weren't only speaking to share their own agenda, but they were listening to what people had to say about what changes they wanted to see a government make. Over and over again, they heard that they wanted a PC government that would get into this Legislature and reduce the size of government. They said over and over again that Toronto city council is dysfunctional. This is not made up. This is directly from what we heard at the doors.

I want to actually just share quotes from a couple of constituents of my friend the member from Eglinton–Lawrence. One—this was received in the form of an email. It was actually an email sent to Mayor John Tory:

"I am disappointed with your reaction to Premier Ford's announcement that city council will be reduced from the proposed 47 wards to 25.

"Premier Ford's initiative comes at an inopportune time for the city, perhaps, given the upcoming municipal elections. But inconvenience should not trump the urgency to deal with what is now a dysfunctional city council."

That's one constituent from Eglinton–Lawrence. We have another constituent from Eglinton–Lawrence who seems to agree—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you very much. Sorry; you're out of time.

Further questions and comments?

Mr. Gurratan Singh: I want to speak about what we've seen over the past few weeks from this government. We have seen the slashing of city council overnight from 47 to 25 members. We have seen a buck a beer being made a priority. On the other hand, we see \$100 million being cut from schools and \$330 million being cut from mental health.

What I'm going to put forward to you, Mr. Speaker, is that this government has their priorities out of whack.

Let's talk about Brampton. The Premier has stated very clearly that he loves Brampton; Brampton is the best city; he's all for Brampton. Well, if he loves Brampton, instead of slashing city council, instead of doing a buck a beer, he would have talked about the issues that people really care about: slashing auto insurance, the highest auto insurance in this country, and stopping hallway medicine—the busiest ER in this country is in Brampton, at Brampton Civic. We have not a word about these issues. Instead we see a buck a beer and slashing city council.

What I put forward to you, Mr. Speaker, is that if this were truly a government for the people, courageous action would have been immediately slashing auto insurance and immediately ending hallway medicine. These are the priorities that people need, not putting forward these actions around city council, not putting forward these actions for a buck a beer.

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What I'm saying is that we see continually that life is getting harder. People are seeing this pinch on their wallet. They're seeing the pinch on everyday expenses. We need action on that. That's truly courageous work. That's work for the people. That's work that people are going to really resonate with. It's not just in Brampton; it's across this entire province. We need to make life better for people, and not to put forward positions that are really just going to address superficial things like making beer more affordable, or issues around city council which are making life more undemocratic.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I now return to the member from Don Valley East for final comment.

Mr. Michael Coteau: I want to thank all the members in the Legislature for their comments. At the end of the day, we're here to work together, to look for ways to build a better Ontario.

We've heard comments from different members. There was one member who talked about how they're just fresh off the campaign trail, they've talked to people across the city of Toronto and they've been given a mandate to go out there and make things more efficient. But I just want to remind the member opposite that never once did the government actually say that this was part of its proposal. To say that you're given a mandate to make things more efficient gives you the licence and authority to do almost anything you want.

For example, Ontario Place, we know at this point, has been put on hold. They could cancel that project tomorrow and call it efficiency. They could cut programs to help children and call it an efficiency. They can take subsidies that help school repairs and call it an efficiency. It's just a terrible premise to use to actually push forward a mandate and then actually claim that it comes from the people. It's a falsehood; it's not true. You had somewhat of a platform that you established, and you came out with several pieces that you said you were going to do—like a buck a beer—and you're going to do it. Okay, you've got the mandate of the people. Do it.

But never, throughout this election, did people knock on doors and say: "We're going to cut city council in half in the city of Toronto." Never. Not once did it come up. Please, stop telling the people of Ontario that you have the mandate to do this, because no one gave you the mandate to do that. No one gave you the mandate to go into a city council during the middle of an election and cut the council size in half. No one gave you that mandate, and it's this arrogance in this government to actually assume they have that power—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you. Further debate?

Mr. Roman Baber: This is my first time rising in debate, except for my inaugural speech, and I couldn't think of a better piece of legislation to speak to. It's really a distinct pleasure to speak on Bill 5, the Better Local Government Act, or, as I call it, the "better city of Toronto for everyone act." I speak to the House today as a resident, a taxpayer, a voter and a cheerleader of the city of Toronto.

We campaigned on a clear message, crystal clear. We campaigned on a better, more efficient government, and if there is a place anywhere on this earth that requires a better, more efficient government, it is our magnificent city of Toronto.

Let's look for a minute at what Bill 5 is going to accomplish vis-à-vis our priorities. We campaigned on good government that works for the people, not for the insiders. City council must be accountable to the voters, but we have city councillors that have been serving for over 25, 30 years, incumbents that no longer feel the public pressure to decide what's truly best for Toronto. They're lifers. Well, Bill 5 is going to change that—so, restoring government accountability: check. We campaigned on saving taxpayer money—\$25 million, by the government's estimates—so, saving the taxpayer money: check.

We campaigned on building transit. When was the last time Toronto agreed and proceeded on a transit project? I don't think that any of our researchers would know that, because it was probably before the days of the Internet. When was the last time council made a transit decision that did not go back on itself or let us put a shovel in the ground? I can't really recall. This bill is going to streamline government, allowing us to build transit, something we committed to in the election campaign. Transit, saving money, accountability: check, check, check.

This is why I couldn't be more proud of Premier Ford and Minister Clark, and why, as an MPP from Toronto, I couldn't be more proud to go back to my constituents and to my friends and say, "You see? We did what we said we were going to do," which fits into the record of this government. Promises made; promises kept.

But I'm concerned about what I'm hearing from the opposition. Never mind the language or the rhetoric; when the opposition questions the government's mandate to effect change in Toronto, it is the opposition that is undermining democracy. It's the opposition that undermines the rule of law.

First of all, the government received a colossal mandate in Toronto—11 government MPPs from the city of Toronto. Count them. Torontonians trusted our government to bring change to Ontario, to bring change to Toronto, and we will not let them down—no. We did not campaign on hollow promises. We campaigned on a streamlined, more efficient government, and we will discharge our responsibility to the people of Toronto and deliver a streamlined, more efficient local government.

Second, somehow the opposition would have this House believe that all of this is happening in some sort of legal vacuum. That proposition is not grounded in law. With respect to my friends, they are outright wrong.

Canada, Mr. Speaker, is a confederation—federalism at different levels of government at its core. The makeup of our country is clear: The provinces are vested with the power to create, alter and regulate municipalities. The city of Toronto, the body corporate, is a creation of the province. Be it the City of Toronto Act or the Municipal Act, the city derives its administrative, taxation and regulatory powers from the province, and for good reason. Even Mayor Tory, when questioned by the media about 10 days ago, conceded that the province is probably on solid footing.

The province is well within its right, Mr. Speaker, and it shall act and exercise such a right in accordance with its mandate—and not a moment too soon—to bring relief to the people of Toronto.

From Lake Shore to Steeles Avenue, from Highway 427 to Markham Road, Torontonians expect city government to work for them. Like I've said before, Mr. Speaker—just a slightly amended version—Torontonians don't work for city government; city government works for Torontonians. I say this as a Toronto resident. We're entitled to a better city? No, we demand better government from the city.

Let's talk about savings first. Our government estimates that the move to trim city council will save us approximately \$25 million. My friend said: "\$25 million? That's peanuts." Well, no. The largest expenditure in our city is the police services board. It accounts for almost half of the budget. But council decided that if there is a place to cut, they're going to cut front-line officers. So do you know what they did? They cut our force from 5,000 police officers to 4,200 officers over the last couple of years. In an effort to save money, they cut 20% of our force. I think they called it "forced modernization."

Mr. Speaker, we're experiencing perhaps the most violent year in Toronto's history. It's very, very sad. You may remember the summer of the gun. Well, we're on track to surpass it—heaven forbid.

I live adjacent to the magnificent neighbourhoods of Bathurst Manor and Clanton Park. Bathurst Manor is located just north of Sheppard and east of Bathurst. Clanton Park is the square between where Wilson, Sheppard, Bathurst and Wilson Heights, some of the safest neighbourhoods in the city of Toronto. Well, not anymore. Both areas are experiencing a tremendous uptick in violence, break-and-enters and car break-ins.

But even more upsetting—and I hear this all the time—a Clanton Park resident would call 32 division to report a car break-in, a frightening experience, but the police are unable to respond. Sometimes officers don't even arrive till the next day, or the residents are told to go to a police station and file a report. That is unbelievable. That is un-Canadian. Toronto Police cannot respond to break-ins because they don't have enough officers, but what is the city doing? It's cutting. It's merging police divisions, cutting them in half.

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Well, you know what, Mr. Speaker? We don't need more politicians. We don't need to cut our police stations by half; we need to cut our politicians by half. John Tory cut 800, maybe closer to 1,000 police officers from the streets of Toronto. Twenty-five million dollars pays the salaries of approximately 250 police officers. That is money well spent. Meanwhile, Chief Saunders and the mayor, what are they saying? "We need to increase police presence in key areas." Bravo—finally. But how are we going to do that? They can't.

But look at our government. Look at what we did last week. Last week, our PC government committed to \$25 million to fight guns and gangs, the cause of this mayhem. Wouldn't it be nice if the city took the \$25 million it's going to save and match our commitment to help restore the police force that was here before it was cut, to respond to calls, to prevent gun violence? Bill 5 will free up those resources: more police, less politicians. Imagine that. It's the NDP's worst nightmare.

I'm so proud of what our government is doing with the Better Local Government Act. One of my favourite things about Bill 5 is that it will finally give Torontonians equal representation. Here, we're going to talk about democracy now. It will give all Torontonians an equal vote—an ability to have a say in what is good for them, an ability to choose their destiny, instead of being subjected to the whim of a few.

The current makeup of city wards is anything but fair. For instance, ward 18 in Parkdale has 72,000 residents, but ward 21 in Toronto Centre has 28,000 residents. How is that fair? How is that democracy? I ask my friends in the opposition party: How is that democratic? Another example: Ward 19 has 72,000 residents; ward 20 has half of that—36,000 residents.

My friend from Don Valley East just spoke to the House a couple of minutes ago about democracy. Well, I believe he lives in ward 32. I checked: Ward 32 has 68,000 people. How is that fair to his constituents? Why is the member from Don Valley East not looking to safeguard the democratic rights of his constituents to make their vote equal to that of ward 21, for instance, that has 28,000 people? It doesn't make sense to me.

What the bill does is realign the ward boundaries in accordance with the federal and provincial scheme—a scheme designed with equal representation in mind, an equal number. Whether they're downtown, North York, Etobicoke or Scarborough, in ward X or ward Y, their voices are going to be equal.

Every day, I hear the opposition bring up democracy, but it is the opposition, in fact, that opposes democracy. They know it. We're blessed to live in a democracy. In a democracy, a vote is a vote is a vote. In a democracy, all votes are equal and all voters are equal. But for Bill 5, the Toronto municipal election of 2018 would not yield democracy. For you see, Mr. Speaker, my vote is not equal to the vote of my friend from Toronto Centre. It is not majority rules; it is minority rules. If you live in ward 41 in Scarborough Centre, you have 70,000 residents; if you live in ward 22 in Spadina-Fort York, you have 42,000 residents with the same vote. That's not right.

Hon. John Yakabuski: Where's the equality?

Mr. Roman Baber: That's not right, Minister of Transportation. This is quite unbelievable. Why do we deny an equal vote to wards 18, 19 and 41? Why do we weigh more than others?

I live in ward 8, at the beautiful corner of Allen Road and Sheppard, where wards 8, 9 and 10 meet in the heart of York Centre. It is the cornerstone of Canada Lands, which is home to beautiful Downsview Park, which this government will hopefully make even better.

My ward has 54,000 residents. Immediately to my east, also in York Centre, is ward 10. They have 69,000 residents. How do I explain this to my constituents, that I represent a community with 70,000 people and the member from Toronto Centre has less than 30,000 people? Why do we deny York Centre equal municipal representation? It is inconceivable. It is gross. But what is worse is that all of this, Mr. Speaker, has real-life repercussions. This is not an academic discussion about democracy. This is real stuff.

It's well known that certain areas of the city of Toronto are under-represented and certain areas of Toronto are over-represented. I want to give you an example, Mr. Speaker. I want to tell you an example of what the over-represented councillors in midtown and downtown Toronto have done with the King Street pilot project. King Street used to be a vibrant street: home to the financial district, the entertainment district, the theatre district, and home to restaurant row where people come from all over to eat and to do business. It's bustling and it's busy. But city council said, "No, no. The streetcar is too slow. We want to move downtown communities. We don't want them to drive on King Street." And, God forbid people from Scarborough are properly represented; they said that the streetcar is too slow because of traffic, and they said, "No more cars on King Street."

So the city votes to ban cars from King Street. You're only allowed to drive one block from anywhere, from Jarvis to Bathurst, and then you have to get off King. The rules are so confusing; the signage is confusing. Even city officials don't get them. It doesn't matter that the streetcar is only busy two hours a day. No, it doesn't matter. Go outside of rush hour and it's essentially empty. They turned King Street into a ghost town seven days a week, 24 hours a day.

Then they did a study and they learned they only reduced the commute time by four minutes between

Bathurst and Jarvis. Meanwhile, the rest of Toronto—Scarborough, Etobicoke, north Toronto, people who enjoy coming to King Street—cannot come there anymore, and for no good reason. They took King Street away from us. They said, “Use an alternate route.” No. You can’t drive on Adelaide—it’s been under construction for 10 years—and you can’t park anywhere nearby.

But wait, there’s more. Suddenly, the city recognizes that business on King Street is down, the restaurants are empty, so what do they do? To compensate for the streetcar program that is killing business on King Street, they create another city program to stimulate business on King Street. Get this: They prevent taxpayers from spending money on King Street, and then they take more money from taxpayers to get them to come back and spend money on King Street. No wonder the Premier calls it a comedy show. And why? Because the few on council imposed their will on the collective. Toronto suburbs are under-represented. This bill, Bill 5, will put an end to that.

Mr. Speaker, I often talk about the most pressing issue for Torontonians, and the issue is transit. Transit is the key to most of the issues our generation faces, whether it’s housing, economic development or the workplace. We have not built any serious transit in the city for probably 20 years, outside of the York-University-Spadina line, of which only a kilometre is roughly in the city of Toronto. We know what has been happening, because council has been going back and forth on building subways in the city, and there’s no greater issue for most residents of the city of Toronto than getting the subway built.

In 2011, the city voted for the Scarborough subway. Since then, every year or so, council calls on a new vote on the same project. Ten times now they’ve voted to try and kill the Scarborough subway, and seven years later, not a shovel in the ground. The people of Scarborough, the city of Toronto—we all want subways, and yet council continues to stand in our way and order report after report and get vote after vote. Well, no more. Our plan will ensure that the gridlock on council is over and that the subway will be built.

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As I said last time, my favourite three words in the English language are subway, subway, subway. Let’s get it going. Let’s get it done—subway, subway, subway. We have no choice. We have gridlock all over the place. You can’t drive downtown, you can’t drive east-west, and the alternatives are not there. I’m certain, Mr. Speaker, that if this act passes—and it will pass—that we will be able to finally get things done in this city, something that has been virtually impossible over the last decade or so.

Look at the Gardiner: A decade now they’ve been talking about the Gardiner. First they were going to tear it down. Then they were going to have a hybrid option. Then they were going to build something else altogether. A decade ago, the cost for the Gardiner was \$300 million. Five years ago, it was \$700 million. Today, city

staff is reporting that the cost for the hybrid option for the Gardiner is \$1.3 billion. This is shameful. If we’d got going a decade ago, then the Gardiner would already have been built. Instead, it’s crumbling, just like so much of our city’s infrastructure. We cannot afford any more time to wait. We’ve got to get going on this now and get this right. We have to get—

Applause.

Mr. Roman Baber: That’s it. Finally, I’ll say to my friends on the opposition side: Democracy is non-negotiable. All of you, without question, are aware of the lack of equal representation on Toronto city council. I’m asking you to take a principled approach for democracy and stand up with the government and vote in favour of this bill so that you yourselves, those of you who are from the city of Toronto, do not deny your own local residents, do not deny your own constituents equal representation and democracy. They deserve it.

This is how our country is governed. We’re well within our rights, and your constituents are well within their rights to demand democracy and action. This is why I’m going to be voting in favour of Bill 5.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Questions and comments?

Mr. Faisal Hassan: The member from York Centre has said that we’re going to change how the representation of the city of Toronto looks because “We don’t like how they vote and the decisions they make. Therefore, we’re going to change the representation of the residents of Toronto.” What is at stake here are the rights of the people of Toronto to have representation: representation that serves them, representation based on the population of the city of Toronto.

We have now 47 city councillors. Reducing them into 25 means there will be less service for the people of Toronto. The current government says, “We are the government of the people.” But in the case of this bill, and in the case of Toronto, they are anti-democratic. They are not empowering the people of Toronto to make their decisions for the representation that they need.

We understand, member from York Centre, that yes, it comes under provincial jurisdiction with regard to levels of government. But that does not mean you become a dictator and impose your own agenda and your own solutions against the will of the people of Toronto.

I come from the riding of York South–Weston. The population there is 116,960—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you very much.

Mr. Faisal Hassan: Oh, thank you.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): You’re welcome.

Further questions and comments: the member from Ottawa South?

Mr. John Fraser: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker—yes, Ottawa South. Thank you. It’s a pleasure to respond to the member from York Centre.

As my colleague from Don Valley East said, you don’t have a mandate to do this. To get a mandate from the

people, you have to be clear and explicit about what your actions are, and it's very evident that you weren't clear and explicit during the campaign about this. You're intervening in the middle of an election, which I'm sure you know is not the right thing to do. You're also getting yourselves involved in the federal election, too—I can tell by the language. So there's a bit of a pattern here.

I don't know why—if you're going to go out and consult in 124 ridings on a curriculum that's been designed to protect their kids, that's been taught for three years and that's needed in September—consultation in this instance is not needed. It doesn't make any sense. It doesn't hold water. I think, on the other side, they know that.

The other piece is the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Minister of Agriculture both spoke to the elected regional chair of a number of regions very supportively on a number of occasions. Now they're saying exactly the same thing, essentially saying it would be great for democracy—those are their words. It's in Hansard. We can all go and read that.

I do want to caution the member—I know he's brand new, and there are a lot of brand new members here. He used the term “lifer.” Here's what a lifer is: the Minister of Agriculture has been here for 23 years—that's a long time; the Minister of Economic Development, 28. Now, the Minister of Transportation is a mere 15 years—I wouldn't describe that as a lifer. So I wouldn't use that as a basis of argument for taking the action that you're taking, because there are people who continue to contribute throughout their lives and are good members, as those members are.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mrs. Belinda Karahalios: Thank you to my fellow member, from York Centre, and to the members from York South–Weston and Ottawa South.

When I speak to people, their biggest complaint about government—there are many, but two stand out: One is that there are too many politicians, and the second is, because of that, nothing often gets done.

I'm going to quote Christie Blatchford from the National Post from her article on July 27, 2018: “In the mid-to-late 1990s, council meetings occasionally went on for days, though at that time it was usually just over two. This week, the council meeting lasted five days, from Monday (when the start was adjourned out of respect for the victims of the Danforth shooting) through Thursday (when some councillors had lunch on the Danforth to show the city was carrying on) to Friday...” That is with 44 members on council, not the 47 that they currently want. What this says to me is that an oversized council makes it almost impossible to build meaningful consensus and get things done. As a result, infrastructure crumbles, housing backlogs grow and transit isn't built.

We believe in better local government, and to that point, we're going to reduce the size and cost of Toronto city hall so that decisions can be made quicker while services can be delivered more efficiently and effective-

ly. Nobody in Ontario believes that we don't have enough politicians; in fact, it's quite the opposite. So we have committed to restoring accountability and trust in government. We have also promised to reduce the size and cost of government. We're committed to ending this culture of waste and mismanagement in Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Gurratan Singh: I want to speak a bit about the Premier's discussion around having a mandate and this mandate that they have—or what the Conservative government has put forward in regard to a mandate they have to reduce city council.

What we do know is that they did not campaign on this matter. There was nothing in their campaign platform to reduce city council from 47 to 25, and that the king of consultation, the Premier—the self-avowed, self-professed king of consultation—did not consult on this matter before cutting city council down. And when we look at the manner in which this was rolled out, we didn't see this was something that, upon being elected, the Premier said, “This is a priority that we're going to move forward.” We didn't see, in the following weeks, that this was something that was mentioned or something that was signalled would be happening. Instead, on the eve of the deadline—we see this as a “gotcha” moment. This was something that took this province—not just this province but this country—by surprise. And this is something that immediately was criticized as such.

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My friend has described the legal nature upon which this decision exists. I'll talk about another legal principle: The legal principle of the “reasonable person,” that we should look at what a reasonable person would do in these kinds of circumstances. What I put forward to you, Mr. Speaker, is that a reasonable person would not make these decisions on the eve of a deadline in which people have already been campaigning and going door-to-door in terms of the wards that they were trying to represent. A reasonable person would not do it in this kind of manner.

I put forward to you, Mr. Speaker, that, instead, this would have been done in a manner that would have consulted with the residents of Toronto; this would have been done in a manner which had been clearly communicated; this would have been done in a manner which had truly been open and democratic and would have had all voices at the table in this discussion.

So I put forward that this is not the right decision to go forward and definitely something that we should all vote against.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I now return to the member from York Centre for final comments.

Mr. Roman Baber: Back to my friend from Brampton: The comparison to the “reasonable person” test is irrelevant. We would consider whether a reasonable person would be relevant if we were discussing, potentially, a judgment call. What I'm saying is that this government

is fully within its right to legally do what it seeks to do, which is to amend a body corporate that is heavily prescribed by a provincial statute. The test of whether it is reasonably justifiable is not the applicable test. What is important is whether we are within our right, and we are clearly within our right.

The second issue goes back to something that was said earlier today. Mrs. Thatcher said something to the effect of, "Our opponents always criticize style, never the substance." I have yet to hear a single member of the opposition criticize the merits of the decision. I have not heard a single member say—in fact I often hear the opposite—"Perhaps there may be something to this," or "Perhaps we should revisit the size of council," or, "I would agree with you that many Toronto residents perhaps would like to cut the size of council." The opposition only criticizes the style. That is a very, very important point that, on merit, all things being equal, this is something that should probably have been done a long time ago. So I'm proud that we're going to take decisive action and actually get it done.

Finally, my friend from York South–Weston, who also represents part of ward 8, which, again, has 54,000 people, called our act dictatorial. Why doesn't my friend from York South–Weston believe that it's Toronto Centre that imposes its will on York South–Weston by virtue of its fewer residents? That is dictatorial.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): We'll now continue with further debate.

Ms. Catherine Fife: I'd like to say that it's a pleasure to join the debate. I have to tell you that after six years in this House this is a piece of legislation that has genuinely surprised me, obviously because it wasn't part of the platform; of course, the government had a very thin platform to run on in the election.

But even when the rumours came out the day before this announcement was made—and I would like to remind people that this announcement to reduce Toronto city council by over half was made 90 days before the municipal election; we are currently 74 days away from the municipal elections in this province—I was thinking at the time that this would be such an aggressive, brutish sort of move to make based on the number of candidates who had put their names forward.

Like many people in this House, I pay very close attention to municipal elections. I was a former trustee and ran in municipal elections. I have a lot of respect for people who have the courage and the conviction to stand in their place and go before their communities and put their name on a ballot. When I ran for school board trustee, I have to tell you, there was a level of accountability to local politics which we don't always feel at the provincial level—and certainly not at the federal level. If I ever got caught in the frozen food section talking about French immersion, I was there for a good half an hour.

So, it's a very, very intimate, very connected level of politics, where many of us learn how strong we are, in order to put our names forward for provincial or for federal. You get that bug; you get that rush of actually

helping people. Quite honestly, that's what prompted me to run for school board trustee and then, of course, for MPP.

I first had my connection with this place when Mike Harris Sr. was Premier. The reason that this move that was made by the Premier in such an aggressive manner affected me so deeply is because I used to work across the street at the old Toronto Board of Education. I was a settlement worker there. I used to come over here on my lunch hour and watch the original debate on amalgamation, on the original Bill 160. It prompted this memory to come forward because the goal of Mike Harris Sr.—we now have a Mike Harris Jr. here—then the Premier, was to amalgamate the cities to find efficiencies and savings, the same language that we're hearing today based on the reduction of the city of Toronto council.

The commentary from one of the policy researchers from the Fraser Forums—I would like to remind people in this House how that project, that experiment of amalgamation, failed the people of the greater Toronto area, and the effects of that amalgamation currently have not been fully realized. The chaos started, really, 20 years ago. This Premier has essentially doubled down on that chaos. This is directly from the Fraser Forum:

"Namely, Toronto is still struggling with the legacy of its 1998 amalgamation (between old Toronto, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York, North York, East York and Metro Toronto). According to the provincial government of the time, merging local governments, while simultaneously reducing the number of elected officials in these governments (one important piece of legislation in this process was named the 'Fewer Municipal Politicians Act'), would generate economies of scale, ultimately saving taxpayer money.

"Such benefits did not materialize.

"Rather than generating efficiencies, Toronto's amalgamation ushered in a period of increased spending on important services such as fire protection, garbage collection, and parks and recreation.... shrinking Toronto city council is not a good way to achieve" the goal of efficiencies and streamlining costs, "especially as Toronto continues to struggle with the legacy of amalgamation."

I see this action by this Premier to be an aggressive act, knowing that the city of Toronto still remains destabilized by the original amalgamation. He would know this because he sat as a city councillor. The chaos that existed during his tenure and his time as a city councillor has now been transferred literally up the street, here to Queen's Park.

I think the outstanding question, as well, for many people—and I met the mayor of Waterloo and some city councillors, because my office in the city of Waterloo is actually located with the federal member there. I like to call it "one-stop complaining," because everyone can come in and have their voices heard, which is an important part of our democratic process. It had this chilling effect on municipal politicians across the province. There was literally this sense of, "Who's going to be next? Will he get us? Will he look at Waterloo, perhaps?"

Ironically, the former member from Kitchener–Conestoga, Michael Harris—who I know is a friend of yours—had he put his name forward to run for regional chair, there was a lot of speculation that Waterloo would have lost their ability to directly elect their chair at the time. This was the cynicism, the distrust and the concern that people in Waterloo felt at the time, because there was no strategy, there was no plan, there was no warning before the city of Toronto was attacked in this manner.

I'm using strong language because I think the language is warranted, and I think that language matters in this place. When you think of individual citizens like Ausma Malik, for instance, who's running in ward 20—an amazing young woman who has served as a trustee at the Toronto District School Board. She announced on May 1, so her team was planning from January, February, March and April. She's an amazing community organizer. She went down to city council.

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This is a huge thing. It's a huge thing for a person to have the courage to do this, especially in this city where, quite honestly, incumbency has its advantages and there are pockets of power that hold onto that power and refuse to share it. I was just so incredibly proud of her, that she did this. Then the Premier comes along, 90 days before the election, and declares that the rules of the game have changed, confirming that it really is just a game for this Premier.

We on this side of the House view democratic processes with great integrity. We believe that there is a time and a place for healthy debate, and I think that that debate is so important when you are talking about the integrity and the dignity of our electoral institutions.

I'd like to quote David Miller, who called out the Premier's assault on Toronto council very shortly after this announcement was made. I'll quote him because he references the importance of a strong local government:

"Debates can sometimes be messy and chaotic, but we are the better for it. The existence of debate itself cannot possibly justify less of it. There is a beauty in the fact that an effective speech, an important amendment, a clear answer from a municipal civil servant during a question period can often change the outcome of a debate at city hall. It can only lead to a better result" for the people that they serve.

"Municipal government is very different. It is not just a place where important policies are debated and adopted. It's where local neighbourhood issues are addressed by residents together with their elected officials."

When I think of the role that those city councillors have and the importance of those debates, yes, they're messy and they're emotional. But when you are dealing with racism in our communities or disparity of income in the economy, or if we're talking about food deserts in our poorest communities in the city of Toronto or a lack of access to transit, these are fundamental issues that impact the quality of a person's life and their potential to be a strong and engaged and included citizen. These are important issues that the Premier dismissed with one wipe—just cleared off the whole desk.

So the question remains: Why just Toronto? Why just this city? Because there are many examples. Other members have drawn attention to how the Minister of Municipal Affairs—there are 10 mayors for 10 counties in his area. How do you justify having a mayor for a municipality of 5,200 people and then say, "We will run a more efficient government in the city of Toronto by imposing 100,000-plus residents on one city councillor"? There is no rationale. All we've heard from this Ford government is: "Less politicians. Nobody wants more politicians." It's so ironic, don't you think, that this Premier, whose father was a politician, who himself is a politician, whose brother is a politician, whose nephew is a politician—that these words come out of his mouth when his family is fully engaged in the political arena? And he calls for less politicians.

We have to call, we have to challenge—it is our parliamentary right to hold the government to account. It is our role as legislators to poke holes in the inconsistencies—which are so blatant to us and so obvious to the people of this city as well—in the rationale. Less politicians make for better government: There's no evidence whatsoever to prove that. Less representation for the people who need it the most? Yes.

Cost savings and efficiencies will be realized? No, they will not. We have enough research and enough evidence to show that—in fact, "2016 research on the role of elected officials in several British Columbia municipalities found that larger cities tend to have more high-paid municipal staff per council member than smaller municipalities."

The trend likely will apply to Toronto as well. So by doing so, by reducing the number of political representatives, the Doug Ford government is actually going to be creating a bigger government in the city of Toronto. I can't be the only one who finds this a little ironic.

It goes on to say, "Reducing the number of seats in council—while perhaps" very symbolic—because it does sound good. We hear a lot of sloganeering from this government and cheering. It's a locker room at question period in this place, Mr. Speaker. I've never seen the chanting and the standing ovations for pronouncing a word properly in this place. It is ridiculous. It really is.

But the fact of the matter is that the symbolism is recognized by the rest of the people. This gives me hope, it really does, because I see that people in this city, when—because this is going to pass. Bill 5 will pass. They have a majority government. Even though they have no mandate to do what they are doing, this legislation will pass.

But when the people of this city, this great city, can't get a hold of their representative, can't get access to the services they pay good taxes for, when they spend longer than an hour and a half or two hours one way on the way to work because their transit concerns haven't been addressed, when they still wait for affordable quality child care in the year 2018, by 2022, by the time of the next election, they will know who caused this chaos. It will be our job to remind them of it, and they will insist

on better government and better representation. While we move forward in this direction, we have to be mindful of how this will impact the people whom we care about and the people whom we have stood for election for.

This statement goes—this is still from the Fraser Institute; again, I have to say that I'm really surprised to do that: "However, reducing the number of seats in council—while perhaps a strong symbol—is not an effective way to achieve" the goal of efficiencies. "In fact, it may grow the size of government, consume more taxpayer money and reduce democratic accountability to boot.

"We know what happened when the provincial government forced amalgamation on Toronto two decades ago. If Ontario's new government wants to avoid those same mistakes, for the sake of taxpayers and their families, it should take a sober second look at its latest cost-cutting plan."

This is important context because—perhaps some of the members will not know how important 1998 was. I mean, that is the sex ed curriculum; it is true we are really going back in time. But it is important to know that that amalgamation was a failed project to find efficiencies and to streamline government. In fact, it had the opposite effect. We have evidence, and I've presented that evidence to you to demonstrate that this action by the Premier of the province to reduce city council in the manner in which he has done so will have the opposite effect of finding efficiencies, of strengthening local government and really, it compromises confidence in the democratic institutions for which we all stand.

When I think of my own mother, who is running for city council in Peterborough, and of a Premier who can be so rash and so quick and so disrespectful of the voices of the people who have decided to stand for office, I think that is a destabilizing effect on our democratic institutions. I share the concerns that David Miller communicated in the open letter. I will remind the members of the government that the right to vote and to participate in an election as an elector or as a candidate is a fundamental right and cannot, and should not, be changed on a whim, as Mr. Ford has seemingly done.

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This will reflect poorly on this entire Legislature when it does pass. It really will have a negative impact on our lives. It does lend itself to the question of how power impacts people, which is something that I've been very interested in for quite some time. For some of the new members, you will not know that on this side of the House we used to spend a lot of time with Conservatives. We would spend time in the back talking about Liberal plans and Liberal strategies and how disrespectful and arrogant Liberals had been. There was a common purpose that things were going to be corrected. There was going to be a correction, if you will, in how the people of this province were treated by this government, and yet you do this to them, to the city of Toronto, which is a significant amount of people.

I keep thinking of the minister responsible for this piece of legislation, the Minister of Municipal Affairs,

who, at the time, supported the direct election of regional chairs. He said this, and I want to put it into Hansard: "I think it speaks to the very core of our democracy.... I hope that members will support this legislation. And perhaps we can expand it at some point down the road for all of the regions in the province of Ontario." And yet, it is completely chilling that the Premier has specifically addressed these four direct regional chairs and denied the people in those regions access to their democratic right to directly vote for their chairs, because the government in the last session fully supported this move, and there's lots of Hansard to actually prove that.

At the time, the argument was that if you have direct voting for a regional chair, then it's not a popularity contest, so the person who is the chair of that region has a responsibility to the whole. He doesn't have to be nice to this Liberal or this New Democrat or this PC. She, that chair, has the responsibility to the region as a whole and to conduct the business of that region with integrity.

So here we are with Bill 5 before us. It will pass, but as I mentioned, I think there is hope, because if there was ever a level of government which directly impacts the quality of life and the potential of the citizens we serve, it is the municipal level. It is a very direct and connected level of that system. So for the people in this Legislature who are going to vote to reduce the representation at the city of Toronto, I guarantee you that in four years—in three years, 10 months and three days, but who's counting—there will be a day of accountability when the people of this great city will hold this government to account for reducing their democratic rights and their ability to access their representation and actually receive the services they pay tax dollars for.

And with that, Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the commentary. I'm sure it will be very colourful and filled with slogans.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Questions and comments?

Ms. Andrea Khanjin: Mr. Speaker, it's interesting to hear the members of the opposition, and you can tell what the fundamental difference is. Better government does not mean bigger government, full stop. It is the fundamental difference between our side of the House, the government, and the opposition; that is, you can still give fair representation without large taxation and big government.

Let's bring it back to what the people really want and what the people have elected their government to do. It is to respect taxpayer dollars. That was what the last election was about. People had no respect for politicians because politicians had no respect for taxpayer dollars. Right now, we have the opportunity to make history, to say, "Look, we're going to save the taxpayer \$25 million on presenting better government, less government, less intrusive government but good representation."

For myself, I've worked on all three different levels of government, and I will say that the reason people want to get involved in their local government, whether it be municipal, provincial or federal, is to make a difference.

It's to represent their constituents. It's to work hard. It's not an easy job, and I commend everyone for running in the last election, because it's not an easy job. That's why when you get into this business, it's about working hard, pulling up your sleeves, putting in some elbow time. That's what it's about.

Just because you have a smaller government does not mean you have less representation. Yes, it means you have to work harder, but that's what people expect and that's what they pay taxpayer dollars for. I think we need to bring it back to the basics here, and that is, what are we really paying for and what were people expecting? People go to work and they have to cover many shifts. People go to work and they have to cover many positions. Why should politicians be held to a different standard? I don't think they should be.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Kevin Yarde: As we know, the Premier has many slogans, and we've been hearing a lot of slogans lately. "Stopping the gravy train" is one of them. "For the people" is another one. There is a new one, of course. With the unilateral, undemocratic slashing of Toronto city council to 25 members, he's now using the slogan of "more politicians." He's saying that anybody who says that more politicians are needed, there's something wrong with them. He's been saying that on Twitter.

But there's something wrong with that. You really have to look underneath that, Mr. Speaker. It sounds plausible at first but when you really look at it, it's going to mean more politicians. Now, the member from Barrie-Innisfil says it will mean less bigger government, but unfortunately, it will be more government. With 25 councillors, there will be more staffers looking after the work that a politician would have to do. There will be more bureaucrats, of course, with regard to this as well.

Generally what happens is that when you have politicians and you have constituents who are watching you, it lights a fire under you and you do your job. Unfortunately, with staffers and bureaucrats, they're the ones who will be doing the work and not the councillors. Granted, some councillors at city hall are hollow shirts and they really don't go to work, just like the Premier did when he was the councillor for Etobicoke North.

But in the end what we need is a city hall that's going to be respectful to all politicians, and definitely we need fair representation. The fact that the Conservatives did not consult and did not tell us they were going to do this is something which a lot of people, of course, are feeling is an abomination for them to do and something they should have never done. They should have spoken to the people first of all before they did what they did.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mrs. Robin Martin: Thank you to the member from Waterloo for her contribution to the debate today. I have to say, I don't like the fact that you've demeaned my colleagues and myself by suggesting that our comments are going to be full of sloganeering and that kind of

commentary. The member from Brampton North, as well, pointed out the same thing. I think that's inappropriate, frankly. We earned the right to be here, just as you did, and we have a right to say what we think. If we believe that being a government for the people is good, then that's what we get to say. And we do believe that.

The member opposite talks about wanting to hear the voices of the people but, of course—and they've accused us of the same thing—they only want to hear the voices of the people when it suits them. So on this issue they want to hear the voices of the people. On the York strike, they wanted to hear the voices of the people. On consultations regarding the sex ed curriculum, they don't want to hear the voices of the people. They're inconsistent and undemocratic when it suits them as well. You can criticize us, but you're guilty of exactly the same thing.

The other thing I wanted to say was, Andrea Horwath, your leader, said—

Ms. Catherine Fife: Hey, hey: Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs. Robin Martin: Sorry. The Leader of the Opposition said—my apologies; it slipped out. She said, "A little less conversation, a little more action." So I'd just like to quote her. That's what we're doing here. We're doing a little action; we're bringing action back into this government. We're going to try to reform the government. Will it solve all the problems? Probably not. But hopefully it will make the government of Toronto more functional, and that's what we're trying to do.

You criticized the amalgamation, but Barbara Hall, a former mayor of Toronto, said that amalgamation "has done some good things, such as increase access to city services for people outside of the downtown core."

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So there will be some good things this will achieve as well, even you will have to admit it.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Joel Harden: I want to try to add something new to the comments that my colleague from Waterloo made. Thank you for those comments and thank you to the folks who commented afterward.

Again, friends across the aisle, I offer you a warning: It may be prophetic in a year, it may not, but I think it will be. I wrote a book in 2013 on political organizing. One of the cases I studied was the library dispute in this great city. When the Premier, who was then working with his brother in the mayor's office, mentioned that in his area of the city there were more libraries than Tim Hortons, it set off a firestorm of controversy in the city. I think they had the kind of "damn the torpedoes" approach I see my friends taking now, "We'll wear it, we need it, we need to take action, and we're going to be known as people of action." But Mayor Rob Ford, at that time, and the Premier paid a big price. It was the one moment I can say that in Rob Ford's mandate as mayor of the city of Toronto he suffered a serious consequence because he didn't listen to the community.

People that I'm familiar with in the city of Toronto—not just the downtown councillors but councillors across this great city, regardless of how many people they represent—work really hard; extremely hard. When I hear people say things like, “They’ll just have to work harder,” I try to figure out a way in which we can develop another universe of time before 24 hours; believe me, I’d like to, some days, given my schedule.

Given the schedule that I see people keeping now, I can only assume that people will be receiving less service from their representatives. When the consequences of that come to reap and the whirlwind comes to reap in another year or two years, beware. The people of this city are outspoken, they’re proud and they’ll demand access to their politicians and, in the new electoral map, it’s the government that made that electoral map that will pay the price. You have an opportunity now to avoid that consequence.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Now back to the member from Waterloo for final comments.

Ms. Catherine Fife: Thank you to all of the MPPs who shared their opinions on my 20-minute commentary on Bill 5.

To the member for Barrie–Innisfil: I think—and I made the point and demonstrated some evidence—that through your actions, through this piece of legislation, you will actually be creating bigger government, and this runs counter to your rationalization.

To the member for Eglinton–Lawrence: I want to tell you, I find the sloganeering to be offensive. I find it to be a race to the bottom in this Legislature. I find the standing ovations for pronouncing a word properly to be offensive. I think we need to be debating the policies of this government and of this legislation. That is our job as the official opposition. I think that a little more action—a little less conversation, a little more action.

This government has been intent on creating chaos in this place. You have made so many drastic, rash decisions that it’s actually overwhelming for people, and they see through it. The media is doing their job in holding this government to account by actually outlining all of the changes that you have made without measure—without measure of the intent, without measure of the consequences. And this is one of those things.

When the government says that they respect taxpayers, I would like to remind them that there was an extensive process to decide the current boundaries and decision to raise the number of wards from 44 to 47. The position now advanced by this government was an option presented at the Ontario Municipal Board and it was rejected. The result was upheld in the Ontario courts through legal challenges and appeal. Mr. Ford’s, the Premier’s, arbitrary action goes against the spirit, and arguably the letter, of the City of Toronto Act and our constitution.

Shame on your government for taking this action.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further debate?

Hon. Raymond Sung Joon Cho: I feel very honoured to rise to speak on Bill 5, the Better Local Government

Act, 2018. If I may, I could say I’m a walking history who has witnessed how Toronto city council has evolved and where it will be moving forward to with Bill 5.

For the first time, I was elected as a Metro Toronto councillor in 1991, and I was re-elected eight consecutive times, altogether serving the city of Toronto for 25 years.

Mr. Speaker, I’d like to begin with a story. Many years ago, there was a wise king. One day, the king decided he wanted to know more about his cabinet and who they were. He summoned his kind and generous social services minister and his tough national security minister. He said, “I have a project for both of you ministers. To my minister of social services, I ask you to travel the country and bring me 10 bad people, and to my minister of security, I ask you to bring me 10 good people. You both have one month.” The ministers left. They were certain this would be an easy test, but one month later they returned to the king empty-handed. “I could not find a single bad person,” said the social services minister. “I could not find one single good person, my king,” said the security minister.

The moral of the story is that we see others as a reflection of ourselves, our experiences and through the lens of title. Before the opposition characterizes the Premier as a bully or a dictator, they should reflect and try to see their real selves.

Mr. Speaker, last week the NDP member from Toronto–Danforth tried to paint former mayor the late Rob Ford in a negative light. Mayor Ford loved Toronto and worked tirelessly for the people of the city. Privatizing garbage collection west of Yonge Street and cancelling the vehicle registration tax saved millions and removed an incredible financial burden off taxpayers. He did this because he loved this city. He and his brother, then-Councillor Doug Ford, fought hard to help Torontonians and knew better than anyone how dysfunctional the huge Toronto city council was.

I know almost all the Toronto city councillors. They are hard-working people. At the same time, I know that Toronto city council was dysfunctional. How else can you explain voting 10 times for the Scarborough subway and then, still, we don’t have a Scarborough subway?

Years ago—1998, to be exact—when I was a Metro councillor, I remember when the Mike Harris government brought in legislation to amalgamate the two-tiered governance of Toronto. Back then, there were six municipalities: East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, Toronto and York, and one higher level of government, Metro Toronto, with many councillors. The Mike Harris government decided to eliminate the two layers of government with 106 councillors and replace it with one layer of 56 councillors. But that exercise was not just reducing the size of council; it had more to do with amalgamating the municipalities—amalgamating the bureaucracy, the services that we were providing, realizing savings through streamlining the way we were doing business at the city level before amalgamation.

Back then, everyone complained that Mike Harris was attacking Toronto. They didn’t know that what followed

were more amalgamations, like in the city of Hamilton and in Ottawa. In fact, prior to 1998, there were more than 800 municipalities in Ontario. Today, in Ontario, we have 444 municipalities. Even the Liberal government amalgamated municipalities as well.

When the Mike Harris government introduced Bill 103, the opposition screamed that he had a vendetta against the left-leaning council of the city of Toronto. They said that Mike Harris was trying to eliminate his enemies.

1700

At the time, I did not meet a single resident who complained that there would be fewer politicians. We started with six mayors, one Metro chair and six fire chiefs. Now we have one mayor and one fire chief, and the important thing to residents was that they would receive more or less the same level of service as before.

Mr. Speaker, I admit that I was one of the councillors who opposed amalgamation in 1998. We fought vigorously against it. Some of us, I know, were concerned that our jobs were at stake. But some of us were fighting because we believed that the people, the residents and the taxpayers were against it. Today, according to the Toronto Star opinion poll, 71% of Torontonians are in support of reducing the number of councillors from 47 to 25.

I found it really strange that even before the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing introduced Bill 5 on July 30, the Leader of the Opposition and her colleagues one by one stood up during question period to denounce a bill that was not even introduced. Finally, the Minister of Municipal Affairs introduced Bill 5. Moments after the introduction of the bill, seven NDP members in this Legislature—the members from University–Rosedale, Toronto Centre, York South–Weston, Toronto–St. Paul’s, Beaches–East York, Scarborough Southwest and Hamilton West–Ancaster–Dundas—all read out almost the exact same petition. I found it odd that the seven members had not heard the bill, yet they had all prepared a similar petition opposing it.

On June 7, the people of Ontario gave Doug Ford a clear mandate to reduce the size of government, and that is why Bill 5 was introduced in this Legislature. Premier Doug Ford isn’t just preaching smaller government, but practising what he preaches. For example, the previous Liberal government had 30 cabinet ministers. The current PC government has reduced the number to 21 ministers. Minister MacLeod is responsible for five ministries, including social services, children and youth services, women’s issues, anti-racism and immigration and citizenship. Minister Clark covers two ministries, municipal affairs and housing. Minister Rickford covers two huge ministries, energy and indigenous affairs. I cover two ministries, seniors and accessibility. We simply work harder and, at the same time, more efficiently.

The size of council is way too big. Successive mayors, from Lastman to Ford and others, all have complained that they cannot manage the number of councillors. They have a hard time passing legislation that would be good

for all, because the councillors have built alliances on issues and were divided into downtown and suburban regions. The mayor often would have to back down to these alliances. That is why council would never reduce on its own, even though they know it would be beneficial to the taxpayers.

If we reduce the size of council, Toronto property taxpayers will be the ultimate winners. We will save \$25 million over four years; \$25 million is equivalent to a 2% reduction in the residential property tax.

This government is committed to restoring accountability and public trust in government. We can help guide the city of Toronto to become leaner and more efficient.

Mr. Speaker, my time is up. I would like to say, in closing, that we promised to reduce the size of government, and we are keeping our promise. Promise made; promise kept.

I will hand it off to my colleague the member from Scarborough–Agincourt.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I now recognize the member from Scarborough–Agincourt.

Mr. Aris Babikian: Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of Bill 5, the Better Local Government Act. As the MPP for Scarborough–Agincourt and a long-time resident of Toronto, I truly do believe in ensuring that our local government works for us, the people. The large size of Toronto city council has rendered the highest decision-making body in our city dysfunctional and inefficient. Days-long meetings, bickering and a sharp division between downtown and suburban councillors make this change necessary and important for the residents of our city.

In November 2014, Ian Urquhart wrote in the Toronto Star about the need to reduce the size of Toronto city council. Mr. Urquhart made a comparison between Toronto and other major cities in North America, like New York, and argued that the sheer size of our city council had created gridlock, competing agendas and an unsustainable governing model for the residents of Toronto. Additionally, in July 2017, Sue-Ann Levy in the Toronto Sun made the same argument.

Since the introduction of this bill, members of the official opposition have stood firmly against the reduction in size of Toronto’s city council. I am baffled by this opposition. The bill clearly makes sense to both the right and the left, and the reduction in the size of our city council has been pushed forward for years. To me, it is clear that the official opposition is recklessly opposing a bill that received support from ordinary citizens and pundits alike. The opposition keeps pushing for a dysfunctional Toronto city council. Why, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. Speaker, I’m not keen on supporting such a disorganized and dysfunctional local governing model. As a resident of Toronto, I know that my office and I have received many calls supporting the decision to reduce the city council’s size. This past long weekend, I attended a number of events in my riding. Time and again, residents came to express their support for this much-needed change. People in my riding are keen to see

a Toronto city council and city hall that function and work in an effective and efficient way.

Despite what politicians on the left have said, Toronto's residents understand that this bill is a step forward in our government's commitment to respecting the taxpayers. By reducing the size of our city council, not only will meetings become less cumbersome; this government will ensure that every citizen in our city receives the same level of representation. Bill 5 will ensure that voter parity is achieved in Toronto. The Supreme Court of Canada stated that this is a condition of effective representation. This change will ensure that voters in Scarborough will have an equal voice to those living in downtown wards.

1710

Over the past number of days, I have spoken with so many of my city council colleagues who have also expressed support for the changes proposed by this government. Jim Karygiannis, a long-time politician and advocate for Scarborough, stated that the current and proposed representative model does not work for the people of my riding. He stated, and I quote, "While my new ward 43 will have 69,000 constituents, there are some downtown wards that will have a mere 30,000 plus. Where is the equal representation for the residents of Toronto?"

Mr. Speaker, allow me to echo Mr. Karygiannis: Where is the equal representation for Torontonians? Where is the equal representation for those who call our city suburbs home? This ineffective model has left our city fractured along urban and suburban lines.

For far too long, city council has been held hostage to the special interest groups and downtown councillors. In fact, the vast majority of Scarborough councillors support this bill. Michelle Holland, Gary Crawford, Michael Thompson, Glenn De Baeremaeker, Jim Karygiannis and Norm Kelly have all expressed support. This support demonstrates a need for the proposed changes.

To me, this does not only sound fair, but it ensures that we, as residents and voters of Toronto, will be able to have our agenda heard at our city's highest decision-making body.

Looking into the future, changes in the city and demographics of our city will reflect in the number of city council seats allocated to each part and ward. By reflecting the same number of provincial and federal representatives, Toronto's council will grow and change in accordance with the decision made by an independent body and not at the behest of self-serving politicians and interest groups.

A number of years ago, residents of Scarborough were consulted time and again. City council voted time and again to expand the subway service to Scarborough Centre, yet special interest groups and downtown councillors have attempted to block the progress of this project. They claim that Scarborough does not need or require the same level of services as downtown Toronto.

In order to shift this power imbalance, this legislation would focus on areas like my riding in Scarborough—Agincourt. For example, Sussex Strategy Group

published a report a number of days ago, and I quote: "The other likely effect is that this legislative change will provide support to the suburban regions and their interests, rather than the continued focus on downtown wards that Toronto has seen in the last term." This, to me, sounds like a win for residents and voters of Scarborough and other suburban areas of our city.

The subway debate in Scarborough revolves around a need for a fast, effective and congestion-reducing transit option. However, downtown Toronto councillors, community activists and special interest groups have advocated for the construction of LRT lines.

People are generally not happy when government makes their transit options slow, ineffective and without forethought, particularly when you build a line leading to nowhere, as Scarborough residents and I have seen with the incomplete Sheppard line. As such, Scarborough residents and councillors have continued to push for the building and construction of a subway line.

I am sad to say that the official opposition and its leader have clearly advocated for the dysfunctional status quo. Why they believe in a dysfunctional local government for the people of Toronto is beyond me. This is an insult to the people of Scarborough.

We will also ensure that an MP, MPP and ward councillor serve places like Scarborough—Agincourt without need for blurred lines and uncertainty about who represents the residents and voters in my riding. Currently, my office receives multiple calls in one day from residents—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you very much.

Further questions and comments?

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I think it's wonderful that I have an opportunity to provide two minutes' worth of my own experience right after my colleague from Scarborough—Agincourt, because that is where I was born and raised. I was living in Scarborough—Agincourt at the time of the amalgamation.

Part of what was problematic during amalgamation was that nobody told us what was happening or what those benefits to the amalgamation actually were supposed to be. As much as people will argue in this space that consultations happened, for a lot of people on the ground that's not what it feels like because their voices aren't heard. Now that I'm here—and it's like I'm having a déjà vu—and we're going through this again, it's the exact same feeling.

That's the reason why a lot of the people on this side of the House are saying that this is chilling. It's scary to think that the government will act in a way that doesn't respect the intelligence of the people who are going to be the most impacted by those changes. It's especially difficult to swallow when, on the one hand, we're told that this is something that's good for everybody and, on the other hand, the rules are different depending on where you are.

So it leaves us with a lot of different questions and, for me in particular, it leaves me with that memory of not knowing what was going to happen in Scarborough when

all of a sudden I woke up and Scarborough became Toronto.

I can't actually put my finger on any of the benefits. As my colleague from Waterloo had mentioned, it's likely because there weren't benefits, that we're actually still in the turmoil of the first amalgamation, and now we find ourselves in the midst of yet another.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Doug Downey: I want to thank the Minister for Seniors and Accessibility and the member for Scarborough–Agincourt for their comments.

For those who remember the amalgamation days, the 45-sized council now is not some magic number. It came about because there were 22 federal ridings. It was around that time that we were aligning provincial riding boundaries with federal riding boundaries for a good reason. We had ridings, federally, that had up to three and four provincial ridings touching on them. There was chaos all over the place. When the amalgamation happened provincially, we set it up so that the ward boundaries matched the federal and the soon-to-be provincial ridings. So there was a pure logic to it.

Now, what did they do? It happened during the first term of Mayor Lastman. It came into effect for the second. What we did, though, was we said, "We have all these councillors"—we went from 106 councillors down to two per ward. Why two? I don't know. But it used to be that the councillor in a ward that got the most votes was the regional councillor and the other was a local councillor, so they kind of were used to working with two in an area. But they didn't do that. They didn't take the wards and put two in an area; they split them in half geographically, and all of a sudden we had a ton of them.

The minister knows—he lived through it and he shared some of his experiences with us. I think it's valuable that we hear from the people who went through that and that we hear from the people who were on the ground, who knocked on doors—thousands and thousands of doors—and heard that we want more efficient government.

I think we are doing exactly what the people want us to do. We are doing it for the people. I don't hear the opposition arguing that Toronto is functioning properly at all. I haven't heard that at all through this whole debate. Nobody is making the pitch that it's operating properly. We need to do something.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Faisal Hassan: What about consultation? What about consulting the people of Toronto? Reducing the size of the city council from 47 to 25 is not democratic. What about council candidates who have been campaigning since last year? Chiara Padovani comes to mind, in ward 11, who has been campaigning very hard to represent ward 11. Now, all of a sudden, the government changes the rules.

1720

You can change the rules, but what we are asking on this size is to make sure that the people of Toronto have

been consulted in the process. Because it's very important that the people you pretend to represent—you say, "We are a government for the people." In this case, this government fails because you are imposing something that you have not consulted the people of Toronto on. That is undemocratic, because what you are going to do will create less service. What we want for the people of Toronto is more service, with people being listened to and provided with those services.

Reducing from 47 to 25 does not serve the people of Toronto. I urge all the members from Toronto, the 11 Conservative members, to think about it and to think about the people of Toronto. We need strong voices here in Toronto on the other side to make sure the people of Toronto have an effective voice. This bill and this legislation will actually do the other way, where the people of Toronto will not have more service but less service.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Deepak Anand: First of all, I would like to thank the member from Scarborough North, the minister, for his long-standing commitment to the people—24 years. Wow. That's amazing. Thank you to the member for Scarborough–Agincourt as well for your comments.

Before this, I was listening to the member from Ottawa Centre—very passionate. One thing I want to add to this is that when you say "that side," just remember: This is part of that side as well.

You talked about those potatoes. I want to add that with those small potatoes of \$6.3 million, what we can do is actually—I'm taking this clipping from the Toronto Star. With \$6.3 million, we can invest in 215 affordable rental homes—we can do that; we can buy 120 power stretchers for Toronto paramedics; or we can use this money to buy increased enforcement—40 new CCTV cameras—so that we can combat gun violence. This is what we can do—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Excuse me. I'd like to remind the member to address through the Chair, please. Thank you.

Mr. Deepak Anand: Mr. Speaker, what I'm trying to say is that we are going to reduce the size and the cost of Toronto city hall so that city hall can make decisions. When things will be done faster, I'm pretty sure the people of Toronto are going to thank us for doing this in a timely manner.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Now I return to the member from Scarborough–Agincourt for his final comments.

Mr. Aris Babikian: Thank you to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for their comments.

I just want to add the following: The aggravated citizens of Toronto are frustrated, and now some, in places like Scarborough, have felt the need to call for separating our city into separate municipalities once again. Since 2016, Robert McDermott has led a movement that calls for Scarborough to become its own municipal entity again.

I'm of the opinion that Scarborough is better served by a Toronto city hall that works democratically for all living in our city. However, calls like the ones made by Mr. McDermott should give politicians at all levels of government a moment to think about the reality of the dysfunctional representation at Toronto city hall. This, to me, represents the difficult reality we face in Scarborough. Citizens feel neglected, separate, and their voice is not heard at the municipal level. Bill 5 ensures that this reality changes at the municipal level.

In a recent online poll conducted by CityNews, around 60% of Torontonians expressed their support for our government bill. Ordinary citizens are clearly fed up with the status quo, and I am happy to support changes that will lead to better representation, better local government and, most importantly, a better-governed city for us and for our kids in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I want to finish by speaking to an important matter. Residents in my riding of Scarborough—Agincourt and across this province voted for change on June 7, 2018—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you. Pursuant to standing order 47(c), I am now required to interrupt the proceedings and announce that there have been more than six and one half hours of debate on the motion for second reading of the bill. This debate will therefore be deemed adjourned unless the government House leader or a minister specifies otherwise.

I recognize the Minister of Transportation.

Hon. John Yakubuski: It is the desire of the government that the debate continue at this time.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further debate?

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I'd like to begin by explaining that Bill 5 scares me. Bill 5 scares me primarily because of the lack of transparency with which each one of the items in Bill 5 has been made. What worries me most is that this becomes another example of leadership across Ontario.

We've centred a lot of our debate on Toronto. We've centred a lot of our debate on what the people here are feeling—those who gathered outside in the sweltering heat to make their voices heard, those who came inside the Legislature and interrupted proceedings because that was the only way that they felt they could be heard. We've spent some time speaking about some of the other areas that have fought for a long time to elect a regional chair, only to now find out that that will no longer happen.

A lot of the language used on our side of the House has been about the lack of respect for democracy as well as the chilling nature of those decisions. So I stand up today and I can't say anything other than the fact that I have to agree.

Yesterday I was painstakingly reading through Bill 5, and the only thing I could think about was 1984. There were so many places within this bill where we were being asked—actually, obligated—to pretend that an election had not already started. We were being obligated

to pretend that people hadn't already put their names forward and started their campaigns. We were being asked to pretend that monetary loss would now be endured by people who had finally had the courage to put their names forward. Between 1984 and my time working at Ryerson in the Diversity Institute, under the direction of Dr. Wendy Cukier, I couldn't help but think about the women, and the racialized women in particular, who had put their names forward to run in Toronto.

There are a number of reports and statistics that say that if you actually want to diversify positions of power and influence, women have to be asked more often than the men. Many men, whether they have the experience or the skills or not, will take that leap, will take that chance, because these systems are already set up to allow them to learn on the job. It's not the same thing for a woman, and it's not the same thing for a woman of colour.

In fact, I'm pretty sure that it was just the day before we heard that the Premier had made this decision to make all sorts of changes during an election that the Toronto Star had a number of articles that were written that were actually speaking about the diversity of candidates as something they had never seen before. When we take a step back and we think about the pros and cons of putting a bill like this through, I can't help but be reminded of that.

1730

I did some research, because sometimes I get confused about whether it's 1998 or 2018. George Orwell wrote 1984 in 1949. One of the best pieces, for me, was the Ministry of Truth. I feel like that is what we're experiencing right now.

For example, when I read in schedule 2, "Nothing in section 218.1 limits the power of a municipality referred to in subsection 218.1(1) or (2) to change the method of selecting its head of council under section 218 for any regular election after 2018," I start to wonder: Why are we focused on 2018? Why am I only regulated to do what the Premier would like now, and then, next year or next election, I can change my mind? Why are the rules only set at this point? That's the piece that's chilling.

I actually wonder if the reason that the government is not hearing the same kinds of criticism is because people are too scared to present that criticism to the government at this time. I can tell you that being in Kitchener, there are questions that keep coming up about what will happen in Waterloo region, to the point that people are unwilling to say to me—who is supposed to be here to represent their interests—how they're actually feeling about what's going on. They're scared. If that's the kind of leadership we have in Ontario, I'm scared, because it doesn't allow me to do my job.

It took my colleague in Waterloo a number of requests for me to run. When I finally made the decision to run, had something like this happened midway through the election, I would not be sitting here. I would have likely thought that that was a sign that I shouldn't run. I have to say that I can add something, now that I'm here, to this debate, so that would be a loss for the province. I'm not

saying that from a place of ego; I'm saying that from my experience in orientation, where we were told we are a select few people who will have this honour of standing in this place. I'm saying that for the people who look towards all of us, on every single side of this House, to find hope.

This bill does not provide me with hope. This provides me with fear, because it's coming after a slew of other bills that have unilaterally changed the face of Ontario. In four years, we may not even know what the full impact of these changes will be. That, to me, is chilling, because I have children that want to come here and experience Ontario in a way that would be supportive. And yet, the rules could change in the midst of the game, and then, there could be a decision that in the municipality of Waterloo, everything is different once again.

I don't know how to go home and explain that to my kids. I don't know how to explain to my children that it's okay for the government, in 2018, to unilaterally change the rules of the game in the midst of an election, because it took a long time for me to explain to my children that this is what the election process actually is.

I also—while I'm doing that, because it's 1984—have to go back and explain to my children that there is some kind of rationale, which I can't quite understand, for going backwards 20 years in the sex ed curriculum, that there is some kind of rationale for going backwards when it comes to the saving the environment, that there is some kind of rationale for going backwards when it comes to reconciliation. Those are just a few of the things that I have to now take some time to figure out how to explain.

I'm also extremely worried about what this says for leadership in Ontario, and this is me just taking a step back and thinking about how we demonstrate strong leadership. I had mentioned this before, and I can't help but say it again: It doesn't matter how many people are sitting around the table at city council. It really doesn't matter. It's about what we understand to be leadership. Is it one person at the helm who has all the power that can change the rules, or is there a decision that we're going to speak across the table, across our interests, engage in debate on, and actually be open to changing our minds? For me and for many of the people who are in the NDP caucus, leadership—true, authentic leadership—is being open to listening to what people have to say.

What's worrisome to me is that embedded within Bill 5 is not that. I don't know how to stand behind Bill 5 with integrity because there is nothing that I can hold on to that allows me to understand why the changes are happening, and part of my integrity comes with being able to have a clear rationale—not just “Promise made, promise kept,” because when we say that, there is nothing that explains why the promise was made in the first place.

It's like when I'm talking to my children, and one child tries to take something from the other child—because I have three of them. I have to say, “It's time to say sorry.” Do they just say sorry or do they actually explain what it is they did, what the impact was, and

understand internally why they won't do it again? Unfortunately, I feel like I have to make this point to the government. I think it's important for us to be able to explain why we're making the change, what the impact is that we hope to have—not a decrease of numbers; they can change all the numbers they want to, but what is the impact, what's the difference—and answer what the other people are saying the impact will be to them, which is kind of my last little bit of this discussion.

One of the things I've learned doing equity work is that it really doesn't matter what I say or what I put on paper. It doesn't matter if I put “Doctor” before my name or if I ask people to say “Miss” or if I say “MPP.” If the people who I'm speaking to don't understand what I'm saying, I have more work to do. It's not them that have to pull up their socks; it's me. That's leadership. So if there is a group of people, whether it's 10 people or just one, that says, “I don't understand,” my job, because I take my position of leadership seriously and I walk with integrity and dignity, is to find a different way to explain it so that they can understand. But that's if I actually want them to know what it is that I'm doing and why.

So we're back to square one. But guess what? There's hope. I've been dying to put this on the record. The Pulitzer Prize—isn't this great? There's enough time, eight long minutes. The Pulitzer Prize, which was first awarded in 1917, is awarded for achievements in newspapers, magazines, online journalism, literature and musical compositions. In 2018, Kendrick Lamar was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his album called *Damn*, which documented the African American experience in the US. It was something that they had never done before.

If the Pulitzer Prize can make a decision, if the judges of the Pulitzer Prize can decide that this kind of music, rap, and this kind of topic, the realities of fear and pain and desire for love and the humanity of Black people in 2018, can actually be considered excellence, then I want to believe—I'm going to breathe real deep now—that this government in 2018 can pull themselves up by their bootstraps and decide to listen, to govern with integrity, to actually be awarded, like, a Pulitzer Prize of governing. That's on the record.

I think it's important for us to be honest. I think if people aren't willing to take a step back and actually listen—

Interjection.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: Mr. Speaker, I'm not really supposed to be paying attention, but I actually want to pay attention to what was just said there. It could be that I'm not listening, or it could be that I am. It could be that he's not listening either. It doesn't really matter. The point is this: How do we want to lead in Ontario? That's my question.

Interjection.

1740

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: It doesn't matter. How do we want to lead? I want to lead with integrity, and I will keep doing that, whether they yell slogans at me, with or

without a buck a beer. I will stand up and I will speak my truth, and I will speak the truth of the people I represent, and nobody heckling will change that. What I'm hopeful for is that they will choose to do the same: that while they sit in their caucus and discuss the impact of what's happened, that they're honest, that they don't ignore me, that they don't ignore my voice or my ideas, and that one day I get into my office and there's a knock on the door from one of my colleagues across the way.

Interjections.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: Right? And they come on by and they say, "You know what? You were talking about Nineteen Eighty-Four. Do you have a copy of that there book in your office? I'd like to sit down and start a book club, because we could talk it out." I think that's part of what we're supposed to be doing.

I think that there's a long line of us who have somehow been involved in politics and felt that it has to happen a particular way, that they can't or shouldn't or don't want to listen to what other people are saying, and I believe that we can do differently. If the Pulitzer Prize can be awarded to Kendrick Lamar, then I believe that we can find a way to govern, even in the midst of the complete and utter chaos that Bill 5 just might create.

So, with four more minutes on the clock, I think it's time for us to think a little bit about the importance of honesty. When I'm leading, there are going to be moments when I have to do things—let's say, going back to my children—that my children don't necessarily want me to do. Because I'm the adult in the family, I sometimes have to make them go to the dentist when they don't want to go to the doctor or go to the doctor when they don't want to go to the dentist. I can choose to force them to go, drop them off and have them yell, and that's the way I'm going to lead, or I can sit them down and explain the benefits.

All people are asking for, not just in Toronto but across Ontario, is for the government to sit down and show us the benefits. Talk to us. When regular people who are struggling to survive on ODSP—which hasn't been increased fully, so it's a cut, but maybe it's not a cut, but that's the Ministry of Truth, so we'll talk about that later; as my people say, "stick a pin." the reality is that when we end up struggling on our day-to-day with the last \$5 we have in our pockets, the large spewing of discussions around \$25 million literally means nothing. I don't understand that, and that's the reality.

How else can we explain the benefit in a way that allows me to actually engage, so that I could then tell my colleagues, or I could tell my friend, or I could talk to my family or, most importantly—because the government has made it very clear that parents are the best educators—I could tell my kids? I'm telling you that with my doctorate in education, I cannot sit down with my children and explain to them anything that the government is doing right now, not because I don't want to—that's why we ask the questions—but because there is no clarity.

Ms. Catherine Fife: Or answers.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: There are no answers, and that's the honesty piece that I feel is lacking. I honestly want to be able to tell my children that they don't have to worry tomorrow. Unfortunately, I have to be worried, because I don't know what's happening tomorrow.

With Bill 5, that's probably how a lot of people felt who had put their name forward to actually run for the first time. After getting a whole support network around them, as we all did to be here, they have to now figure out what they're going to do next. That level of uncertainty is really frightening, and it requires us—again, if we want to be strong leaders, Mr. Speaker—to rebuild that trust.

So my other question for the government is: How do we rebuild the trust? How do you rebuild the trust after Bill 5 is going to come, after we forced a bunch of students back to work at York, after we've decided that we're unilaterally going to have a plan to have a climate change plan—not a plan, but just a discussion about the potential of having a plan uninterrupted? Even that doesn't make sense.

Now we have Bill 5 saying that in some places, maybe sometimes you'll be able to elect somebody and no discussion of how a decision will be made in the places where there is no election. How do I know who will be put into the leadership position in Niagara or Peel? How do I know? And how can I trust when there has been this level of uncertainty and chill? How do I trust? I can't imagine that anybody here would tell their children to trust this, and I know that I can't tell mine.

My hope is that there will be a knock on the door and somebody somewhere will show up. "What room am I in? Room 170. Come and talk to me and explain to me"—

Interjection.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: Somebody will—"explain to me what it is we're trying to do." I would be more than willing—it's part of my job—to provide some insight into the kinds of things that I, on the ground, would want to see to start to rebuild that trust, piece by piece by piece. Taking a minute and saying, "We're going to review this before we move forward," would be one of the first steps in actually taking seriously the concerns that have come into this House.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Questions and comments?

Mr. David Piccini: I thank the member opposite for her comments. On her point on diversity, I have to say that those poignant words—we absolutely agree with your assertions on this side of the House. In fact, many on this side work with groups like Equal Voice to ensure—

Hon. John Yakabuski: And that side, too.

Mr. David Piccini: —and on that side; all sides work with groups like Equal Voice. I agree with that, but it's a shame the NDP member's comments on diversity are used with all of this other sensational language that we've heard over the past weeks, this Orwellian tone, "scared, anti-democratic, dictator," terms we've

heard from that side that do nothing to improve debate in this place—nothing.

She wondered why these changes are happening. I'll gladly elaborate on why these changes are happening. It's because Ontarians were sick and tired of bloated government. They were sick and tired of waste and mismanagement. That is why Ontarians, on June 7, elected 76 PC members to this place.

This holier-than-thou attitude, implying we are in government without integrity—you know, I was elected, Mr. Speaker, on a clear mandate. I was elected with the highest voter turnout in the province of Ontario. I've received hundreds of emails from constituents of mine—I know they don't share their views and their sensibilities get hurt when they don't. But I received hundreds of emails from those who are supporting our decision, and as of 5 o'clock today, there have been 13 emails from those opposing the decision we've made.

Come on. If you really want to listen to Ontarians, you've got to accept that there are Ontarians who hold opposing viewpoints from you.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rest my case.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Mr. Speaker, I've been here for some 28 years, and I've never been more humbled by a speech by a first-time member than I have been today. What was said today was, I thought, quite frankly, a pretty remarkable speech in understanding what the crux of the issue is. For a member to come into this House with such an understanding tells me that we are in good hands for the future because, clearly, this member understands what the cut and thrust of this Legislature is supposed to be all about.

Many years ago, we used to be ruled by a king or a queen, and it was only them who had the say of what has to happen when it came to the people. The building of the House of Commons and the system we call Parliament was about giving the people, through the commons, the ability to have a say about what's going to happen. Everybody understood that somebody has to make the decision and somebody has to rule. But the purpose of the House of Commons is that in order for the people to have their say—I think what the member was saying was, when a government decides it can circumvent the people by not sending a bill to committee and giving the public the opportunity to come before this committee and say, "I love this bill," or, "I hate this bill, and here are the reasons why," it is quite frankly not respectful of what our forefathers who built the parliamentary system were all about. It was about making sure that the hands of government are not controlled by one person, but are controlled by the people through the commons, which is the House of Commons or the Legislature.

1750

The argument that the government puts forward—"But we have a majority. We know best. We don't have to listen to the people"—I think is short service to the people of this province who look to us, yes, for leader-

ship. The government has the right to pass legislation as a majority, but they have the responsibility to listen. What this member was saying is that if you're confident about what you're doing, send it to committee so that people can have their say and they can be heard.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: It's my pleasure to join the debate today to support my colleague the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing in his quest to make sure that we have a more effective and efficient Toronto city council, denoting the fact that we have made promises on this side of the House to streamline government and to cut the cost of government. We have a very clear mandate from the people.

Hon. John Yakabuski: Crystal clear.

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: Of course it's crystal clear. We have a clear mandate.

If the three liberal parties on the other side of the House want to continue to oppose the legislation that we bring forward, that's up to the three liberal parties on the other side of the House. But I can tell you, on June 7, the people of Toronto, the people of Ottawa, the people of Ontario gave a crystal clear mandate to this party and to Premier Ford. They said, "We expect you to make sure that we have more efficient and cost-effective government."

Unfortunately, the other three parties, the three liberal parties over there, want to continue to claim that there's chaos down at Toronto city hall. They want to continue to claim there's chaos in our education system. They want to continue to claim there's chaos elsewhere. But the fact remains, we have a strong mandate to do what we're doing.

If the liberal parties—the NDP, the Greens and the real Liberal Party that has seven people—I lent them my minivan, by the way, so they can have their caucus meetings in it. But the fact of the matter remains. We have a mandate. The Premier of Ontario has been very clear that he has had a desire to have 25 city councillors in the city of Toronto for a very long time. It's not a secret. It's not something he has never spoken about. It's something he actually did when he was at city hall as a Toronto city councillor.

Interjection.

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: I appreciate the member from Timmins chirping about the size of the city of Toronto's council, but I've got to tell you something. Our Premier actually stood in Toronto city hall as an elected official there, and he has a mandate from the people of this province to pursue his changes.

I'll just say to the former third party that voted for 97% of the initiatives by the previous Liberal government that you guys were rejected soundly and very clearly on June 7.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Further questions and comments?

Mr. Gurratan Singh: Mr. Speaker, I want to give an example of the kinds of individuals who are concerned

by the government's decision to slash city council here and also to eliminate the Peel election in the region of Peel.

We have here Mandeep Kaur from Scarborough, a resident of Scarborough, an amazing organizer and contributor to her community. She sits on the board of Seva Food Bank, an amazing board which is giving back to people in the Peel region. She lives in Scarborough and commutes to Toronto every day. She is what I like to consider an amazing, close friend of mine, but beyond that, someone who is active and involved in her community. She is concerned about the reduction of city council and its size.

I'm also joined by Baldeep Singh, a creative, an entrepreneur, someone who is always engaging with young people, who has become a role model for so many individuals. A resident of Mississauga, he's concerned about the elimination of the chair in Peel.

These are the kinds of individuals who are concerned about these undemocratic decisions to reduce council, to eliminate these positions and disengage people from getting involved in the electoral system, disengage individuals who have been knocking on doors, who have been fundraising, who had registered in a variety of places. We have candidates across the board who have been knocking on doors and getting organized and now, all of a sudden, they have no place to door-knock. They don't know where they're door-knocking. There is unclarity. There is confusion.

Every day, Ontarians are concerned about these decisions, all the way from Scarborough to Mississauga. This is something which is giving people a sense of uncertainty. It does not put faith in our government. It puts the exact opposite of that: It puts concern; it puts confusion. That's not the kind of steady hand we need to put faith back into people's minds. That's what they look at when they think of government. They look at stability; they look at confidence. The government right now, the Conservative government, is not presenting that to the people of Ontario. All we're going to do is hurt our reputation and hurt our ability to serve our community.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I now return to the member for Kitchener Centre for final comments.

Hon. John Yakabuski: You're not Kitchener Centre.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I'm Kitchener Centre.

Hon. John Yakabuski: Are you?

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I'm totally Kitchener Centre.

Hon. Lisa MacLeod: Don't worry; we'll all give her a hand for defeating Daiene Vernile.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): That's the reason why I'm here and you're there.

Ms. Laura Mae Lindo: I wanted to say thank you to all of the members who participated in this debate and I wanted to share a teaching that I learned from Dr. Phil. Dr. Phil says that when you say to somebody, "La la la la, but," you've actually dismissed everything that they just said. Unfortunately, I feel that from the government side of the House it was kind of one of those "but" moments.

The concern that I have is that I was being really serious and candid about what leadership can look like, and instead of being heard, I was critiqued. I was told that it was "holier than thou" speak. My experience isn't holier than thou; it's my experience. So I'm going to take a step back and make a suggestion to the government, which they can take or not.

I'm going to take a step back and suggest that when they do receive the 13, 14 or 15 millions of people who start to critique what they're doing, they don't start off their comments back with, "But you're being holier than thou, because you don't believe what I'm saying." Leadership is trying to figure out why they're coming from the place that they are, meeting them where they're at, having, as my colleague has said, a steady hand, and being there to hold them and explain to them what it is that's happening.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): Thank you very much.

Second reading debate deemed adjourned.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr. Rick Nicholls): I'd like to thank all members for their active participation in debate this afternoon, but it is now 6 o'clock and this House will stand adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 1757.

TAB 7

Legislative
Assembly
of Ontario



Assemblée
législative
de l'Ontario

**Official Report
of Debates
(Hansard)**

No. 17

**Journal
des débats
(Hansard)**

N° 17

1st Session
42nd Parliament

Thursday
9 August 2018

1^{re} session
42^e législature

Jeudi
9 août 2018

Speaker: Honourable Ted Arnott
Clerk: Todd Decker

Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
Greffier : Todd Decker

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF ONTARIO

Thursday 9 August 2018

ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE
DE L'ONTARIO

Jeudi 9 août 2018

The House met at 0900.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Let us pray.
Prayers.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

TIME ALLOCATION

Hon. Todd Smith: I move that, pursuant to standing order 47 and notwithstanding any other standing order or special order of the House relating to Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996, when Bill 5 is next called as a government order, the Speaker shall put every question necessary to dispose of the second reading stage of the bill, without further debate or amendment, and at such time the bill shall be ordered for third reading, which order may be called that same day; and

That, when the order for third reading of the bill is called, one hour shall be allotted to the third reading stage of the bill, with 30 minutes apportioned to the government, 10 minutes to Her Majesty's loyal opposition, 10 minutes to the Liberal Party independent members and 10 minutes apportioned to the Green Party independent member. At the end of this time, the Speaker shall interrupt the proceedings and shall put every question necessary to dispose of this stage of the bill without further debate or amendment; and

That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and

That, in the case of any division relating to any proceedings on the bill, the division bell shall be limited to five minutes, except that the division bell for the vote on the motion for third reading shall be 15 minutes.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Mr. Smith, Bay of Quinte, has moved government notice of motion number 4. I look to the government side to lead off the debate.

Hon. Todd Smith: No further comments, Speaker.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Further debate.

Mr. Peter Tabuns: I appreciate this opportunity to address the motion before us.

Speaker, this motion is profoundly anti-democratic. No one should be surprised: That's consistent with this government's approach from the time it was elected. This is not a government of the people; this is a government that has decided to lock out the people.

Some 2.7 million people live in the city of Toronto, and they will not be afforded even a minute—not 30 seconds, not a second—to speak in this building to this bill. Their interests are before us. Their interests are being debated. But they will not be allowed to have even one person, one citizen, come and speak before us. Not one. That is outrageous. That is completely at odds with the language that this government uses—not at odds with its actions. No one should be surprised that this government is eliminating debate. No one should be surprised that this government doesn't want to hear from the people who are affected. That's consistent with their approach.

But in this House—built to represent the people of Ontario, meant to act democratically—to completely cut out the people of Toronto from any debate whatsoever is outrageous. The city of Toronto went through a multi-year process of consultations on how they would elect their representatives, their councillors. That process, set in place by former mayor Rob Ford, allowed for consultation across the city. It was a process that was challenged at the Ontario Municipal Board and was upheld at the Ontario Municipal Board. It was a legitimate process of consultation.

This government, this Conservative government, is throwing all that consultation out the window, saying, in effect, that the people of Toronto have no right to speak, because they have been deprived of that right; saying that their opinion on how they should be governed is of no consequence; and opening the way to a truncated debate—and I'm being generous—on the bill itself.

People are well aware that there will be one hour's debate on a matter of great concern to the people of this city, the city of Toronto, and frankly, a debate that should be of concern to people across Ontario because, if you will remember, when we went through the amalgamation process under Premier Harris, first of all, it was the city of Toronto that got taken apart and reassembled at the whim of the Premier.

But I will note that Mr. Harris actually allowed public input, committee hearings. There was a potential, at least a façade, of democracy. Well, the façade has been cast aside. Why pretend that you're being democratic when the heart of what you're doing, in the middle of an election campaign at the city level, is to get rid of all of those democratic trappings and just simply impose your own will?

We had an opportunity in my riding last night for a meeting called on very short notice to discuss this bill and discuss this issue. I don't know about others, but

typically when I've called public meetings in August, very few people showed up. Well over 160 and close to 200 people showed up last night. Although people made extended comments about their need to be able to access their elected representative, the core of what they had to say was: "We, the people of Toronto, should be able to decide how many councillors are in the government that we pay for," because that government isn't paid for by the province; it's paid for out of the property taxes of the people of the city of Toronto.

They should be able to decide. They thought that they were deciding when they went through a multi-year consultation process. Now that is being swept away. Not only is it being swept away, but this bill is being rammed through with no consultation of the citizens who are affected.

I say to those in other cities in Ontario, those who watched what happened to Toronto with the amalgamation decision, that it was a few years after that that Premier Harris decided to mess with Ottawa, with Hamilton, and frankly, just say, "In the end, we don't care what the citizens want. We don't care how they see it. We're going to proceed in this fashion." So they should be very cautious about their own cities—having the province step in and dictate the number of councillors that will be making decisions for them, the number of councillors paid for with their property tax dollars.

Scarborough has about 600,000 people and it has six MPPs. It will, under this bill, have six councillors. Markham, with 300,000 people, would support three MPPs and it has a 12-member council. So if the argument for efficiency is one that is consistent and, in fact, real—and I have doubts about that—then why is it that places like Markham are being told, "You can continue to have 12 councillors instead of three," but the city of Toronto? "No, that can't happen. We're going to ram this through. And you, the citizens of Toronto—2.7 million people—you're out of luck. You will not get to say a single word—not a single word—about your fate and future before the legislators, before those who are actually voting on this decision—not a word. You are cut out." That, Speaker, at its heart, is profoundly anti-democratic.

0910

This is a government that is upending the sex ed curriculum in this province, upending a curriculum meant to prevent child sexual assault and meant to ensure that young LGBTQ youth don't have a negative perception of themselves, which is dangerous to their mental health and well-being. Rather than argue on the substance of that curriculum—and their substance would be indefensible—rather than argue on that, they're saying that there wasn't enough consultation.

So consultation is important to you? What about the people of the city of Toronto, 2.7 million people, who will not be allowed to come before a committee hearing and put out their argument? Because there won't be a committee hearing. There will not be a single minute of committee hearings. What about the potential for legislators to actually debate the bill clause-by-clause, go

through, look for the problems and correct them? No; none of that.

For those of you who've been here for a while and those who are new, I'll note that in committee, often governments correct bills where they see they have made mistakes. That's the way things are. No legislator is perfect; no legislation writer is perfect. But there will not be that corrective methodology. In fact, what we will get is an approach that gives the minister the power to rewrite the legislation without coming back to this House. That alone is extraordinary.

For those who are not familiar with the process, government sets a framework of laws, and then, within that, ministers get to write more detailed rules called regulations. Typically, if a minister writes a regulation that's outside the framework of those laws, that regulation is deemed void, invalid and can be challenged in court and thrown out. In this case, we, the legislators, will have our laws thrown out by the minister if he so decides. That is extraordinary. That is completely extraordinary.

So on top of no public consultation, on top of ramming this through, on top of ignoring a multi-year consultative process in the city of Toronto, this government is putting forward a law that can be amended by the minister with no reference to the legislation. That should give everyone pause. You should be thinking about that, because frankly, if you move from this Legislature setting laws to one person setting laws, we have a real problem in this society.

I will remind those on the government benches that when Mike Harris amalgamated the city of Toronto against the will of the people of the city of Toronto, in the following election they fared very badly. They still held on, but in the city of Toronto they were decimated. Why? Because millions of people don't take kindly to people running a tank overtop of their democratic rights. They don't take kindly to it. In fact, they get kind of cranky when you beat them up, take away their rights and ignore their will and impose your own.

Speaker, right-wing populism is a fever dream. In that dream, all kinds of things are jumbled together and all kinds of thoughts and analysis are distorted. I've heard members on the government side say that the reason they need to do this is for efficiency; they need to do this so that we'll get transit built, so that we'll get housing built. Well, I would point out that the Premier, in question period last week, was saying that no transit has been built in Toronto for the last 20 years. I suggest he take the subway line up to Vaughan. He may notice that a transit line was built. I suggest that he go to Eglinton Avenue and look at the Eglinton Crosstown under construction. I suggest he go to St. Clair Avenue and ride the streetcar. Those three projects, in the last 20 years, were largely financed by the provincial government. If there is a problem with transit financing and operation in the city of Toronto, it has been far too often that the provincial government has failed to put in the money necessary to move things forward. It is not the problem or fault of the

city of Toronto or the decision-makers of the city of Toronto. It is a question of a province not being willing to finance in the way that it needs to finance.

The Premier referred to a lack of action on social housing. I will point out to the members of the government that it was Mike Harris who downloaded social housing on to municipalities that didn't have the money to sustain it because they're trying to operate from a property tax base; they don't have access to that revenue. Municipalities were never meant to sustain social housing; they don't have that kind of revenue.

In this province, the former Liberal government did not give the funds to the city of Toronto it needed for social housing. In fact, they were engaged in cutting the funds to the city of Toronto to the tune of 150 million bucks a year. It wasn't a question of too many politicians; it was a question of the provincial government beating up on the city, downloading costs.

The so-called efficiencies of the Harris era were simply this: "We will take expenses off our books and our shoulders and we will put them on you." That's not efficiency; that's being a deadbeat. That's being some kind of guy who shows up for dinner, eats everything, walks out, says thank you, does nothing else and leaves you with cleaning up the dishes. That's what the Harris government did; that's what this government is doing.

A number of people have said to me—and I think this is not a bad analysis—that this is about making sure that the city of Toronto is controlled more closely by development interests. In the spring, the city of Toronto passed new development charges deeply opposed by the development industry but absolutely necessary for the functioning of the city of Toronto; absolutely necessary in order to provide the infrastructure that will serve the new residents of the city. You don't bring in hundreds of thousands of new residents without the need to invest in transit, without the need to invest in sewers, in roads, in schools—all of that. The city of Toronto, acting responsibly, said, "Development should be paying for development. We need the money to actually make the city work." The development industry was very unhappy with that.

We know very well the Premier's record on this—very well. During the election campaign he said he would allow the paving of the greenbelt. He got blowback and he pulled back. But the election has passed. The moment of danger to him has passed, but the moment of danger to the people of Toronto, to the city of Toronto, is here today. And those people have been gagged. They will not be allowed to speak before you, legislators. They will not be allowed to make their arguments. They are being cut out. On that basis alone, this time allocation motion should be defeated—on that basis alone.

I'll say beyond that, in this democracy, for a decision of this magnitude to have 10 minutes of debate per opposition group in third reading is outrageous. This time allocation motion must be rejected.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Further debate?

Mr. Gilles Bisson: I just want to pick up on where my colleague the member from Danforth left off, and that is that this is pretty anti-democratic stuff. Here's the Ford government, the Conservatives, who are saying, "We're the government of the people. Don't worry; we're here. We'll take care of you." And the first chance that they had to hear from the people on the very first bill they did—they time-allocated the previous bill that dealt with hydro executive salaries and that dealt with the cancellation of windmill projects and said, "We're not going to give the public even a chance to come here and talk to us." They time-allocated the bill and sent it right off to third reading.

Now they've got a bill that's probably one of the most intrusive pieces of legislation that we have seen in a generation, when it meddles in the elections of the city of Toronto in the middle of an election. The government of Ontario says, "We're going to change the game. We're going to just change the game entirely and we're going to change the size of the council."

0920

Listen: If the people of Toronto want to change the size of the council, that's their decision. It's not a decision that we should be making. Yes, we have the authority, but it's the decision of the people of Toronto, just as, in the city of Timmins, they decided the size of their council on numerous occasions. They decided if they wanted to be a ward or an at-large system. Those were decisions that the ratepayers, the voters, of the city of Timmins had to make, and it was done by us. It was done by the people of Timmins and done by our municipal council.

This government has decided, "Nah. We're smarter than all you people living in Toronto. We know what's best for you." This is Uncle Joe. Remember Uncle Joe in the Soviet Union—Joseph Stalin, if you don't remember his name. This is the kind of stuff this is. This is autocracy from the top. This is the person from the top trying to tell the little serfs at the bottom what's good for them. They say, "Oh, we won a majority."

Yes, you won a majority government; nobody argues that. I very much respect the British parliamentary system that says that if you win more seats than the other party, you get to form the government and you get to make the decisions. But you have a responsibility as a government to follow the process and to allow people to have their say. The fact you're not allowing the public of Toronto, who either support this bill or don't support this bill, to come before a committee to say what they have to say about it says that this is a throwback to the old communist days of the Soviet Union. This is essentially what it is.

Listen: Nobody argues that you don't have the authority to do what you're doing. There are people who will argue that in court, and we'll see where that goes. I respect that you have a decision to make and you will make that decision. But what I expect, as a citizen of this province and as a legislator, is that you're going to respect the process and allow the public to have their say.

How can you purport to be the government of the people? How can you be the government of the people when you won't even let the people in the door? You won't let them in to committee because you say, "We're smarter than all of you. We're going to do this because we know we're right. We got 40% in the last election and we ended up with a majority in the House, and the 40% is giving us the mandate to do what's going to be imposed on the rest of the 60%."

Mrs. Gila Martow: That's not very parliamentary.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Well, it is very parliamentary what I'm saying, and I challenge you to get up and say that it's not. Please get up in this debate. I want to see you get up and debate.

Mrs. Gila Martow: I'm saying that it's unparliamentary.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: You guys can't even debate your own motion. It has got to the point—

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): A reminder to all members to direct their remarks to and through the Chair. Thank you.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Through you, Madam Speaker, I challenge any government member to get up and debate this motion. If you guys think it's a good idea that the public doesn't have an opportunity to come before committee and do what it has to do when it comes to pronouncing itself on this legislation, then get up and state your case. You tell us why democracy shouldn't work. You tell us how this is not Joseph Stalin kind of tactics, and we're prepared to listen to you. This is exactly what it is. Come on. There's a little thing in the British parliamentary system called democracy, and we have a committee process. The very fact that this government is not prepared, saying it's a government of the people, to allow them to come before a committee to pronounce themselves on this bill—I'm sure you'll find people who will come and speak to it and I'm sure you'll find a lot of people who come to speak against it, but at least you will have heard what the public has to say.

What's even more galling: This was not even an election issue. If the government would have campaigned on this—

Hon. Sylvia Jones: Rae days.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Come on; you didn't campaign on this. Come on, Comrade Stalin. Listen: Madam Speaker, you didn't campaign on this. The government at no time in the last campaign said, "We are going to bring legislation that's going to change the electoral system in the city of Toronto"—never hinted, never said, never even whispered.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): A reminder to all members that we address each other by riding and not by diminutive name. If the member would withdraw.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: If they're insulted by "Comrade Joe," I'm sorry—

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): The member will withdraw.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Withdraw.

My point, Madam Speaker, is that they're doing the tactics we've seen other governments in the past do that are not very democratic. I think that a government that is not prepared to hear the people when it comes to their idea has a big problem. The fact that they didn't even campaign on this—this just came out of nowhere—I think just adds to the fact that the government is obliged—

Hon. Sylvia Jones: It decreases the size and costs—

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Well, then get up and have that debate.

Madam Speaker, if the government is so incensed about what I have to say this morning, they should get up and defend themselves, at least in a time allocation motion. But they—

Interjections.

Mr. Gilles Bisson: Listen, you're not even prepared to get up and do the debate. We all know what you guys are trying to do. You just want to shove this thing through the process as quickly as you can.

Well, Andrea Horwath and New Democrats believe that people should be heard. People have the democratic right to be before our institution at committee and to have their say when it comes to this bill. And if the government did not include that in the time allocation, I plan to rectify it now, because I have an amendment to the motion that I would like to read.

I move an amendment to the motion.

Delete everything after "ordered" in the first paragraph and replace with:

... to the Standing Committee on General Government; and

That the Standing Committee on General Government be authorized to meet on Monday, August 20, 2018, from 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. and Wednesday, August 22, from 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. for the purpose of public hearings on the bill; and

That the Clerk of the Committee, in consultation with the committee Chair, be authorized to arrange the following with regard to Bill 5:

—Notice of public hearings on the Ontario parliamentary channel, the Legislative Assembly's website and Canada NewsWire; and

—That the deadline for requests to appear be 6 p.m. on Wednesday, August 15, 2018; and

—That witnesses be scheduled to appear before the committee on a first come, first served basis; and

—That each witness will receive up to nine minutes for their presentation followed by six minutes for questions from committee members divided equally amongst the recognized parties;

That the deadline for written submissions be 8 p.m. on Wednesday, August 22, 2018; and

That the deadline for filing amendments to the bill with the Clerk of the committee shall be 9 a.m. on Monday, August 27, 2018; and

That the committee be authorized to meet on Wednesday, August 29, 2018, from 9 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. and 1

p.m. to 8 p.m. for the purpose of clause-by-clause consideration of the bill; and

That on Wednesday, August 29, at 5:30 p.m., those amendments which have not yet been moved shall be deemed to have been moved, and the Chair of the committee shall interrupt the proceedings and shall, without further debate or amendment, put every question necessary to dispose of all remaining sections of the bill and any amendments thereto. At this time, the Chair shall allow one 20-minute waiting period pursuant to standing order 129(a); and

That the committee shall report the bill to the House no later than Thursday, August 30, 2018. In the event that the committee fails to report the bill on that day, the bill shall be deemed to be passed by the committee and shall be deemed to be reported to and received by the House; and

That, upon receiving the report of the Standing Committee on General Government, the Speaker shall put the question for adoption of the report forthwith, and at such time the bill shall be ordered for third reading, which order may be called that same day; and

That when the order for third reading of the bill is called, one hour of debate shall be allotted to the third reading stage of the bill with 30 minutes apportioned to the government, 20 minutes to the official opposition, seven minutes to the independent Liberal Party members and three minutes to the independent Green Party member. At the end of this time, the Speaker shall interrupt the proceedings and shall put every question necessary to dispose of this stage of the bill without further debate or amendment; and

That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and

That, in the case of any division relating to any proceedings on the bill, the division bell shall be limited to five minutes, except that the division bell for the vote on the motion for third reading shall be 15 minutes.

I give this motion to be tabled directly to our page Adam.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Mr. Bisson has moved:

“Delete everything after ‘ordered’ in the first paragraph and replace with:

“... to the Standing Committee on General Government; and

“That the Standing Committee on General Government be authorized to meet on Monday, August 20, 2018, from 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. and on Wednesday, August 22, from 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. for the purpose of public hearings on the bill; and

“That the Clerk of the Committee, in consultation with the committee Chair, be authorized to arrange the following with regard to Bill 5:

“—Notice of public hearings on the Ontario parliamentary channel, the Legislative Assembly’s website and Canada NewsWire; and

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“—That witnesses be scheduled to appear before the committee on a first come, first served basis; and

“—That each witness will receive up to nine minutes for their presentation, followed by six minutes for questions from committee members divided equally amongst the recognized parties;

“That the deadline for written submissions be 8 p.m. on Wednesday, August 22, 2018; and

“That the deadline for filing amendments to the bill with the Clerk of the Committee shall be 9 a.m. on Monday, August 27, 2018; and

“That the committee be authorized to meet on Wednesday, August 29, 2018, from 9 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. and 1 p.m. to 8 p.m. for the purpose of clause-by-clause consideration of the bill; and

“That on Wednesday, August 29, 2018, at 5:30 p.m., those amendments which have not yet been moved shall be deemed to have been moved, and the Chair of the Committee shall interrupt the proceedings and shall, without further debate or amendment, put every question necessary to dispose of all the remaining sections of the bill and any amendments thereto. At this time, the Chair shall allow one 20-minute waiting period pursuant to standing order 129(a); and

“That the committee shall report the bill to the House no later than Thursday, August 30, 2018. In the event that the committee fails to report the bill on that day, the bill shall be deemed to be passed by the committee and shall be deemed to be reported to and received by the House; and

“That, upon receiving the report of the Standing Committee on General Government, the Speaker shall put the question for adoption of the report forthwith, and at such time the bill shall be ordered for third reading, which order may be called that same day; and

“That when the order for third reading of the bill is called, one hour of debate shall be allotted to the third reading stage of the bill, with 30 minutes apportioned to the government, 20 minutes to the official opposition, seven minutes to the independent Liberal Party members and three minutes to the independent Green Party member. At the end of this time, the Speaker shall interrupt the proceedings and shall put every question necessary to dispose of this stage of the bill without further debate or amendment; and

“That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and

“That, in the case of any division relating to any proceedings on the bill, the division bell shall be limited to five minutes, except that the division bell for the vote on the motion for third reading shall be 15 minutes.”

We are going to take a five-minute recess to check the orderliness of the amendment.

The House recessed from 0932 to 0937.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): The amendment is in order, so I will entertain further debate

on the amendment to government notice of motion number 4 moved by Mr. Bisson. Further debate?

Mr. John Vanthof: It's always an honour to stand and debate in this House, today on the amendment to a time allocation motion which is quite frankly abhorrent to those of us who believe in democracy.

Just for a bit of background for people, the way it's supposed to—the government wins a mandate. They win an election. They put forward legislation. Legislation is debated in the House, and typically, it passes second reading and it's put to a committee. That's really important because the committee is where people who have an interest can come to the Legislature, the place that belongs to the people, and have their say, put input in and, hopefully, make the legislation better. Then, after the committee process, although this government has yet to show that they know how to do that, the government should take that valued information from the people—these guys say they're for the people, but actually you have to take information from the people—and then hopefully make that legislation better with the advice of the people and with the criticism of the opposition, because no one is expecting legislation to be perfect on the first shot. That's the way it's supposed to work. That's the way it's supposed to work.

We have some support, or we had some support, on that issue when the government was on the opposition side. We have a quote here from the current Minister of Transportation from May 7, 2018, so it didn't take them very long to get amnesia. From the now Minister of Transportation:

“How can you say that something has been duly considered if you haven't even allowed the public, the stakeholders—those people who will be most affected by it, those people who will be responsible for carrying it out—the opportunity to offer opinion or views as to how that legislation might be changed, altered, improved, or have some parts of it swept away altogether, because they're not in the best interests of the people who will be most affected?”

“You really have to ask yourself if the government is acting in the best interests of the people”—this is actually funny—“or it is acting in what it considers to be the best interests of itself. Because, you see, it has got itself up against the wall here, as far as timing is concerned. They feel that they need to get this piece of legislation out there because there's a constituency out there that they want this piece of legislation passed for. They feel it is a good piece of legislation, to go to that group and say, ‘Look at what we're doing; look at what we've done.’”

From the current Minister of Transportation on May 7, 2018—at that point, he had some very, I would say, upstanding views on the role of this Legislature and the dangers of time allocation. Unfortunately, as soon as he came to the government side, he seemed to have forgotten.

Another, from the current Minister of Municipal Affairs, who has carriage of this bill, so he should understand. April 16, 2015: “So again I appeal to” you, “all the

MPPs on the government benches to consider carefully the path you're treading. When you are elected into government, you not only are given power, but you're also given the trust of the people. Don't silence the voices, even though they're opposition voices, by shutting down debate and forcing time allocation.” This is your Minister of Municipal Affairs—

Mr. Gilles Bisson: What happened?

Mr. John Vanthof: What happened?

I come from a long Conservative lineage. The one thing that the Conservatives and the NDP used to share is that at least we stood up for our views. What happened to these two ministers? What happened?

From the current government House leader, who is pushing this time allocation through—again, April 13, 2016, not that long ago. I don't know if amnesia is setting in. “Sometimes what happens here—my friend from Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke describes it as the guillotine coming down and slicing off debate. He makes a very effective sound effect every time the House leader or deputy House leader moves a closure motion. We've seen that time and time again. They should not be using a blunt instrument—and a guillotine is a blunt instrument—to pass legislation in this House.”

Again, when they actually had that principle—we didn't agree with some of the things the Conservatives did but we did believe in that principle and I personally believed that those members who made those statements in this House believed in that principle, but they no longer do. That is incredible.

If you will recall—I've mentioned this a couple of times in the House—the throne speech: When we walked in, the band was playing the theme song from Game of Thrones. Now every time I walk in here, I look for the arrow slits. Every series has a score, every movie has a score, and it think this government should have a score, or perhaps their own band.

Hon. Todd Smith: “76 Seats.”

Mr. John Vanthof: Yes. I've been thinking of this for a while. Once, Ball of Confusion came on the radio and I thought, “You know, that kind of fits, but not really, because these people aren't confused.” They're misled perhaps, but they're certainly not confused. This is a direct attempt. What they're doing isn't confusion.

I drive a lot, and I listen to classic rock. A great tune came on. Speaker, I apologize: I am not a singer, but I am sure you will remember—some of you will know when you hear the lyrics to this. Hopefully I can, without losing the lyrics—oh, there we go.

Hon. Todd Smith: Losing My Religion?

Mr. John Vanthof: Losing My Religion would be a good one, because you seem to have lost your morals. The House leader suggested losing his religion. That would be a good one, but I didn't think of that one, Speaker.

I was listening to the radio, and I heard it, and the tune was “(Making it work) takes a little longer/(Making it work) takes a little time.” Right? Making it work takes a little longer. When you're drafting legislation, guess

what? Making it work takes a little longer. Making it work takes a little time. What you people are doing—you've totally forgotten that, and you're rushing this stuff through. You're going to regret it.

Hon. Todd Smith: Who was the band that sang, "Can we get a gong in here"?

Mr. John Vanthof: The House leader suggested that we get a gong. Perhaps we should get a gong, because this government is a gong show.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I'm going to remind all members to direct their remarks, their refrains, their dancing and their prancing to and through the Chair. Thank you.

Mr. John Vanthof: Thank you, Speaker. I will try and tone it down a bit.

Another issue: Yesterday, in question period, we were talking about one of their signature policies: buck-a-beer. They claimed that there were no financial incentives attached to this, but the LCBO is going to give free advertising and premium shelf space. That is a cost, because anyone else has to pay for that. That is a subsidy. For the people who claim to be representing the businesses of the province to claim that that is not a subsidy and that that is not corporate welfare—come on. Come on.

And this whole buck-a-beer thing—right now, the floor price is \$1.25, a buck and a quarter. Where is the buck-and-a-quarter beer? Where is the buck-and-a-quarter beer?

Again, you've won the election. It's time that you guys actually govern like grown-ups and actually use the process the way it's supposed to be used. There was a quote from the Premier before he was Premier, saying, "We're not going to be a government for government. We're going to be a government for the people." This institution has been developed over hundreds of years with a certain process, and the committee process is where the people get to have their say.

Coming from northern Ontario, we always push to have committee meetings in northern Ontario on issues of northern Ontario, and, you know, we always get frustrated, because it never happens. In this case, the committee hearings can rightfully be held in Toronto, so we don't understand why you don't do it. If you're so proud of this legislation, why don't you do it?

Interjection.

Mr. John Vanthof: I'm trying to help you, actually, because I've got family on that side.

In the immortal words of the theme band for the Ontario Party, Doug and the Slugs—somehow appropriate—

Interjections.

Mr. John Vanthof: If the government is not careful, Speaker, and doesn't take their job seriously and doesn't take democracy seriously—again, I quote from Doug and the Slugs—here's what could happen: "Too bad that you had to get caught, / That's not like you to lose face. / So sad that you're not as smart, / As you thought you were in the first place."

That could very well happen with a government that starts out as arrogant and as undemocratic as this one. It's galling, Speaker.

Because of that, I would like to move an amendment to the amendment. I would like to delete "That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and" and replace with "The votes on second and third reading may be deferred pursuant to standing order 28(h); and"

I give it to page Jamie.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Mr. Vanthof has moved an amendment to the amendment: delete "That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and" and replace with "The votes on second and third reading may be deferred pursuant to standing order 28(h); and"

I recognize the member on a point of order.

Mr. Bill Walker: I respectfully ask that you read that in French too, please, Madam Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): I will wait for direction from the Clerks.

I am able to read the amendment in the language in which it was provided. In this case, it was provided in English and I have read it in English. The amendment to the amendment is in order.

I am happy to entertain further debate on the amendment to the amendment as moved by Mr. Vanthof. Further debate?

I will remind members that I will put the question—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): The amendment to the amendment. Further debate?

Seeing none, I'll put the question. Mr. Vanthof has moved the amendment to the amendment: delete "That, except in the case of a recorded division arising from morning orders of the day, pursuant to standing order 9(c), no deferral of the second reading or third reading vote shall be permitted; and" and replace with "The votes on second and third reading may be deferred pursuant to standing order 28(h); and"

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I heard a no.

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

There being a division requested, it is deferred until after question period.

Vote deferred.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): Orders of the day?

Hon. Todd Smith: No further business, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Ms. Jennifer K. French): There being no further business, this House will be recessed until 10:30.

The House recessed from 0955 to 1030.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

Mr. Dave Smith: I'd like to introduce the woman who inspires me on a daily basis to be a better man, my wife, Lorien.

Mr. Norman Miller: I would like to welcome to the Legislature the mayor of my hometown, Bracebridge, Muskoka, Mayor Graydon Smith, who is in the members' east gallery. Welcome.

Mr. Logan Kanapathi: I'm proud to welcome a few constituents from my Markham-Thornhill riding also to the Legislative Assembly. Welcome to Jessie Wang, Lynn Perrier and Jenny Chen. These wonderful women played a key role in my campaign.

I would also like to say a special thank you to my riding association president, Tammy Mok. Thank you.

Thank you for being here.

Mrs. Robin Martin: I'm rising today to welcome to the Legislature my good friends, and volunteers in my campaign, Juri Otsason, Bernadine Morris and Allan Fabrykant.

Mr. Rudy Cuzzetto: I would like to introduce one of my volunteers, Monika Frejlich, as well as my son Michael Cuzzetto, who will be leaving for university for his first year.

Mrs. Gila Martow: I'm so happy to welcome Pamela and her son Daniel Bielak today to Queen's Park. They have a group called Crafting for a Cure. They work very hard to raise money for kids who are having cancer treatment in hospitals to have something to do.

Welcome, and I hope you're going to get the Order of Vaughan this year, Pamela. I've nominated you. Thank you for being here.

Hon. Sylvia Jones: It is a pleasure for me to welcome and introduce Brenna Shanahan. Brenna has been helping in my office for the past number of months, particularly related to the implementation of Rowan's Law. I wish her luck as she returns to Louisville, Kentucky, on her lacrosse scholarship.

Mr. Robert Bailey: I'd like to welcome to the Legislature today five guests from the Horse People's Alliance of Ontario: Mr. Jim Whelan; his son Marshall Whelan; Mark Williams, a famous driver in Ontario; Bruce Pollock; and Brian Tropea.

Mr. Doug Downey: I would like to introduce two people: first, Barb Shakell, who served as a child protection worker with CAS in Simcoe-Muskoka and is a strong, strong supporter of the party and a force to be reckoned with in women in politics; and my long-time friend Kelly Lassaline, who is also a force to be reckoned with in women in politics and was my campaign manager and one of several teachers who support this party.

Mr. Mike Harris: I'm pleased to introduce today Adam Van Meerbergen from Waterloo. He's a campus Conservative at the University of Ottawa and has helped with various campaigns in the Waterloo region over the last election—and also his friends, Icaro and Gabriel. Gabriel is actually visiting us from Brazil. Welcome, gentlemen.

Ms. Natalia Kusendova: I'd like to welcome my good friends and nursing school colleagues Diana Gherutchi and Tallique Sutherland. We'll be later discussing the role of nursing not only at the bedside but also as patient and health policy advocates.

ORAL QUESTIONS

CURRICULUM

Ms. Peggy Sattler: My question is to the Premier. How did the Premier decide that pleasing his radical social conservative friends was a higher priority than protecting the human rights of Ontario students?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I'm going to start off by cautioning the members on inflammatory language that inflames the House. I heard part of the question, but then with the reaction, I couldn't hear the whole question. I'm going to allow it.

The Premier, response.

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker: I accept the opposition's "radical" comments. You know something? I know that the NDP don't believe in this, but we believe in doing something that they don't believe in, and that's actually consulting with parents. I know that's unusual.

I think they know that the consultation—as they propped up the Liberals for 15 years on every issue, including this one—they went online. They went online and consulted with 16 people after the curriculum was already put together. They believe that's proper consultation. We believe in consulting with the parents.

Do you know what's even more important, Mr. Speaker? More important are the math tests. Where our students are, grade 6 math students, 50% of them are failing math. That's what—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you. Supplementary.

Ms. Peggy Sattler: This morning, human rights lawyers were here at Queen's Park to launch legal action against the Premier's dangerous plan.

I applaud the work that these advocates are doing. They are speaking up on behalf of students, including an 11-year-old child, who will suffer significant harm if the Premier is allowed to erase gender identity, same-sex families and LGBTQ2 issues from Ontario schools.

Why is this Premier violating the human rights of children across Ontario?

Hon. Doug Ford: I know that the NDP like fear-mongering. But we're going to actually consult with parents. We're going to focus on math scores. We're going to focus on math and science, which we should be focusing on. Again, when half our students are failing math, we have an issue. When the grade 6 students are the lowest in all of Canada—we are the lowest in all of Canada under the old curriculum. We're going to fix the old curriculum. We're going to make our students the top in the country.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Final supplementary.

Ms. Peggy Sattler: The 1998 curriculum fails to provide the information that students need to stay safe, and it fails to respect the human rights of Ontario's students. That is why 30 school boards, representing about two-thirds of all children in this province, have issued formal statements raising concerns about the risks and direct harm that the Premier's plan will create.

School boards and teachers want to protect the health and human rights of their students. Why doesn't this Premier?

Hon. Doug Ford: We're going back to the NDP math. They can't add up. There are actually, altogether, 76 school boards, and we're going to consult with the folks at the school boards. But most important, we're going to consult with the parents.

The number one issue is not the sex ed. It's math scores. It's about educating our students. I know the opposition—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Come to order.

Hon. Doug Ford: Anyone before 2014—I guess they just didn't get it. They didn't get it. We're going back to 2014. We're going to consult with the parents on math, on science, but also on the sex ed. Once we consult with the parents, that's when we'll make our decision.

1040

CURRICULUM

Ms. Catherine Fife: My question is to the Premier. Young children and their families should not have to fight the Premier of this province just to make sure that every child is supported in our classrooms. Why is this Premier forcing families to launch legal challenges just to ensure that the human rights of our kids are protected this September?

Hon. Doug Ford: Mr. Speaker, we're going to have the most robust consultation this province has ever seen. We're going to go to all 124 ridings. And do you know what's really ironic? I'm going to go into some of these ridings where people are dead against the sex ed; they're dead against our kids failing math.

There are actually people who were elected in certain areas who I know personally. In Brampton, for example—my friends over in Brampton, they know; both candidates from Brampton know how their people feel in Brampton: They're dead against it.

We're going to pay Brampton a visit, we'll go pay Scarborough a visit and see what those parents actually think—because I know what those parents think: They're dead against it. They want to be consulted. They're actually keeping their kids out of school.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Supplementary?

Ms. Catherine Fife: Well, I want you to know that the people of Waterloo care about consent and they care about the safety of the kids in our schools.

Every day, more and more people are speaking out against the Premier's dangerous plan to drag students

back to 1998. Some 30 school boards now have issued statements of concern. They're taking a stand, and I'm very proud of those school boards.

Also, 1,800 health care professionals say the Premier's plan puts children at risk, and now the Premier is facing legal action from the families of children who will be harmed by his actions.

Why is this Premier not interested in protecting the health and the human rights of all Ontario students?

Hon. Doug Ford: Mr. Speaker, through you: Do you know what puts our children at risk? When we don't consult their parents. That's what puts the children at risk. What puts our children at risk is when we don't consult with the parents and we listen to a bunch of politicians and a bunch of activists. That's what puts our children at risk.

What we should be doing is consulting with the parents, which we're going to do right across 124 ridings. We're going to reach out to the parents. We're going to actually reach out to the experts. We're going to reach out to anyone who's involved, even the teachers. I know they don't believe in reaching out to teachers. I talked to teachers throughout the campaign. They don't agree with the curriculum. They don't agree with the math curriculum. They don't agree with the sex ed curriculum. They don't agree—

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Thank you.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The Premier will take his seat. Stop the clock.

Start the clock.

Final supplementary.

Ms. Catherine Fife: What I would like to say to this Premier is that this issue is so important. It's too important to play politics with.

According to one parent, having—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): I apologize. Stop the clock. The government side has to come to order. I have to be able to hear the member asking the question.

Restart the clock.

The member for Waterloo.

Ms. Catherine Fife: Thank you very much.

According to one parent, having the 2015 curriculum at her child's school taught him how to have a voice and to acknowledge that there's nothing wrong with him. But the Premier's plan to scrap the health curriculum and erase same-sex families, gender identity and consent from Ontario classrooms will hurt students across Ontario.

Why is this Premier sacrificing the human rights of students just to return a political favour to his socially conservative friends?

Hon. Doug Ford: Through you, Mr. Speaker: I don't remember ever saying anything that the other member said we were saying in the campaign. It's fear-mongering. They try to put fear into the people of Ontario, the students of Ontario.

Only 1,600 people were consulted. Over 14 million people are in this province; 1,600 people were consulted. The numbers are fudged. Something is wrong here.

I can promise you one thing, Mr. Speaker. We're going to be travelling around this province, and we're going to hear from the parents, we're going to hear from the teachers, we're going to hear from the experts, and they're going to decide. We'll bring it back into the House, and then we will have the proper math curriculum, we'll have the proper sex ed curriculum.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. Gilles Bisson: My question is to the Premier.

Premier, your government trounced on the democratic process by making a unilateral decision to slash Toronto city council without any real public consultation. Now you're using time allocation to force through the legislation while preventing the public from appearing before committee to have their say. Public consultation and the use of committee is a democratic process that has long been cherished.

How can you purport to be a government of the people when you won't let them into the building to have a say about their legislation?

Hon. Doug Ford: Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

Hon. Steve Clark: Thank you, Speaker, for giving me the opportunity, through you, to speak to the member.

Again, we were very, very clear—crystal clear—during the campaign that we were going to reduce the size and costs of government.

I'm pleased that the NDP actually want to talk about Bill 5 rather than the drive-by smears that they've been doing in this House for the last two days.

Bill 5 is going to provide a streamlined city council. It's going to provide an efficient and effective council. It's going to provide \$25-million savings to the people of Toronto over the next four years. It's going to provide, on October 22, the opportunity to have a streamlined, 25-member council with the same boundaries that are for federal MPs, and the same boundaries that are for provincial MPPs. It's good public policy.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock. Restart the clock.

Supplementary?

Mr. Gilles Bisson: On this bill, you have been anything but clear. You never raised it in the last election once. Nobody saw this thing coming. All of a sudden, it got announced, one day out of the blue. You're saying that you're not going to allow the people of this province and the people of these affected cities to come before public committee and have their say. You can't pretend to be a government of the people when you won't open the front door of the Legislature and allow the people to come in and present at committee.

Will you open the door and will you allow the people into this committee structure to have their say?

Hon. Steve Clark: Speaker, through you to the member: It's pretty rich coming from the NDP, who just ran a campaign that was anti-police, anti-veteran, anti-poppy. It's pretty rich coming from this opposition, when they continue to have a radical and offensive agenda. This—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): The members will take their seats. I cannot hear the Minister of—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Stop the clock.

Once again, I have to inform the House that I have my earphone in and I have the volume at full blast and I can't hear the member who has the floor. That can't be allowed to happen.

Restart the clock.

Next question.

1050

COMMUNITY SAFETY

Mr. Michael Parsa: My question today is for the Minister of Community Safety and Correctional Services. Mr. Speaker, our government for the people has remained committed to public safety across this great province. The daily duties of a police officer are dangerous, and the brave men and women of our police services deserve to perform their duties safely and effectively.

As members of this House are aware, Ontario has seen an increase in the number of gun-and-gang-related violence taking place on our streets. Gun violence is a menace to our streets and will not be tolerated by this government. Speaker, could the minister please update the members of this Legislature on how his ministry will tackle the problem of gun-and-gang-related violence?

Hon. Michael A. Tibollo: I want to thank the member from Aurora-Oak Ridges-Richmond Hill for this very important question.

At the outset, I just want to thank our first responders for the great work that they do to keep our communities safe.

It's time to put public safety first. Our government for the people is listening to police and investing real money to help them protect families from gang and gun violence. During the election campaign, we promised to restore the \$12 million in funding that the previous government cut from the fight against gangs and gun violence. Today, we're investing \$25 million in new funding. Unlike the members of the official opposition who have continually insulted the men and women of our police services—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon. Ted Arnott): Order. The member can take his seat.

Supplementary.

Mr. Michael Parsa: I would like to thank the minister for his response in this incredibly important topic.

This announcement of additional funding to the police services is needed to address the problem of gun-and-gang-related violence in Ontario, especially within the

TAB 8

Legislative
Assembly
of Ontario



Assemblée
législative
de l'Ontario

**Official Report
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(Hansard)**

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Speaker: Honourable Ted Arnott
Clerk: Todd Decker

Président : L'honorable Ted Arnott
Greffier : Todd Decker

Mr. Clark has moved second reading of Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I heard a no.

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed to the motion will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1405 to 1410.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Order, please.

Mr. Clark has moved second reading of Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996.

All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be recorded by the Clerk.

Ayes

Anand, Deepak	Jones, Sylvia	Phillips, Rod
Baber, Roman	Kanapathi, Logan	Piccini, David
Babikian, Aris	Karahalios, Belinda	Rasheed, Kaleed
Bailey, Robert	Ke, Vincent	Roberts, Jeremy
Barrett, Toby	Khanjin, Andrea	Romano, Ross
Bethlenfalvy, Peter	Kramp, Daryl	Sabawy, Sheref
Bouma, Will	Kusendova, Natalia	Sandhu, Amarjot
Calandra, Paul	Lecce, Stephen	Scott, Laurie
Cho, Raymond Sung Joon	MacLeod, Lisa	Simard, Amanda
Cho, Stan	Martin, Robin	Singh Sarkaria, Prabmeet
Clark, Steve	Martow, Gila	Skelly, Donna
Coe, Lorne	McDonell, Jim	Smith, Dave
Crawford, Stephen	McKenna, Jane	Smith, Todd
Cuzzetto, Rudy	McNaughton, Monte	Surma, Kinga
Downey, Doug	Miller, Norman	Tangri, Nina
Dunlop, Jill	Mitas, Christina Maria	Thanigasalam, Vijay
Fee, Amy	Mulroney, Caroline	Thompson, Lisa M.
Fullerton, Merrilee	Nicholls, Rick	Tibollo, Michael A.
Ghamari, Goldie	Oosterhoff, Sam	Wai, Daisy
Gill, Parm	Pang, Billy	Walker, Bill
Hardeman, Ernie	Park, Lindsey	Yakabuski, John
Harris, Mike	Parsa, Michael	Yurek, Jeff
Hogarth, Christine	Pettapiece, Randy	

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): All those opposed to the motion will please rise and stand until recognized by the Clerk.

Nays

Andrew, Jill	Glover, Chris	Schreiner, Mike
Armstrong, Teresa J.	Harden, Joel	Shaw, Sandy
Arthur, Ian	Hassan, Faisal	Singh, Gurratan
Begum, Doly	Horwath, Andrea	Singh, Sara
Bell, Jessica	Hunter, Mitzie	Stevens, Jennifer (Jennie)
Berns-McGown, Rima	Kernaghan, Terence	Stiles, Marit
Blisson, Gillies	Lalonde, Marie-France	Tabuns, Peter
Bourgouin, Guy	Lindo, Laura Mae	Taylor, Monique
Des Rosiers, Nathalie	Mamakwa, Sol	Vanthof, John
Fife, Catherine	Mantha, Michael	West, Jamie
Fraser, John	Miller, Paul	Wynne, Kathleen O.
French, Jennifer K.	Monteith-Farrell, Judith	Yarde, Kevin
Gates, Wayne	Morrison, Suze	
Gélinas, France	Rakocevic, Tom	

The Clerk of the Assembly (Mr. Todd Decker): The ayes are 68; the nays are 40.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): I declare the motion carried.

Second reading agreed to.

BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 2018

LOI DE 2018 SUR L'AMÉLIORATION DES ADMINISTRATIONS LOCALES

Mr. Clark moved third reading of the following bill:

Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 / Projet de loi 5, Loi modifiant la Loi de 2006 sur la cité de Toronto, la Loi de 2001 sur les municipalités et la Loi de 1996 sur les élections municipales.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Mr. Clark has moved third reading of Bill 5.

I recognize the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing.

Hon. Steve Clark: Thank you, Speaker. I rise today for third reading of Bill 5, the Better Local Government Act.

If passed, this legislation would deliver on our government for the people's commitment to respect the hard-earned tax dollars of Ontario residents. This is what we were elected to do by the great people of this province, and we intend to honour that commitment. This bill, if passed, would amend existing municipal legislation so that Ontario voters can be confident that their municipal governments are working efficiently and effectively to meet their needs.

I want to begin today by addressing how our bill would help improve the way Ontario's largest city is governed. Very simply, Bill 5, if passed, will align the city of Toronto's municipal wards with provincial and federal electoral districts. It will make it simpler for voters, who could look at a map and see the same electoral boundaries for all three levels of government. It would make it easier for them to say, "I know who my federal member of Parliament is, I know who my member of provincial Parliament is, and I know who my municipal councillor is." This proposed ward boundary change would mean that Toronto will have 25 councillors, which matches the city's 25 federal MPs and 25 provincial MPPs. It will save Toronto taxpayers at least an estimated \$25 million over four years.

The truth is, Toronto city council has become increasingly dysfunctional and inefficient. With 44 councillors plus a mayor, conducting council business is time-consuming and costly. The city was planning to increase that to 47 councillors—47, Speaker. That's 47 people debating at council meetings and 47 councillor salaries paid by the hard-working Toronto taxpayers. The city doesn't need more councillors. That will just make the problems we see in Toronto's council chambers even worse.

For too long Toronto has been hampered by an oversized council. It's so large that they have trouble making

important decisions. Just take the last council meeting: It lasted six days. That's six days of 44 councillors going back and forth with endless debate, each of them pursuing their own political agenda, making meetings longer and, in many cases, unproductive. The matters under debate are important to the fine citizens of Toronto—matters that councillors should be acting swiftly to address.

Bigger isn't better when it comes to government. That's why we're taking this decisive action today. When Torontonians vote on October 22, it will be for councillors that will sit in a streamlined, more effective council, a council that's ready to work more quickly and put the needs of everyday people first, because, as the province's and the country's economic engine, the city of Toronto must run more smoothly and not be mired in bureaucracy and wastefulness.

We are proposing to help the largest city in the province run like a well-oiled machine, one that puts the interests of taxpayers first. Right now, council debates, discusses and argues. They ask for reports and more reports. They drown themselves in a sea of paper and red tape. But a streamlined council would make decisions effectively and efficiently and get on with the important work that they have to end gridlock. It could take on the task of building more housing. It could undertake the need for repairs of infrastructure. By doing this, it would create jobs, which our government feels is extremely important in getting Ontario open for business. A streamlined council is not just good for Toronto taxpayers; it's good for taxpayers in Ontario.

Candidates for municipal councillor are not the only names on the ballot come election day; voters will also elect school board trustees for the Toronto District School Board, the Toronto Catholic District School Board, le Conseil scolaire Viamonde, and le Conseil scolaire de district catholique Centre-Sud. Our proposed changes will pave the way for the redistribution of Toronto-area school-board-trustee electoral areas to align with the proposed new ward boundaries. It would not change the number of school board trustees in Toronto. As I've said before in this House, I'll be working with my colleague the Minister of Education on this matter.

We are making it straightforward and we're making it simple for prospective councillors and school board trustees to determine which of the new wards they wish to serve. That is why this legislation, if passed, would extend the nomination period for both prospective Toronto councillors and trustees to September 14. This would allow both incumbents and candidates who are new to the municipal arena to consider what community they feel they can best represent.

1420

We also plan to provide clear guidance on spending limits and reporting to help candidates transition into the new structure.

Speaker, a recent opinion piece published in the Toronto Star calls our proposed legislation—and I want to quote this—“a move toward better democracy.” It

underlines, as we have said countless times over the past few days, that waiting four years and letting council expand to 47 councillors would be the wrong move. We can't wait another four years until the next municipal election. It would be too costly for the people of Toronto, and it would mean four more years of endless debate and lack of action by Toronto city council. In fact, this opinion piece highlights that transforming council to 25 wards would distribute the population more evenly among councillors. This important issue is one that I will expand upon more closely later on in my remarks.

Sue-Ann Levy of the Toronto Sun also weighed in on our proposed changes. She called Toronto city council a “theatre of the absurd” and described how councillors spent six and a half hours arguing about this proposed legislation. And then they asked for a staff report, Speaker. It's the perfect example of why these proposed changes are needed and reinforces what our Premier has said.

I want to quote the Premier; this is a very, very important quote: “For too long, the people of Toronto have watched city council go around and around and around in circles and fail to act on the critical issues facing the city, and as a result, infrastructure crumbles, housing backlogs grow and transit isn't built.” That's the Premier's quote, Speaker.

More politicians are not going to solve this problem. Even the politicians at Toronto city hall agree. Last week, a group of councillors came forward to support the proposed changes we have, as legislators, before us. They came to this very building and they congratulated our government on doing the right thing for taxpayers. They spoke of the endless hours of pointless debate only to see the same councillors voting the same way all the time. These are wasted hours, Speaker, and the people of Toronto cannot afford to see this pattern continue again.

Councillor David Shiner said he is 110% supportive of this proposed legislation. He says 25 councillors can do work the city needs. Our government for the people, Speaker, agrees with Councillor Shiner.

Councillor Stephen Holyday pointed out that, “At the federal and provincial level, we have a single representative in an area of that size. They seem to get” things “done.” Our government for the people agrees with Councillor Holyday.

Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti said, “I think it's quite clear that most of us” on council “have either made speeches or have moved motions in the past that very clearly pointed to cutting ourselves in half because we are so frustrated with the system.”

Councillor Frances Nunziata said, “When Mel Lastman was mayor ... we had 57 councillors. And at that time, there was a motion to reduce the councillors and we reduced it down to 44. And then when David Miller was mayor, we moved a motion to cut the council to 22.” That's Speaker Frances Nunziata's quote.

It's clear the current council at Toronto city hall has not worked for Toronto for a long time. That's why many people who have talked for so long about reducing the

size and cost of council were so disappointed in the outcome of the Toronto ward boundary review process. Instead of streamlining a system that had grown dysfunctional and was failing the taxpayer, the recommendation was to make council bigger and more expensive. To no one's surprise, the councillors around the table agreed because they knew a smaller council meant competition for their jobs, and they sure didn't want that, Speaker. They sure didn't want that competition. I happen to believe more competition among politicians would make for a healthier democracy.

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: I want to take some time regarding this boundary review—I don't care that the opposition wants to howl over there. I believe that the process by which the 47-member council came into being—it's very, very important to have that. Listening to some, you'd think the process was above reproach and that it was almost the work of divine intervention. Certainly it took a long time, but everything does at city hall—everything does; it always takes time.

We know the decision by council to accept the recommendation to increase the number of wards to 47 was appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board, and it's unfortunate that very little public attention has been given to that appeal. I say that because reading the witness statements and dissenting opinion by board member Blair Taylor reveal that the process was actually deeply flawed. Too few of those defending the 47-council model are aware of these details, which I'm going to highlight for people today.

First, the evidence presented absolutely refutes the notion that there was broad consultation. The reality is there were a mere 192 appearances at 12 public meetings, but submissions at the OMB hearings show that no one kept a record of how many of those 192 people showed up for multiple meetings. Likewise, the online survey conducted as part of the process garnered only about 600 responses. Again, Speaker, no record was kept to indicate if individuals submitted more than one response.

Andrew Sancton, a professor emeritus at Western University and a recognized expert in local government, provided a detailed witness statement that was highly critical of the process. I'd encourage members of the opposition to take time and read it because it demonstrates why reducing the size of council is definitely the right thing to do.

In terms of public participation in the boundary review, Sancton said, being charitable, there were maybe 2,000 people who participated, which he points out is about 0.1% of the city's 1.8 million electors in 2014. In the words of Professor Sancton, that means the recommendation to increase the size and cost of Toronto council is based on the views of "a tiny and self-selecting group of engaged citizens and city councillors." That's his quote, Speaker. With so few members of the public engaged, you can guess which group controlled the process and helped to steer it towards the outcome that best suited them. In Sancton's words, "the interests the

consultants ended up advancing were those of incumbent councillors and not the public interest." That is the professor's quote.

It's the interests of those same incumbent councillors that the opposition stands up for day after day after day in this House with their drive-by smears. On the other hand, Speaker, on this side of the House, we're standing up for the people. That's who we're standing up for.

Members of the opposition forget that our Premier, Premier Ford, spoke to thousands of Ontarians and thousands of Torontonians. The opposition can howl all they want, but that's a fact. Premier Ford is a Premier for the people. He listened to people during the campaign. He's listening to people, and that's what we're doing with this legislation.

You know what, Speaker? No one said that to me during the campaign. No one said that we need more politicians during the campaign. They said it to the Premier—no one said that to the Premier; no one said it to me.

On June 7, Ontarians gave our government a clear mandate: To reduce the size and cost of government, and that's exactly what we're doing with this piece of legislation. That's exactly what we're doing.

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: It's exactly what we're doing. They can howl all they want, but this is exactly what we're doing.

Let's get back to the OMB appeal where Professor Sancton devotes a great deal of his witness statement to the power of incumbency. He describes it as the most important winning attribute for a candidate seeking a seat on municipal council. The statistics bear that statement out. We know that in the 2014 Toronto municipal election, 36 of 37 incumbents who sought re-election were successful. In fact, over the last four city of Toronto elections, 93% of incumbent councillors were re-elected. So if you're an incumbent, knowing you've got those kinds of odds to keep your job, the last thing you're going to want is a reduction in the number of wards.

1430

It's for that reason that council, despite repeated attempts over the decades, has refused to act to reduce its numbers. The only way it was going to get done was if someone acted on behalf of taxpayers and did it for them. The power of incumbency is a stranglehold on the wards, according to Sancton, and the consultants who conducted the boundary review gave no indication that they understood "the debilitating effects of such strangleholds on the health of a municipal democracy." In other words, as I said earlier, real competition is good for democracy.

Do you know what else is good for democracy, Speaker? Voter parity, the concept that every ballot carries equal weight. This is not some abstract issue, but one that the Supreme Court of Canada itself addressed in the Carter decision. In that decision, the court held, "Deviations from absolute voter parity ... may be justified on the grounds of practical impossibility or the provision of more effective representation.... Beyond this, dilution

of one citizen's vote as compared with another's should not be countenanced." That's the quote.

The court was very clear: Parity must be a priority. Yet the recommendation from the review created a 47-ward system that was anything but equal. In assessing parity, anything 10% above or below the average population of a ward is considered the gold standard; 10% to 15% above or below is considered acceptable. Anything beyond that should only be used in special circumstances where balancing the population size of electoral districts, as the Supreme Court described, is a practical impossibility.

Under the 47-ward system, there would be four wards at 15%, one at 20% and two above 30%. That is a staggering one million people, 39% of the city's population, that fall outside that 15% standard.

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, I'm not surprised that the NDP don't want to listen to the facts. I'm not surprised that facts don't matter to the NDP. I believe that's unacceptable.

Was there something that made achieving voter parity in the 2018 election a practical impossibility? No. There was a model in place. In fact, to the members of the Legislative Assembly, it's the one that we're proposing in Bill 5, using the 25 federal and provincial boundaries. We're using that model. In this model, there would be three instances where a ward is plus or minus 10% of the average population, so we'll have voter parity now, not in eight, 12, or 16 or more years if we had maintained the 47-ward system.

It was largely as a result of the inherent unfairness of the 47-ward system that one of the three OMB members dissented on that appeal. I would note that the fact that one member of the OMB panel dissented was described by the Toronto Star as a rare move. Again, I want to encourage the opposition to take time to read that dissenting report from OMB member Blair S. Taylor. Taylor maintained that the key issue in the appeal wasn't how many wards or where the boundaries were drawn; it was about equality of the vote.

Here is what Blair wrote—

Interjection.

Hon. Steve Clark: Blair Taylor. You're right.

He wrote, "It is an appeal with regard to the restructuring of the city's wards to ensure that each citizen's vote is (relatively) equal to another citizen's vote, not just for the 2018 election, but for every decision that city council will make during that four-year term."

Speaker, it is important because it's not just on election day when one million citizens' votes count for less; it's every time a vote takes place at Toronto city council. It takes place every time.

Interjection.

Hon. Steve Clark: I know that the member for Hamilton was talking, so she might not have heard me, but it's every time a vote takes place at Toronto council.

After the city considered the variances in ward size that I referred to earlier, Taylor found, "Such variances

do not meet the conditions of effective representation that are set out" by the Supreme Court "inasmuch as the first criteria is relative parity of voting power and this member finds that relative parity is lacking in the revised 47-ward option, affecting the fundamental Charter-given right to vote for thousands of citizens of the city."

What did Taylor recommend? He wrote, "I find that the use of the" federal boundaries "would result in a fair election in 2018, that the continued use of the" federal boundaries "would provide the basis for future elections that are fair, that they will result in boundaries that are derived from regular, thorough, arm's-length, open public processes"—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Order, please. Order.

This cross-aisle banter isn't doing anybody well. I know it's like the last day of school and everybody is anxious to get out of here, but please, the members of the opposition who aren't in their designated chairs should either return or remain quiet; the same with the member from Sault Ste. Marie. None of this cross-aisle banter is helping anybody.

I return to the minister, please.

Hon. Steve Clark: Thanks, Speaker.

I wanted to do that quote from Mr. Taylor again. He wrote, "I find that the use of the" federal boundaries "would result in a fair election in 2018, that the continued use of the" federal boundaries "would provide the basis for future elections that are fair, that they will result in boundaries that are derived from regular, thorough, arm's-length, open public processes and which can be quickly, reliably, and relatively inexpensively adjusted and adopted by the city on an ongoing basis."

That sounds a lot like the conclusion that Professor Sancton reached in his compelling witness statement. His statement was, "Toronto's 2018 municipal election should be conducted such that there are 25 wards whose boundaries would correspond to the current federal boundaries which had been adopted by the province of Ontario for the 2018 provincial election"—in other words, the system I'm proposing right here in this proposed legislation, Bill 5.

Speaker, when you look at the Better Local Government Act in the context of the arguments presented by the OMB appeal, it's clear that, if passed, it would not only save taxpayers over \$25 million over four years, but it would also streamline council to make better decisions faster.

This legislation will also improve local democracy and representation by bringing over one million Torontonians into voter parity. I hope the members of the opposition will set aside their angry rhetoric and take a closer look at the compelling reasons to support this bill.

Throughout my time in public life, one thing has remained: I serve the people. As our Premier has said—and again, I want to make sure the NDP hears this quote from my Premier, Doug Ford: "Every politician at every level in every region needs to remember ... that we all

share the same boss. We all work for the people.” That’s a fantastic quote, Speaker.

That means people all over the province, and that’s why we’re also taking the opportunity to press the pause button on the regional government model and look at what works and what doesn’t work. This model has been in place for almost 50 years. The people no longer wear bell-bottom jeans or drive wood-panelled station wagons. Styles and vehicles have changed over that time, and I am certainly thankful that they have.

Regional municipalities have changed as well over that time. Take Peel region—and I know some members will agree with me. In Mississauga, Square One was surrounded by lush green fields when it was built in 1973. It’s a far cry from today, with condo towers and businesses within walking distance from that shopping centre. The population has grown, infrastructure pressures have increased, and taxpayers’ dollars are being stretched even further. We need to revisit the issues that the regions are facing, and the regional government model as a whole. We want to know what works in 2018 and what doesn’t, and we need to know what to do to make sure we have a model that works for the next 50 years.

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Next week, I’ll be at the Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference in Ottawa. It’s a wonderful opportunity to speak with local government representatives from all over the province. I’m honoured to be able to attend as Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing. That’s where we’ll start the—

Interruption.

Hon. Steve Clark: There you go. My minister is calling me.

At the AMO conference, we’ll start that informal dialogue with our municipal partners about the regions, because local representatives understand communities and they really have ideas to make regional government work harder, work smarter and more efficiently.

I know that many of our members from this side of the House—and again, I encourage members from the opposition and other members in this House to attend the Association of Municipalities of Ontario conference. I remember my first conference in 1983, after my election. I really enjoyed the interaction, not just with my municipal colleagues, but I also appreciated the fact that we had direct access to not only ministers but parliamentary assistants and members of the opposition. During my time at AMO, both as a member of their board and also as the president in 1989, I valued the discussion we had both with members of the government and members of the opposition.

Interjections.

Hon. Steve Clark: Again, regardless of the heckling or the rhetoric across, I encourage members to come to that conference and really feel the pulse of what is happening with our municipalities.

Speaker, I want to reiterate here that the proposed changes in the legislation before us will make Toronto

council more efficient and more effective. Aligning Toronto’s ward boundaries with provincial and federal riding boundaries makes sense. It simply makes sense.

As I look around this chamber, I see people who are passionate about their communities and who do an excellent job representing their constituents. I urge each and every one of you to support this bill.

Our federal colleagues share the same riding boundaries. I have no doubt, Speaker, that those same boundaries that our federal colleagues represent and that we represent as provincial colleagues—I’m sure that those Toronto councillors will represent those same riding boundaries in the same way we do.

Thank you, Speaker. I appreciate the third reading debate.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Ms. Andrea Horwath: I want to start by saying that Bill 5 is yet another example of the Conservative government in Ontario, the newly elected Conservative government, dragging our province backwards and taking us from bad to worse here in Ontario. It is incredibly disappointing to see a government, newly elected, ram this bill, Bill 5, through the House without consultation and without going through the committee process.

We all know what Bill 5 is. Bill 5 is a vindictive law and a blatant abuse of power by this new Premier. New Democrats are very, very proud to have fought for public hearings on Bill 5, but we are deeply saddened that this government chose to deny Ontarians the right to be heard.

Not only is Bill 5 meddling with elections that are already under way, something that is completely outrageous and completely foreign to a long-standing democracy like we have in Ontario and like we have in Canada—I mean, it is really quite shocking that a government thinks that its responsibility is to take away the power of voters in the midst of an election campaign. It is absolutely astounding. But we are proud to have done what we can do on behalf of Torontonians and people in Peel and people in York and people in Niagara and people in the Muskoka region to be able to have some control over their local democracies, because this anti-democratic bill does exactly that. We were able to delay that a little bit, but the Premier and his team decided that shutting down the voices of the people and shutting down the democratic right for people to participate in not only their local democracy, but in this place, in this chamber, by ramming this bill forward without any public debate—it’s something that will be a negative mark, an ugly mark on this government for its entire four years in office, because that’s all it’s getting. Every day, more and more Ontarians are filling up the inboxes, mailboxes and voice mails of our MPPs here on the opposition benches—and if it’s happening to us, it’s happening to you too—with their opposition to this bill.

New Democrats are proud to stand with the citizens that oppose Bill 5 because Bill 5 is absolutely an assault on local democracy. The people of Ontario actually care

about democracy. We jealously protect our democracy. We have respect for voters, and that's not something that the Premier has indicated that he has. He disrespects democracy and he disrespects the voters. But we do. We respect them. We respect Ontarians, regardless of their political stripes.

It's interesting that New Democrats, Liberals and even long-time Conservatives alike care passionately about the independence and autonomy of our local governments. People of all stripes are very concerned with this anti-democratic measure that is coming through the Legislature—swift, swift, swift—because this government has decided to shut down any kind of discussion or debate.

That's why the Premier's actions are so shocking and outrageous. This bill strikes at who we are as Ontarians. It strikes at the very heart of who we are as Canadians. It strikes at the values that we have collectively held for 151 years. That is what this bill does. It is a shame on this government that they would bring this kind of maneuver forward. So we are proud to stand up with the people of Toronto and with the voters across Ontario to demand that the Premier start showing some respect to voters and to all of our communities.

The way that Toronto is governed, the size of city council and the number of wards in this city are decisions that belong to the people who live here. Those are decisions that belong to the people who live here, or they should be. The people of Niagara, of Peel, of York and of Muskoka deserve the right to elect their regional chairs. In fact, the Conservatives used to believe that, too. They believed that, actually not too long ago, but now, all of a sudden, they have power, and there's an initiative that the Premier was more interested in. That initiative has to do with some enemy of his that he really wanted to kneecap. That's why this legislation includes pulling away the right of people to elect their regional chair in a municipal election.

Talk about going backwards. Talk about dragging us backwards, taking away people's right to vote for their regional chairs. Really? That was an advancement that was a long time coming and should have happened a long time ago, but this government gets elected and takes away people's right to vote for their regional chair. It's absolutely, absolutely backwards. It steals that power away from people and it puts that power in the hands of the Premier: the power to decide what these councils look like, particularly the city of Toronto's council, but also what's happening at the regional level.

Bill 5 is not about helping the people of Ontario. It is the most anti-democratic action that we have seen in this province for many, many years. It is a move, plain and simple, to make it easier for—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): The member for York Centre will return to his designated seat, please. Thank you very much.

Continue.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: It is a move to make it easier for a drunk-on-power Premier to control the city of To-

ronto, to control city hall. It is an act of political revenge against the Premier's political opponents and it is an act designed to punish the people of Toronto, the city that has rejected this Premier time and time again.

There are so many reasons to oppose this legislation. New Democrats are very, very proud to stand in opposition to this bill. We stand opposed to this bill because the Premier has no mandate to pass this legislation and steal power away from voters. He cooked up this plot in a backroom. He consulted nobody about it. He hid it from the people of Ontario during the entire election campaign. That whole 28 or 29 days the Premier could have been upfront and honest about his plan to shrink Toronto city council and to take away the democratic rights of voters to vote for their regional chairs but he didn't say a word and now he pretends that he was talking about it all along. Well, that's just balderdash, I would say. Anybody who paid attention during that campaign knows that it's balderdash. He hid it from the people for the entire campaign.

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This is, by definition, a hidden agenda, Speaker. By keeping it secret from the people of Ontario, this Premier has absolutely no mandate to impose it. He has no mandate to impose his will on the people of Toronto or on the people of Niagara, Peel, York or Muskoka.

We stand opposed to this bill. The Premier has no right to abuse the powers of his office and interfere in municipal elections in the middle of a campaign without any consultation.

Now, there are many countries around the world that struggle to find the path to democracy. Our Premier is taking us off the path to democracy. Our Premier is taking away the rights of people to vote. It is unbelievable, Speaker.

We stand opposed to this bill because the Premier should not be using his office to take revenge on his political opponents. The idea that we can have a Premier newly elected and one of his first acts is to take his political opponents down—your first act is to take your political opponents down—is a very chilling thing and it speaks a lot about the integrity of this Premier.

We stand opposed to this bill because the Premier should not be making it harder for voters to voice their opinions. The bottom line, Speaker, is this: The Premier wants to control city hall from Queen's Park, something he couldn't do by getting elected there. So instead he's pulling—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): The member for Markham–Stouffville will come to order. Thank you.

Please continue.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: Instead he's pulling the power into his office here at Queen's Park. Why, Speaker? Well, I think there might be another hidden agenda afoot and we'll see it play out very, very clearly. He's meddling in the elections because he wants to make it easier to cut the services that families in Toronto expect

to be provided. He wants to privatize the TTC, so the best way to do that is to take control of city council and privatize the TTC. He wants to meddle in local planning and give his developer friends the farm. He wants to privatize Toronto Hydro. He wants to—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Point of order?

Mrs. Robin Martin: Point of order, Mr. Speaker: The member opposite, the Leader of the Opposition, is imputing motive contrary to standing order—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): It may be, but I can't hear her because of the noise from the government bench. Thank you for your point of order.

Please continue. You have a few more seconds.

Ms. Andrea Horwath: He wants to pave over the greenbelt. In this case, Tory friends are going to get rich instead of Liberal friends and we have no change for the better for the people of Ontario.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Ms. Mitzie Hunter: I do want to acknowledge I'll be sharing my time with the member from Don Valley West and the member from Ottawa—Vanier.

Mr. Speaker, today is a sad day. This bill, Bill 5, is an affront to democracy. We know that the people of Toronto elected their mayor and council to represent them, to duly represent the people and the concerns that they have. We are concerned about the government moving forward without consulting the people who have elected their representatives.

I submitted my reasoned amendment that really does demonstrate the lack of consultation and asked the government to consider consulting with the people of Toronto on the impact of this drastic decision of slashing their council in half. That has been categorically rejected by this government. In fact, they have created ways of accelerating this process to stifle debate and to silence people so that they can ram through their own agenda on their own time.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Toronto will not forget this action. The people of Toronto will remember this Conservative government for not listening to them, for not consulting them and for really—many people ask me, “Why is this being done?” Frankly, they have no memory of the government even suggesting this during the course of the election, because they didn't suggest it.

They have come up with this overnight decision that is affecting the lives of almost three million people. The people of Scarborough—Guildwood have elected me to this Legislature for five years, Mr. Speaker. I just passed my fifth anniversary on August 1, 2018, and that was Emancipation Day. So I don't take democracy lightly. It is something that was hard fought for and it has meaning. It has purpose.

Yesterday I asked a question of the Premier, and in a very demeaning way he said to me, “You were only elected by 60 votes.” Mr. Speaker, I was actually elected by 74 votes, and do you know what? I am humbled to be

given the opportunity to serve the people of my riding for another term, for a third term, because this is a privilege. This is not to be taken lightly. The people elect us to serve in the best interests of the people, not of themselves and each other.

So I say to the Premier: Respect democracy. Respect each and every single voter who takes the time to cast a vote for the person that they choose to represent. Respect the city of Toronto when an election is in process, since May of this year. When candidates have signed up and registered, you ripped the rug from under them and insert your own process that is ill-defined and everybody is sent scrambling.

Look at the school boards. Look at the chaos that it's going to create by not having appropriately balanced and distributed representation at that level, and the complexity of our separate school boards with our Catholic school board, as well as our French-language school board. How are we going to reconcile fairness for the resources and the allocation that are needed, when everything is being done in a rushed manner over the course of this summer because this government has an agenda that they have not shared with anyone? They have not consulted with anyone, and they have rushed the legislative process to achieve their own objectives.

Mr. Speaker, I respect local democracy. I respect each and every voter who has sent us here to represent their interests. I expect that the government of the day should do the same. It is a sad day when we have to sit in this Legislature and vote down local democracy. It is a sad day.

I want to make sure that my colleagues have an opportunity to speak, but I want the people of Toronto to know that their voice matters, that we're here to represent them and we will never stop fighting for their interests and to support their causes and their concerns despite a government that has turned their backs on Toronto today with this Bill 5.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Ms. Kathleen O. Wynne: I just wanted to add a couple of words to what my colleague has said. The common assumption is that because I was elected in 2003, I have been a representative in government since that time until this previous election. But in fact, I feel as though I did an eight-year term in opposition when Mike Harris was the Premier, because I spent more time in this House arguing against the anti-democratic imposition of policies of that government than I would have even if I had been a member. There's a “déjà vu all over again” aspect to this, Mr. Speaker.

The toxic relationship that developed between the provincial government and municipalities in those years, between 1995 and 2003, has taken years to undo. The imposition of amalgamations of school boards and municipalities, the downloading of costs onto municipalities, all of that had to be undone when we came to office.

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What really disturbs me about what is happening today is that this vendetta, this vindictive attitude towards

Toronto that has come up—again, out of the blue, because as the Leader of the Opposition and my colleague from Scarborough—Guildwood have said, there was no mention of this in the election campaign. Trust me, Mr. Speaker; I spent a lot of time with Mr. Ford in debates. There was no mention of this in the election campaign.

Mr. Speaker, we—we as a society, we as a government—should have learned from what happened when Mike Harris broke that relationship between municipalities and provincial government. He broke it so that it didn't work. Infrastructure didn't get built. Good practices in that relationship were gone because of the bullying of the provincial government, and we worked very hard to undo that.

I stand with my colleagues in support of the people of Toronto. This is a vindictive act, but more concerning, this is an example of chaotic, erratic governance that is not based in evidence. It's not based in good relationships and it's not based in solid policy. We are in dangerous waters here, and what I will say is that I will continue to stand, as I have since 1995, against this kind of erratic, broken relationship with municipalities. It doesn't work. We should have learned from it, and it's very, very wrong.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

M^{me} Nathalie Des Rosiers: I want to make three quick points after my two colleagues. In 2001, AMO signed a memorandum of understanding with the province of Ontario. It further added a new protocol in 2004, and in 2005 the Municipal Act was amended to provide that the province of Ontario endorses the principle of ongoing consultation between the province and municipalities in relation to any matter that affects a municipality. My point as critic for municipal affairs—that's the first thing I read, the act, and I thought, "Oh, well, they can't do that." You cannot go ahead and change something without consulting the municipality that is affected.

Second point: I had the legislative library do a little bit of research for me. I asked them, "Has it ever been done in Ontario or in Canada to change the rules, to introduce a bill changing the rules on elections, while an election has been called?" The answer? Never. It had never been done in Ontario. They looked at every province, and this has never been done.

My last point, Mr. Speaker, is this: My message to the government is simple. It's not because you can that you should do it. Democracy is a fragile thing. All around the world, people look to Parliaments around them to see what's acceptable and what's not acceptable. You did not campaign on this. You did not consult on this. You're not having committee on this. You should not do this. New governance and voter parity may be a good idea, but this is not the way to do it. I urge you to continue to respect municipalities, to respect Torontonians, to respect Ontarians and to respect our democratic traditions. It's a sad day for democracy.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Mr. Mike Schreiner: I rise today to ask members of this House to join me in voting against Bill 5. I think members opposite will agree that serving people is the most important job we have as elected—I emphasize "elected"—representatives. As a matter of fact, it's what elected representation is all about. It is why we actually have budgets for constituency offices, so that we can help the people who we serve.

I believe in putting service above self and above party. In fact, serving people is one of the core values of the Green Party. We also believe deeply in local democracy, and Bill 5 fails on both accounts. It is undemocratic for the Premier to interfere in local elections after campaigns have already begun. It's undemocratic for the Premier to cancel local elections in Peel, Muskoka, Niagara and York regions. It's a slap in the face to the people living in Toronto and the regions to have their local elections interfered with in the middle of the campaign. It's a slap in the face to people all across this province to make such a major change to our democracy without holding any consultations. And it's a slap in the face to our democratic traditions to ram this through this House without holding committee hearings on such a significant piece of legislation.

So, Mr. Speaker, why is the Premier refusing to hold committee hearings on this bill? Why is the Premier refusing to consult the people of this province? Why is the Premier afraid to hear from the people on this bill, the people that we were elected to serve?

The Green Party believes that people must have their voices heard on how local democracy works and how government can best serve them. When the Premier interferes with local elections, he recklessly and dangerously departs from our democratic traditions.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the members opposite to think long and hard about the precedent they are about to set. Are they comfortable opening the door to other intrusions in local elections? The members opposite may be supporting radical change in Toronto today, but what if the next Premier turns his or her attention to the municipalities they work in? Think about a future majority government interfering in local elections in Brockville, Ajax, Whitby, Vaughan, North Bay or any number of municipalities across the province.

I know the members opposite have their marching orders, but now is the time to stand up for democracy, and I know there are members opposite who care deeply about democracy. I invite them to do the right thing. Put the people you were elected to serve, the people you were elected to represent, before your leader's political games.

The motto of "Service before self" guides me. I believe that every member in this House recognizes that serving people is our highest job priority. Much of that work of helping people never makes it into the headlines: helping a family find a long-term-care bed for an aging parent, or helping a person with disabilities navigate the bureaucracy to get the services they deserve. This kind of personal service places even greater demands on municipal councillors because local service affects people's everyday lives more directly.

Just the other day, I was talking about this with a councillor friend of mine in Guelph. He told me the story of a young mother who was on social assistance. She had a toddler and new baby twins, and was having to push them with a stroller onto the municipal bus in Guelph. She was told that she had to fold the stroller up for safety reasons. I don't know about the rest of you; I've had to juggle kids, and the thought of having a toddler and two twins and trying to fold the stroller seems about impossible. This is especially important for somebody without a car. So she called transit. She talked to the bus driver. She talked and talked and talked with city staff and got nowhere because she was told that those were the rules. So she reached out to her municipal councillor, who took the time to meet with her, who took the time to meet with transit staff, who took the time to form meetings with city staff until they all worked out a solution so this woman could ride on the bus with her children.

1510

It's that kind of personal service that transforms people's lives, and it's that kind of personal service that is very hard for councillors when they have 60,000 residents whom they serve. Imagine trying to do it with 120,000. It's going to be near impossible to deliver that kind of service.

I want to remind the members opposite that it was actually the Premier's own brother who rode to the mayorship of Toronto delivering that kind of public service to his constituents, and it will be incredibly difficult for any Toronto city councillor to ever deliver that kind of public service given the changes this government is about ready to make. I ask the members opposite: Will they stand up for local democracy? Will they stand up for putting their constituents first?

People in communities across Ontario expect a high level of customer service. There is a reason that there is no municipality in Ontario that will have council ward sizes as large as what the government is proposing here. It's because they know that that level of service will not be able to be provided. I ask, is this what the members opposite really want?

What will have to happen is that in order to deliver service, there will have to be more bureaucrats hired. So what the Premier is actually proposing is replacing elected representatives with bureaucrats. I know there's been a lot of talk about knocking on doors, but I don't think I've ever knocked on a door where a person has told me they want more bureaucracy and fewer elected representatives to serve them. But that's exactly what's going to happen with Bill 5.

I believe Bill 5 is a bad bill. I believe Bill 5 is undemocratic. I believe Bill 5 undermines customer service. And I believe Bill 5 should be rejected.

This vote is a test. The Premier has a habit of putting ideology over evidence in the decisions he makes. Whether it's ripping up contracts or repealing curriculums or scrapping climate action or cancelling social programs, this Premier's leadership style is to cut first and think later. But I believe the people of Toronto

deserve better. The people of the regions deserve better. They do not deserve to permanently lose half of their elected representatives. They do not deserve to have their local democracy upended after the campaigns have already started.

I will ask one final time: Will the members opposite put people before party? Will they put their constituents before their leader and will they vote against Bill 5?

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Further debate?

Pursuant to the order of the House dated August 14, 2018, I am now required to put the question.

Mr. Clark has moved third reading of Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? I heard a no.

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. This will be a 15-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1515 to 1530.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Mr. Clark has moved third reading of Bill 5, An Act to amend the City of Toronto Act, 2006, the Municipal Act, 2001 and the Municipal Elections Act, 1996.

All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

Ayes

Anand, Deepak	Hogarth, Christine	Phillips, Rod
Baber, Roman	Jones, Sylvia	Piccini, David
Babikian, Aris	Kanapathi, Logan	Rasheed, Kaleed
Bailey, Robert	Karahallos, Belinda	Roberts, Jeremy
Barrett, Toby	Ke, Vincent	Romano, Ross
Bethlenfalvy, Peter	Khanjin, Andrea	Sabawy, Sheref
Bouma, Will	Kramp, Daryl	Sandhu, Amarjot
Calandra, Paul	Kusendova, Natalia	Scott, Laurie
Cho, Raymond Sung Joon	Lecoe, Stephen	Simard, Amanda
Cho, Stan	MacLeod, Lisa	Singh Sarkaria, Prabmeet
Clark, Steve	Martin, Robin	Skelly, Donna
Coe, Lorne	Martow, Gila	Smith, Dave
Crawford, Stephen	McDonell, Jim	Smith, Todd
Cuzzetto, Rudy	McKenna, Jane	Surma, Kinga
Downey, Doug	McNaughton, Monte	Tangri, Nina
Dunlop, Jill	Miller, Norman	Thanigasalam, Vijay
Fedeli, Victor	Mitas, Christina Maria	Thompson, Lisa M.
Fee, Amy	Mulroney, Caroline	Tibollo, Michael A.
Ford, Doug	Nicholls, Rick	Wai, Daisy
Fullerton, Merrilee	Oosterhoff, Sam	Walker, Bill
Ghamari, Goldie	Pang, Billy	Wilson, Jim
Gill, Parm	Park, Lindsey	Yakabuski, John
Hardeman, Ernie	Parsa, Michael	Yurek, Jeff
Harris, Mike	Pettapiece, Randy	

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): All those opposed to the motion will now stand one at a time until recognized by the Clerk.

Nays

Andrew, Jill	Gélinas, France	Rakocevic, Tom
Armstrong, Teresa J.	Glover, Chris	Schreiner, Mike
Arthur, Ian	Hassan, Faisal	Shaw, Sandy

Begum, Doly	Horwath, Andrea	Singh, Gurratan
Bell, Jessica	Hunter, Miltzie	Singh, Sara
Berns-McGown, Rima	Kernaghan, Terence	Stevens, Jennifer (Jennie)
Bisson, Gilles	Lalonde, Marie-France	Stiles, Marit
Bourgouin, Guy	Lindo, Laura Mae	Tabuns, Peter
Des Rosiers, Nathalie	Mamakwa, Sol	Taylor, Monique
Fife, Catherine	Mantha, Michael	Vanthof, John
Fraser, John	Miller, Paul	West, Jamie
French, Jennifer K.	Monteith-Farrell, Judith	Wynne, Kathleen O.
Gates, Wayne	Morrison, Suze	Yarde, Kevin

The Clerk of the Assembly (Mr. Todd Decker): The ayes are 71; the nays are 39.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): I declare the motion carried.

Be it resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

Third reading agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): Orders of the day. I recognize the government House leader.

Hon. Todd Smith: Speaker, as much as we all want to stay, I move adjournment of the House.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Percy Hatfield): The government has moved adjournment of the House. Is it in favour that the motion carry? Motion carried.

This House stands adjourned until 10:30 a.m. on September 24, 2018.

The House adjourned at 1535.

TAB 9



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Lundi 13 décembre 1999

Speaker
Honourable Gary Carr

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable Gary Carr

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 13 December 1999

ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lundi 13 décembre 1999

*The House met at 1330.
Prayers.*

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

MINISTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, CULTURE AND RECREATION PUBLICATION

Ms Caroline Di Cocco (Sarnia-Lambton): Today I rise in this House to show how this government provides unreliable information to the people of Ontario.

I have a cover letter with a booklet from Minister Johns stating how the effective use of information technology would have a strong, positive impact on voluntary organizations. She has sent me this booklet that in turn I am to send to organizations in my constituency. The book is called *Moving Your Group On Line*, published and printed by the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation. According to Minister Johns's letter, this guide will be a valuable tool in helping volunteer groups to work more effectively.

I will not be promoting or handing out this ministry's publication because of a disclaimer on the back of the book. This disclaimer states that the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation and the government of Ontario are not responsible for what is in the book. The ministry says it's providing this information for the people of Ontario, and this guide is touted as the government of Ontario's commitment to helping the volunteer sector and its organizations. Yet they have misled volunteer organizations by providing information that the ministry says is unreliable. I believe that volunteer groups should be provided reliable information that they can depend on and trust.

If the ministry publishes and writes a book but is not responsible for the currency or accuracy of it, then why did they publish it in the first place?

SCHOOL PRAYER

Mr R. Gary Stewart (Peterborough): In the spring of 1996 I put forward a private member's resolution in this House, a resolution that emphasized the importance of being able to express one's spiritual expression in our public schools. Regardless of what religion, time should be set aside each day for prayer and reflection.

You can imagine my concern when I learned that three judges of the Ontario Court of Appeal recently overturned a lower-court ruling and barred the reciting of Christian prayers at council sessions in Penetanguishene. Whether at town councils or in our schools, I strongly believe in the necessity to have some defined time set aside for daily spiritual expression.

We have in Ontario different religions, and the children in our schools deserve the right to worship in whatever way they choose. I believe the banning of Christian prayers, or spiritual expressions of any kind, in schools or in council meetings is a loss to our wellbeing. After all, this has been a part of our heritage since the beginning of time.

The importance and need of spirituality is increasing. Just take a look at the society in which we live. People don't feel safe to walk on our streets alone at night; some kids bring weapons to school just to protect themselves; rapists terrorize entire neighborhoods.

As we approach a new millennium, let us take a moment to reflect on the moral standards that we've witnessed from the beginning of this century and compare them to 1999. Let's stand up to this trend of moral and ethical decay, and reverse its growth. Let's stand up for the traditions and the values that have determined who we are today, so that we can rest assured with whom we'll become tomorrow.

MUNICIPAL TAXATION

Mr George Smitherman (Toronto Centre-Rosedale): Today I rise today to defend the rights of Ontario municipalities, rights that are being severely compromised by the Mike Harris government.

The Harris government likes to portray itself as a tax-fighting government, but the real story is that its political agenda simply downloads the responsibility for tax increases to local governments. It's not that they don't raise taxes, it's just that they never have to bear the bad news themselves.

A few years ago, this government amended the Planning Act, allowing developers to go over the heads of municipal governments directly to the OMB. As a result, municipalities across the greater Toronto area are now forced to spend millions of tax dollars on lawyers to defend their legitimate claims before the board—not services, but lawyers.

Now, we all know that there is only one source of funding at the municipalities' disposal—that's property

taxes. The municipalities are forced to raise these taxes to defend themselves against the government's good friends in the development industry.

Indeed, the township of Uxbridge will be forced into double-digit tax increases to pay for their lawyers. The Harris government is responsible for this tax increase. But the saddest part of the story is that the government is forcing municipalities to raise taxes to protect the environment. Uxbridge has to raise taxes to fight against development on the Oak Ridges moraine. I doubt you'll find that in the Blueprint.

None of this should come as a surprise. After all, this government has shown nothing but contempt for local governments and local democracy since the day it assumed office.

I call on the government to set up a fund to pay municipalities' legal bills for OMB hearings. Of course, they have another option. They could take our advice and provide a comprehensive policy to protect environmentally sensitive areas like the Oak Ridges moraine.

ELLWOOD MADILL

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel-Wellington-Grey): I rise today to pay tribute to Ellwood Madill, a community leader in my riding who passed away on December 5. Mr. Madill was a long-time political representative who was well respected in the Dufferin area.

Mr Madill enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1942 and served as a flying officer in Canada and England until 1945. Following the war, Mr Madill moved to Mono and had a successful career with Mutual of Canada insurance. He later established Madill Financial Services in the town of Mono, a family business that is still operated today.

1340

In the 1960s our community elected Mr Madill as the federal Conservative member of Parliament, where he served three terms for the people of my riding. In local politics, he has also served as a councillor and deputy reeve of the town of Mono. He was elected as warden of Dufferin county and has served on numerous community committees.

Mr Madill was a life member of the Orangeville branch of the Royal Canadian Legion and the Orangeville Lions Club, a director of the Maple Cattle Breeders Association, as well as an active supporter of the Orangeville Fall Fair.

Mr Madill is survived by his wife, Thelma, his son, Grant, and daughters Patricia and Janet. He will be missed by his six grandchildren, his two brothers, Robert and Tom, and his sister, Mildred.

I welcome the opportunity today to rise and offer my sympathy to the family. I know I speak for many in my riding when I say that my community has lost a great community leader, friend, business owner and devoted family man.

MUNICIPAL RESTRUCTURING

Mr Dominic Agostino (Hamilton East): I rise today to point out another major flaw and problem in Bill 25, the mega-omnibus bill this government is going to ram through the Legislature sometime this week. Today we begin debate on this bill, a bill that impacts many municipalities in a very significant way across this province.

What the government has left out is any reference to transitional funding for the communities that are affected. As you know, in the city of Toronto there was transitional funding to the tune of \$250 million. Similar funding has been provided across Ontario.

The special adviser, Mr O'Brien, recommended \$10 million for Hamilton-Wentworth. By our calculation, based on the Toronto formula, Hamilton-Wentworth should receive \$50 million in transitional funding if you are going to ram this bill through the Legislature in this week, as you plan to do. If this is not done, it's going to leave the new city with a debt of \$50 million starting January 1, 2001. This transitional funding is important because it is needed for restructuring costs, severance packages and consultants, as has been done across the province when communities have restructured.

There are many flaws in this bill. You're going to ram this bill, as it is, through the House without consulting people. You're going to ram it through with all its flaws and its faults, but I urge you, before the end of the week and before the bill is passed, to make an announcement in regard to transitional funding for our communities.

Hamilton-Wentworth needs and deserves the \$50 million. We are not second-class citizens. We should not be treated differently than Toronto and other communities. I urge the government to do the right thing. Introduce the funding and let us get on. If you're going to ram it through, give us a head start and don't put us in the hole.

MILLENNIUM MEMENTO

Mr Peter Kormos (Niagara Centre): Down in Niagara, students are ticked off, to put it mildly. Last week students at E.L. Crossley Secondary School had their student council meeting and they decided unanimously that this province can take their millennium books and—they have marked 600 of them "Return to sender." They brought them down to my constituency office this morning.

Students James Sandham, Ars Mazmanian, Amber Ebert and Carmi Sgambelluri, all executive members of that council, using a spare, drove to my office with 600 copies of this millennium book. They first noted the paucity of secondary school content, but at the end of the day the issue was that \$2.5 million worth of government propaganda later, they've still got shortages in teaching staff, they've got shortages in extracurricular programs, they've got shortages in textbooks, they've got shortages in library supplies.

Shame on this government. What an obscenity when students have to stand up for their rights for adequate

funding for education and this government wants to blow \$2.5 million on propaganda, with another \$300,000 set for edition number 2.

The students suggest that it might have been more appropriate for the government to lend support, let's say, to student council yearbooks by way of sponsoring a millennium page. What a good suggestion. Unfortunately, this government isn't about to consider it.

ANDREW MURPHY

Mr John O'Toole (Durham): It's with a tremendous amount of respect and admiration that I stand in the House today to relay the actions of Andrew Murphy, a young man from my riding of Durham.

This past week, the Ontario Community Newspaper Association announced that this 13-year-old grade 8 student from the village of Newcastle in the municipality of Clarington is one of the Ontario Junior Citizens of the Year. The junior citizen award can be given to up to 12 young people between the ages of 6 and 18 each year.

I want to tell the people of Ontario of the remarkable courage and selflessness that Andrew displayed on the night of May 10. That evening, Andrew's father, Rick, suffered an aneurysm. Andrew applied CPR to his father until the ambulance arrived. Unfortunately, his father passed away later that evening.

On the drive home with one of his neighbours, Mrs Cathy Morrison, Andrew noticed smoke coming from another home in the neighbourhood. Insisting that something was wrong and that it wasn't fog, he insisted they stop the car. They witnessed the garage of Gord and Beverly Jeeves on fire. Mrs Morrison awoke her husband Ted, an off-duty firefighter, who got the family safely out while she called 911.

Thanks to Andrew's awareness and persistence, the Jeeves and their two children escaped without injury. Andrew will be presented with a plaque from the lieutenant governor this coming spring.

I'd like to offer my condolences to Andrew, his mother Lyn and the entire Murphy family for their loss.

Andrew's selfless actions that evening remind each of us of the fragile interdependence we have in a sharing community.

HOUSE SITTINGS

Mr Dwight Duncan (Windsor-St Clair): Today marks the 27th day that the Ontario Legislature has sat in the calendar year 1999.

I remember members of the government bragging, some two years ago, about the number of days we sat. How times have changed.

We do not have the opportunity to question ministers effectively all the time. We've had estimates curtailed in debate. We've had budget debate curtailed. We are getting more and more omnibus bills, bills that have sections in them that are not related and that are simply designed to prevent meaningful discussion.

In the last 10 years, we have had dramatic rule changes that have curtailed the opposition's ability to effectively participate in the affairs of this province and have conferred greater and greater powers on the executive.

We have had fewer days in committee in the last two years. It keeps going down and down.

Is it any wonder that the opposition gets a bit rowdy? Is it any wonder that the tenor of debate drifts downward year after year? I suggest it's due to a government that doesn't want to face the people and doesn't want to discuss issues, and I think it's time everyone in the government started showing up for question period.

AGRICULTURE INDUSTRY

Mr John O'Toole (Durham): It's important to rise today and pay respect to the agriculture community in my riding of Durham.

Over the past weekend I had a number of calls. Indeed, I might say for the record that I called a number of people who are involved in the agriculture sector in Durham riding: Mr Ted Watson, who runs a horticultural field crop operation, Mr David Frew, who runs a very large farm operation and other members in the community were concerned that agriculture is the top issue at the moment in this province.

They were also ready to commend our Premier for his decisive position when dealing with our federal Liberal government and the inequity that's shared by the farmers of Ontario with respect to their 23% of output and yet only 16% share of the safety net programs.

I want to make sure the constituents I have mentioned, and all the farmers in my riding, are being listened to by our Premier. I can certainly assure them that I will be standing on their behalf and dealing with our Minister of Agriculture, the honourable Ernie Hardeman. I can assure them that our minister is listening.

MOTIONS

HOUSE SITTINGS

Hon Frank Klees (Minister without Portfolio): I move that pursuant to standing order 9(c)i, the House shall meet from 6:45 pm to 9:30 pm on December 13, 14 and 15, 1999, for the purpose of considering government business.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say aye.

All those opposed will please say nay.

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

The motion is carried.

Hon Mr Klees: I move that pursuant to standing order 9(c)(ii) the House shall meet from 6:45 pm to 12 am on

Thursday, December 16, 1999, for the purpose of considering government business.

The Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

DEFERRED VOTES

MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND LONG-TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1999

LOI DE 1999 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LE MINISTÈRE DE LA SANTÉ ET DES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Deferred vote on the motion for third reading of Bill 23, An Act to amend certain statutes administered by the Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care in relation to supporting and managing the health care system / Projet de loi 23, Loi modifiant certaines lois dont l'application relève du ministère de la Santé et des Soins de longue durée en ce qui concerne le soutien et la gestion du système de soins de santé.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1351 to 1356.

The Speaker: All those in favour will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

Ayes

Arnott, Ted	Hodgson, Chris	Skarica, Toni
Baird, John R.	Jackson, Cameron	Snobelen, John
Barrett, Toby	Johns, Helen	Spina, Joseph
Chudleigh, Ted	Johnson, Bert	Sterling, Norman W.
Clark, Brad	Kells, Morley	Stewart, R. Gary
Clement, Tony	Klees, Frank	Stockwell, Chris
Coburn, Brian	Marland, Margaret	Tascona, Joseph N.
Cunningham, Dianne	Martiniuk, Gerry	Tilson, David
DeFaria, Carl	Maves, Bart	Tsubouchi, David H.
Dunlop, Garfield	Mazzilli, Frank	Turnbull, David
Ecker, Janet	Munro, Julia	Wettlaufer, Wayne
Elliott, Brenda	Mushinski, Marilyn	Wilson, Jim
Eves, Ernie L.	Newman, Dan	Witmer, Elizabeth
Galt, Doug	O'Toole, John	Wood, Bob
Gilchrist, Steve	Quellette, Jerry J.	Young, David
Gill, Raminder	Palladini, Al	
Hastings, John	Runciman, Robert W.	

The Speaker: All those opposed will please rise and be recognized by the Clerk.

Nays

Agostino, Dominic	Cleary, John C.	Kwinter, Monte
Bartolucci, Rick	Colle, Mike	Marchese, Rosario
Bisson, Gilles	Conway, Sean G.	Martel, Shelley
Bountrogianni, Marie	Curling, Alvin	McGuinty, Dalton
Boyer, Claudette	Di Cocco, Caroline	McLeod, Lyn
Brown, Michael A.	Dombrowsky, Leona	Parsons, Ernie
Bryant, Michael	Duncan, Dwight	Phillips, Gerry
Caplan, David	Hampton, Howard	Sergio, Mario
Christopherson, David	Hoy, Pat	Smitherman, George
Churley, Marilyn	Kormos, Peter	

Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers): The ayes are 49; the nays are 29.

The Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Be it resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

1400

ORAL QUESTIONS

LIQUOR CONTROL BOARD OF ONTARIO

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Leader of the Opposition): My first question today is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. We learned of some very disturbing revelations during the course of the weekend. We learned that the man running the LCBO has been accepting free trips around the world paid for by liquor suppliers, we learned that he has used his office to give a select few special access to rare wines sold by the LCBO, and we've also learned that he has accepted stock options worth over \$140,000 from a promoter of Italian wines. The man who is doing all of this is Andy Brandt, the former leader of your party, the former leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party.

Mr Brandt is saying there is absolutely nothing wrong with this behaviour. Do you agree with your former leader, Minister, that there is absolutely nothing wrong with this scandalous behaviour?

Hon Robert W. Runciman (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): Upon hearing of these allegations and the investigation—I think we can characterize it as an investigation—by the Toronto Star, I did ask my deputy minister to investigate what the Star was suggesting had occurred. The deputy has reported back to me, after a review of the allegations and the existing policies and procedures that have been in place for some 10 years, that Mr Brandt and the LCBO conducted themselves appropriately.

Mr McGuinty: That is very interesting news to the people of this Legislature and the people of Ontario. We are talking here about the largest buyer and retailer of booze in the world, \$2.3 billion in annual sales, and you are now telling us, Minister, that it is perfectly acceptable for the man in charge of the LCBO to accept free trips to exotic locales worldwide paid for, subsidized by and financed by a select few suppliers of booze. Apparently there is nothing wrong with that, that puts him in no conflict of interest whatsoever, and it does nothing to take the playing field from being level, according to your standards.

Minister, tell us again: How could it possibly be, given this behaviour, that you are telling us that applying your standards, there is nothing at all wrong with this?

Hon Mr Runciman: This is another example of the Liberal Party using the Toronto Star as its basis for questions in this House. The Toronto Star is renowned, as far as this party is concerned, for being long on innuendo and short on fact. This is another case in point.

They mention a specific example about favouritism, and in fact the market share in Ontario of the company that is referred to in the article is virtually identical to their worldwide market share. So to suggest in this House and to reiterate an allegation made in the Toronto Star is, I would suggest, lowbrow character assassination of a very fine public servant.

Mr McGuinty: It's perfectly clear now that you have decided you're just going to dig your heels in on this one. That's all you intend to do, notwithstanding that it is perfectly obvious to any objective observer that this is totally unacceptable behaviour. We're talking about the man running the LCBO, a \$2.3-billion operation, and you are telling us that it is perfectly acceptable for him to accept free trips paid for by one of the suppliers to his business. You're telling us that there's nothing wrong with that whatsoever and the message you're sending to all other suppliers right across the province, indeed right across the world, is that it would be perfectly acceptable that they too finance free trips to exotic locales for the head of the LCBO in Ontario.

Minister, will you not do the right thing now? Will you not stand up, understand that this is a firing offence, and turn this matter over to a committee of this assembly so that we can get to the bottom of this scandal?

Hon Mr Runciman: The Leader of the Opposition wants objective assessments.

The Association of Canadian Distillers: "Let me assure you the members of the Association of Canadian Distillers believe that all members enjoy fair and reasonable access to the LCBO."

The Wine Council of Ontario: "Throughout our dealings with the liquor board we found the board to be even-handed and fair and a truly objective observer."

"I want you to be aware that prior to the 1990 provincial election, I offered Mr Brandt a number of senior government appointments, including the position he now holds with such distinction. I did so with complete confidence in Mr Brandt's leadership skills, his professional ability and his integrity. In nearly three decades of public life, Mr Brandt has served the people of Ontario admirably in many capacities, and it is my belief he continues to do so in his present position as Chair and CEO.

"Yours sincerely, David R. Peterson."

If he wants an objective assessment, he must be truly embarrassed by the hatchet job his successor is trying on a fine public servant in this province.

MONTFORT HOSPITAL

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Leader of the Opposition): My second question is for the minister responsible for francophone affairs. Minister, Franco-Ontarians were deeply saddened, hurt and angered to learn of your position that when it came to the new city of Ottawa—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): Order. Could we have some order when a question is being asked, please?

Mr McGuinty: Minister, Franco-Ontarians were deeply saddened, hurt and angered to learn of your position that as far as the new city of Ottawa is concerned, it is perfectly satisfactory to you that the new capital of Canada be unilingual. You let Franco-Ontarians down. You didn't stand up for their interests.

Now they have another real and pressing concern. It has to do the Montfort Hospital in the new city of Ottawa. They are very concerned that your government is about to appeal a unanimous court decision that said it was wrong for your government to attack the Montfort Hospital, the only full-service French-language teaching hospital in our province.

What they want to know from you today, minister, is: Are you going to stand up for the interests of Franco-Ontarians? Will you stand up today and defend the Montfort Hospital?

Hon John R. Baird (Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for francophone affairs): I refer the question to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Hon Norman W. Sterling (Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Government House Leader): I understand that the Health Services Restructuring Commission has announced that they will be appealing to the Ontario Divisional Court the decision on the Montfort Hospital. That was issued by a press release at 1 o'clock today

Mr McGuinty: This has to be the worst francophone affairs minister that has ever been saddled upon Franco-Ontarians; there is no doubt about that whatsoever. He didn't have the decency to take this question and speak to their very real and pressing concerns. This has entirely to do with the rights of a minority-language group to enjoy the services offered by the only full-service French-language hospital in Ontario. That's what this issue is all about, and Franco-Ontarians are wondering if anybody on that side of the House in the Mike Harris government stands up for their interests.

I ask you again, Minister: Will you stand up and defend the interests of Franco-Ontarians to enjoy the services offered by the crown jewel of francophone services in Ontario, the Montfort Hospital?

Hon Mr Sterling: It's my understanding that the Health Services Restructuring Commission believes this decision is far-reaching in terms of its impact on the interpretation of our constitution, the formation of public policy and the role of the courts in the process. They have indicated that this is the rationale for their appeal, and I think that should be straight.

Mr McGuinty: Minister, nobody's buying this duplicitous claptrap. You are the people behind this appeal. You are the ones who attacked the Montfort Hospital at the outset. You failed to recognize its unique place in the delivery of health care services in Ontario. Now you cannot be said to be shuffling this matter off to the Health Services Restructuring Commission. This is all about the Mike Harris government and the position it takes vis-à-vis the rights of the minority French-language group in

our province. It has nothing to do with the Health Services Restructuring Commission and everything to do with your attitude towards Franco-Ontarians.

1410

I'm going to ask you one more time: Since the minister responsible for standing up for francophone affairs refuses to do so, I'll ask this minister, will you stand up for Montfort Hospital? Will you stand up for the rights of Franco-Ontarians to enjoy the services offered by the only full-service French-language teaching hospital in Ontario?

Hon Mr Sterling: One of the problems that a minister of the crown does have is in terms of talking about a particular case. I'm not talking about this particular case, but I have before, as a general concern, raised the whole matter regarding the increasingly blurred roles of the Legislature and the courts of our country. I have done that on more than one occasion. It has been ongoing for a number of years.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Sterling: I'm talking here again in general principles and not with regard specifically to this case. Decisions are continuing to have more impact on provincial policy-making, and we as legislators are responsible for implementing these decisions.

HOME CARE

Mr Howard Hampton (Kenora-Rainy River): My question is for the Minister of Health. I want to ask the Minister of Health about her regulation to limit home care in Ontario.

As you know, you passed a regulation last March, without any notice to the public, which now limits home care to two hours per day. You said at the time that this wouldn't affect people's access to health care.

I want to ask you about Leila Stewart, a woman who was receiving five hours of home care that allowed her to manage and to live in her home. But since you brought in your regulation to limit home care, her hours of home care have been progressively cut such that she is now looking at institutional settings to look after her health care.

Do you think it's a good deal for Ontario taxpayers to force chronically ill patients and seniors out of their homes and into institutions by cutting their home care?

Hon Elizabeth Witmer (Minister of Health and Long-Term Care): The new regulation that does enforce the maximum levels reflects the highest level of service available anywhere in this province. It is those service levels, which were previously not legislated, that will ensure that there is consistency throughout the province. As the leader of the third party knows, we've increased funding for home care in this province by some 43% since 1995.

Mr Hampton: Minister, that may sound good for the bureaucrats, but for people out there who actually need home care, it makes no sense at all. Leila Stewart was

receiving five hours of home care per day. That is what was prescribed by her physician, and the Wellington-Dufferin community care access centre was providing it until after you passed your regulation. Over the past five months they've been cutting it. They now have it down to 2.5 hours a day. She went to hospital last week in an ambulance because she's not receiving the home care she needs. She's headed towards institutionalization.

Is this your idea of a better health care system: Cut back on home care so that people who are living independently at home are forced into hospitals and into homes for the aged and nursing homes, which are more expensive? Is that your version of the health care system? If it isn't, then you should restore those hours of home care. Will you do that, Minister, or are you going to force her into an institution?

Hon Mrs Witmer: The leader of the third party knows that we have the most generous level of home care services in all of Canada. We're presently paying about \$115 per capita. The next highest is Manitoba at \$97.62. So the new maximum service levels are as high as or higher than anywhere else in Canada.

He also knows that it is the local CCAC, which has a board that has local members of the community serving on it, that has the opportunity to make decisions regarding maximum service levels; also, if it is determined, they can go beyond those maximums. It's up to the local CCAC, of which there are 43 in Ontario.

Mr Hampton: Let me give you the gist of this minister's answer. Because Ontario started to build a home care system in the late 1980s and started to improve on it during the early 1990s, this minister now says it's a reason to cut it. She makes a comparison between Ontario and Manitoba, where the Conservatives cut home care, and says that's justification to cut home care in Ontario. Then she says this is all in the hands of the local CCAC.

Minister, you're wrong. Read your own regulation. This is not in their hands. Only in extenuating circumstances and only for 30 days can they offer more than two hours of home care per day. They are being regulated down by your regulation. They're being forced to cut the home care that this person needs and that other patients need. Is this your version of a good health care system, where you progressively cut home care and force patients into hospital, into homes for the aged, into nursing homes or into getting a private nurse? Is that your version of a better home care and health care system for Ontario?

Hon Mrs Witmer: I think the leader of the third party has forgotten that in 1995, when we became the government, we inherited some very long waiting lists from their government. In fact, we have made no cuts. We have actually increased funding by 43% since 1995. We are presently spending the highest level at any time in the history of this province. We're spending \$1 billion. There were no cuts. However, we did inherit a long waiting list from the NDP, but we fixed that.

The Speaker: New question, the leader of the third party.

Mr Hampton: I would say to the Minister of Health, first you cut hospitals and force people into home care. Now you're cutting home care.

LIQUOR CONTROL BOARD OF ONTARIO

Mr Howard Hampton (Kenora-Rainy River): My next question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. I think you would agree with me that the allegations that have been brought with respect to Mr Brandt at the Liquor Control Board of Ontario are serious allegations: allegations of kickback, of putting listing policy up for sale, conflict of interest, favouritism in awarding contracts.

Minister, don't you think that allegations that serious should receive the attention of an independent, outside investigation, not someone who is connected to your government and not someone who may be connected to Mr Brandt in his role now or in his past role? Don't you think this is something that should receive the attention of an independent investigator?

Hon Robert W. Runciman (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): As I indicated in an earlier response, there has been an investigation conducted by an ADM within the ministry; an internal audit committee as well. We have reviewed the policies and procedures that have been in place for some time, including during the time your party was in government. In fact, we have received assurances that Mr Brandt fully complied with the policies and procedures that are now in place. In fact, the allegations contained in the Toronto Star article have been rebuffed, if you will, by the various parties who work with the LCBO. We've had a letter from the distillers and we've had a letter from the Wine Council of Ontario. The allegations certainly didn't stand up to any scrutiny in terms of an internal investigation, and the stakeholders as well have completely rebuffed them.

Mr Hampton: I want to point out what I think is a serious flaw in the minister's argument. We know the Liquor Control Board of Ontario does billions of dollars worth of business. It generates \$800 million in profit revenue for your government. It generates several hundred million more in terms of taxes. It is the largest purchaser of alcohol and spirits in the world.

1420

When you say this has been dealt with by someone in the civil service, we know that such civil servants as David Lindsay and Rita Burak, the head of the civil service, regularly attend wine-tasting receptions at the invitation of Mr Brandt. We know that civil servants have gone to work for Mr Brandt and then have gone back into the civil service.

My point is—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): Order.

Mr Hampton: I gather the Conservatives don't want this question to be put.

Interjection.

The Speaker: Minister of Education, please come to order.

Mr Hampton: When people like Rita Burak, the head of the civil service, and David Lindsay, who is the head of your Ontario Jobs and Investment Board, are regular guests of Mr Brandt and are closely connected to Mr Brandt, when people who work for Mr Brandt are regularly going into the civil service and back, I would say to you that you want to be sure that all the conflicts of interest are dealt with. That calls for an independent investigation. That calls for someone who is not from the civil service, not from your office, not from the Premier's office and not from Rita Burak's office. Do you get my point?

I think it's time for an independent investigation of this to satisfy the public of Ontario that the right thing is being done. Don't you agree, Minister?

Hon Mr Runciman: I think the opposition parties are engaging in a vicious and disgusting attack on an individual who has served this province in a very distinguished way for over 30 years as the mayor of Sarnia, as a member of cabinet, as a representative in this assembly and as the chair of a crown corporation, appointed by the Bob Rae government.

If this party truly cared about conflict of interest instead of scoring cheap political points—just a few weeks ago we brought forward Bill 11, which established the office of Conflict of Interest Commissioner. What did the NDP do with respect to that bill? They voted against it. How sincere are the leader of the third party and the Leader of the Opposition when they express concern in this House about conflict? They—

The Speaker: Order. The minister's time is up.

HIGHWAY 407

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): My question is to the Minister of Finance. A few days ago the government announced that any municipality that is planning to sell electrical utilities for a cash grab, as you call it, must submit a plan showing how this will result in lower electricity bills.

The biggest cash grab in the history of Canada, as you know, was the sale of the 407, which sold for \$3.1 billion. It was \$500 million more than Air Canada and the CNR together. But now we know why. The users of the 407 are being ripped off. If you drive a car from Markham to Mississauga and back, the toll is \$14 a day—that's \$3,640 a year—and you have guaranteed the purchaser that they can double the tolls over the next 15 years, at twice the rate of inflation.

My question to you is, what you've done to the 407 users is outrageous. Will you agree to do exactly what you ordered the municipalities to do? Will you bring forward a plan to lower the tolls on the 407?

Hon Ernie L. Eves (Deputy Premier, Minister of Finance): No, we won't bring forward a plan to lower the tolls on the 407. The public understands that Highway 407 is a privately operated, tolled highway. They

don't have to use the highway if they don't want to. There are other avenues for the public to take, such as the 401.

I don't see anything wrong with the privatization of Highway 407. It was the largest highway privatization in the history of the world, and the government is frankly quite proud of that.

Mr Phillips: I want to speak on behalf of the users of the toll road. When you build the road to Oshawa, if a truck takes that road from Oshawa to Burlington, they're going to be paying tolls of \$21,500 a year, doubling to \$45,000. I saw in the weekend paper that people were planning to buy houses in Oshawa. If you're planning to drive from Oshawa to Yonge Street, you're going to be paying \$2,600 a year in tolls to start, and it's going to be going to \$5,200. If you think that is fair to the people who live in that area, that they're going to pay those outrageous tolls and they're going to live with the fact that you guaranteed they can double over 15 years, you and I are in a different world. People out there don't believe they should be asked to double their tolls and pay \$6,000 a year in tolls just to use the 407.

Here's what you said to municipalities: You want them to have the backbone to come forward with a plan that will lower electrical costs. I want you to show, as you said, some backbone and come to the people with a plan that will see them, not double their toll costs, but lower their toll costs.

Hon Mr Eves: The honourable member is quite right; we are in a different world. There is no doubt about that.

I don't understand. Nobody is forced to use Highway 407. There are four-lane highways that people can use as opposed to the 407 if they want to come from Oshawa—where the highway isn't yet, I might point out to the honourable member—to the city of Toronto. Nobody compels them or forces them to use Highway 407. They do so of their own free will and volition. They know what it's going to cost them to do it. I don't understand the basis of the honourable member's question.

COMMUNITY SAFETY

Mr R. Gary Stewart (Peterborough): My question is to the Solicitor General. In my riding of Peterborough I talk to a lot of people on a daily basis, whether it be door to door or on the phone. Throughout the community, my constituents keep telling me that community safety is one of their top concerns. I'm sure the concerns of my constituents are the same concerns of all the people of this province. Minister, can you tell me and the people of Peterborough about the community safety initiatives this government has made?

Hon David H. Tsubouchi (Solicitor General): I'd like to thank the member for Peterborough for his question. Everyone in Ontario deserves the right to be safe within their own communities. We should have the right to ride in our cars, ride on the subways, be safe in our homes, be safe in our communities, expect our children to be able to go to school safe from criminals.

We have looked at a number of programs to try to enhance these types of community safety.

One of the programs is Partners Against Crime. This was launched in June 1997. This grant program focused on community and personal safety. These were aimed at certain areas, such as break-and-enters and crimes against the elderly. Part of this initiative is the community crime prevention grant. In 1997-98, our ministry funded 49 community agencies, for a total of \$1.3 million. In 1998-99, it now includes 60 communities, with an expenditure of \$1.5 million. We believe it's important to keep our people safe in their own communities in Ontario.

Mr Stewart: Thank you for your answer. This initiative by our government sounds, in my mind, like a comprehensive crime prevention program that will enhance community and personal safety.

Interjections.

Mr Stewart: From the comments across the way, it appears they are not interested in personal or community safety. It also sounds to me like what you're talking about is an effective means of addressing local crime prevention needs. Could you give the House some specific examples about communities that have taken advantage of the Partners Against Crime initiative and the community crime prevention grants, please?

Hon Mr Tsubouchi: We believe the best solution for this would be to have members of our community and our neighbours working with the police to try to come up with comprehensive community safety programs. I believe the Partners Against Crime initiative and the community crime prevention grant program respond to these concerns. In the case of the member's riding of Peterborough, for example, \$15,000 was given to the student Crime Stoppers "Do the right thing" project. Students used this grant to make a video and inform fellow students of the Crime Stoppers program. It also educated the students on how to recognize and report crimes to the Crime Stoppers program.

In addition to this, the Senior Citizens Council—Peterborough also received a \$28,000 community crime prevention grant and developed Scamblock, which provided programs to combat crime against the elderly. These are just two examples of the community safety initiatives which I believe are very important to our communities.

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HEALTH CARE

Mr Ernie Parsons (Prince Edward-Hastings): My question is to the Minister of Health. Day after day, you stand in this House and tell us that the chaos in the health care system is caused by some other government.

I have a case for you that occurred on your watch. Judge Bill Pickett of Belleville suffered a heart attack last week, and because of bed shortages, mismanagement and chaos in the health care system, had to wait three days for specialized treatment. He was sent from Belleville to Kingston for an angiogram; there was no bed available.

Ottawa was tried; there was no bed. It was only when Mr Pickett's condition worsened that a bed was found for him in Kingston.

Minister, what do you have to say to Judge Pickett and his family, who, like many people in this province, are being subjected to undue hardships, lengthy waits and, indeed, crises in the health care system that make them fear for their lives?

Hon Elizabeth Witmer (Minister of Health and Long-Term Care): As the member can appreciate, this is an issue of long-standing concern. Actually, it was here when your Liberal government was in power. We have certainly identified that we want to ensure that we improve access to health services for all people in the province, so we have been restructuring the health system. We have been investing in the health system in order to ensure that priority services such as cancer, cardiac, hip and knee replacement and dialysis services are all provided closer to home. As he knows, as well, we're modernizing our hospitals and we're investing \$3.2 billion in order to ensure that those services which are long overdue are going to be there when needed.

Mr Parsons: Minister, you need to blame the government that was in place for the last four years.

Let me tell you about another case. Joan Reid, a constituent from Belleville, wanted you to know that her husband, a war vet, suffered the stress of having his heart operation cancelled six times. Try to imagine the stress in that family.

Mr Pickett and Mr Reid had excellent care in Belleville, but required a treatment that wasn't available in that community. Your cuts have forced the closure of beds and do so at a time when backlogs are continuing to increase. Mrs Pickett stated, "I don't think the general public knows how bad it is now and how bad it gets; I sure didn't know."

And yet you continue to deny that there is a problem that has worsened. Minister, how many families have to find out the wrong way that you've made a mess of health care? How many more patients have to pay the price?

Hon Mrs Witmer: Maybe the member isn't aware of the fact that health spending in Hastings-Prince Edward, which of course is the Belleville community, has increased by over \$45 million since 1995. During that time, there was provision for additional money for priority programs such as cancer and heart care; \$266,000 for the Healthy Babies program; \$3.4 million for hospital restructuring; \$233,000 for emergency room funding; \$692,000 for transition funding; increase to base hospital budgets of \$768,000; mental health, \$1.2 million; Ontario drug benefit increases, \$3 million. All of these are initiatives that our government has put in place in order to ensure that we can modernize our system so that patients throughout Ontario have access to the needed services.

SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION

Mr Joseph Spina (Brampton Centre): My question is for the Minister of Education. We've had some phenomenal growth in Peel county; in fact, probably the largest in this entire country. It has really put a lot of accommodation pressure on the school board.

I don't want to sound like a Liberal quoting the Toronto Star, but there is an article here in the Star on November 23 that says the Peel District School Board wants to build 21 new elementary schools as well as additions to two high schools in the next five years. That capital plan calls for the construction of 10 new elementary schools in Mississauga, nine in Brampton, two in Caledon, and those in fact impact me directly in Heart Lake.

A board spokesperson said in the article that the construction of these schools is part of the board's commitment to do away with portables. How is the minister going to find the funding formula that will assist this school board in achieving its capital plan?

Hon Janet Ecker (Minister of Education): I thank the member for Brampton Centre for his question. He's been pushing very hard for the education needs of his students. Here's an example where, because of the new way we finance education, the Peel board is able to go forward with a very ambitious plan to get rid of the backlog that had started to develop over the last many years because of inadequacies in the way that previous governments had funded education.

It is the board's responsibility to lay out the plans for accommodation, new schools and renovations. They have indeed laid out a very ambitious plan. The Peel District School Board is going to be receiving about \$20 million in grants for new pupil places, which is going to result in some \$200 million worth of construction. The Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board also received \$20 million. So we are seeing not only in Peel but also in other high-growth regions like my own, for example, Durham, a very major school construction program starting in this province.

Mr Spina: The chair of the school board stated in her press release that our board continues to grow by about 3,000 students per year. I'm glad that our government is recognizing that growth.

Minister, how is the new way that we fund this education capital system leading to new school construction throughout the rest of the province?

Hon Mrs Ecker: One of the improvements in the way we finance education now is that as the needs for new places for students grow, as that enrolment grows, the money grows as well to support the needs of those students.

As I mentioned earlier, we are at the beginning of one of the most significant, massive school-building campaigns we've seen in this province for many years. We're going to see something like 256 new schools built over the next several years. This year alone, 61 new projects; next year there will be 70 projects. The York Region

District School Board is looking at 17 additions, 24 new schools. The boards are able to plan much better for the needs of their students, and it is indeed a big improvement for us.

It is also going to allow those schools to finally start diminishing the number of portables that students have been forced to go to school in, so it's certainly a win-win for all the students in those regions.

HÔPITAL MONTFORT MONTFORT HOSPITAL

M. Gilles Bisson (Timmins-Baie James) : Ma question est pour le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones. Vous savez que la Cour divisionnaire a récemment jugé en faveur de l'hôpital Montfort, en décidant que votre commission de restructuration n'avait pas le pouvoir de fermer la plupart des programmes qui ont fermé à l'hôpital Montfort. Vous savez aussi, monsieur le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones, que votre commission de restructuration a aujourd'hui même annoncé qu'ils vont faire appel à cette décision de la cour.

Ma question est simple et peut seulement être répondue par vous, le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones : allez-vous demander le statut d'intervenant devant la Cour d'appel de l'Ontario, en défense du jugement qui était favorable à la cause de l'hôpital Montfort ?

Hon John R. Baird (Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for francophone affairs) : I refer this question to my colleague the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Hon Norman W. Sterling (Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Government House Leader) : The health restructuring commission has appealed this particular decision. It is expected that if the health restructuring commission came to an end, which it would naturally do, the Minister of Health would fulfill the role that the health restructuring commission would be undertaking.

M. Bisson : On a un problème dans la communauté francophone de la province de l'Ontario quand on pose une question dans la Chambre au ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones pour oeuvrer de la part de nous, les francophones, et tout ce qu'il peut faire est de nous référer à un ministre qui ne peut pas même parler le français. C'est votre bataille, monsieur le ministre. Vous êtes le ministre responsable des Affaires francophones et on vous demande, notre ministre, de nous protéger et d'aller devant la cour avec nous pour défendre l'hôpital Montfort. Allez-vous le faire ? Oui ou non ?

Hon Mr Sterling : It would not matter which minister was responsible for which matter. If a matter is in front of the courts, then it is incumbent upon a minister to withdraw his opinion or his support or his advocacy against the position that the court might take. The role of the minister, once we are in front of the court, is to be

neutral on that particular issue and let the court make its decision according to what the laws of our country are. If any minister would step out and say that he is in favour or against a particular issue, he would be interfering with our court process, which is against what all of our principles are.

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EMERGENCY SERVICES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Thunder Bay-Atikokan) : My question is for the Minister of Health. The crisis in emergency rooms continues. Yesterday, 13 of 25 emergency rooms in the Toronto area were sending patients to other hospitals; seven of them were not taking anyone in even if the situation was life-threatening. Your response to this life-or-death crisis is to call another meeting. Obviously the Premier has told you what he told us all last week, that it's not such a bad thing when emergency rooms can't deal with hospital emergencies. It would cost too much to fix the problem anyway, so you are once again going to stall for time and hope the crisis passes.

Kyle Martyn's father says that this isn't good enough. Dean Martyn is furious that your Premier can be so casual about a situation that could lead to another tragic death. The foreman of the jury in the inquest into Kyle Martyn's death is upset because the jury's recommendations have not been acted on. The chief of emergency services at North York General says nothing you've done so far is close to what is needed to turn the situation around.

Minister, a phone call to Kyle Martyn's father to tell him you're going to have a meeting isn't good enough. Can you tell Kyle Martyn's father what action you will take before this year ends?

Hon Elizabeth Witmer (Minister of Health and Long-Term Care) : I think the member appreciates the fact that our government has recognized that there are pressures in the emergency rooms, certainly more than your government did when they were in office.

As you know, we set up the committee. We had the hospitals meet with the Ministry of Health as quickly as possible. We did follow forward with all of the recommendations of the commission. We've invested \$225 million in order to ensure that nurses are trained and long-term-care beds are added to the system on an interim basis, and additional money has flowed to hospitals.

We also have fast-tracked another \$97 million in order to ensure that the emergency room expansions, which should have been done years ago, happen more quickly. As a result of the latest situation, my staff met this morning with the hospitals in Toronto.

Mrs McLeod : There are a couple of very key recommendations from the inquest into Kyle Martyn's death that you have chosen to ignore. One is that there should have been no further bed closures until the hospital bed shortage was addressed. Since that recommendation was made, 645 more acute care beds have

been shut down, in direct opposition to the recommendations of the inquest. The jury said that you should fix the hospital funding formula within six months, and yet today almost half of the hospitals in this province are in a deficit situation, including the Credit Valley Hospital where Kyle Martyn died.

You don't need a meeting to tell you what the problem is. Everyone on the front line is trying to tell you exactly the same thing: There are not enough beds in the hospitals to admit people coming in as emergencies. Hospitals are running at 90% to 95% capacity. There's no flexibility to deal with the unexpected.

Minister, it is past time to act. Will you make a commitment now to fund more acute care hospital beds starting immediately, or will this Christmas be a time of tragedy for even more Ontario families?

Hon Mrs Witmer: The member opposite knows that we have done everything that we have been requested to do. She also knows that the new funding formula that is being developed by the JPPC is going to be ready at the end of this year and that it's certainly going to form the basis of the money that flows to the hospitals as we look at the next calendar year. In fact, all of those recommendations, in accordance with what I've learned from the ministry officials, have been initiated, and we will continue to move forward. We're prepared to do even more. We need to ensure that people have access to the system.

This morning, as a result of the meeting with the hospitals in Toronto and with the ambulances and CritiCall, we are going to take further steps to establish three geographic clusters of hospitals in Toronto: one in the east, one in the west and one centrally. We're going to make sure the hospitals work co-operatively in order that access to emergency room services can be maintained—

The Speaker: Order. The minister's time is up.

ELECTRICITY RESTRUCTURING

Mr Raminder Gill (Bramalea-Gore-Malton-Springdale): My question is to the Minister of Energy, Science and Technology. I read in the paper last week that a US electricity company named Sithe is planning to come to Ontario to build a power plant in Brampton.

Can you tell us what this plant will mean for the people of Brampton, and in general for the people of Ontario, and what prompted this company to come to Ontario?

Hon Jim Wilson (Minister of Energy, Science and Technology): I thank the member for Bramalea-Gore-Malton-Springdale for the question.

Let me begin by saying that Sithe is planning on investing a billion dollars US in Ontario's electricity sector. They are one of the largest independent power companies in the world, and plan to build two 800-megawatt gas-fired generation plants in Brampton and Mississauga.

Sithe is placing its confidence in Ontario in anticipation of the opening of Ontario's electricity market next

fall. We are less than one year away from giving customers the right to choose who provides their electricity and at what price. Tom Adams of Energy Probe has said that Sithe is a credible player and can drive down prices for consumers.

Over the next three years, Sithe will be creating more than 1,400 construction jobs in Ontario at the two sites. In addition, the plants will provide good-paying, high-tech jobs once they are open. When up and running, the two generating facilities will produce enough electricity to supply 1.5 million homes and businesses, and it's relatively clean electricity because it's gas-fired. We welcome this company's investment and confidence in Ontario.

Mr Gill: That is great news for Brampton and for Ontario.

Some people have argued that electricity restructuring is not good news for our environment and that it could lead to dirty power options. Is this true or not?

Hon Mr Wilson: The Energy Competition Act will allow customers, for the first time, to choose the type of electricity they want to buy. And beginning next November, customers will actually see on the electricity bill that comes to their home or business the emissions created by generation of the electricity coming to their home or business. I expect, after a number of years, that we're going to have a very highly-educated consumer base that is very knowledgeable about emissions, emission targets, emissions trading and all the issues around smog and the environment.

We're doing our part by making sure the customers have that information. Companies like Sithe are doing their part by bringing in cleaner generation and replacing our coal- and oil-fired generation facilities. Ontario Power Generation has some of the best emission controls in place. In fact, our emission controls are better than most of the US states we compete with. We're very proud of that. The environmental community recognizes that to a degree.

There's a lot more to be done, and we're going to continue to do our part with partners like Sithe in bringing down emissions and in educating consumers.

EDUCATION FUNDING

Mr Mario Sergio (York West): My question is for the Minister of Education. You have been repeatedly told in this House how Bill 160 has taken money out of education, out of the classroom and has especially hurt Toronto's school kids. You continue to avoid that issue and do nothing.

I have raised the issue of parents who can't get help for their special-needs kids, and you haven't dealt with that either.

Let me read from a letter I received from a worried parent:

"I want you to be aware of the situation at St Jude Elementary School, thanks to Mike Harris's shortchanging of schools. My son, in grade 7, is regularly assigned a

couple of hours of homework each night, because the teacher is struggling to cram in all the learning mandated by the new provincial regulations. He's unable to complete his history assignments, however, because he still (nearly halfway into the school year) does not have a history textbook. He shares one in class, but can't bring one home. I am going to meet with his teacher" and hopefully can purchase one.

This mother goes on to say, "I can't understand how Harris can live with himself by shortchanging our country's future generation."

Let me ask, Minister, how do you live with yourself, shortchanging our children's education in such a manner?

1450

Hon Janet Ecker (Minister of Education): I guess I would ask the honourable member, who supported a party when they were in government, how did they live with themselves, allowing the deterioration of education that they allowed under their administration?

One of the things that we heard loudly and clearly from parents before the election, and which we vowed to fix, was that the way financing for education was going it wasn't working, so we are working to fix that. They said that special education funding was not working; we have brought in a new way to make that work. They said that with the curriculum, students weren't learning what they needed to learn; we are fixing that. Teachers said they hadn't seen new textbooks in the classroom for years; we are also fixing that.

We laid out very clearly the goals and the objectives, the importance of making the education system better in 1995. We continue to do that in 1999, and we look forward to continuing to work with all of our partners, the boards included, to make the system better.

Mr Sergio: Again, I tell you this urgency is being raised consistently in this House, and all you can do in response is talk about the past, about how things were in school boards in past administrations. It is time to look to the future, Minister; yet what you have been doing is reminding us about the past.

It is our kids' future that you are short-changing. Your government has injected nearly \$2.5 million into a Millennium Memento book for students instead of injecting more money into the classroom for pupils, for teachers, for special education teachers, for books, textbooks students can learn from.

When are you going to pay attention to what parents like Lori Marangoni are saying and put up the money where it's needed the most and is going to do the most good for our children's education? When, Minister?

Hon Mrs Ecker: First of all, the opposition likes to keep going back to the millennium book. Not one cent of education money went on that, and they know that, so I wish they'd stop playing politics with that.

Second, the Liberal critic in our estimates finally admitted on the record that, despite all of the accusations from the Liberal Party, we hadn't taken \$1 billion out of education. Finally, he admitted that. We were very pleased to hear that.

Third, we are spending more on special education than has ever been spent before. We also recognize that there need to be changes in how we finance special education funding. We've met with boards; we've met with parents. We are listening to the input they are giving us. Our goal here is to make sure that we have a better curriculum. That is indeed out there, and people are telling me, for example, the curriculum is one of the most impressive changes they've seen in curriculum or in education in 20 to 30 years. We are continuing to move forward on our goal of improving education in this province.

AGRI-FOOD EXPORTS

Mrs Julia Munro (York North): My question is to the Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs. The minister will know that the agriculture and food industries are important to my constituents in York North. I know that the minister has recently announced his plans to strengthen technical and technology transfer services. The minister has also stated his intention to further strengthen agricultural safety nets. All these measures should put us in a better position to find and maintain markets, especially when we look at the problem agriculture has experienced here in Canada and around the world.

Can the minister share with the House how our agriculture and food exports have fared over this last year?

Hon Ernie Hardeman (Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs): I'd like to thank the member from York North for the question. The member is quite right that the agriculture markets and prices have been in turmoil over the last year. I can report to this House that Ontario's strength lies in its agriculture diversity and in our value-added industrial sector.

As a result, in the first quarters of 1999 Ontario's agri-food exports increased to \$4.8 billion, a 5% increase over the same period last year. By comparison, the increase in 1998 was 10%, or \$6.2 billion, before the current crisis in Europe and the US subsidies impacted the industry.

Also, it is important to underline the significance of our diversity in the agriculture industry. Parts of our farming sector are as bad as or worse than our counterparts in the Prairies, but because of our diversity we have seen a modest increase this year of 4% in overall exports, outpacing the country, which has actually seen a drop of 3.3%.

Mrs Munro: It's good to see that we have been able to see growth in our export markets despite the problems. Can the minister give us an idea of some of the key products driving this increase?

Hon Mr Hardeman: To date, Ontario continues as Canada's leading exporting province in agri-food products. So far this year, Ontario agri-food exports represent over 30% of Canada's total agri-food exports. Value-added products lead the way for Ontario agri-food exports. In addition, it has traditional strength in beverages and baked goods. As well, floriculture and horticulture products enjoyed significant export sales in the

first three quarters of 1999. At last count, 65 out of the top 100 largest food processors in Canada had their head offices in Ontario. That speaks volumes for the quality of products our farmers produce and the growth in Ontario's economy over the last five years.

ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Mr Rosario Marchese (Trinity-Spadina): I'm glad the government members left enough time for me to ask two questions, because I didn't want to pack it in.

This question is for the Minister of Culture, Citizenship and Recreation. Last Thursday, we commemorated the anniversary of the international declaration of human rights. You will remember you spoke very glowingly about the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

The other members will know that the Ontario Human Rights Commission is the provincial body responsible for protecting and enforcing human rights. Most of these cases deal with people with disabilities and also issues of racism. You will also know that the budget was cut by \$600,000 a couple of years ago by you folks, and recently there were further cuts. Regional offices have been dismantled and many positions eliminated, despite the huge backlog.

Minister, I describe this as a dereliction of your duty to defend human rights in Ontario. How would you describe it?

Hon Helen Johns (Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, minister responsible for seniors and women): I'd like to say, first of all, that I don't think I spent as much time talking about human rights issues as some of my colleagues across the way the other day.

What's important to recognize is that this government is managing the Human Rights Code. When we were elected in 1995, there was a backlog with human rights and we have done everything to minimize that backlog. In fact, we have taken unresolved cases and we have been systematically, year after year, asking the Human Rights Commission and the board of inquiry to work harder to ensure that those cases are heard more quickly, more effectively, and people have better results from the Human Rights Commission.

Mr Marchese: The member from Niagara Centre, last Thursday, spoke at length and very well on issues of human rights. I suspect some of them would have learned a great deal from it but, quite clearly, not enough. I just want to add a few more things for the record.

Your government removed anti-racism and multiculturalism from the school curriculum, not to mention the word "equity," which has been completely obliterated from any reference in curriculum matters. Secondly, funding for emergency shelters, which are chronically underfunded, were reduced again by 5%, and programming at second-stage shelter was completely eliminated in 1995. Third, child poverty in racial communities is over 40%. I would add, by whatever measure you choose, child poverty has gone down in the rest of Canada while it increased in Ontario.

Interjection.

Mr Marchese: Minister Stockwell indeed. My question is, why have you systematically attacked the rights of so many people in Ontario?

Hon Mrs Johns: Let me first say that Keith Norton is running the Ontario Human Rights Commission for this government, and I think he's making significant improvements and significant changes to better serve the people of Ontario. He has done a number of things which I think better serve the people, including a one-window service of inquiry and intake. He's made considerable efforts to ensure that complaints are being serviced as quickly as possible. In fact, this is the third year in a row when the Human Rights Commission has been able to hear more complaints and have more inquiries than they've actually received from the public.

I'd have to say that I think the Human Rights Commission is doing an incredible job. As we worked at budget planning, we asked the Human Rights Commission what they needed to have to be able to move forward. They have said they need people in the community but they don't need bricks and mortar to be able to do a great job for the people of Ontario, and we've followed through on that.

1500

VISITOR

Mr Dominic Agostino (Hamilton East): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I want to acknowledge in the west gallery the presence of the regional chairman of Hamilton-Wentworth, Terry Cooke.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): That is not a point of order, but I'm sure all members welcome him.

PETITIONS

MILLENNIUM MEMENTO

Mr Rick Bartolucci (Sudbury): I have a rather extensive petition. It's to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the Conservative government carelessly wasted more than \$2.5 million of taxpayers' money on producing the My Ontario Millennium Memento souvenir; and

"Whereas we feel that \$2.5 million would have been better spent on textbooks, computers and curriculum teaching materials which are sorely lacking in Ontario schools today; and

"Whereas students and parents want materials in their classrooms which are not blatantly partisan in nature as is this souvenir; and

"Whereas students and parents are participating in the Return to Sender program by returning thousands of unwanted copies of the millennium souvenir to Mike Harris; and

"Whereas this action by the Conservative government demonstrates their disregard for the priorities of Ontarians; and

"Whereas 500 hard-working Ontario families had to work one full year to pay their provincial income taxes to cover the cost of printing of this misguided project;

"Therefore, be it resolved that we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to condemn the skewed priorities of the Mike Harris government and demand that Mike Harris issue an apology to the people of Ontario for wasting taxpayers' money."

Of course I affix my signature, as I am in complete agreement with this petition.

Hon Helen Johns (Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, minister responsible for seniors and women): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I have a request for 949 additional copies in Mr Bartolucci's area. I'm wondering if he would send them over so we could send them back out to the people who would like to hear about them.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Bert Johnson): That is not a point of order.

I have a couple of members standing in between us. If I can get their attention, I'm going to ask them to—I'm sorry, I can't hear. Someone's standing between me and someone who wants to talk.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton West): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that reads as follows:

"Whereas this year 130,000 Canadians will contract cancer and there are at minimum 17 funerals every day for Canadian workers who died from cancer caused by workplace exposure to cancer-causing substances (carcinogens); and

"Whereas the World Health Organization estimates that 80% of all cancers have environmental causes and the International Labour Organization estimates that one million workers globally have cancer because of exposure at work to these carcinogens; and

"Whereas most cancers can be beaten if government had the political will to make industry replace toxic substances with non-toxic substances; and

"Whereas very few health organizations study the link between occupations and cancer, even though more study of this link is an important step to defeating this dreadful disease;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That it become a legal requirement that occupational history be recorded on a standard form when a patient presents at a physician for diagnosis or treatment of cancer and that the diagnosis and occupational history be forwarded to a central cancer registry for analysis as to the link between cancer and occupation."

I continue to support these petitioners by adding my name to theirs.

KARLA HOMOLKA

Ms Marilyn Mushinski (Scarborough Centre): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Karla Homolka and Paul Bernardo were responsible for terrorizing entire communities in southern Ontario; and

"Whereas the Ontario government of the day made a deal with the devil with Karla Homolka resulting in a sentence that does not truly make her pay for her crimes; and

"Whereas our communities have not yet fully recovered from the trauma and sadness caused by Karla Homolka; and

"Whereas Karla Homolka believes that she should be entitled to passes to leave prison with an escort; and

"Whereas the people of Ontario believe that criminals should be forced to serve sentences that reflect the seriousness of their crimes;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government of Ontario will:

"Do everything within its power to ensure that Karla Homolka serves her full sentence;

"Continue to reform parole and make it more difficult for serious offenders to return to our streets;

"Fight the federal government's plan to release up to 1,600 more convicted criminals on to Ontario streets; and

"Ensure that the Ontario government's sex offender registry is functioning as quickly as possible."

As usual, I'm pleased to affix my name to this petition.

MEDICAL LABORATORIES

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough-Rouge River): I have a petition to the Parliament of Ontario.

"Whereas the Ontario government has recently imposed a retroactive cap on revenue earned by medical laboratories for services provided under the health insurance plan; and

"Whereas the Ontario government has also required these businesses to refund revenue for services rendered in previous years where the amount of that revenue exceeds the retroactively imposed cap for those years; and

"Whereas this legislation amounts to expropriation of economic rights without adequate compensation or due process of law; and

"Whereas the greatest incentive to the provision of efficient and quality services and products by the private sector is competition and the ability to make a profit; and

"Whereas the removal of these incentives by government negatively affects all of society and particularly patients in need; and

"Whereas this type of legislation also unfairly discriminates against one sector of the society;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"That adequate protection of property rights is needed to ensure that government cannot erode the property rights of certain sectors of society without fair compensation and due process of law."

I will affix my signature to this petition.

HIGHWAY SAFETY

Mr Pat Hoy (Chatham-Kent Essex): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas 13 people died during the first seven months of 1999 on Highway 401 between London and Windsor; and

"Whereas traffic levels on all sections of Highway 401 continue to increase; and

"Whereas Canada's number one trade and travel route was designed in the 1950s for fewer vehicles and lighter trucks; and

"Whereas road funding is almost completely paid through vehicle permit and driving licence fees; and

"Whereas Ontario road users pay 28 cents per litre of tax on gasoline, adding up to over \$2.7 billion in provincial gas taxes and over \$2.3 billion in federal gas taxes;

"We, the undersigned members of the Canadian Automobile Association and other residents of Ontario, respectfully request the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to immediately upgrade Highway 401 to at least a six-lane highway with full paved shoulders and rumble strips; and

"We respectfully request that the Legislative Assembly of Ontario place firm pressure on the federal government to invest its gasoline tax revenue in road safety improvements in Ontario."

This petition is signed by a number of residents from Merlin and Chatham, and I affix my name to it.

NORTHERN HEALTH TRAVEL GRANT

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Thunder Bay-Atikokan): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the northern health travel grant was introduced in 1987 in recognition of the fact that northern Ontario residents are often forced to receive treatment outside their own communities because of the lack of available services; and

"Whereas the Ontario government acknowledged that the costs associated with that travel should not be fully borne by those residents and therefore that financial support should be provided by the Ontario government through the travel grant program; and

"Whereas travel, accommodation and other costs have escalated sharply since the program was first put in place, particularly in the area of air travel; and

"Whereas the Ontario government has provided funds so that southern Ontario patients needing care at the Northwestern Ontario Cancer Centre have all their expenses paid while receiving treatment in the north which creates a double standard for health care delivery in the province; and

"Whereas northern Ontario residents should not receive a different level of health care nor be discriminated against because of their geographic locations;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned citizens of Ontario, petition the Ontario Legislature to acknowledge the unfairness and inadequacy of the northern health travel grant program and commit to a review of the program with a goal of providing 100% funding of the travel costs for residents needing care outside their communities until such time as that care is available in our communities."

I have affixed my signature in full accord with this concern.

1510

KARLA HOMOLKA

Mrs Tina R. Molinari (Thornhill): I'd like to present a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. It reads as follows:

"Whereas Karla Homolka and Paul Bernardo were responsible for terrorizing entire communities in southern Ontario; and

"Whereas the Ontario government of the day made a deal with the devil with Karla Homolka resulting in a sentence that does not truly make her pay for her crimes; and

"Whereas our communities have not yet fully recovered from the trauma and sadness caused by Karla Homolka; and

"Whereas Karla Homolka believes that she should be entitled to passes to leave prison with an escort; and

"Whereas the people of Ontario believe that criminals should be forced to serve sentences that reflect the seriousness of their crimes;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government of Ontario will:

"Do everything within its power to ensure that Karla Homolka serves her full sentence;

"Continue to reform parole and make it more difficult for serious offenders to return to our streets;

"Fight the federal government's plan to release up to 1,600 more convicted criminals on to Ontario streets; and

"Ensure that the Ontario government's sex offender registry is functioning as quickly as possible."

I'm pleased to affix my signature to this petition.

HAZARDOUS WASTE

Ms Caroline Di Cocco (Sarnia-Lambton): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Safety-Kleen is a company that operates a hazardous waste facility near Sarnia; and

"Whereas this company accepts toxic waste from all of Ontario and from many states of the United States; and

"Whereas this company failed to report in a timely manner to the Ministry of the Environment and to the community that a hazardous leak occurred;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"To close down the hazardous waste dump near Sarnia and to tighten environmental regulation regarding toxic waste to protect the health of the people and the environment of Sarnia-Lambton."

I affix my signature to this petition.

OAK RIDGES MORaine

Mr Mike Colle (Eglinton-Lawrence): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"To Save the Oak Ridges Moraine for Future Generations by passing Bill 12:

"Whereas the Oak Ridges moraine is the rain barrel for the GTA and the headwaters for over 50 streams and rivers that flow into Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario; and

"Whereas the Oak Ridges moraine is threatened by uncontrolled development that will destroy hundreds of important natural areas and dozens of rare species of plants and animals; and

"Whereas government and expert reports are warning that permanent damage will be done to the supply of water if proposed developments are not managed properly; and

"Whereas the Harris government refuses to do anything to protect the moraine and refuses to listen to its own ministry experts, local residents and environmentalists; and

"Whereas the province must act quickly to ensure that environmentally responsible, sustainable development practices are put in place in this extremely fragile 160-kilometre strip of land that stretches from Caledon to Cobourg;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the province of Ontario pass Bill 12, the Oak Ridges Moraine Protection and Preservation Act, and freeze development on the Oak Ridges moraine until a plan is in place to protect and preserve the moraine for future generations."

I affix my name to this petition.

GASOLINE PRICES

Mr Mike Colle (Eglinton-Lawrence): I have a petition to stop the soaring price of gasoline arising from the gas price gouging of the major oil companies. It's to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the price of gasoline has soared over 30% in price in the last six months; and

"Whereas the Mike Harris government has done nothing to protect consumers and is afraid to take on the big oil companies; and

"Whereas the wholesale market for gasoline is controlled by an oil oligopoly which controls 85% of the wholesale market; and

"Whereas the big oil companies have used predatory pricing to eliminate small competitors; and

"Whereas, in 1975, former Premier Bill Davis froze the price of gasoline for 135 days and called an inquiry into the pricing practices of oil companies;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the province of Ontario call for a 90-day freeze on the price of gasoline while an inquiry is held into the pricing practices of large oil companies and that the province pass into law the Gas Price Watchdog Act which would protect consumers and independent oil companies from price gouging and predatory pricing."

I'll affix my name to that petition.

OMNIBUS LEGISLATION

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): As you know, last week the member for Windsor-St Clair rose on a point of order and we will be hearing the points of order now.

The member for Windsor-St Clair on his point of order.

Mr Dwight Duncan (Windsor-St Clair): Last week, when your colleague the Deputy Speaker was in the chair, I raised a point with respect to omnibus bills and also with respect, in a broader sense, to how the affairs of the Legislature are being conducted now and how difficult it's making it.

The week prior to that, my colleague from Thunder Bay-Atikokan raised a point of order with respect to the omnibus nature of Bill 23, which we voted on earlier today. I should note that that was another bill that in our view should have been broken out. Although there is a common strand in terms of the ministry, the two items contained in that bill were of a very different nature. Frankly, speaking in terms of the public interest, it's our view, the view of the official opposition, that the bill was indeed another example of something where both parts of the bill deserved the serious and undivided attention of the Legislature.

You'll recall, Mr Speaker, that one section dealt with the government's ability to sue third parties with respect to recovering health care costs. We view that as giving the government the ability to sue tobacco companies on cigarette smoking. That portion of the bill was one which the opposition would have been pleased to support separately had we had the opportunity to debate and vote on it separately.

The second part of the bill was designed to give the Minister of Health the powers of the Health Services Restructuring Commission until, as I recollect, the year 2005. Obviously the government supports that part of the bill and likes it. We in the official opposition do not support that and would have liked and believe we ought to have had the opportunity to debate that separately and apart from something that's very different, although very much attached vis-à-vis the ministry it emanates from.

You ruled on that. You cited concern at that time, but ruled that my colleague's point was out of order. You indicated that "the opportunity for members in this place to give due and sufficient consideration to legislation

should be respected. Evolving practice over the last several years has tended certainly to work against that." Again, I'm quoting you, sir.

The rights and privileges of all members of this House are undermined by the government's obvious desire to prevent meaningful debate either in the Legislature or, more importantly from our perspective, sir, among the general public.

Speaking of and referencing Bill 25—that's the bill that we will begin debating tonight—again it's a bill that deals with a number of different subjects, albeit tied in to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. They are separate subjects, sir, that we believe ought to have the full attention of the House; for instance, the bill amalgamating the municipalities in Hamilton, in Ottawa, Sudbury, Haldimand-Norfolk. Each of those, in our view, merits at least some individual attention by this House.

The Speaker will also be aware that contained within that bill are further clauses that deal with a range of other issues, including the reduction in the number of members of Toronto city council.

Another important point that has tended to get lost is again notionally the idea that the government has put into this bill that will extend the ability of the government to appoint a commissioner under the Municipal Act for another two years. Even though those amendments come from the same ministry, indeed out of some of the same acts, it is the view of the official opposition that they are of sufficient importance and stature that they ought to have the attention of this House in an undivided fashion.

1520

It's the view of the official opposition that we again in a number of instances may have supported parts of that bill, but in other instances we simply can't. It's the view of the official opposition that indeed it's increasingly the strategy of the government to do just that: to make it difficult not only for the official opposition but moreover the people of Ontario to distinguish on matters that frankly, from our point of view, merit individual attention and individual concern.

Various speakers over time have referenced these types of bills and whether sufficient debate is allowed with regard to important public issues, whether a bill is split or not. Allow me to refer you to a ruling by the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, Speaker of the federal House of Commons, as recorded in the Commons Journals for January 26, 1971, page 284. Lamoureux says, "There must be a point where we go beyond what is acceptable from a strictly parliamentary standpoint." He goes on to say, "... the government has followed the practices that has been accepted in the past, rightly or wrongly, but that we may have reached the point where we are going too far and that omnibus bills" of this type "seek to take in too much" too quickly.

James Jerome, on May 11, 1977, further indicated "some very deep concern"—not unlike the concerns you, sir, expressed some two weeks ago, "about whether our practices in respect of bills do in fact provide a remedy for the very legitimate complaint of the honourable

member that a bill of this kind gives the government, under our practices, the right to demand one decision on a number of quite different, although related, subjects."

While you, sir, last week expressed concern about the government's practices, you proposed no solution nor in fact did you direct the House leaders of the three recognized parties to come up with a solution. In order to protect the rights and privileges of all members of the House, the official opposition respectfully requests more guidance from you. We require a more definitive ruling either with respect to your own ruling or by directing that the House leaders of the three parties attempt to find a solution to this problem.

The government consistently uses its parliamentary majority to thwart any opportunity by the official opposition to meaningfully negotiate the way legislation is dispensed with in this House. This, coupled with changes to the standing orders over the past eight years that have been done by this government and by previous governments, has undermined meaningful debate on questions of broad public importance.

I think Mr Speaker Jerome's comments are most salient. Again today, at the 11th hour—this is the 34th day this House has sat this year; two separate legislatures have sat—we have bills that in our view, the view of the official opposition, only have a tenuous relationship, that merit a full public discussion and debate if we are to pay to them the kind of attention they deserve.

It's our hope, sir, that you will rule or direct the House leaders to find a way to deal with these kinds of circumstances. We find ourselves again today, with Bill 25, in the position where we will not be able to have public hearings on a bill that in our view is five very separate, very different, very important items that there ought to be time in the Legislature to debate in their entirety.

While the government will tell you that they have to get this passed in order to accommodate municipal elections next year, the fact is that this government, by its own precedent in the city of Toronto, didn't pass its Toronto bill until April of the same year those elections were held. The practice in municipalities in terms of municipal nominations is that most people, even though they can begin getting nominated by January 1—the process doesn't start in earnest until August or September.

So we look to you, sir, for direction, whether it be you breaking out certain bills or defining more clearly what is appropriate or not, but moreover, directing that the House leaders meet formally under your direction to find a solution to this problem.

It is, in our view, a direct threat to our ability as members not only to debate and come to understand bills, but more important, to allow the public the opportunity to participate in debates either through bills, through committee or otherwise. Our failure to do so, our failure to recognize the very wise comments of yourself some two weeks ago, and your predecessors in the federal House, we think continues to undermine this Legislature's ability to deal with issues.

We heard last week concern about the tenor of debate in this place, and it should be no wonder. As I've indicated, over the last eight years—indeed, over the last 10 years—the ability of oppositions and the ability of government members to debate legislation has been slowly whittled away to the point where, in utter frustration, debate does tend to degenerate to a stage I don't think any of us are happy with.

We recognize that this House is our House and that this House is one where we must agree to the rules. I ask you, sir, to understand that when a government has a majority, the government can, generally speaking, do what it wants. We're asking you to direct the House leaders to find a solution to this vexing problem so that we are not put in the position of having to vote once on items that frankly are very separate and very distinct even though they may have common threads, and allow us to have a more meaningful public debate into very important issues.

The Speaker: I thank the member for his point of order. The member for Hamilton West.

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton West): I appreciate the opportunity to add my comments and go on the record with regard to this issue. At the outset I need to be very clear that I am not speaking as the House leader of the third party but rather the member for Hamilton West.

As this relates very much to my community, among others, I think it's important that I start by saying, Speaker, in addition to this being a point of order, I see it very much as a point of privilege to the extent that my rights as a member of this place are being denied me by virtue of the process—not the right to a legitimate mandate but the process that the majority government is using to implement Bill 25.

First of all, the size of this bill alone should cause everyone to stop and think for a moment, particularly when we look at the possibility that this bill could be law within days—some 167 pages in one bill. It's a huge bill. Without getting into the dynamics of the various component pieces, a bill this size alone deserves the proper scrutiny of committee and full House participation in terms of discussion, and there is every likelihood to believe that's not going to happen. I realize that we don't know that yet, but I think if anybody wants a pretty safe bet, putting money on the fact that there is going to be time allocation on Bill 25 is about as safe as they get.

You will know, Speaker, that this bill deals with—in fact, as the subheadings state—a number of different acts, different communities. The explanatory note alone, which you will know is normally one, two or three paragraphs at the most for a relatively complex bill, in the case of Bill 25, runs three pages. It's as long as most of the bills that we deal with, just the explanatory note alone.

The bill then goes on, as I mentioned earlier, to talk about the City of Greater Sudbury Act. It's a part of this, a separate bill. The Town of Haldimand Act should be a separate bill. The City of Hamilton Act should be a separate bill.

Lastly, the components that make up amendments, as they're called in schedule F, amendments to various statutes, go on and mention all kinds of different acts: the City of Toronto Act, the Electricity Act, the Municipal Act, the French Language Services Act. It goes on and on.

1530

I want to make reference, as has my colleague from the official opposition, to a well-known and respected Speaker in Canada, and that would be Speaker Carr and your comment, sir, of Thursday, December 2, just within the last two weeks. I remind you, with respect, that at that time we were dealing with another omnibus issue, and the opposition was asking that you split the bill to allow us our right as members to comment and vote on different laws that we might have different opinions on, rather than bundling them into an omnibus bill, as we have here in the case of Bill 25.

At that time, Speaker, you said the following in response to my submissions: "I would, however, like to say that in determining this as Speaker, I have found that omnibus bills cause me great concern. I take what the member for Hamilton West has said very seriously. The opportunities for members in this place to give due and sufficient consideration to legislation should be respected, and evolving practice over the last few years has tended to work against that. In my ruling, I said very clearly that I find this bill to be in order."

On another point, Speaker, you say: "But again I say, and I take with great respect what the member for Hamilton West has said, that the opportunity for members in this place to give due and sufficient consideration to legislation should be respected. Evolving practice over the last several years has tended certainly to work against that."

Speaker, with the greatest of respect, I say to you that we would obviously agree with those words. But until such point as there is a change in practice in this place, respectfully, sir, they remain words, albeit comforting words but words nonetheless. At some point, we need you to step in and defend our right as minority members in the opposition to maintain our full rights as MPPs.

In my case in particular, for all my public life I have supported a one-tier government for my community. While I have some difficulties with the way this particular Hamilton act has been put together, I feel that I have a right to deal with that act as it affects my community. I represent one-third of the constituents. I believe I should have my right to express my concerns about that bill, made available to me, and my right to vote "yea" or "nay" on that bill.

As it happens, how I feel about that part of Bill 25 is different from how I feel about some of the other parts, because they do different things. Yet I, and anyone else in my situation, finds themselves basically in a situation of parliamentary blackmail, to the point that one vote for this bill, once it's on the record, can technically be used by anyone to state as part of my public record in representing Hamiltonians that I voted yes or no on every single component in here. I don't think that's right.

When I look at your comments of December 2, it seems to me that you are saying the same thing, that in cases like this where we have differing opinions on different parts of the same bill, at some point you cross a threshold where individual MPPs have lost the ability, through the process involved, to carry out their responsibilities and to have accorded to them the privileges and rights that a member of the provincial Parliament has.

So, Speaker, with great respect, I ask you to give effect and action to your earlier ruling to what seems to be your general leaning—and I don't want to put words in your mouth—by making a ruling in this case that breaks this cycle and returning at least some small amount of democracy to this place. By that I mean ensuring that individual MPPs in the opposition, in a House controlled by a majority government, have every opportunity to avail themselves of the rights and privileges that ought to be accorded and are meant to be accorded to individuals when they are given the honour by their community of sitting in this place and representing them.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Timmins-James Bay): Point of order, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: Is it a different point of order or the same point of order?

M. Bisson : C'est un point d'ordre complètement séparé de ce point qui a été soulevé, monsieur le Président.

Vous savez qu'il est arrivé une couple de fois dans les deux dernières semaines que des membres de l'opposition dans notre parti ont posé des questions directement à un ministre, et vous, dans votre décision comme Président de la Chambre, avez dit que si on pose une question à quelqu'un et ce n'est pas nécessairement le meilleur ministre à qui diriger la question, le ministre avait le droit de référer la question. Vous savez que c'est arrivé directement la semaine passée et même la semaine avant. Aujourd'hui dans la Chambre j'ai posé ma question à M. Baird, le ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones, question qui était dirigée directement aux ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones—

The Speaker: Would the member take his seat. This is a completely different point of order. He may not have come in during—this is a point of order on—

Interjection.

The Speaker: No, it's on a different matter, but I thank the member anyway. Sorry. The chief government whip.

Hon Frank Klees (Minister without Portfolio): I appreciate the opportunity as well to speak to this point of order. Bill 25 may be an omnibus bill, but as my colleagues have previously spoken and admitted in this House, omnibus bills are not strangers to this place. In fact, there are many precedents in this very House of omnibus bills being considered, being debated, being passed.

I would say at the outset, Speaker, that I believe the issue before you is to deal with the appropriateness of this bill in the context of information that you should be considering as you deliberate on this. I believe that we'll

all agree that there are parliamentary rules and forms that guide this House, there are standing orders that guide this House, and there are precedents; and before we move to precedents in other parliaments, I believe you will agree as well that the precedents that have been set in this House must be considered before any precedents set in any other parliamentary forum. So I believe, as I will put the argument to you, that we have the precedents in this House for the form of legislation before you.

I refer you to Beauchesne, section 626: "Although there is no specific set of rules or guidelines governing the content of a bill, there should be a theme of relevancy amongst the contents of a bill. They must be relevant to and subject to the umbrella which is raised by the terminology of the long title of the bill." Where a bill adheres to this requirement, no Speaker in our parliamentary tradition has ruled such a bill out of order. The measures contained within Bill 25 clearly fit within the umbrella of its long title: "An Act to provide for the restructuring of four regional municipalities and to amend the Municipal Act and various other Acts in connection with municipal restructuring and with municipal electricity services."

This bill moves forward with restructuring initiatives in various municipalities, four specifically as referenced in the long title. It addresses a number of outstanding issues of municipal reform with the goal of helping our municipalities to rationalize their administrative structures, to deal with the mechanics of restructuring and to improve delivery of services. This municipal restructuring theme, this theme of relevancy—which, by the way my colleague from Windsor-St Clair referred to, and he admitted in his own argument to you that there is a theme of relevancy in Bill 25—is clearly reflected in the long title of the bill, as referred to in Beauchesne.

Omnibus bills are not new to this House, as I indicated before, and they have been regularly found to be procedurally acceptable where they have conformed to this theme of relevancy in their long title, as laid out in Beauchesne. Rulings by Speakers of the Ontario Legislature—and this is the place I believe you need to look for the issue of precedence—as well as the federal House, by the way, to which my honourable colleague referred, have supported consistently the practice of using one bill to demand one decision by members of this House on a number of quite different issues, although related.

You yourself, Speaker, upheld this test of the form of a bill in your ruling of December 2, 1999, and that was with respect to Bill 23. Clearly, you indicated some concern in terms of allowing the appropriate time for debate, and we will have that in this House. My colleagues refer to the need to have their time to express their opposition to or support of different parts of the bill, and they will have that in this House. On that occasion you noted, and I would like to quote your ruling, "... there have been numerous omnibus bills that have been found in order by previous Speakers, who considered them to be acceptably consistent with parliamentary practice."

The scope of the legislation before us, Bill 25, is more limited, and I say considerably more limited, than that of previous omnibus bills introduced by this government and the former NDP government. The NDP's Bill 175, as I'm sure my colleague will recall, Bills 26, 152 and 25 of the past Parliament, were all omnibus bills of considerably greater scope than the bill before us today and they were deemed procedurally acceptable in this House.

Points of order raised when the NDP's Bill 175 was called for second reading expressed doubt whether the contents of that bill demonstrated a theme of relevancy. It was noted that the matters covered by that bill ranged from allowing individuals to pay driver's licences, permits and plates by credit card to banning the use of leg traps in the wild fur industry. Speaker Warner found Bill 175 to be in order and it was eventually passed into law.

Speaker, the bill before us today is considerably more limited in scope and diversity than was Bill 175, and that dealt with 139 statutes in 14 different ministries. The bill in question today deals with a single ministry, and its components all derive from the same municipal restructuring project, the same theme of relevancy.

The precedents are clear: Bills are in order as long as there is the theme of relevancy among the contents of the bill, and I submit to you on behalf of our government that in this case the umbrella of the long title demonstrates the coherence among the bill's contents. The contents of Bill 25, we believe, fall within the umbrella of its long title and we trust that you, as Speaker, will agree that this bill is in order. I thank you for the opportunity to make this submission.

The Speaker: I thank the chief government whip. I will recess for 15 minutes and come back with my ruling.

The House recessed from 1545 to 1600.

The Speaker: I want to thank the chief government whip, the House leader of the official opposition and the member for Hamilton West for their submissions on Bill 25, An Act to provide for the restructuring of four regional municipalities and to amend the Municipal Act.

Like you, I have carefully reviewed the bill and our precedents and practices as they relate to omnibus legislation. Omnibus bills have been the subject of procedural scrutiny in this country for almost three decades. In that time, members and Speakers alike have expressed grave concern over the use of this kind of legislation and I am mindful that there may come a time when we go too far. However, while members may have expressed what undoubtedly are legitimate grievances with regard to Bill 25, they do not make the bill procedurally unacceptable. As Speaker Lamoureux said in the House of Commons of Canada in 1971, the issue for the Speaker is whether there has been advanced a "legitimate procedural argument."

Therein lies my responsibility. I must ensure that the contents of the omnibus bill have a theme of relevancy subject to the umbrella which is raised by the long title of the bill. We in this House have had experience with a number of omnibus bills, many of which have caused a great deal of controversy. Several of those bills, I would

say, had a lesser thread of relevancy than the one we have here before us today.

How does one determine relevancy? According to Beauchesne, relevancy is determined as follows:

"... there should be a theme of relevancy among the contents of a bill. They must be relevant to and subject to the umbrella which is raised by the terminology of the long title of the bill."

On June 10, 1997, Speaker Stockwell noted that a bill cannot be saved by its title and that "a theme of relevancy is achieved when all parts of the bill are linked in a tangible way."

I concur with Speaker Stockwell's more restrictive definition of relevancy, and it is that which I applied to my consideration of Bill 25. This bill creates five new statutes and amends several others. It is long and, I agree with some members, there may be aspects of it which may cause serious concern. However, while it covers several different geographical areas of the province, it maintains throughout the consistent theme of municipal restructuring. My reading of the bill found no unrelated subjects.

I do not find that the parts of the bill are so different as to have no connection with each other and therefore cannot find the bill out of order.

I want to address the comments made by the House leader for the official opposition relating to his request for direction from the Speaker that the House leaders meet to deal with this issue. I must say it requires no direction from the Speaker for the House leaders to come together and to make any arrangements among them on how the business of the House is to be conducted. This has happened numerous times in the past, and either as a result of unanimous consent of the House or the stated agreement of the House leaders, Speakers have allowed matters to be conducted in accordance with those agreements. On the issue specifically of omnibus bill legislation, Speaker Sauvé perhaps said it best when in 1982 she stated, "It may be that the House should accept rules or guidelines as to the form and content of omnibus bills, but in that case the House, and not the Speaker, must make those rules."

As I say, that option always lies open to the House leaders. Obviously, I would be more than happy to offer any facilities and resources of my office for any meetings that you may initiate in this regard.

I want to thank all of the members for their participation in the point of order.

Point of order, the member for Timmins-St James.

RENVOI DE QUESTIONS REFERRAL OF QUESTION

M. Gilles Bisson (Timmins-Baie James) : Timmins-James Bay, monsieur le Président. St James, c'est de l'autre bord de la province. C'est correct.

J'ai un point et je ne veux pas prendre trop de temps, mais je veux le faire. C'est assez important pour nous dans l'opposition.

À une couple d'occasions, notre parti, le caucus néo-démocrate, a posé des questions à un ministre spécifique sur une certaine matière. Vous, quand on a posé ces questions, avez dit qu'on n'avait pas le droit de poser la question à un ministre, tel comme la semaine passée, quand on a posé au ministre du Travail une question sur l'amalgamation de la ville de Toronto, et vous-même avez référé cette question à un autre ministre de la Couronne.

Aujourd'hui dans la Chambre, j'ai posé une question directement au ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones, lui demandant quelle pourrait être sa position envers la décision du sujet dont on avait parlé sur l'hôpital Montfort. Le ministre a référé la question, et c'est le point d'ordre que je vous demande.

C'est mon opinion que j'ai posé à ce ministre une question faisant affaire directement avec lui et qu'il n'avait pas le droit de référer la question. Je vous demande des directives là-dessus.

The Speaker (Hon Gary Carr): To the point of order: As you know, you need to ask a question of the minister in his or her relevancy. The minister can still refer the questions, under our standing orders, to any other ministry, and that is what has happened today. So it is not a point of order, but I thank the member for his point.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

FEWER MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS ACT, 1999

LOI DE 1999 RÉDUISANT LE NOMBRE DE CONSEILLERS MUNICIPAUX

Mr Clement moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 25, An Act to provide for the restructuring of four regional municipalities and to amend the Municipal Act and various other Acts in connection with municipal restructuring and with municipal electricity services / Projet de loi 25, Loi prévoyant la restructuration de quatre municipalités régionales et modifiant la Loi sur les municipalités et diverses autres lois en ce qui a trait aux restructurations municipales et aux services municipaux d'électricité.

Hon Tony Clement (Minister of the Environment, Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing): At this time I seek to divide my time with the member for Carleton-Gloucester and the member for Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant. I'll deem silence to be acceptance.

I just had the opportunity to move second reading of Bill 25, which in its short title is the Fewer Municipal Politicians Act, an act that if passed by this Legislature will lead to more efficient and more accountable government in municipalities across Ontario.

Since we introduced this act last week, there has been a great deal of debate and a great deal of interest in this legislation, without a doubt. We on this side of the House welcome this because it is through this debate, through the continuing discussion at first and second and third readings of this bill, through encouraging further public input, that we can offer Ontarians the best way of achieving lower taxes and fewer politicians. That is our particular goal: lower taxes and fewer politicians.

When our government was first elected in 1995, we took the initiative and reduced our own numbers first. We cut the number of MPPs in this province from 130 down to 103 and we are proud to say that this move has saved taxpayers an estimated \$6 million per year.

Many municipalities have followed suit. There are now 586 municipalities in Ontario, down from 815, and 1,059 fewer politicians in this province. This reform has meant savings of more than \$220 million a year, and taxpayers have seen the benefits of more efficient services: less overlap, less duplication and red tape and more accountability.

Our government believes that more taxpayers deserve these benefits. That's one of the reasons we took action in August of this year and announced that we would help to put an end to the seemingly endless debate over local government reform in four regions of Ontario: Haldimand-Norfolk, Hamilton-Wentworth, Ottawa-Carleton and Sudbury. It had become frustrating for all involved. Taxpayers were telling their municipal councillors, "Stop talking and do something," and we agreed with them.

We put the brakes to the indecision and we appointed a special adviser for each region. They held numerous meetings, received more than 1,600 written submissions and reviewed existing proposals and research. They sought the best ways to achieve lower taxes, to achieve fewer politicians and simpler, more efficient and more accountable local government. Last month they gave me their recommendations, and I was pleased in turn to release them publicly and to present them to our caucus and to cabinet.

Our government promised at the outset that we would review the recommendations as a priority and that we would act quickly. We promised the residents of these areas that solutions would be in place for the November 2000 municipal elections, and that our legislation, if passed by this Legislature, would ensure that this happens.

I would like to take a few minutes and discuss each of the four regions in turn and their proposed new governance structure.

First, Haldimand-Norfolk: This region has been the subject of several governance studies. The most recent was in 1994, and that recommended that the number of councillors be reduced by about 50% and that some responsibilities be transferred from the region to the local municipalities. It was opposed by certain interests and no reform took place.

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The structure we are proposing in our legislation takes this study into account, and a great deal more. We are

proposing that the regional municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk and the six local municipalities of Delhi, Dunnville, Haldimand, Nanticoke, Norfolk and Simcoe be replaced by two new municipalities: the town of Haldimand and the town of Norfolk. The new boundaries would closely follow the boundaries that divided Norfolk and Haldimand counties.

With respect to council sizes, the new town of Haldimand would have a seven-member council, including a directly elected mayor. The new town of Norfolk would have a nine-member council, including a directly elected mayor. The two municipalities would share the police services board and ownership of the Tom Howe landfill site. Together, they would have 47 fewer municipal politicians than they do now, while taxpayers could save upwards of \$2.5 million per year.

Second, I want to turn our attention to the regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth. This region has been reviewing its structure of municipal government since early 1995. Each and every effort, including a constituent assembly, including mediation, including proposed private legislation, has ended unsuccessfully. Our legislation, if passed by this Legislature, would end the uncertainty.

We propose that Hamilton-Wentworth and its six local municipalities—Ancaster, Dundas, Flamborough, Glanbrook, Hamilton and Stoney Creek—would be replaced by a single city, and a process would be put into place that would allow for further community discussions regarding the future of Flamborough.

The new city would have a 14-member council, including a directly elected mayor, and it would mean 45 fewer municipal politicians than there are now. Taxpayers could save \$35 million per year when you add in the savings from merging the administrations of the city of Hamilton and the regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth.

I would like now to move to the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in my remarks.

Interjection: We wish you would move.

Hon Mr Clement: That's why I said "in my remarks."

This region too has a long history of municipal reform efforts. Various options have been presented over the years, and each has been unacceptable, unfortunately, to one group or another. Most recently, a citizens' panel was appointed in the fall of 1997 but was unfortunately disbanded the following spring, citing interference from municipalities.

We propose that this region and its 11 local municipalities—Cumberland, Goulbourn, Gloucester, Kanata, Nepean, Osgoode, Ottawa, Rideau, Rockcliffe Park, Vanier and West Carleton—be replaced by one city, and we'll put a process in place to allow for community discussions on the future of Torbolton and Fitzroy in the northwestern part of West Carleton.

The new city would have a 21-member council, including a directly elected mayor, and taxpayers could

save up to \$75 million per year. There would be 63 fewer municipal politicians than there are in place currently.

Fourth, I'd like to turn to the regional municipality of Sudbury. In the last several years, all restructuring efforts in the Sudbury region have ended without success. The only approved change was made in 1997, when the council agreed to the direct election of the regional chair.

It is now proposed that this region and its seven local municipalities—Capreol, Nickel Centre, Onaping Falls, Rayside-Balfour, Sudbury, Valley East and Walden—be replaced by one city. This new city would also take on nine surrounding geographic townships to the north and southeast, an area with a total population of about 1,200 people. There would be a 13-member council, with one mayor and two councillors for each of six wards. It would mean 35 fewer municipal politicians than there are now, and it's expected that the annual savings there could reach \$8.5 million per year.

All of these changes mean that the number of municipalities in these four areas would be reduced from 34 to five. The total number of politicians would be cut from 254 down to 64. That's 190 fewer municipal politicians, and taxpayers could save almost \$121 million per year.

We would be creating five new municipalities with larger, more solid cores that would better attract investment and create jobs for their communities. That would be a benefit not only for those individual communities but for all the people in Ontario.

Should this legislation pass, our goal is that each of the five municipalities would be established on January 1, 2001. In the meantime, we would put transition boards in place to ensure that the transition would be smooth. It's important to ensure that services not be interrupted and that savings to taxpayers be found as soon as humanly possible.

Serving on a transition board would be an important role and we would choose the members carefully. Choices would be based on their knowledge of municipal issues, their management skills and experience, and the unique contribution the individuals could make to setting up the new municipality.

I would like to emphasize that these boards wouldn't be involved in the day-to-day decisions that affect the residents of these areas. Indeed, decisions would continue to be made by the elected municipal officials. Rather, the role of the transition boards is more forward-looking than that.

The boards would ensure that municipal expenditures and assets are safeguarded during the period of change. They would approve the year 2000 budgets, and their responsibilities would include recommending how services should best be delivered, determining the organizational structure and hiring key staff.

With respect to existing staff, this legislation provides that if a person is an employee of a municipality on the day on which it is dissolved, they would automatically become an employee of the new municipality. That's good news for all the employees.

There has been a great deal of positive reaction from the municipalities with respect to these changes, but one area that has caused some concern is the tax structure. We recognize that there are obvious differences between urban and rural areas: in land use, in use of sewers or water or transit, and in population as well. So our government feels that it's only fair that each new municipality be allowed to set different tax rates for different areas. We feel that it's only fair that for a limited period of time the municipalities be allowed to set different tax rates that take into account the different financial circumstances, including the debts and the reserves of the old municipalities. Again, we're talking about fairness.

There is one other urban-versus-rural matter that I would like to briefly address and that is what is called community identity. While the boundary lines of these municipalities may change, they are only lines on a map. As so many communities across this province have already discovered, you don't need to have your own local government and your own local bureaucracy to maintain your own identity. Communities are defined by their history, by their spirit, by their community events, by the people who live in them. Boundaries do not reflect or affect that truism. While 35 municipalities would be reduced to five, while services would be better, politicians would be fewer and taxes would be lower, I think we can all be sure that communities within each municipality would retain their own special and unique identity throughout any municipal boundary change.

Should this legislation pass the Legislature, the next year will be an exciting one for each of these four regions. They will be moving forward in a direction that they have each long contemplated but not been able to act upon. But there is still more hard work to be done. Governance reform takes a lot of commitment and a lot of co-operation and diligence on the part of both elected officials and public servants. But many of Ontario's municipalities have already gone through it. Many municipalities and their taxpayers have already experienced the benefits. I look forward to the day when the taxpayers of Haldimand-Norfolk, Ottawa-Carleton, Hamilton-Wentworth and Sudbury can say they have realized these benefits too, just as the city of Toronto has.

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As you know, Metro Toronto and its six member municipalities successfully amalgamated just two short years ago. The new city has achieved a great many savings and has become more efficient and accountable to its taxpayers. Yet we believe still more has to be done in the city of Toronto. We believe taxpayers deserve even further gains. That's why this legislation, should it pass, will reduce the number of Toronto city councillors to 44.

You will recall that the government's original plan was that, beginning in 1998, Toronto would be governed by 44 councillors and a mayor, with new ward boundaries based on the 22 new federal ridings. As a transitional measure, the province established a 28-ward model with 56 councillors and a mayor. Another councillor was added through a by-election, bringing the total to 58 in-

cluding the mayor. Toronto council was given the power to reduce its councillors to a more manageable level, but it hasn't moved on that despite the obvious benefit to the taxpayers.

We believe that Toronto taxpayers deserve the benefit of a smaller, more accountable council, and we believe that a more efficient, lower-cost council should be in place for the November 2000 elections. That's why we are moving forward with fewer politicians in Toronto. The council itself has indicated that they would prefer reducing to 44 councillors rather than to 22, and we have reflected this preference in our legislation. We look forward to hearing Toronto's recommendations on how best to divide the 22 ridings into 44 wards.

I would like to say as well that while reform is going on across this province, while there has been such success in terms of municipalities streamlining their operations, achieving lower taxes and fewer politicians and being more accountable and efficient, we know that more has to be done for the sake of the people in this province. That's why this legislation, should it pass, will allow us to extend and improve current provisions that allow local government reform in counties, separated municipalities and northern municipalities as well. It's why we keep urging regions outside the greater Toronto area—Muskoka, Niagara, Oxford and Waterloo—to continue to look at reform, and it's why we have also asked the four regions inside the GTA—

Interjection.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Bert Johnson): Member for Hamilton East, come to order.

Hon Mr Clement:—Durham, Halton, Peel and York, to continue to look for efficiencies. In this case, it makes sense for any reform to wait until after the Greater Toronto Services Board completes its review at the end of next year. Again—and really we can't say this enough—we want to give all the people of this province the benefit of lower taxes, fewer politicians, better services and more efficient and accountable government. That's what it's all about.

There are parts of this legislation that I would also like to speak briefly to if I could. We are asking that the Municipal Elections Act be amended with regard to municipal referendums. Currently the act allows municipalities to put a question on the ballot. The provisions in this bill would allow for terms and conditions to be set out by regulation.

We would also amend the Municipal Elections Act, 1996, so that French must be used in ballots and on other election materials related to the election of French-language school boards.

Also with this legislation we are honouring a request by Halton regional council to permit direct election of Halton's regional chair beginning with the November 2000 municipal elections. This will mean more accountable government in Halton region and will bring us one step closer to our goal of more accountable government across this province.

As you know, our government has always had very specific goals in terms of governance in the great province of Ontario. When we released the Common Sense Revolution five years ago, we stated that we wanted lower taxes, fewer politicians, and more efficient, effective and accountable government. We are still committed to less overlap, less waste and less duplication. We knew that we wanted clear lines of responsibility, less bureaucracy and better services for citizens. Our efforts, combined with the hard work and commitment of the municipal leaders and citizenry of this province, have taken us a long way down the road to better government for Ontarians.

There is still more work to be done. If passed, the Fewer Municipal Politicians Act will help us take those next steps, and I call upon the support of all members of this House to ensure that this happens on behalf of the taxpayers and on behalf of the hard-working Ontarians who are so important to the future of Ontario.

Mr Brian Coburn (Carleton-Gloucester): It is a pleasure for me to speak in favour of Bill 25. When this government was elected in 1995, it was quite clear that change had to occur in Ontario if we were going to meet the challenge of the future. It was, indeed, time for action. The economy was in the dumpster, we had high unemployment and a runaway deficit, and we were doing things the same way we had done them for the last 50 years. There was no innovation in the way we were doing some of our processes, whether it be planning, approvals in the construction industry or anything else that went on in our municipalities.

One of the requests of municipalities over the years had been, "Give us more authority so we can make decisions in our community, close to the residents and where we understand and identify with the residents of our community." For years and years, that plea was totally ignored by the province. In fact, it went the other way: A lot of authority at the municipal level was usurped by the province, and you had to send off and get approval for this, that and the other thing—time delays, bureaucracy and never-ending growth in red tape. It was this government that did listen and said, "Yes, we will make some change."

That, of course, resulted in the Who Does What panel and a lengthy discussion and debate with partners at the provincial level and the lower tier, on where the services are best delivered, where they can be held accountable and responsible to the people who are paying for the services.

That resulted in a shift of some services down to the lower tier. It resulted in restructurings that occurred across the province. The bill we are speaking to today follows along the lines of continual restructuring and reorganizing of the province, so that our residents, our taxpayers and our businesses will be better prepared to meet the challenges as we head into the next century.

Change is very closely associated with this government, whether it be in health care, education or in the restructuring. All those initiatives were taken so that we

can deal with the challenges facing us, where we have to do things smarter, more efficiently and more effectively, and be more accountable.

Ottawa-Carleton is the one I'm most familiar with, having been a mayor in one of the 12 governments there, and part of that debate and never-ending discussion for 18 years. I'd like to point out that since 1976, 29 studies or expensive consultations in one form or another resulted in no action.

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Look at the four regions where there has been ongoing discussion, debate and study: frustrating. It is frustrating for the people who live there, frustrating for the businesses trying to get things done, frustrating for the politicians, and they had created a lot of friction. It is an emotional debate when you're talking about your communities and how things should be organized to handle things in the future. It was time for action, no local decisions. There was ample opportunity for local decisions in all four regions, and the locally elected politicians could not come up with a local solution. So it was the commitment of this government that we would appoint special advisers to go in, consult in one final consultation, take into account all of the information-gathering that had gone on over the last 20 to 25 years in some of the areas, and then come forward with a recommendation on how best to reorganize these regions so taxpayers could take advantage of more efficient government and less costly bureaucracy.

There is ample evidence, in fact in abundance, that savings are achievable. As the minister had pointed out, since 1995 we have reduced the number of municipalities from 850 to 586; we have reduced the number of politicians by 1,059 in Ontario; and savings for taxpayers to date are in the order of \$220 million. That's no small change.

Once again it is decision time, so that even more Ontario taxpayers can enjoy savings, enjoy better accountability, enjoy better representation and more streamlined, efficient government. That certainly is what this bill is all about.

Just look at some of the goals and guidelines that the provincial government had set in place at the outset of restructuring:

Reducing government—fewer politicians, fewer municipalities—and not only that but reducing the entanglement between the different levels of municipalities so that it was in a more understandable format for the average taxpayer;

Enhancing accountability in the delivery and provision of services by having a more effective, more representative system of governance where politicians could be held accountable, where the bureaucrats could be held accountable;

Eliminating duplication and overlap, which indeed translates into best value for taxpayers: a review of services and the ability to provide those services as efficiently and effectively as possible;

Strengthening the ability to make local decisions, one of the underlying reasons why the entire process started. This was something that was being demanded by local municipalities, the ability to make the decisions in their communities that affected their residents, and the ability to make local decisions that would encourage investment and economic growth and job creation.

This act permits these four regions to address the provincial goals in a positive and thoughtful manner so that taxpayers will realize the savings and accountability they deserve and expect in a new governance model.

Just a couple of short years ago I had, as mayor in Ottawa-Carleton, promoted a three-city model and was involved with the other 10 mayors. But I had also promoted a model of governance that would end the debate and serve the residents of Ottawa-Carleton well, a governance model that would satisfy the goals laid down by the provincial government. Residents in my opinion deserve nothing less.

I want to compliment the special advisers—Mr Shortliffe in Ottawa, Mr O'Brien in Hamilton-Wentworth, Mr Farrow in Haldimand-Norfolk and Mr Thomas in Sudbury—for taking on the unenviable task of pulling together up to 25 years of debate and setting up a thorough consultation process on a very emotional issue. I compliment them for staying focused on the job at hand and drawing on the information received, and of course their wealth of experience, to formulate a model of governance that will serve our taxpayers well into the next century. I compliment you on doing a very difficult job very well.

Overall the new structures reduce the number of governments from 34 to five, a reduction in politicians from 254 to 64, a reduction of 190 politicians, for expected annual savings of about \$121 million.

In Ottawa-Carleton, once again, all 12 governments, the 11 municipalities and the region, despite the fact that they couldn't come to an agreement on a governance model, had agreed that a one-tier governance model was indeed the way to go. Unfortunately, the local solution always seemed to be just beyond their grasp.

This new model of governance in all four regions will enable local government to streamline bylaws, the approval process, delivery of service, so it is more effective, more responsive and more accountable for the taxpayers. Indeed, it does provide the councillors in each of those areas with more authority.

The new city of Ottawa will continue to be a designated area under the French Language Services Act, ensuring that the city receives services from the province in both languages. As in the past, municipalities have the authority to provide municipal services in French. I will continue to work to ensure that the status quo remains. It has been the practice in Ontario that duly elected municipal councillors are free to determine the expansion of these services.

On that particular issue, as a former mayor in Cumberland and as a member of that council, the service we provided to the francophone community was something

that had grown and developed over the years. I'm proud to tell you that the city of Cumberland, the city of Gloucester, the city of Vanier, the city of Ottawa and the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton did indeed have policies in place to be able to provide the services in both languages. That was a locally developed policy and it evolved over the years as to the level of service that was delivered to the residents. That ability is still there for the new city council to be able to make that decision on how, if and when they wish to expand those services, and to what degree.

All of us in this place and certainly in the province of Ontario are aware of the significant and monumental change around the world of an expanded global economy, of a world where the movement of information and data happens in a fraction of a second. Keeping that in mind, it is of utmost importance that we as the government of Ontario and as legislators continue to work to make sure that our municipalities, our residents, our communities and our businesses are well equipped to meet those challenges in the future, so that the market is not just something that's in the neighbourhood but that it is a global market that we can work towards and expand upon.

Our residents, our businesses and our institutions are depending on us to ensure that we have given them the tools to be well positioned to meet those challenges as we head into the next century.

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Our residents and our businesses expect value for their tax dollars. In the new model of governance there is an ability to establish benchmarks, best value and best business practices, so that we have some yardsticks with which our residents, our taxpayers and our business can measure newly established councils to see if in fact there is an improvement, that there is a constant improvement in the level of service, that there is an accountability there that can be measured by our taxpayers.

Transition boards will be put in place in each of the five areas. When this legislation is passed, each of the five new municipalities will be established on January 1, 2001. Transition boards will be put in place as soon as this legislation is passed early in the New Year so that the transition can run smoothly and there is no disruption in the level of service at the transition date between the old councils and the new city councils. The boards are important to ensure that services are not interrupted and that savings to taxpayers can be found as soon as possible.

There will be one transition board for both the towns of Haldimand and Norfolk, and single transition boards in each of Sudbury, Ottawa and Hamilton.

Serving on this board is indeed a very important role and, as the minister had indicated, those members will be chosen very carefully so that we have the expertise necessary to help make that transition process an outstanding success.

Some of the functions the board would be involved with would be approving the year 2000 budgets; amalgamating municipal electrical utilities and converting

them to business corporations, as municipalities must do by November 7, 2000; making decisions on municipal election administration matters, including the appointment of a returning officer, determining the organizational structure and hiring some of the key staff; making recommendations on the year 2001 budget, council committees and how services should best be delivered.

Transition boards have played an important role in the smooth transition of many of the amalgamations across this province, and they would be vital in helping these four regions set up their new municipalities in the best way possible.

One other item of concern when you go through transitions such as this is the employees, the people of each municipality who work for them. All of those individuals who have a job with a municipality on the day it is dissolved will automatically have a job with the new municipality. Bill 25 would give the transition boards the status of employer in the transition period. Existing collective agreements will be extended until new collective agreements are negotiated. Our goal is certainly stability in the workplace during the transition year.

Another area of great significance is that of taxation and area rating. Our government feels that in the implementation of this new governance structure it's only fair that each new municipality would be allowed to set different tax rates for different areas. For example, the cost of public transit in the new city of Ottawa could be paid for through the fare box and through special area rates in areas serviced by transit.

There is much more to do. As the minister indicated, there are numerous amalgamations and the potential for amalgamations across Ontario. The ones that have already been put in place are enjoying the benefits of those amalgamations, for they do save money, provide a more streamlined and effective model of governance and are more accountable to their taxpayers.

I believe that any of us in this place who have worked at the municipal level understand the importance of being able to have some control over your destiny at the municipal level. In the restructuring of these four regions, this act does just that. It provides more authority for the locally elected officials so that they can respond to the needs of their local residents and businesses.

Quite often, a couple of the major complaints as you went around the community were, "We're overgoverned," "There's too much red tape." You could hardly determine between one process and another, and once you crossed a boundary or a municipal line, there was another set of rules. Then you had to go and hire a consultant and a lawyer and an accountant and this battery of officials to try and keep things sorted out if you were trying to build homes or do any other business across municipal boundaries.

This is indeed a big step forward for these four regions, and it is now time to put our shoulders to the wheel and make sure that these restructured communities provide a much more efficient and accountable service

on behalf of their taxpayers. They deserve no less. As the minister stated, we will do everything we can to ensure that this clears the path for local officials to be able to make the decisions that affect their communities and that they can meet the challenges in the new millennium.

Mr Toby Barrett (Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant): Bill 25, the Fewer Municipal Politicians Act, is a popular piece of legislation among my constituents. This bill gives them what they've wanted since the birth of regional government in 1974. It gives them their two original municipalities back.

This bill provides people with light at the end of the municipal restructuring tunnel, something that many believed would never happen. Citizens in Ottawa-Carleton, Hamilton-Wentworth, Sudbury and Haldimand-Norfolk have endured countless studies, petitions, discussions, referenda and municipal motions concerning restructuring and so far have not received much in the way of action. Now that has changed. Our government has initiated a process for restructuring in these areas, areas of the province where most people agreed that something needed to be done but nothing had been done.

Some 27 years ago I chaired focus groups for the Earl Berger study on regionalism in Haldimand-Norfolk. At that time, regional government was nothing more than a gleam in a bureaucrat's eye. Then, as now, people did not want regional government in our area. To this day, people in Norfolk and Haldimand want the return of their two former counties, and I agree with their views.

I think it is important to point out that the members opposite have been all over the map with respect to municipal restructuring. In Haldimand-Norfolk, Liberals have been rowing in two directions, at first opposing and then supporting regional government when it seemed advantageous to do so. The former Liberal MPP for Norfolk, Gord Miller, opposed regional government in the early days and in this Legislature. Recently, our government announced restructuring in Haldimand-Norfolk. Former Liberal MPP Miller, in a letter to a daily newspaper in my riding, declared that regional government should now not be restructured. Former MPP Miller's flip-flop position was also supported by his son Doug, the Liberal candidate in the recent June election.

Municipal restructuring was an important issue in my riding during that election. I have advocated scrapping regional government since being elected in 1995, in order to lower taxes, enhance accountability and reduce bureaucracy. However, my opponents in the 1999 election favoured a status quo approach. I was clear about my intention to fight for restructuring if re-elected and I believe that this year's election sent a clear message from the province's citizens, and certainly the citizens of Haldimand-Norfolk, to continue to streamline government.

The Liberals in this House have made their position clear, as many of them were here as members of the 36th Parliament and voted as a group against my private member's bill to restructure Haldimand-Norfolk. Very

simply, although returning to a two-county approach was what local people wanted, Liberals were against it.

I would like to go over some of the history of local government in our area and the creation of the region, an event many consider to have been an experiment gone wrong.

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In 1790 the county of Norfolk was enacted as part of the London district of Upper Canada. After 1820 the county of Norfolk became the Talbot district, and Simcoe was made the district town. The Baldwin Act of 1849, which abolished districts, caused the county to be called Norfolk once again. Up to 1850 the townships of Walpole and Rainham, both in Haldimand, formed part of the Talbot district. The balance of Haldimand belonged in the Niagara district. In 1850 the county of Haldimand was set aside for municipal and judicial purposes, and Cayuga was established the following year as the county town.

The former counties of Norfolk and Haldimand have always been good neighbours. Both survived and thrived over the years by cooperating against common adversaries and the hardship of earning a living from the land. The boundary between them was invisible and understood: on one side the clay of Haldimand; on the other, the sand of Norfolk.

In 1974 they were partners in a shotgun wedding enacting a union that was not self-sufficient from the start. The marriage was propped up through subsidies from the province in the form of free policing, the "interim solution" farm tax rebate where the region double-dipped into the farm tax rebate program, and generous water and sewer subsidies.

This regional municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk was created in 1974 under the assumption that the new Nanticoke Industrial Park would rapidly expand and bring hundreds of thousands of people to the area. Before the shotgun nuptials in 1974, residents of the two counties were consulted; 80% opposed the creation of a regional government.

The 1974 promises of economic and urban growth did not come true. The 1972 Richardson study on local government predicted that the population of Haldimand-Norfolk would grow to more than 320,000 by the end of this century, a mere two weeks hence. However, during the last 25 years, population growth has averaged only about 1% a year. The Haldimand-Norfolk region is 2,876 square kilometres, and just under 100,000 people live in the region. The regional municipality is now the second-largest employer in the region, ahead of the Nanticoke generating station and the Imperial Oil refinery, and only behind the Lake Erie Steel Co. In Haldimand-Norfolk, a system of government was built to service a rapidly expanding urban and industrial area, but in 1999 we still have a sparsely populated area of farmers and farm-related infrastructure.

As I mentioned, there have been 20 years of studies, petitions, municipal referenda and municipal motions calling for an alternative to the forced marriage of Nor-

folk and Haldimand counties, a marriage of convenience to share the tax revenue from the industrial baby that was dropped on Nanticoke's doorstep.

The creation of the region of Haldimand-Norfolk grew out of an experiment in regionalism designed to govern future growth areas. With the creation of the region came the laying of the foundation of another experiment known as the new town of Townsend. In theory, it was to become a focus of regional growth, a city the size of Kitchener-Waterloo. Townsend was designed and launched by a provincially funded agency. Today, however, Townsend remains a static community of no more than a modest subdivision of homes.

The Earl Berger study of 1972 recognized local opposition to the region, concluding: "There is strong opposition to regional government in all group samples in Haldimand and Norfolk.... There is strong support for increasing the powers of local government."

As I mentioned, I chaired focus groups for this study and received the input of local people at first hand. They didn't want regional government and believed it would increase their taxes.

Since the first days of the Haldimand-Norfolk region there have been problems. In April 1974, after only 12 days in existence, the new council gave themselves a pay raise behind closed doors. One newspaper of the day said that their decision was "indeed an unfortunate start to a new era—starting out with 'secret' meetings: hiding behind closed doors in fear of what might be a politically unpopular decision."

Six years into regionalism, during the 1980 municipal election, the township of Norfolk held a referendum asking its residents if they supported renegotiating the Haldimand-Norfolk regional act and returning all responsibilities to the area level of government. The vote was yes, 3,298; no, 469. The result: No action was taken.

Nine years later, again in the township of Norfolk, a motion was passed by council to allow the township of Norfolk to operate as an independent municipality within Ontario. The result: No action was taken.

Also in 1989, the town of Haldimand passed a motion to investigate the possibility of seceding from the region. No action was taken.

The 1989 Pennell report advised local people that if regional government lost its free policing and other subsidies, a new model of government should be investigated. Again no action was taken by the council of the day.

In 1994, the Norfolk Taxpayers Coalition submitted 9,600 signatures, including some regional and local politicians wishing to "secede from the region of Haldimand-Norfolk." The government of the day commissioned the 1994 Barnes report, which indicated that the number of councillors should be reduced and duplication of services eliminated. Again no action was taken.

As part of the 1994 municipal election, both the town of Simcoe and the city of Nanticoke held referenda; 60% and 75% respectively voted for an alternative to regional government. Again no action was taken on this decision.

The 1995 regional chair's report advocated moving to a single-tier government.

Last year the Haldimand-Norfolk region levied a 17.9% tax increase on residents, the largest tax increase of any region in Ontario. In response, well over 10,000 people signed their name to a Residents Against Tax Hikes petition calling for a tax freeze and the elimination of regional government. However, there was no action taken to either cut costs or restructure.

Also in 1998, the Simcoe Reformer Angus Reid poll found that 75% of Haldimand-Norfolk residents have a strong attachment to their local council. The corresponding figure for regional council was 20%. The same poll found that 64% do not believe that local government is fine and should be left alone.

In the fall of 1998 I introduced legislation titled An Act to eliminate regional government, end duplication and save taxpayers money. This bill passed second reading with unanimous support of my caucus colleagues. As I mentioned earlier, the Liberals voted against this legislation.

When restructuring was announced this August for the four Ontario regions, I set out to consolidate the advice I had received concerning local government. That advice has been very consistent: Scrap the region and bring back Norfolk and Haldimand.

I submitted a brief to Haldimand-Norfolk's special adviser Milt Farrow, entitled *Creating Two Independent Counties in Norfolk and Haldimand*, in which I made some recommendations. For example, I recommended to Mr Farrow that the six existing municipalities be merged to form two large, independent county structures.

These one-tier municipal governments would be responsible for providing all municipal services across each area. Mr Farrow's report and this government's legislation reflect this recommendation and the wishes of local people. A strong majority, about 60% of the submissions received during this consultation process, favoured a two-county approach.

Recreating Norfolk and Haldimand is what people want, and that is what this legislation in Bill 25 intends to do. Each newly created municipality will be large enough to capitalize on economies of scale which exist for the delivery of services but are accessible enough to give residents a similar feel to small-town government.

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Under my proposal, the important industrial and commercial tax base derived from the Nanticoke industrial park would have been divided to the benefit of both counties. This would have effectively split the lucrative Nanticoke industrial tax assessment between the two counties on the basis of revenue by population. Mr Farrow chose to recommend that the line dividing the two municipalities be drawn so that the entire Nanticoke industrial park be located in the new town of Haldimand, with a plan to pay for joint services on the basis of weighted assessment.

I suggested that municipally provided health and social services could be coordinated through a joint

special services board of elected councillors, or each county could simply outsource the service. Joint public-private agreements with neighbouring municipalities could be set up. There are areas of overlap and duplication in the services provided by the region, by area municipalities and by the province. Not surprisingly, the current two-tiered arrangement leads to both perceived and actual duplication in some responsibilities.

Responsibility and accountability should go hand in hand. A convoluted system of shared service jurisdiction conspires to make real accountability impractical. The key to successful municipal governance is to clearly outline responsibilities for services, allow those responsibilities for these services to govern their planning, their funding and their delivery, and hold them accountable for the results.

Some in Haldimand-Norfolk indicated their desire for a stand-alone management board to coordinate the services that may be shared between the proposed municipalities. I strongly recommended to Mr Farrow that no management board be established, as the creation of such an entity would, both in appearance and later in practice, serve as a second level of government—the exact structural problem that led to the inefficiency of regionalism in the first place.

The transition to the two new counties will be intensive and must be free of undue influence. The transition year, next year, will be very important to decisions that shape the two municipalities. Above all, the transition must be fair and equitable and protect taxpayers.

My recommendations were based on the advice of local residents and on 27 years of experience in studying regional government. The birth of the region 25 years ago brought union without unity. Two self-contained county or district communities within the region have remained. To the untrained eye, the two counties have much in common and could appear to be homogeneous in geography and culture. However, the two counties still retain much of their former identity and loyalty. Sand remains sand; clay remains clay.

The legislation before the House today as it relates to Haldimand-Norfolk follows the wishes of residents. It will implement what is desired: a one-tier system of government, but in two separate and distinct municipalities. Local people feel that this is the best possible solution. This legislation gives citizens of Norfolk and Haldimand the restructuring news they've awaited for over 25 years. They will get Norfolk and Haldimand back.

If passed, the legislation will create two one-tier municipalities, Norfolk and Haldimand, on January 1, 2001. Norfolk's council is to be made up of eight councillors elected in seven wards and a mayor elected at large. Haldimand would also elect a mayor at large and have six ward councillors. Restructuring will reduce the number of municipal politicians from 63 to 16, not including school board trustees.

Special Adviser Farrow estimates that restructuring will save local property taxpayers a minimum of \$2.5 million a year. It's important to note that this savings

estimate does not include savings from new ways of doing business. Privatization and contracting out are just two measures which taxpayer groups have advocated. With sound management and good transition decisions, many believe that Norfolk and Haldimand can improve considerably on these savings projections.

In the 60 days that Special Adviser Farrow consulted with local people, the strong majority favoured the two-municipality approach. Mr Farrow listened and put forward a common sense recommendation for separating the two former counties. The legislation introduced by Minister Clement reflects Mr Farrow's report and, by extension, the wishes of local people. They told Mr Farrow what they wanted over the course of the two months, and government is now embarking to implement these reforms.

I am proud to speak in support of this legislation on behalf of my constituents. They've been waiting for it for a quarter of a century.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Michael A. Brown): Questions and comments?

Mr John Gerretsen (Kingston and the Islands): I found it very interesting listening to the member for Carleton-Gloucester earlier, when he was promoting this deal. I understand that he has been promoting the three-city model for the Ottawa area throughout, and now all of a sudden he has changed.

I would rather not get involved in the kind of name-calling, for example, that the last member got involved in where he said that so-and-so was in favour of this 10 years ago and now has changed his mind. First of all, I don't think there is anything wrong with people changing their minds. If nobody ever changed their mind, if everybody always came in with a set opinion about everything, then what are we doing here?

The one issue that in all of this restructuring has been totally lost sight of is that the government somehow thinks that by getting rid of a whole group of local politicians, many of whom serve for \$5,000 or \$10,000 per year, somehow we're doing something for representative government, that somehow we are enhancing representative government and that we're giving greater accountability to these smaller councils.

I've spoken about this on many occasions in this House. I think the fact that on the smaller councils in the rural municipalities a person is able to talk to their councillor down the concession line, or two lot lines over or what have you, about a local problem, and to somebody who can actually do something about a problem, is something that has really enhanced local government in this province for the last 150 years. All this mega-legislation, whether you favour part of the restructuring or not—I favour some restructuring—is just out to do one thing, and that is to get rid of as many politicians as possible so that, in the government's words, there can be "greater accountability." Well, if they want to take it to the extreme, why don't they just get rid of all government and impose dictatorships? Then you'd have greater accountability as far as they are concerned. It is not right to do it this way.

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton West): A couple of thoughts, having listened to the government members do their leadoff—first just a brief comment to my colleague across the way from Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant. Like the member for Kingston and the Islands, I would suggest that staying away from personalities and personal attacks is not only something he ought to avoid just from a professional standpoint, but people who live in glass houses—if you want to play that game, there are headlines such as "Norfolk Mayor Blasts Area MPP," and that looks like a reasonable picture of you, with your name underneath. So I don't know that you really want to go walking down that road. But far be it for me to tell you what to do.

Let me also say to the minister that his comments—this whole business of accountability, and he's going to improve democracy—are so galling, absolutely galling in the face of a mammoth bill like this that in every likelihood is going to be rammed through this House in a matter of a few days: 167 pages affecting hundreds of thousands of people, and not one minute of committee hearings—never mind public hearings—to do the work that we do at committee, which is to go through these bills and make sure they're as good as they can be and to try to avoid major mistakes, like your Planning Act, where you had to bring in six subsequent bills to fix it, or when you rammed through the WCB changes and did a lot of damage to volunteer firefighters. It was only because we gave unanimous consent that you got that fixed. We're going to see more problems here. Don't talk to us about accountability. You're the ones who don't understand democracy.

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Mr Ernie Parsons (Prince Edward-Hastings): We're seeing yet another attack on democracy in this province. I think this government's vision of democracy is similar to four wolves and a sheep voting on what to have for supper. There's democracy in action, but someone's going to lose.

It is the exact opposite of accountability that we're seeing. The accountability that exists now is when you have a locally elected person whom you may not know personally, but they're a neighbour. You know where they are, you're going to bump into them in the grocery store, you're going to see them in the driveway, and you can stop in and chat with them.

The fallacy that larger is more economical—I defy you to give me examples of where larger organizations are more efficient: Personal experience tells me that in many cases where I've been able to identify inefficiencies, it's because one of my neighbours or one of the taxpayers in the area came to me and said, "Do you know that this is going on?" and gave me the opportunity to rectify it. The taxpayer needs to talk to people who have the ability to make the change, and they will lose that, because with the larger government the decisions that have to be made will still be made, but they will be made by bureaucrats. I don't mean that as a derogatory term, but they will be made by bureaucrats.

When they are made by politicians, the taxpayers have the option every three years to say, "No, I don't agree with those decisions." That's lost when there's less democracy. That means an unaccountable individual will be making the decisions, and perhaps not making wrong decisions intentionally, but will not have the day-to-day contact. All of us know from electioneering that going door to door is a wonderful mechanism to find out what your community wants and what your community needs. I haven't seen a lot of bureaucrats knocking on doors around here trying to find out what's wanted. This is a retrograde step that is just one more layer of democracy being peeled off what is a wonderful province we have.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Timmins-James Bay): As the critic for the NDP on municipal affairs, I thought it was interesting to listen to the comments made by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, who stands in this House and says, my Lord, that he wants to pass this bill because it's going to increase accountability and—the word he used—democracy within local governments and within Ontario.

If you read this bill, it doesn't go anywhere near increasing the democratic process for local communities. Quite aside from the issue that, basically, freedom of information act requests are out the door by way of abolition through this bill when it comes to requests within the municipalities, are the powers that the Minister of Municipal Affairs is going to have, once this bill is passed, to do virtually anything he wants when it comes to changing any law necessary to allow this restructuring to take place. We know, as the member from Hamilton mentioned earlier, that when the government passed bills in this House last session, they so bungled municipal affairs bills such as the Planning Act that they had to come in with six other pieces of legislation afterwards to fix the bungling mess they created in the first place.

The government has a unique way of doing that. They say, "Well, we don't need the Legislature any more." No, don't be bothered with democratic debate and democratic process about how you change laws in this province. It's only worked in the British parliamentary system for the last 300 or 400 years. This government is going to, by way of this law, give the Minister of Municipal Affairs the power to change other laws without ever having to come to the Legislature. We're not talking about changing regulations; we're talking about changing laws. Those are far-sweeping powers the minister is taking and it certainly has absolutely nothing to do with increasing democratic control on the part of municipalities.

The government is wrong in this bill. It's flawed, and they should wake up and smell the coffee and withdraw this bill in its present form and any other form after.

The Acting Speaker: Response?

Mr Coburn: I'd just like to point out to all members of the House that the debate, discussion and consultation on this have gone on for over two decades in many of the areas. The special advisers were appointed, and everybody who wanted to had ample opportunity to comment.

For example, in Hamilton, the mayor of each municipality, all MPPs, the regional chair, three days of public meetings, 247 submissions. In Ottawa-Carleton, two full days of public sessions in Ottawa, two half-day sessions for rural residents; all 11 mayors, including the regional chair, spoke to the adviser; all municipal councils, all regional councils, some CAOs, 12 financial officers and treasurers, 1,026 written submissions, 89 phone calls. In Sudbury, four days of public meetings, 76 submissions; Haldimand-Norfolk: met with every councillor at least once, 330 people attended meetings in the six municipalities; major industries, including industrial-commercial, agricultural, ratepayer groups, met with the chiefs of the Six Nations Indian reserve, the Mississaugas of the New Credit Indian reserve—340 submissions. We've consulted and consulted. The public has said in each of these areas: "Enough already, it's got to end. Let's get a model of governance so that we can move forward and manage the corporations in a way that will address the challenges facing us in the new millennium."

For those in the House who had been municipal politicians, one of the biggest complaints you've heard as municipal politicians was not being able to make decisions in your own community that affected your own people. This bill does that. You've got more authority, more responsibility to make those decisions, and that is one of the major attractions of this bill.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Mike Colle (Eglinton-Lawrence): I want to express my disappointment with the Speaker's ruling that he wouldn't allow the splitting of this bill.

This bill affects the lives of over 3.5 million Ontarians. You've got everything in here, some of the biggest cities in this province—Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Sudbury. You're also changing the structure of regional government in Halton, you're changing the wording on referendums, that kind of legislation.

This legislation essentially covers the lives of many ordinary Ontarians and they're never going to have a chance to speak to it. As you know, this minister is refusing to have committee hearings or even public hearings because they are afraid to take this out to the public. We've challenged them to have them in public. I think we should have a hearing in Dundas; we should have a hearing in Cumberland. I want to take this legislation—and let's hear from the people in Dundas and Cumberland what they think about this piece of legislation.

This is the minister who talks about accountability. If that isn't an oxymoron as it relates to Bill 25. This bill has the most heinous clause probably ever put in a piece of legislation. I call it the end-justifies-the-means clause, where a minister of this government, behind closed doors, in secret, could amend or change any law of this province without any member of the Legislature, any member of the public having a say in that. That is abhorrent, it is undemocratic, it is dictatorial and it is not right. Even though you may agree—some people may agree with the changing of structures of local govern-

ment, and that's your prerogative. I don't challenge you on your disagreement. But I am asking the people of Ontario to say, "When this bill is passed, you are going to give a minister of the crown the right to change any piece of legislation behind closed doors," and there it is; in section after section they repeat it: "providing for consequential amendments to any act that, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, are necessary for the effective implementation of this act."

They can change any law by regulation. They don't have to come here and they don't have to go to the city councils. The minister, when confronted with this, said, "Well, I know it's quite a bit of power to get, but I'm only going to have it for a temporary period of time, then I'll give it back to you." You think, "Trust me with the dictatorial powers." We've heard that before. If this is about accountability, why would they have this anti-democratic, end-justifies-the-means clause throughout this bill, time and time again? Because, like the property tax assessment bills, they know there are going to be a lot of mistakes in this bill, and they want to cover up the mistakes through regulatory changes behind closed doors. They're going to rush this thing through with no public hearings or committee meetings, so you can bet your bottom dollar there will be many mistakes in Bill 25.

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This doesn't just affect politicians and bureaucrats; it affects real people living in all these communities. They're going to be affected by fire services, garbage pickup, health services and the quality of their roads, so it's important to get this right. Why not have, as I said, one day of hearings in each of the communities, just to make sure we get this thing right? As you know, with the property tax assessment bill they've had to bring in eight bills, and another one is coming, because they fouled up the property tax system so badly in this province.

Bill 25 is about municipal restructuring, eliminating politicians and wiping small towns and cities off the map. We know that. Basically, this government believes that small government is obsolete and that small government is disposable. We know that.

The impact on communities across Ontario, from Cumberland to Nepean, from Ancaster to Dundas to Delhi, will be permanent. This is not a temporary measure. These changes will be in effect for the next 25 to 50 years, if not longer. The communities affected by Bill 25, the omnibus, megacity bill, all have unique local identities, history and traditions. No doubt some of these local traditions and uniqueness will live on but many time-honoured, homemade ways of doing things will disappear forever.

I know the minister says these cities and towns are just lines on a map. But I think they're more than lines on a map. If you talk to my colleague from Prince Edward-Hastings, he'll tell you that towns like Picton are more than lines on a map. Belleville is more than lines on a map. These are real people with real hearts and souls,

whose families have been raised in these towns and cities. They are not just lines on a map.

No doubt, local identity, history and political culture mean little to the authors and supporters of this kind of legislation. Yet we know that if you don't take time to know and respect local history and the blood, sweat and tears that went into building these small but successful communities that have weathered everything from the ice storms and the Depression, you cannot expect our children and youth of the future to respect the traditions locally.

We all hear the mantra from the Harris government about the need to downsize for efficiency and prosperity. What we don't hear is anything about ordinary citizens and their right to be heard and to have access to their local elected officials.

Local government and decision-making is messy—we know that—and downright frustrating. Yet if you compare our representative system of local democracy with those in other countries or jurisdictions, you will see that our system, despite its faults and warts, is as good or better than most. I challenge you: Where is there a better system of local democracy in Canada than in Ontario as we had it until this government came along?

This piece of legislation is about establishing a dramatic change in the government of our province. It clearly paves the way for a new model of local government which is neither local nor democratic, which emphatically underlines this government's belief that bigger municipal government is better and small, local town or city governments have no place into the next millennium.

Many people now believe that this big, one-size-fits-all approach is the solution to all our problems. There's a competition: "My city is bigger than yours."

We've got a megacity here in Toronto, and we have megacity problems. Our debt is going through the roof. It's going to almost double in the next two to three years.

Hon Janet Ecker (Minister of Education): And whose fault is that, Mike?

Mr Colle: It's your fault, because your government downloaded \$250 million onto the property taxpayers of Toronto. You did that. Your government downloaded. That's the problem. In opposition, the Tories didn't support the elimination of small, local government. In opposition, the Tories used to sing a different tune.

I want to quote a member of the Legislature who spoke on a beautiful small town called Fergus, Ontario, in 1994. This is what this member said: "There is no cost to a municipality to maintain its name and identity. Why destroy our roots and pride. I disagree with restructuring because it believe that bigger is not better."

"Services always cost more in larger communities," he said. "The issue is to find out how to distribute services fairly and equally without duplicating services."

The person who said that bigger is not always better was Michael Harris when he was in opposition in 1994.

I'll also quote from another minister of this government in 1993, when he was in opposition. This is the Honourable Jim Wilson. He said:

"I've spent the last several months reviewing all the regional governments in Ontario, many of which were imposed by my party in the past, so believe me, I come to this with some experience, and the south Simcoe experience to date.

"There are no cost savings. Bigger is not better. The government cannot point to an area in this province, including south Simcoe, where amalgamating departments has resulted in savings to the ratepayer. It does not exist. In fact, history shows that smaller units are more efficient. I, to this day, cannot find anyone in Tottenham, Beeton, Alliston or Tecumseth township who liked restructuring."

This is what the Conservatives used to say in opposition, "Bigger is not better." Now we've got a government that says all across this province, "Bigger is better."

What is most disturbing about this bill is that they have thrown in six municipalities basically to be downsized democratically and to be amalgamated. What they're going to do the next time, I'm sure, because they've been given the green light—next time it will be 12 municipalities in one bill that will be made bigger and better, according to this government.

What municipalities are next on the chopping block? What small towns and local communities are going to be put into this bigger is better model that this government's fallen in love with? What's next?

The interesting thing about this model too is that we hear the government preaching about this amalgamation, that this downsizing of elected officials is the key to efficiency, is the key to better, more accountable government, and you never hear them refer to the 905 area in this regard. I wonder why.

In the 905 area we have over 28 city local governments; we have over 214 elected officials. Not one of them has been downsized, not one bit of change has been undertaken by this government, yet they're saying, "We have to do this in Ottawa, in Hamilton, we have to do this in Toronto." In fact, in Toronto, they're saying they had to do it twice.

The minister's own city of Brantford has a population of 285,000; it has 17 councillors. The small city of Caledon has nine representatives. You never hear the minister talk about downsizing those municipalities in the 905 area. There's some further review, there's a further study, there's more delay, so therefore there's a double standard when it comes to the municipalities in the 905 area and the ones in the rest of the province.

They say, "We have to set up these provincial boundaries and copy the provincial boundaries." Why are the provincial boundaries not being copied for the 905 area? Why aren't the provincial boundaries being copied in Sudbury and Ottawa or Hamilton? They're not using the provincial boundaries there, but in Toronto they say that's the best way to do it, yet in this legislation, it doesn't put forth the provincial boundaries.

So there is this double standard between what they're doing in the 905 area, especially where they have many politicians and many local governments. In fact, in the

905 area, with this bill they've created another permanent political position, a very powerful position in the region of Halton where the chairman will now be directly elected. If they're going to be downsizing the 905 area, why would they be creating a permanently elected regional chairman in Halton?

This is supposed to be about downsizing. They're upsizing. Why would you upsize in Halton and downsize everywhere else? Why do the little towns get wiped out, then Halton gets a directly elected regional chairman? That is a contradiction in this bill. It goes contrary to what they're saying, because they say they want to eliminate all these tiers while they have just reinforced the regional tier in Halton by having a permanently elected chairman of Halton, and that's in this bill. This bill is supposed to be about downsizing politicians and getting rid of layers of government, while they're reinforcing again that second tier in Halton. That is something I want the minister to explain.

Another thing I'm very concerned about is that this bill allows for the appointment of trusteeships in the four cities. That's what they are: They are trusteeships that essentially usurp the democratic power of the councils in Hamilton, Ottawa, Sudbury and Haldimand-Norfolk. In other words, folks, once this bill is passed, the people you elected as local officials and mayors basically have to obey appointed trustees who are hand-picked by this government behind closed doors. Those trustees will also be able to tell the local councillors how much they are going to get paid, and the local councillors have to agree to whatever money they need. I know that in Ottawa they are already asking for \$2 million to pay the trustees. So these unelected people are going to come into each town or city, and democracy and local government will basically be suspended. The elected officials will just be like bureaucrats who will be told what to do by appointed trustees in each of those cities.

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Some people say: "Anything to get the job done. If we have to suspend the councils, we'll do it." That's what this bill does. It puts in place a trusteeship where the people in those cities will no longer have their elected officials making the decisions. The budgets will be set by the trustees for this year and next year. That's what these unelected people will do. They'll set the budget, and they'll set the mill rate. In fact, Mr Speaker, I don't know if you're aware of it, but these trustees will be hiring the top civil servants in those cities, and those contracts will have to be abided by, by the local councils that get elected some time in the future. These trustees in each of these cities have an extreme amount of power.

An interesting thing in this bill too is that if these trustees sit around a table and pass a resolution, that resolution supersedes local bylaws. I know that people are going to say: "Big deal. It's city government. It's local politicians. Who cares?" I just hope there are some Ontarians out there who, even though they may agree with some of the restructuring—as I said, I can understand why some people in Hamilton—I know the region-

al chairman of Hamilton, Mr Cooke, is here. He has fought long and hard for a vision of government in Hamilton that he believes in, and he has the right to espouse that view. But even beyond those who believe in that type of government, we have to look at how this is done.

Is it right to have this dictatorial clause in this bill which allows the amendment of any act behind closed doors? Is it right to suspend democracy in those four cities and have these appointed members of this transition team, this trusteeship, make decisions that elected officials were elected to make? I ask people out there whether they accept this approach of suspending normal democracy. For what? The end justifies the means? Is it a national emergency? Will the province fall apart if we don't pass this bill?

As you know, a similar bill was passed in Toronto in 1997. It wasn't passed until the new year, and we still had the elections. But they're telling us, "You have to pass it by January 1 because of the elections." That's a red herring. We passed the Toronto megacity bill in April 1997 and still had elections, and things went on as usual. There is an artificial January deadline here because this government is afraid of public hearings. It is afraid for the public to see what is in this bill.

I think that many honest Ontarians, when they see this suspension of local democratic process, will begin to wonder whether they need to go to this arbitrary means to restructure local government. That's why I ask, why this extreme use of arbitrary means for local restructuring? You can do it without arbitrary means. These means are not necessary. If these powers are given to this government in this bill, they will introduce this type of clause, this type of approach, all the way down the road. Now, it's just municipal governments. I wonder what other legislation will have this kind of arbitrary, dictatorial power. I think it sets a horrendous precedent that I hope Ontarians will start to be concerned about, because it could be your hospital, your community police department, your fire department that gets affected by these arbitrary means that you have no say over.

Another interesting thing which really scares a lot of local officials is the provision about the 75 unelected officials coming into a city or town or township. Basically, if 75 unelected people sign a petition, they could ask the government to bring in a restructuring commission and overrule anything the council has done. Any 75 people can do that. I think that again really smacks the face of local autonomy and the right of local officials to govern the town or city they were elected to govern. This government is basically saying: "We don't care what the local officials have done. We are going to allow for 75 people to sign a petition and they can bring in the provincial government and ask them to impose a solution."

This legislation, again and again, is about imposed solutions. It's about arbitrary measures. It's about excessive intervention by this provincial government into

municipal affairs. The contradiction is here. This is the same government that has been downloading like crazy. They are saying you have to be more independent as local municipalities, yet they keep interfering in the municipalities every time we turn around. This government is constantly intervening in the decisions, in the makeup of council, in every aspect of local government at every turn. Meanwhile, they're not giving them any money, yet they want to make all the decisions here at Queen's Park. What they should do, perhaps, is have one big megacity run out of Queen's Park, have maybe two or three councillors represent the whole province. Maybe that's the next step. That's the road they're going down.

You wonder what the rationale is here. If you keep on saying, "We've got to make things bigger and bigger and bigger," the question is, what about local say, local representation? What about local input? In most of these cities, you're now going to have to drive 30, 40, 50, 60, 100 kilometres to go to a council meeting. How many people will go to that council meeting? How many people will see their local mayor or their local councillor? They won't see them. Do you know who will see the local mayors and councillors? It will be the big shots.

That's what happening here in Toronto. The big lobbyists, the big lawyers, the high-rollers get to see the big councillors and the big mayors. It's difficult for the councillors to get out in the community because there are going to be so few of them and the area to cover, geographically alone, is a real challenge.

Again, this government believes, I think, that it's easier perhaps to control smaller councils, because they fear local councillors speaking out. We know that. They don't want people in Dundas saying something and people in East York saying something else. They want everybody singing from the same hymn book because it makes it a lot easier down here at central headquarters to rule this province. That's what they are doing here. They're basically making it easier for the bureaucrats.

I read Professor Peter Sancton, who is maybe one of the best experts on municipal restructuring, municipal consolidation. His conclusion is—

Interjection.

Mr Colle: This is Andrew Sancton—excuse me. Here's an interesting quote from Andrew Sancton of the University of Western Ontario:

"Given its lack of theoretical intellectual equipment, the Harris government apparently stumbled into the megacity solution: Once the policy was decided, serious debate was not possible. Government spokespersons from Premier Harris down to officials within the Ministry of Municipal Affairs could only repeat the mantra, 'megacity,' 'eliminate a layer of government,' 'reduced overlap and duplication,' and 'cut the number of politicians.' Such words were congruent with the vocabulary of the CSR. The fact that the policy itself violated its core idea, the need for less government, more efficient government and more responsive government, was by this stage immaterial."

In other words, this is supposed to be a government about small government, about less government. All of a sudden they've gone the direct opposite. They are creating megabureaucracies that will have so many bureaucrats making hundreds of thousands of dollars. As my friends from Prince Edward-Hastings and from Sudbury say, the big, highly paid bureaucrats won't be knocking on your doors. They won't be going down the street to your local fairs and community events. Those big-paid bureaucrats will not be accessible. That is going to be the change. Certainly you'll save some money by eliminating some of these councillors, but how much money will it cost to pay for these high-paid administrators and bureaucrats? That's who will be running these cities and towns. It won't be the ugly local councils.

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We know how ugly local councils can be. They're ugly but they're effective. Some of them are not effective but at least they're trying. The small wardens, the mayors, they pitch in. But these bureaucrats—the Tories are going to now pay \$120,000. They won't be at your local fairs; they won't be there when the pothole has 10 inches of water in it; they won't be there when your kid's park equipment has fallen apart. Try to phone that bureaucrat at Queen's Park now. That's what it's going to be like when you try and phone a bureaucrat in these megacities. That is the problem.

I know the public at first blush says: "Great. Get rid of the politicians." We all know that's the first reaction. Everybody says, "Great." The second reactions is: "Who do I call? I can't fix the swing in my child's park." You try calling voice mail and see if voice mail will come over and fix the swing in the park. They won't do it.

I also want to mention that there are so many priorities in this province that need addressing. To the north of this city, in the 905 area, we have the planning process in virtual collapse, where local and regional plans are not being adhered to by the developers, and they're leap-frogging over that to the municipal board. We have delicate waterways, delicate rivers and streams that are being bulldozed by unbridled development. This government feels: "That's not a priority. Our priority is re-jigging municipal government." Why wouldn't the government put its priorities straight and get that planning process in place around the greater Toronto area to protect the Oak Ridges moraine, to protect against urban sprawl, to do something about urban transportation gridlock? That isn't a priority. A priority is doing something to make these megacities pop up everywhere. That's this government's priority. That doesn't solve one thing.

Your own members have said, "Bigger doesn't solve things." Just because you make a government bigger, it doesn't solve things. If that had been the case, the Soviet Union would have been the best-governed country in the world, because they loved bigness. They really had it on for things that were big: the big plans, the big centres. Big government was their byword. Now, this government says, "We're going to follow the Soviet model of big."

If you look at certain circumstances, where maybe the people of Sudbury or the people of Haldimand-Norfolk want a certain solution—and we're getting into a reasonable size—what worries me is the pattern that it's always the elimination of the small for the big. These sizes shouldn't be the only benchmark, the only litmus test for good government. But this government believes there's an axiom: "Big size, good government. Small size, bad government." That is really contradictory to all the traditions and history of this province. In fact, I would say that big government in some cases has been harmful to the local citizen getting his or her wants and needs met.

I would ask the government, if they're really into a deadline, why aren't they into a deadline about fixing the chaotic planning process in 905, where local and regional plans aren't worth the paper they're written on and local municipalities have to spend \$1 million to go to the OMB to protect a watershed? That's what it has come to. That's a priority. Why not go there and work to protect areas that are being impacted on by unbridled development?

A word of warning too: This government has proudly said, "We're doing this because we did it in Toronto; it worked so well in Toronto." I say, luckily in Toronto we've had a very effective mayor who has worked darn hard for two years, non-stop, making this thing work. He has made it work. But if you ask him if this government has helped him, you'll see that this government has done everything but help him. Don't think that just because you're a megacity, you're going to be able to do basically what you want to do, because this government will keep downloading on you. Even though Toronto has created a megacity, this government still downloaded \$250 million.

This government had to lend Toronto \$200 million and give them a grant of \$50 million to get them through the transition. That's why our party is saying: "Look at the Toronto experience. There should be transition money commitments in this bill." There isn't a cent committed. Hamilton is going to need millions of dollars for the transition. As Shortliffe said, Ottawa should have about \$35 million. Haldimand-Norfolk—everyone is going to need millions of dollars in transition funds because these transitions are extremely expensive.

You should be aware of the fact that even the mayor of Kingston, Mayor Gary Bennett, who has gone through a small transition, said that the process of transition takes longer than anyone can imagine and the costs are higher than anticipated. The process is a complex one. That's why the member for Sudbury and the member for Hamilton East and I are encouraging and imploring this government that as you ram this bill down the throats of members of this Legislature, you have to have some transition money as part of the package, because if the transition money isn't here you will be forcing local municipalities like Sudbury to go into debt, raise taxes or cut services to pay for the transition costs. The transition costs are real. You have to pay severance packages. It will be millions of dollars in severance packages.

The harmonization of services: I encourage the minister to put on the table of this Legislature a cost-benefit analysis of the transition and harmonization costs in Toronto. He won't do it because they haven't done it. But if you talk to the bureaucrats and the elected officials at the city of Toronto, they'll tell you the harmonization of services is expensive, because you have to bring in consultants. The consultants will love this bill. The consultants will be crawling all over Ottawa, all over Hamilton. They'll be saying: "Hire me. I'll show you how to harmonize your garbage department, your roads department." The consultants look upon this as their pension plan. I call Bill 25 the consultants' pension plan; that's what it is. When you pass this bill, the consultants will be happy that they're going to have all kinds of work for the next five years. Harmonizing services is expensive.

The contradiction is you have to let go elected officials and you have to let go bureaucrats to save money—because they're claiming it's going to save money. So when you're cutting them all, who's going to make the decisions on how to harmonize? What do you do? "Oh, we've got Andersen Consulting. They're going to come in here and tell us how to harmonize services in Sudbury." You harmonize services, so you have to pay these consulting firms millions of dollars to basically do what the fired bureaucrats, or the ones who have been severed, and the local politicians could have done for you, but they're not going to be around any more so you're going to have to hire consultants. As I said, I'm sure the consultants are all lined up right now. In fact, they've probably already made appointments to see the minister.

Interjection: Here comes the gravy train.

Mr Colle: Yes, they look upon it as the gravy train. So with Bill 25, consultants are smiling from ear to ear. Municipal consulting is a growth business in this province.

Interjection: It's only American consultants.

Mr Colle: Americans or whoever it is.

One of the things in this bill which is very peculiar—and we discussed this during the megacity bill—is variable tax rates. Either you want amalgamation or you don't. Here they're saying, "We want amalgamation, but we're going to have different tax rates and different service levels in these new unified cities." So the question is again, do you want amalgamation or don't you? Because amalgamation means one tax rate, one level of service across the municipality. This bill hedges its bets. I think there was a little pressure from Nepean, probably. They're saying, "Perhaps what we should have is a tax rate that's a little lower here, one that's higher there." Either it's a megacity, it's one city, or it isn't. But this bill is saying, "We are going to come together, yet we're going to have different tax rates."

If you have different tax rates and different levels of service, that's what city halls are about; that's what local government is about. You're doing all this work, all this preaching, the mantra about saving money and doing this for the right reasons, yet you're going to have two basic

contradictory facts in this bill: different service levels for different parts of the megacity, and tax rates that are different. How does this make sense? I just can't imagine how you're going to do it. Who is going to pay the higher taxes? I guess in Cumberland we're going to have the lower taxes, because we've got a member there; and in Nepean we're going to have to have a lower rate because a member is there.

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Remember that the minister decides that, because in this bill the minister, by regulation, can adjust anything. So if they want to lower that tax in Cumberland, the minister can do it, but will he do it in downtown Ottawa? Will he do it in Dundas? What will the tax rate be in Dundas? What will the tax rate be in Ancaster or Delhi? We don't know, because the minister will decide what the tax rate is going to be. By regulation, behind closed doors, the Minister of Municipal Affairs, through the trusteeship, will decide who can have their garbage picked up once or twice a week, what fire services—and fire services are an interesting thing.

They told us in Toronto, "We're going to have this amalgamation." Do you know that the fire services still haven't been harmonized in Toronto? We still have the six fire departments. They said, "If you amalgamate them, it's going to cost you \$3 million or \$4 million more and you're going to have to build about three more stations." So everybody said, "Oh yes, but if you put them all together, you have one chief." Yes, but you have one big chief and then you have five superchiefs. So don't think you're going to do this simply, that just because this bill is passed it's instant savings. There are many pitfalls.

That's why I think it's important for residents and members who represent areas in Haldimand-Norfolk or Hamilton or Ottawa to ask for those figures on the Toronto experience. Ask them how much money they had to give to bail Toronto out. Despite the bailout for Toronto, Toronto is facing a debt that is going to \$2.5 billion because they can't survive. All you have in these cities, remember, all this gives you, is property taxes. All these services—health services, fire services, police—are all on the backs of property taxpayers.

If you look at the Toronto track record, this government hasn't helped at all. They are going to download more responsibility on these cities and then they're going to say: "You're big enough now. You can survive on your own. We don't have to help you any more." It gives them a great excuse to off-load, to download and to say: "Local government, it's your fault again. We helped you. You wouldn't do it." That's what they're going to do. That's what they told us in Toronto. It's basically walking away from accountability. It's saying that local government is disposable.

I know there are a few members who have sat on local government and I know that some of you who have know that there's give and take. There's a lot of input from local citizens, and that takes time and effort. It's some-

thing that we have to recognize as part of our tradition of parliamentary, legislative, representative democracy.

These big governments with very few councillors aren't the answer to all of our problems, but this government has this fixation—except for the 905, though; there big government, lots of government, lots of politicians. "Give them another regional chairman in Halton; 905, you can have government coming out of your ears; 905, it's OK, Jack," because in 905 they don't need fewer politicians, they need more politicians. We know that. So that is what is happening.

The other interesting thing is just the way these things are done. I guess the most galling thing for the people of Toronto was when on a Thursday the minister announced that by sundown Saturday the council of Toronto had better make up its mind whether it wanted 44 or 22 politicians. That was the minister's ultimatum. We know you can say, "The local councils don't count; the mayor doesn't count," but that is also an affront to the 2.3 million people of Toronto who elected them. To give the people of Toronto an ultimatum like that is disgraceful. Even though you may agree that a downsizing of council is something you should do, when on a Thursday afternoon you stand there and say, "By sundown Saturday, you better do this or else," this is no way to run a government. It is no way to treat the people of Toronto. This ultimatum-type politics does not help get people to understand how this government works and it certainly makes them wonder what the motives are. That is something that has to be on the record.

The other thing is that we must remember that we're seeing a real watershed, we're seeing a real change in government in this province. This bill marks, I think, in essence a pretty strong signal that rural municipalities are not to be taken as important parts of this government, because the rural municipalities are going to be swallowed up in these bigger cities and the urban centres will no doubt dominate. That's a very clear indication from this bill for those small rural areas, whether it be in the Hamilton area, in the Ottawa area, in all those small towns that had quaint little governments—cities, towns, townships. They are basically now being told, "You are not part of the future of this province."

It's too bad that we couldn't have had a government that would look at things in a more, let's say—

Interjection: Responsible.

Mr Colle: —responsible and accountable way and say: "Maybe let's try to keep small governments in one of the areas. Perhaps let's experiment with the Ottawa area and try to see if small governments work there. Let the rural municipalities flourish. Give them some support. Give the the small towns—the Ancasters, the Dundases, the Flamboroughs, the Kanatas of this world—a chance and see if they could grow into the millennium as the new centres of economic activity." That would be quite revolutionary for this government.

I was glad to see they at least didn't go to that mega-model in Haldimand-Norfolk. They split the megacity

into two there, thank God. At least that area wasn't mega-sized. There are only 100,000 people there.

So we certainly require public hearings: one day in Nanticoke, one day in Dundas. Please, just one day, we're saying, one morning in each one of those centres, and let's hear the local people come out and express to this Legislature the fact that they're not just lines on a map, as the minister said; that Fitzroy Harbour is not a line on a map. All these small communities have a history, have a soul.

I know they're going to say, "Well, this won't change that," but it does change it. Once you take away that city hall, that town hall, pretty soon other things disappear. The library's gone because now it's part of a mega-library, and they say: "You can't have a library here. You have to drive 20 kilometres to the library." So the library disappears. The community centre: "Well, we can't have this little one here. It doesn't meet the new mega-standards." So we on this side of the House would love to see this government hold hearings in the local areas where they're being hit with this.

There are going to be a lot of people who are going to support some of this. We know that. But I think the people who have questions should be heard. I'd like to hear the people up and down the Ottawa Valley talk about this bill, because they're going to get it next, up Pembroke way. I'd like to hear the people in Flamborough talk about this bill, what they think of it, and the commitment that Mike Harris made; he was very clear in the last election.

Let's go to the communities an hour, two hours, just to hear from people or have committee meetings on this bill, because this may not mean a lot to the big guys on Bay Street, but I'll tell you, all the small retailers, the small merchants, the small shopkeepers, the people that used to go to city hall and raise hell down at the local council now will have to drive or telephone or get on the Internet: "We'll give you a 1-800 number. Call city hall." That's not going to work. That isn't democracy. Democracy is accessibility; democracy is being able to confront your local politician and give him or her ideas and also let him know what's wrong. But as I said, this government is intent on saying, "We are now going to save you money by hiring consultants, bureaucrats, and the bureaucrats and consultants will decide the future of your community."

I really implore people to at least get more information on this bill. We don't have enough time because the government is dead set on ramming this thing through by the end of the week, and I don't know how people are going to be able to look at this. I just hope they realize that the other cities in Ontario are going to be faced with the same cookie-cutter approach. So it's not just the people in Sudbury who are asking questions. Maybe it'll be Prince Edward county next. Will they amalgamate Picton-Belleville-Deseronto? They'll probably make the big city of Deseronto. That's what's coming next, in the next mega-bill. Once you set this pattern of one big bill,

then it's bigger bills and bigger bills, to the point you have nothing to say—

The Acting Speaker: Thank you.

Mr Colle: —just the bureaucrats and the lobbyists—

The Acting Speaker: It being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 6:45.

The House adjourned at 1800.

Evening meeting reported in volume B.

ERRATA

No.	Page	Column	Line(s)	Should read:
26A	1301	2	52	Hon Mrs Marland: John King.
26A	1301	2	57-58	Hon Chris Stockwell (Minister of Labour): Don King? He spent all of his life in court.
26A	1302	1	4-5	Hon Mrs Marland: No, his name is John King. Mr Martin: Oh, John King. Not the promoter of boxing.

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REPORT

of

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON

METROPOLITAN TORONTO

H. CARL GOLDENBERG, O.B.E., Q.C., LL.D.
Commissioner

OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON METROPOLITAN TORONTO • 1965

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REPORT
of
THE ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
METROPOLITAN TORONTO

H. CARL GOLDENBERG, O.B.E., Q.C., LL.D.
Commissioner

June, 1965

FREDERIC H. FINNIS, M.B.E.
Secretary and Research Director

June 10, 1965.

To His Honour
The Lieutenant Governor
of the Province of Ontario.

May It Please Your Honour:

By a Commission issued under the authority of The Public Inquiries Act, Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1960, Chapter 323, and in accordance with the terms of Order-in-Council OC-1864/63, dated the 20th day of June 1963, Your Honour did appoint me Your Commissioner to inquire into and to report upon the structure and organization of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and other matters related thereto.

I have completed the inquiry and beg to submit to Your Honour the following Report.

Your obedient servant,



H. CARL GOLDENBERG
Commissioner.

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THE ORDER-IN-COUNCIL

ONTARIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OFFICE

OC-1864/63

Copy of an Order-in-Council approved by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, dated the 20th day of June, A.D. 1963.

Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Prime Minister, the Committee of Council advise that pursuant to the provisions of The Public Inquiries Act, R.S.O. 1960, Chapter 323, and effective from June 18th, 1963, a Commission be issued appointing

Mr. H. Carl Goldenberg, O.B.E., Q.C.,

of the City of Montreal, as Commissioner, designating him as The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto,

(1) to inquire into and report upon

- (a) the structure and organization of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and, more particularly, of the Metropolitan Council and the Metropolitan School Board, their functions and responsibilities and the relations with the area municipalities and the local school boards respectively and with municipalities and planning boards within the Metropolitan Toronto planning area,
 - (b) the purposes and objectives of the establishment of the Metropolitan Corporation and the Metropolitan School Board, the extent of the accomplishment of such objectives and whether such objectives can be better achieved under a new or revised system of local government, having regard to the past and future development and needs,
 - (c) the boundaries of the metropolitan area and of the area municipalities and their suitability in the light of the experience gained through the operations of the metropolitan government, with due regard to probable future urban growth within or beyond the present metropolitan limits and future service requirements,
 - (d) any related matters affecting the government of the Toronto metropolitan region.
- (2) after due study and consideration to make such recommendations with respect to the matters inquired into under the terms set out herein as the Commissioner sees fit to the Prime Minister and the Executive Council of Ontario.

The Committee further advise that pursuant to the said Public Inquiries Act the said Commissioner shall have the power of summoning any person and requiring him to give evidence on oath and to produce such documents and things as the Commissioner deems requisite for the full investigation of the matters into which he is appointed to examine;

And the Committee further advise that all Government departments, boards, agencies and committees shall assist, to the fullest extent, the said Commissioner who, in order to carry out his duties and functions, shall have the power and authority to engage such staff, secretarial and otherwise, and technical advisers as he deems proper.

Certified,

(Sgd.) J. J. YOUNG
Clerk, Executive Council.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

(Sgd.) W. EARL ROWE

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.

TO H. CARL GOLDENBERG, of the City of Montreal, in Our Province of Quebec, An Officer of Our Order of the British Empire and One of Our Counsel learned in the Law,

GREETING:

WHEREAS in and by Chapter 323 of The Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1960, entitled "The Public Inquiries Act", it is enacted that whenever Our Lieutenant Governor in Council deems it expedient to cause inquiry to be made concerning any matter connected with or affecting the good government of Ontario or the conduct of any part of the public business thereof or of the administration of justice therein and such inquiry is not regulated by any special law, he may, by Commission appoint one or more persons to conduct such inquiry and may confer the power of summoning any person and requiring him to give evidence on oath and to produce such documents and things as the commissioner or commissioners deem requisite for the full investigation of the matters into which he or they are appointed to examine;

AND WHEREAS Our Lieutenant Governor in Council of Our Province of Ontario deems it expedient to cause inquiry to be made concerning the matters hereinafter mentioned:

NOW KNOW YE that WE, having and reposing full trust and confidence in you the said H. Carl Goldenberg DO HEREBY APPOINT you to be Our Commissioner to inquire into and report upon

1. (a) the structure and organization of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and, more particularly, of the Metropolitan Council and the Metropolitan School Board, their functions and responsibilities and their relations with the area municipalities and the local school boards respectively and with municipalities and planning boards within the Metropolitan Toronto planning area,

- (b) the purposes and objectives of the establishment of the Metropolitan Corporation and the Metropolitan School Board, the extent of the accomplishment of such objectives and whether such objectives can be better achieved under a new or revised system of local government, having regard to the past and future development and needs,
- (c) the boundaries of the metropolitan area and of the area municipalities and their suitability in the light of the experience gained through the operations of the metropolitan government, with due regard to probable future urban growth within or beyond the present metropolitan limits and future service requirements,
- (d) any related matters affecting the government of the Toronto metropolitan region.
2. After due study and consideration to make such recommendations with respect to the matters inquired into under the terms set out herein as the Commissioner sees fit to the Prime Minister and the Executive Council of Ontario.

AND WE DO HEREBY CONFER on you Our said Commissioner the power to summon any person and require him to give evidence on oath and to produce such documents and things as you Our said Commissioner deem requisite for the full investigation of the matters into which you are appointed to examine.

AND WE DO HEREBY FURTHER CONFER upon you, Our said Commissioner, the power to require all our departments, boards, agencies and committees to assist you to the fullest extent, and in order to carry out your duties and functions, the power and authority to engage such staff, secretarial and otherwise, and technical advisers as you deem proper.

TO HAVE, HOLD, AND ENJOY the said Office and authority of Commissioner for and during the pleasure of Our Lieutenant Governor in Council for Our Province of Ontario.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Our Province of Ontario to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS: THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM EARL ROWE, A Member of Our Privy-Council for Canada,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF OUR PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

at Our City of Toronto in Our said Province, this twentieth day of June in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three and in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

BY COMMAND

(Sgd.) JOHN YAREMKO
Provincial Secretary

xiv

FOREWORD

During the course of the proceedings of this Commission, seventy-five briefs were submitted at public hearings which extended from April 21, 1964, to June 11, 1964. Additional briefs were filed but were not heard formally.

By touring the area a number of times and meeting informally with mayors, Reeves, councillors and municipal officers, I obtained considerable information on the subject matter of my inquiry. I made several tours with present and former officials of Metro and the area municipalities in order to clarify a variety of matters which had been drawn to my attention. Memoranda and studies on particular aspects of the inquiry were prepared at my request. I am grateful for the helpful co-operation extended to me at all times by the departments of the Government of Ontario, the Metropolitan Corporation, the municipalities, the school boards, and interested organizations and individuals.

I am greatly indebted to the following committee which I asked to advise me on necessary changes in the educational structure: Dr. R. W. B. Jackson, Dr. George E. Flower and Dr. E. Brock Rideout, of the Ontario College of Education; Mr. W. J. McCordic, Executive Secretary of the Metropolitan School Board; Mr. David L. Tough, Superintendent of Secondary Schools, North York Board of Education; Mr. Douglas W. Gilmour, Solicitor, Toronto Board of Education; and Mr. J. Richard Davidson, School Trustee, Ward 9, Toronto.

For background information, I am particularly indebted to the Hon. Leslie M. Frost, Q.C., P.C., LL.D., former Prime Minister of Ontario; Mr. Frederick G. Gardiner, Q.C., LL.D., the first chairman of Metropolitan Council; Mr. Lorne R. Cumming, Q.C., LL.D., formerly chairman of the Ontario Municipal Board and later Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs; and Mr. A. J. B. Gray, Metropolitan Assessment Commissioner. I owe thanks to Professor K. Grant Crawford, Director of the Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, who rendered service as a special consultant.

To Mr. Frederic H. Finnis, M.B.E., Secretary and Research Director of the Commission, Mr. Thomas J. Plunkett, technical consultant, Mr. Lionel Feldman, research associate, Mr. J. W. Peat, accounting consultant, and Ann MacGregor, research associate, I express my special appreciation for services rendered loyally and competently.

xv

**CHAPTER I
THE AREA**

Metropolitan Toronto, situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario in close proximity to one-third of the Canadian market and to the heavily populated industrial regions of the United States, contains more than one-quarter of the population of Ontario and eight per cent of the population of Canada. A great commercial, industrial and cultural centre, it has experienced a tremendous growth since 1953, when it became the first metropolitan region in North America to establish a federal system of metropolitan government.

1. THE AREA MUNICIPALITIES

The 241 square miles of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto include the City of Toronto and twelve suburban municipalities: the towns of Leaside, Mimico, New Toronto and Weston, the villages of Forest Hill, Long Branch and Swansea, and the townships of North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York and East York. These thirteen "area municipalities," as they are described in The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953, which are the constituent units of what is commonly referred to as "Metro," vary widely in size and in population, as is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: AREA AND POPULATION**

Municipality	Area		Population (1963)	
	Square Miles	Per Cent of Metro	Total	Per Cent of Metro
Township of Scarborough.....	70.0	29.0	240,371	14.5
Township of North York.....	68.1	28.3	307,584	18.6
Township of Etobicoke.....	44.8	18.6	177,537	10.7
City of Toronto.....	35.1	14.6	630,339	38.1
Township of York.....	8.0	3.3	126,311	7.6
Township of East York.....	5.9	2.4	70,176	4.2
Town of Leaside.....	2.4	1.0	18,453	1.1
Village of Forest Hill.....	1.5	.6	21,126	1.3
Town of New Toronto.....	1.2	.5	11,785	.7
Village of Swansea.....	1.1	.5	9,371	.6
Town of Mimico.....	1.0	.4	18,150	1.1
Town of Weston.....	1.0	.4	9,983	.6
Village of Long Branch.....	.9	.4	11,129	.7
Metropolitan Toronto.....	241.0	100.0	1,652,315	100.0

Source: Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

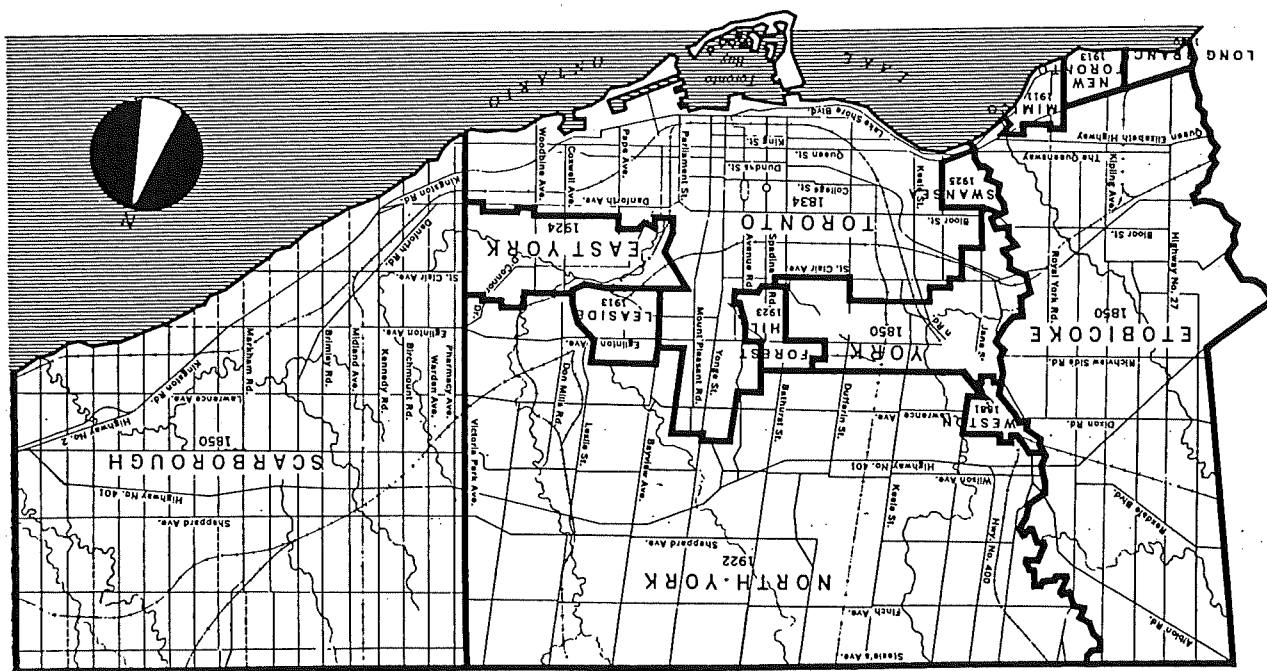


PLATE I

PLATE 2

City of Toronto	35.1	14.6%
North York	68.1	28.3%
Scarborough	70.0	29.0%
Etobicoke	44.8	18.6%
York	8.0	3.3%
East York	5.9	2.4%
Forest Hill	1.5	0.6%
Leaside	2.4	1.0%
Mimico	1.0	0.4%
New Toronto	1.2	0.5%
Long Branch	0.9	0.4%
Weston	1.0	0.4%
Swansea	1.1	0.5%
Metropolitan Toronto	241.0	100%

METROPOLITAN TORONTO: AREA IN SQUARE MILES

The three outlying townships of Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke, with 44 per cent of the total population, occupy more than 75 per cent of the land area of Metro. The City of Toronto, with 38 per cent of the population, covers less than 15 per cent of the land area. The remaining 18 per cent of the population is distributed among nine municipalities, including five with an area of about one square mile apiece. The disparities in size are shown on Plate 2.

The area municipalities vary not only in size and population but also in the extent of their development. The Metropolitan Planning Commissioner estimates that Metro is now developed to about two-thirds of its designated urban capacity under the proposed Official Plan. The City, which is the central core of the area, and the inner ring of area municipalities are almost fully developed; their problem is now redevelopment and renewal. On the other hand, the three outlying townships, with their large land areas and more recent growth, are still in various stages of development. The proposed Metropolitan Official Plan (Table 5) shows that, in 1963, 47 per cent of the area of Scarborough, 33 per cent of North York and 32 per cent of Etobicoke was agricultural or vacant land.

The Metropolitan Area extends north from the shore of Lake Ontario for a distance of 12 miles to Steeles Avenue, and east from Etobicoke Creek for 24 miles to the Pickering Town Line. Its boundaries, shown on the map on Plate 3, are as follows:

1. On the south, the boundary is the lakeshore from the border of Pickering Township on the east to the west bank of Etobicoke Creek.
2. On the west, the boundary is the western boundary of Etobicoke. It follows Etobicoke Creek in a northwesterly direction to a point south of Malton Airport, the international air terminal for Metropolitan Toronto, situated almost entirely in the adjoining municipality of Toronto Township. After fringing the east side of the airport, the boundary continues north to a point where the boundaries of three adjoining townships, Vaughan in the north, Toronto Gore in the northwest and Toronto Township in the west, all coincide with the north-west point of Etobicoke.
3. On the north, commencing at this north-west point, the boundary is formed by the centre line of Steeles Avenue which runs almost due east to the eastern boundary. Steeles Avenue is also the southern boundary of two large rural townships, Vaughan and Markham, and the northern boundary of the three largest metropolitan area municipalities, the townships of Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough.
4. On the east, the boundary is the eastern boundary of Scarborough, which is the boundary between this township and Pickering Township.

In the centre of Metro is the City of Toronto, its southern boundary extending along the lakeshore to the borders of Scarborough on the east and Etobicoke on the west. These townships occupy, respectively, the whole eastern and western parts of Metropolitan Toronto, except for the three small lakeshore

northward along Yonge Street beyond the boundaries of Metro to the far side of Richmond Hill. Proximity to Metro is exerting pressure for urban development in the municipalities and settlements on its fringe, whose residents commute daily to Toronto in large numbers.

The areas surrounding the borders of Metro comprise thirteen municipalities, which, together with the thirteen area municipalities of Metro, form the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area. The Planning Area, shown on Plate 3, covers 720 square miles or three times the area of Metro, and includes parts of three counties. The area and population of the fringe municipalities, divided into northern, western and eastern groups, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES: AREA AND POPULATION

Municipality	Area (sq. miles) ¹	Population (1963) ²
<i>Northern Fringe</i>		
Township of Vaughan.....	107	17,493
Village of Woodbridge.....	1	2,443
Town of Richmond Hill.....	2.5	18,606
Township of Markham.....	103	14,800
Village of Stouffville.....	2.5	3,457
Village of Markham.....	3	5,265
Township of Toronto Gore.....	24	1,154
Total	243.0	63,218
<i>Eastern Fringe</i>		
Township of Pickering.....	113	21,891
Village of Pickering.....	1	1,816
Town of Ajax.....	4.5	8,111
Total	118.5	31,818
<i>Western Fringe</i>		
Township of Toronto.....	115	70,859
Town of Streetsville.....	1.5	5,340
Town of Port Credit.....	1	7,147
Total	117.5	83,346

Sources: ¹Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board.
²Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963.

In the east, Pickering Township, in Ontario County, includes the Town of Ajax and the Village of Pickering within its geographic boundaries. Bordering on Lake Ontario, its area of 113 square miles holds a small population of less than 22,000 people, clustered mainly in its south-west section. Very largely rural, it is traversed by Highways 2 and 401, as well as by the C.N.R. main line and the C.N.R. by-pass to the new marshalling yards in Vaughan Township. Ajax, with a population of little more than 8,000, has an unusually large industrial development for a town situated so close to the industrial complex of Metropolitan Toronto.

municipalities of Mimico, North Toronto and Long Branch in the west formed from the southern part of Etobicoke Township during the period from 1911 to 1920. These six area municipalities—the City, Etobicoke, Scarborough and the three lakeshore municipalities—are the only ones with direct physical access to the lake.

The boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto are still rural to a large degree. The eastern boundary on the Metro side is entirely rural north of Highway 401 up to the northern boundary formed by Steeles Avenue. Through this north-east rural section runs the Rouge River Valley which is designated by the Metropolitan Planning Board as a recreational area for all time. Residential development north and south of Highway 401 in Pickering Township has not yet reached the metropolitan border, but such development in the extreme south-west pocket of the Township, formed by the Rouge River and the border, has been approaching the boundary. On the Metro side, opposite this pocket, a rather scattered residential development has already reached the border, with some small industrial development in the far south-east corner. The land in Pickering Township adjoining the latter development is also designated for industrial use.

On the western boundary, Etobicoke Creek, which forms the southern part, passes through parkland at its mouth on both sides of its banks. North of the parkland the creek runs through open recreational areas until some industrial development is reached at the Queen Elizabeth Way. From this point to Highway 5 (Dundas Street) the area is designated for industrial development, which is now very evident, but north of Dundas Street all the way to the northern boundary of Steeles Avenue, the boundary area is largely rural, except for Malton and residential development in the area of Bloor Street and Burnhamthorpe Road.

While development on the Pickering side of the eastern boundary has been light, development in Toronto Township, on the western boundary, is more intense and much more industrial and commercial in nature. This reflects the predominantly east-west flow of trade along Lake Ontario to the United States border, facilitated by highways, railways and waterways. The development in Toronto Township south of Highway 5 is a natural extension of growth from Metropolitan Toronto.

On the northern boundary there has been little residential or industrial development on either side of Steeles Avenue, except in the Bathurst-Yonge-Bayview area. However, the picture is changing with the location of the C.N.R. marshalling yards in Vaughan Township and the building of York University at Keele Street and Steeles Avenue in North York.

2. THE FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES

While large portions of its boundary areas are still rural, Metropolitan Toronto forms part of an urban belt that extends eastward to Oshawa and westward to Hamilton. A substantial ribbon of urban development also extends

In the west, Toronto Township, in Peel County, includes the towns of Port Credit and Streetsville within its geographic boundaries. It has an area of 115 square miles, slightly larger than that of Pickering, but its population of over 70,000 is more than three times the population of Pickering. Bordering on Lake Ontario, Toronto Township is particularly well served by railways and highways. Traversed by both C.N.R. and C.P.R. lines, by Highway 2 in the south, the Queen Elizabeth Way and Highway 5 in its south-central part, and by Highway 401 in its northern section, the Township, still largely rural, is experiencing a growing urban development in the area south of Highway 5. Port Credit, extending about two miles along the lakeshore, is now the site of new docking facilities for lake cargo vessels.

North-west of Metro, in Peel County, is the small rural township of Toronto Gore, with a population of 1,100 in an area of about 24 square miles.

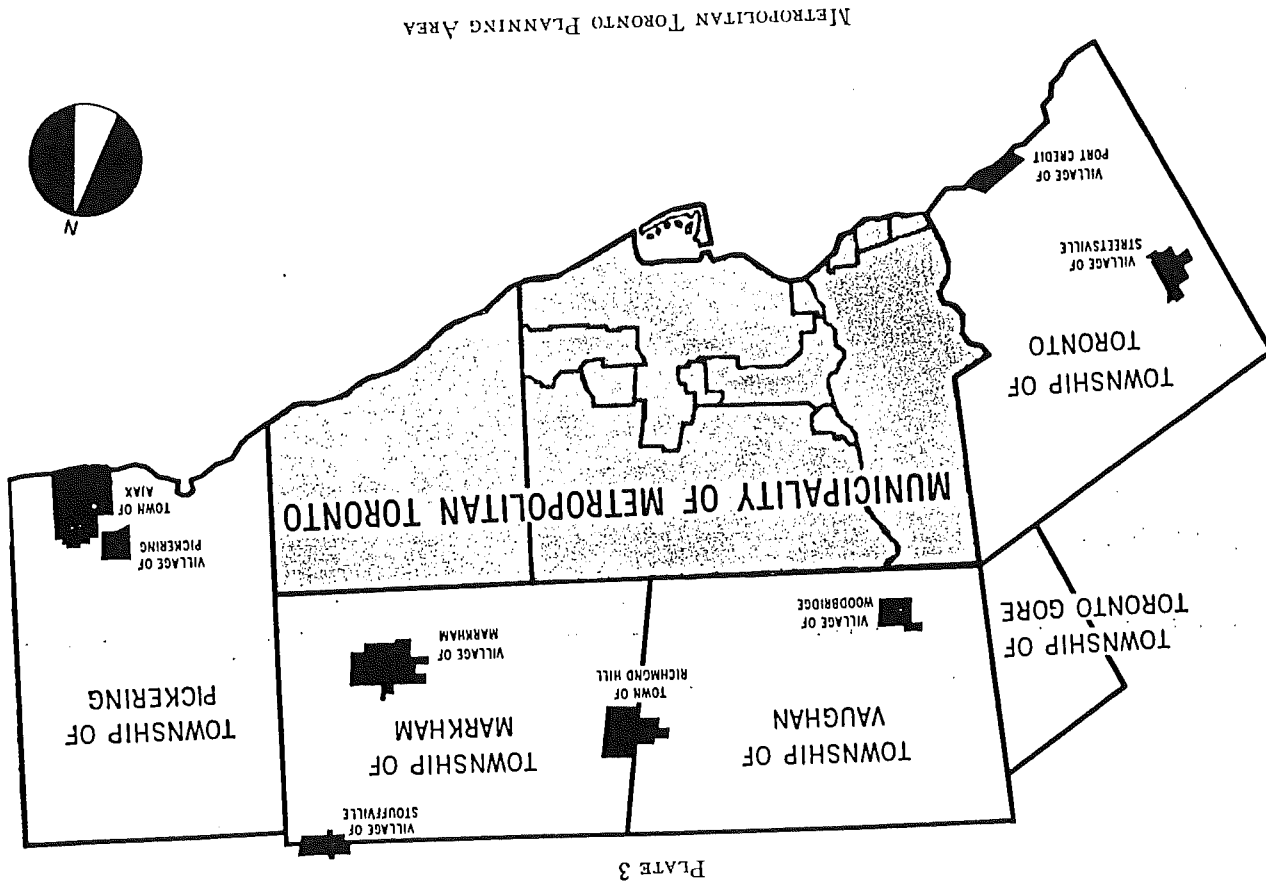
Extending across Metro's northern boundary are the rural townships of Vaughan and Markham, in York County, each with an area of more than 100 square miles. Vaughan, with a population of 17,500, includes the Village of Woodbridge within its geographic boundaries. Markham's population is less than 15,000 and its geographic boundaries include the villages of Markham and Stouffville. Situated on the ribbon development along Yonge Street, some five miles north of Steeles Avenue, is the Town of Richmond Hill, with a population of more than 18,500.

These six dormitory municipalities on Metro's northern border are particularly dependent on Metro for their development. The municipalities on its eastern and western fringes border on Lake Ontario and are geographically in a position to provide their own water and sewage services for purposes of development; the northern municipalities are not in this favourable position since they can have access to Lake Ontario only through Metropolitan Toronto. Accordingly, as stated in the brief submitted to the Commission by the County of York: "The economic, social and physical development of the southern part of the county is inextricably bound to Metropolitan Toronto; the wider area is also affected but to a decreasing intensity."

3. THE CONSERVATION AREA

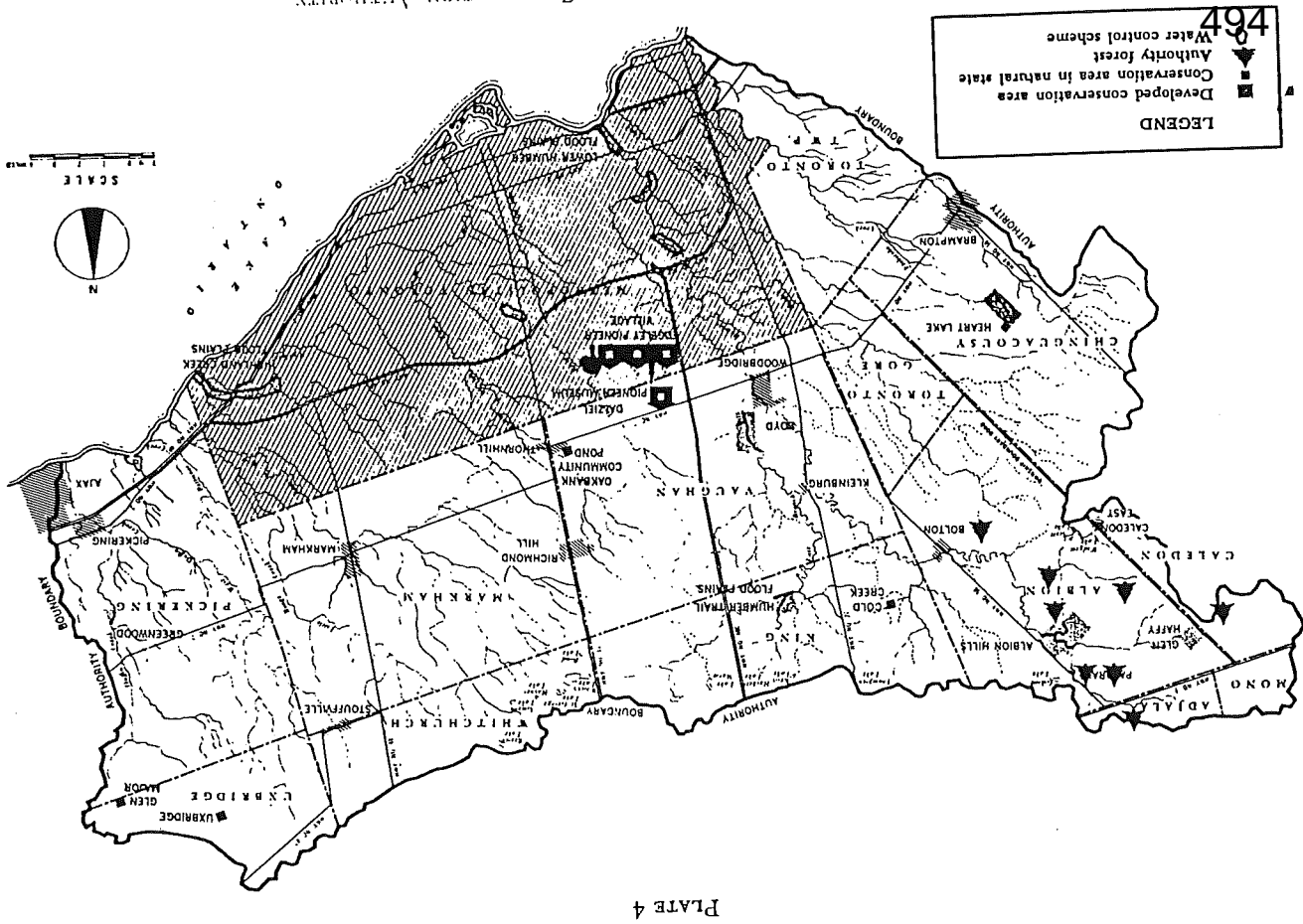
The tremendous growth in urbanization in the past decade has made it necessary to provide protection of the many water courses flowing through the metropolitan region in order to preserve the quality and quantity of the water and to control pollution of the river systems. The Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority was created in 1957 to carry out a programme of flood control and water conservation and land, forest and wild life conservation.

The Authority has jurisdiction over an area of approximately 1,000 square miles, including the watersheds of the Humber, Don and Rouge Rivers and the Etobicoke, Mimico, Highland, Petticoat, Duffin and Carruther's Creeks. The area, as shown in Plate 4, extends from Long Branch, at the mouth of the



Etobicoke Creek, northwest into Dufferin County at the headwaters of the Humber, eastward into Uxbridge Township, and south to Ajax at the mouth of Carruther's Creek. Its boundary on the north is the watershed between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario and, on the west, the watershed between the Etobicoke Creek and the Credit River.

The conservation area covers all of Metropolitan Toronto and all of the Metropolitan Planning Area except, on the west, Streetsville, Port Credit and the western section of Toronto Township, which are in the Credit River watershed, and, on the east, a narrow strip on the eastern boundary of Pickering Township. Extending north and north-west beyond the Planning Area, it also covers all or part of eleven additional municipalities, including the Town of Brampton.



CHAPTER II THE PEOPLE

More than one-quarter of the people in Ontario live in Metropolitan Toronto. With a population of more than 1,750,000, Metro includes within its boundaries the municipalities which rank first, second, fifth, sixth and eighth in the Province. The order, based on 1963 population figures, is as follows:

Toronto.....	630,339
North York.....	307,584
Ottawa.....	276,769
Hamilton.....	271,300
Scarborough.....	240,371
Etobicoke.....	177,537
London.....	171,116
York.....	126,311
Windsor.....	112,049

1. POPULATION GROWTH

At the end of the Second World War, the area which is now the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto had a population of 942,762; in 1963 the figure was 1,652,315, an increase of more than 76 per cent. The average annual increase between 1945 and 1953 was about 29,000 or eight per cent of the total for Canada; in the first ten years of Metro the average was 48,000 annually or approximately twelve per cent of the total for Canada. Immigration accounted for a substantial part of the increase between the census years 1951 and 1961.

The rise of more than 40 per cent in Metro's population since 1953, as Table 3 shows, is reflected only in the suburbs. These doubled their population, the figure rising from 507,000 in 1953 to 1,022,000 in 1963. Almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the twelve suburbs in 1963, as compared with 43 per cent ten years before. The proportion of the population of the area living in the three outlying townships, where most of the increase took place, rose from 22 per cent in 1953 to 44 per cent in 1963. In the same period, the proportion in the City declined from 57 per cent to 38 per cent and in the inner ring of suburbs from 21 per cent to 18 per cent. In terms of population, the gap between the larger and the smaller suburbs has materially widened.

More than 41 per cent of the average annual growth in the area in this period took place in North York. With an average increase of 19,700 persons per annum, its population grew by almost 180 per cent to 307,500, which is more than 18.5 per cent of Metro's total. For 1964 the Metropolitan Assessment Department shows a population of 341,000 for North York. In the ten-year period, 1953-1963, Scarborough, with an average annual increase of more than 16,000, tripled its population, which rose to more than 240,000. Etobicoke, with a population of 177,500 in 1963, showed an increase of more than 150 per cent over 1953, its average increase having exceeded 10,700 annually.

Table 3
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION, 1953 AND 1963

Municipality	1953		1963		Average Annual Increase or Decrease	Per Cent Change 1953 to 1963
	Population	Per Cent of Metro	Population	Per Cent of Metro		
Toronto.....	665,502	56.7	630,339	38.1	-3,516	-5.3
North York.....	110,311	9.4	307,584	18.6	19,727	178.8
Scarborough.....	78,803	6.7	240,371	14.5	16,157	205.0
Etobicoke.....	70,209	6.0	177,537	10.7	10,733	152.9
York.....	100,463	8.6	126,311	7.6	2,585	25.7
East York.....	65,736	5.6	70,176	4.2	444	6.7
Forest Hill.....	17,719	1.5	21,126	1.3	341	19.2
Leaside.....	15,910	1.3	18,453	1.1	254	16.0
Mimico.....	12,301	1.0	18,150	1.1	585	47.5
New Toronto.....	9,744	0.8	11,785	.7	204	20.9
Long Branch.....	9,140	.8	11,129	.7	199	21.8
Weston.....	8,374	.7	9,983	.6	161	19.2
Swansea.....	8,344	.7	9,371	.6	102	12.3
Metro.....	1,172,556		1,652,315		47,976	40.9

Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1953 and 1963.

The three outer townships accounted for 46,615 of the average annual population growth in Metro of approximately 48,000 between 1953 and 1963, and their combined population now exceeds that of the City of Toronto. In 1953 the population of the City was 665,000, as compared with 260,000 for the three suburbs; by 1963 the population of these suburbs had risen to 725,000, while that of the City had declined to 630,000. The inner ring of area municipalities showed a more modest rate of growth. Mimico's population increased by more than 47 per cent, while the increase in the others ranged from less than 7 per cent in East York to more than 25 per cent in York.

Population density in Metro as a whole rose from 7.6 persons per acre in 1953 to 10.7 in 1963, as shown in Table 4. Only two municipalities experienced a decrease: the City of Toronto, from 29.8 to 28 persons per acre, and Leaside, because of an addition of 320 acres through boundary adjustments, from 13 persons per acre in 1953 to 12 in 1963.

With about 28 persons per acre, the City and Mimico show the highest density, followed by York Township with 24.7 persons per acre. In the remaining inner suburbs density now ranges from 12 in Leaside to 22 persons per acre in Forest Hill. The three large outer suburbs, while still below the average for Metro, have considerably increased their densities since 1953: from 2.5 to 7 persons per acre in North York; from 2.4 to 6.2 persons per acre in Etobicoke; and from 1.7 to 5.4 persons per acre in Scarborough.

The pattern of distribution of the population increase in the Toronto metropolitan area has been the same as in almost all metropolitan centres in North America. As a general rule, the growth has taken place outside the

central city. The 1960 United States Census showed that between 1950 and 1960, eight of the ten largest core-cities in metropolitan areas experienced an absolute population decline. Thus, in this decade, New York City showed a loss of 1.5 per cent while its suburbs increased their population by 75 per cent.

Table 4
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION
Densities Per Acre, 1953 and 1963

Municipality	1953			1963		
	Population ¹	Land Acreage ²	Population Density Per Acre	Population ¹	Land Acreage ²	Population Density Per Acre
Toronto.....	665,502	22,336	29.8	630,339	22,528	28.0
North York.....	110,311	43,712	2.5	307,584	43,584	7.0
Scarborough.....	78,803	44,800	1.7	240,371	44,800	5.4
Etoicoke.....	70,209	28,672	2.4	177,537	28,672	6.2
York.....	100,463	5,120	19.6	126,311	5,120	24.7
East York.....	65,736	3,968	16.6	70,176	3,776	18.6
Forest Hill.....	17,719	960	18.4	21,126	960	22.0
Leaside.....	15,910	1,216	13.1	18,453	1,536	12.0
Mimico.....	12,301	640	19.2	18,150	640	28.3
New Toronto.....	9,744	768	12.7	11,785	768	15.3
Long Branch.....	9,140	576	15.9	11,129	576	19.3
Weston.....	8,374	640	13.1	9,983	640	15.6
Swansea.....	8,344	704	11.8	9,371	704	13.3
Metro.....	1,172,556	154,112	7.6	1,652,315	154,304	10.7

Sources: ¹Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1953 and 1963.
²Assessment Department, Metropolitan Toronto.

2. ORIGINS

The 1961 Census of Canada showed that about two-thirds of the population of Metropolitan Toronto was born in Canada. Immigration since 1946, principally from the British Isles and Western Europe, has provided almost one-quarter of the present population.

The majority of post-war immigrants have settled in the central city. In 1961 immigrants who had entered Canada since 1946 constituted 29 per cent of the population of the City of Toronto. They were 31 per cent of the population of York Township, and in the rest of the inner ring the range was from 10 per cent in Leaside to 23 per cent in Mimico. In the outer ring, the figures were 14 per cent for Etoicoke, about 15 per cent for Scarborough and some 19 per cent for North York.

Table 5 indicates the diversity of origins of the population of Metro. The 1961 Census showed 59 per cent to be of British origin in the area as a whole. In the City less than 52 per cent was of British origin; in York Township, less than 50 per cent; in Forest Hill, 35 per cent; and in the rest of the inner ring the

Table 5
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION
Origins

Municipality	Population	Population in Canada 1946-61	Imm-Ited Br. Isles	French	German	Italian	Nether-lands	Russian	Scandi-Navian	Ukrain-ian	Other European	Asiatic	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Toronto.....	672,407	58.1	29.1	57.6	2.6	4.2	5.8	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.0	1.0	3.0
North York.....	269,959	70.7	19.4	57.6	2.6	4.2	5.8	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.0	1.0	2.1
Scarborough.....	217,286	76.6	15.5	74.7	3.4	4.7	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	3.9	
Etoicoke.....	156,035	77.1	13.9	70.9	2.7	4.2	2.0	2.8	4.1	1.0	1.0	2.1	
York.....	129,645	55.4	31.2	49.7	2.4	4.1	18.2	4.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.1	
East York.....	72,409	66.3	17.0	71.7	3.1	3.5	4.4	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	3.6	
Forest Hill.....	20,489	67.0	13.8	35.2	1.2	2.7	1.9	11.9	10.0	3.3	3.3	1.2	
Leaside.....	18,579	75.5	10.4	84.2	1.9	3.0	1.3	2.0	2.2	1.0	1.0	2.5	
Mimico.....	18,212	66.6	22.8	66.6	4.3	5.4	2.8	2.9	2.2	1.0	1.0	2.5	
New Toronto.....	13,384	69.2	16.4	65.8	5.9	3.2	2.8	2.9	2.2	1.0	1.0	2.5	
Long Branch.....	11,039	71.5	17.3	74.3	5.4	3.3	1.6	3.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	
Weston.....	9,715	72.7	15.9	76.4	2.7	3.7	2.0	3.6	1.1	1.1	1.1	3.6	
Swansea.....	9,628	62.9	20.8	63.8	2.1	5.2	1.1	1.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.7	
Metro.....	1,618,787	65.4	23.0	59.2	3.4	4.3	8.3	3.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.8	

Source: 1961 Census of Canada.

In respect of older people, 70 years of age and over, the picture is different. These represented about 5 per cent of the population of the area as a whole. In Toronto the proportion was more than 7 per cent and in the inner suburbs it ranged from almost 4 per cent in Long Branch to 8.5 per cent in Swansea. In the three outer suburbs, the figure was 2.6 per cent in Scarborough, 3 per cent in North York and 3.3 per cent in Etobicoke.

Such differences in age distribution between the more central sections and the outlying suburbs are a characteristic of metropolitan areas. It is young people with families who tend to move to the developing suburbs. Older people prefer the more established residential neighbourhood where mobility does not depend upon the ownership and operation of a motor car. The resultant differences in age composition are significant in terms of actual and prospective school costs in the outer suburbs, with their high proportion of young people, and in terms of costs for the care of elderly persons in the inner areas, where they tend to concentrate.

4. OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS

With the City of Toronto, which is the capital of Ontario and a great commercial, industrial and financial centre, as its core, and with industrial and commercial development in the suburbs, the Metropolitan Area provides a wide diversity of employment in its 5,000 factories, its commercial and financial establishments, its service industries, in government, and in educational and other institutions.

The 1961 Census reported a Metro labour force of some 715,000. Table 7 shows the number employed by occupational classification. Table 8 analyzes the labour force by area municipalities. The following comparisons are noted.

Table 7

METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION
Occupations

	Males	Females	Total
Managerial.....	63,763	6,068	69,831
Professional and Technical.....	51,518	27,265	78,783
Clerical.....	52,436	99,285	151,721
Sales.....	36,706	17,672	54,378
Service and Recreation.....	40,971	44,151	85,122
Transport and Communication.....	33,758	5,036	38,794
Primary.....	4,455	149	4,604
Craftsmen, Production Process and Related Workers.....	150,781	35,650	186,431
Labourers.....	26,042	3,430	29,472
Total.....	460,430	238,706	699,136

Source: 1961 Census of Canada.

proportion ranged from 64 per cent in Swansea to 84 per cent in Leaside. In the outer municipalities the figures were approximately 58 per cent in North York, almost 75 per cent in Scarborough and 71 per cent in Etobicoke.

Italians form the second largest group, constituting more than 8 per cent of the total population, a little less than 12 per cent of the population of the City of Toronto, and more than 18 per cent of the population of York Township.

People of various other European origins form 30 per cent of the total population, more than 4 per cent being of German origin, over 3 per cent of French origin, more than 3 per cent of Polish origin and more than 2 per cent of Ukrainian origin. In each case the largest number lives in the City.

3. AGE DISTRIBUTION

There are striking differences between the age distribution of the population in Toronto and the inner suburbs and that of the three outer suburbs. Table 6, based on the 1961 Census, shows that, while children under 15 years constituted 28 per cent of the population of the area as a whole, the figure was considerably higher in the three outer suburbs and lower in the inner ring, except Long Branch. The proportion was 37 per cent in Scarborough and more than 33 per cent in both North York and Etobicoke. In contrast, the figure for Toronto was 23.5 per cent and, except for Long Branch with 30 per cent, the range in the inner suburbs was from 17.2 per cent in Swansea to 25.7 per cent in York.

Table 6

METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION
Age Distribution

	Under 15 years	Per Cent of Total Population	70 Years and Over	Per Cent of Total Population
Toronto.....	158,007	23.5	48,663	7.2
North York.....	89,829	33.3	8,020	3.0
Scarborough.....	80,382	37.0	5,585	2.6
Etobicoke.....	51,582	33.1	5,145	3.3
York.....	33,369	25.7	6,354	4.9
East York.....	16,519	22.8	4,356	6.0
Forest Hill.....	3,805	18.6	1,234	6.0
Leaside.....	3,479	18.7	1,069	5.7
Mimico.....	4,390	24.1	726	4.0
New Toronto.....	3,306	24.7	741	5.5
Long Branch.....	3,307	30.0	423	3.8
Weston.....	2,396	24.7	581	6.0
Swansea.....	1,655	17.2	815	8.5
Metro.....	452,026	27.9	83,712	5.2

Source: 1961 Census of Canada.

Table 8
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION
Per Cent of Labour Force Employed by Occupational Classification

Occupational Classification	Toronto	North York	Scarborough	Etobicoke	York	East York	Forest Hill	Leaside	Mimico	New Toronto	Long Branch	Weston	Swansea	Metro
Labour Force	320,161	107,425	84,828	61,431	60,200	34,580	9,107	8,989	9,198	5,480	4,780	4,413	4,822	715,414
Professional and Technical	6.2	16.4	10.8	16.5	6.6	7.6	30.1	17.7	7.9	4.7	6.0	8.3	10.0	9.8
Managerial	9.8	14.7	10.6	13.7	7.4	9.3	20.8	20.6	9.1	5.8	7.1	13.0	14.6	11.0
Clerical	20.6	22.3	20.4	20.4	21.4	26.3	16.2	27.6	25.5	19.9	22.4	22.8	28.1	21.2
Sales	5.9	9.9	8.8	9.9	6.3	7.8	11.6	7.5	8.7	5.4	5.7	7.4	7.9	7.6
Service and Recreation	15.8	8.8	8.1	6.6	10.5	6.3	5.7	8.7	8.7	5.4	9.7	9.8	9.7	11.9
Transport and Communication	5.5	3.9	5.0	6.1	6.3	1.9	3.2	7.1	7.1	7.4	7.5	5.7	3.9	5.5
Primary	7.7	7.7	6.0	6.6	4.4	3.3	1.1	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	4.4	6.0
Production Processes and Related Workers	26.9	21.2	26.4	23.2	27.5	5.8	10.7	28.5	38.0	36.3	27.5	22.2	26.1	26.1
Labourers	5.5	2.4	2.6	2.5	3.2	7.7	9.9	3.6	4.5	3.4	3.4	1.9	4.1	4.1

Source: 1961 Census of Canada.

Production workers constitute the largest group, 26 per cent, of Metro's labour force. Toronto and the inner ring show higher proportions: New Toronto, 38 per cent; Long Branch, 36.3 per cent; York, 33.5 per cent; Mimico, 28.5 per cent; East York and Weston, 27.5 per cent each; and Toronto, approximately 27 per cent. At the other extreme are Forest Hill with approximately 6 per cent and Leaside with 10.7 per cent. In the three outer suburbs the range is from 21 per cent to 26.4 per cent.

Clerical workers form the second largest group and represent 21 per cent of the area labour force. The highest percentages are shown by Swansea, 28 per cent; Leaside, 27.6 per cent; East York, 26.3 per cent; and Mimico, 25.5 per cent. Forest Hill, with 16.2 per cent, shows the lowest figure. In the three outer suburbs the range is narrow, from 20 to 22.3 per cent.

In the service and recreation group, the Metro figure of approximately 12 per cent is exceeded only by Toronto, with almost 16 per cent, and Forest Hill, with approximately 13 per cent. Leaside, with 5.7 per cent, and Etobicoke, with 6.6 per cent, are at the other extreme.

Professional and technical workers constitute 11 per cent of the Metro labour force. In Forest Hill and Leaside they represent almost 21 per cent, in North York and Swansea about 15 per cent, almost 14 per cent in Etobicoke and 13 per cent in Weston. In the remaining municipalities the range is from less than 6 per cent in New Toronto to more than 10 per cent in Scarborough. Toronto shows a figure of less than 10 per cent.

The managerial group represents less than 10 per cent of the total labour force. This percentage is exceeded by Forest Hill with 30 per cent, Leaside with 17.7 per cent, North York and Etobicoke with 16.5 per cent each, and Scarborough with almost 11 per cent. Swansea shows 10 per cent and the range in the remaining units is from less than 5 per cent in New Toronto to a little more than 8 per cent in Weston. The figure for Toronto is 6 per cent.

Labourers represent 4 per cent of the Metro labour force. The figure for Toronto is 5.5 per cent and in the inner ring ranges from less than one per cent in Leaside and Forest Hill to 5.5 per cent in York. In the three outer suburbs the proportion is 2.5 per cent.

With differences in occupational patterns, average wage and salary incomes by municipality also show variations. The 1961 Census reports these as follows:

Municipality	Average Wage and Salary Income (Males) (1961 Census of Canada)
Leaside	\$5,817
Forest Hill	5,791
Etobicoke	5,516
North York	5,084
Scarborough	4,786
Swansea	4,634
Weston	4,355
Mimico	\$4,231
East York	4,145
Long Branch	4,082
New Toronto	3,884
York	3,706
Toronto	3,583

growth and to curtail "urban sprawl", the proposed Metropolitan Official Plan delineates an urban development area within which urban land uses will be confined.

Table 9

FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES: POPULATION, 1953 and 1963

Municipality	1953	1963	Per Cent of Total 1963	Per Cent Change 1953 to 1963
<i>Northern Fringe</i>				
Township of Vaughan.....	11,636	17,493	9.8	50.3
Village of Woodbridge.....	1,909	2,443	1.4	28.0
Town of Richmond Hill.....	3,310	18,606	10.4	462.1
Township of Markham.....	11,406	14,800	8.3	29.8
Village of Stouffville.....	1,893	3,457	1.9	82.6
Village of Markham.....	1,913	5,265	3.0	175.2
Township of Toronto Gore.....	777	1,154	.6	48.5
Total	32,844	63,218	35.4	92.5
<i>Eastern Fringe</i>				
Township of Pickering.....	11,045	21,891	12.3	98.2
Village of Pickering.....	944	1,816	1.0	92.4
Town of Ajax.....	5,124	8,111	4.5	58.3
Total	17,113	31,818	17.8	85.9
<i>Western Fringe</i>				
Township of Toronto.....	35,199	70,859	39.7	101.3
Town of Streetsville.....	1,409	5,340	3.0	279.0
Town of Port Credit.....	4,556	7,147	4.0	56.9
Total	41,164	83,346	46.7	102.5
<i>Fringe Municipalities—Total.....</i>	91,121	178,382	100.0	95.8

Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1953 and 1963.

The bulk of the wages and salaries earned in the area is, of course, derived from employment in Toronto. On the basis of the Census figures, the City shows the lowest male average wage and salary income. But the comparison is deceiving. It is a comparison between municipalities with populations ranging from about 10,000 in Swansea and in Weston to more than 630,000 in Toronto, whose population also includes the lowest income groups in the area. It therefore becomes necessary to look beyond the overall averages.

The Census presents its data by "census tracts" which "are designed to be relatively uniform in area and population" and "fairly homogeneous with respect to economic status and living conditions". Swansea, Weston and Long Branch, for example, each constitutes a single census tract, for which the average figure is as shown above. Leaside is divided into three and Forest Hill into four census tracts; the highest figures for these municipalities, which show the highest overall average for the area, are \$6,401 and \$7,240, respectively. Toronto is divided into 135 tracts, with average wage and salary incomes ranging from a low of \$2,289 to a high of \$9,093. In this light, the comparison as such between the overall average for Toronto and the corresponding figure for other area municipalities loses much of its significance.

5. THE FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES

In the decade from 1953 to 1963, when Metro's population rose by some 40 per cent, the population of the 13 fringe municipalities, which are included in the Metropolitan Planning Area, increased by almost 96 per cent. The details are shown in Table 9.

The fringe population rose from 91,000 in 1953 to 178,000 in 1963. It is distributed geographically as follows: 83,000 or 46.5 per cent in the west; 63,000 or 35 per cent in the north; and 32,000 or 18 per cent in the east. Toronto Township alone contains 40 per cent of the total, and, with a population of 71,000, ranked sixth among the 26 municipalities in the Planning Area in 1963. It doubled its population in the ten-year period.

The growth in the fringe reflects pressure for urban development in predominantly rural areas in close proximity to Metro. The western section experienced the largest percentage increase, 102.5 per cent, followed by the north with 92.5 per cent, and the east with 86 per cent. The Town of Richmond Hill, built around the northern extension of Yonge Street, showed an increase of more than 460 per cent. The larger part of the work force of the fringe, except Ajax, is employed in Metropolitan Toronto.

While the fringe population rose by 96 per cent between 1953 and 1963, as compared with an increase of 40 per cent in Metro, the increase in the whole of the fringe averaged only about 8,700 persons annually, as compared with an average annual increase of 48,000 in Metro. With the extension of the provincial and metropolitan expressway systems, increased pressures for development, particularly in the northern fringe, may be forecast. In the interests of orderly

CHAPTER III

FROM TOWNSITE TO METROPOLIS

1. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1793 John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, selected Toronto as the capital of the recently created province and changed its name to York. Its choice as a townsite was largely dictated by expected military requirements but its harbour also pointed to commercial possibilities. In the same year the southern part of the province was divided into nineteen administrative counties, one of which embraced the embryonic townsite of York and was named the County of York. Later in the year, part of the southern portion of York County, covering the larger part of the area now included in Metropolitan Toronto, was partitioned off as a township and was also named York.

For a few years the new Town of York grew slowly. By 1800 the population, including soldiers, was only 300. But it increased markedly with the wave of immigrants to Upper Canada after the termination of the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic Wars. Many of the newcomers settled in the Town, and by 1834 York could boast of over 9,000 inhabitants. In that year it was incorporated under its original Huron name as the City of Toronto, with an area of 7,400 acres. At the time of incorporation the city boundaries extended to Parliament Street on the east, Front Street on the south, a short way past Bathurst Street on the west, and on the north almost to Dundas Street. Yonge Street was already steering urban development northward.

In 1836 the Township of York held its first council elections and in 1850, together with the Townships of Etobicoke and Scarborough, became an incorporated municipality under the Baldwin Act of 1849 which laid the foundation of the system of local government in Ontario.

Transportation was the key to the development of the region. It was in the railway age of the 1850's, with its rapid industrial growth, that the Toronto area may be said to have become a metropolitan community. In 1855 the Northern Railway connected the City with Georgian Bay and made Toronto a great lumber port. In 1856 the Grand Trunk linked Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton and by 1860 operated all the way from Rivière du Loup in Quebec to Sarnia in the southwest part of Ontario. At the same time Toronto became the eastern terminus of the Great Western, originally built from Hamilton to Windsor. Dominating communications to the region and far beyond, Toronto effectively organized the economic life of a wide surrounding area.

By this time the City's population had reached about 45,000 and in the surrounding Township of York small towns and villages were springing up. The

last of these to be incorporated in this period was the Town of Weston, established as a village in 1881. The City soon proceeded to expand by absorbing newly built-up areas. The annexation of Yorkville Village in 1883 was the first of a series of annexations which only terminated when North Toronto was annexed in 1912. These annexations, which increased the City's area by about 15,500 acres, were, in a sense, a by-product of the electric street car. The new method of public transportation made possible a great expansion of urban development throughout the surrounding area during the period from 1885 to 1914, sometimes referred to as the "street car era".

2. FROM 1900 TO 1930

At the turn of the century there were some 25,000 people in the suburbs of the City, which itself had a population of about 200,000. Immigrants were starting to build beyond the Humber River in the west and, as a result, Mimico and New Toronto were incorporated as villages out of the southern part of Etobicoke Township in 1911 and 1913, respectively. Both were raised to the status of towns a little later, Mimico in 1917 and New Toronto in 1920. In 1913 Leaside was incorporated as a town of 42 persons.

After the First World War population growth was again very rapid. The City soon reached the 500,000 mark but was not interested in increasing its area further while a considerable amount of land within its own boundaries still remained undeveloped. Annexations were therefore confined to minor territorial adjustments, the largest being the annexation of 93.8 acres north of Danforth Avenue and east of Woodbine in 1920. In 1928 a committee of City department heads recommended a policy of no further annexations "until such time as undoubted compensating advantages existed". This was adopted as policy by a succession of city councils. Further expansion of the built-up area was therefore to take place within newly created municipalities carved out of York Township.

The period between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the depression of the 1930's saw five new municipalities incorporated in the area. In 1922 the northern part of the Township of York was incorporated as the Township of North York. There followed the incorporation of the Township of East York in 1923; the Village of Forest Hill in 1924; the Village of Swansea in 1925; and, finally, the Village of Long Branch in 1930.

Accordingly, by 1930, the metropolitan area was composed of a central city with a population of 621,590 and twelve suburban municipalities with a combined population of about 162,400.

3. DEVELOPING CRISIS: 1930-1953

From 1930 to 1945 the economic depression and the Second World War forced the postponement of essential expenditures on municipal services. But the need for these services did not diminish; it merely went unfulfilled, building

up a backlog to plague the later years. The depression so adversely affected municipal finances that by 1935 all the municipalities in the area, except Toronto, Forest Hill and Swansea, were in default and under the supervision of the Department of Municipal Affairs.

During this period the population continued to increase, although at a comparatively slow rate. Table 10 shows that from 1930 until the commencement of the war, the annual increase averaged only 9,300. The figure rose to 12,500 during the war but this was to be less than half the post-war rate of growth. For the first eight years after the war, from 1945 to 1953, the population increased annually by an average of 28,700 persons.

Table 10
CITY AND SUBURBS: POPULATION GROWTH, 1930-1953

Year	City of Toronto	Suburbs	Total	Average Annual Increase	Per Cent of Population Increase in Suburbs
1930.....	621,596	162,362	783,958	—	20.7
1939.....	649,123	218,597	867,720	9,307	25.2
1945.....	681,802	260,960	942,762	12,507	27.7
1953.....	665,502	507,054	1,172,556	28,725	43.2

Sources: Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, 1st Report, Section 2, of the Committee on Metropolitan Problem 1950; The Cumming Report, 1953; Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1953.

By 1953 the population of the twelve suburban municipalities had risen to 507,000 and that of the City to 665,000. Thus, during the 23 year period, from 1930 to 1953, the suburbs increased their population by more than 200 per cent while the City showed only a modest seven per cent increase. In fact, the City's population began to decline after the war. The post-war development of the Toronto metropolitan area was to be similar to that of most metropolitan areas in North America. It was marked by the very rapid mushrooming growth of the suburbs: North York, for example, grew from a rural township of some 26,000 people in 1945 to become the fifth largest municipality in Canada, with a population of more than 340,000 in 1964.

Caught in the post-war "population explosion" and the mounting backlog of services, the area, fragmented into 13 municipal units, was faced with economic, financial and social crises and the problem of political organization. The rapidly expanding suburbs urgently required increased services of all kinds, and, more particularly, water, sewage disposal, roads, and, above all, schools. Most serious were the problems of water supply and sewerage facilities. All the water must come from Lake Ontario, and all sewage must drain into it, but only six of the thirteen municipalities have direct physical access to the lake. The lack of proper sewerage facilities became a menace to public health and serious.

water shortages forced occasional curtailment of the use of water in the suburbs. Arterial road development was grossly inadequate to handle the rapidly increasing volume of traffic. Public transportation and the existing highway network were poorly integrated. The need for new school facilities was staggering. Other services had to be expanded to meet the requirements of a phenomenal post-war growth.

The outlying suburbs, where growth was so fast and so great, and some in the inner ring, were not in a position to finance the enormous expansion of services required by their people. Since they were essentially dormitory municipalities, the ratio of industrial to residential assessment was low. Except for the City and the towns of New Toronto and Leaside, residential property formed by far the greater proportion of the total assessment. The lack of commercial and industrial assessment created a serious imbalance in the economic structure of the mushrooming suburbs. Taxes rose steeply and this led to intermunicipal competition for industry. Industries requiring room for expansion were encouraged to move to the suburbs and new industry was attracted to the suburbs by offers of land at low prices.

With each municipality seeking capital funds on its own credit, borrowing by the growing suburbs became more and more difficult as interest rates rose. The large sums required for capital purposes could only be obtained in the open market in competition with established and stable communities. By the early 1950's it became increasingly evident that, unless the whole of the financial resources of the area could be drawn upon, the outlying townships would cease to expand for want of essential physical services which they could not provide individually.

The problems of the suburbs were such that they tended to overshadow the social and economic problems developing in the City. It faced a large backlog of public works. Its residential population was declining as many of its younger people, the newly prosperous and the more affluent immigrants settled in the suburbs. The older residents remained in the City, and it attracted large numbers of immigrants who came to Canada in the post-war years. Residential suburban policies discouraging the construction of cheaper homes within the reach of families of low or moderate incomes. The City had to provide expanded welfare services. With the growing number of suburban commuters and the steady rise in the ratio of motor vehicles to population, it was also faced with the need for extensive street improvements to relieve traffic congestion. On the horizon were vast problems of renewal and redevelopment.

With area-wide and local problems, it was apparent by about 1950 that a radical solution was essential to ensure further growth of the region on an orderly basis. The existing intermunicipal agreements for the provision of certain services did not meet basic needs.

4. SEEKING A SOLUTION

Although for about 25 years the City had been officially opposed to any move to annex surrounding municipalities, it was apparent to some that the seeds of future problems were being sown by the policy of "no further annexations". Even before the adoption of this policy, a bill had been introduced in the Ontario Legislature in 1925 seeking to establish a metropolitan area of Toronto. The bill died on the floor of the House.

In the 'thirties and 'forties, three reports recommended a reorganization of the area. In 1935, A. F. W. Plumptre, of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Toronto, urged unification of the urban sections, in a report to the Minister of Municipal Affairs. In 1949 there were two reports. In the first, the Toronto and York Planning Board recommended the unification of the City with the other seven municipalities lying between the Humber River and the Township of Scarborough. The second, by the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto which, at the request of the Mayor of Toronto, had set up a committee to study metropolitan problems, offered alternative proposals, one of which was the creation of a metropolitan form of government.

In 1947 the Town of Mimico applied to the Ontario Municipal Board for an order to create an area for the joint administration of such major municipal services as education, fire and police protection, administration of justice, health and welfare, planning, sewage disposal and public utilities, including transportation and main highways. No definite boundaries were set out in this application, except that the inner suburbs were to be included in their entirety together with "the urban sections" of Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. A number of preliminary hearings were held and the Ontario Municipal Board finally ordered public hearings to open in January 1950.

Before the hearings could take place, there were new developments. On January 16, 1950, the Hon. Leslie M. Frost, Prime Minister of Ontario, called together the heads of the thirteen municipalities which now constitute the area municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto and suggested that they form themselves into a Toronto Area Committee to consider four specific questions which be submitted to them. The committee's reply a few weeks later indicated that there was little hope of the municipalities settling their problems amicably among themselves.

Meanwhile, on January 18, 1950, Long Branch filed an application with the Municipal Board for the amalgamation of New Toronto, Mimico, Long Branch and Etobicoke. The situation was further complicated when, on February 2, 1950, the City of Toronto, reversing its long-standing policy of no further annexations, applied for an order amalgamating the City with all the surrounding municipalities, except the more rural parts of Scarborough and Etobicoke.

Faced with three different applications covering parts of the same area, the Ontario Municipal Board gave the City's application priority over that of

Mimico and indefinitely postponed hearing the application from Long Branch. As it turned out, the last named application was never heard. The City's application, however, was held to be beyond the Board's jurisdiction because only parts of Scarborough and Etobicoke were included for purposes of the proposed amalgamation. This was remedied on May 15, 1950, when the City of Toronto applied for total amalgamation with the twelve surrounding municipalities.

The public hearings of the Mimico and the revised Toronto applications were held concurrently and commenced on June 19, 1950. They terminated one year later. On January 20, 1953, the Ontario Municipal Board, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lorne R. Cumming, Q.C., issued the historic report, known as the Cumming Report, which culminated in the creation of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.

- ① Not initiated
by 13 municipalities
- the 13 could not agree
- ② OMB hearing initiated
by the application
of 2 municipalities
within Metro

CHAPTER IV THE STRUCTURE OF METRO

After almost a year of public hearings and a further eighteen months of deliberations, the Ontario Municipal Board, in its Decisions and Recommendations of January 20, 1953, commonly referred to as the Cumming Report, rejected the application of Toronto for amalgamation and of Mimico for the creation of an area for the joint administration of certain area-wide services. In their place, it proposed its own solution which was to be substantially enacted in The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act.

1. THE CUMMING REPORT

The Board rejected the Mimico plan because it held that the Board of Management, which would be set up for the "administration and management of existing facilities", would have "no power to plan extensions or improvements of existing services or to build new schools, public works and other projects which might be needed throughout the area. It would therefore be quite powerless to provide the most urgent requirements of the metropolitan area during the present period of rapid expansion."

With respect to the Toronto application, the Board found "many obvious advantages" in total amalgamation. The formation of one municipal government would "expedite the planning, construction or acquisition of adequate coordinated water supply and sewage disposal systems, urgently needed arterial highways, major parks and recreation areas, an extended public transportation system, and other physical needs of the area". Amalgamation would also "provide a drastic solution of all problems attributable to the existing inequitable and illogical distribution of taxable resources". It would concentrate borrowing powers in a single authority, with debentures secured by the combined assets and tax-paying powers of the whole area. Capital expenditures could be planned and undertaken on an area-wide priority basis according to need, and conflicting local plans of development could be harmonized.

The Board found, however, that these manifest advantages were outweighed by serious objections. First, it concluded that amalgamation "would result in immediate and prolonged administrative confusion of the most serious kind". Secondly, it foresaw "a substantial increase in taxation due to the practical necessity of bringing all suburban wage and salary scales and working conditions up to city levels". In addition, demands for improved services in the suburbs equal to those in other areas would prove "difficult if not impossible to resist". The evidence showed that "per capita costs in general tend to increase with the size of the municipality".

A third objection was "the proposed concentration of all municipal duties and responsibilities in a single all-powerful council which would be expected to deal wisely and adequately with both local and metropolitan problems". The Board was impressed by evidence on the actual operations of the local councils which showed the amount of "time expended in detailed consideration of a great variety of local problems and the nature and volume of business transacted in numerous and lengthy meetings of the councils and their various committees". It felt that it would be unrealistic to expect a single council to undertake the burdens and responsibilities of all the area governments, and "at the same time to give sufficient consideration to the many difficult problems confronting the metropolitan area as a whole and to provide the kind of leadership it requires".

Finally, the Board concluded that, however great the need for local government reform, "the complete dissolution of the existing municipal institutions and the creation of a form of government which appears to be bitterly opposed by eleven of the thirteen municipalities concerned" could not be justified.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CUMMING REPORT

In disposing of the Toronto and Mimico applications, the Municipal Board had discharged its statutory responsibilities. Having found, however, "that the applicants have clearly proved the need of some major reform of the existing form of local government," it proceeded to "assume the responsibility of presenting its own proposals for the organization of a suitable form of metropolitan government in the Toronto area". The Honourable Leslie Frost, Prime Minister of Ontario, later told the Legislative Assembly that he had intimated to Mr. Cumming that "any views the Municipal Board had on the solution of the problem would be welcome".

The Board's solution was a continuation of the principle of federation to local government in Metro was not that "the principle of municipal federation in county is an important feature of the organization of municipal institutions proposals embodied a "number of fundamentals of t municipal consent in which have survived the test of long experience". or even initiated by any of the

The Board recommended 13 municipalities called "The Metropolitan area" to be responsible for the "functions and services development of the local governments for Under the Board's responsibility for local services not assigned to the new authority. The specific division of powers recommended by the Board was substantially enacted by The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act. The Board foresaw "the gradual and orderly transfer to the central authority of certain additional powers" over a period of time but recommended that such transfer "should

await the gradual development of public opinion after the new system has been placed in operation".

With respect to the composition of the Metropolitan Council, the Cumming Report recommended equal representation for the City, on the one hand, and the suburbs, as a group, on the other, "notwithstanding the theoretical advantages of representation by population". It proposed a nine-member council, four from the City and four from the twelve suburbs, with a chairman to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. The City's four members would be appointed by resolution of the City Council, while the four suburban members would be elected by the twelve suburbs divided into four groups for this purpose, the municipal councils within each group choosing their representative in joint session. Under this proposal there would be a "Western Division" composed of the western suburbs; a "North-Western Division" composed of York and Forest Hill; a "Northern Division" composed of Leaside and North York; and an "Eastern Division" composed of Scarborough and East York.

The board was of the opinion that the responsibilities of the new Council would require the full time of every member. It was also of the opinion that members should not be considered delegates or representatives of local councils. Accordingly, it recommended that a member, officer or employee of any local council or board elected or appointed to the Metropolitan Council should be deemed to have resigned automatically from his position in the local municipality.

While the Cumming Report proposed a Metropolitan Council for area-wide municipal services, it did not propose the creation of a Metropolitan School Board. Local boards of education would be continued, retaining almost all their powers and responsibilities, but the Metropolitan Council would provide a major source of revenue and exercise "an overall coordinating and financing authority". By financing capital expenditures and maintenance and administration costs up to certain standards through uniform metropolitan taxation, as recommended, the Council would exercise a centralized control "limited to matters which are considered essential to the success of the basic scheme". This scheme was to make available the combined resources of the entire area to support education.

3. THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO ACT

The Government of Ontario acted quickly on the Report. Bill 80—"An Act to provide for the Federation of the Municipalities in the Toronto Metropolitan Area for Certain Financial and Other Purposes"—was introduced in the Legislature with a minimum of delay. On April 2, 1953, only six weeks from the date of the Report, "The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act" received Royal Assent. Thirteen days later the first Metropolitan Council was sworn in. In the nine and a half months which followed, it prepared the plans for the change-over to the new system, and on January 1, 1954, the new metropolitan government commenced operations.

i. *Distribution of Powers*

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953, referred to in this report as "the Metro Act", provided for a division of powers between the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities along the lines recommended by the Cumming Report. In general, matters of area-wide concern were assigned to the Metropolitan Council or to quasi-independent metropolitan boards, while those of local concern remained the responsibility of the area municipalities. Two major changes in the division of powers were made in 1956, effective January 1, 1957, when the Act was amended to provide for unification of the police forces under a Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police and to transfer responsibility for licensing to a Metropolitan Toronto Licensing Commission. Civil defence and control of air pollution have also become metropolitan responsibilities. Accordingly, the distribution of powers is now as follows:

POWERS OF THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION

Assessment and Taxation—Assessment of real property, both metropolitan and local, throughout the area. On the basis of this assessment, the Metropolitan Corporation levies on the area municipalities for its requirements according to the proportion which the assessment of each bears to the assessment of the whole area.

Debture Borrowing—Borrowing of money, subject to the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board, for the Metropolitan Corporation, the Toronto Transit Commission, any area municipality, and any board of public school trustees in the area, by the issuing of debentures on the credit of the Metropolitan Corporation.

Water Supply—Construction and maintenance of all works for the production, treatment and storage of water and all trunk mains; the whole-sale distribution of water to the area municipalities, with power to fix whole-sale rates and to set standards for local distribution systems in the area municipalities.

Sewage Disposal—Construction and maintenance of trunk sewer mains and sewage treatment works to provide a metropolitan sewage disposal system, and to set standards for local works connected to a metropolitan work.

Roads—Establishment of a metropolitan road system and designation of highways as metropolitan roads, with power to prescribe speed limits and to control traffic over and to limit access to such roads.

Transportation—Construction, maintenance and operation by the Transit Commission of all forms of public transportation within the metropolitan area, except steam railways and taxis.

Education—Co-ordination of educational facilities in the area by the Metropolitan School Board, which also makes maintenance assistance payments; each local board in respect of every pupil.

Parks and Recreation—Establishment of metropolitan parks and recreation areas and on, with the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board, of existing

—none of the parties had proposed 2-tier municipal gov't
— 6 weeks after the Report was released, it was the law.

Health and Welfare—Provision of homes for the aged, hospitalization and burial of indigents, maintenance of neglected children, and post-sanatorium care of tuberculosis patients.

Administration of Justice, etc.—Provision and maintenance of a court house and a jail, and conveyance of prisoners; juvenile and family court; magistrates' courts; provision of Registry office and Land Titles Office accommodation.

Police—Police services throughout the metropolitan area under the Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police.

Licensing—Licensing of trades and businesses by the Metropolitan Toronto Licensing Commission.

Housing and Redevelopment—All powers of a municipality in the fields of housing and redevelopment.

Planning—Preparation of an official plan for the Metropolitan Planning Area by the Metropolitan Planning Board.

Air Pollution Control.

Civil Defence.

POWERS OF THE AREA MUNICIPALITIES

Fire Protection.

Water Supply—Construction and maintenance of local distribution systems and retail sale of water to consumers.

Sewage Disposal—Local sewage collection and construction and maintenance of local sewage collection systems.

Garbage Collection and Disposal.

Roads—Construction and maintenance of local streets and sidewalks, including sidewalks on metropolitan roads.

Planning, etc.—Planning by local planning boards in conformity with the Metropolitan Official Plan when it becomes effective; zoning.

Education—Operation of schools by the local board of education, the area municipality being responsible for costs above the metropolitan grants.

Recreation and Community Services—Local parks; recreation programmes; community centres and arenas; public libraries.

Traffic Control, etc.—Traffic regulations on local streets; street lighting; municipal parking lots.

Housing—All powers of a municipality in the fields of housing and redevelopment.

Health and Welfare—Public health services; general welfare assistance and social work services; maintenance of non-wards.

Hydro-Electric Power—Local distribution.

Licensing and Inspection—Preparation and enforcement of building by-laws; marriage licenses; dog licensing.

Taxation—Levying and collection of taxes for local purposes, including the metropolitan levy.

Under this distribution of powers the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities each have certain exclusive functions and share responsibility for others. The shared functions, such as water supply, sewage disposal and roads, fall under metropolitan jurisdiction in their area-wide aspects and under local jurisdiction in their local aspects. In the fields of housing and redevelopment, Metro and the area municipalities have equal powers.

ii. *Metropolitan Council*

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act enacted the basic scheme and most of the recommendations of the Cumming Report with two major exceptions, the first affecting the composition of the Metropolitan Council and the second affecting education. The legislation accepted the principle of federation and separated the twelve suburban municipalities from the County of York for municipal purposes. Toronto, as a city, was already separate.

The Report had recommended a council of nine full-time members holding no local office, of whom four would be appointed by the Toronto City Council, four would represent the suburbs with one elected from each of four groups of suburbs, and the ninth would be the chairman to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. The term of office was to be "not less than three years". The Report pointed out that, as the council was to be a taxing body, its members should be elected, but it saw serious objections to the direct election of the members of the first council.

The Act accepted the principle of equal representation of the City and the suburbs as a group, but in other respects departed from the recommendations. It provides that the powers of the Metropolitan Corporation are to be exercised by a Metropolitan Council composed of the following: from Toronto, the Mayor, the two of the four controllers who received the highest number of votes at the preceding municipal election, and the alderman from each of the nine wards who received the highest number of votes in the ward; from the suburbs, the heads of the council in each municipality. Each suburb is given one representative and one vote, regardless of population. The Council is thus composed of twenty-four members and the chairman, if he is not chosen from the Council membership. The term of office coincides with the term of local office, which was originally one year but, by an amendment to the Act effective in 1956, is now two years.

The chairman is the head of the Council and its chief executive officer. The first chairman was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council but the Act provided that thereafter the Council was to elect one of its own members "or any other person" as chairman, originally for one year but now for two years. A chairman who has not been elected from among the members of the Council, votes only in the event "of an equality of votes"; if he has been elected from the Council, he has a second or casting vote in such a situation. The first chairman, Mr. Frederick G. Gardiner, Q.C., appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council in 1953 to hold office until the end of 1954, was re-elected by the Council

at each election until his retirement in 1961, when he was succeeded by Mr. William R. Allen, Q.C.

Part VII of the Municipal Act requires all cities with a population of not less than 100,000 to have a board of control. The Cumming Report did not recommend such a board for Metro because the Metropolitan Council was not to be a municipal government in the ordinary sense of the term. The Council was given authority, however, to set up standing and other committees and, as early as May 1953, provided by by-law for the appointment of an executive committee composed of the chairman and four other members. In 1958 the Act was amended to give statutory authority for the establishment of an executive committee composed of the chairman and four or six other members of the Council, one-half from Toronto and one-half from the area municipalities. It also empowered the Council to authorize the committee to exercise any and all powers of a board of control under the Municipal Act, and such powers were duly conferred on the committee by by-law. Accordingly, the executive committee, now consisting of the chairman of Council, who is also chairman of the committee, and six members, prepares the annual budget, awards all contracts, nominates all heads and deputy heads of departments, and initiates policy proposals; it may only be overruled on the award of contracts and on nominations of officials by a two-thirds vote of the Council.

The Council has also established the following standing committees: welfare and housing, works, transportation, and parks and recreation. Each has seven members, including the chairman.

iii. *Metropolitan School Board*

With respect to education, the Cumming Report said that "the fundamental problem is to find an equitable method of financing capital and maintenance costs", and recommended that a portion of these costs be financed on a metropolitan basis. The powers were to be exercised by the Metropolitan Council which was not to assume "the functions of a metropolitan board of education": the local school boards were to retain almost all their powers. The Metro Act, however, created a Metropolitan School Board of 22 members constituted along the lines of the Metropolitan Council.

The Board is composed of the chairman of the Toronto Board of Education, the member from each of the nine City wards who received the largest number of votes in the ward, the ten chairmen of the suburban school boards,¹ and two representatives appointed by the Metropolitan Separate School Board,² one of whom must be from the City and the other from the suburbs. The chairman of the Metropolitan Board, like the chairman of the Metropolitan Council, is selected from among the twenty-two members or from outside.

¹The three lakeshore municipalities of Long Branch, New Toronto and Mimico have a combined school board; hence there are only ten suburban boards instead of twelve.

²This Board operates Roman Catholic schools pursuant to provincial legislation. Its representatives on the Metropolitan School Board do not participate in proceedings exclusively affecting the public elementary schools.

The Act confers upon the Board the responsibility of co-ordinating the area's requirements for school accommodation and school sites. Each local school board must submit its proposals in this regard, with their estimated cost, for review by the Board, which may revise them before submitting a composite proposal to the Metropolitan Council.

The Metropolitan Corporation assumed all school debenture liabilities of the area municipalities outstanding on January 1, 1954. Debt created subsequently for the erection of new schools and the acquisition of lands for school sites was apportioned between the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities, the former assuming the portion of school debt which is recognized by the Province of Ontario for legislative grant purposes. This policy was recently changed; the Metropolitan Corporation now assumes all debt incurred from January 1, 1964, for the municipal share of standard school construction costs under a ceiling cost formula, the area municipalities continuing to be responsible for all costs in excess of the ceiling.

The general legislative grants for school purposes, with a few exceptions, are paid to the Metropolitan Board, which makes maintenance assistance payments to each local school board in respect of each resident pupil in amounts which it determines annually for each category. The amount per pupil in each category must be uniform for each board within the area. The Act also confers on the Metropolitan Board the power to define the boundaries of attendance areas, to determine the charges to be made for non-resident pupils, including their transportation, and to fix the cost of special classes.

To meet its expenditures and obligations, the Board submits its estimates annually to the Metropolitan Council, which, in turn, levies the required amount on the area municipalities. This levy, however, finances only a part of total school costs. The Act specifically preserves all the powers, duties and responsibilities of each local board of education which are not inconsistent with its provisions. Accordingly, each area board prepares and adopts its own current estimates to finance the additional expenditures for its own pupils and submits such estimates for levy by the local council.

iv. *Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board*

The Metropolitan Corporation is the designated municipality for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area under The Planning Act. This Act applies to it, subject to Part XIV of The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act which excludes powers with respect to redevelopment, subdivision control, zoning and building by-laws, but authorizes agreements with area municipalities or others relating to conditions of approval of subdivision plans.

The Act provides that the Planning Board is to be constituted as under The Planning Act, except that the membership is at all times to include two persons recommended by the Metropolitan School Board.

As originally established in 1953, the Board consisted of fourteen members: nine appointed by the Metropolitan Council from outside its membership; three

Council representatives—the Chairman of Metropolitan Council, the Mayor of Toronto and a suburban member of the Planning and Parks Committee (since renamed the Parks and Recreation Committee); and two representatives of the Metropolitan School Board. In 1957 the Board's composition was altered to include all of the foregoing (except the suburban member of the Planning and Parks Committee) and, in addition, four representatives from the fringe areas, the four chairmen of the standing committees of Council, a suburban councillor, and the chairman of the Toronto Transit Commission. The addition, in 1959, of a representative from the Separate School Board brought the Board to its present strength of 24 members.

For the purpose of representation on the Board, the thirteen fringe municipalities which are included in the Metropolitan Planning Area are divided into four districts, with one representative from each, as follows:

North District—Toronto Township, Streetsville, Port Credit.
North-West District—Toronto Gore Township, Vaughan Township, Woodbridge.
North-East District—Richmond Hill, Markham Township, Markham Village, Stouffville.
East District—Ajax, Pickering Township, Pickering Village.

As a planning board governed by the provisions of The Planning Act, the Board has the duty to prepare an official plan for the area and recommend it to the Council for adoption. After adoption by the Council, the plan must be submitted to the Minister of Municipal Affairs for his approval. Upon such approval the plan becomes official.

v. *Toronto Transit Commission*

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act created the Toronto Transit Commission as successor to the Toronto Transportation Commission and conferred upon it full powers with respect to "the construction, maintenance, operation, extension, alteration, repair, control and management" of all forms of local public passenger transportation in the Metropolitan Area, except steam railways and taxis. The assets of the Toronto Transportation Commission, including the capital stock of Gray Coach Lines Limited held by it, and of the area municipalities in respect of public passenger transportation were vested in the new Commission without compensation to the former Commission or to any municipality, subject to assumption by the new Commission of all liabilities in respect of the property transferred.

Under the Act, the original commissioners were to be the three members of the former Toronto Transportation Commission and two members appointed by the Metropolitan Council, who were to be ratepayers and residents of an area municipality other than the City of Toronto. Except in the case of the first members, the term of office was to be five years and commissioners were to retire in rotation. The term was reduced to three years on a staggered basis in 1963, when the Metropolitan Council was also authorized to reduce the membership

from five to three. The Commission still consists of five members who must be appointed on the affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the Council present and voting.

The salary of the commissioners is fixed by the Council, to which an annual financial statement and general report on operations must be submitted. The Commission may not acquire land to be paid for by borrowing without the approval of Council, and the debentures for all sums necessary to finance the Commission's undertakings are issued by Metro, the Council retaining "its authority with reference to providing the money required for such works" (sec. 116(e)).

While setting up these relationships between the Metropolitan Council and the Transit Commission, sec. 115(c) of the Act specifies that the Commission's "powers, rights, authorities and privileges shall not be exercised by any area municipality or its council or by the Metropolitan Corporation or the Metropolitan Council". It was originally intended that the Commission should be financially self-sustaining: sec. 116(1)(c) authorized it to fix tolls and fares so that its revenue "shall be sufficient to make all transportation facilities under its control and management self-sustaining, after providing for such maintenance, renewals, depreciation, debt charges and reserves as it may think proper". In 1962 the Act was amended to authorize the Metropolitan Corporation to contribute to the capital costs of the Commission with the approval of the Municipal Board (sec. 116a), and in 1963 to authorize contributions to operating costs (sec. 116a(2)).

vi. *Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police*

Under the original distribution of powers, and until January 1, 1957, the police services remained a responsibility of the area municipalities. On that date all police services were unified under a Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police. The Board is composed of five members: the chairman of the Metropolitan Council; a member of the Council appointed by it, who, by custom, has always been the Mayor of Toronto; and three members designated by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, of whom one is a judge of the County Court of the County of York and two are magistrates.

vii. *Metropolitan Licensing Commission*

A second change in the distribution of powers became effective on January 1, 1957, when licensing became a metropolitan function. The Metropolitan Licensing Commission was created with certain statutory powers, including, inter alia, the licensing and regulation of teamsters, cab owners and drivers, auctioneers, bill posters, driving schools and instructors, electrical workers, and plumbers. Its powers may be extended by by-law of the Metropolitan Council, under the provisions of any Act, to cover "the licensing, revoking of a license, regulating, governing, prohibiting or limiting of any trade, calling, business or occupation or the person carrying on or engaged in it . . ." (sec. 211(2)). A number of by-laws extending the Commission's powers have been passed.

The Commission was originally composed of the chairman of the Metropolitan Council or his delegate, and two magistrates designated by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. In 1963 the Act was amended to provide that the Commission shall be composed of the chairman of the Metropolitan Council or his delegate, and two members appointed by the Metropolitan Council who are not members of the council of an area municipality. The Commission elects its own chairman.

4. RELATED BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

The Metro Act makes reference to boards and commissions created under other legislation on which Metro is represented or which are represented on Metro bodies. They include the Metropolitan Separate School Board, the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and the Toronto and York Roads Commission.

i. *Metropolitan Separate School Board*

The Metropolitan Separate School Board was created by a special Act, assented to on April 22, 1953, which set up a metropolitan area for separate school purposes. The area covers all the area municipalities, except Mimico and the Union Section in the south part of Etobicoke bordering on Mimico, which have retained their own separate school boards. There are no other local separate school boards.

The Metropolitan Board has complete administrative and financial control over schools under its jurisdiction. In this respect a pattern had been set by its predecessor, the Toronto and Suburban Separate School Board, created in 1941 with administrative and financial authority over separate schools in the City and the greater part of the suburbs. The assessment for separate school purposes, since the inception of Metro, is made by the Metropolitan Assessment Commissioner and the tax rate for separate elementary schools is uniform throughout the area under the Board's jurisdiction.

Members of the Board are elected by separate school supporters biennially by wards, with one member for each ward. The original Board consisted of fifteen members, of whom nine represented Toronto and six the suburbs. In 1956, an additional suburban ward was created, raising total membership to sixteen. Two more suburban wards were created in 1964.

The Board is represented by two members on the Metropolitan School Board who do not participate in proceedings affecting public elementary schools since The Separate Schools Act provides for education up to Grade 10. The Board is also represented by one member on the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board.

ii. *Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority*

The Conservation Authorities Act, 1946, permitted a group of municipalities in a watershed or a group of watersheds to form a conservation authority for the

purpose of carrying out a programme to conserve the natural resources of the area within its jurisdiction. At the inception of Metro four such authorities, the Etobicoke-Mimico, the Humber, the Don and the Rouge-Duffin-Highland-Petticoat Creek, had been formed. Recognition of the need for a regional approach and for a more substantial financial base, as well as the impetus provided by the disastrous flood following Hurricane Hazel in October 1954, led in 1957 to the amalgamation of the four authorities and the formation of the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority. The area under its jurisdiction has been described in Chapter I.

The Authority is administered by 55 appointed members: 3 members, including the chairman, are appointed by the Province of Ontario, 26 by Metro, and 26 by member municipalities outside Metropolitan Toronto. The work of the Authority is financed by levies on the member municipalities and by federal and provincial grants. The annual municipal levy is based on population. Accordingly, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto contributes 92 per cent of the municipal share.

iii. *Toronto and York Roads Commission*

Prior to the formation of Metro, the City of Toronto and the County of York shared in the costs of construction and maintenance of suburban roads in the County, each paying 25 per cent and the Province 50 per cent. The Toronto and York Roads Commission was established in 1916, with two representatives each from the City and the County and one from the Province.

The Cumming Report, taking cognizance of the financial implications to the County if the southern municipalities were separated from it, pointed to "the need for a special adjustment between the metropolitan area and the remaining county arising from the fact that the northern municipalities with less than fifteen per cent of the County equalized assessment would have to assume the County's portion of the cost of maintenance of nearly sixty per cent of the mileage of the existing county and suburban roads". Accordingly, implementing recommendations of the Report, the Metro Act provided that the Toronto and York Roads Commission be continued (sec. 104), and that all roads forming part of the county road system on December 31, 1953, other than those vested in a local municipality or assumed by Metro under the Act, continue to form part of the county road system as "suburban roads". Part VIII of The Highway Improvement Act, providing for the division of costs of suburban roads, was made to apply to the Metropolitan Corporation (sec. 101).

Metro thus became responsible for 25 per cent of the approved costs of suburban roads in the County, the expenditures on which are planned by the Toronto and York Roads Commission in co-operation with Metro's Roads Department and Planning Board. The composition of the Commission was also changed to provide for two representatives from the County, two from Metro⁵¹ and a fifth selected by these four or, failing this, by the Lieutenant Governor⁵⁸ in Council.

ii. Rates

While Metro was successfully fulfilling one of its major objectives in solving the problem of water supply, its policy on water rates created considerable tension. The Metro Act authorizes the Metropolitan Council to fix the rates for water supplied to area municipalities and to charge different rates to different municipalities, provided that the rates will be sufficient to make the system self-sustaining. The Toronto and New Toronto waterworks, assumed by Metro, had been a source of profit to these municipalities which had sold water to the suburbs at higher rates than those charged to their own residents. Their plants having been taken over without compensation, the City and New Toronto felt entitled to preferential rates under Metro.

At the outset Metro introduced a system of varying rates. As "producing" municipalities, the City and New Toronto paid 8.72 cents and 6 cents per 1,000 gallons, respectively, while the other area municipalities paid from 13 cents to 24 cents. In 1954 the Metropolitan Works Department proposed a uniform rate of 10.8 cents per 1,000 gallons for 1955. Instead, Council adopted a compromise plan proposed by the City and established a graduated scale of 15 cents per 1,000 gallons up to three billion gallons and 9.09 cents per 1,000 gallons beyond this quantity, except for New Toronto where the rate was to be 9.09 cents for all consumption. As the largest consumer, averaging about 38 billion gallons per year, Toronto's rate under this system, effective July 1, 1955, was about 9.13 cents per thousand gallons. In the suburbs the average rates decreased slightly.

There were rate increases in 1957 and 1958, when the rate became 20.15 cents per 1,000 gallons up to three billion gallons and 14.24 cents on purchases in excess of this quantity. New Toronto's rate increased to 14.24 cents per 1,000 gallons but was still the lowest of the suburban rates.

A further increase was necessary in 1959. The Metropolitan Works Department again proposed a uniform rate which Toronto had hitherto always successfully opposed. This time Council approved the change and fixed a uniform rate of 16.87 cents per 1,000 gallons, effective January 1, 1959. The rate will be increased to 19.90 cents on July 1, 1965.

In its brief to the Commission, the City of Toronto submits that: "Through the creation of Metro, the City of Toronto has been divested of its waterworks plant, has lost its substantial annual surplus on waterworks operations and has been forced to almost double its charges to consumers". This statement does not take account of what was in effect a saving to the City's residents during the five-year period, 1954-1958, when they enjoyed preferentially lower rates. The saving should be offset against the takeover of the City's plant by Metro without compensation but with liability for any outstanding debt. The submission also makes no allowance for the capital costs of renewal and enlargement of its plant which the City would in due course have had to bear, but which, instead, were assumed by Metro. Finally, the statement suggests that

charges to consumers would not have risen if the City had retained its plant. This suggestion can scarcely be maintained in the light of the rise in costs and prices since 1954.

iii. Conclusions

In respect of water supply, Metro has achieved one of its principal objectives: it has solved the problem of adequate supplies of pure water throughout the area and is continuing to extend its waterworks facilities on a planned basis.

2. SEWAGE DISPOSAL

With only six of the thirteen area municipalities having direct access to Lake Ontario, the availability of a fresh water supply was dependent upon water pollution control by the extension of sewage facilities to the other municipalities. In 1954 there were nineteen sewage treatment plants in the Metro area, most of them seriously overloaded and not related to any general system of sewage disposal. Large areas of suburban housing were served only by septic tanks installed in clay soils which prevented their efficient operation. Seepage, uncontrolled storm water run-off and disposal of partially treated sewage into natural drainage channels turned streams and rivers, particularly the Don and the Humber into open sewers.

Under the Metro Act, the Metropolitan Corporation became responsible for all permanent sewage treatment plants and trunk sewers and trunk sewer systems for the collection and disposal of sewage. It assumed this plant from the area municipalities, which retained the local mains. Metro was empowered to levy sewage service rates on the whole or a designated part of an area municipality; to contract with any municipality outside Metro's boundaries to receive and dispose of sewage and land drainage; and to regulate, govern and establish standards for the design, construction and maintenance of local works connected or to be connected to a metropolitan work or water course.

i. Achievements of Metro

Under the overall plan adopted by Metro, all sewage was to be fed into large trunk mains leading to a number of major disposal plants along Lake Ontario, where it would be treated before discharge into the lake.

Metro completely remodelled the main sewage treatment plant at Ashbridge's Bay, which it assumed from the City, enlarged its capacity from 84 million to 120 million gallons per day, and installed secondary treatment facilities. The minor plants assumed were also remodelled; others were renovated; and 13 overloaded upstream plants were eliminated. Additional treatment capacity of 62 million gallons per day was provided by construction of the new Humber plant, enlargement of the Highland Creek plant, and construction of the new Lakeview plant, which is operated jointly by Metro and Toronto Township and in the construction of which Metro participated with the Township and Ontario Water Resources Commission. These plants are served by some

miles of trunk sewers. Certain areas of Markham and Vaughan have been connected to the Metro system, on a fee basis, to prevent pollution of upstream waters, and several major storm interceptor sewers have been built.

Capital expenditures on Metro's sewage system to the end of 1963 amounted to \$87 million. To complete works in progress, the Metropolitan Finance Commissioner estimates further capital expenditures of \$40 million for trunk sewers and sewage treatment plants, including enlargement of the main plant at Ashbridge's Bay.

ii. Local Sewer Renewal Needs

Notwithstanding Metro's major achievements in respect of sewage disposal, the area faces a continuing problem in the need for a sewer renewal and enlargement programme in much of Toronto and the rest of the core area. The Metropolitan Corporation assumed responsibility for trunk sanitary sewers and the enlargement of the sanitary trunks has been of particular benefit to the outer suburbs, where sanitary and storm sewers are separate. But in much of Metro's core area the systems are combined and a heavy rainfall overloads the trunks and causes undesirable discharge of contaminants to the lake.

The inadequacy of the combined sewer systems, built to serve a city of single family dwellings and small commercial buildings, may restrain development and re-development. A renewal programme, involving either the separation of storm and sanitary sewers or the installation of greatly enlarged trunk sewers to carry combined sewage, is necessary. The area as a whole would benefit from such improvements which would ensure a higher quality of raw water in its supply system and less pollution of the lake water.

iii. Conclusions

Metro has to a large degree achieved its objective of solving the area-wide sewage problems which existed in 1954. It thereby made possible the rapid development of the outer suburbs. In the City of Toronto, York, East York and other parts of the core area, however, the sewer systems are now inadequate in relation to development and re-development needs. Since redevelopment of the core is a matter of area-wide concern, the area as a whole should share in financing the municipal costs of the necessary trunk sewer renewal programmes.

3. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

The Toronto Transit Commission ("T.T.C."), as outlined in Chapter IV, was created by the Metro Act as successor to the Toronto Transportation Commission, with exclusive power to provide public passenger transportation in the Metropolitan Area, other than steam railways and taxis.

i. Achievements

The Transit Commission's first task was the reorganization of the system and the extension of services to the suburban areas. Its achievements have

been impressive. In ten years it increased the number of surface routes from 53 to 80 and the one-way route mileage from 244 to 428. The annual mileage of bus services operated in the suburbs has doubled, increasing from 5 million miles in 1955 to 10 million in 1963. The Commission now operates 583 miles of streetcar and subway track and bus routes, and, in 1963, carried 271 million passengers. Five fare zones have been reduced to two: an inner zone extending to about five miles from the core area and a second zone consisting of the rest of the Metropolitan Area.

In 1954 the Yonge Street Subway, Canada's first subway, consisting of 4.56 miles of rapid transit lines extending from Union Station to Eglinton Avenue, constructed and independently financed by the former Commission, was completed at a cost of some \$64 million. In 1958, following intensive study by T.T.C., Metropolitan Council and the Metropolitan Planning Board, agreement was reached on the construction and financing of the Bloor-Danforth-University extension of 9.85 miles. The University Avenue section (two miles), connecting with the Yonge Street Subway at Union Station and extending to Bloor Street, was opened in February 1963. The Bloor-Danforth Subway, extending eight miles from Keele Street to Woodbine Avenue, is now under construction and the target date for completion has been advanced from 1968 to 1965. In 1963, Council approved eastern and western extensions to this line—to Warden Avenue and St. Clair Avenue in Scarborough (about three miles) and to Bloor Street and Montgomery Road in Etobicoke (about three miles)—with completion scheduled in 1967 or 1968. In September 1964, the Executive Committee of Metro Council recommended that the western terminus be moved from Montgomery Road to Islington Avenue.

By 1968 the subway system will consist of about 21 miles of rapid transit lines. Further extensions of the Bloor-Danforth Subway and a northerly extension of the Yonge Street Subway are under study, and the ten-year capital budget makes provision for a Spadina Expressway route.

ii. Finances

The great expansion in transit services and facilities has materially affected the financial position of the Transit Commission and its relationship to the Metropolitan Council. The system it assumed in 1954 had always operated at a profit, improving and extending its facilities and equipment without any assistance from municipal taxation. T.T.C., too, was required by the Act to fix rates so that it would be financially self-sustaining, although the Cumming Report had suggested "that the underlying liability of the metropolitan area for the provision of possible future deficits in this publicly owned system should be given formal recognition in any legislation . . ." In this, the Report foresaw what was soon to happen.

In June 1955, T.T.C. reported to the Metropolitan Council on its financial position. The costs of servicing a much larger area, increases in operating costs, and heavy interest charges on the Yonge Street Subway had produced a net

costs and the Transit Commission for all operating equipment costs of the Bloor-Danforth-University line and its eastern and western extensions into Scarborough and Etobicoke. To relieve T.T.C. of heavy annual debt charges, Metro, as authorized by the Ontario Municipal Board in January 1964, also assumed responsibility, on the same basis, for approximately \$49 million of unmatured debenture debt of the Yonge Street Subway.

The estimated cost of the Bloor-Danforth-University Subway is \$277.7 million. The T.T.C. share of this amount, to be financed by Metropolitan Toronto debentures, is \$82.2 million. Metro's share is \$195.5 million, which, according to estimates, will be financed as follows: \$86.7 million by the two mill levy; \$9.3 million by sales of surplus lands; \$21.4 million by subsidies from the Provincial Government under Part XIII-A of The Highway Improvement Act, enacted in 1963 to authorize the Minister of Highways to pay an amount not exceeding 33½ per cent of the expenditure on right-of-way construction on the Bloor-Danforth line after April 1, 1964; and \$78 million by the issuance of Metropolitan Toronto debentures. In 1961 the Provincial Government undertook direct purchase of \$60 million of Metro debentures issued for the project. Metro has also received permission to borrow approximately \$29.5 million under the Federal-Provincial-Municipal Works Assistance Program, which will reduce interest costs and which provides that 25 per cent of the moneys advanced will be forgiven to the extent that the works are completed by April 1, 1966.

iii. *T.T.C. and Metro*

In 1962 the Metro Act was amended to authorize the Metropolitan Corporation to contribute to the capital costs of the Transit Commission with the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board (sec. 116a), and the requirement that T.T.C. operate on a self-sustaining basis was made subject to the new provision (sec. 116(1)c). In 1963 the Act was further amended to authorize the Corporation to "contribute to the cost of operating the transportation system operated by the Commission" (sec. 116a(2)).

The inability of T.T.C. to finance the costs of the increasing and diversified transportation needs of the area on a self-sustaining basis has affected its relationship to the Metropolitan Council. With tax revenues paying more than 40 per cent of the development costs of the transit system over a ten-year period, the Council necessarily acquired a voice in decisions on transportation policies and projects and fares, which was not envisaged by the legislation. In law, T.T.C. continues to operate as a quasi-independent commission solely responsible for public transportation. In fact, Council has determined the fare structure from time to time and, more recently, the course of development of rapid transit facilities. A number of briefs to this Commission have therefore submitted that the changed circumstances call for more direct control of T.T.C. by the Metropolitan Corporation. It was recommended, *inter alia*, that T.T.C. be made directly responsible to a committee of Council or that it be abolished and replaced by a new Metro department.

operating deficit of \$1.9 million in 1954, which was met from a fare stabilization fund. For 1955 the Commission estimated a deficit of \$3.1 million, which, after exhausting the balance in this fund, would leave a net deficit of \$2.5 million. Under authority of an amendment to the Metro Act, Council made a grant of \$2.3 million to T.T.C. in 1956 to cover its losses. On July 1, 1956, the Commission increased the basic adult fare from 10 cents to 12½ cents.

T.T.C. showed surpluses in 1956, 1957 and 1958, a small deficit in 1959, surpluses in 1960 and 1961, and a deficit of \$823,000 in 1962. On May 1, 1960, the fare was raised to 15 cents, modified on May 1, 1961, to 14½ cents on the basis of 7 tickets for \$1.00. On May 1, 1963, there was a further fare increase to 16½ cents, that is, 6 tickets for \$1.00. On May 3, 1963, Council, authorized by an amendment to the Act, approved payment of a subsidy of \$2.5 million to the Commission on account of its 1963 debenture interest charges, conditional upon revocation of the last fare increase. On May 20, 1963, the Commission reverted to the 14½ cents fare. Notwithstanding the subsidy, it showed a deficit of almost \$500,000 for 1963. On January 1, 1964, the basic adult fare was increased to 16½ cents.

A major factor contributing to operating losses in this period was the continued decline in the number of fare-paying passengers—an experience which T.T.C. shared with other carriers in North America. The decline in the Toronto area between 1953 and 1963 was about 38 per cent, as compared with an average decline of 48 per cent in other Canadian cities and about 57 per cent in the United States. During 1963 the trend was reversed, the number of passengers carried increasing by almost 2.3 million over 1962. The first increase in many years coincided with the reduction in the number of fare zones from five to two, which meant substantially reduced fares for many suburban riders. Despite an increase in fares from seven to six tickets for one dollar at the beginning of 1964, the number of passengers carried has continued to rise, the first eight months of 1964 showing an increase of 2.5 million passengers over the corresponding period of 1963. T.T.C. now shows an operating surplus, which, however, has only been made possible by relief from debt charges resulting from the assumption of subway debt by the Metropolitan Corporation.

On the basis of agreements reached, and under authority of amendments to the legislation, capital expenditures on subway construction are shared by the Metropolitan Corporation and the Transit Commission. A basis for sharing the costs was originally agreed on in 1958, at which time Council also decided that a two mill area-wide levy, which had been imposed initially in 1957 for general municipal purposes, should be applied in each of the years 1959 to 1968, inclusive, solely to reduction of the Metropolitan Corporation's share of financing subway construction. The proceeds of this levy to the end of 1964 were approximately \$47.5 million.

The agreement for sharing the costs of subway construction was revised in 1963: the Metropolitan Corporation assumed responsibility for all right-of-way

In considering the suggested changes, it is well to note the powers conferred on Council with respect to the Transit Commission by the Metro Act. Council appoints the commissioners of T.T.C. and fixes their salaries. It may reduce their number from five to three. It retains its authority with reference to providing the money for T.T.C. undertakings and alone can issue the necessary debentures. In exercising the more recent authority conferred on it to contribute to the capital and operating costs of T.T.C., Council has been in an effective position to influence policies on fares and the planning of subway routes. It cannot, therefore, be said that Council is without control over the Transit Commission.

Considering that transportation is a basic component in the overall planning and development of the area, I am of the opinion that a more formal coordination between Metro and T.T.C. is desirable. I do not find, however, that such coordination requires the abolition of T.T.C. and the transfer of its functions to a Metro department. The nature of the service provided by the Transit Commission and its record of efficient administration are reasons for leaving the provision of public transportation in its hands.

iv. *Conclusions*

The Transit Commission, with the financial participation of the Metropolitan Corporation, has achieved major objectives in providing a high standard of mass transit services in the area.

There should be a more formal coordination between Metro and T.T.C. To this end, the chairman of Metropolitan Council should ex officio be a full member of the Toronto Transit Commission. There should also be a more formal coordination in overall transportation planning between the staffs of the Transit Commission, the Metro Planning Board and other agencies concerned, in order to ensure that proper consideration is given to all forms of transportation required to meet the present and prospective needs of Metro and the surrounding area.

4. ROADS

The Metro Act (sec. 76) provides that, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, "the Metropolitan Council shall by by-law establish a metropolitan road system in the Metropolitan Area by assuming roads in any area municipality . . . and the by-law shall designate the roads to be assumed as metropolitan roads and intended to form the metropolitan road system". The Metropolitan Corporation is also empowered to establish and lay out new roads as part of the metropolitan road system.

i. *Achievements of Metro*

Under the authority of the Act, Metro assumed a basic network of 275 miles of arterial roads and streets in 1954. Since then it has increased the total to 355 miles by assuming an additional 47 miles of existing roads and constructing

18 miles of new arterial roads and 15 miles of new expressways. Improvements of the arterial system have included the widening of 60 miles of roads, the resurfacing of 118 miles and the improvement of 171 intersections by channelization to accommodate traffic movements.

To 110 major structures on the road system in 1953, Metro has added 101 new bridges, including 20 railway grade separations and major interchange construction at Royal York Road and Dundas Street; the Six Points in Islington; and the intersection of Bayview and Lawrence Avenues.

The development of Metro's expressway network has proceeded with construction of the western section of the Frederick G. Gardiner Expressway and the Don Valley Parkway, now extending to Lawrence Avenue in the north. These were linked in November 1964 and provide a six-lane highway from the Queen Elizabeth Way to Lawrence Avenue. Construction of the Spadina Expressway began in 1963. Of Metro's total expenditures of \$200 million on roads, \$135 million has been spent on the expressway system and the related extensions of Bayview Avenue and Lawrence Avenue.

Prior to 1954 the area municipalities had endeavoured to keep pace with the tremendous increase in the number of motor vehicles in the area but they could not cope with some of the major problems. For thirty years plans had been made to connect the adjacent municipalities of Scarborough, North York and Leaside across the two branches of the Don River but no method of financing the project could be devised. The Metropolitan Corporation connected the municipalities by constructing the Eglinton Avenue Extension, which now carries 33,000 vehicles per day. Another example of Metro's achievements are the seventeen lanes now crossing the Humber River at its mouth, as compared with the single four-lane bridge which formerly connected the Queen Elizabeth Way and Highway 2, on the west side of the Humber, to the Lakeshore Boulevard and Queen Street on the east side.

In his annual report for 1963, the Metropolitan Finance Commissioner estimated further capital expenditures of more than \$145 million to complete works in progress, including the Frederick G. Gardiner Expressway, the Don Valley Parkway, the Spadina Expressway (including provision for future rapid transit facilities), and other major road improvements. Approximately 50 per cent of these expenditures will be recovered by way of Provincial Government subsidy.

ii. *Provincial and Metro Expressways*

The Gardiner Expressway and the Don Valley Parkway, which, when connected in November 1964, linked the Humber in the west and the Don in the east, supplement an extensive system of provincial expressways: Highway 401, traversing the northern part of Metro in an east-west direction, which is now being widened over a distance of 17 miles to a minimum of 12 lanes; Highway 27 in the west, running north through Etobicoke; and the Queen Elizabeth Way in

a proper coordination of access control." In my opinion, the law should require approval by the Metropolitan authority of the design of access to metropolitan roads.

v. *Conclusions*

Metro's expressways and arterial road network constitute one of the major accomplishments of metropolitan government in the area.

The design of access to metropolitan roads should require the approval of Metro authorities, and Metro should assume appropriate major local arterial roads.

Since Metro and the Province are each responsible for essential components of the metropolitan expressway system, construction should be coordinated to meet the overall requirements of both transportation and local development.

To make transit operations possible on the roads on Metro's boundaries, where the dividing line is the middle of the road the Metropolitan Corporation should be authorized to assume such roads as metropolitan roads.

5. TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT

The construction of new roads or the widening of existing roads does not solve the traffic problems of an area like that of Metro without effective traffic management "to keep the traffic moving".¹ In this regard, Metro faces a problem of divided authority under which the Metropolitan Corporation is responsible for traffic control on metropolitan roads and the thirteen area municipalities are responsible for regulating traffic on local roads. Nevertheless, considerable progress towards uniform procedures and controls has been made.

i. *Traffic Control*

A Metropolitan Traffic Engineering Department was established in 1954 to prepare traffic by-laws and regulations for metropolitan roads and to assist the Roads Department in the design of road intersections and the Planning Board in transportation research. It was also to be responsible for measures to speed the flow of traffic and to promote safety on roads. The fragmentation of traffic control authority in the area required close co-operation with the thirteen area municipalities and thirteen police forces.

Unification of the police services in 1957 automatically placed the enforcement of traffic by-laws under a single authority. In 1959 all the area municipalities adopted uniform traffic control by-laws based on a Metro by-law adopted in 1958. In the latter year agreement was also reached for the installation of a system of pedestrian crosswalks by Metro at appropriate intersections in the area.

In 1962 an amendment to the Act empowered Metro to assume operation of all signal-light traffic control systems in the area, to control the systems by electronic computers, and to regulate traffic on highways within 100 feet of any

¹Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, 1957-60, p. 108.

the south. Two authorities, the Metropolitan Corporation and the provincial Department of Highways, are therefore responsible for essential components of the Metro expressway network. Expressway construction by these two authorities should be coordinated in terms of both overall transportation requirements and local development objectives.

iii. *Suburban Roads*

It has been shown in Chapter IV that Metro is responsible for 25 per cent of the approved costs of maintenance and construction of suburban roads in York County. In its first ten years Metro's share of these costs amounted to \$3.75 million.

In his brief to the Commission, Mr. William R. Allen, Q.C., Chairman of the Metropolitan Council, submitted that Metro is comparable to a county organization and should not be responsible for road costs beyond its boundaries. The County of York, in its brief, pointed out that the current arrangement gives effect in the Toronto area to the statutory requirement for the sharing of suburban road costs throughout Ontario, and requested that it should be maintained. I do not find that the existing arrangement should be changed.

iv. *Local Roads*

Roads and streets which have not been assumed by the Metropolitan Corporation remain the responsibility of the area municipalities. In this connection, the Metropolitan Planning Commissioner, in his brief to the Commission, said that: "The establishment of proper collector road systems, designed to provide satisfactory internal communications within neighbourhoods and reasonable connections between adjoining neighbourhoods or communities, without requiring the excessive use of arterial roads, is essentially a local responsibility, discharged primarily in the course of subdivision design. While some of the municipalities are paying increasing attention to this vital requirement, in others this requirement has been neglected or undergone considerable distortion. As a result, some sections of Metropolitan Toronto have been developed with quite inadequate road systems, which has had a detrimental effect on the ability of the Metropolitan road system to perform its basic function." This view was supported by the brief of the Central Ontario Chapter of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. On the basis of the evidence submitted, I suggest that Metro should assume appropriate major local arterial roads.

The Planning Commissioner also pointed to the problem of control of access to arterial roads, which is largely in the hands of the area municipalities: "Here again, in some municipalities adequate attention is paid to the Metropolitan interests, through consultation prior to the granting of development approval and subsequently on the design and location of access points. In some other municipalities, there is almost no consultation, except in extraordinary circumstances. As a result a number of difficult situations have been created at specific locations on the Metropolitan road system which might have been avoided with

iii. *Conclusions*

The traffic engineering services of the Metropolitan area should be unified under Metro.

Metro should establish an area-wide Parking Authority with responsibility for policy on the provision of parking facilities in the Metropolitan Area in conformity with metropolitan requirements and planning, and with power to operate such facilities directly or to enter into a contractual arrangement for their operation by the Toronto Parking Authority.

6. PUBLIC HOUSING

Section 217 of the Metro Act confers upon the Metropolitan Corporation all the powers of a municipality under The Housing Development Act or any other Act with respect to housing or building development, housing projects and redevelopment areas, without limiting or interfering with the powers of the area municipalities in these matters. Section 218 authorizes Metro to enter into agreements with an area municipality for sharing or contributing to its costs in the exercise of any of its powers in the matter of housing.

i. *Housing Agencies*

With the Federal Government contributing the largest share of the financing, under the National Housing Act and through Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, five separate and distinct agencies have been operating in the public housing field in the Metro area, as follows:

- (a) Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, a special authority created by the Provincial Government in 1955, administers low rental family housing projects which are subsidized jointly, under section 36 of the National Housing Act, by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Government of Ontario.
- (b) Metropolitan Toronto Housing Company Limited, a non-profit company wholly owned by the Metropolitan Corporation, was incorporated to qualify under the "limited dividend" mortgage loan provisions of section 16 of the National Housing Act. It builds housing for elderly people and the projects are managed by the Metropolitan Department of Welfare and Housing.
- (c) Housing Authority of Toronto, a housing agency of the City of Toronto created in 1947 to manage city housing projects, concerned itself originally with low rental or subsidized housing but now directs its efforts mainly to moderate rental family housing projects.
- (d) City of Toronto Limited Dividend Housing Corporation Limited, created by the City of Toronto in 1956 to qualify for limited dividend mortgage loans under section 16 of the National Housing Act, builds and administers moderate rental housing on sites supplied by the City.

such system. Accordingly, all traffic signals in the area, whether on metropolitan or local roads, have been assumed by the Metropolitan Corporation, which has done pioneering experimental work in the electronic control of traffic. It is expected that by the end of 1965 traffic signals over the whole area will be controlled by an electronic computer-control system, which has been established at a cost of more than \$3 million. An improvement of 20 to 25 per cent in traffic flow is anticipated.

Subject to the foregoing, the regulation of traffic on local streets and roads continues to be the responsibility of the area municipalities. Traffic engineering practices vary; for example, there is no uniform policy governing truck traffic, and no rational system of one-way streets. When the centrally controlled traffic signal system is in operation, the fragmented control of traffic on local streets will be even more out of date. It is clear that the traffic engineering services of the area should be unified under a single authority.

ii. *Parking*

The Metro Act (sec. 272) grants to the Metropolitan Corporation the powers of a municipality to establish parking lots and facilities and to set up a Parking Authority, and authorizes the Corporation to enter into an agreement with the Parking Authority of Toronto for the operation of Metro parking lots. Metro has to date not exercised these powers.

Parking is generally a problem in all large urban communities; in the Metro area, the problem is accentuated by one of the highest motor vehicle ratios to population on the continent coupled with the fact that the central area was developed before the age of the automobile. Off-street parking facilities, which are, in effect, an extension of the public street system, are essential to ensure the most efficient use of the streets. In 1952 the City of Toronto established a Parking Authority which operates off-street parking facilities on a self-sustaining basis. In North York, York and Etobicoke the authorities are financially dependent upon the local councils.

In view of the relationship of parking to the overall transportation system of the area, Metro has at various times considered the establishment of a metropolitan authority which would either assume the assets or operate through the agency of the Toronto Parking Authority. New problems of area-wide concern are now to the fore in the planning of parking facilities both to complement rapid transit and commuter train services and to encourage commercial developments along the route of the east-west subway. These are matters of metropolitan concern affecting traffic control policy, the financial operations of the transit system, and the amount of traffic entering the central part of the area.

The City of Toronto, in its brief to the Commission, submitted that an area-wide parking authority "would assist the proper coordination of all communications interests—arterial roads, mass transit, commuter rail service and traffic control". I am of the opinion that such an authority should be established.

(e) York Township Housing Company Limited, owned by York Township, builds and administers housing for elderly persons.

ii. *Limited Achievement*

When Metro came into being on January 1, 1954, the only subsidized family housing units available were in Regent Park North, a project of the Housing Authority of Toronto, commenced in 1947 and completed with 1,397 dwelling units in 1959. Apart from Regent Park South, with 732 units, all other subsidized public housing constructed in the Metro area under section 36 of the National Housing Act was requested by the Metropolitan Council. As at September 1, 1964, the stock of low rental housing in Metro was 3,707 units, and the construction of 6,300 additional units is planned for the period 1964-1973. Under the Ontario Rent Certificate Plan, which provides for renting existing houses and apartments from private owners, the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, as agent for the Province, has assembled 245 units.

All moderate rental "limited dividend" housing units, built under section 16 of the National Housing Act, were constructed by the City of Toronto Limited Dividend Housing Corporation Limited. The total stock, as at September 1, 1964, was 1,268 units, including 902 units in the Moss Park project.

Prior to Metro, low rental housing for elderly persons was provided in one project of 128 units by the York Township Housing Corporation, which has retained administration of the project. Since 1954, the Metropolitan Corporation, acting through its "limited dividend" Metropolitan Toronto Housing Company Limited, has constructed 1,866 units in separate projects in the City, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, York and East York, raising the total to almost 2,000 units. These make available bachelor and one-bedroom suites for citizens of Metro of limited income, who are over 60 years of age and have had ten years' continuous residence in Metro immediately prior to their application. Rents range from \$35.75 to \$50.00 monthly for bachelor suites and from \$42.25 to \$60.00 monthly for one-bedroom apartments.

Metro's major accomplishment in public housing has been in the provision of low rental units for elderly persons. Its record in this field is very good. The same cannot be said of the provision of subsidized low rental family housing. The existing stock of 3,700 units meets only a fraction of the need; the revised draft Metro Official Plan estimates requirements at 30,000 to 40,000 units.¹ But Metro's experience in public housing is by no means unique. In the whole of Canada only 12,500 units have been provided in the past fifteen years, of which more than 60 per cent are in Ontario. It is apparent that public housing has not yet attained wide political acceptance in Canada.

¹Good Housing for Canadians: A Study by the Ontario Association of Housing Authorities, 1964, p. 91.

The lack of progress in public housing in the Toronto area should not be attributed solely to the metropolitan government. The situation has been substantially beyond its control. The multiplicity of authorities concerned in housing involves agreements between four governments and complicated administrative techniques. It has been estimated that more than eighty planning and engineering steps are necessary between the initiation of a project and the occupancy of public housing dwellings and that the normal time lapse is of the order of five years. A project must be initiated by a municipality or receive its approval if it is to be located within its boundaries. But the area municipalities with available land have been reluctant to accept public housing because of fear of its effects on municipal and school costs and on the values of existing residential properties and, generally, because of the opposition of local residents to public housing in their neighbourhood. By its opposition, a municipality can delay a project almost indefinitely. Examples of such delays were cited in evidence before the Commission.

The limited achievement in the Metro area must also be attributed to absence of a coordinated public housing programme. There has been no central housing authority responsible for planning, designing, constructing and administering public housing projects and allocating the units in accordance with the overall needs of the area, regardless of existing municipal boundaries. It is doubtful, however, whether an agency with such authority was feasible in the early years of metropolitan government. The law says that Metro's housing powers are not to limit or interfere with the corresponding powers of the area municipalities; an agency such as described would at the outset have caused major political controversy. In any event, the first priority of the Metropolitan Corporation was to provide the basic physical services upon which the development of the area depended. Even with its powers widened, Metro would not have been in a position to embark on a large-scale housing programme until its major water and sewage programmes had been substantially completed. These services had to be extended to the suburbs where most of the vacant sites available for housing are located. With the completion of its major projects, Metro, in 1962, endorsed the amalgamation of existing housing agencies and the formation of a metropolitan agency responsible for all aspects of public housing in the area. But negotiations to achieve this end were unsuccessful.

iii. *Conclusions*

The need for a central housing agency in Metro is established by the evidence. Public housing programmes will not be accelerated unless the multiplicity of authorities and the procedural complexities are reduced to a necessary minimum. This may now be achieved through the Ontario Housing Corporation, created by provincial legislation in 1964 with all the powers of a housing authority under The Housing Development Act and with responsibility for all aspects of housing in Ontario.

Amendments to the National Housing Act enacted in 1964 authorize the Federal Government to loan 90 per cent of the capital costs of public housing projects created and owned by provinces, municipalities or public housing agencies, and to pay 50 per cent of the annual operating losses. Under the policy adopted by the Ontario Housing Corporation, Ontario municipalities will no longer be required to contribute to capital costs. Their financial participation is to be limited to payment of 7.5 per cent of any operating losses incurred in housing other than for elderly people and, in the latter case, to waiving all realty taxes in excess of \$25 per suite per annum.

The Ontario Housing Corporation, qualified for loans under the National Housing Act, should now act as a single agency on behalf of the federal and provincial governments in dealing with the Metropolitan Corporation in respect of all further low rental housing developments in the Metro area, with Metro assuming the remaining municipal financial responsibility therefor.

7. HEALTH AND WELFARE

Under Part IX of the Metro Act, the mandatory responsibilities of the Metropolitan Corporation for health and welfare services are limited to such matters as payment of the cost of post sanatorium care for consumptives, provision of homes for the aged, payments to Children's Aid Societies for the support of neglected children, and, since January 1, 1964, repayment to the area municipalities of the municipal share of the cost of mandatory services under the General Welfare Assistance Act. Metro has optional powers to make grants for the erection and maintenance of public hospitals and to construct and maintain public hospitals. The major public health and welfare services remain the responsibility of the area municipalities, with financial assistance from the Province.

i. Care of the Aged

It has been said in this report that Metro's record in the provision of low rental housing for elderly persons has been very good. Its record in providing institutional care for the aged, under its welfare responsibilities, has been equally good. Prior to 1954, 762 beds were available, all of which were in Lambert Lodge, which was transferred to Metro in that year. As at September 1, 1964, there were 2,262 beds in five separate locations, including Lambert Lodge, which now has only 710 beds due to remodelling for the Geriatric Centre.

ii. Chronically Ill and Convalescent Care

The Metro Act transferred Riverdale Isolation Hospital from the City of Toronto to the Metropolitan Corporation. In March 1964, The Riverdale Hospital Act vested the management, maintenance and operation of the hospital in a Board of Governors, to whom the real property was leased by Metro and to whom all the personal property of the hospital was transferred. The board is not a local board of the Metropolitan Corporation.

Riverdale Hospital now cares for chronically ill and convalescent patients. While it was a responsibility of Metro, its capacity was increased from 105 to more than 900 beds, thereby providing relief to the active treatment hospitals in the area. The City of Toronto continues to provide a similar service at Runnymede Hospital with 130 beds.

iii. Hospital Grants

Metro made grants in aid of hospital construction amounting to some \$8 million from 1954 to 1963. In March 1958, the federal and provincial governments having increased their capital grants, Council voted to cease Metro grants. Accordingly, reflecting diminishing instalments on commitments, the grant declined from \$1.2 million in 1958 to \$200,000 in 1963. Rising construction costs and a severe shortage of hospital beds soon led to pressure for a resumption of Metro's original policy. In November 1963, Council voted to resume grants on the basis of 50 per cent of the regular provincial grant, and an amount of \$500,000 was included in the 1964 operating budget for this purpose. I find that, in making grants in aid of hospital construction, the Metropolitan Corporation is discharging a proper responsibility.

Reports of a major survey of hospital needs in Metro show a current shortage of 2,360 active treatment beds, an anticipated shortage of 6,172 beds between 1963 and 1980, and a severe shortage of hospital beds for the care of children. In its brief to the Commission, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto submitted that the problem of providing adequate hospital facilities in the area "is much more than a matter of financing. It is a problem of planning which must be tackled on the metropolitan level at least". On March 17, 1965, the Minister of Health officially endorsed a recommendation of a survey committee for the establishment of a Metropolitan Toronto region hospital coordinating council which "would maintain an up-to-date analysis of the needs and facilities for health services in the area and would make the necessary recommendations to meet any deficiencies that might occur". The appointment of such a council will be a forward step in planning for health needs.

iv. Emergency Ambulance Service

The City of Toronto provides the only publicly-owned emergency ambulance service in the metropolitan area, with eight well-equipped modern ambulances. Operating under the City's Department of Health, there are five ambulance stations strategically located. The ambulances are linked by two-way radios and a central dispatcher who has radio and telephone connections with the police and fire departments. Each ambulance has two attendants and both are trained as drivers and as first aid attendants. The ambulances provide transportation to the nearest general hospital for any type of emergency case from any location in the City. By agreement, the City ambulances also transport mentally ill patients for the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Etobicoke provides an ambulance service under a contract arrangement, and in three municipalities each fire department has an ambulance.

It was submitted to the Commission that an emergency ambulance service should be available on a metropolitan basis. I agree. Ambulance service in a metropolitan area should have no regard to local boundaries. In the words of the Royal Commission on Greater London (1960), which recommended that the Greater London Council should be responsible for the service, "the area needed for this service is very much larger than that needed for the other personal health services". I also find that the service should be publicly owned and operated; it is of too vital concern to the citizens to be left in the hands of private ambulance operators.

Metro should take steps to provide a metropolitan public emergency ambulance service. A central despatch system for all ambulances serving emergency calls in Metropolitan Toronto is immediately necessary. It has been suggested that the emergency service should be operated by the police department or by the area fire departments. I suggest a contractual arrangement between the Metropolitan Corporation and the City of Toronto under which the service would be operated by the City for the whole area.

v. *Public Assistance*

The welfare services assigned to Metro are administered by the Metropolitan Welfare and Housing Department. Under provincial legislation, each of the area municipalities administers general welfare assistance, supplementary services and such optional services as it may choose. Nine services, including general welfare payments, nursing home care, and rehabilitation, are mandatory where the need is present, and the Province pays 80 per cent of the allowances paid to the recipients, subject to certain ceilings. The Province also shares in the costs of other services which may be provided.

With a relatively larger proportion of elderly persons and with the concentration of low-income families within its boundaries, the City is called upon to provide a greater variety of welfare services than the other municipalities. It bears the preponderant share of welfare costs, although it was afforded relief in 1964 when the Metropolitan Corporation assumed the municipal share (20 per cent) of the payments under The General Welfare Assistance Act. The other municipalities submit that their more limited services are adequate for the requirements of their people.

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto submitted in its brief to the Commission that, with certain services being optional and with different interpretations given to the general welfare assistance legislation, there are inequalities in the provision of welfare services among the thirteen area municipalities. There are services which are provided in some municipalities and not in others and, in some instances, allowances under mandatory welfare assistance vary appreciably as the recipient moves out of one municipality into another. The Council also submitted that most of the services for which there is legislative provision are needed in the suburbs as well as in the older core of the area. It

urged "that these services should be equally available to individuals and families with the same needs, no matter where they live in Metropolitan Toronto".

With Metro's thirteen municipalities varying so greatly in size, in the composition of their population and in resources, the needs for welfare services vary and there are variations in the standards of service provided. In 1963 the City of Toronto reported 340 full time welfare employees; in the suburbs the number was 37, distributed as follows: nine in North York, seven each in Scarborough, Etobicoke and York, four in East York, one each in Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch, and none in Swansea, Weston, Forest Hill and Leaside.

While it is generally agreed that the personal services directly affecting the individual citizen require a local unit of administration, it is also agreed that such unit must be adequate for the purpose. Small autonomous units with limited resources, like some of the area municipalities, cannot provide the range of services which should be available under modern health and welfare programmes, and the services which they do make available are not always administered by trained personnel. This is not satisfactory. A consolidation of some of the municipalities, by enlarging the areas of service and spreading the costs, would lead to more equality in standards and in the range of welfare services provided in the Metro area.

vi. *Public Health*

Public health is the responsibility of the local boards of health in the area municipalities. Leaside and East York constitute an inter-municipal health unit. The basic services include nursing services, immunization, school dental services, medical care of infants and mothers, sanitary inspection and housing inspection. As in the case of the welfare services, the health services of the area vary in range and in quality, the City of Toronto necessarily providing the widest range. Per capita gross expenditures on health services in 1963 amounted to \$5.74 in Toronto and, in the suburbs, ranged from 41 cents in Long Branch to \$2.50 in York. For the reasons already set out in respect of welfare, a consolidation of some of the area municipalities would result in a more equitable distribution of health services in Metro.

In its brief to the Commission, Etobicoke Township recommended the appointment of a Metropolitan Health Officer who would be responsible for certain inspection services. Specific reference was made, among others, to the medical aspects of milk inspection, because of Metro-wide distribution of milk. I find that, if some inspection services should be performed for the whole area by a single agency, this does not necessarily require the establishment of a new metropolitan department. With fewer area municipalities, an inspection service could be assigned under contract to the City's Health Department, each municipality to pay its share of the cost. I suggest that a Metropolitan Board of Health Officers, consisting of the medical health officers of the area municipalities, should be formed to advise on such matters, to coordinate the health policies of the municipalities and, generally, to promote co-operation in maintaining high

standards of health services throughout the area. The board could also set up standards in relation to service, equipment and staff training for the proposed metropolitan emergency ambulance service.

vii. Conclusions

In resuming grants in aid of hospital construction, the Metropolitan Corporation is discharging a proper responsibility.

The Metropolitan Corporation should take steps to provide a metropolitan public emergency ambulance service. Consideration should be given to a contractual arrangement with Toronto under which the City would operate the service.

A Metropolitan Board of Health Officers, consisting of the area health officers, should be formed to coordinate the public health policies of the local municipalities and to advise on health and sanitary inspection matters.

A consolidation of municipalities would lead to more equality in standards and in the range of health and welfare services provided in the Metro area. The aim should be to make these services equally available to individuals and families with the same needs, no matter where they live in Metropolitan Toronto.

8. WASTE DISPOSAL

Section 257 of the Metro Act authorizes the Metropolitan Corporation to acquire land and to erect buildings and machinery for the purposes of dumping and disposing of garbage, refuse and industrial waste, but only with the approval of the area municipality in which the land is situated.

While Metro has not acquired any sites, it has operated a total of twelve sites under agreement with the area municipalities concerned. By the end of 1964, however, only one metropolitan disposal site was still in operation and this was being rapidly filled up. As locally operated sites in almost every municipality are quickly being filled, there is now an urgent need to locate new sites to provide disposal and incineration facilities on an area-wide basis.

A system of disposal of industrial waste and some domestic refuse by the dumping of satisfactory fills in low-lying areas has been in operation for some years through the co-operation of the Metropolitan Parks Department and the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority. This has made possible the development of many low-lying marshy sites as park sites and green areas; it assisted, for example, in the creation of Marie Curtis Park in Long Branch. These land improvement operations are to be commended.

In its brief to the Commission, the Conservation Authority urged the need for a long-term programme for industrial and municipal waste disposal, on which a joint study with the Metropolitan Parks Department has been undertaken. The Authority also submitted that Metro alone should assume responsibility for all waste disposal in the Metropolitan Area. I agree with this recommendation.

9. PARKS AND RECREATION

Under section 223 of the Metro Act, the Metropolitan Council is empowered to acquire land for establishing public parks and recreation areas in the Metropolitan Area or in any adjoining local municipality in the counties of Ontario or Peel or in any local municipality in the County of York. With approval of the Municipal Board, Council may, under section 225, assume any existing park or recreation area in any area municipality without compensation but subject to assumption of responsibility for any outstanding debt. By agreement with the Conservation Authority, Council may manage and control lands vested in the Authority.

Lands acquired by Metro for park purposes are intended to be developed as regional parks serving large communities. Local parks providing recreation on a neighbourhood basis remain the responsibility of the area municipalities. In 1953 the only major regional parks in the area were High Park in the west end of Toronto and the Toronto Islands. Ownership of High Park, which has been attractively developed, has remained with the City of Toronto. The Toronto Islands were conveyed to Metro on January 1, 1956, and have since been extensively developed. The Metropolitan Corporation now operates approximately 4,400 acres of park lands, including horticultural gardens, two golf courses and the Riverdale Zoo. Capital expenditures of the Metropolitan Parks Department in the first ten years of Metro exceeded \$12.5 million.

The metropolitan parks programme in large part hinges on the programme of the Conservation Authority. Under agreement with the Authority, Metro develops and maintains, for park and recreational purposes, flood plain lands and conservation lands acquired by the Authority. Five major parks are now under development in the Highland Creek, Black Creek, Don River, Rouge River and Humber River Valleys.

The acreage of metropolitan parklands by municipality is as follows:

	<i>acres</i>
Toronto.....	612.0
North York.....	1,239.4
Scarborough.....	1,088.4
Etobicoke.....	526.5
York.....	176.7
East York.....	340.4
Leaside.....	150.6
Long Branch.....	51.0
Weston.....	17.2
Swansea.....	60.1
Vaughan Township.....	71.2

The Metropolitan Parks Department is responsible for a considerable area of waterfront parkland in the east, including the Scarborough Bluffs. On the western lakeshore of Metro, between the Humber River and Etobicoke Creek, only Marie Curtis Park, in Long Branch, has been established. No steps have been taken to preserve the waterfront on the western fringe of the Metropolitan

Planning Area. As it would benefit the area as a whole, responsibility for the development of the waterfront for park and recreational purposes should be exercised by the Metropolitan Corporation.

10. POLICE

When Metro was formed each of the thirteen area municipalities retained its own police department. These varied in size, recruiting methods and standards, training, equipment, salaries and working conditions, and, accordingly, in the standards of service provided. There was no single communications network to link all the municipalities as each was concerned primarily with law enforcement within its own boundaries. There were difficulties in traffic control and the enforcement of licensing regulations. The ratio of policemen to population ranged from one officer for every 450 residents in Toronto to one for every 1,200 in Scarborough.

On January 1, 1957, under an amendment to the Metro Act, the police departments were unified under the Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police. The area is now divided for police purposes into five districts to serve the west-central, western, east-central, eastern, and northern sections, without regard to municipal boundaries. The whole area is now served by a central police communications system, supplemented by a complete mobile communications unit for use in an emergency. Specialized equipment has been furnished in all districts and new police stations have been built replacing the smaller and obsolete stations.

A Metropolitan Toronto Police College has been in operation since January 1959, and recruiting methods and training are now standardized. The uniform force has increased from 1,985 in 1956 to 2,402 in 1963 and a police cadet system has been instituted. Costs of the police service have risen from \$12.7 million in 1957 to \$19.8 million in 1963, salaries alone accounting for an increase of \$6 million.

A number of briefs to the Commission complained that the police force is too centralized, with the result that some municipalities are receiving less protection than when they had their own force. It was submitted that local by-laws are not effectively enforced and, accordingly, that the responsibility for such enforcement should be restored to each municipality, the Metro police to remain responsible for communications and criminal investigation.

I find that the creation of the Metropolitan Police Force has considerably improved the service for the entire area. To divide the police function between the Metro force and a number of local forces would be a retrograde step. In 1964 the Board of Commissioners of Police created a Parking Control Unit of civilian personnel appointed as by-law enforcement officers to enforce parking regulations. This unit now consists of 45 officers and releases uniform police for the performance of their major functions. I am of the opinion that if this system, operating under the Police Commission, is extended to the enforcement

of other by-laws, the requirements of the area municipalities would be met. The enforcement of local by-laws would also be greatly facilitated if the present variety in area by-laws were reduced by a consolidation of some of the area municipalities.

While I do not recommend the division of the police function between Metro and the area municipalities, I suggest that more effort should be made to improve relationships between the police force and the municipalities. There is value in identification of the policeman with the citizens of the locality which he serves. I commend to the Police Commission the following suggestions submitted by the Township of Scarborough:

Our concern is that the Police Force is too centralized and there is too little association directly with the local municipalities. If there were a larger measure of authority at the local level there would be a greater participation by the Police in community functions to the end that their association with local residents would be on a more personalized level. We would suggest the following to help the situation:

- (a) The Police Commission be more closely associated with the local municipality.
- (b) District Chiefs of Police have more local authority.
- (c) Limit the transfer of personnel so that they can become more familiar with the local problems.

11. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Under the Metro Act, the Metropolitan Corporation assumed the responsibility for maintaining the County Court House and the County Jail, the Juvenile and Family Court, the Magistrates Courts for the metropolitan area, the office of the Chief Coroner and the registry offices of the City and of the County of York.

A new Metropolitan Toronto Juvenile and Family Court building was constructed on Jarvis Street in Toronto in 1957, and a new County Court House is under construction on University Avenue. Magistrates Courts are now provided on an area-wide basis, with courts established in Toronto, New Toronto, York, Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough.

It was submitted to the Commission that the services of the Juvenile and Family Court should be expanded and that they should be decentralized by the establishment of court facilities in the outer suburbs, where children and adolescents form a large proportion of the population. However, Metro, which is responsible for payment of salaries and all other costs, has contended that it is bearing an undue burden and that the costs should be assumed by the Province. Expenditures on this service rose from some \$250,000 in 1954 to more than \$700,000 in 1963.

Considering, *inter alia*, the importance of the services provided and that the number of children appearing before the Court has increased from approxi-

mately 2,700 in 1953 to more than 10,000 in 1964, I find that there is an urgent need for additional services, facilities and staff. In my opinion the need for a properly staffed and serviced Metropolitan Juvenile and Family Court system, with court facilities in the large outer suburbs, is sufficiently immediate to warrant the necessary increase in Metro's budget for this purpose, pending a review of the sharing of costs of the administration of justice between the Province and the Metropolitan Corporation.

12. LICENSING

The licensing of businesses and trades was the responsibility of the area municipalities until January 1, 1957, when it was assumed by the Metropolitan Licensing Commission under an amendment to the Metro Act (sections 209-216). The Commission, exercising the powers of boards of commissioners of police under The Municipal Act, is empowered to license, to revoke licenses and to fix the fees to be paid for a license. It now licenses some eighty activities in the area.

Metropolitan licensing has made possible common minimum standards, uniform fees and regulations, and, in the case of taxicabs, area-wide licenses in place of the local licenses which, prior to 1957, had restricted drivers to operating within the boundaries of the municipality in which they were licensed.

The Commission has established seven districts, with two offices in Toronto and an office in Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, York and New Toronto. Licenses affecting metropolitan-wide activities, such as taxicabs and tradesmen, are issued from the head office, while those affecting activities tied to a specific location, such as restaurants, are issued from the area offices. The Commission has also set up Boards of Examiners for plumbers, electricians and heating installers.

In briefs submitted by Scarborough, Etobicoke and Forest Hill, it was urged that the licensing function should be divided between the metropolitan government, which should retain responsibility for licensing metropolitan-wide activities, and the area governments, which should be responsible for licensing local businesses tied to a specific location. The Scarborough brief states that:

The Commission is trying to administer many local licensing matters with a centralized organization and sub-offices. Reports required from Township Departments such as Fire, Building and Health are coordinated by the local municipality and reported to the Central Licensing Office. Often the application is made to the area office and the administrative problems of handling such a simple matter of a local license becomes complicated and frustrating to applicants when so many bodies are handling the application with the resultant delays. It is difficult to correct the delays because of the administrative monster that is necessary to coordinate these procedures. Local licenses could be far more effectively handled on the local level.

The Municipal Act gives a licensing body the discretion to grant or refuse a license and we consider this an essential element of its function. A

particular type of business is sometimes very unsuitable to a particular location. With the centralized administration of the Metro Licensing Commission it is difficult, if not impossible, for it to act in such a discretionary way since it cannot be expected to be fully acquainted with a particular local situation. Within the federation concept, licenses of a Metro-wide nature should be handled by Metro and those of a local nature by the local Council.

The Licensing Commission, as has been shown, already recognizes a distinction between licensees whose activities are tied to a specific location and those whose operations are mobile and metropolitan-wide in nature. For the former it has found it necessary to establish a number of area offices. I find that, with a consolidation of some of the municipalities, the remaining units should assume responsibility for the licensing of local businesses which are tied to a specific location, as distinct from metropolitan-wide businesses and activities. This would be a proper function for the area municipalities, subject, where required, to minimum standards set by the Metropolitan Licensing Commission. The transfer of this responsibility to the local municipalities will enable the Commission to concentrate on the licensing of taxicabs and other businesses of area-wide concern.

To avoid duplicating the Commission's machinery for the issuing of licenses, consideration should be given to an arrangement between the area municipalities and the Commission under which, the municipality having made the decision, the license would be issued on its behalf and at its request by the Commission, with the fee paid to the local municipality.

While the Metropolitan Council appoints two of the three members of the Licensing Commission, fixes the salaries of the Commission, and has power to confer licensing powers on it in certain fields and to revoke such powers, the authority of the Commission itself is very wide. It may license and revoke licenses and alone fixes the fees for licenses. The law provides for an appeal to the Courts in the case of refusal or revocation of a license, but the Commission's authority in the matter of fees is final. To conform with our principles of government, the law should be amended to require approval by the Metropolitan Council of license fees adopted by the Commission.

13. FIRE PROTECTION

Fire protection in the Metropolitan Area is the responsibility of the area municipalities, and, in their briefs to the Commission, almost all municipalities submitted that this responsibility should remain with them. The City of Toronto alone presented a case for unification of the thirteen fire fighting services.

With municipal units so different in size and resources, fire protection standards in the area necessarily vary. The City, with its high population density and its pattern of residential, commercial and industrial development, provides a high standard of service, with a permanent skilled fire fighting force and modern fire fighting equipment. In the past ten years the suburbs have expanded their

mutual aid agreement under which each could request assistance from one or all of the others when necessary.

Where centralization is necessary, as in the case of a central communications system, the system could be operated under contract by the City of Toronto, with the costs shared among the municipalities on an agreed basis. The training of personnel might also be centralized in the City on a similar basis.

The fire chiefs should continue to constitute an area committee to advise on the foregoing matters and on other matters of mutual concern affecting the fire fighting services of the area.

14. PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The establishment of public libraries in Metro is the responsibility of the area municipalities. There are thirteen public library boards in the area operating under the provisions of The Public Libraries Act. Their operations are financed mainly by a local public library rate, which must be set to yield not more than 50 cents per capita of population, unless a majority of council decides otherwise. The boards also receive legislative grants from the Province.

Library service standards vary from municipality to municipality. The Toronto Public Library Board, established in 1884, maintains the Central Library, twenty-one branch libraries throughout the City, and public libraries in six hospitals and seventeen primary schools. It provides two basic types of service to the whole area: a large reference collection, which cannot be duplicated, and a lending service. Most of the other area library boards have been set up since 1944 and some have attained high standards. Per capita expenditure on libraries ranged in 1963 from \$1.27 in Swansea to \$4.52 in Leaside. The figure for Toronto was \$4.02.

Under an amendment to the Metro Act, enacted in 1958, the Metropolitan Council is empowered to make grants in aid of capital or current expenditures to any public library board in an area municipality which, in the opinion of Council, provides library services to residents of any other municipality. With its Central Library serving the whole area as a reference library, the Toronto Public Library Board alone has received an annual grant from Metro. The amount of the grant was \$25,000 in 1958 and 1959, \$100,000 in 1960 and 1961, \$250,000 in 1962 and 1963, and \$300,000 in 1964.

To aid it in apportioning grants to area library boards and to establish guide lines for the development of higher standards of library services, Metro Council, in 1958, authorized the Council of Library Trustees of Toronto and District to engage Dr. Ralph Shaw, Dean of the Library School at Rutgers University, to conduct a survey of library services in Metropolitan Toronto. Dr. Shaw reported in June 1960. He found a wide disparity in quantity and quality of library service in the area but did not believe that centralization would automatically solve the problems of equalization. His basic recommendation was the establishment of a Metropolitan Library Board to coordinate the activities

services considerably. Gross current expenditures per capita on fire protection in 1963 totalled \$13.02 in Leaside, \$12.31 in New Toronto and \$11.12 in Forest Hill, as compared with \$12.79 in Toronto. The figure for Swansea, with a volunteer force, was \$2.54 and in the remaining suburbs the range was from \$4.39 in Long Branch to \$6.85 in East York.

Fire protection is the largest local service in terms of personnel. The increases in the number of fire department employees in the area between 1954 and 1963 are shown in the following table:

	FIRE DEPARTMENTS: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	
	1954	1963
Toronto.....	893	1,235
North York.....	71	285
Scarborough.....	77	224
Etobicoke.....	37	178
York.....	72	150
East York.....	39	79
Forest Hill.....	31	35
Area Total.....	1,260	2,288

These increases in personnel reflect both improved services and a reduction in the work week. The improvement in services included establishment of new stations, expansion of existing facilities and provision of new services. It also included the partial replacement of volunteers by permanent employees. In Swansea, however, the force is still exclusively voluntary; in Long Branch it is composed of seven permanent and seventeen volunteer firemen; and as at October 30, 1964, there were twenty volunteers in the Etobicoke force, twelve in Weston, ten in New Toronto and one in Mimico. It will be noted that, apart from Etobicoke, the suburbs served by volunteers are in the inner ring.

While wholly or partly volunteer fire departments may be adequate for less developed areas, volunteer fire fighters cannot meet the standards which must be maintained by departments responsible for fire protection in a large urban metropolis. Municipalities which have to rely on volunteers and which, in some cases, are not able to afford certain expensive types of modern fire fighting equipment, are uneconomic units for the provision of adequate fire protection services in a metropolitan area.

The improvement in standards which should be effected in some parts of Metropolitan Toronto does not necessarily call for a level of service which is uniform throughout the area. The level of service should be commensurate with the requirements of the area served, having regard to such factors as population density and the stage of development reached and to its geographic location within the larger area. If the municipalities are economic units for the provision of the required standards of service, unification of the fire fighting services of the Metropolitan Area becomes unnecessary. I am of the opinion that under the consolidation of municipal units recommended in this report, fire protection can properly remain the responsibility of the area municipalities, with an effective

of the local library boards and to help overcome the obstacles to a steady improvement in library services throughout the area presented by the differences in size and resources of the municipalities. The report recommended the development of the library service in terms of three types of units, namely, a central library, regional libraries and neighbourhood libraries, with funds provided by both Metro and the area municipalities in relation to their respective interests.

In its brief to the Commission, the Toronto Public Library Board submitted that "the system of 13 independent public library boards operating under the present Public Libraries Act is unsuited to the public library requirements in Metropolitan Toronto". It recommended a consolidation of library services in a scheme of central and district organization with appropriate changes in financial arrangements. Some municipalities favoured a metropolitan board to coordinate the activities of local boards but not to supplant them. Others urged retention of the existing system of independent boards.

I find that with thirteen independent library boards the disparity in services in the area is too wide. Complete centralization, however, appears both unnecessary and undesirable. In the words of the Shaw Report, "local participation and responsibility for the development of library services is one of the keystones in developing effective library service". In my opinion, the desired improvements in service could be effected under a consolidation of municipalities, the operation of libraries remaining a local responsibility with coordination by a Metropolitan Library Board.

More specifically, I agree with the recommendations of Report No. 1 (1962) of the Special Committee on Library Services appointed by the Metropolitan Council to study and report on the Shaw Report. The Committee's recommendations are, *inter alia*, as follows:

(1) Organization:

The Special Committee recommends that the operation of libraries in Metropolitan Toronto continue to be the responsibility of local library boards but that a Metropolitan Library Board be established to encourage and coordinate the raising of library standards throughout the area.

The Special Committee also recommends:

- (a) That the Metropolitan Library Board be composed of nine members as follows:

Five members who are Trustees or who have been Trustees of Area Library Boards within Metropolitan Toronto,
Two members representing the Metropolitan Council,
One member representing the Metropolitan School Board,
One member representing the Metropolitan Separate School Board;

provided that not fewer than four members shall be residents of the City of Toronto and not fewer than four members shall be residents of the Suburban Area Municipalities;

(2) Expansion of Library Facilities:

- (a) Capital Costs:

The Special Committee recommends:

- (i) that the Metropolitan Library Board assume the function of coordinating the expansion and construction of library facilities throughout the Metropolitan area;
- (ii) that the Metropolitan Library Board pay the full costs of any additions or relocation approved for the central reference library facilities; pay the basic cost of construction and equipping a network of regional libraries according to basic standards approved by the Metropolitan Council; and cooperate with local library boards in the planning and siting of neighbourhood libraries; and
- (iii) that the Metropolitan Library Board assume responsibility for payment of any existing debenture debt as it applies to the central reference library and other existing libraries, or such portions thereof, as may be approved for designation as regional libraries.

- (b) Operating Costs:

The Special Committee recommends that the Metropolitan Library Board be authorized to contribute from a budget approved by the Metropolitan Council towards the operating costs of local library boards as follows:

- (i) An amount, to be determined each year, to be paid toward the cost of providing the central reference library services, and an amount to be determined each year to be paid to the local library boards to encourage compliance with standards of reference service in regional libraries;
- (ii) The cost of authorized research projects.

- (3) General:

The Special Committee recommends that the Metropolitan Library Board establish salary standards for professional staff, coordinate the research programs of the local library boards, encourage interloan activities, establish a union catalogue, provide a centralized cataloguing service, and work towards the development of a single library card for eligible Metropolitan users.

For these purposes, the Special Committee also recommends that the Metropolitan Library Board be authorized to employ a chief librarian and such other staff as may be required to carry out the foregoing functions.

15. AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

In 1957 the Metro Act was amended to add air pollution control to the responsibilities of the Metropolitan Corporation. The Air Pollution Control Division of the Metropolitan Works Department carries out surveys to establish the nature and degree of pollution, analyzes air samples, conducts pollen counts and tests traffic gases on the main urban arteries. It checks fuel-burning and

Fire protection is another service of more than local interest. Since, under the proposed consolidation, the area municipalities would all be economic units for the provision of the standards of service required in a metropolitan area, unification of the fire protection services is not necessary. However, a centralized communications system is essential. This should be operated under contract by the City of Toronto, which, by arrangement, could also centralize the training of personnel.

In the matter of licensing, I have recommended that the licensing of local businesses which are tied to a specific location should be assumed by the consolidated area municipalities. The Metropolitan Licensing Commission should continue to license metropolitan-wide businesses and activities, but the law should require approval by Metropolitan Council of license fees adopted by the Commission.

incinerating equipment and grants permits for the installation of equipment after inspection for conformity with the requirements of the Metro air pollution by-law.

While progress has been made in coping with the problem, the potential sources of pollution are increasing with population growth, the accompanying industrial development and increasing motor vehicle density. The proposed Metro Official Plan envisages controls to reduce the general level of air pollution.

16. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the development and operation of services assigned by the Metro Act to the Metropolitan Corporation and the performance by the area municipalities of local services of metropolitan interest. Education, planning, assessment and finance are discussed below.

While I find that the division of responsibilities under the Metro Act has in most respects satisfied the needs of municipal government in the area, I have suggested a number of changes which the experience of the past ten years shows to be necessary. These include additional responsibilities which should be assumed by the Metropolitan Corporation affecting public housing, libraries, an emergency ambulance service, waterfront development for park and recreational purposes, traffic engineering, parking, major local arterial roads, boundary roads and access to metropolitan roads, waste disposal and financial participation in sewer renewal programmes and redevelopment in the core area. Contractual arrangements between the Metropolitan Corporation and the City of Toronto are suggested under which the City would operate the parking and emergency ambulance services.

I find that the Transit Commission should continue to be the authority for the provision of public transportation but suggest a more formal coordination between Metro Council and the Commission.

I also find that the police function should continue to be an exclusive metropolitan responsibility under the Board of Commissioners of Police which, however, should take steps to improve relationships with the municipalities.

In respect of services administered by the area municipalities, there are some, such as street cleaning, street lighting, sidewalk repairs, snow removal and garbage collection, where the standards of service are mainly of local concern. There are others, such as the personal health and welfare services, where, having regard to the interdependence of the people of the area and to their mobility, the standards are of wider concern. With thirteen municipalities varying so greatly in size, in resources and in the composition of their population, disparities in the standards and in the range of health and welfare services are inevitable. I have suggested that these disparities could be appreciably reduced by a consolidation of some of the municipalities which would enlarge the area of service and spread the costs over the larger area with its larger resources.

politan area and to require local development plans and land use regulations to conform to a comprehensive plan of metropolitan development prepared by a Metropolitan Planning Board and finally adopted by the Metropolitan Council in conformity with the provisions of the Planning Act.

2. THE "UNOFFICIAL OFFICIAL PLAN"

The Metropolitan Planning Commissioner completed a draft official plan in 1960, which was revised in December 1964, but no official plan has as yet been adopted. There has been considerable opposition to the proposed plan by municipalities which fear interference with their traditional autonomy in these matters. Accordingly, the requirement that local plans conform with a Metro official plan is not enforceable and the correlation of planning has had to be effected by procedural arrangements under which the Metropolitan Planning Board is consulted by and advises provincial agencies and the local municipalities on matters affecting zoning, sub-divisions and official plans. Notwithstanding resultant uncertainties, the Metropolitan Planning Commissioner, in his brief to the Commission, stated that:

The planning machinery in the Metropolitan Planning Area has operated fairly effectively over the past ten years, in the sense that the extent of urban development has been reasonably controlled to forestall "sprawl", that generally adequate development standards have been maintained, and that a satisfactory level of public services has been provided. This has occurred through a reasonable level of co-operation between the local planning agencies, the Metropolitan Planning Board and the Provincial agencies concerned.

The Planning Commissioner submits as one reason for the failure to adopt an official plan "the fact that most of the basic policies governing area development have been adopted by the Metropolitan Council or the local Councils in one form or another". Since the staff of the Metropolitan Planning Board helped to prepare or to modify local official plans, these reflect many of the basic principles underlying the proposed Metro official plan. Metro has in effect been operating with an "unofficial official plan". In the circumstances, however, its planning authority is not clear and it must rely on persuasion to achieve implementation of its policies by the local municipalities. This is not enough to curtail further "urban sprawl" in the fringe area and to ensure orderly development of the region as a whole.

3. NEED FOR AN OFFICIAL PLAN

While some briefs submitted to the Commission were critical of details of the draft plan, all briefs which dealt with planning called for adoption of a Metropolitan Official Plan. These included briefs from area municipalities, from fringe municipalities, and from bodies primarily concerned with urban development.

CHAPTER VI

METROPOLITAN PLANNING

The Metropolitan Corporation is the designated municipality, within the meaning of The Planning Act, for the Metropolitan Planning Area—an area of 720 square miles which covers the thirteen municipalities in the Metropolitan Area and thirteen fringe municipalities. Twenty-two of the municipalities have planning boards and eighteen, of which eight are in Metro, have official plans. Under section 219(4) of the Metro Act, all planning areas established before April 2, 1953, which are included in the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, are "subsidiary planning areas within the said planning area".

1. THE LEGISLATION

The Act declares the Metropolitan Corporation to be a municipality for the purposes of The Planning Act, but not in respect of redevelopment, subdivision control, zoning (except adjacent to metropolitan roads), and building by-laws. Upon approval of a Metro official plan by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, any official plan in a subsidiary planning area is to be amended to conform with it and no official plan of a subsidiary area is to be adopted that does not so conform. No public work is to be undertaken and no by-law passed by any municipality or local board in the Metropolitan Planning Area that does not conform with the Metro official plan.

Under section 221 of the Act, the "scope and general purpose of the official plan" for the Metropolitan Planning Area includes:

- (a) land uses and consideration generally of industrial, agricultural, residential and commercial areas;
- (b) ways of communication;
- (c) sanitation;
- (d) green belts and park areas;
- (e) public transportation; and such other matters as the Minister of Municipal Affairs may from time to time define under The Planning Act.

While the responsibility for planning is shared by Metro and the municipalities in the Planning Area and Metro has not been granted development control powers of zoning and sub-division control, it is the clear intent of the legislation that, on approval of an official plan by the Minister, the Metropolitan Corporation is to be the superior authority. The plan is the instrument through which it is to direct the general physical development of the area. This conforms with the recommendation of the Cumming Report that:

The Metropolitan Council should be given adequate powers to direct and control in a general way the physical development of the entire metro-

The report on "Planning and Development Procedures and Controls", made by McDonald, Currie & Co., in December 1963, for the Township of North York and filed with the Commission by the Township, says:

We are mindful of the myriad of plans that may result if municipalities within the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area are not careful to dovetail their documents into a general agreed scheme for the whole area. For instance, it is possible that the Township of Scarborough will find itself with a Metropolitan Toronto Official Plan, several Metropolitan Toronto District Plans, a Scarborough Overall Official Plan, a series of Scarborough Secondary Plans and a series of Scarborough Tertiary Plans, in total a somewhat terrifying prospect if an amendment of significance is contemplated.

Secondly, North York Township is not a planning unit. It is a political unit made up of a number of districts, or parts of districts which overlap into adjacent political units. Don Mills, for example, has little in common with Downsview from a land use, servicing or transportation point of view except that they are both parts of the Metropolitan Toronto complex. How valid, then, is an overall plan which ties those two areas together except that it be a Metropolitan Plan?

We, therefore, recommend that the present, inadequate Official Plan be retained only until the Metropolitan Toronto Official Plan is in force, at which time, the former should be repealed, and the latter accepted as the overall Plan for North York.

In the meantime, the long-range planning staff should undertake, vigorously, the preparation of a series of District Plans, which, as they are progressively completed will provide detailed development proposals for the whole of the Township.

The Central Ontario Chapter of the Town Planning Institute of Canada says, in its brief to the Commission:

The first draft Metropolitan Plan has now been substantially revised and may be completed for consideration by the Metropolitan and Subsidiary Boards soon. It is to be hoped that agreement, on the Plan, by the area municipalities will be forthcoming. Although several parts of the area have Official Plans, approved by the Provincial Minister responsible at the time of application, none of them can be considered a sound guide for present and future policy in respect to the development, redevelopment, maintenance or conservation of the municipality.

The brief recommends, inter alia:

That legislation require the implementation of a Metropolitan Official Plan by district plans and subsequently zoning by-laws within two to three years of the adoption of a Metropolitan Official Plan.

The brief of the Ontario Division of the Urban Development Institute says:

For the developer, the chief disadvantage of the multiplicity of jurisdictions is the confusion which flows from the differences in the types of development controls exercised by the local municipalities, and from their methods of administering them.

For example, some 16 of the local municipalities have Official Plans. All differ in content, format, and terminology. Their approval by the Province notwithstanding, few of these local Plans have any value whatever as guides to future development. While it is true that the Metropolitan Toronto Official Plan, when completed, will provide for the first time a meaningful guide to the manner and sequence of development for the whole urban area, that Plan will be necessarily broad-brush in its proposals. Detailed plans covering Districts will be required to supplement the general proposals of the overall Plan. Unless these District Plans are in harmony with, or preferably, unless they replace the local Official Plans, conflicts, delays and confusion are certainties.

The practice of "planning by assessment" or "fiscal zoning" was criticized in a number of submissions. To strengthen their assessment base, municipalities are competing for the construction of high-rise apartments by allowing increasing densities without regard to the proper location of projects and the availability of services. For example, faced with restrictions on permitted uses of land under Toronto's comprehensive zoning by-law, developers gravitate to suburbs where higher permitted densities offer a greater economic return. This is not orderly development. In a decision of September 28, 1964, rejecting an application by the Township of York to zone an area for high-rise apartments, the Ontario Municipal Board said:

It is evident that the effect of the Township increasing permitted densities has been to attract developers from other Metro municipalities. It would seem inevitable that other municipalities will feel compelled to lower their standards in order to compete effectively with the Township of York and that therefore unless the Board is prepared to exercise its power to impose some order in the Metro area, a chaotic planning situation is bound to result. The difficulties in this connection are of course compounded because of the absence of any Metro Official Plan.

Orderly development is also impeded by the diversity in zoning standards, as well as in building codes and engineering design standards, in the area. In the words of the Urban Development Institute, the zoning by-laws of the various municipalities "differ in almost every conceivable way. There is no uniformity in the definitions of uses, in the numbers and types of zoning categories, in the uses permitted in each category, or in the regulations which pertain thereto". The Metropolitan Planning Commissioner said:

The variations in standards are particularly noteworthy in the case of apartment buildings. For example, North York and Scarborough permit a maximum density of about 60 units per acre, Etobicoke 35 units per acre, East York about 100 to 110 units per acre, Toronto generally 130 to 150 units per acre, and York permits apartments, under certain conditions, with no maximum density limit of any kind.

Minimum front setbacks show equal variation; 20 feet in York and East York, 25 feet in North York and Etobicoke, and 30 feet in Scarborough. East York requires a minimum of 25% landscaped open space, Toronto 35%, and North York an amount equivalent to 2/9 of gross floor space. Etobicoke requires 60% of the lot area to be free of buildings. Toronto,

Etobicoke and Scarborough require 125% parking; York and East York 100%; and North York's requirement ranges between 100% and 150% depending on the size of building. North York and East York have no height limitation; Etobicoke 45 feet (with many exceptions); and Toronto and York limit height on the basis of day-lighting angles.

4. THE PLANNING AREA

The Metropolitan Planning Area, as has been shown, covers a geographic area twice as large as Metro. The Cumming Report, foreseeing the spread of urbanization to and beyond Metro's boundaries, considered it "essential in the interests of the entire area, that the Metropolitan Council should be given a reasonable degree of planning control over the so-called 'fringe areas' otherwise beyond its jurisdiction".

In their briefs to the Commission, no municipality, whether in Metro or in the fringe, complained of the size of the Planning Area or asked to be excluded from it. There appeared to be general acceptance of the principle that regional planning should not be restricted by municipal boundaries.

The Township of Toronto, for example, in its brief to the Commission, says:

(1) The Township of Toronto has no objection to the principle of a "super" planning agency—similar to the present Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board—having jurisdiction over, and responsibility for, coordination of planning matters in Toronto and its fringe areas.

(2) The physical area of jurisdiction for this agency should be increased to include other rapidly urbanizing areas, such as Brampton and the southern part of Chinguacousy Township, which logically form part of the Fringe Area for planning matters.

At the hearings of the Commission, Mr. R. W. Speck, Reeve of Toronto Township, said (Proceedings, pp. 954-955):

Mr. Speck: We have been a member of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, being one of the fringe municipalities, since its beginning in 1953. I have sat as the western district member for Port Credit and Streetsville and the Township of Toronto for the last five years. We think this type of planning is good. It has certainly, I think, been an advantage for the Township of Toronto and we have had no disagreement with it.

The Commissioner: You don't feel it has held you back?

Mr. Speck: No, it has not. I don't think it has held us back any. I think in fact it has indicated the manner in which you should develop without this hodge-podge jumping from here and there. It is more on a regulated basis and we accept this and we think it is right economically and proper.

The County of York, with six of its municipalities included in the Planning Area—Vaughan Township, Woodbridge, Markham Township, Markham Village, Stouffville and Richmond Hill—recommended in its brief:

... that the legislative basis for planning in the Metropolitan Area remain substantially as presently enacted. It is the County's view that a

combination of the geographical extent of the Metropolitan Planning Area and the scope of the Metropolitan Official Plan combined with the proposed County planning organization will provide for effective future planning of the area.

The extension of the Planning Area was suggested by the Ontario Municipal Board in a decision of February 29, 1960, on an application by the Town of Brampton for annexation of parts of Chinguacousy Township. The Board said:

The evidence before the Board indicates clearly that the pressure for development in Brampton and vicinity is caused in very large measure by the proximity of Metropolitan Toronto. The same is undoubtedly true of other areas outside the boundaries of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area. In view of this it appears that the time has come to consider the need to enlarge the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area and include a larger region which would embrace the Town of Brampton and vicinity, as well as other localities where strong pressure for urban development is now being exerted as a result of the relative proximity of Metropolitan Toronto.

The Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority also recommended the enlargement of the Planning Area to include Brampton, Chinguacousy and other municipalities lying within the drainage basins which affect the Area.

With the Planning Area extending considerably beyond the borders of the Metropolitan Area, the adoption of a Metro Official Plan would confer powers on Metropolitan Council to regulate development outside Metro's boundaries in municipalities which are not represented on the Council and, in most cases, represented only indirectly on the Metropolitan Planning Board. Accordingly, while accepting the Planning Area as it is, some fringe municipalities, like Ajax and Richmond Hill, asked for direct representation on the Planning Board, and Ajax also requested a voice on Metro Council when matters relating to the Town are under consideration. Toronto Township suggested that requests by fringe municipalities for changes affecting the Metro Official Plan should be dealt with directly by the Minister of Municipal Affairs rather than the Metropolitan Council.

5. CONCLUSIONS

i. *The Metro Official Plan*

The proposed Metro Official Plan, as revised in December 1964, covers the metropolitan aspects of planning: it establishes a general land use pattern, an overall distribution of population and density of residential development, a basic transportation pattern, basic servicing policies, and policies for the regulation of urban development. Such an overall plan should be adopted without undue delay. Adoption of the Metro plan should be followed by the preparation, jointly with the local municipalities, of more detailed district plans, and the enactment of the necessary changes in zoning by-laws. The plans should be subject to periodic review.

ii. *Metro's Planning Powers*

Metro's planning function should be clarified and expanded. The metropolitan planning authority, like Metro itself, is unique in Ontario; it is intermediary between the local municipalities and the Provincial Government. This fact has not been adequately recognized. The Community Planning Branch of the Department of Municipal Affairs does not appear to accept the existence of two levels of government in the Metropolitan Area; presumably, in the absence of a Metro Official Plan, the provincial agency cannot accept the superior authority in planning envisaged for Metro by the Metro Act. Metro is consulted on development control in the area, as are many other bodies, but without recognition of the fact that it was itself established to exercise a form of supervisory control over development through an official plan.

In respect of redevelopment, which vitally affects the core area, the powers conferred on municipalities by The Planning Act were not granted to Metro. But the problem of redevelopment is of metropolitan concern. This was set out in the Cumming Report, as follows:

In the field of redevelopment it is the opinion of the board that the metropolitan area as a whole, in addition to making adequate provision for the outward extension of municipal services in keeping with the urban expansion of the area, must also protect its sources of tax revenue from fully serviced land in the older central areas. It cannot ignore the economic waste involved in the continued existence of large blighted areas. Fundamentally these areas of blight are a product of the same economy which has produced the attractive new residential and commercial developments in the rapidly expanding suburbs, and the net municipal cost of redevelopment should be considered a responsibility of the whole area.

I recommend that the Metro Act should be amended to declare more explicitly the responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation, as the designated municipality, for the general direction of the physical development of the Metropolitan Planning Area, with powers:

- (a) to establish basic zoning standards and categories;
- (b) to participate with an area municipality in redevelopment and urban renewal;
- (c) to enact a uniform building by-law and to establish uniform engineering design standards;
- (d) to review development applications and proposals and to make recommendations thereon to the provincial agency;
- (e) to secure the conformity of local official plans and zoning by-laws in the Metropolitan Planning Area with the Metro Official Plan, reserving to the municipalities a right of appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board. The procedures to ensure conformity of plans should be prescribed by regulations under the Metro Act.

iii. *Local Planning Authorities*

If the foregoing changes are made, local development would continue to be regulated by the local municipality through the established development control instruments but within the standards set by Metro and in conformity with the Metro Official Plan. I suggest that The Planning Act should be amended to permit municipalities to transfer the functions now vested in local planning boards to a Planning Committee of Council with power to co-opt. In any circumstances, the planning staff in area municipalities should be constituted a civic planning department.

iv. *The Metropolitan Planning Board*

There should be provision for a representative of a municipality, which is not otherwise directly represented on the Metropolitan Planning Board, to attend and to be heard when matters originating from, applying to or of particular concern to such municipality are under consideration.

If Brampton and Chinguacousy Township are added to the Planning Area, they should constitute a fringe district entitled to a representative on the Board.

v. *Extension of Metropolitan Planning Area*

With respect to extension of the Metropolitan Planning Area, reference has been made to recommendations by the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and by Toronto Township that the Town of Brampton and part of Chinguacousy Township and vicinity, on the outskirts of the Planning Area, should be added to it. This was also suggested by the Ontario Municipal Board in its decision on the application by Brampton for annexation of parts of the Township. Considering the potential impact of further development in Brampton and Chinguacousy, which would require the extension of water and sewer services from Lake Ontario through Toronto Township, I am of the opinion that, in the absence of other regional planning machinery, the area covered by Brampton and its vicinity should be included in the Metropolitan Planning Area.

**CHAPTER VII
THE TAX BASE**

The taxation of real property and business provides the bulk of the revenue for municipal and school purposes in the Metropolitan Area. The tax base is the assessed valuation of real property. To assure a uniform basis of assessment, the Metro Act assigns the assessment function to the Metropolitan Corporation and the Metropolitan Assessment Commissioner is deemed to be the assessment commissioner of each area municipality. For a number of reasons, the Commissioner continues to base assessments on 1940 values.

1. ASSESSED VALUATION, 1954-1964

The growth in taxable assessment between 1954 and 1964 is shown in Table 11. The total tax base increased by 80 per cent, rising from \$2.4 billion to \$4.4 billion, with an average annual increase of \$195.3 million. More than two-thirds of the annual growth occurred in the three outer suburbs. In the ten-year period taxable assessment increased by 288 per cent in North York, with an average annual increase of \$58.3 million; 282 per cent in Scarborough, with an average annual increase of \$35.2 million; and 252 per cent in Etobicoke, with an average annual increase of \$38.5 million. In the same period, the City of Toronto showed an increase of 28 per cent, with an average annual growth of \$41.8 million. In the inner ring of suburbs the increases ranged from 36 per cent in Swansea to 88 per cent in Mimico, with the two largest units, York and East York, showing 45 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. York showed an average annual increase of \$7 million and East York, \$3.5 million.

Reflecting the much higher rate of growth in the three outer suburbs, the following table shows the changes in the percentage distribution of Metro's total taxable assessment by groups of municipalities between 1954 and 1964:

	PER CENT OF METRO'S TOTAL TAXABLE ASSESSMENT	
	1954 %	1964 %
Toronto.....	62.0	43.9
Three outer suburbs....	19.7	41.1
Nine inner suburbs.....	18.3	15.0

In dollar terms, the taxable assessment of the area was distributed in 1954 and 1964, respectively, as follows:

	1954	1964
Toronto.....	\$1,507,690,000	\$1,925,532,000
Three outer suburbs....	480,342,000	1,800,398,000
Nine inner suburbs.....	443,561,000	658,437,000
Total.....	\$2,431,593,000	\$4,384,367,000

**Table 11
TAXABLE ASSESSMENT, 1954 AND 1964¹**

Municipality	1954				1964			
	Total Taxable Assessment of Metro Per Cent	Business Assessment \$000	Real Property Assessment \$000	%	Total Taxable Assessment of Metro Per Cent	Business Assessment \$000	Real Property Assessment \$000	%
Toronto.....	1,263,294	244,396	1,507,690	62.0	1,608,555	316,977	1,925,532	43.9
North York.....	193,478	9,204	202,682	8.3	721,248	64,869	786,117	17.9
Scarborough.....	114,982	10,026	125,008	5.1	436,407	40,499	476,906	10.9
Etobicoke.....	142,357	10,295	152,652	6.3	476,450	60,925	537,375	12.3
York.....	145,593	13,237	158,830	6.5	208,575	8,069	229,514	5.2
East York.....	88,154	4,728	92,882	3.8	119,566	8,069	127,635	2.9
Forest Hill.....	48,571	1,101	49,672	2.1	72,039	1,499	73,538	1.7
Leaside.....	41,335	7,867	49,202	2.0	65,944	11,129	77,073	1.8
Mimico.....	17,771	1,188	18,959	.8	32,994	2,559	35,552	.8
New Toronto.....	21,897	6,625	28,522	1.2	33,356	10,617	43,973	1.0
Long Branch.....	10,711	1,055	11,766	.5	18,915	1,894	20,809	.5
Weston.....	14,618	1,798	16,416	.7	23,571	3,193	26,764	.6
Swansea.....	16,347	966	17,313	.7	22,223	1,355	23,578	.5
Metro ²	2,119,108	312,485	2,431,593	100.0	3,839,845	544,522	4,384,367	100.0
Average Annual Increase 1954 to 1964	41,784	4,184	47,968		195,277	19,527	214,804	
Per Cent Increase 1954 to 1964	27.1	12.7	19.7		5.2	3.6	4.7	

¹Assessments prepared in the years 1953 and 1963. Totals may not add due to rounding of figures. Source: Metropolitan Toronto Assessment Department.

Table 12
TAXABLE ASSESSMENT PER CAPITA, 1954 AND 1964¹

Municipality	1954		1964		Per Cent Increase	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Toronto.....	2,265	2,990	725	32.0		
North York.....	1,830	2,519	689	37.7		
Scarborough.....	1,586	1,969	383	24.1		
Etobicoke.....	2,174	2,998	824	37.9		
York.....	1,581	1,802	221	14.0		
East York.....	1,413	1,794	381	27.0		
Forest Hill.....	2,803	3,432	629	22.4		
Leaside.....	3,093	4,178	1,085	35.1		
Mimico.....	1,541	1,947	406	26.3		
New Toronto.....	2,927	3,435	508	17.4		
Long Branch.....	1,287	1,873	586	45.5		
Weston.....	1,960	2,618	658	33.6		
Swansea.....	2,075	2,519	444	21.4		
Metro.....	2,073	2,613	540	26.0		

¹Assessments prepared in 1953 and 1963. Population as shown by Metropolitan Assessment Department. Source: Metropolitan Toronto Assessment Department.

Table 13
NON-RESIDENTIAL TAXABLE ASSESSMENT, 1954 AND 1964¹

Municipality	1954		1964		Per Cent of Total Taxable Assessment
	\$000	%	\$000	%	
	Non-Residential	Non-Residential	Non-Residential	Non-Residential	
Toronto.....	910,645	60.40	1,196,693	62.15	
North York.....	37,902	18.70	248,248	31.58	
Scarborough.....	30,502	24.40	160,793	33.72	
Etobicoke.....	38,010	24.90	223,627	41.61	
York.....	45,902	28.90	73,062	31.83	
East York.....	16,719	18.00	29,813	23.36	
Forest Hill.....	4,669	9.40	7,056	9.60	
Leaside.....	24,208	49.20	38,124	49.46	
Mimico.....	4,171	22.00	8,695	24.46	
New Toronto.....	19,309	67.70	31,103	70.73	
Long Branch.....	4,153	35.31	6,945	33.37	
Weston.....	6,501	39.61	12,370	46.22	
Swansea.....	3,134	18.10	5,570	23.62	
Metro.....	1,145,824	47.12	2,042,099	46.58	

¹Assessments prepared in 1953 and 1963, including business assessment. Source: Metropolitan Toronto Assessment Department.

The figures show that, whereas in 1954 the assessed valuation of the three outer suburbs was only eight per cent higher than that of the nine inner suburbs, in 1964 it was almost three times that of the inner suburbs and very close to the taxable assessment of the City.

Relating taxable assessment to population, Table 12 shows an increase of \$540 or 26 per cent in per capita assessment for Metro as a whole between 1954 and 1964, the figure rising from \$2,073 to \$2,613. There are wide disparities, however, between municipalities. The range in 1964 was from \$1,794 in East York to \$4,178 in Leaside, as compared with a range from \$1,287 in Long Branch to \$3,093 in Leaside in 1954. The figure for Toronto was \$2,265 in 1954 and \$2,990 in 1964, an increase of 32 per cent.

In 1954 per capita assessment was below the Metro average in North York, Scarborough, York, East York, Mimico, Long Branch and Weston. In 1964 all of these municipalities, except Weston, were still below the Metro average, but North York was close to it, as was Swansea, which had dropped somewhat below the average. As compared with a per capita increase of \$540 for Metro as a whole between 1954 and 1964, Leaside showed an increase of \$1,085, Etobicoke \$824, Toronto \$725 and North York \$689, the range in the remaining municipalities being from \$221 in York to \$658 in Weston.

While the per capita figures for Metro show a considerable improvement since 1953 in the overall taxable resources of the area, the continuing disparities between area municipalities show wide inequalities in taxable capacity. In 1964 per capita assessments were more than \$500 below the Metro average of \$2,613 in five municipalities: Scarborough, York, East York, Mimico and Long Branch. Figures for Leaside were more than \$1,500 above the average, for Forest Hill and New Toronto, more than \$800, and for Toronto and Etobicoke, \$400 above the Metro average.

2. RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL ASSESSMENT

Commercial and industrial assessment constituted approximately 47 per cent of the total taxable assessment of the area in 1964, as in 1954, but, as shown in Table 13, its distribution among the municipalities is uneven. The ratio of non-residential assessment to total assessment in 1964, excluding Forest Hill, ranged from 23 per cent in East York to 71 per cent in New Toronto. The ratio in Toronto was 62 per cent, in Leaside, 49.5 per cent, and in Weston, 46 per cent. Forest Hill is an exceptional case; with non-residential assessment representing less than 10 per cent of the total, it has the second highest per capita assessment in the area because of the high value of its residential property.

The total non-residential assessment rose by \$897 million, from \$1,145 million in 1954 to \$2,042 million in 1964. Almost 60 per cent of the growth took place in the three outer suburbs. The ratio increased from 18.7 per cent to 31.6 per cent in North York, from 24.9 per cent to 41.6 per cent in Etobicoke, and from 24.4 per cent to 33.7 per cent in Scarborough. Notwithstanding some

loss of industry, the City of Toronto, with the development of high-rise commercial properties, increased its ratio from 60.4 per cent in 1954 to 62.2 per cent in 1964. Almost all the suburbs in the inner ring also showed an increase.

The marked improvement in the ratio shown by the three large outer suburbs was made possible by Metro, which, by pooling the financial resources of the area, provided the basic physical services necessary for commercial and industrial development. Metro has thereby achieved a more equitable distribution of taxable resources. Nevertheless, there are continued wide disparities because of the uneven spread of assessment growth and differences between municipalities in types of housing development and of commercial and industrial development.

The uneven distribution of taxable resources has led to "planning by assessment" or "fiscal zoning". To strengthen their tax base, municipalities adopt zoning policies directed to secure commercial and industrial assessment and the construction of expensive homes and high-rise apartments. Moderate-cost homes and low-density multiple dwellings are "zoned out". It is particularly to high-rise apartments that area municipalities now look to improve their tax base.

Table 14 shows the marked trend to apartment living in the Toronto area. In the two years immediately preceding Metro, 19,000 dwelling units were built, of which 12,000 or 63 per cent were single family homes. A shift to multiple units was noticeable in the first year of Metro; out of a total of 16,250 dwelling units built in 1954 only 9,600 or 52 per cent were single family homes.¹ During the period from 1954 to 1963, the number of dwelling units built totalled 174,125, of which 89,660 or 51.5 per cent were single family.

The City, with 31 per cent, and North York, with 26 per cent, accounted for almost 60 per cent of the total number of multiple apartment units built during Metro's first ten years. Scarborough accounted for 11 per cent, Etobicoke for 9 per cent and York for 7 per cent. In the older and more fully developed area municipalities, multiple apartment units represented the vast bulk of housing construction in the ten-year period; the proportion ranged from 74.5 per cent of all dwelling units built in Swansea to 97.4 per cent in Leaside. Of the single family units built during this period, 95 per cent were located in the three large outer suburbs; 41 per cent in Scarborough, 26 per cent in Etobicoke and 28 per cent in North York.

These differences between municipalities in types of housing development, combined with the uneven spread of commercial and industrial assessment, are reflected in the disparities in their taxable resources. In this respect, Leaside and Scarborough present extremes. Leaside, with a taxable assessment divided equally between industrial plants and dwelling units of above average values, is in

¹Statistical Supplement to "Market for New Housing, Metropolitan Toronto, 1962", Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. These figures include duplexes and semi-detached dwellings.

DWELLING UNITS COMPLETED, 1954 TO 1963

Table 14

Municipality	Single Family			Multiple Family ²			Total Dwelling Units		
	Per Cent of All Dwelling Units Built in Each Municipality	Number	%	Per Cent of All Single Family Units Built in Metro	Number	%	Per Cent of All Multiple Family Units Built in Metro	Number	Per Cent of Metro
Toronto	4.5	1,200	4.5	1.4	26,086	95.5	30.9	27,306	15.7
North York	53.3	25,100	53.3	28.0	22,018	46.7	26.1	47,118	27.1
Scarborough	80.1	36,950	80.1	41.2	9,191	19.9	10.9	46,141	26.5
Etobicoke	75.7	23,295	75.7	26.0	7,478	24.3	8.9	30,773	17.7
York	1,543	1,543	20.7	1.7	5,906	79.3	7.0	7,449	4.3
East York	358	358	8.7	.4	3,738	91.3	4.4	4,096	2.4
Forest Hill	187	187	7.1	.2	2,438	92.9	2.9	2,625	1.5
Leaside	38	38	2.6	Neg.	1,450	97.4	1.7	1,488	.9
Mimico	276	276	9.3	.3	2,700	90.7	3.2	2,976	1.7
New Toronto	124	124	11.0	.1	1,004	89.0	1.2	1,128	.6
Long Branch	226	226	20.0	.3	906	80.0	1.0	1,132	.6
Weston	144	144	12.9	.2	970	87.1	1.1	1,114	.6
Swansea	199	199	25.5	.2	580	74.5	.7	779	.4
Metro	89,660	89,660	51.5	100.0	84,465	48.5	100.0	174,125	100.0

¹Includes semi-detached and duplex dwellings.
²Includes row housing and all apartments of 3 units and more.
Source: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

the most favoured position, with a per capita assessment of \$4,178. Scarborough, where one-third of the taxable assessment is non-residential and two-thirds is composed to a large extent of low cost single family homes, shows a per capita assessment of \$1,969. The relative capacity to finance municipal and, particularly, school costs is also affected by differences in the nature of population growth: for example, children under 15 years of age constitute 18.7 per cent of the population of Leaside, but in Scarborough they form 37 per cent of the population.

3. TAX-EXEMPT PROPERTIES

Property exempt from general municipal taxation includes properties owned by the federal and provincial governments, municipal governments, churches, hospitals, and educational and charitable institutions. Table 15 shows that the assessed value of tax-exempt property in the Metropolitan Area rose from \$332 million, or 13.5 per cent of the assessed value of all real property in 1954, to \$782 million, or 17 per cent of the total in 1964, distributed as follows:

TAX-EXEMPT PROPERTIES, 1964	
	Assessed Value Per Cent of Total
	\$ %
Federal.....	56,625,000 7.2
Provincial.....	89,994,000 11.5
Municipal.....	198,562,000 25.4
Educational, Religious, Charitable, and Other	437,024,000 55.9
Total.....	782,205,000 100.0

Sixty per cent of the exempt property in the area is in the City, representing 22.5 per cent of the local real property assessment. In 1954 more than 70 per cent was in the City. The suburbs' share of the total rose from \$97.5 million, or 29 per cent in 1954, to \$315.4 million, or 40 per cent of the total in 1964, with 15 per cent in North York and 8 per cent each in Scarborough and Etobicoke.

While Crown property is exempt under the British North America Act, payments in lieu of taxes are made on some properties. In a study of municipal tax exemptions, made in April 1963, the Bureau of Municipal Research showed that 96 per cent of all federal property in Metro and 39 per cent of provincial property were eligible for such payments. In the City, the federal government made payments on approximately 100 per cent of its properties, while the Province paid on 34 per cent; in the suburbs, the proportions were 93 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively. Federal grants do not cover business taxes and provincial grants generally do not include payments in lieu of school taxes.

About 56 per cent of the tax-exempt property in Metro represents educational, religious, charitable and other institutions. Many of these institutions, located in the City, which is the cultural centre, serve a wider area than Metro. By virtue of their exemption from taxation, the costs of providing municipal services to them are borne entirely by the Toronto taxpayers.

Table 15
TAX-EXEMPT PROPERTY, 1954 AND 1964¹

Municipality	1954		1964	
	Real Property Assessment \$000	Per Cent of Local Real Property Assessment %	Real Property Assessment \$000	Per Cent of Local Real Property Assessment %
Toronto.....	1,497,901	15.7	2,075,335	17.0
North York.....	236,998	13.1	837,317	13.9
Scarborough.....	125,068	8.1	501,531	13.0
Etobicoke.....	154,857	8.1	63,785	11.8
York.....	156,076	6.7	253,891	10.8
East York.....	95,136	2.1	136,108	12.2
Forest Hill.....	52,304	1.1	79,332	9.2
Leaside.....	44,318	6.7	4,925	6.9
Mimico.....	18,791	5.4	2,309	6.5
New Toronto.....	25,135	1.0	7,416	18.2
Long Branch.....	11,320	2.2	20,932	9.6
Weston.....	16,336	10.5	3,531	13.0
Swansea.....	17,000	3.8	23,323	4.7
Total ²	2,451,239	13.5	4,622,051	16.9

¹Assessments prepared in 1953 and 1963; exemptions on dwellings in Toronto and New Toronto. ²Totals may not add due to rounding of figures. Source: Metropolitan Toronto Assessment Department.

The figures on exemptions which have been cited do not include the partial exemption of dwellings assessed up to \$4,000 in Toronto and New Toronto. The exemption, which is applicable to expenditures for general purposes but not for education or welfare, is 50 per cent up to an assessed value of \$2,000 and decreases by 10 per cent for each increase of \$500 in valuation. The provision of The Assessment Act authorizing such exemption was repealed in 1955, with the proviso that any by-law passed under it and still in force was to continue in effect until repealed. In 1963 this exempt assessment amounted to approximately \$46 million in Toronto and \$1.2 million in New Toronto.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The substantial growth in taxable assessment between 1954 and 1964 improved the overall taxable capacity of the Metropolitan Area. By providing adequate basic physical services, Metro has facilitated the spread of residential, industrial and commercial development over the area.

While Metro has achieved a more equitable distribution of taxable resources, the municipalities continue to show wide inequalities because of the uneven spread of non-residential development and differences in the types of residential and industrial and commercial development which they have experienced.

CHAPTER VIII

MUNICIPAL CURRENT EXPENDITURES

Variations in the level of expenditures on municipal services reflect differences in taxable resources, in the characteristics and needs of the area municipalities, and in the quantity and quality of services provided. The size of the unit, its stage of development, population density, incomes, types of dwelling unit, the nature and extent of industrial development, and the rate of growth, are all factors which affect taxable capacity and the level of municipal spending.

1. GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURES

Table 16 shows for Metro and the area municipalities that general and school gross current expenditures rose from \$143.7 million in 1954 to \$406.6 million in 1963.

Table 16

GENERAL AND SCHOOL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual ²	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual ²	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	\$ 83,559,324	\$ 122	\$ 58	\$ 161,982,371	\$ 257	\$ 87
North York.....	12,757,244	98	63	65,030,032	211	91
Scarborough.....	9,194,422	96	72	51,721,215	215	115
Etobicoke.....	8,421,039	101	55	40,245,918	227	81
York.....	9,731,735	92	61	19,204,450	152	85
East York.....	5,290,923	77	56	10,284,280	147	81
Forest Hill.....	2,304,269	125	46	4,168,271	197	58
Leaside.....	2,184,270	129	44	4,467,804	242	59
Mimico.....	925,882	75	49	2,307,505	127	66
New Toronto.....	1,671,511	170	60	3,299,244	280	77
Long Branch.....	692,750	75	59	1,474,345	132	74
Weston.....	1,351,700	158	82	2,711,593	272	106
Swansea.....	661,218	76	38	1,283,371	137	55
Metro.....	55,141,065	44	23	218,971,681	133	53
Area Total.....	143,695,804 ³	115	61	406,604,856 ³	246	98

¹Excludes surplus for current year and deficit from prior years.

²Gross expenditures for area municipalities include own share of Metro general levy and recoverable debt charges other than education.

³Excludes inter-municipal transactions re Metropolitan tax levies and assumed debt.

Sources: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963; Financial Statements of Area School Boards, 1954 and 1963.

The increase was distributed as follows:

	GENERAL AND SCHOOL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURES		Per Cent Increase
	1954	1963	
Metro.....	\$ 55,141,000	\$ 218,971,000	297.3
City of Toronto.....	83,559,000	161,982,000	93.7
Three outer suburbs.....	30,372,000	156,997,000	416.9
Nine inner suburbs.....	24,814,000	49,200,000	98.3

These figures reflect the development and extension of metropolitan services since 1954 and the much higher rate of growth of the outer suburbs, whose total gross current expenditures almost equalled those of Toronto in 1963. The area as a whole showed an increase in per capita spending from \$115 in 1954 to \$246 in 1963. The range of spending was from \$75 in Mimico and Long Branch to \$170 in New Toronto, in 1954, and from \$127 in Mimico to \$280 in New Toronto, in 1963.

In relating expenditures to assessment it should be noted that while expenditures are expressed in current dollars, assessments in Metro are made in terms of 1940 dollars. A comparison of gross expenditures per \$1,000 of taxable assessment with gross expenditures per capita reflects inequalities in the distribution of taxable resources. Some municipalities are able to spend considerably more per capita with a smaller tax effort than others. Municipal gross current expenditures in 1963 ranged from \$55 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment in Swansea to \$115 in Scarborough. With expenditures of \$59 per \$1,000 of assessment, Leaside spent \$242 per capita, while Scarborough, with expenditures of \$115 per \$1,000 of assessment, spent \$215 per capita. Expenditures of \$81 per \$1,000 of assessment provided a level of \$227 per capita in Etobicoke but only \$147 in East York. With \$77 per \$1,000 of assessment, New Toronto was able to spend \$280 per capita, but in Long Branch, \$74 per \$1,000 of assessment meant only \$132 per capita.

Gross current expenditures, excluding debt charges, on the main categories of municipal services are shown in Tables 17 to 23. They show trends in expenditures from 1954 to 1963 and the relative position of the different municipalities. Gross expenditures are a measure of the standard of service provided but, since no allowance is made for provincial grants and other offsetting factors, they are not a measure of the actual burden borne by the municipalities in providing the service.

2. GENERAL GOVERNMENT (TABLE 17)

For the area as a whole, per capita gross current expenditures on general administration rose from \$7.75 in 1954 to \$11.53 in 1963. In the latter year the range in the area municipalities was from \$4.11 in North York to \$13.20 in Toronto, and the figure for the Metropolitan Corporation was \$2.89 per capita.

Table 17
MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963
GENERAL GOVERNMENT¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	\$ 5,229,111	7.66	3.64	8,323,454	13.20	4.49
North York.....	376,347	2.88	1.86	1,264,993	4.11	1.77
Scarborough.....	533,078	5.57	4.19	1,607,887	6.69	3.59
Etobicoke.....	395,059	4.75	2.59	1,206,305	6.79	2.42
York.....	241,618	2.28	1.52	681,548	5.40	3.01
East York.....	132,476	1.93	1.41	350,401	4.99	2.75
Forest Hill.....	92,457	5.03	1.86	178,849	8.47	2.50
Leaside.....	60,093	3.56	1.22	169,700	9.20	2.22
Mimico.....	57,423	4.65	3.03	100,073	5.51	2.87
New Toronto.....	62,998	6.42	2.27	105,957	8.99	2.49
Long Branch.....	40,120	4.32	3.41	69,452	6.24	3.49
Weston.....	62,677	7.31	3.82	112,895	11.31	4.40
Swansea.....	34,576	3.97	2.00	103,498	11.04	4.44
Metro.....	2,373,435	1.90	1.01	4,771,819	2.89	1.15
Area Total.....	9,691,468	7.75	4.10	19,046,831	11.53	4.57

¹Excluding debt charges.
Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

When related to assessment, the increase for the area as a whole was comparatively small: the expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment rose from \$4.10 in 1954 to \$4.57 in 1963. On this basis, Metro's costs increased only by 14 cents, from \$1.01 to \$1.15.

In the ten-year period, the number of employees in general administration in Metro and the area municipalities rose from 955 to 1,580. The increase was distributed as follows:

	GENERAL GOVERNMENT: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES		
	1954	1963	Increase
Metro.....	251	544	293
City of Toronto.....	418	518	100
Three outer suburbs.....	169	362	193
Nine inner suburbs.....	117	156	39
Total.....	955	1,580	625

Source: Personnel or Clerks' Departments.

Considering Metro's responsibilities and that more than one-half of its expenditures on general administration covers the costs of assessing property for all the area municipalities, it follows that, at a cost which has ranged from \$1.01 to \$1.15 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment, Metro has not added any appreciable burden to the costs of administering local government in the area.

Table 18
MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963
PUBLIC WORKS¹

Municipality	1954		1963	
	Actual	Per Capita	Actual	Per Capita
Toronto.....	\$ 2,103,246	3.08	\$ 4,175,012	6.62
North York.....	1,943,636	14.86	4,644,814	15.10
Scarborough.....	1,552,184	16.22	2,715,788	11.30
Etobicoke.....	811,171	9.75	2,196,534	12.37
York.....	361,396	3.41	737,506	5.84
East York.....	154,617	2.25	382,517	5.45
Forest Hill.....	206,550	11.24	319,833	15.14
Leaside.....	65,245	3.87	128,645	6.97
Mimico.....	75,115	6.08	193,036	10.64
New Toronto.....	34,422	3.51	212,369	18.02
Long Branch.....	57,342	6.18	38,284	3.44
Weston.....	100,093	11.68	109,105	10.93
Swansea.....	38,421	4.41	95,346	10.17
Metro.....	2,615,004	2.09	5,409,476	3.27
Area Total.....	10,118,442	8.09	21,358,265	12.93

¹Excluding debt charges.
Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

Table 19
MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963
PROTECTION TO PERSONS AND PROPERTY¹

Municipality	1954		1963	
	Actual	Per Capita	Actual	Per Capita
Toronto.....	\$ 13,161,835	19.29	\$ 10,792,334	17.12
North York.....	1,129,170	8.63	2,564,840	8.34
Scarborough.....	885,752	9.25	2,048,860	8.52
Etobicoke.....	820,945	9.87	1,751,589	9.87
York.....	896,902	8.46	1,096,967	8.68
East York.....	527,941	7.68	624,130	8.89
Forest Hill.....	331,627	18.05	265,729	12.58
Leaside.....	169,144	10.02	290,171	15.72
Mimico.....	94,969	7.69	98,511	5.43
New Toronto.....	166,889	17.00	172,958	14.68
Long Branch.....	80,815	8.71	86,506	7.77
Weston.....	127,795	14.91	150,523	15.08
Swansea.....	67,677	7.76	52,957	5.65
Metro.....	1,618,318	1.29	28,376,433	17.17
Area Total.....	20,079,779	16.05	48,372,508	29.28

¹Excluding debt charges.
Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

3. PUBLIC WORKS (TABLE 18)

Gross current expenditures, excluding debt charges, on roads, sidewalks and other public works rose from \$8.09 in 1954 to \$12.93 per capita in 1963. When related to the tax base, gross expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment increased from \$4.29 to \$5.13 for the area as a whole. Metro's share rose from \$2.09 to \$3.27 per capita and from \$1.11 to \$1.30 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment.

The area municipalities presented a varied picture in 1963, with per capita gross expenditures ranging from \$3.44 in Long Branch to \$18.02 in New Toronto and expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment, from \$1.69 in Leaside to \$6.50 in North York. While, in terms of expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment, the burdens were heaviest in Scarborough and North York in both 1954 and 1963, the gap between the highest and lowest spending municipalities has been considerably narrowed by Metro's assumption of metropolitan roads. The assumption of additional major local arterial roads would afford further relief to the larger municipalities.

4. PROTECTION TO PERSONS AND PROPERTY (TABLE 19)

From 1954 to 1963, gross current expenditures on protection to persons and property over the area as a whole rose from \$16.05 to \$29.28 per capita and from \$8.50 to \$11.61 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment. During this period Metro assumed responsibility for the police force and for licensing. Accordingly, it showed an increase in costs per capita from \$1.29 to \$17.17 and from 69 cents to \$6.81 in expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment. In 1954 the City of Toronto bore 65.5 per cent of the area's total protection costs; by 1963 Metro's share was 58.7 per cent, while that of the City had declined to 22.3 per cent. The City, of course, pays a large proportion of Metro's costs through the metropolitan levy.

In 1963 the protection expenditures of the area municipalities, being largely the costs of fire protection, ranged from \$5.43 per capita in Mimico to \$17.12 in Toronto and from \$2.27 per \$1,000 of assessment in Swansea to \$5.86 in Weston. The figures point to differences in standards of a basic service affecting the public safety.

5. RECREATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICES (TABLE 20)

Gross current expenditures on parks, municipal libraries, museums and community halls rose over the area as a whole from \$4.8 million or \$3.87 per capita in 1954 to \$16.8 million or \$10.16 per capita in 1963. Expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment increased from \$2.05 to \$4.03 in the same period. In 1954 the City's proportion of total expenditures on these services was more than 84 per cent, while the three outer suburbs accounted for only four per cent. In 1963, with Metro, which is responsible for metropolitan parks, spending 14 per cent and the outer suburbs 26 per cent, Toronto's share of the total declined to 48 per cent.

Table 21
MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963
Public Welfare¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	4,105,879	6.02	2.86	12,193,434	19.34	6.57
North York.....	104,876	.80	.52	686,810	2.23	.96
Scarborough.....	81,986	.86	.64	595,435	2.48	1.33
Erbicooke.....	37,165	.45	.24	257,410	1.45	.52
York.....	97,449	.92	.61	443,880	3.51	1.96
East York.....	27,374	.40	.29	140,773	2.01	1.11
Forest Hill.....	4,986	.27	.10	31,096	1.47	.43
Leaside.....	1,756	.10	.04	16,729	.91	.22
Mimico.....	5,795	.47	.31	88,205	4.86	2.53
New Toronto.....	8,402	.86	.30	137,947	11.71	3.24
Long Branch.....	7,574	.82	.64	50,473	4.54	2.54
Weston.....	2,785	.32	.17	23,835	2.39	.93
Swansea.....	1,835	.21	.11	28,043	2.99	1.20
Metro.....	3,337,475	2.67	1.41	6,267,358	3.79	1.50
Area Total.....	7,825,247	6.26	3.31	20,961,428	12.69	5.03

¹Excluding debt charges.
Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

The variations in per capita gross welfare expenditures among the municipalities reflect differences in needs but also differences in the range and standards of service provided where there is need. As the core city of the area, Toronto, with the largest case load, necessarily provides the most comprehensive program, including mandatory and optional services. The expenditures shown for the other area municipalities are almost exclusively for the provision of services which are mandatory under provincial legislation.

7. HEALTH (TABLE 22)

Metro's main responsibility in the field of health services is payment of the hospitalization costs of indigent patients. With the introduction of hospital insurance in 1959, this responsibility has been greatly reduced. Accordingly, Metro's gross current health expenditures, which are largely offset by provincial grants, declined from \$3.4 million, or \$2.71 per capita, in 1954, to \$968,000, or 59 cents per capita, in 1963. During the same period, the expenditures of the area municipalities, which are responsible for the basic health services rose from \$4.4 million to \$5.6 million. The figures show a small decline for the City but an increase from \$374,000 to \$1.3 million for the three outer suburbs.

Table 20
MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963
Recreation and Community Services¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	4,077,242	5.97	2.84	8,032,562	12.74	4.33
North York.....	122,465	.94	.60	2,102,200	6.83	2.91
Scarborough.....	63,283	.66	.50	1,069,443	4.45	2.39
Erbicooke.....	14,090	.17	.09	1,236,066	6.96	2.48
York.....	261,375	2.47	1.65	667,440	5.28	2.95
East York.....	101,907	1.48	1.09	621,430	8.86	4.88
Forest Hill.....	23,445	1.28	.46	122,853	5.82	1.72
Leaside.....	54,690	3.24	1.11	159,165	8.63	2.09
Mimico.....	25,276	2.05	1.33	94,378	5.20	2.70
New Toronto.....	28,757	2.93	1.03	127,327	10.80	2.99
Long Branch.....	14,892	1.60	1.27	61,583	5.53	3.10
Weston.....	33,745	3.94	2.06	67,692	6.78	2.64
Swansea.....	18,024	2.07	1.04	67,702	7.22	2.91
Metro.....	Nil	—	—	2,359,738	1.43	.57
Area Total.....	4,839,191	3.87	2.05	16,789,579	10.16	4.03

¹Excluding debt charges.
Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

Expenditures on recreation and community services in the area municipalities ranged from \$4.45 in Scarborough to \$12.74 per capita in Toronto, in 1963. They included public library costs which ranged from \$1.26 in Swansea to \$4.52 per capita in Leaside.

6. PUBLIC WELFARE (TABLE 21)

The local burden of welfare costs is substantially reduced by provincial grants. Accordingly, while gross current expenditures reflect relative needs and the relative range of services provided, they do not measure the actual burden.

Gross current welfare expenditures in the area rose from \$7.8 million in 1954 to almost \$21 million in 1963—an increase of 168 per cent—and on a per capita basis, from \$6.26 to \$12.69. In 1954 the range was from 10 cents per capita in Leaside to \$6.02 in Toronto, and, in 1963, from 91 cents per capita in Leaside to \$19.34 in Toronto. In 1964 Toronto was afforded relief by Metro's assumption of the municipal share (20 per cent) of the cost of mandatory welfare services. Applied to 1963 expenditures, this would have reduced the City's per capita gross cost by \$3.01 and its costs per \$1,000 of taxable assessment by \$1.02, while Metro's share would have risen by \$2.3 million.

8. SANITATION AND WASTE REMOVAL (TABLE 23)

Gross current expenditures on the operation and maintenance of sewers, sewage treatment and garbage collection and disposal rose from \$9.5 million or \$7.61 per capita in 1954 to \$18.8 million or \$11.40 per capita in 1963. The responsibilities in this field are divided between Metro, which is responsible for all permanent sewage treatment plants and trunk sewers and may operate sites for waste disposal, and the area municipalities, which are responsible for local sewage and storm water collection systems and for garbage collection and disposal.

Between 1954 and 1963, the City's proportion of the total area costs for these services declined from 56.8 per cent to 39.8 per cent and that of the inner ring from 12.5 per cent to 9.8 per cent, while the share of the three outer suburbs, reflecting their high rate of growth, rose from 15 per cent to 31 per cent of the total. Metro's share rose from 15.8 per cent in 1954 to 19.6 per cent in 1963. It must be noted, however, that debt charges, which have not been included in the gross expenditure figures, form a very large part of Metro's expenditures on sanitation and that these charges increased from a little more than one million dollars in 1954 to approximately \$5.9 million in 1963.

Table 23

MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963

Sanitation and Waste Removal¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	5,404,608	7.92	3.77	7,495,896	11.89	4.04
North York.....	456,118	3.49	2.25	2,413,918	7.85	3.38
Scarborough ²	328,663	3.43	2.58	1,900,690	7.90	4.24
Etobicoke.....	637,448	7.66	4.18	1,491,345	8.40	2.99
York.....	582,993	5.50	3.67	935,746	7.41	4.13
East York.....	227,727	3.31	2.43	304,084	4.33	2.39
Forest Hill.....	37,557	2.04	.76	62,420	2.95	.87
Leaside.....	64,454	3.82	1.31	90,695	4.91	1.19
Mimico.....	81,261	6.58	4.29	134,395	7.40	3.85
New Toronto.....	81,988	8.35	2.95	129,741	11.01	3.05
Long Branch.....	27,316	2.94	2.32	66,158	5.94	3.33
Weston.....	46,708	5.45	2.85	56,872	5.70	2.22
Swansea.....	37,072	4.25	2.14	66,479	7.09	2.85
Metro.....	1,505,613	1.20	.64	3,682,651	2.23	.88
Area Total.....	9,519,526	7.61	4.03	18,831,090	11.40	4.52

¹Excluding debt charges.
²Excluding debt charges for sewer areas included in source statistics amounting to \$222,895 in 1954 and \$1,477,817 in 1963.
 Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

Table 22

MUNICIPAL GROSS CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1954 AND 1963

Conservation of Health¹

Municipality	1954			1963		
	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Actual	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	3,706,234	5.43	2.58	3,619,675	5.74	1.95
North York.....	162,402	1.24	.80	609,023	1.98	.85
Scarborough.....	99,058	1.03	.78	449,127	1.87	1.00
Etobicoke.....	112,971	1.36	.74	289,617	1.63	.58
York.....	115,952	1.09	.73	315,641	2.50	1.39
East York.....	88,180	1.28	.94	147,666	2.10	1.16
Forest Hill.....	18,138	.99	.36	38,529	1.82	.54
Leaside.....	17,119	1.01	.35	32,641	1.77	.43
Mimico.....	6,212	.50	.33	11,922	.66	.34
New Toronto.....	9,163	.93	.33	12,495	1.06	.29
Long Branch.....	6,628	.71	.56	4,595	.41	.23
Weston.....	16,103	1.88	.98	18,181	1.82	.71
Swansea.....	7,803	.90	.45	11,216	1.20	.48
Metro.....	3,394,055	2.71	1.44	9,677,897	.59	.23
Area Total.....	7,760,018	6.20	3.29	6,528,225	3.95	1.57

¹Excluding debt charges.
 Source: Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963.

On a per capita basis, gross current expenditures on health services ranged, in 1963, from 41 cents in Long Branch to \$5.74 in Toronto, and, in terms of expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment, from 23 cents in Long Branch to \$1.95 in Toronto. The number of persons employed in the health services of each municipality in 1963 was as follows:

HEALTH SERVICES: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1963

Toronto.....	538	12
North York.....	138	1/2
Scarborough.....	78	3/3
Etobicoke.....	44	1
York.....	48	5
East York and Leaside ¹	41	1 1/2
Forest Hill.....		
Mimico ²		
New Toronto ²		
Long Branch.....		
Weston.....		
Swansea ²		

¹Joint Health Unit.
²Fractions indicate part time permanent staff.
 Source: Personnel or Clerks' Departments.

These figures reflect a range from the very limited services available in some small municipalities to the comprehensive programme of the City of Toronto.

9. CONCLUSIONS

This review of expenditures on each of the main categories of municipal services is based on gross current expenditures, excluding debt charges. The figures indicate how the total resources available are spent, but do not measure the actual burden imposed on the local taxpayer because no allowance is made for provincial grants and other offsetting receipts.

Comparative expenditures point to variations in the range and standards of some of the basic services provided by the area municipalities. By assuming responsibility for area-wide services, Metro has prevented wider variations from developing.

Variations in the provision of services are, in part, a reflection of differences in the characteristics of municipalities, and uniform standards are not required in respect of all services. I find, however, that the citizens of the different parts of Metro are entitled to a greater degree of equality in the standards of some of the basic services than can be provided with the division of responsibility among thirteen municipalities of varying size and resources.

CHAPTER IX

TAXATION AND OTHER REVENUES

The Metro Act empowers the Metropolitan Council to levy for its requirements annually against the area municipalities, the amount to be apportioned among the latter in the same proportion as the assessment of the taxable property of each for Metro purposes bears to the total assessment of such property in the Metropolitan Area. The Metropolitan Corporation has no power to collect taxes directly; its levy is added to the local tax bill and collected by the area municipalities. Real property and business taxation provide the bulk of the revenue, with provincial grants as the second largest source. Together, they yielded 85 per cent of total gross revenue in 1963.

1. TAX REVENUES

Table 24 shows that total gross current revenue of Metro and the area municipalities for municipal and school purposes rose from \$145.8 million in 1954 to \$410.1 million in 1964, an increase of 181.3 per cent. Real property and business taxation yielded \$102.5 million or 70.4 per cent of the total in 1954, and \$275.3 million or 67.1 per cent of the total in 1964. The increase of 168 per cent in tax revenue compared with an increase of 80 per cent in total taxable assessment, but, since this is a comparison between revenues expressed in current dollars and assessments made in terms of 1940 dollars, the increase is exaggerated. Over the period, the municipal share of the tax levy declined from 63 per cent to 56.5 per cent, with a corresponding rise in the share for school purposes.

Since 1957 tax revenue has included the proceeds of area-wide levies imposed by Metro for capital purposes to relieve debenture borrowing. A levy equivalent to two mills, initially imposed in 1957 for general municipal purposes, has been applied since 1959 to reduction of Metro's share of financing subway construction. Its total yield to the end of 1964 was \$61.7 million, of which \$47.5 million was applied to subway costs. To reduce debenture borrowing for school purposes, levies equivalent to one-half mill have been imposed on Metro's elementary school assessment and on its secondary school assessment since 1959, yielding \$23.3 million to the end of 1964.

2. PROVINCIAL GRANTS

While taxation provided 67 per cent of the gross current revenue of the area in 1963, provincial grants, the other major source, yielded about 18 per cent, as compared with 15 per cent in 1954. Grants for schools, roads, health and

welfare and general municipal purposes rose from \$22 million to \$72.9 million, or by approximately 230 per cent, as follows:

PROVINCIAL GRANTS	
1954	1963
\$	\$
Municipal.....	7,808,000
Roads.....	3,562,000
Health and Welfare.....	1,338,000
Schools.....	9,412,000
Total.....	22,120,000
	72,887,000

The municipal grants include the unconditional grant, as well as provincial payments in lieu of taxes, the municipal share of fees and fines under The Liquor Control Act and The Liquor License Act and payments under the winter works programme. The unconditional grant is paid on a per capita basis at a rate varying with the status and population of the municipality. The grant ranges from \$3.00 per capita in towns, villages and townships of less than 2,000 inhabitants to \$5.50 per capita in metropolitan municipalities or cities. For the Toronto Metropolitan Area the grant is paid to Metro at the rate of \$5.50 per capita. The fringe municipalities in the Planning Area receive their grants at the rate applicable in each case.

In 1963 provincial road grants were equivalent to 44 per cent of gross current expenditures on public works in the area. The grants are paid directly to the municipality responsible for the work on the following basis: to counties, townships, non-separated towns and villages, 50 per cent of the approved costs of road construction and maintenance and 80 per cent of bridge and culvert construction and maintenance; to Metropolitan Toronto, 50 per cent of road and bridge construction and maintenance; and to cities and separated towns, 33 1/3 per cent of road, bridge and culvert construction and maintenance. The Townships of York and East York are considered as cities for the purposes of road grants and, with Toronto, receive 33 1/3 per cent of the costs, while the three outer townships and the towns and villages in the Metropolitan Area qualify for 50 per cent of the costs of roads and 80 per cent for bridges and culverts.

In 1963 provincial health and welfare grants financed 44 per cent of the area's gross current expenditures on these services. The grants for health services include payments toward the cost of school dental services, psychiatric hospital accommodation and treatment, diagnostic public health services and the establishment and maintenance of health units. Welfare grants include assistance toward the cost of child welfare, homes for the aged, homemaker and nursing services and assistance to heads of families or single persons in needy circumstances. The bulk of the grants for optional welfare services are paid to the City of Toronto which alone has a comprehensive programme covering both mandatory and optional services.

Table 24 METROPOLITAN TORONTO AND AREA MUNICIPALITIES GENERAL AND SCHOOL GROSS CURRENT REVENUE, 1954 AND 1963

Revenue Source	1954		1963	
	\$000	%	\$000	%
Real Property and Business Taxation:				
General Purposes (including owners' share of local improvement charges)	64,426	44.19	155,546	37.93
School Purposes	38,131	26.16	119,739	29.20
Total Taxation Revenue	102,557	70.35	275,285	67.13
Grants and Subsidies:				
Federal-Provincial (re vocational schools construction)	229	.16	3,363	.82
Federal			10,426	2.54
Provincial			36,634	9.14
Education	9,412	6.25	14,736	3.63
Municipal	7,808	5.57	9,405	2.33
Roads	3,562	2.52	72,887	17.77
Health and Welfare	1,338	0.96	17,777	4.24
Total	22,120	15.17	229,511	55.71
Other Municipalities	140	0.10	451	1.10
Total	140	0.10	451	1.10
Total Grants and Subsidies	22,489	15.42	87,127	21.24
Licences and Permits	1,546	1.06	2,875	0.70
Debt Charges Recoverable	7,332	5.03	19,772	4.82
Miscellaneous	11,863	8.14	25,058	6.11
Total Municipal and School Gross Current Revenue	145,787	100.00	410,117	100.00
Per Cent of Total Revenue				
Total				
Per Cent Increase				
Total				
Per Cent Increase				

The legislative grants for schools, which in 1963 represented one-half of the total of provincial grants, are paid to the Metropolitan School Board, except for small grants of a special nature which are paid directly to the local boards. School grants are based on a number of factors intended to reflect the ability of local taxpayers to pay for school costs. In 1963 the grants yielded the equivalent of 31 per cent of the total tax levy for public schools.

3. METRO AND LOCAL TAX LEVIES

Under The Municipal Unconditional Grants Act, as amended in 1957, the grant must be applied to reduction of the general tax levy on residential and farm property only. Accordingly, the metropolitan general levy is divided into two levies, a levy on residential assessment and a levy on non-residential assessment. In 1963 the division was as follows:

METROPOLITAN GENERAL LEVY, 1963

	Assessment	Levy before deduction of Per Capita Grant	Less Per Capita Grant	Net General Levy
Residential ..	\$ 2,430,276,378	\$ 38,121,532	\$ 9,046,301	\$ 29,075,231
Commercial ..	1,896,734,914	29,752,353	29,752,353
Total ...	4,327,011,292	67,873,885	9,046,301	58,827,584

¹Including adjustment from previous year.

The net general Metro levy on residential assessment is divided among the area municipalities in the same proportion as the residential assessment of each bears to the total residential assessment of the area. The levy on non-residential assessment is distributed on a similar basis. The distribution of the metropolitan general levy among the area municipalities in 1963 is shown in Table 25. By areas, it was distributed as follows: Toronto, 47.3 per cent; three outer suburbs, 38.2 per cent; nine inner suburbs, 14.5 per cent.

In their briefs to the Commission, the City of Toronto and the Township of Scarborough submitted that they are prejudiced by Metro's method of distribution of the benefits from the unconditional grant. While the grant to Metro is based on population, it is distributed among the area municipalities in the proportion that their residential assessment bears to Metro's total residential assessment and not in relation to population. If the 1963 levy of \$38.1 million on residential assessment had first been divided among the area municipalities according to their proportion of the total residential assessment and the amount of the grant deducted from the resulting levy in each case

Table 25
DISTRIBUTION OF METROPOLITAN GENERAL LEVY, 1963¹

Municipality	Residential Properties		Non-Residential Properties		Total General Levy	
	Assessment	Levy	Assessment	Levy	Amount	Per Cent of Total
Toronto	806,163,352	9,644,741	1,158,061,831	18,165,461	27,810,202	47.27
North York	531,452,595	6,358,168	210,262,684	3,298,200	9,656,368	16.42
Scarborough	319,419,312	3,821,455	135,983,953	2,133,057	5,954,512	10.12
Etobicoke	318,525,098	3,810,756	195,933,506	3,073,431	6,884,187	11.70
York	160,394,631	1,918,922	66,487,226	1,042,924	2,961,846	5.04
East York	100,087,745	1,197,425	27,188,709	426,485	1,623,910	2.76
Forest Hill	65,314,684	781,409	6,453,229	101,225	882,634	1.50
Leaside	41,400,847	495,310	7,889,439	564,290	1,059,600	1.80
Mimico	27,128,624	324,560	45,973,933	781,409	1,059,600	1.80
New Toronto	13,619,751	162,943	30,270,403	474,824	637,767	1.09
Long Branch	13,536,987	161,953	6,331,862	99,322	261,275	.44
Weston	15,012,530	179,607	10,761,763	168,810	348,417	.59
Swansea	18,220,222	217,982	5,136,376	80,570	298,552	.51
Total	2,430,276,378	29,075,231	1,896,734,914	29,752,353	58,827,584	100.00

¹Including supplementary levy of \$2,500,000 on May 3, 1963, for T.C. purposes. Source: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Finance, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1963.

in accordance with their proportion of the total population, the differences in benefits received would have been as follows:

	Gain \$	Loss \$
Toronto.....	748,409	
North York.....		475,167
Scarborough.....	34,625	
Etobicoke.....	130,683	310,165
East York.....	34,028	
Forest Hill.....		127,833
Leaside.....		49,391
Mimico.....	1,260	
New Toronto.....	16,706	
Long Branch.....	11,751	
Weston.....		1,350
Swansea.....		13,556

I find that, as the unconditional grant is paid to Metro on a per capita basis, the distribution of the grant among the area municipalities should be on the basis of population, and that such distribution would be more equitable in its results.

The metropolitan educational levy is also divided into two parts, the levy for public elementary schools and the levy for secondary schools. The distribution of the levy of \$4.3 million among the area municipalities in 1963 is shown in Table 26. By areas, it was distributed as follows: Toronto, 45.3 per cent; three outer suburbs, 39.7 per cent; nine inner suburbs, 15 per cent. It will be noted that the public elementary school assessment was \$3,974 million, as compared with the secondary school assessment of \$4,289 million. The difference represents the assessed value of property rateable for support of Roman Catholic separate elementary schools, almost all of which are under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Separate School Board.

Metro levies for its requirements on the area municipalities. These, in turn, levy for general purposes and for school purposes, respectively, to cover their own and Metro's requirements. The levy for general purposes is divided into two levies, on residential and non-residential assessment, respectively. As Metro's portion of the residential general levy is reduced by the amount of the unconditional grant, the residential general tax rate of an area municipality is in all cases less than the non-residential rate.

The taxable assessment on which the area municipalities levy for elementary school purposes is divided between public and separate elementary school supporters. The secondary school assessment is the sum of the two assessments. Accordingly, the public school tax levied on public school supporters by each area municipality reflects the local and Metro public elementary and secondary school requirements, while the tax on separate school supporters reflects the levy of the separate school board for elementary school purposes plus the local and Metro levy for secondary schools.

Table 26
DISTRIBUTION OF METROPOLITAN EDUCATIONAL LEVY, 1963

Municipality	Public Elementary		Secondary		Total Educational Levy	
	Assessment \$	Levy \$	Assessment \$	Levy \$	Amount \$	Per Cent of Total
Toronto.....	1,808,410,437	15,159,038	1,932,347,565	9,436,190	24,595,228	45.33
North York.....	684,590,369	5,738,593	742,586,671	3,626,257	9,364,850	17.26
Scarborough.....	414,484,975	3,474,429	453,900,275	2,216,521	5,690,950	10.49
Etobicoke.....	472,399,813	3,959,901	510,725,149	2,494,013	6,453,914	11.90
York.....	200,992,199	1,684,821	226,356,651	1,105,363	2,790,184	5.14
East York.....	115,335,676	966,804	126,981,183	620,084	1,586,888	2.92
Forest Hill.....	68,641,625	575,390	71,439,481	348,859	924,249	1.70
Leaside.....	73,288,800	614,345	77,238,837	377,179	991,524	1.83
Mimico.....	29,565,339	247,832	34,942,285	170,633	418,435	.77
New Toronto.....	41,620,453	348,884	43,696,096	213,380	562,264	1.04
Long Branch.....	18,347,285	153,796	19,832,849	96,849	250,645	.46
Weston.....	24,595,552	206,173	25,740,715	125,699	331,872	.61
Swansea.....	21,974,769	184,204	23,302,228	113,791	297,995	.55
Total.....	3,974,247,292	33,314,210	4,289,089,985	20,944,818	54,259,028	100.00

Source: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Finance, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1963.

4. THE TAX BURDEN

With all real property in the Metropolitan Area assessed on a uniform basis, it is possible to compare the burden of real property and business taxation in the area municipalities by comparing their respective mill rates. The general and school mill rates on residential assessment for public school supporters in 1954 and 1964 are shown in Table 28. The rates are for fully serviced areas and do not take account of differentials in rates in some of the suburbs which levy area charges based on the services provided in areas not fully serviced. The mill rates also do not take account of the owners' share of local improvement charges, where the whole or part of the cost of a local improvement is assessed against the land benefiting from the work. In the City of Toronto and in New Toronto the rates reflect the partial graded exemptions on dwellings assessed up to \$4,000.

In comparing mill rates, it is necessary to have regard not only to differences in taxable capacity but also to other factors, such as the quantity and quality of services provided and differences in the rates of provincial grants. The relatively high rate in the City of Toronto, for example, pays for a wider range of municipal services of high quality than is provided elsewhere in the area. It has also been shown that provincial road grants pay a smaller share of the costs in Toronto, York and East York than in the other area municipalities.

The figures in Table 28 show that in 1954 the total mill rate ranged from 32 mills in Leaside to 43.83 mills in Scarborough, or a spread of 11.83 mills between the highest and lowest taxed municipalities. In 1964 the range was from 51.37 mills in Leaside to 69.10 mills in Toronto and the spread was 17.73 mills. On the basis of their mill rates, the municipalities ranked as follows, in 1954 and in 1964:

	1954 Mill Rate	Rank	1964 Mill Rate	Rank
Scarborough	43.83	1	Toronto	69.10
Toronto	43.50	2	Scarborough	68.88
Weston	40.00	3	York	65.06
East York	38.50	4	East York	64.03
Forest Hill	37.80	5	North York	60.78
Mimico	37.00	6	Long Branch	60.00
New Toronto	36.90	7	Weston	59.70
North York	36.54	8	Forest Hill	57.90
York	36.00	9	Mimico	57.00
Long Branch	36.00	10	Etobicoke	55.92
Swansea	34.77	11	Swansea	54.95
Etobicoke	33.80	12	New Toronto	54.81
Leaside	32.00	13	Leaside	51.37

The increase over the ten-year period ranged from 17.81 mills in New Toronto to 28.52 mills in York. In all cases, except York, the increase for Metro purposes exceeded that for local purposes. In 1954 Metro's proportion of the total rate ranged from 33.2 per cent in Scarborough to 45.4 per cent in

The local taxable assessment for both public and separate school supporters is further divided into two classifications, covering residential and non-residential property, respectively, so that the school rate levied on residential and farm property will be 90 per cent of the rate levied on non-residential assessment. Differential school tax rates for residential and non-residential properties were the result of direct grants to local school boards under The Residential and Farm School Tax Assistance Grants Act, 1961, which is now repealed. The amount of these grants, since 1964, has been added to the general school grants to Metro, but the differential in rates is continued under section 105 (4) of The Schools Administration Act.

The levies for local municipal and school purposes in 1963 are shown in Table 27. It should be noted that the local taxable assessments, on which the area municipalities levy, differ from the assessment on which Metro uniformly apportions its levies among the municipalities. Under section 230 (9) of the Metro Act, the assessment for purposes of apportionment of the Metro levy includes the valuation of all exempt properties for which payments in lieu of taxes are made by the Crown or its agencies or the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. The area municipalities, on the other hand, exclude from their taxable assessments all exempt properties on which grants in lieu of taxes are paid, as well as properties partially or wholly exempt under local by-laws. Accordingly, when expressed as a local tax rate, the uniform Metro levy is different for each area municipality.

Table 27

AREA MUNICIPALITIES

General and School Tax Levies for Local Purposes, 1963¹

Municipality	General	Schools	Total
	\$	\$	\$
Toronto	49,641,780	28,707,338	78,349,118
North York	11,278,395	11,940,170	23,218,565
Scarborough	10,734,045	7,467,982	18,202,027
Etobicoke	8,026,716	6,825,606	14,852,322
York	4,572,284	3,728,371	8,300,655
East York	2,340,050	2,023,129	4,363,179
Forest Hill	1,026,178	1,016,861	2,043,039
Leaside	901,211	851,834	1,753,045
Mimico	658,995	425,998	1,084,993
New Toronto	709,384	496,772	1,206,156
Long Branch	410,199	231,952	642,151
Weston	559,741	297,961	857,702
Swansea	354,123	220,678	574,801
Total Area Municipalities	91,213,101	64,234,652	155,447,753

¹Excluding levies for local improvements.
Sources: Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963; Audit Report, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1963.

Leaside, in 1964 the range was from 42 per cent in Scarborough to 55.2 per cent in Leaside, with the rate for Metro purposes higher than the rate for local purposes in Leaside, New Toronto, Swansea, Etobicoke and Mimico. Over the period, the small inner suburbs, except Long Branch, either maintained or improved their relative tax position, while Etobicoke maintained its favoured position among the larger municipalities.

5. CONCLUSIONS

As Metro was not designed to produce a completely uniform tax rate for the area, variations in local services and in local tax burdens are to be expected; it was only in respect of area-wide services assumed by Metro that a uniform levy was to apply. By spreading the costs of these services over the area as a whole, Metro has exercised an equalizing influence and has prevented much wider inequalities in tax burdens from developing. Nevertheless, the spread between the lowest and the highest taxed unit has widened since 1954.

Metro's levelling influence has been lessened by the decline in its share of the gross current costs of education from 44.7 per cent to 35.5 per cent. The costs of education should be distributed more equitably over the area. The assumption by Metro of additional responsibilities in respect to other services would further tend to reduce inequalities in burdens, as would the distribution of the unconditional grant among the municipalities on the basis of population.

GENERAL AND SCHOOL MILL RATES, 1954 AND 1964
Residential Public School Supporters

Municipality	1954			1964			Increase
	For Local Purposes	For Metro Purposes	Total	For Local Purposes	For Metro Purposes	Total	
Toronto	28.46	15.04	43.50	34.6	39.75	29.35	25.60
North York	21.98	14.92	36.90	40.4	31.62	29.16	23.88
Scarborough	29.97	14.56	43.83	33.2	39.95	28.93	25.05
Etobicoke	19.28	14.52	33.80	43.0	27.32	28.60	22.12
York	23.84	14.66	38.50	38.1	34.90	29.13	25.53
East York	23.84	14.66	38.50	38.1	34.90	29.13	25.53
Forest Hill	23.28	14.52	37.80	38.4	29.14	28.76	25.37
Leaside	17.48	14.52	32.00	45.4	23.02	28.35	20.10
New Toronto	22.05	14.95	37.00	40.4	25.50	29.31	17.81
Mimico	22.46	14.54	37.00	40.4	25.50	29.31	17.81
Long Branch	21.46	14.54	36.00	40.4	31.64	28.36	19.70
Weston	25.48	14.52	40.00	36.3	30.51	29.19	24.00
Swansea	20.24	14.53	34.77	41.8	25.92	29.03	20.18
			%				
			Per Cent of Metro Rate to				
			Local Purposes				
			For Metro Purposes				
			Total				
			Per Cent of Metro Rate to				
			Local Purposes				
			For Metro Purposes				
			Total				

Source: Treasury Department, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.

CHAPTER X

CAPITAL EXPENDITURES AND DEBT

The Cumming Report said "that in the interests of every part of the entire area it is essential that the immense volume of capital expenditures which will be necessary to provide the great variety of costly public works and schools needed throughout the area should be continuously co-ordinated and fitted into a consolidated capital works programme and financed at rates commensurate with the combined credit and resources of all the local municipalities." Accordingly, it recommended that "the Metropolitan Council should clearly have the exclusive right to issue debentures for any purpose", subject to the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board.

The Metro Act gave effect to this recommendation. The power of the area municipalities to issue debentures was terminated as from January 1, 1954, and the Metropolitan Corporation assumed all outstanding debentures issued by them for school purposes and for all works vested in Metro. Since then the Metropolitan Corporation has effected all debenture borrowing for metropolitan general purposes, including the Toronto Transit Commission, for the area municipalities, and for the area public school boards. All such borrowings are, under section 234 (3) of the Metro Act, "direct, joint and several obligations of the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities notwithstanding the fact that the whole or any portion of the rates imposed for the payment thereof may have been levied only against one or more of the area municipalities."

1. CAPITAL FINANCING, 1954-1963

The provision of capital financing to meet the critical shortages in physical works, such as schools, waterworks, trunk sewers and roads, which faced the area in the early 'fifties, has been one of Metro's greatest achievements. To the end of May 1964, it had issued debentures totalling \$877 million, as follows:

- \$331.6 million for purposes of the Metropolitan Corporation, including \$47.5 million for the Toronto Transit Commission;
- \$303.2 million for the specific capital projects of the area municipalities;
- \$242.1 million for capital projects of the area boards of education.

The principal and interest charges on approximately \$320 million of these debentures are met out of the area-wide Metro general and education levies.

Table 29 shows, by categories of services, the debentures issued by Metro for its own purposes and for the purposes of the area municipalities in the ten-year period 1954-1963. The City of Toronto and the three rapidly growing outer suburbs were the largest borrowers, as shown in Table 30. Without the

DEBENTURES ISSUED BY THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO DURING THE PERIOD 1954-1963, INCLUSIVE, FOR OWN PURPOSES AND FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE AREA MUNICIPALITIES

Table 29

	Metropolitan Corporation	Area Municipalities	Total Debentures Issued
Protection to Persons and Property.....	8,499,207	3,649,791	13,172,934
Administration of Justice.....	1,573,936	—	1,573,936
Fire Protection.....	95,522,970	28,948,748	124,471,718
Public Works.....	64,424,417	37,164,292	101,588,709
Sanitation and Waste Removal.....	64,424,417	34,115,720	98,540,137
Sewage System.....	—	3,048,572	3,048,572
Garbage Disposal.....	2,225,963	1,238,179	3,464,142
Conservation of Health.....	5,651,115	448,714	6,099,829
Social Welfare.....	11,150,839	31,995,791	43,146,630
Recreation and Community Services.....	5,277,729	31,995,791	5,277,729
Libraries.....	11,150,839	26,718,062	37,868,901
Parks and Recreation.....	11,150,839	16,819,877	27,351,013
Miscellaneous.....	5,245,541	—	5,245,541
Conservation Schemes.....	5,182,000	—	5,182,000
B. D. U. Subway (Metro share).....	5,182,000	—	5,182,000
Housing and Redevelopment.....	—	2,000,000	2,000,000
Grants to University of Toronto.....	—	1,196,319	1,196,319
Market block (bldgs. and land).....	103,595	565,031	668,626
Miscellaneous.....	—	29,282,338	29,282,338
Local Improvement.....	—	38,346,341	38,346,341
Area Municipalities' Share.....	—	125,659,038	125,659,038
Owners' Share.....	—	68,112,576	68,112,576
Education.....	108,315,585	8,150,685	116,466,270
Waterworks.....	68,157,585	—	68,157,585
T. T. C.....	40,158,000	—	40,158,000
Hydro-Electric Systems.....	39,874,675	9,925,674	49,800,349
Parking Authority.....	—	10,161,542	10,161,542
C.N.E.....	—	—	—
Totals.....	\$404,509,997	\$407,611,741	\$812,121,738

Does not reflect subsequent adjustments during the period 1954-1963, inclusive, between the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities amounting to an assumption by the Metropolitan Corporation of \$2,702,051 (net) of debentures issued for the purpose of the area municipalities.

Source: Treasury Department, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.

1966. Finally, the Metro levy for capital purposes, imposed annually since 1957, yielded \$61.7 million to the end of 1964, while the levy for school capital costs yielded \$23.3 million from 1959 to 1964, inclusive. These grants and levies have made it possible for Metro to increase capital expenditures without exceeding its self-imposed limit on annual public debenturing. In 1964, for example, provision was made for total capital expenditures of \$210.4 million, of which only \$114 million was to be financed by public debentures. For the period from 1964 to 1973, total capital expenditures are estimated at \$1,277.7 million and public debenture borrowing at \$976.3 million.

In Metro's first five years the larger part of its expenditures on capital projects was allocated to the three outer suburbs where the need for water and sewage facilities was critical. As the urgent needs of these suburbs were met, more funds became available for expressways and subways, with the result that, in the following years, the larger expenditures were made in the City, where 54 per cent of the costs were incurred in the first ten years of Metro. For the ten years 1964-1973 the outer suburbs are again scheduled to receive the largest share. The following table shows the distribution on a cost basis of Metro's capital works (including works constructed by the T.T.C. and the Metropolitan Waterworks System, but excluding works constructed by the area municipalities) for the periods 1954-1958 and 1954-1963, and the forecast for the ten years from 1964 to 1973:

METROPOLITAN CAPITAL WORKS (INCLUDING T.T.C.)			
DISTRIBUTION ON BASIS OF COSTS			
	City %	Three Outer Suburbs %	Nine Inner Suburbs %
1954-1958	37.30	53.54	9.16
1954-1963	54.03	38.87	7.10
1964-1973	37.15	52.19	10.66

2. NET DEBT

Table 30 shows the net debenture debt of Metro and the area municipalities for general and school purposes for 1954 and 1963. The total net debt of the area, that is, total debenture debt less self-liquidating debt and less sinking fund, increased by 263 per cent, from \$157.4 million in 1954 to \$572.5 million in 1963. Metro's share, for which it levies against all area municipalities, rose from \$80.6 million to \$276 million, while the share for which the area municipalities levy increased from \$76.8 million to \$296.4 million. Reflecting their exploding growth, the increases shown by the three outer suburbs are spectacular. Compared with an increase of 202 per cent for Toronto and 59 per cent for the nine inner suburbs, the net debt of the three outer suburbs rose by 910 per cent: the increase for North York was 859 per cent, for Scarborough, approximately

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backing of the credit of the area as a whole, it is highly improbable that the three large townships could have raised the sums required to finance their requirements in this period, and such borrowings as they could make would have been at high interest rates. With its area-wide credit rating, Metro has been able to borrow at rates which will save millions of dollars over the lifetime of the debentures. This credit rating has been based in the main on the financial strength and reputation of the City of Toronto.

To set priorities for construction and capital financing a ten-year capital works programme, first established by Metro in 1955, has been reviewed and revised annually for the next following ten-year period. In 1955 Metro also set a limit on annual debenture financing at \$60 million, increasing it to \$75 million in 1956. The limit was raised to \$100 million in 1958, with \$40 million allocated to the Metropolitan Corporation, \$30 million to the area municipalities and \$30 million to the Metropolitan School Board. Metro has adhered fairly closely to this limit since then and the capital works programme for the years 1964 to 1973 indicates that annual capital financing will continue to be governed by the \$100 million limit.

The considerations which were said to determine the borrowing limit were annual new assessment, the capacity of the market to absorb debentures at reasonable rates of interest, and the ratio of net debt to assessment. At Council's 1961 inaugural meeting, the chairman said: "I have frequently stated that a ratio of 15% net debt to assessment indicates a satisfactory financial position, that a ratio of 20% should give concern and anything above 20% would indicate trouble." He forecast a 15 per cent ratio by about 1970. It is important to note, however, that the ratio of debt to assessment in the Metropolitan Area is distorted by the fact that assessments are still based on 1940 values. Since the ratio relates debt expressed in terms of current dollars to assessed valuations made in terms of 1940 dollars, it is not in fact a satisfactory measure of Metro's financial position.

While Metro Council fixes an annual borrowing limit, annual capital expenditures are considerably in excess of this limit because of provincial grants, federal loans and the area-wide levies for capital purposes. Over the ten-year period from 1954 to 1963 provincial grants for capital purposes amounted to \$107 million, while federal loans in an amount of \$14.5 million were approved for elderly persons' housing and \$13.7 million for sewage works. In 1961 the Provincial Government undertook to purchase \$60 million of Metro debentures to be issued for the Bloor-Danforth-University Subway and, as from April 1964, expenditures for right-of-way construction in respect of this subway became eligible for provincial subsidies which, according to estimates, will amount to \$21.4 million. Further financial assistance by the Federal Government became available in 1964, under the Municipal Works Assistance Programme, by way of a loan of \$29.5 million allocated to the Metropolitan Corporation and a loan of \$21.4 million reserved for the Metropolitan School Board, one-quarter of such loans to be forgiven for projects completed by March 31,

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Table 31 shows that net debt per capita for the area as a whole rose by \$220.59, from \$125.87 in 1954 to \$346.46 in 1963. Toronto, with \$155.94, showed the largest per capita increase, followed by increases of \$145.21 in Scarborough, \$142.59 in Etobicoke and \$121.39 in North York. In the inner suburbs, which are already built-up, the increases ranged from 69 cents in Mimico to \$76.07 in Long Branch. Forest Hill and Swansea showed decreases. In 1954, per capita net debt ranged from \$29.07 in Mimico to \$110.40 in Leaside; in 1963, the range was much wider—from \$29.78 in Mimico to \$224.51 in Toronto.

Table 32 shows net debt per \$1,000 of taxable assessment. The figures are submitted subject to the qualification that the debt is expressed in terms of current dollars while assessments in Metro are still based on 1940 values.

Net debt per \$1,000 of taxable assessment for the area as a whole rose by \$70.77, from \$66.68 in 1954 to \$137.45 in 1963. The increase in respect of the net debt for which the area municipalities are responsible was \$38.63 and in respect of Metro's debt, \$32.14. The largest increase, \$68.70, was in Scarborough, followed by North York, Toronto and Etobicoke, each of which showed an increase of some \$43. Five of the inner suburbs—East York, Forest Hill, Swansea, Leaside and Mimico—showed decreases ranging from \$3.45 to \$11.16. The increases in the remaining four ranged from \$6.75 in New Toronto to \$29.06 in Long Branch.

Table 31

NET DEBT PER CAPITA FOR GENERAL AND SCHOOL PURPOSES
as at December 31, 1954 and 1963

Municipality	1954		1963		Increase	Decrease
	\$	%	\$	%		
Toronto.....	68.57	224.51	155.94			
North York.....	39.44	160.83	121.39			
Scarborough.....	43.00	188.21	145.21			
Etobicoke.....	39.79	182.38	142.59			
York.....	62.06	106.85	44.79			
East York.....	71.31	74.64	3.33			12.21
Forest Hill.....	83.33	71.12	12.21			
Leaside.....	110.40	137.32	26.92			
Mimico.....	29.07	29.78	.69			
New Toronto.....	75.77	121.10	45.33			
Long Branch.....	58.98	135.05	76.07			
Weston.....	62.85	119.80	56.95			
Swansea.....	44.62	39.38	5.24			
Total Area Municipalities.....	61.42	179.39	117.97			
Metro.....	64.45	167.07	102.62			
Grand Total.....	125.87	346.46	220.59			

Sources: Population as shown in the Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963. Debt as shown in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Finance, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1954 and 1963.

1,000 per cent, and for Etobicoke, 878 per cent. In enabling these municipalities to obtain the moneys required to finance their growth, Metro achieved one of its major objectives.

Between 1954 and the end of 1963, Metro's share of the total net debt declined from 51.2 per cent to 48.2 per cent and the share for which the area municipalities are directly responsible increased from 48.8 per cent to 51.8 per cent. The decline in Metro's share largely reflects the decline in its proportion of the total capital costs of schools from 37.9 per cent in 1954 to 22.7 per cent in 1963. As the proportion financed by the Province also declined from 27.1 per cent to 20.5 per cent during this period, the area municipalities' share of school capital financing rose from 35 per cent in 1954 to 56.8 per cent in 1963. This affected the outer suburbs particularly because of their large volume of school construction.

With the assumption, on January 1, 1964, of \$49.4 million of T.T.C. debt, which raised total net debt to \$621.3 million, Metro's share of the total rose to 52.3 per cent. Metro has also assumed responsibility for the capital costs of all school projects approved after January 1, 1964. The area municipalities continue to be responsible for the outstanding debt of \$125.2 million incurred for area school boards between 1954 and 1963, inclusive.

Table 30

NET DEBT PER CAPITA FOR GENERAL AND SCHOOL PURPOSES
as at December 31, 1954 and 1963

Municipality	Amount		Per Cent Change	
	1954	1963	Increase	Decrease
Toronto.....	46,794,997	141,520,953	202.4	
North York.....	5,157,197	49,467,811	859.2	
Scarborough.....	4,115,305	45,239,847	999.3	
Etobicoke.....	3,309,365	32,377,951	878.4	
York.....	6,578,234	13,497,063	105.2	
East York.....	4,901,877	5,234,035	6.8	1.9
Forest Hill.....	1,531,093	1,502,559		
Leaside.....	1,862,780	2,533,950	36.0	
Mimico.....	359,028	540,593	50.6	
New Toronto.....	743,802	1,427,141	91.9	
Long Branch.....	547,444	1,502,980	174.5	
Weston.....	538,559	1,195,986	122.1	
Swansea.....	389,021	369,032		5.1
Total Area Municipalities.....	76,828,702	296,409,901	285.8	
Metro.....	80,618,815	276,057,329	242.4	
Grand Total.....	157,447,517	572,467,230	263.6	

Levied against all area municipalities. Source: Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Finance, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1954 and 1963.

Table 32

NET DEBT FOR GENERAL AND SCHOOL PURPOSES PER \$1000 OF TAXABLE ASSESSMENT

as at December 31, 1954 and 1963

Municipality	1954		1963		Increase		Decrease	
	\$		\$		\$		\$	
Toronto.....	32.61		76.26		43.65			
North York.....	25.44		69.19		43.75			
Scarborough.....	32.31		101.01		68.70			
Etobicoke.....	21.70		65.01		43.31			
York.....	41.42		59.58		18.16		11.16	
East York.....	52.29		41.13				9.86	
Forest Hill.....	30.84		20.98				4.65	
Leaside.....	37.86		33.21				3.45	
Mimico.....	18.94		15.49					6.75
New Toronto.....	26.75		33.50				29.06	
Long Branch.....	46.54		75.60				13.76	
Weston.....	32.83		46.59					6.64
Swansea.....	22.48		15.84					
Total Area Municipalities.....	32.54		71.17		38.63			
Metro.....	34.14		66.28		32.14			
Grand Total.....	66.68		137.45		70.77			

Sources: Taxable assessment as shown in the Annual Reports of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1954 and 1963. Debt per \$1,000 of taxable assessment as shown in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Finance, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1954 and 1963.

In 1954, net debt per \$1,000 of taxable assessment ranged from \$18.94 in Mimico to \$52.29 in East York; in 1963, the range was from \$15.49 in Mimico to \$101.01 in Scarborough. The spread had widened very greatly. With a figure of \$101.01, Scarborough had by far the highest debt burden in relation to taxable resources; Toronto ranked second with a net debt of \$76.26 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment. Compared with the City and the outer suburbs, all the inner suburbs, except Long Branch, are in a relatively favourable position: they were not faced with the problems of growth which confronted the outer suburbs or with the special problems of the core city.

3. DEBT CHARGES

Responsibility for the payment of debt charges is divided between the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities. Metro is responsible for charges on debentures issued to finance metropolitan works, including its share of the cost of school projects, and on debentures of the area municipalities, including all school debt, which it assumed on January 1, 1954. These charges are met by metropolitan levies or, where applicable, from the revenues of the T.T.C. and the Metropolitan Waterworks System. The area municipalities are responsible for charges on debentures issued by Metro for their general and

school purposes, and on debentures not assumed by Metro on January 1, 1954. The funds are provided by local tax levies and other revenues, including the revenues of local utilities.

Net debt charges for Metro and the area municipalities are shown in Table 33. In addition to interest and principal repayments on debenture debt, the figures include such items as interest on temporary financing, bank charges for debenture redemption, the premium on the purchase of United States funds, and interest and principal repayments on long term loans which have not been debentured.

The figures show that in 1963 the total net debt charges of the area, amounting to \$59.7 million, were divided almost equally between Metro and the area municipalities. The charges for which the municipalities were directly responsible were distributed, by areas, as follows:

NET DEBT CHARGES, 1963	
Toronto.....	\$ 15,299,864
Three outer suburbs.....	12,139,182
Nine inner suburbs.....	2,462,392
Total.....	29,901,438

York Township was responsible for approximately 50 per cent of the figure for the inner suburbs.

Table 33

NET DEBT CHARGES, 1963

Municipality	General Purposes		Education		Total	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
	Per Cent of Grand Total	Per Cent of Grand Total	Per Cent of Grand Total	Per Cent of Grand Total	Per Cent of Grand Total	Per Cent of Grand Total
Toronto.....	11,326,199	29.26	3,973,665	18.94	15,299,864	25.64
North York.....	2,440,421	6.31	1,922,858	9.17	4,363,279	7.31
Scarborough.....	2,402,038	6.21	1,816,855	8.66	4,218,893	7.07
Etobicoke.....	2,217,207	5.73	1,339,803	6.39	3,557,010	5.96
York.....	708,652	1.83	476,830	2.27	1,185,482	1.99
East York.....	260,532	.67	130,966	.62	391,498	.66
Forest Hill.....	142,126	.37	Nil	—	142,126	.24
Leaside.....	110,000	.28	34,747	.17	144,747	.24
Mimico.....	41,205	.11	44,885	.21	86,090	.14
New Toronto.....	97,233	.25	60,042	.29	157,275	.26
Long Branch.....	97,632	.25	26,818	.13	124,450	.21
Weston.....	186,068	.48	7,964	.04	194,032	.32
Swansea.....	36,692	.09	Nil	—	36,692	.06
Total Area Municipalities.....	20,066,005	51.84	9,835,433	46.89	29,901,438	50.10
Metro.....	18,638,625	48.16	11,141,652	53.11	29,780,277	49.90
Grand Total.....	38,704,630	100.00	20,977,085	100.00	59,681,715	100.00

Inclusive of net debt charges for sewer areas amounting to \$1,477,812.

Sources: Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963; Audits of Area Municipalities.

Table 34 shows net debt charges per capita and per \$1,000 of taxable assessment in 1963. Per capita charges on debt which is the direct responsibility of the area municipalities ranged from \$3.92 in Swansea to \$24.27 in Toronto. Per \$1,000 of taxable assessment, total net debt charges ranged from \$1.57 in Swansea to \$9.42 in Scarborough; for general purposes, from \$1.18 in Mimico to \$7.25 in Weston; and for education, from 31 cents in Weston to \$4.06 in Scarborough. Forest Hill and Swansea had no direct debt charges for schools.

Table 34
NET DEBT CHARGES, 1963
Per Capita and Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment

Municipality	General Purposes			Education			Total	
	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment	Per Capita	Per \$1000 of Taxable Assessment
Toronto.....	17.97	6.01	6.30	2.14	2.14	2.14	24.27	8.24
North York.....	7.93	3.41	6.25	2.69	2.69	2.69	14.18	6.10
Scarborough.....	9.99	5.36	7.56	4.06	4.06	4.06	17.55	9.42
Etobicoke.....	12.49	4.45	7.55	2.69	2.69	2.69	20.04	7.14
York.....	5.61	3.13	3.78	2.10	2.10	2.10	9.39	5.23
East York.....	3.71	2.05	1.87	1.03	1.03	1.03	5.58	3.08
Forest Hill.....	6.73	1.98	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	6.73	1.98
Leaside.....	5.96	1.44	1.88	.46	.46	.46	7.84	1.90
Mimico.....	2.27	1.18	2.47	1.29	1.29	1.29	4.74	2.47
New Toronto.....	8.25	2.28	5.09	1.41	1.41	1.41	13.34	3.69
Long Branch.....	8.77	4.91	2.41	1.35	1.35	1.35	11.18	6.26
Weston.....	18.64	7.25	.80	.31	.31	.31	19.44	7.56
Swansea.....	3.92	1.57	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	3.92	1.57
Total Area Municipalities....	12.14	4.82	5.95	2.36	2.36	2.36	18.10	7.18
Metro.....	11.28	4.47	6.74	2.68	2.68	2.68	18.02	7.15
Grand Total.....	23.42	9.29	12.69	5.04	5.04	5.04	36.12	14.33*

Sources: Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963; Audits of Area Municipalities.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In providing the capital financing to meet the requirements of exploding growth in the area, Metro has succeeded in achieving one of its major purposes.

To protect its credit, Metro has imposed an annual limit on debenture borrowing but provincial grants, federal loans and area-wide levies for capital purposes have allowed capital expenditures to exceed this limit by a considerable margin. As the borrowing limit is self-imposed and not necessarily related to objective criteria, it can and should be varied in any year to meet special needs which may arise.

Reflecting differences among the area municipalities in the stage of development, in the rate and type of growth and in taxable resources, debt burdens

are distributed unevenly. These inequalities would now be far greater if there had been no Metro to assume heavy capital costs, which the municipalities would otherwise have had to meet individually, and to borrow for the municipalities at reasonable rates of interest against the credit of the area as a whole.

The assumption by Metro of the capital costs of all school projects approved after January 1, 1964, will prevent wider inequalities in the burdens of school debt from developing. To reduce existing inequalities, Metro should also assume the school debt of the area municipalities incurred from 1954 to the end of 1963.

An analysis of debt and debt charges in the area shows that some of the developed municipalities with favourable tax bases are not bearing their proper share of the costs of capital expenditures from which they derive benefits as parts of a social and economic unit. A consolidation of municipalities would tend to a more equitable distribution of these costs over larger areas.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION IN METRO: 1954-1964

Before the creation of Metro, twenty-seven school boards of seven different types were operating in the area. There were rural school boards, union school boards, township school area boards, continuation school boards and boards of education with jurisdiction over one or more municipalities. It was a patch-work pattern which had developed over the years as the City and the surrounding area grew into a metropolitan centre. As a result, there was very considerable variation in the costs and standards of school services provided.

The Cumming Report recommended one board of education responsible for both elementary and secondary school education for each municipality or for groups of municipalities. This change was effected by the Metro Act. The Report also recommended metropolitan participation in planning school facilities and financing education, with the following aim:

.... Generally speaking, the combined resources of the entire area are to be made available to support education and to overcome the most serious inequities of the present situation where some parts of the area do not have the financial resources required to provide even the bare essentials in the way of education, while others, because of the concentration of non-residential assessment or for other reasons, have taxable resources which in comparison are much greater than their needs.

The recommendations of the Cumming Report, the constitution of the Metropolitan School Board and the powers of the Board are set out in Chapter IV of this report. The Metro Act confers on the Board a coordinating role in capital financing and planning but no powers to force policies on the area boards. It has played an important role in providing a base for joint study of major problems affecting school organization in the area, but has no authority to force joint action.

1. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Ontario has two publicly supported elementary school systems: public schools which are open to all, and separate schools open to Roman Catholics who choose separate schools. In 1964 Roman Catholic pupils constituted more than 20 per cent of the public school enrolment. There is only one public secondary school system, to which all secondary school taxes accrue, but the Roman Catholic Church supports a number of private secondary schools.

There are now eleven boards of education operating public schools in Metropolitan Toronto, one in each area municipality except the three Lakeshore municipalities of Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch, where the Lakeshore District Board of Education, a combined board, has operated since 1951.

School boards are composed of trustees, whose number varies from six in Swansea and East York to twenty in Toronto. Except for the trustees appointed by the Metropolitan Separate School Board, who may act in matters not exclusively affecting public elementary schools, all trustees are elected every two years at the regular municipal elections. For this purpose, the City of Toronto, the three outer townships, and York are divided into wards, while in the other school districts the trustees are elected at large. There are 105 elected trustees on the eleven local boards.

Table 35 shows six types of public elementary school and nine types of secondary school in Metropolitan Toronto. The traditional two-level system, with eight grades of elementary and five grades of secondary education, has been retained only in Scarborough. Swansea has no secondary school. All other school districts have a full or partial three-level system: the first is kindergarten to grade 6; the second is grades 7 and 8, called senior public school, or grades 7, 8 and 9, called junior high school; and the third is the secondary school. The separate elementary schools teach up to grade 8 only, except in five schools where grades 9 and 10 are also taught.

School district boundaries, except in the case of the Lakeshore District, are coterminous with the boundaries of the area municipalities. The districts therefore vary greatly in size, school population and resources. In its brief to the Commission, the Metropolitan School Board said that studies made by it support the conclusion "that a number of school districts recognized under the Metropolitan Act are too small to warrant continuation as separate units in a metropolitan complex." The brief also said:

When the Metropolitan Act was passed the Toronto Board of Education was the only board which provided a fully diversified program of education from kindergarten to grade 13. The townships of York and East York were almost large enough to support the full program but were dependent upon their neighbours for certain phases of the program. The three large outer townships, Etobicoke, North York, and Scarborough were in an early stage of development.

Over the past ten years two developments have taken place. First, the diversity of the basic program has increased, and, unless a great number of services were assumed by a central authority, both East York and York townships would be scarcely large enough within their present boundaries to offer the complete basic program. Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough, on the other hand, have grown so rapidly that they now rank among the largest urban areas in the Province. It is a fact that if each of these three large suburbs were an urban area, separated by real rather than imaginary boundaries from other urban districts, each could support on its own a fully diversified programme of education. But, as has so often been pointed out and is so clearly manifest in the Metropolitan Act, these areas are not independent urban communities, but are parts of a closely-linked metropolitan complex.

2. GROWTH OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

The historical and statistical data on the growth of the public school system during the first ten years of Metro, which are here presented, are in large part based on a study made for the Commission, at its request, by the Metropolitan School Board, entitled "Historical and Statistical Review of Public Education in Metropolitan Toronto, 1953-1963."

i. Enrolment

The increase in public school enrolment between 1954 and 1964, shown in Table 36, indicates the magnitude of the problems which have faced school authorities in the area. During this period total public elementary school enrolment rose by 92,760 from 146,392 to 239,152, or 63.4 per cent. Secondary school enrolment increased by 58,200 from 34,465 to 92,665, or 169 per cent. By far the largest growth took place in the three outer suburbs.

Public elementary school enrolment increased by 208 per cent in Scarborough, 160 per cent in North York and 143 per cent in Etobicoke. Toronto showed an increase of 12 per cent; York, 13.6 per cent; the Lakeshore District, 17 per cent; and Swansea, 4.6 per cent. Four inner suburbs showed decreases: Leaside, 29 per cent; Forest Hill, 23.4 per cent; East York, 15.4 per cent; and Weston, 6 per cent.

Table 36
PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLMENT
September 1954 and 1964

Area Board	Elementary		Secondary		Per Cent Change
	1954	1964	1954	1964	
Toronto	64,934	72,849	18,225	30,125	+65.3
North York	21,237	55,237	2,735	19,658	+618.8
Scarborough	15,608	48,095	2,141	15,066	+603.7
Etobicoke	12,921	31,366	2,117	13,195	+523.3
York	12,779	14,521	3,375	5,729	+69.7
East York	8,256	6,982	1,761	2,828	+60.6
Forest Hill	2,207	1,691	914	1,225	+34.0
Leaside	2,296	1,626	788	1,148	+45.7
Lakeshore ¹	4,013	4,690	1,104	2,133	+93.2
Weston	1,358	1,275	1,305	1,558	+19.4
Swansea	784	820	2	2	—
Area Total	146,392	239,152	34,465	92,665	+168.9

¹Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch.
²Students attend Toronto schools.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

Table 35
TYPES OF SCHOOLS IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO
SEPTEMBER, 1964

Elementary	Secondary		Total
	Kindergarten to Grade 8	Kindergarten to Grade 6	
Toronto	8	64	72
North York	16	74	90
Scarborough	78	74	152
Etobicoke	42	7	49
York	14	5	19
East York	1	10	11
Forest Hill	3	2	5
Leaside	4	2	6
Lakeshore	4	2	6
Weston	2	3	5
Swansea	1	2	3
Toronto	18	31	49
North York	1	18	19
Scarborough	10	18	28
Etobicoke	5	7	12
York	1	9	10
East York	4	1	5
Forest Hill	1	1	2
Leaside	1	1	2
Lakeshore	1	1	2
Weston	1	1	2
Swansea	1	1	2
Area Total	122	205	327
Kindergarten to Grade 8	122	31	153
Kindergarten to Grade 6	18	174	192
Kindergarten to Grade 6 and Senior Public	7	18	25
Senior Public	1	16	17
Junior High School	1	1	2
Special Auxiliary	1 (Ortho)	1 (Deaf)	2
Total	399	399	798

¹Operated under the Elementary School Division.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

For the period from 1954 to 1964, the Metropolitan School Board reports 221 new schools built, 419 additions made and 506 new sites or extensions to sites acquired, at a total capital cost of approximately \$372 million. The area was provided with 199,300 new pupil spaces. As shown in Table 37, the largest building programmes were in the three outer suburbs. The number of public elementary schools increased from 48 to 90 in North York, from 32 to 78 in Scarborough and from 21 to 42 in Etobicoke. With no intermediate schools in 1954, North York and Etobicoke now have sixteen each, while the number of secondary schools has multiplied by six in each of the three outer suburbs. Making allowance for changes under the three-level system, under which a number of elementary schools became composite schools or solely intermediate grade schools, and for new school buildings which replaced obsolescent buildings, particularly in Toronto, there was a net increase of 191 schools in the area between 1954 and 1964.

In providing nearly 200,000 new pupil spaces, the school building programme, which is a joint effort of the area school boards, the Metropolitan School Board and the Metropolitan Council, has achieved remarkable results. Nevertheless, there is still a shortage of classrooms and portable classrooms continue to be used.

iii. *Teaching Staff*

From 1954 to 1964 the number of teachers in Metro was doubled, rising from 6,094 to 12,899. Table 38 shows that 75 per cent of the increase was in the three outer suburbs: in Scarborough, the number of teachers rose from 450 to 2,407; in Etobicoke, from 494 to 1,612; and in North York, from 850 to 2,886. Toronto showed an increase of 1,217 teachers.

Table 37

NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1954 AND 1964

Area Board	Elementary		Intermediate		Secondary	
	1954	1964	1954	1964	1954	1964
Toronto.....	86	74	2	25 ¹	19	21
North York.....	48	90	—	16	2	13
Scarborough.....	32	78	—	—	2	12
Etobicoke.....	21	42	—	16 ¹	2	12
York.....	19	19	—	3 ¹	4	5 ²
East York.....	13	11	3	4	1	1
Forest Hill.....	3	3	1	1	1	1
Leaside.....	3	2	—	2 ¹	1	1
Lakeshore.....	7	7	—	2 ¹	2	2
Weston.....	3	2	—	1	1	1
Swansea.....	1	1	—	—	—	—
Area Total.....	236	329	6	70 ¹	35	69 ²

¹Includes composite schools teaching kindergarten to grade 6 and senior public school, grades 7 and 8. Includes a special vocational school operated under the elementary school division. Source: Metropolitan School Board.

The change in public elementary school enrolment by areas in Metro was as follows:

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1954 AND 1964		
	1954	1964 Increase
Toronto.....	64,934	72,849 7,915
Three outer suburbs.....	49,766	134,698 84,932
Nine inner suburbs.....	31,692	31,605 -87
Area Total.....	146,392	239,152 92,760

The three outer suburbs experienced 91.5 per cent of the total increase, while Scarborough and North York each show an increase which is greater than the total enrolment in the nine inner suburbs.

The percentage increase in secondary school enrolment, as shown in Table 36, was much greater than the corresponding figure for the elementary schools. Again, the bulk of the growth was in the three outer suburbs: North York showed a rise of 618.8 per cent; Scarborough, 603.7 per cent; and Etobicoke, 523 per cent. The increase in Toronto was 65 per cent, and in the remaining municipalities ranged from 19.4 per cent in Weston to 93 per cent in the Lakeshore District.

The increase in secondary school enrolment by areas was as follows:

SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1954 AND 1964		
	1954	1964 Increase
Toronto.....	18,225	30,125 11,900
Three outer suburbs.....	6,993	47,919 40,926
Nine inner suburbs.....	9,247	14,621 5,374
Area Total.....	34,465	92,665 58,200

With 70 per cent of the growth taking place in the three outer suburbs, their secondary school enrolment, which was one-fifth of the area total in 1954, is now more than one-half. In the same period their proportion of total elementary enrolment rose from 34 per cent to 56 per cent. These figures explain some of the major problems in school finance which the area has faced.

ii. *Number of Schools*

In making possible the expansion of school accommodation and facilities to meet the demands created by the enormous growth of school-age population, the metropolitan system of government in Toronto achieved one of its main purposes. Without Metro's credit base, the school accommodation requirements of the three large and populous outer suburbs, with the bulk of the increased enrolment, could not have been met. This is widely acknowledged. For example, the North York Board of Education, in its brief to the Commission, said:

During the past ten years, the educational system of North York has exhibited unprecedented development, and is now the third largest local education authority in Canada; this could not have been accomplished without the support of the Metropolitan Government.

With more teachers performing tasks of a special nature, the pupil-teacher ratio has declined in every school district. Over the area as a whole, it fell from 29.7 to 25.7. The range in 1954 was from 25.4 in Forest Hill to 39.4 in Scarborough, which was in transition from rural to urban status. In 1964 the ratio ranged from 20 in Forest Hill to 27.6 in Etobicoke. The figure for Toronto is 25. The lowest ratios are 20 in Forest Hill, 21.2 in Leaside and 21.8 in Weston.

Table 38
TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1954 AND 1964

Area Board	Number		Pupil-Teacher Ratio	
	1954	1964	1954	1964
Toronto.....	2,888	4,105	28.8	25.1
North York.....	850	2,886	28.2	26.0
Scarborough.....	450	2,407	39.4	26.2
Etobicoke.....	494	1,612	30.4	27.6
York.....	532	783	30.4	25.9
East York.....	320	401	31.3	24.5
Forest Hill.....	123	146	25.4	20.0
Leaside.....	118	131	26.1	21.2
Lakeshore.....	192	264	26.7	25.8
Weston.....	97	130	27.5	21.8
Swansea.....	30	34	26.1	24.1
Area Total.....	6,094	12,899	29.7	25.7

Source: Metropolitan School Board.

The records of the area school boards, as of September 30, 1964, show the percentage distribution of public elementary teachers with university degrees as follows:

SCHOOL TEACHERS WITH UNIVERSITY DEGREE	%
Forest Hill.....	33.7
Leaside.....	29.4
Weston.....	23.5
Toronto.....	21.8
York.....	18.1
Swansea.....	17.6
East York.....	16.8
North York.....	15.6
Etobicoke.....	15.1
Scarborough.....	10.0
Lakeshore.....	8.2

The percentage distribution of secondary school teachers with type "A" specialist certificate is shown as follows:

PERCENTAGE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL (9-13) TEACHERS WITH TYPE "A" CERTIFICATE	%
Etobicoke.....	52.6
Toronto.....	48.2
Weston.....	45.9
York.....	41.5
Leaside.....	41.0
Forest Hill.....	37.1
Scarborough.....	35.4
Lakeshore.....	30.3
North York.....	30.2
East York.....	29.5

It will be noted that Etobicoke has the highest percentage of specialist secondary teachers. The Toronto Board of Education, in its brief to the Commission, criticizing incentives offered by Etobicoke to attract the best teachers, said that Toronto "has been the fascinated spectator at a market where its own offers to teachers are trumped by boards whose resources are swelled by City funds." Etobicoke is one of the "receiving boards" under the system of maintenance assistance payments.

The area boards have for some years co-operated on a voluntary basis through the Metropolitan Salary Coordinating Committee in efforts to coordinate salary and hiring policies. The committee, however, lacks the power to enforce its recommendations, with the result that each board remains free to set the salaries of the teachers it wishes to engage. While, in fact, basic salaries are virtually uniform in the area, the shortage of secondary teachers has led to the introduction of special incentives in salary schedules. Etobicoke, in particular, has asserted its autonomy in this regard. A report entitled "The Case for Equalization of Educational Opportunity in Metro Toronto", prepared in 1962 by a special committee of the Metropolitan School Board, described the situation as follows:

In the highly competitive market for teachers, the boards within the framework of their local autonomy have out-manoeuvred each other in the development of "gimmicks" and special features such as merit plans, double increments at the third and seventh years, an unreasonably large number of department heads, subject chairmen, and so on. These are salary features which the present situation has produced. In retrospect there is little evidence that the public interest has been well served by the effort to preserve autonomy in a matter where autonomy seems impossible of attainment.

On the instruction of a large majority of the area boards, the Metropolitan School Board has from time to time requested an amendment of the *Mezzö Act*

to provide for uniform teacher salary schedules throughout the area. A special committee of the Board, which reported on school finance in 1963, pointed out that it was difficult for boards which contribute in maintenance assistance payments more than they receive, to become reconciled to the adoption "of higher teachers' salaries in an effort to attract a greater share of the good teachers" by any board benefitting from the metropolitan system of payments.

The majority of the briefs submitted to the Commission were also strongly in favour of uniform salary schedules. Their reasoning, which I find convincing, was summed up by Mr. J. Young, chairman of the York Township Board of Education, when he said at the hearings (Proceedings, pp. 749, 753):

York has consistently supported the view that a Metropolitan Salary Schedule could be of benefit to the whole area. Such a salary schedule, Mr. Commissioner, could recognize many of the problems facing Boards respecting placement of teachers and, if necessary, provide special allowances for teaching in less centrally located schools, but it would enable the best teachers to be placed where they are needed. The competitive factor would be eliminated from the point of view of one Board vying against another for teacher recruitment. At the same time due recognition could be given to the teachers' legitimate claims for adequate salary standards. . . .

. . . . I would like to say again that I do not consider a uniform salary schedule to be the complete answer to the present teacher problems, neither do I consider that unrestricted competition amongst the limited pool of teachers, experienced teachers that we have available for our area, is an answer.

3. GROWTH OF THE SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The separate school system has also experienced a great increase in enrolment. Between September 1953 and September 1964, the number of resident pupils rose by more than 204 per cent, from 18,766 to 57,079. To meet this growth, the Metropolitan Separate School Board provided between 1,000 and 1,100 additional teachers and constructed 55 schools, increasing the number of separate elementary schools in operation to 101. It spent some \$21 million on capital plant, but officials estimate that this represented only 50 per cent of requirements. With its limited resources, the Separate School Board does not expect to be able to meet more than 60 per cent of its requirements by 1975.

The constitution and powers of the Metropolitan Separate School Board are set out in Chapter IV of this report.

4. ASSESSMENT AND FINANCE

The Cumming Report regarded the solution of the problem of financing education as "vital to the success of any reform of municipal institutions in the metropolitan area." It found that "the magnitude and urgency of this problem justifies the use of all local financial resources of the area, regardless of their distribution among the existing local municipalities, to provide adequate school

accommodation and to give substantial assistance to the education of public and secondary school pupils living in any part of the area."

The basic problem in 1953 was to find an equitable method of financing school costs. The solution proposed in the Cumming Report was to continue the local school boards with "almost all their present powers, duties and responsibilities" and to make available to them "a major source of revenue" from an area-wide levy, with "a corresponding reduction in local levies." In respect of capital costs, the resources of the area as a whole were to be used to provide essential accommodation "up to a reasonable minimum standard only." While these recommendations were implemented in principle by the Metro Act, serious inequalities in financing school costs have not been eliminated.

i. Assessment Per Pupil

Assessments per pupil, which are a measure of taxable resources in relation to needs, vary widely over the area. Table 39 shows that the disparities have grown since 1954, when per pupil assessments ranged from \$9,900 in Scarborough to \$23,900 in Forest Hill. In 1964 the range was from \$9,700 in Scarborough to \$45,700 in Leaside.

Over the ten-year period, public elementary school assessment per pupil increased in all school districts, except Scarborough. The largest increase by far was in Leaside, where the figure rose by 128.5 per cent, from \$20,000 in 1954 to \$45,700 in 1964. This is explained by the combination of a decrease of 29 per cent in pupil enrolment and an increase of 35 per cent in per capita taxable assessment. Similar reasons account for an increase of 70 per cent, from \$23,900 to \$40,600, in per pupil assessment in Forest Hill. Swansea ranked third in 1964, with \$27,500, or 32 per cent below the figure for Forest Hill. With an increase of 208 per cent in enrolment and of 24 per cent in per capita taxable assessment, the per pupil assessment in Scarborough declined to \$9,700, or 21 per cent of the figure for Leaside.

In order of assessment per public elementary pupil, school districts ranked as follows in 1954 and in 1964:

	1954	\$	Rank	1964	\$
Forest Hill	23,900		1	Leaside	45,700
Toronto	23,400		2	Forest Hill	40,600
Swansea	21,000		3	Swansea	27,500
Leaside	20,000		4	Toronto	25,800
Lakeshore	14,200		5	Weston	22,800
Etobicoke	13,000		6	Lakeshore	19,300
Weston	12,300		7	Etobicoke	17,400
York	11,700		8	East York	15,300
East York	10,700		9	North York	14,400
North York	10,700		10	York	13,900
Scarborough	9,900		11	Scarborough	9,700
Area Wide	17,200		Average	Area Wide	18,000

In order of assessment per secondary school pupil, the rank was as follows in 1954 and in 1964:

	1954	Rank	1964
	\$		\$
Toronto.....	90,300	1	78,300
Leaside.....	68,700	2	64,700
Swansea.....	68,200	3	54,500
Lakeshore.....	66,500	4	53,800
North York.....	64,300	5	51,800
Forest Hill.....	61,800	6	46,100
Leaside.....	56,900	7	46,000
Lakeshore.....	55,800	8	44,000
Forest Hill.....	49,200	9	42,000
York.....	47,000	10	37,800
East York.....	30,600	11	34,100
Weston.....	74,300	Average	53,100
Area Wide.....			

The range in per pupil assessments for both public elementary and secondary schools shows wide inequalities in the ability of different municipalities to finance school costs. Scarborough, with the greatest relative needs, has the smallest relative tax base.

ii. Maintenance Assistance Payments

For greater equalization of burdens, the Cumming Report recommended that a portion of the annual costs of public elementary and secondary education should be financed by provincial grants and the proceeds of an area-wide levy. Implementing this proposal, the Metro Act provides that, with minor exceptions, all legislative grants for schools previously paid to the local school boards should henceforth be paid to the Metropolitan School Board and that this Board should make annual "maintenance assistance payments" to each area board in respect of each resident pupil of average daily attendance in elementary, academic secondary, commercial secondary and technical secondary schools. The payments vary according to category of pupil but must be uniform for each category throughout the area. In 1954 and 1955, the first two years of operation, the payments were fixed by the Provincial Government at \$150 per elementary pupil, \$250 per academic secondary pupil and \$300 per vocational secondary pupil. Since 1955 the amounts have been determined by the Metropolitan School Board.

Table 40 shows the increases in maintenance assistance payments since 1955 and relates the payments to the average costs per pupil in each year, excluding Metro debt charges, as reported by the Metropolitan School Board. In 1963 the payments were \$205 per elementary pupil, \$335 per academic secondary pupil, \$380 per commercial secondary pupil, and \$535 per technical secondary pupil. For all categories, except technical schools, the payments in

Table 39
ASSESSMENT PER RESIDENT PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPIL, 1954 AND 1964¹

Municipality	Type of School	1954	1964	Per Cent Increase	Per Cent Decrease
		\$	\$	%	%
Toronto.....	Elementary	23,400	25,800	10.3	13.3
	Secondary	90,300	78,300		
North York.....	Elementary	10,700	14,400	34.6	31.6
	Secondary	64,300	44,000		
Scarborough.....	Elementary	9,900	9,700		2.0
	Secondary	68,200	34,100		50.0
Etobicoke.....	Elementary	13,000	17,400	33.8	30.8
	Secondary	66,500	46,000		
York.....	Elementary	11,700	13,900	18.8	14.6
	Secondary	49,200	42,000		
East York.....	Elementary	10,700	15,300	43.0	19.6
	Secondary	47,000	37,800		
Forest Hill.....	Elementary	23,900	40,600	69.9	7.2
	Secondary	55,800	51,800		
Leaside.....	Elementary	20,000	45,700	128.5	
	Secondary	61,800	64,700	4.7	
Lakeshore.....	Elementary	14,200	19,300	35.9	5.4
	Secondary	56,900	53,800		
Weston.....	Elementary	12,300	22,800	85.4	
	Secondary	30,600	46,100	50.7	
Swansea.....	Elementary	21,000	27,500	31.0	20.7
	Secondary	68,700	54,500		
Metro Average.....	Elementary	17,200	18,000	4.7	28.5
	Secondary	74,300	53,100		

¹Calculated by dividing the assessments prepared in 1953 and 1963 by the number of resident pupils enrolled as at October 31st, 1953 and 1963.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

While public elementary school enrolment in the area increased by more than 63 per cent between 1954 and 1964, the corresponding increase in secondary school enrolment was 169 per cent, with the result that secondary school assessment per pupil declined in every school district, except Leaside and Weston. The impact was felt particularly in the three outer suburbs, where secondary school enrolment increased by almost 600 per cent. Accordingly, between 1954 and 1964, secondary school assessment per pupil declined from \$68,200 to \$34,100, or 50 per cent, in Scarborough; from \$64,300 to \$44,000, or 31.6 per cent, in North York; and from \$66,500 to \$46,000 or 30.8 per cent, in Etobicoke. The decline in the other districts ranged from 5.4 per cent in the Lakeshore District to 20.7 per cent in Swansea, while Weston showed an increase of 50.7 per cent and Leaside, an increase of 4.7 per cent.

1963 represented a smaller proportion of average per pupil costs than in 1955, as shown in the following table:

MAINTENANCE ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS AS PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE COSTS PER PUPIL		
1955	1963	
%	%	
Elementary.....	59.8	50.2
Academic Secondary.....	59.1	52.7
Commercial Secondary...	64.7	58.4
Technical Secondary....	47.9	50.5

It is apparent that the increases in the payments did not keep pace with the rising costs of education, except in the case of technical secondary schools. Coupled with the requirement that the amounts in each category must be uniform for all school boards in the area, regardless of circumstances and needs, this has had the effect of reducing the equalizing influence of maintenance assistance payments.

The figures for 1964 show a considerable increase in payments for each category. They now amount to \$250 per elementary pupil, \$365 per academic secondary pupil, \$420 per commercial secondary pupil and \$575 per technical secondary pupil. These increases are related to a revision of the provincial school grants system and the repeal of The Residential and Farm School Tax Assistance Grants Act in 1964. Under this Act, school tax assistance grants had been made directly to the area boards; in 1963 the amounts were \$20 per elementary pupil, \$30 per academic secondary pupil, and \$40 per vocational secondary pupil. When the Act was repealed, these direct grants were discontinued, under the new grant scheme, a corresponding amount was added to the general legislative grant payable to the Metropolitan School Board. The latter then increased its maintenance assistance payments by \$45 per elementary pupil, \$30 per academic secondary pupil, and \$40 per vocational secondary school pupil. In the case of secondary schools, the increases, therefore, merely replaced the Residential and Farm Tax Assistance grants which the area boards had previously received directly from the Province. In respect of elementary school pupils, there was an effective increase of \$25 per pupil.

In its brief to the Commission, the Toronto Board of Education described the maintenance assistance payments as "a device by which the wealthier boards, particularly the City of Toronto, subsidized other boards with smaller resources", the principal beneficiaries being the mushrooming three outer suburbs together with York and East York. The City's brief complained that the metropolitan system of school finance has enhanced the schooling available to suburban children by imposing an unfair burden on the City's taxpayers. It finds that these complaints are not justified.

SCHOOL MAINTENANCE ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS, 1954 TO 1964

1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	Elementary			Academic			Commercial			Technical					
										(1) M.A.P. (\$)	(2) Unit Cost (\$)	(3) As a percentage of (2) (%)	(1) M.A.P. (\$)	(2) Unit Cost (\$)	(3) As a percentage of (2) (%)	(1) M.A.P. (\$)	(2) Unit Cost (\$)	(3) As a percentage of (2) (%)	(1) M.A.P. (\$)	(2) Unit Cost (\$)	(3) As a percentage of (2) (%)			
250	205	190	190	180	180	180	150	150	150	251	271	55.4	288	313	57.5	288	313	57.5	180	350	51.4	180	350	51.4
365	335	315	315	300	300	300	250	250	250	423	437	57.2	478	521	57.6	478	521	57.6	300	609	49.3	300	609	49.3
420	380	350	350	350	350	350	300	300	300	464	517	58.0	566	661	53.0	566	661	53.0	300	661	53.0	300	661	53.0
575	535	535	535	535	525	525	400	400	400	626	721	55.5	838	940	59.0	838	940	59.0	400	940	55.9	400	940	55.9
	1060	1020	938	938	909	890	838	721	626	1060	1020	52.5	1060	1020	52.5	1060	1020	52.5	300	938	57.0	300	938	57.0
	50.5	50.2	50.2	50.2	50.5	50.5	47.9	47.9	47.9	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5	400	50.5	50.5	400	50.5	50.5

Maintenance Assistance Payments were made at the same rate in 1954 and 1955.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

TECHNICAL SECONDARY COSTS PER PUPIL PER ANNUM

	1957	Rank	1963	Rank
North York	\$ 1,081	1	\$ 1,212	1
Toronto	909	2	1,111	—
Scarborough	900	3	1,078	2
AVERAGE	888	—	1,071	3
Weston	804	4	1,018	4
Lakeshore	777	5	957	5
York	653	6	860	6
Weston			797	7
Range				415

School operating costs are influenced by a number of factors which account for some of the variations shown. These are set out concisely in the Gathercole Report¹:

In education, the per pupil costs of the school boards are influenced by such factors as the number of pupils per classroom, the academic qualifications and length of service of the teachers, the size of the school units, the extent to which capital expenditures are financed out of revenue and the school building programme. For example, some school boards, particularly those which are supported by a relatively high assessment, are likely to be more selective in the recruitment of teachers and hire not only relatively more teachers with university degrees but more specialists. Furthermore, boards that are experiencing a rapid growth in enrolment tend to have not only higher debt charges but a teaching staff which, on an average, has fewer years of experience and consequently a lower salary per teacher.

The foregoing is confirmed by Table 42, which shows, for each of the area boards, the various components of school operating costs in 1963 in dollars per pupil day, excluding expenditures by Metro on behalf of the boards, such as area-wide debt charges.

Total local operating costs in 1963 ranged from \$2.01 per pupil day in Swansea, which has no secondary school, to \$3.18 in Forest Hill. The average for the area was \$2.49, which, apart from Forest Hill, was only exceeded by Toronto, with \$2.98, and Leaside, with \$2.95. In the three large outer suburbs, the figures were \$2.35 for North York, \$2.24 for Etobicoke, and \$2.04 for Scarborough.

Table 42 shows that instructional costs per pupil day ranged from \$1.32 in Scarborough to \$2.38 in Forest Hill. Scarborough has a relatively high pupil-teacher ratio, while the average teaching experience of its teachers is about five

¹A Report on The Metropolitan Toronto System of Government, by the Ontario Department of Economics, November 1961.

For academic secondary pupils, operating costs ranged from \$372 in Weston to \$605 in Forest Hill in 1957, and from \$562 in Weston to \$796 in Forest Hill in 1963. The districts ranked as follows:

ACADEMIC SECONDARY COSTS PER PUPIL PER ANNUM				
	1957	Rank	1963	Rank
Forest Hill	\$ 605	1	\$ 796	1
Toronto	604	2	768	2
North York	585	3	684	—
AVERAGE	538	—	680	3
Lakeshore	522	4	670	4
Leaside	521	5	663	5
Etobicoke	494	6	663	7
Scarborough	472	7	650	8
York	471	8	621	9
East York	432	9	590	10
Weston	372	10	562	—
Range				234

Expenditure per pupil in commercial and technical secondary schools is considerably higher than for academic secondary pupils. The average costs in 1963 were \$711 per commercial pupil and \$1,111 per technical pupil, compared with \$684 per academic pupil. There were no technical secondary schools in Forest Hill, Leaside, East York and Swansea and no commercial secondary schools in Forest Hill and Swansea, which has no secondary school of any type. In 1964 more than 50 per cent of the pupils in the technical schools and 35 per cent of the pupils in the commercial schools of the area were enrolled in the City of Toronto.

Area school boards providing commercial and technical secondary schools ranked by expenditure per pupil, as follows:

COMMERCIAL SECONDARY COSTS PER PUPIL PER ANNUM				
	1957	Rank	1963	Rank
North York	\$ 711	1	\$ 831	1
Toronto	625	2	818	2
AVERAGE	608	—	810	3
Lakeshore	606	3	728	4
Etobicoke	578	4	711	—
Scarborough	534	5	677	5
East York	518	6	640	6
York	462	7	618	7
Weston	453	8	586	8
Range				245

such costs vary from school to school in the same municipality. Nevertheless, while all boards are undoubtedly providing a good basic education, differences of the order of \$230 in average costs per pupil per annum point to differences in the range and standards of educational services provided in the area. The Toronto and District Labour Council, in its brief to the Commission, pointed out that:

In Toronto, a boy in Grade Seven may have the benefits of a science laboratory, music room and library. He can have specialist teachers in art, music, physical training. Dental and psychiatric staffs provide free service to children who need them. In Mimico he would have none of these services except for a library at one school. Weston has no public school libraries, Scarborough has no senior public schools or junior high schools with specialized facilities.

iv. Taxation

School operating costs are financed by metropolitan and local tax levies and provincial grants. The proportion contributed by each in 1954 and 1963, excluding levies and grants for capital purposes, was as follows:

	1954		1963	
	\$000	%	\$000	%
Provincial Grants.....	9,412	19.07	36,634	24.46
Metropolitan Levies.....	22,050	44.68	53,240	35.55
Local Levies.....	17,891	36.25	59,882	39.99
Operating Costs.....	49,353	100.00	149,756	100.00

Source: Financial Statements of Metropolitan and area school boards.

Tax levies financed 81 per cent of the costs in 1954, as compared with 75.5 per cent in 1963, the provincial share rising from 19 per cent to 24.5 per cent of the total in the same period. With a decline in the share financed by area-wide levies from 44.7 per cent to 35.5 per cent, local levies financed 40 per cent of the total in 1963, as compared with 36.2 per cent in 1954.

The nature, amount and distribution of the tax levies for general and school purposes in the Metropolitan Area have been set out in Chapter IX of this report. In this section, the relative tax burden for schools is examined. Table 43 shows school tax rates for residential public school supporters in 1954 and 1964.

In 1954 the rate ranged from 13.38 mills in Weston to 20.49 mills in Scarborough; in 1964 the range was from 24.19 mills in Weston to 31.61 mills in Scarborough. The spread between the lowest and highest rates was 7.11 mills in 1954 and 7.42 mills in 1964. The increase in rates during the period ranged from 7.02 mills in Swansea to 13.57 mills in East York. Toronto's rate rose by 13 mills, from 16.10 to 29.10 mills.

Table 42
AREA SCHOOL BOARD OPERATING COSTS PER PUPIL DAY, 1963

School Board	Instruc- tional Costs	Admin- istration	Plant Opera- tion	Plant Main- tenance	Local Debt Charges	Capital Out of Current	Miscel- laneous ¹	Total Cost
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Toronto.....	1.64	.29	.33	.33	.23	.19	Nil	2.98
North York.....	1.52	.16	.30	.11	.17	.10	-.01	2.35
Scarborough.....	1.32	.16	.25	.07	.18	.07	-.01	2.04
Etobicoke.....	1.50	.16	.22	.08	.20	.07	+.01	2.24
York.....	1.60	.17	.23	.12	.13	.10	Nil	2.35
East York.....	1.66	.12	.24	.15	.08	.10	-.02	2.33
Forest Hill.....	2.38	.26	.36	.10	Nil	.09	-.01	3.18
Leaside.....	2.08	.19	.32	.16	.07	.15	-.02	2.95
Lakeshore.....	1.67	.10	.26	.08	.11	.18	+.01	2.41
Weston.....	1.88	.13	.25	.12	.02	.08	-.01	2.47
Swansea.....	1.47	.05	.31	.18	Nil	.01	-.01	2.01
Area Average.....	1.56	.20	.27	.17	.18	.12	-.01	2.49

¹This is a balancing entry, including miscellaneous expenditure, less miscellaneous items of revenue such as rent of school halls, milk grants and the local share of the proceeds on sale of capital equipment, etc.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

and a half years, as compared with about ten and a half years in Toronto. In its brief to the Commission, the Scarborough Board of Education, which has not introduced intermediate schools, showed comparative expenditures on teachers' salaries per pupil in 1962, as follows:

	Elementary	Secondary
	\$	\$
Toronto.....	246.08	490.35
North York.....	232.27	387.03
Etobicoke.....	230.32	400.53
Scarborough.....	198.60	357.80

Plant operation costs ranged from 22 cents in Etobicoke to 36 cents in Forest Hill. Maintenance costs were highest in Toronto, with 33 cents per pupil day, as compared with an average of 17 cents for the area. This reflects the age of school plant in Toronto: 13 of its existing public elementary schools were constructed before 1900 and 23 between 1900 and 1915. Toronto, with the widest range of services, had the highest administration costs, and also led in local debt charges per pupil, followed by the three outer suburbs where most of the new schools were built.

It is clear from the foregoing that variations in per pupil costs do not in themselves measure variations in the quality of education provided. Equality of expenditures does not necessarily mean equality of education. There are factors affecting costs over which the school boards have little control and

Table 44
DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL POPULATION
AND SCHOOL ASSESSMENT, 1963

	School Population ¹		School Assessment	
	%		%	
<i>Public Elementary</i>				
Toronto.....	30.84		45.50	
North York.....	22.40		17.23	
Scarborough.....	20.07		10.43	
Etobicoke.....	12.66		11.89	
York.....	6.37		5.06	
East York.....	3.30		2.90	
Forest Hill.....	.75		1.73	
Leaside.....	.71		1.84	
Lakeshore.....	2.05		2.25	
Weston.....	.50		.62	
Swansea.....	.35		.55	
Total.....	100.00		100.00	
<i>Secondary</i>				
Toronto.....	29.71		45.05	
North York.....	21.82		17.31	
Scarborough.....	17.08		10.58	
Etobicoke.....	14.22		11.91	
York.....	6.56		5.28	
East York.....	4.03		2.96	
Forest Hill.....	1.69		1.67	
Leaside.....	1.44		1.80	
Lakeshore.....	2.23		2.30	
Weston.....	.70		.60	
Swansea.....	.52		.54	
Total.....	100.00		100.00	

¹Adjusted for non-resident pupils.
Source: Metropolitan School Board.

The situation resulting from these disparities is well stated in the brief submitted by the Metropolitan School Board. Basing its observations on the 1962-63 school year, it pointed out that:

A mill increase in the Township of Scarborough would yield \$9.50 per pupil; the same mill would yield \$25.90 in Toronto, \$38.10 in Forest Hill and \$43.50 in Leaside. Obviously, if these four boards were considering an expansion of the school service involving an expenditure of, say \$20 per pupil, it is clearly impossible for Scarborough to compete on anything like equal terms with the other areas mentioned.

v. Capital Costs

In the matter of school capital expenditures, the Cumming Report recommended that Metro should finance capital costs of sites, buildings and equipment

Table 43
SCHOOL MILL RATES, 1954 AND 1964
(Residential Public School Supporters)

School Board	1954		1964		Increase Mills
	Mills	Rank	Mills	Rank	
Toronto.....	16.10	8	29.10	6	13.00
North York.....	19.70	2	31.25	2	11.55
Scarborough.....	20.49	1	31.61	1	11.12
Etobicoke.....	16.00	9	26.69	7	10.69
York.....	17.57	5	29.99	5	12.42
East York.....	17.04	6	30.61	3	13.57
Forest Hill.....	17.60	4	30.09	4	12.49
Leaside.....	16.78	7	25.42	8	8.64
Lakeshore.....	15.60	10	25.22	9	9.62
Weston.....	13.38	11	24.19	11	10.81
Swansea.....	18.09	3	25.11	10	7.02

Source: Metropolitan School Board.

When mill rates are related to expenditures per pupil, the continuing inequalities in the financing of school costs become apparent. A few examples will suffice. In 1963:

- (a) Leaside, with a tax rate of 22.78 mills, was able to spend \$611 per elementary school pupil and \$680 per academic secondary pupil.
- (b) Forest Hill, with a tax rate of 26.80 mills, was able to spend \$559 per elementary school pupil and \$796 per academic secondary pupil.
- (c) Toronto, with a tax rate of 26.78 mills, was able to spend \$523 per elementary school pupil and \$768 per academic secondary pupil.
- (d) Scarborough, with a tax rate of 28.63 mills, was able to spend only \$378 per elementary school pupil and \$670 per academic secondary pupil. With the highest tax rate for schools in the area, Scarborough's expenditures per elementary pupil were the lowest.

These differences are explained by the disparities in taxable resources in relation to needs, which have already been described. Table 44 shows the percentage distribution of school population and of school assessment in the area in 1963. Scarborough, with more than 20 per cent of the public elementary school population, had little more than 10 per cent of the assessment; North York, with 22.4 per cent of the elementary school pupils, had 17 per cent of the assessment; Toronto, with 31 per cent of the elementary school population, had 45.5 per cent of the assessment. In respect of secondary schools, Toronto, with 30 per cent of the pupils, had 45 per cent of the assessment; North York, with 22 per cent of the pupils, had 17 per cent of the assessment; Scarborough, with 17 per cent of the pupils, had 10.6 per cent of the assessment. In the circumstances, the different area boards have had to develop their educational programmes on very unequal terms.

The figures show that with a decline in the provincial share of the debt from 27 per cent in 1954 to 20.5 per cent in 1963, and in Metro's share from 38 per cent to 22.7 per cent, the proportion of the total borne by the area boards rose from 35 per cent to almost 57 per cent.

Under the Federal-Provincial Special Vocational Grant Plan, which came into effect in 1961, the full cost of the construction of vocational facilities was assumed by the federal and provincial governments, the former contributing 75 per cent and the latter 25 per cent of the cost. On April 1, 1963, the federal contribution was reduced to 50 per cent and school boards became responsible for 25 per cent of the cost. Federal and provincial lump sum grants toward vocational school construction costs exceeded \$60 million by the end of 1964.

In its letter of approval of Metro's 1963 capital works programme, the Ontario Municipal Board issued the following warning:

I am directed to bring to the attention of the Metropolitan Council at this time the rise forecast in the local debt of those area municipalities which contain outlying areas still under substantial residential development which latter will occasion large expenditures for new school construction. An examination of the local debt of some of these area municipalities and the anticipated growth of debt at a faster pace percentage-wise than the growth in municipal assessment suggests that some attention and study should be directed now to the possible lessening of this problem by resort to existing statutory provision intended and designed to cope with such a situation when it would arise. Reference is made to Section 145(5)(b) of The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act as amended in 1958.

Section 145(5)(b) of the Metro Act permits Metro to assume a larger share of school debt in an amount to be determined by the Metropolitan School Board "from time to time in accordance with a formula prepared by the School Board and approved by the Metropolitan Council for uniform application in the Metropolitan Area."

Following this warning, Metropolitan Council and the School Board appointed a special committee to consider the matter of school finance. In October 1963, the committee recommended the assumption by Metro of all existing local school debt, that is, all debt incurred by the area municipalities on behalf of local boards since January 1, 1954, and that, effective January 1, 1964, Metro should assume all school debt up to a ceiling cost formula prepared by the School Board and approved by Metro Council. On February 25, 1964, Metro accepted the latter recommendation but did not assume the local debt incurred between 1954 and 1963.

The device of a "ceiling cost formula" to determine the maximum amount which may be debentured for each school project was first adopted in 1955 by agreement among Metro Council, the Metropolitan School Board and the area boards of education. The formula fixes the cost per pupil space for each major

to an adequate standard, assume all existing school debentures, receive all legislative grants in respect of capital expenditures, and select and purchase school sites. These recommendations were not fully implemented.

Under the Metro Act, the Metropolitan Corporation assumed all debentures for school purposes outstanding on December 31, 1953. In respect of new debt, it was only to assume the amount recognized for legislative grant purposes by the Province, which, in 1954, was limited to construction costs of new public and secondary school buildings up to \$20,000 per classroom. Expenditures for construction of administrative facilities, for rehabilitation of existing school buildings, and for purchase of new school sites were not recognized. Any amount in excess of the debt assumed by Metro was to be the responsibility of the area board.

An amendment to the Metro Act in 1958 permitted the Metropolitan Corporation to assume a larger share of the capital debt. In 1959 the legislative grant regulations were amended by increasing the recognized costs in secondary schools from \$20,000 to \$25,000 per classroom, including general purpose rooms, cafeterias, and shop and home economics classrooms for grant purposes, and making the purchase of school sites eligible in part. Rehabilitation costs, a major problem in the City, continued to be ineligible until 1964.

As school buildings costs rose sharply and relatively static grant formulas restricted Metro's share, the area boards assumed an increasing proportion of the total school debt. In its brief to the Commission, the Metropolitan School Board presented the following figures as an approximation of the amount of school debt shared by the Province, Metro and the area boards, respectively, in the years from 1954 to 1963:

	Province of Ontario		Metro		Area Municipalities	
	%		%		%	
1954	27.1		37.9		35.0	
1955	26.3		34.1		39.6	
1956	17.4		22.6		60.0	
1957	17.9		23.5		58.6	
1958	18.0		18.1		63.9	
1959	24.5		25.5		50.0	
1960	18.6		23.1		58.3	
1961	21.8		24.3		53.9	
1962	21.5		25.6		52.9	
1963	20.5		22.7		56.8	

The decline shown in the Province's share in 1956 was due to a major school rehabilitation programme undertaken by the Toronto Board of Education. Such expenditures, being then ineligible for legislative grants, were entirely a local responsibility. The increase shown for the Province in 1959 reflected the increase in the grants under amendments to the regulations in that year.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The major achievement of metropolitan government in public education has been the financing, planning and construction of new school accommodation. The Toronto Board of Education, in its brief, said that "Metropolitan Toronto's record in this respect has the reputation of being among the best in North America." The Toronto Board also acknowledged that in the field of special education, covering both gifted and handicapped children, "Metropolitan co-operation has brought benefits to the entire region." The North York Board of Education said that: "The accomplishments of the Metropolitan form of government and of the Metropolitan School Board have been exceptional. Certainly we in North York realize that by ourselves we could not have carried out our responsibilities in the development of our educational system."

The metropolitan system has not, however, prevented continuing wide disparities in the burden of financing school costs. While, without metropolitan assistance payments, the disparities would be greater, these payments have not succeeded in achieving the degree of equalization which should exist. Under the loose federation for school purposes created by the Metro Act, the payments are uniform per pupil throughout the area without regard to differences in needs and circumstances.

Wide inequalities in burdens and variations in the range and standards of school services are inevitable with eleven independent and autonomous school districts varying greatly in size, population and taxable resources, and with no single authority responsible for developing and maintaining an area-wide standard of education financed by the tax resources of the area as a whole. The Metropolitan School Board, limited in its powers and responsibilities, and on which each suburban board has equal representation regardless of differences in population, is not in a position to resolve the problem. The situation calls for a change in the structure of education in Metro.

classification of school and is re-negotiated annually. Boards desiring to spend beyond this amount must secure the additional amounts from current tax levies. To meet rising construction costs and to cover new facilities, the formula has been revised upwards in each year, as follows:

	CEILING COST FORMULA (PER PUPIL SPACE)		
	<i>Elementary</i> (K-6, K-8)	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Academic</i> <i>Secondary</i>
	\$	\$	\$
1955-1956	735	1,050	1,350
1957-1958	855	1,178	1,490
1959	890	1,220	1,520
1960	950	1,280	1,600
1961	980	1,340	1,660
1962-1963	995	1,355	1,690
1964	1,108	1,525	1,860

Considering the large annual demands for capital funds for both municipal and school purposes in the area, and the consequent need to negotiate for a proper share of such funds for education, the ceiling cost formula has proved useful in the determination of capital appropriations for schools. The rate of growth of school debt has also been reduced by the area-wide current levy for capital purposes, already described, which yielded \$23.3 million from 1959 to the end of 1964. This amount would otherwise have been borrowed.

As of December 31, 1963, the unmatured school debt of Metro and the area municipalities amounted to \$216.8 million, of which Metro's share was \$91.5 million, or 42.2 per cent. The area municipalities were responsible for 57.8 per cent, or \$125.2 million, distributed as follows:

SCHOOL DEBT, 1963	
	%
Toronto.....	40.2
Three outer suburbs.....	51.8
Nine inner suburbs.....	8.0
Total.....	100.0

This represents the debt incurred by the area municipalities on behalf of the local boards between January 1, 1954, and December 31, 1963. Metro assumed all existing school debts on January 1, 1954, and is responsible for all debt incurred up to the ceiling cost formula since January 1, 1964. Considering the inequalities in school burdens and, more particularly, the relatively heavier burdens of the large mushrooming suburbs, I find that Metro should also assume all area school debt outstanding on December 31, 1963.

The following constituted the committee on changes in educational structure:

J. Richard Davidson, Trustee, Ward 9, Toronto
George E. Flower, Director of Graduate Studies, Ontario College of Education
Douglas W. Gilmour, Solicitor, Toronto Board of Education
R. W. B. Jackson, Director, Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education
W. J. McCordic, Executive Secretary, The Metropolitan School Board
E. Brock Rideout, Department of Educational Research and Professor, Ontario College of Education
David L. Tough, Superintendent of Secondary Schools, North York Board of Education.

1. INTRODUCTION

The main conflict in briefs to the Commission on the structure of education in Metro was between the advocates of centralization and those who favoured preservation of a decentralized system. It has been shown in this report that, with its highly decentralized system, Metro has not been able to prevent continuing wide inequalities in the burden of financing education in the area. On the other hand, it is noted that large urban centres with centralized school systems, such as New York, Chicago and Detroit, have made efforts in recent years to introduce measures of decentralization, with varying degrees of success. In May 1965 the Acting Superintendent of schools in New York City recommended that the public school system should be subdivided into thirty local districts, each under a district superintendent reporting directly to the Superintendent.

The plan which I recommend for the public school system in Metropolitan Toronto offers a middle course between complete centralization and complete decentralization and is intended to provide flexibility in school administration. It varies from existing patterns of school organization because Metro's position is unique in Ontario. The Metro Act also departed from the accepted pattern when it created the Metropolitan School Board in 1953.

The plan envisages an elected central board, to be called the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education, with overall responsibility for school finance and for the development of an acceptable and uniformly high metropolitan standard of public education. The administrative responsibilities of this board would be limited to matters related to area-wide policies, to coordination of mutual services, and to the provision of services which can best be provided on a metropolitan basis. Administration and management of the school programme would be decentralized and carried out by a number of local boards to be called District Education Councils. The boundaries of the districts would not be coterminous with municipal boundaries. With centralized finance, the taxable resources of the entire area would be available to all public school districts, while decentralized administration would preserve the initiative of local school staffs and the community interest in the school programme.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION: A NEW STRUCTURE

The experience of Metro's first decade establishes the need for change in its educational structure. On this, however, the submissions to the Commission were understandably not unanimous. Tending to reflect local interests, traditions and pride, fear of loss of local autonomy, differences in educational philosophies, and divergent views on the proper municipal structure for Metro, some of the briefs gave little consideration to the overall metropolitan interest.

The small suburban units, except Forest Hill, favoured continuation of the existing system. The Ontario Teachers' Federation also favoured "retaining the status quo . . . with some further equalization of finances over the area and of co-operation in special areas of education." The four largest suburbs recommended varying forms of consolidation of municipalities, with a corresponding reduction in the number of school districts. Both small and large suburbs urged the preservation of local autonomy in school matters, even though seven of the ten suburban boards are in varying degree dependent upon taxes raised in Toronto for financing their schools. The suburbs were united in opposing the recommendation of the Toronto Board of Education that all the school districts should be amalgamated and that the operation of the school system of the whole area be centralized.

The Metropolitan School Board expressed a preference for the coordination of educational finance by a central school authority and the establishment of a uniform tax for education throughout Metro. Forest Hill favoured local districts, each of suitable size to offer complete school services, within a larger school system covering the area as a whole. Under this proposal, the management of the schools would be the responsibility of the districts, while finances would be centralized in a metropolitan school board, which would also coordinate overall policy.

In view of the wide divergence of opinion, and having concluded that changes in the existing structure are necessary, I called upon a group of persons of varied experience and points of view who had been studying proposals advanced in some of the briefs, and each of whom, in one capacity or another, is concerned with the organization of public education, to submit to me their collective judgment as to the best educational structure for Metro. They agreed to serve in their individual capacities, and in due course submitted their proposals. The plan finally drafted by this committee, after discussions with me, is the basis of the new educational structure which I recommend in this chapter.

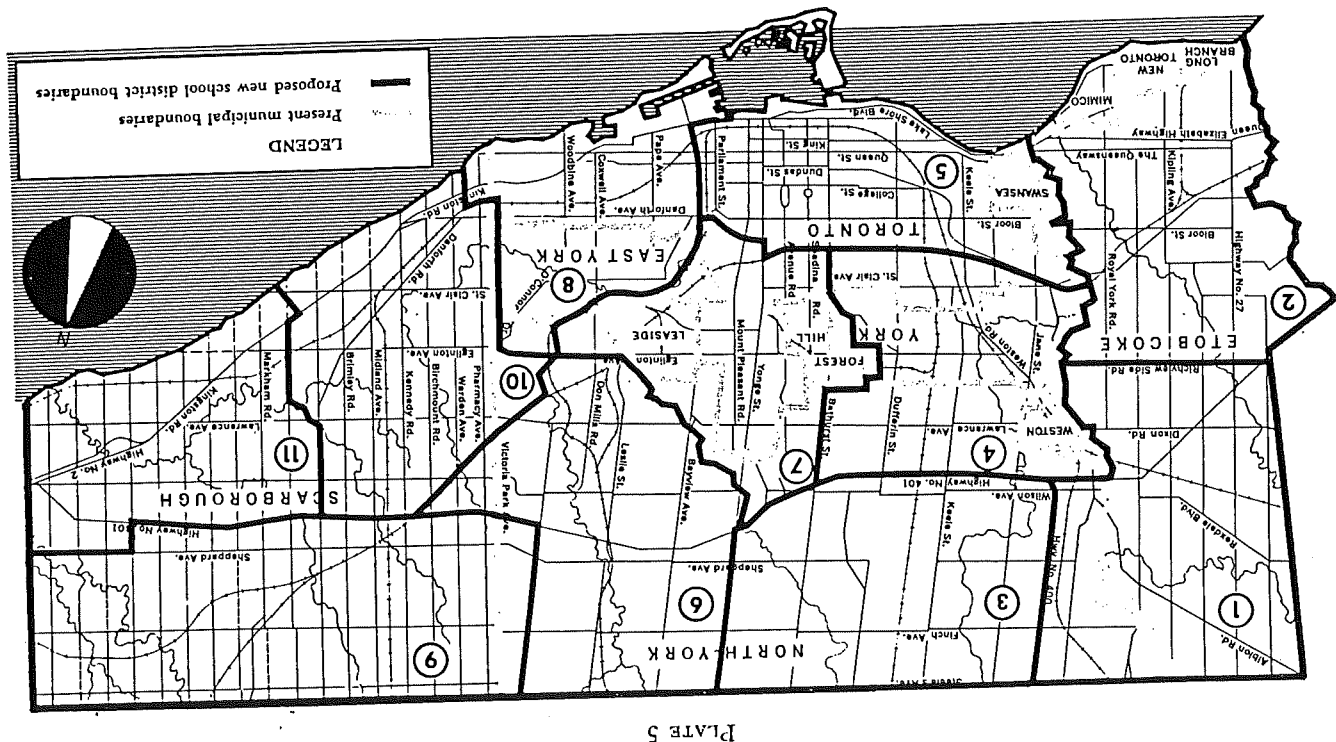


PLATE 5

2. SCHOOL DISTRICTS

To delineate the districts under the recommended plan, the following criteria were established as basic to the viability of school districts. The districts should be:

- (a) approximately uniform in size;
- (b) small enough for a district education council to perform efficiently and with understanding most of the traditional functions of a school board (exclusive of functions transferred to the central board);
- (c) within the administrative capacity of a superintendent of schools, supported by appropriate staff;
- (d) large enough to support a broad programme of public education with the full range of services characteristic of urban centres, each system to be largely self-contained;
- (e) large enough to warrant the appointment of a corps of leaders and officials with varied background and experience, with consequent advantages to the district;
- (f) large enough to warrant the use of modern methods and equipment in the business operations of the school authority;
- (g) so drawn that each district will manifest specific needs and characteristics to which the educational programme can be made responsive;
- (h) so drawn as to require minimum alteration in existing school attendance areas;
- (i) delineated with due regard for ravine valleys, expressways and railroads that already tend to separate one district from another.

On the basis of these criteria, it is recommended that the Metropolitan Area should be divided into eleven school districts as shown on the map on Plate 5. The proposed district boundaries are set out in an appendix to this chapter.

Statistics on population and school enrolment in each of the proposed districts are shown in Table 45. As Districts 9 and 11 are still in a relatively early stage of development, it is recommended that they be combined initially, the combined district to be divided, as shown on the map, on the first day of January of the next year after the smaller of the two districts reaches an assessed population of 75,000. It is forecast that District 3 will reach the population level of the other districts by 1980 and that District 1 will approximate it soon after.

Since the proposed boundaries are not coterminous with municipal boundaries, it may be feared that this will complicate procedures in taxation and in elections. In my opinion, such fears are unwarranted. Under the recommended centralization of finance, the central board will obtain its local tax funds entirely from the Metropolitan Council. Metro has already assumed responsibility for all new school debt, up to the ceiling cost, as from January 1, 1964. Accordingly, with both current and capital school costs financed on an area-wide basis, there will be no need for continuing the existing relationship between local school boards and municipal councils and for coterminous school district and municipal boundaries.

Table 45

PROPOSED SCHOOL DISTRICTS:
Population, Enrolment and Schools

District	POPULATION		ENROLMENT		SCHOOLS
	1961	1971 (Est.)	Feb. 1964	1971 (Est.)	
1	59,000	106,775	18,891	26,160	31
2	150,000	199,225	32,114	46,818	53
3	93,700	137,100	25,428	33,590	37
4	219,900	245,250	40,058	53,955	56
5	363,100	359,600	51,477	62,930	59
6	78,300	164,473	26,039	41,118	43
7	189,300	233,575	22,711	52,554	37
8	234,100	241,477	38,958	45,881	48
9 & 11	64,400	84,120 (9)	21,327	20,609	40
10	144,200	170,581	35,443	41,792	44
Total	1,596,000	2,040,000	312,446	449,374	448

With respect to elections, the existence of two or more school districts in a municipality will call for arrangements similar to the division of municipalities into wards. For districts which cut across municipal boundary lines there are many precedents in the case of school districts in Ontario. It will be necessary, however, that the boundaries of polling subdivisions be so drawn that they do not intersect the boundaries of school districts.

3. THE METROPOLITAN TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Metropolitan School Board, as presently constituted, consists of ten members from Toronto, ten from the suburbs, and two Separate School Board representatives. Each suburb is represented by one member: Swansea and Weston, for example, are given the same voice on the Board as North York and Scarborough. Such a degree of inequality in representation, in the words of the York Township Board of Education, is "a most disturbing feature of the present metropolitan organization. . . ." Under the proposed new structure, there would be considerably less variation in the size of the school districts and the central board would have wide authority.

The Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education, under the recommended plan, would consist, initially, of twenty-two trustees, of whom twenty would be elected by the districts, and two appointed by the Metropolitan Separate School Board. Two trustees would be elected at large in each school district at elections held on the same day as the regular municipal elections. When the combined Districts 9 and 11 are divided, two additional trustees would be elected. The chairman would be chosen from among the members. For their work to be effective, the term of office of trustees should be three years, which is also my recommendation for municipal office.

Admittedly, with each district electing two members, the Board would not be constituted on an exact basis of representation by population. School

districts must satisfy certain basic criteria if they are to be viable administrative units, and each of the proposed districts satisfies to a high degree the criteria which I have listed. The differences in population, which are very much less than under the existing fragmented system and will continue to narrow, would not be such as to prevent the districts from being represented on equal terms on the central board. Equality of status among the districts is essential to the successful operation of the plan.

Elections in large districts, such as District 5 with a population of more than 350,000, may present some problems. Election campaigns are expensive and the maximum remuneration for school trustees in large urban municipalities is now fixed at \$1,800. Considering the responsibilities which would be assigned to the Board, and that it would be among the largest business enterprises in Canada, it is important that it should be composed of able and competent persons. It is also desirable that elections be contested; the tendency toward election by acclamation to school boards is not in the public interest. Accordingly, I recommend that the remuneration for members of the Board should be raised to a figure more commensurate with their responsibilities, and that the additional responsibilities of the chairman should be recognized by a higher remuneration, as in the case of mayors and reeves.

To encourage qualified persons to offer their services, I also suggest that consideration should be given to distribution in each district, at public expense, of a pamphlet in which each candidate would be given space to describe his qualifications and platform.

4. DISTRICT EDUCATION COUNCILS

For each school district, I recommend a District Education Council to be composed of the two trustees elected to represent the district on the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education, one trustee appointed by the Metropolitan Separate School Board, and eight trustees elected in the district, who would be called "District Trustees". The chairman would be elected from among the members.

The district trustees, like the members of the central board, should be elected at large in each district, the election to be held in conjunction with the regular municipal elections. Since the major purpose of decentralization is to encourage and maintain a local interest in school affairs, and as both central and district trustees would be entrusted with the management of public education, it is anticipated that public school supporters in each district will so organize themselves as to ensure the nomination of qualified persons to contest the elections.

5. CENTRAL AND DISTRICT RESPONSIBILITIES

To avoid the problems created by "bigness" in large cities in North America, which are now seeking with much difficulty to decentralize school operations, the

plan recommended in this report envisages a high degree of decentralization. The functions of the central board would be restricted to matters of area-wide policy, coordination of mutual services, and the provision of a number of metropolitan services. Detailed administration and management would be the function of the district councils and their staffs. The following division of duties, subject to later review by specialists, is suggested:

Symbols:

- D: a District function
- DC: a District function with some Central coordination
- CD: a Central act taken upon District recommendation
- C: a Central function
- C&D: complementary functioning with each responsible for certain phases

I. THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMME

Instructional Staff

- 1. Salary Scales & Policy (incl. fringe benefits) C
- 2. Recruitment DC
- 3. Appointment & Dismissal CD
- 4. Placement D
- 5. Duties C
- 6. Payment of Salaries C & D
- 7. In-Service Training C & D
- 8. Supervision of Instruction D
- 9. Inspection C

Instructional Supplies

- 1. Textbooks DC
- 2. Library Books D
- 3. Classroom Supplies D
- 4. Equipment DC
- 5. Furnishings DC

Curriculum & Courses of Study

- 1. Adaptations D
- 2. Supplementary D
- 3. New D
- 4. Experimental D
- 5. Teaching Methods D

Services Ancillary to Instruction

- 1. Secretarial D
- Selection C
- Pre-Service Training DC
- 2. Libraries C & D
- 3. Teaching Aids C
- 4. Radio & Television C

Services Related to Professional Development

- 1. Research C & D
- 2. Publications C
- 3. Local In-Service Training Programmes C

Services Related to Children

- 1. Guidance, Psychological Testing, etc. D
- 2. Child Adjustment C
- 3. Attendance C
- Statistics C
- Counselling D
- 4. Health Services DC
- 5. Transportation C
- 6. Food Services DC

Special Services

- 1. Schools for Blind, Deaf, Orthopaedically Handicapped C
- 2. Classes for Aphasics C
- 3. Post-Secondary Schools C
- 4. Highly Specialized Secondary Schools (performing arts, plastics, etc.) C

II. THE MANAGEMENT FUNCTION

Board Activities

- 1. Area-Wide Policy C
- 2. Procedures C & D
- 3. Population Research & Coordination of Plant Expansion C
- 4. Evaluation & Self-Appraisal C

Administrative Functions

- 1. Secretarial C & D
- 2. Legal C
- 3. Personnel Recruitment DC
- Promotion & Advancement CD
- Records C
- 4. Outside Use of Schools D
- 5. Property Administration C
- 6. Budget C & D

III. THE BUSINESS FUNCTION

Financial Operations

- 1. Purchasing & Supply DC
- 2. Accounting C & D
- 3. Budget Control C & D
- 4. Audit C

Plant Expansion

- 1. Planning & Surveys D
- 2. Sites D
- 3. Buildings C
- Academic Requirements D
- Sketch Plans D
- Construction C
- 4. Architectural & Engineering C

Plant Maintenance & Operation

- 1. Custodial D
- 2. Repairs D
- 3. Major Maintenance CD

The foregoing division of responsibilities in the case of the instructional programme shows that, except for the highly specialized services listed, the management and operation of the local schools will be the responsibility of the district education councils and their staffs. This is particularly clear in the matter of curriculum and courses of study. The basic course content in Ontario is prescribed by the Department of Education. In recent years local school authorities have been encouraged to adapt their programmes to local needs; under the proposed structure this would continue to be a district responsibility.

The recommendations on teachers' salaries and recruitment give wider powers to the central board. It would set salary scales and policies, and teachers would officially be under contract to this board. A central personnel office would suggest recruitment procedures and maintain a complete set of staff records. However, actual recruitment, appointment, promotion, and fixing of duties would be responsibilities of the district education councils and the district superintendents. On recommendation of the district council, a teacher would automatically be given an official appointment by the central board. The salary would be fixed in relation to the existing scales and the assignment to specific duties would be made by the local superintendent.

Essentially, the recruitment and deployment of staff in the districts would be quite similar to the present arrangement under which the local board employs staff and assigns their duties. A central personnel office would undertake some

coordination of the process to alleviate problems that now develop in the early scramble for staff at interview time. Lively competition for the most promising teachers would continue, but it would be based upon factors other than salary gimmicks, availability of parking space, and more lavish buildings, on which the present boards cannot compete on anything like an equal basis.

I am aware that recommendations in favour of metropolitan salary schedules and policies for professional staff will arouse controversy and opposition. There may even be reservations about the limited coordination proposed in the personnel field. As far as placement is concerned, the plan involves little change in the present arrangement because recruitment and deployment would be district responsibilities. With respect to salary scales, however, the variety of competitive features in present schedules is not in the best interests of the provision of education in the area. The trend is toward negotiation of teachers' salaries on some sort of regional basis, and the Metropolitan Area is an appropriate region for such purposes. A metropolitan salary schedule, flexible enough to allow for special area needs, should be negotiated. Under the proposed plan, teachers would bargain collectively with the school authority to which they are under contract and from which they receive their salaries, that is, the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education. They are well equipped and well organized to negotiate on an area-wide basis.

With the central board assuming overriding financial responsibility for schools, management functions, as listed, would be largely centralized. The business function would be divided between the central board and the district councils.

FINANCE

For the effective use of the taxable resources of the area as a whole to meet the needs of education, the plan proposes a high degree of fiscal centralization through coordination of educational finance by the central board and the establishment of a uniform tax for education throughout Metro. The Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education would secure all tax revenue for educational purposes from the Metropolitan Council through a uniform levy. As at present, Metro would also raise the capital funds for school purposes.

i. *Current Expenditures*

The central board would establish procedures for the preparation and submission of their respective budgets by district education councils. Area-wide policies, such as salary scales, pupil-teacher ratios, the number of persons to constitute the establishment for certain functions and services, and the allocation of funds for supplies and equipment would be decided and circulated in advance by the central board.

Local budgets would be prepared by the district superintendents and their staffs for consideration and adoption by the district education councils. They would provide for the on-going needs of the schools, which to a large degree, it

would be possible to relate to the metropolitan standard programme. Since requirements vary from school to school and from district to district, each budget would also cover specialized needs for services and facilities beyond the standard programme. These would be identified in the district budgets and the request accompanied by supporting evidence in the submission to the central board.

While the metropolitan standard programme would provide for all the major items of expense, such as salaries, building costs, plant operation and maintenance, equipment, etc., it is probable that some districts would desire to add to their programme through the provision of special equipment or a special service or the undertaking of an educational experiment. In my view, the districts should be free to take such action even though the central board does not include the items in the area-wide budget. To this end, the districts should have some discretionary fiscal powers. These would be applicable only to certain types of expenditures: boards would not be free, for example, to pay higher salaries than authorized or to exceed the ceiling cost formula for school buildings.

Accordingly, I recommend that, initially, each school district should be allocated a fixed percentage of its total budget for purposes of such special services or equipment or for educational experiments. Districts should be free to spend up to the amount so allocated for such purposes without reference to the central board. If experience shows that it is more desirable to couple financial equalization with some local taxing powers, the system could be changed and districts might, in due course, be authorized to levy a nominal district school tax to cover the cost of expenditures not approved by the central board for inclusion in the metropolitan school budget.

ii. *Capital Expenditures*

The Metro Act already provides for a high degree of coordination in the financing of school capital projects, and there would be little change under the proposed plan. Each district would continue the present practice of the area boards in respect of capital programmes. The districts would prepare their programmes annually for submission to the central board, in two parts: a five-year forecast and a statement of individual projects for the current year. On the basis of the district submissions, the central board would prepare a composite five-year programme and a composite current capital programme for the year for negotiation with the Metropolitan Council. Funds for individual projects would continue to be determined on the basis of a ceiling cost formula approved by the central board and by Metro Council. Since this formula would be flexible and would allow considerable leeway in application, district councils should not be authorized to augment by local taxation the amounts received under the formula.

In respect of school debt, I have pointed out elsewhere in this report that Metro assumed all debt outstanding on December 31, 1953, and all debt incurred

ter January 1, 1964, up to the ceiling cost formula. I have recommended that Metro should also assume from the area municipalities all area school debt outstanding on December 31, 1963.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

The administrative arrangements will be the key to effective operation of the proposed plan, which combines a central policy-making board of education with a high degree of decentralization at the staff and operational level. The arrangements should be such as will ensure that the local school districts will, in fact, accept responsibility for management of the schools in their respective districts. In broad outline, the plan envisages that:

i. A Director of Education will be the chief executive officer of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education. The central office staff could be relatively small but should be large enough to perform its primary function of coordination.

ii. The school districts will be relatively self-contained, with a District Superintendent as the principal officer. He will be responsible for all public education services in the district, including both elementary and secondary schools. Since the real work of a school system goes on in the local schools, specialist instructional personnel, as required, will be attached to the district office and be immediately responsible to the District Superintendent. As recommended in the brief submitted by the Forest Hill Board of Education, each district "would be so staffed and structured as to offer complete school services for its area, responsive to its own area, and probably differing in many matters of detail from adjoining area divisions." The District Superintendent will report directly to the Director of Education.

iii. An Administrative Council, consisting of the Director of Education and central staff and the District Superintendents, will be constituted to advise the central board on policy. The Council will develop standards for the area as a whole and will coordinate the efforts of the districts to achieve these standards.

Under the proposals, district administration would be similar in many respects to the present system in the larger school districts. Apart from the actions and services which can be more efficiently performed on a centralized basis, the district staffs would undertake the same range of activities as now required at the local level. There would, however, be an identification with sea-wide needs.

CONCLUSIONS

While in many respects the proposed structure for public education would differ greatly from the typical structure in Ontario, it calls for major changes in the existing system in Metropolitan Toronto which experience since 1953 shows to be necessary. The Cumming Report envisaged the development of an acceptable standard for public education in the area as a whole and the Metro Board provided a plan of financial equalization with a view to assisting the less favoured municipalities in maintaining such a standard. In fact, however,

there has been no authority in Metro charged with the responsibility of developing a metropolitan standard of public education, while the measure of financial equalization has been insufficient to prevent wide disparities in the burden of financing education in the area. Under the plan proposed in this report, the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education would be responsible for developing an acceptable and uniformly high standard consistent with area-wide formulae for most major items of expense, while the local districts would be allowed some discretionary fiscal powers for special purposes, such as experimentation. The varying school rates in the area would be replaced by a uniform tax rate for public schools.

With management of the schools in the hands of district councils, the disadvantages of "bigness," which would flow from amalgamation and complete centralization, should be avoided. The proposed school districts have been recommended on the basis of sound criteria for viable self-contained units. They would replace school districts which now vary greatly in size, population and resources because their boundaries are coterminous with present municipal boundaries. Each of the new districts would have an equal voice on the central board. This would accord more closely with accepted principles of representation than the present system, which gives equal representation to Swansea, Forest Hill, Weston, Leaside, North York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke.

The recommended changes would require many detailed structural adjustments. These could not be made without considerable study and preparatory work. Accordingly, if it is decided to implement my recommendations, provision should be made for a transition period. There is precedent for this in the creation of Metro itself. In 1953 both the original Metropolitan Council and the original Metropolitan School Board were sworn in more than nine months before the effective date for the commencement of their operations. This period was a preparatory stage during which both bodies met frequently, appointed senior officials, determined the size and nature of their establishments, and approved policies. If the changes proposed in this report are to be made, I recommend that a similar procedure should be followed, allowing for a transition period of twelve months during which the terms of office of the present Metropolitan School Board and area boards and the new Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education and district councils will overlap.

APPENDIX

PROPOSED SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

District	Proposed School District Boundaries
1	N. Steeles Avenue E. Highway 400, Highway 401 and the Humber River S. Richview Side Road W. Etobicoke Township boundary
2	N. Richview Side Road E. Humber River S. Lake Ontario W. Etobicoke River and Etobicoke Township boundary

- 3 N. Steeles Avenue
- E. Yonge Street
- S. Highway 401
- W. Highway 400
- 4 N. Highway 401
- E. Bathurst Street, boundary between Forest Hill Village and York Township, Winnett Avenue, Vaughan Road and Bathurst Street
- S. C.P.R. Right of Way
- W. Humber River
- 5 N. C.P.R. Right of Way, Yonge Street and Rosedale Valley Road
- E. Don Valley Parkway, Gardiner Expressway and Cherry Street
- S. Lake Ontario
- W. Humber River
- 6 N. Steeles Avenue
- E. Woodbine Avenue (future Don Valley Parkway), Highway 401, C.P.R. Right of Way and Don River (east branch)
- S. Eglinton Avenue
- W. Don River (west branch), Highway 401 and Yonge Street
- 7 N. Highway 401
- E. Don River (west branch), Eglinton Avenue, Don River (east branch), and Don Valley Parkway
- S. Rosedale Valley Road, Yonge Street, and C.P.R. Right of Way
- W. Bathurst Street, Vaughan Road, Winnett Avenue, boundary between Forest Hill Village and York Township and Bathurst Street
- 8 N. Eglinton Avenue
- E. Victoria Park Avenue, C.N.R. Right of Way, Cornell and Haig Avenues approximately
- S. Lake Ontario
- W. Cherry Street, Gardiner Expressway, Don Valley Parkway and Don River (east branch)
- 9 N. Steeles Avenue
- E. Scarborough Township boundary
- S. Sheppard Avenue, Conlins Road and Highway 401
- W. Woodbine Avenue (future Don Valley Parkway)
- 10 N. Highway 401
- E. McCowan Road, branch of the Highland Creek, Bellamy Road and Ravine Drive
- S. Lake Ontario
- W. Haig and Cornell Avenues approximately, C.N.R. Right of Way, Victoria Park Avenue, Eglinton Avenue, Don River (east branch) and C.P.R. Right of Way
- 11 N. Highway 401, Conlins Road and Sheppard Avenue
- E. Scarborough Township boundary
- S. Lake Ontario
- W. Ravine Drive, Bellamy Road, branch of the Highland Creek and McCowan Road

CHAPTER XIII

METRO'S BOUNDARIES AND THE FRINGE AREAS

My terms of reference include "the boundaries of the metropolitan area . . . with due regard to probable future urban growth within or beyond the present metropolitan limits and future service requirements." Metro's present limits were recommended by the Ontario Municipal Board in the Cumming Report, which deemed them to be "a temporary boundary only." Taking note of urban development in a number of outside municipalities, the Board, in its recommendations for regional planning, recognized "the need for immediate planning and supervision of that development in the interests of the metropolitan area of the future."

1. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Metro's boundaries and the thirteen fringe municipalities on its borders, which together with the area municipalities constitute the Metropolitan Planning Area, have been described in Chapter I of this report. The eastern and western boundaries of Metro were determined by the outer limits of the County of York. The fringe municipalities are spread into three counties—York, on the north, Ontario, on the east, and Peel, on the west.

While the boundary areas of Metropolitan Toronto are still largely rural, there are growing extensions of urban development into the fringe. Such development is much more marked on the west of Metro, in Toronto Township, than in Pickering Township, on the east, both of which border on Lake Ontario. Northward, there is a continuous ribbon of urbanization along Yonge Street extending beyond the boundaries of Metro to the far side of Richmond Hill. Further urbanization in the northern fringe is largely dependent upon Metro, which controls access to Lake Ontario for water and sewage facilities.

The proposed Metro Official Plan (Table 5) shows that more than 81 per cent of the land in the fringe areas is now agricultural or vacant, as compared with less than 30 per cent in Metro. The figures for 1963, by areas, were as follows:

	Acrea	% of Total
Northern Fringe.....	132,352	84.9
Eastern Fringe.....	63,685	84.0
Western Fringe.....	53,156	70.9
Total Fringe.....	249,192	81.3

FRINGE AREAS: AGRICULTURAL OR VACANT LAND, 1963

For the four large townships, the figures, as shown in Table 46, are as follows: Pickering, on the east of Metro, 85.3 per cent; Markham and Vaughan, on the north, 91.1 per cent and 81.8 per cent, respectively; and Toronto Township, on the west, reflecting a higher degree of urbanization, 72 per cent.

Under the proposed Metro Official Plan, 64 per cent of the land in the fringe will continue to be held for agricultural use. The plan projects an urban development area "which can be serviced effectively and with due regard for reasonable development standards." Its depth will therefore be limited generally by the effective range of lake-oriented water and sewage facilities. Reflecting the existing pattern and trend of development in southern Ontario, the suitability of the land for residential and industrial development, and the excellent transportation network, the plan emphasizes overall development toward the western section of the area and restricts development at the eastern end to a narrow band extending three or four miles from the lakeshore.

The proposed limit of urban development is shown on Plate 6. It envisages a continuous urban area which, on the east, will include Pickering Township south of Highway 2, the Town of Ajax and Pickering Village; on the west, about two-thirds of Toronto Township, Port Credit and Streetsville; and, on the north, portions of the townships of Markham and Vaughan centering on Yonge Street and extending to the outer limits of Richmond Hill, together with the C.N.R. marshalling yard in Vaughan and adjacent lands designated for industrial use.

2. POPULATION IN THE FRINGE

The population growth of the thirteen fringe municipalities has been described in Chapter II. Between 1953 and 1963 the increase was 96 per cent, as compared with an increase of 40 per cent for Metro. The average annual increase, however, was 48,000 persons in Metro and 8,700 in the whole of the fringe. Toronto Township, with a population of more than 70,000, contained 40 per cent of the total fringe population of 178,000 in 1963. Pickering Township, with 22,000 people, ranked second. Considerable increases have taken place in a number of pockets of urban development, particularly in Richmond Hill. The details are shown in Chapter II, Table 9.

The fringe population was distributed by areas in 1963 as follows:

FRINGE POPULATION, 1963	
	Population % of Total
Northern Fringe.....	63,218 35.3
Eastern Fringe.....	31,818 17.8
Western Fringe.....	83,346 46.5
Total.....	178,382 100.0

Table 46
FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES:
EXISTING LAND USE, 1963

Total		Other		Agricultural or Vacant		Residential		Total	
Aces	% of Total	Aces	% of Total	Aces	% of Total	Aces	% of Total	Aces	% of Total
68,394	13.6	9,312	17.4	28.8	53.9	184	4.6	3,108	4.6
639	32.0	205	38.9	81.8	150.5	344	64.5	1,083	15.0
1,680	15.0	253	4.2	20.5	60.8	37	3.7	2,430	34.4
65,940	5.2	3,424	6.2	60,086	1,230	1,209	28.5	566	8.1
1,633	10.7	69	1.2	75.3	13,325	1.4	213	3.0	
1,988	10.7	213	3.8	60.8	13,325	1.4	213	3.0	
15,570	13.0	2,032	3.8	85.6	13,325	1.4	213	3.0	
155,841	10.0	15,508	27.2	84.9	132,352	5.1	7,984	11.1	
72,162	10.0	7,212	12.7	85.3	61,575	4.7	3,375	4.7	
604	29.5	177	3.1	38.9	236	31.6	191	2.6	
3,043	24.8	754	13.6	61.6	1,874	13.6	415	5.6	
75,809	10.7	8,143	14.0	84.0	63,685	5.3	3,981	5.3	
73,320	17.4	12,713	22.0	72.0	52,812	10.6	7,795	10.6	
989	19.7	196	3.5	32.5	320	47.8	473	6.5	
611	30.6	187	4.0	4.0	24	65.4	400	5.4	
74,920	17.5	13,096	23.0	70.9	53,156	11.6	8,668	11.6	
306,570	12.0	36,745	6.5	81.3	249,192	6.7	20,633	6.7	

Source: Table 5, Proposed Official Plan, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Dec., 1964.

The Metropolitan Planning Board has projected the fringe population to 1971 and 1980, respectively, as follows:

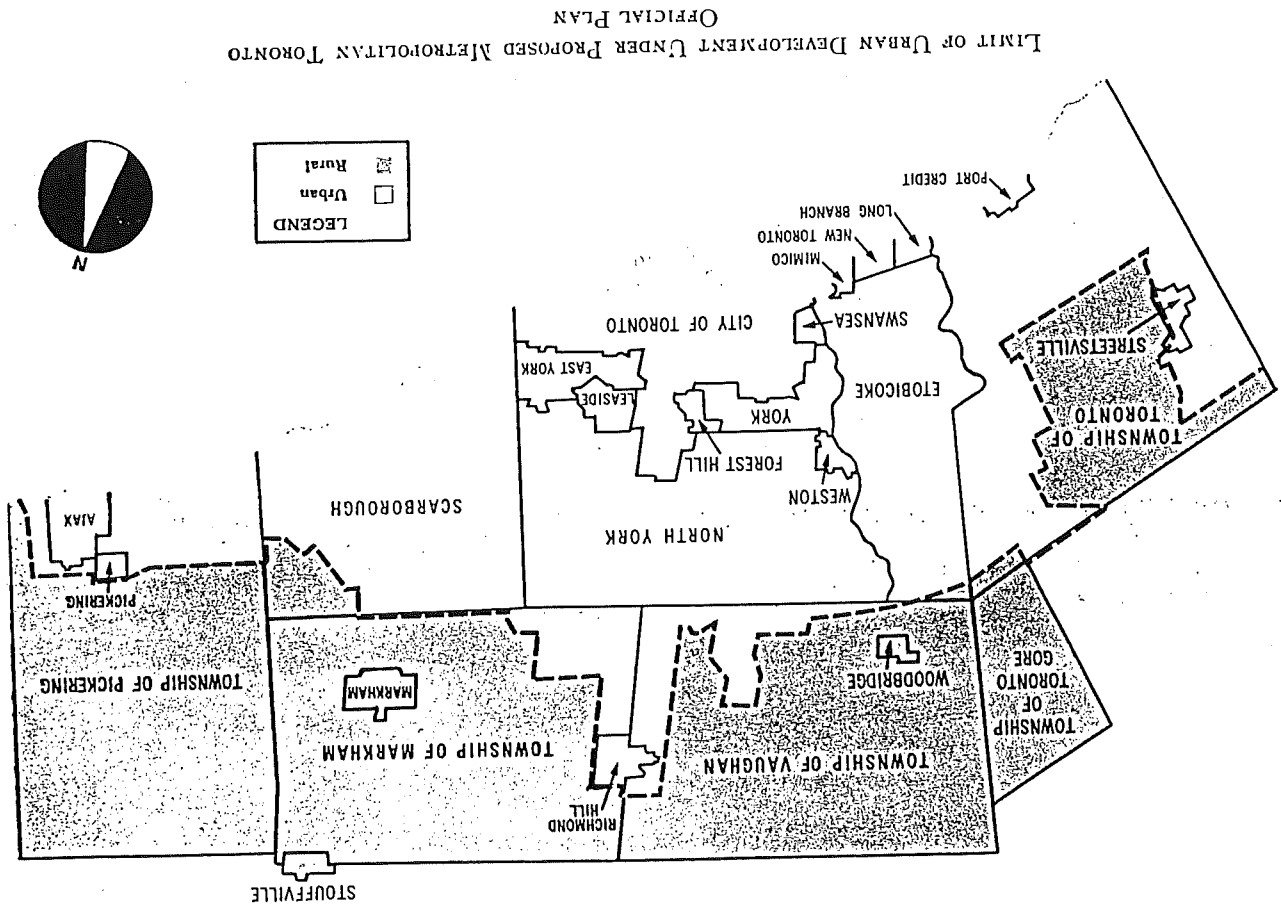
FRINGE POPULATION PROJECTIONS		
	1971	1980
Northern Fringe.....	78,500	149,500
Eastern Fringe.....	53,500	85,000
Western Fringe.....	125,000	265,500
Total.....	257,000	500,000

The projections forecast a population increase of 180 per cent between 1963 and 1980. For the individual municipalities, Table 47 shows a population of 110,000 in Toronto Township by 1971 and 250,000, or 50 per cent of the whole fringe population, by 1980. Pickering Township ranks second in each of the years, with 37,500 in 1971 and 57,000 in 1980. In the latter year, a population of 55,000 is projected for Vaughan and 50,000 for Markham Township. On the basis of these projections, by 1980 the Township of Toronto alone will have attained a population which would now rank it with Metro's three large outer suburbs.

Table 47
FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES: POPULATION PROJECTIONS:
1971 and 1980

Municipality	1971	1980	Per Cent of Total
<i>Northern Fringe</i>			
Township of Vaughan.....	22,250	55,000	11.0
Village of Woodbridge.....	3,750	3,000	.6
Town of Richmond Hill.....	19,000	19,500	3.9
Township of Markham.....	18,250	50,000	10.0
Village of Stouffville.....	5,250	8,000	1.6
Village of Markham.....	8,000	14,000	2.8
Township of Toronto Gore.....	2,000	(n.a.)	(n.a.)
Total	78,500	149,500	28.9
<i>Eastern Fringe</i>			
Township of Pickering.....	37,500	57,000	11.4
Village of Pickering.....	3,000	4,000	.8
Town of Ajax.....	13,000	24,000	4.8
Total	53,500	85,000	17.0
<i>Western Fringe</i>			
Township of Toronto.....	110,000	250,000	50.0
Town of Streetsville.....	7,000	7,000	1.4
Town of Port Credit.....	8,000	8,500	1.7
Total	125,000	265,500	53.1
<i>Fringe Municipalities—Total</i>	257,000	500,000	100.0

Source: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board. (Projections based on existing boundaries).



The table shows an increase of 54 per cent in the equalized assessment of the fringe between 1958 and 1963, as compared with 62 per cent for Metro's three outer suburbs and 30 per cent for Metro as a whole. The following figures compare changes in fringe areas with changes in the adjoining Metro municipalities:

	1963 Equalized Assessment \$000	Per Cent Increase 1958-1963 %
Township of North York.....	714,905	70.9
Northern Fringe.....	97,542	47.8
Township of Scarborough.....	447,894	57.7
Eastern Fringe.....	43,298	70.4
Township of Etobicoke.....	498,061	55.1
Western Fringe.....	171,899	54.0

In 1963 population and equalized assessment in the fringe were distributed as follows:

	% of Total Population %	% of Total Assessment %
Northern Fringe.....	35.4	31.2
Eastern Fringe.....	17.8	13.8
Western Fringe.....	46.7	55.0

The Township of Toronto, with approximately 40 per cent of the population, contained almost 48 per cent of the total equalized assessment of the fringe.

Per capita equalized assessments in 1958 and 1963 are shown in Table 49, with corresponding figures for the three outer suburbs. The figures compare as follows:

	PER CAPITA EQUALIZED ASSESSMENT, 1963 \$
Township of North York.....	2,324
Northern Fringe.....	1,543
Township of Scarborough.....	1,863
Eastern Fringe.....	1,361
Township of Etobicoke.....	2,805
Western Fringe.....	2,062

The difference of \$701 between the eastern and western fringes reflects the differences in the degree of urban development. Toronto Township, with \$2,108 per capita, is at a metropolitan level, while Pickering Township, with \$1,317, shows the lowest figure in the area. In its brief to the Commission,

3. TAXABLE RESOURCES IN THE FRINGE

For purposes of comparing taxable assessments in the fringe areas and between fringe municipalities and area municipalities in Metro, assessments throughout the area have been equalized to the Metro standard by relating the provincial equalization factor for each fringe municipality to the corresponding factor for Metro and applying the resultant factors to the locally reported assessments. Table 48 shows the assessment figures arrived at in this way for the years 1958 and 1963, with corresponding figures for the three outer Metro suburbs. A five year interval has been used because there was no single provincial equalization factor for Metro before 1958.

Table 48

FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES:
Assessment Equalized to the Level of Metropolitan Toronto Assessment

Municipality	1958 Equalized Assessment \$000	1963 Equalized Assessment \$000	Average Annual Increase \$000	Percentage Increase 1958-1963 %
<i>Northern Fringe</i>				
Township of Vaughan.....	17,022	27,337	2,063	60.6
Village of Woodbridge.....	3,377	4,526	230	34.0
Town of Richmond Hill.....	18,444	26,454	1,602	43.4
Township of Markham.....	17,007	24,839	1,566	46.0
Village of Stroufville.....	3,460	222	222	32.0
Village of Markham.....	5,386	8,205	564	52.3
Township of Toronto Gore.....	1,301	1,612	62	23.9
Total	65,997	97,542	6,309	47.8
<i>Eastern Fringe</i>				
Township of Pickering.....	14,692	28,835	2,829	96.3
Village of Pickering.....	1,462	2,243	156	53.4
Town of Ajax.....	9,257	12,220	593	32.0
Total	25,411	43,298	3,577	70.4
<i>Western Fringe</i>				
Township of Toronto.....	96,095	149,382	10,657	55.5
Town of Streetsville.....	4,671	7,305	527	56.4
Town of Port Credit.....	10,866	15,213	869	40.0
Total	111,632	171,899	12,053	54.0
<i>Fringe Municipalities Total</i>				
	203,040	312,738	21,940	54.0
<i>Three Outer Suburbs</i>				
Township of North York.....	418,314	714,905	59,318	70.9
Township of Scarborough.....	284,026	447,894	32,774	57.7
Township of Etobicoke.....	321,197	498,061	35,373	55.1
Total	1,023,537	1,660,860	127,465	62.3
<i>Metro Toronto</i>	3,200,064	4,164,708	192,927	30.1

Sources: Assessments, Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1958 and 1963. Assessment Equalization Factor, Assessment Branch, Department of Municipal Affairs. Assessment, Port Credit, Clerk's Return, 1963. Streetsville, Clerk's Return, 1958.

Pickering pointed to its assessment ratio of 88.43 per cent residential to 11.57 per cent commercial and industrial in 1963. The Township of Toronto showed a ratio of 56.47 per cent residential to 43.53 per cent commercial and industrial.

Table 49
FRINGE MUNICIPALITIES:
Per Capita Assessment Equalized to the Level of Metropolitan Toronto
Assessment

Municipality	1958 Equalized Assessment \$	1963 Equalized Assessment \$	Percentage Increase 1958-1963 %
<i>Northern Fringe</i>			
Township of Vaughan.....	1,125	1,563	38.9
Village of Woodbridge.....	1,586	1,853	16.8
Town of Richmond Hill.....	1,300	1,422	9.4
Township of Markham.....	1,314	1,678	27.7
Village of Stouffville.....	1,321	1,321	1.2
Village of Markham.....	1,350	1,358	15.4
Township of Toronto Gore.....	1,261	1,397	10.8
Total	1,267	1,543	21.8
<i>Eastern Fringe</i>			
Township of Pickering.....	934	1,317	41.0
Village of Pickering.....	910	1,235	35.7
Town of Ajax.....	1,160	1,507	29.9
Total	1,004	1,361	35.6
<i>Western Fringe</i>			
Township of Toronto.....	1,806	2,108	16.7
Town of Streetsville.....	1,056	1,368	29.5
Town of Port Credit.....	1,711	2,129	24.4
Total	1,744	2,062	18.2
<i>Fringe Municipalities Total</i>			
	1,436	1,753	22.1
<i>Three Outer Suburbs</i>			
Township of North York.....	2,118	2,324	9.7
Township of Scarborough.....	1,688	1,863	10.4
Township of Etobicoke.....	2,649	2,805	5.9
Total	2,101	2,289	8.9
<i>Metro Toronto</i>	2,266	2,521	11.3

Sources: Population and Assessment, as shown in Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1958 and 1963, and Clerk's Return, Village of Streetsville.

The three counties through which the fringe municipalities are spread are dependent on these municipalities to a large degree for the funds to finance county services. The levy is based on a county equalized assessment. Table 50 shows that in 1963 the three municipalities of the eastern fringe provided 38.2 per cent of the levy in Ontario County; the six southern municipalities of York County provided 51.8 per cent of its levy; and the four municipalities in

Peel County paid 71.5 per cent of the levy; Toronto Township alone contributing 62 per cent. The proportions are significant, particularly in the counties of Peel and York.

Table 50
COUNTY LEVIES:
Fringe Municipalities' Share

County of York	Municipality	County Levy \$	% of Total County Levy
Total County Levy 1963.....			
			\$1,517,532
<i>County of York</i>			
	Township of Vaughan.....	227,394	15.0
	Village of Woodbridge.....	36,617	2.4
	Town of Richmond Hill.....	214,034	14.1
	Township of Markham.....	204,517	13.5
	Village of Stouffville.....	37,850	2.5
	Village of Markham.....	65,754	4.3
	Total.....	786,166	51.8
<i>County of Ontario</i>			
Total County Levy 1963.....			
			\$1,223,195
<i>County of Ontario</i>			
	Municipality	County Levy \$	% of Total County Levy
	Township of Pickering.....	308,784	25.2
	Village of Pickering.....	23,977	2.0
	Town of Ajax.....	134,619	11.0
	Total.....	467,380	38.2
<i>County of Peel</i>			
Total County Levy 1963.....			
			\$1,684,408
<i>County of Peel</i>			
	Municipality	County Levy \$	% of Total County Levy
	Township of Toronto.....	1,044,372	62.0
	Town of Streetsville.....	54,030	3.2
	Town of Port Credit.....	94,251	5.6
	Township of Toronto Gore.....	12,366	.7
	Total.....	1,205,019	71.5

Auditor's Report and Financial Statement, 1963.
Source: Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963.

4. METRO AND THE FRINGE

The foregoing analysis shows different rates of growth and varying degrees of urbanization on Metro's fringe, with the largest growth in the western section and the smallest in the east. Projections to 1971 and 1980 indicate a continuation

Board and the Province to withstand the pressure for widespread septic tank development. As stated in the brief submitted by the County of York:

Many things have happened since 1953 which can and do act as effective substitutes for expansion of political territories. The existence of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, the powers contained in the Metropolitan Act with respect to the Official Plan, the active and coordinated programmes of the Conservation Authority and the role of the Ontario Water Resources Commission all combine to produce the basis for physical, policy and financial planning which did not exist previously. The case of certain services illustrates this point. A definite and long-range plan is in existence for serving the future urban areas in the southern part of the County with metropolitan services, in part, being extended to the limit of their capacity on a simple contractual basis and with the balance of the area being served by a limited system of local facilities, so located and controlled as to provide adequate local services and at the same time not causing difficulties for the residents of Metropolitan Toronto.

Accordingly, continued orderly development appears possible without extending Metro's northern boundaries at this time. The need for the adoption and implementation of a Metro Official Plan covering the wide Metropolitan Planning Area has been dealt with in Chapter VI of this report. The plan will delineate the limits of urban development and project a desirable rate of growth, which should, in turn, determine the programme for the provision of urban services. Water and sewage facilities required on the northern fringe can and should be provided on an agreed basis by the Metropolitan Corporation in co-operation with the Ontario Water Resources Commission. Metro now has authority to enter into contracts to supply water to any municipality outside its jurisdiction.

In considering the need for an extension of Metro's boundaries, it is relevant to note that in 1963, according to Table 5 of the proposed Metro Official Plan, agricultural or vacant land represented a large proportion of the areas of Metro's three outer suburbs: 21,000 acres or almost 47 per cent of the area of Scarborough; more than 14,000 acres or 33 per cent of the area of North York; and over 9,000 acres or 32 per cent of the area of Etobicoke. Accordingly, there are still large areas available for development within Metro, and there is also the need for renewal and redevelopment of its older areas. There is the further consideration that the fringe municipalities, except for pockets of urban development, are predominantly rural. It has been shown that 85 per cent of the northern fringe, 84 per cent of the eastern fringe, and 71 per cent of the western fringe is agricultural or vacant land. To incorporate areas which are still so predominantly rural into an urban complex like Metro would create complications. It is significant that the Manitoba Legislature found it necessary to amend The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act in 1964 to exclude substantial rural areas which had been included within the boundaries of Metropolitan Winnipeg under the original legislation of 1960.

Reference has been made to the financial dependence of the counties on the fringe municipalities. The extension of Metro's boundaries to include only the

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of this pattern, which is reflected in the limits to urban development proposed in the draft Metro Official Plan.

Resulting from the pressure of metropolitan expansion, there is now a continuous urban development from the south-western section of Pickering Township, in the east, to and beyond the outer limits of Toronto Township, in the west, and, in a northerly direction, along Yonge Street to the outer limits of Richmond Hill. The various parts of the area are interdependent. The fringe municipalities are to a large degree dormitory to Metro, where most of their work force is employed. Pickering Township, in its brief to the Commission, estimated that 87 per cent of the residents of School Area No. 2, where most of its people live, derive their income from industry and commerce in Metro. The corresponding estimate by Richmond Hill was 65 per cent. The brief of the southern six municipalities of York County showed that at least 55 per cent of their working residents are employed outside their boundaries.

There is also interdependence in respect of the provision of basic urban services, such as roads, water, sewers and planning. This applies particularly to development on the north. The eastern and western fringes, bordering on Lake Ontario, are physically in a position to provide basic water and sewage facilities. The Lakeview sewage treatment plant, on the west, is operated jointly by Metro and Toronto Township. The northern fringe, however, cannot secure a sufficient water supply to sustain growth except by obtaining it from Metro. It is also dependent upon Metro for sewage outlets and metropolitan sewer services are already being supplied to a small part of the area north of Steeles Avenue.

Considering the interdependence of this continuous urban area and its forecast growth, it has been suggested that Metro's boundaries should now be extended to include all or some of the fringe municipalities, or parts thereof. The suggestion has merit in regard to certain areas but it also poses problems. It is admittedly important to avoid a repetition of the critical situation which developed in the outer suburbs before the creation of Metro. Distance from the lake and consequent water and sewage problems in North York and Scarborough were a major cause of the crisis. Without effective controls and some integration of services, this situation could well recur on the northern fringe, where development pressures are increasing and will increase more sharply with the construction of new north-south expressways. It is also argued that, as the large open spaces of North York and Scarborough are developed, Metro will need room for expansion; by adding the six southern municipalities of York County to Metro now, metropolitan services could be integrated to meet prospective requirements.

While the situation on the northern outskirts of Metro presents similarities to that which faced North York and Scarborough in the post-war years, the overall situation is different. The development pattern has been relatively well controlled, as a result, in part at least, of the ability of the Metropolitan Planning

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with residential property representing almost 90 per cent of its taxable assessment, the Township faces problems in financing rising school budgets and municipal costs.

Both Pickering Township and Richmond Hill, on the north, submitted in their briefs to the Commission that they are entitled to financial assistance from Metro to meet the costs of serving as dormitory municipalities. There is no doubt that the residential development to which they attribute their financial problems is a result of their proximity to Metro. It is equally true that the Metropolitan Corporation was not in a position to force or to prevent the approval of such development by the local councils. The fact remains that proximity to a large urban complex like Metro creates "spill-over" problems in adjacent municipalities. The Provincial Government should give recognition to such special situations through appropriate adjustments in the system of grants to municipalities and school districts, including the municipal unconditional grant.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The area of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is 240 square miles, which, it is estimated, is developed to about two-thirds of its designated urban capacity under the proposed Official Plan. Its population in 1964 was approximately 1,750,000; the projected population is 2,040,000 by 1971 and 2,300,000 by 1980, and the urban capacity is estimated at 2,685,000. The fringe municipalities, with an area of 480 square miles, twice the area of Metro, have a population of about 180,000, with estimated increases to 257,000 by 1971 and 500,000 by 1980. Their estimated urban capacity is 960,000. Accordingly, the combined population of Metro and the fringe, with an area of 720 square miles, is now almost 2,000,000 and, if trends are maintained, will be approaching 3,000,000 by 1980. It is necessary to have regard to these facts and projections in considering an extension of the boundaries of the Metropolitan Area. It is true that Greater London now covers an area of almost 620 square miles, with a population of about 8,000,000, but the United Kingdom is a unitary state whereas Canada is a federation of provinces. In considering the potential size of Metropolitan Toronto, consideration must also be given to its place in the Province of Ontario.

There is no ideal size for a metropolitan area, and the forces contributing to this pattern of urban growth are not abating. It is now more than sixty years since H. G. Wells described the developing problem as follows:¹

You will find that many people who once slept and worked and reared their children and worshipped and bought all in one area, are now, as it were, "de-localized"; they have overflowed their containing locality, and they live in one area, they work in another, and they go to shop in a third. And the only way in which you can localize them again is to expand your areas to their new scale.

¹H. G. Wells: "A Paper on Administrative Areas Read Before the Fabian Society," in appendix to "Mankind in the Making". (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 379.

urbanized portions of the fringe would create serious financial problems for the remaining parts of the counties by removing a major portion of their taxable assessment. One result would be pressure for a more balanced tax base and the creation of a new urbanized fringe. In the words of the Provincial Planning Director of Alberta:¹

The accumulative result of successive annexations is, of course, more and more urban development at the fringes of the built-up area which, in their turn, produce a new fringe extending a little farther from the centre of the city than before—and so on and so on!

An analysis of the taxable resources of the areas which would be directly affected by an extension of Metro's boundaries shows that only the Township of Toronto has approached a metropolitan level of per capita assessment. Fronting on Lake Ontario and extending north to Steeles Avenue, it has developed and will continue to develop more rapidly than the rest of the fringe. It has a balanced assessment. Its projected population is 110,000 by 1971 and 250,000 by 1980. In its brief to the Commission, the Township, opposing inclusion in Metro, showed that it "has been able to cope with its own problems as far as education is concerned", that it has adequate physical facilities, which can be enlarged, and that it "has been able to maintain a fairly even tax rate for general purposes and believes it can continue to do so because of its policies of controlled development." The brief also referred to negotiations for amalgamation with the towns of Port Credit and Streetsville.

Urban development in the southern section of the Township is part of the urban belt which stretches westward to Hamilton. Toronto Township, although oriented mainly to Metro, also has ties to the west. Adjoining it is the Town of Oakville, where the large Ford automobile plant employs many residents of the Township. "Unless you knew the boundary was there you would not see any difference going from Oakville into Toronto Township and vice versa", said Reeve Speck in his evidence before the Commission. In other words, the urban area continues unbroken well beyond the Township's limits, and if Metro's limits were extended to the outer limits of the Township, the western boundary would still necessarily be an arbitrary line.

The extension of Metro to include the whole or part of Toronto Township would endanger the survival of Peel County which depends upon the Township for 62 per cent of the county levy. The position and functions of the County and alternative forms of regional municipal organization in the area should be examined before considering integration of the Township with Metro. Consideration might well be given to the creation of a smaller "Metro" on the western fringe of Metropolitan Toronto.

Pickering Township, to the east of Metro, with a population of 22,000 in an area of 70,000 acres, is the least urbanized part of the fringe. Its projected population is 37,500 by 1971 and 57,000 in 1980. As a dormitory municipality,

¹The Alberta Municipal Counsellor, February 1964.

Murray Jones, formerly Metropolitan Planning Commissioner, in presenting a brief for the County of York, (Proceedings, pp. 845-846):

..... the basic issue is a question of the timing of further extensive urbanization not presently contemplated. . . . Should it become necessary in the future to contemplate another extensive area of urbanization much larger than that now proposed, it would obviously have to result in a change in political organization for the simple reason that it would involve the creation of an extensive new system of "Metropolitan" services.

On the west, the Township of Toronto, with the largest urban growth in the fringe area, resembles more closely the growing area municipalities of Metro. The extension of Metro's boundaries to include the Township would have serious effects on Peel County. Prior consideration should be given to other forms of regional municipal reorganization in the area, such as the creation of a smaller "Metro."

Urbanization in the eastern fringe is still very limited. Pickering Township is experiencing the "spill-over" problems of a dormitory municipality adjacent to a large urban complex. The special situation of such municipalities should be officially recognized by the Provincial Government through appropriate adjustments in grants for municipal and school purposes.

If it were the sole test, the existence of a continuous urban area extending beyond its boundaries would justify extensions of Metro's limits. But, as has been shown, there are other considerations. If Metro's limits are to be extended, it is necessary to assure a viable pattern of municipal organization on its new boundaries. Accordingly, I have recommended that prior consideration should be given to municipal reorganization in the fringe areas.

I am confident that if Wells had lived to witness "the metropolitan explosion" since 1945, he would have agreed that there are limits to expanding areas "to their new scale".

Metropolitan Toronto and its urban fringe form part of an urban belt which extends eastward to Oshawa and westward to Hamilton. A dividing line might be drawn on the east, but the belt to the west is unbroken; it can be said that the Toronto metropolitan region runs right up to the metropolitan area of Hamilton or that the latter is only a further extension of the former. It is clear that, for political and administrative reasons, Metro's boundaries cannot be extended indefinitely to encompass the extension of urban development. Subject to other regional adjustments in the interval, however, growing urbanization and interdependence point to an extension of Metro's boundaries in due course to include substantial parts of the urbanizing fringe units.

An important test for the delimitation of urban boundaries is the need for the provision of integrated urban services. Accordingly, there would be justification for extending Metro's boundary northward, since urbanization on this boundary is dependent on Metro for water and sewage services. But, as has been shown, the area is still very largely rural and urbanization has been fairly effectively controlled and should continue to be regulated by a Metro Official Plan. On the basis of present projections, it will be some years before the municipalities on the northern fringe, even as a group with an area larger than Metro, would qualify, in terms of population, as a Metro area municipality. Moreover, the removal at this time of all or part of the southern six municipalities for municipal purposes from York County would seriously affect the financial position of the County and its remaining municipalities. Prior consideration should therefore be given to a reorganization of county government. In the meanwhile, the powers and the machinery are available, both at the provincial and the Metro level, to provide the services required for present and planned urban development. The Metro Act confers authority upon the Metropolitan Corporation to enter into agreements with outside municipalities in respect of water supply, sewage disposal and public transit. There are also the powers of the Ontario Water Resources Commission in the matter of water and sewage facilities. However, failing satisfactory arrangements to provide the required facilities, the appropriate built-up area north of Steeles Avenue in Vaughan and Markham townships should be annexed to North York without undue delay, with compensation to the townships and the County of York for loss of assessment, under the provisions of section 14 of The Municipal Act.

Metro's northern boundary should be reviewed from time to time in relation to the progress of urbanization. My recommendations are predicated on the relatively limited urban development envisaged in the proposed Metro Official Plan. If, more extensive urbanization is contemplated, with the consequent need for a wide extension of Metro services, incorporation in some form with Metro will have to receive serious consideration. As stated by Mr.

CHAPTER XIV

REORGANIZATION OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

In 1953 the Ontario Municipal Board reported that "the basic problem to be solved in the Toronto metropolitan area is indicated in the significant contrast between the underlying social and economic unity of the area on the one hand, and the illogical and inequitable but extremely rigid divisions of political jurisdiction and available taxable resources on the other." As a solution, the Board recommended the establishment of a metropolitan form of government based upon a federation of the thirteen area municipalities with powers divided between the latter and the new central authority.

1. METRO'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND CONTINUING PROBLEMS

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto came into being on January 1, 1954. It has realized its objectives in substantial measure. The many briefs submitted to the Commission were unanimous in their praise of Metro's accomplishments and its contribution to the remarkable growth and development of the Toronto area in the past decade. Thus, while proposing a basic change in the system, the City of Toronto, in its brief, said:

In giving thought to the best form of government for the Toronto metropolitan area, the City of Toronto is well aware of the remarkable record of achievement which has been chalked up throughout the past decade by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. In this brief we have no wish to play down Metro's accomplishments.

Notwithstanding these accomplishments, this report has shown that some of the problems described in the Cumming Report of 1953 persist and have grown. They flow from continuing "illogical and inequitable but extremely rigid divisions of political jurisdiction and available taxable resources." The area is divided into thirteen municipalities ranging from less than one square mile to seventy square miles in size, from 9,000 to 650,000 in population, and from \$22 million to \$2 billion in taxable assessment. As a result, in an area which is a social and economic unit, there are undue inequalities in the burden of financing essential services and in the range and standards of some of the basic services provided. While the equalizing influence of Metro has prevented far greater inequalities from developing, the spread between the lowest and highest taxed municipalities has tended to widen. Moreover, with population growth concentrated in the outer suburbs, inequalities in representation on the Metropolitan Council have grown to the point that reform is imperative. A system which gives equal representation to Swansea, with 9,300 people, and North York, with 340,000, can no longer be maintained.

In 1961 and 1962 three municipalities proposed changes which would affect the structure of Metro. On December 20, 1961, the Village of Long Branch passed a by-law authorizing an application to the Ontario Municipal Board for amalgamation of the three Lakeshore municipalities. On September 24, 1962, a by-law passed by the Town of New Toronto authorized an application for amalgamation of the Lakeshore municipalities and the Police Village of Malton with the Township of Etobicoke. On October 9, 1962, a by-law of the City of Toronto authorized an application for amalgamation of all the municipalities in the Metropolitan Area. The powers of the Board to hear such applications were rescinded as from April 26, 1963, by an amendment to the Metro Act, following a statement in the Legislature by the Hon. John P. Robarts, Prime Minister, that the Government of Ontario had decided to appoint a Commission to inquire into the structure and organization of Metropolitan Toronto.

The need for change was recognized in most briefs to the Commission, but no brief suggested a return to the pre-Metro forms of municipal organization in the area. The City of Toronto submitted that:

Despite the weaknesses of Metro, its critics have not proposed turning back the clock. The degree of metropolitan unification which has been attained should in the opinion of all responsible observers be preserved. It is generally recognized that Metro has proven, as the Ontario Municipal Board had hoped, "a forward step in the solution of an extremely difficult problem" *Change ought therefore to consolidate gains and build upon them*

On changes in the Metro structure, the area municipalities were understandably divided. Most of the smaller units, while recognizing that some changes are necessary, urged that they be made within a continuing metropolitan federation of thirteen municipalities. The larger suburbs also favoured continuation of the metropolitan system but with the area municipalities consolidated into a small number of "boroughs". The City of Toronto alone recommended amalgamation of the whole area into one city.

2. MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO

The arguments of the smaller municipalities in favour of the status quo are twofold. There is, first, the sentimental desire to preserve their local identity, with emphasis on the values of the neighbourhood area and community feeling, of citizen interest and the responsiveness of local government. Secondly, it is argued that the smaller units now provide a level of services which reflects the needs and desires of the local residents whereas under any form of merger these residents would have to pay higher taxes for a uniform level of services over a wider area.

The desire to preserve local identity for its own sake is understandable. In some cases it is naturally fortified by financial, economic and other advantages which attach to the unit as a separate political entity. A local patriotism

context that we must look at the thirteen municipalities into which this integrate urban area is divided, the great variations in their size, population and resources, and the consequent disparities in their financial burdens and in the range and standards of some of the basic municipal services which they provide.

Reeve Edwin J. Pivnick, of Forest Hill, in his evidence before the Commission, acknowledged that (Proceedings, p. 329):

..... co-operative action between component members of an amalgamated or federated system can be diminished significantly if the members are separated by fundamental disparities in economic resources.

Co-operative action is also impeded by the gross inequality in representation on the Metropolitan Council inherent in the present structure which calls for one representative from each suburb regardless of differences in population.

It has been argued that to minimize the effects of an uneven distribution of resources more responsibilities should be assigned to Metro. This argument has merit; I have recommended an extension of metropolitan responsibilities in respect of education and certain other matters. But I have also recommended that important functions be left to the area municipalities, provided that the municipalities are regrouped into larger units which would make a fuller range of basic local services more widely and more equally available than is possible under the existing system. The alternative is to transfer responsibility for an increasing number of services to the Metropolitan Corporation. If this process is carried much further, however, it will be difficult to justify the continued existence of the individual municipalities. There will not be much left for them to do. In the words of W. A. Robson, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London:¹

Those who cling too tenaciously to the preservation of "historic" areas in a world where the traditional boundaries have become irrelevant can achieve their object only at the cost of depriving the "historic" areas of all administrative significance and vitality.

Having considered the submissions and the facts of the situation, I find that the case for the maintenance of the status quo in Metropolitan Toronto is not valid.

3. AMALGAMATION

The City of Toronto recommended amalgamation of the Metropolitan Area into one big city. While this recommendation was supported by a number of other briefs, it was opposed by the large bulk of the submissions to the Commission. The other area municipalities were of course unanimous in their opposition.

The history of the City's policy on annexation has been outlined in Chapter III of this report. Having expanded over a period of thirty years by absorbing newly built-up areas, Toronto, after the first World War, adopted a policy of

¹W. A. Robson, in "A Century of Municipal Progress." (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1936), p. 458.

develops and local boundaries are considered as fixed and permanent. The resulting situation has been fittingly described by Dr. Luther H. Gulick, a noted authority on municipal government and former City Administrator of New York:

Finally, a fixed political boundary serves as the mediæval wall behind which the employees of the governmental unit, including the local politicians, are deployed, not only to perform their services, but to defend "their town" and themselves against the outside world; and this they do in all sincerity. Fixed boundaries thus create their own protection by raising up powerful political defenses, patriotic loyalties, fiscal rigidities, and bureaucratic mercenaries.

There is considerable nostalgia in the arguments for the preservation of all existing local boundaries in the Metro area. The submissions bring to mind the days before the widespread use of motor cars and the rapid spread of urbanization, when municipal boundaries were more realistic and each town was a clearly recognizable entity, separate and distinct from its rural hinterland. The neighbourhood, the local area in which each inhabitant knows a large number of the others and is conscious of a considerable community of interest with them, was the unit of local government. In areas which are largely rural, this is still true. But in large integrated urban areas where the people are economically interdependent, working in one municipality and living and paying taxes in another, with large numbers moving from one unit to another every few years, the old concept of the neighbourhood as the unit of local government scarcely applies. This is the price of mobility. The nostalgic arguments for the preservation of all artificial boundaries in an urban complex such as Metropolitan Toronto have been largely invalidated by social and economic change.

It does not follow that with a change of boundaries a sense of community is or should be lost. It is an asset which can be preserved. The local neighbourhood does not disappear with the extension of municipal boundaries, nor should the patriotism which attaches to it. The brief of the City of Toronto says, with effect, that:

When a former self-contained town or village is swept up in a metropolitan expansion, part of its character is lost whether or not it is stripped of its independent municipal status; and part of it remains even if its corporate entity has disappeared. Toronto people still talk of Yorkville, which was annexed in 1883, of Riverdale, which was absorbed a year later, of Rosedale, of the Annex, Sunnyside and Parkdale, each of which became part of the City of Toronto before 1890. The history of Toronto annexations contains many another familiar name including Deer Park, Wychwood, West Toronto, Balmy Beach, Dovercourt, North Toronto and Moore Park. The two latest were added to the City in 1912!

Having been "swept up in a metropolitan expansion", the Toronto area municipalities are, as such, no longer distinct and separate neighbourhoods but interdependent parts of a geographic, social and economic unit. It is in this

¹Luther Halsey Gulick: *The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 50.

does not mean that there must be complete equality in respect of all services regardless of the different requirements of developed and developing areas. At this stage, there is room for some diversity in services and therefore in tax rates.

The City submits that total amalgamation will mean more efficiency in administration. In relation to administration by thirteen units of varying size and resources, this argument has validity. However, such savings in costs as may be effected would soon be more than offset by the increase in expenditures to raise the standards of services to a common level. In respect of Metro, no proof was submitted of unnecessary duplication of effort or that the metropolitan system has added considerably to the costs of local government. It has been shown in Chapter VIII of this report that Metro's expenditures on general government, including the costs of assessment for all the area municipalities, have ranged from only \$1.01 to \$1.15 per \$1,000 of taxable assessment. Considering the growth of the area and the consequent expansion of municipal services since 1953, costs would have risen whatever system of local government prevailed.

While economy and efficiency in administration are necessary, they should not be the sole test of representative government. The recent report of the Royal Commission on Greater London points out that: "Local government is with us an instance of democracy at work, and no amount of potential administrative efficiency could make up for the loss of active participation in the work by capable, public spirited people elected by, responsible to, and in touch with those who elect them."¹ The report goes on to say, however, that "it is always necessary to bear in mind that unless local authorities are so constituted as to be able to undertake all the functions appropriate to local government there will always be the risk that more and more functions will be taken away from local government and given to ad hoc bodies or to central government."² Total amalgamation of the Metro area would mean centralized administration with necessary decentralization of some local services through the establishment of divisional offices responsible to the central office. In my opinion, the requirements of both democracy and administrative efficiency will be better satisfied if the administration of such local services, as distinct from area-wide services, is, as far as possible, in the hands of local officials responsible to local elected representatives in municipalities properly constituted to meet the needs of the Metropolitan Area.

The population of the Metropolitan Area in 1965 is greater than that of seven of the ten provinces of Canada and approximately equal to the population of the eighth, British Columbia. Total amalgamation would therefore create a city with a population of more than 1,750,000 in 1965 and a forecast population of more than 2,000,000 by 1970 and about 2,500,000 in the early 'eighties. On the matter of bigness, the Toronto brief says that in 1963 there were 41 cities, "single municipal entities", which were larger in population than Metro: "The number included five cities in the United States and one in Mexico, nine in

¹Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, op cit., p. 59.

²Ibid, p. 61.

"no further annexations". It was only in 1950 that it reversed its position by applying to the Ontario Municipal Board for an order amalgamating the City with the surrounding municipalities. The Board dismissed the application and recommended a form of metropolitan government for the area. In 1962 a City by-law authorized a new application for amalgamation.

The case submitted by Toronto to the Commission is based on three main grounds: that amalgamation "offers the most complete and direct cure to current problems of taxation, representation and organization"; that "an outright merger is the simplest and most logical governmental arrangement, offering the best prospects for continuing achievement"; and that such a merger "is entirely practical and readily attainable." The brief submits that, with the elimination of thirteen municipal councils and the related boards, commissions and departments, substantial savings in administrative costs would be effected, although it admits that additional expenditures would be necessary "to eliminate differences in service standards that could not be tolerated within an amalgamated municipality." It alleges that the Metro system involves duplication of effort and "adds to the cost of administering local government services"; one big city could introduce economies of scale. With respect to its own position in the area, Toronto complains that the creation of Metro has locked it "inside its existing boundaries with no opportunity to expand but a responsibility to assist the suburban municipalities with their expansion"; that it "is bearing more than its fair share of the cost of services as a consequence of its central location"; and that, as a result of "planning by assessment" in the suburbs, it is subject to unfair competition for high-grade commercial and residential development. The City maintains that amalgamation, with centralized control and uniform tax rates, would eliminate city-suburban tensions and consolidate the gains flowing from the degree of unification already attained under Metro.

There is much that appeals in the case for amalgamation. With local government shared by Metro and thirteen municipalities, the area is highly over-governed, and the variations in size and resources of the units are reflected in wide disparities in tax burdens and in services. Amalgamation offers a solution which would eliminate thirteen local governments, equalize tax rates, consolidate administration, and prepare the way for uniformity of services. To many persons this is a simple straightforward answer to Metro's problems. But "neat and tidy" solutions to complex problems of government are not necessarily applicable or practical.

The City's case assumes that municipal services and tax rates should be equal throughout the 240 square miles of the Metro area. This assumption fails to recognize that there are differences between the inner ring of developed municipalities with high population densities and the three developing outer townships with large areas of agricultural and vacant land and relatively low density of population. I have said in this report that the citizens of the thirteen municipalities are entitled to more equality in the range and standards of basic services than the present fragmented system of government permits, but this

4. CONSOLIDATION

All briefs submitted to the Commission praised the achievements of Metro and the large majority favoured the continuation of metropolitan government with a consolidation of the area municipalities into a smaller number of units, usually referred to as "boroughs". The number suggested ranged from four to eight.

For the reasons already set out in this report, I have concluded that, notwithstanding the impressive accomplishments of Metro, there are certain continuing problems which call for a reorganization of the municipal structure in the area. Accordingly, I have rejected the maintenance of the status quo. While recognizing some of its advantages, I have also rejected total amalgamation. I do not find that a case has been made for the dissolution of the metropolitan system of government. It is my conclusion that continuation of a metropolitan federation with a consolidation of some of the area municipalities will best meet the requirements of government and of continued growth of the Metropolitan Area.

In recommending a metropolitan government based on the principle of federation, the Ontario Municipal Board, in the Cumming Report of 1953, said that "one of the great virtues of any federal scheme is its flexibility and the comparative ease with which it can be adapted to changed conditions and the realities of a particular situation." In my opinion, the continuing rapid growth of the Metropolitan Area in the 'sixties makes it essential to maintain such flexibility. This must be a basic consideration in a reorganization of the municipal structure of the area.

Having proposed a new form of government which involved many adjustments, the Cumming Report, as a practical consideration, sought to avoid drastic changes which were not immediately necessary. However, it did foresee changes in due course and pointed out that:

They [the municipalities] are not in the position of sovereign states entering a federation on a contractual basis and the scheme of federation now proposed will not be comparable to a rigid written constitution to be amended only by mutual consent. Necessary changes can and will be made as the need arises by the act of the legislature which is at all times the only source of the powers which are being discussed.

The Board's comments, in 1953, on the existing boundaries of the area municipalities are particularly relevant. The Cumming Report anticipated a regrouping of municipalities when it said that:

The need of future changes in the boundaries of the city and the twelve suburbs . . . must not be overlooked. In many cases these boundaries have been the result of purely arbitrary decisions or the result of temporary influences and do not now conform to natural or logical divisions of community interest. It is also quite possible that within some of the larger municipalities the process of further division by separate incorporation may continue as in the past.

I have concluded that a regrouping is now necessary.

Europe, five in South America, two in Australia and the remaining twenty in Asia." This is scarcely a valid argument for total amalgamation in Toronto; I doubt that its citizens would want to pattern their municipality on or face the problems of any of the cities to which the brief has reference. It is relevant to note that the municipal reorganization of Greater London which became effective on April 1, 1965, took the form of a new metropolitan government, with a great reduction in the number of local authorities, and that in Los Angeles, a report in 1961 also recommended a metropolitan government for area-wide functions.¹

The Toronto brief submits that: "A unique requirement of government at the local level is to accomplish periodic adjustments of the units of government in response to the growth of urban areas." I have said, in Chapter XIII of this report, that increasing urbanization in the fringe areas points to an eventual extension of Metro's boundaries. The City admits that "the extent of urban development which needs to be enclosed may be a factor in deciding which is more practical, amalgamation or federation. If federation should be continued, the most likely way of adding territory would be to take in some further municipalities and to give them the status which now applies or is then assigned to local municipalities within the present boundary line. If we amalgamate, the outer boundary could be extended by adding whole or part municipalities which would thereby be brought into the enlarged city." On this point, I agree with Controller William L. Archer of Toronto, who, in his brief, said:

. . . . The brief from the City of Toronto has raised the question of the location of our outer boundaries. It is my submission that in those cases where it becomes necessary to alter the outer boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto, it can be done more easily through a district system than through a totally amalgamated system. The essential point of our system of government in this area is that we must retain a high degree of flexibility for the future. The rigidity of total amalgamation would place restrictions on the future growth and development of our area and make it difficult, if not impossible, to develop regional government for the urbanized area that exists between Oshawa and Niagara Falls.

Toronto submits that: "It is generally recognized that Metro has proven, as the Ontario Municipal Board had hoped, 'a forward step in the solution of an extremely difficult problem.' *Change ought therefore to consolidate gains and build upon them.*" The brief does not prove that consolidation of the gains under Metro calls for the dissolution of the metropolitan system and total amalgamation of the area. Reeve True Davidson, of East York, in her evidence before the Commission, said, with effect, (Proceedings, p. 1567):

I think that there is no reason to have amalgamation. You don't have to put the baby out with the bath water. There is no reason why we shouldn't retain the Metro system while getting rid of the inequitable—nobody denies the present representation is inequitable, and that there is a wide variation in the tax rate, although I don't object to some variation in the tax rate. I think this is reasonable so that people can have what they want and can pay for.

¹Metropolitan Government for Los Angeles: A Workable Solution. (March 1961).

Table 51
METROPOLITAN TORONTO: POPULATION FORECAST
1971 and 1980

	1963 Population ¹	Per Cent of Total %	1971 Population ²	Per Cent of Total %	1980 Population ²	Per Cent of Total %
.....	630,339	38.1	670,000	32.8	680,000	29.6
.....	307,584	18.6	450,000	22.0	515,000	22.4
.....	240,371	14.5	345,000	16.9	485,000	21.1
.....	177,537	10.7	240,000	11.8	275,000	11.9
.....	126,311	7.6	137,000	6.7	137,000	5.9
.....	70,176	4.2	77,000	3.8	84,000	3.6
.....	21,126	1.3	25,000	1.2	23,000	1.0
.....	18,453	1.1	24,000	1.2	28,000	1.2
.....	18,150	1.1	20,000	1.0	20,000	.9
.....	11,785	.7	14,000	.7	15,000	.6
.....	11,129	.7	14,000	.7	14,000	.6
.....	9,983	.6	13,000	.6	12,000	.5
.....	9,371	.6	11,000	.5	12,000	.5
Metro Total.....	1,652,315	100.0	2,040,000	100.0	2,300,000	100.0

¹Annual Report of Municipal Statistics, Province of Ontario, 1963.
²Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board 1963 (Forecast based on existing boundaries).

-consistent
with Prof. Bourne
-also relevant
to s.15

Considering the growth and development trends of the area and the problems created by the inequitable division of political jurisdiction and taxable resources, I find that the thirteen diverse municipalities—one city, four towns, three villages and five townships—should be consolidated into four cities.

i. A Four-City System

The City of Toronto and the inner suburbs of York Township, Forest Hill, Leaside, East York and Swansea are linked by geography and common interests. They are mature and developed areas, and, except for Forest Hill and Leaside, face common problems of renewal and redevelopment. With each municipality seeking to improve its tax base independently, they compete for development and redevelopment projects, which are accordingly dealt with on a piecemeal basis and without regard to sound planning in the overall interests of the area. The current disputes over the proposed densities of building projects in York Township are an example of the conflict of interest under the existing fragmentation of authority.

The six municipalities are highly interdependent. Leaside, for example, with the highest rate of average annual earnings and the lowest tax rate in the Metro area, derives its economic strength from a high assessment base divided equally between industrial plants and dwelling units of above average values. Located in the heart of the Metropolitan Area, its factories draw their manpower, in the main, from Toronto, East York, and other municipalities. Leaside, therefore, requires a minimum of such services as welfare; the City, East York

My recommendations for a consolidation of area municipalities are not based on theories as to the "optimum" size of a municipality in terms of population. Much has been written on this subject and the briefs to the Commission made many references to such writings, but there is no agreement on the "optimum", and the figures vary widely with the criteria applied. I agree with the Royal Commission on Greater London that "there is no special virtue in any one figure". In fact, it cannot be said that there is one optimum size for municipalities. What may be the appropriate size of constituent units of one metropolitan area will not necessarily be appropriate to another with different characteristics derived from its own history, geography, population composition and economic development. The "metropolitan problem" is general, but it must be dealt with on the basis of the facts of each particular situation.

In briefs submitted by area municipalities to justify the preservation of existing units, there was frequent reference to the principles of democracy. I hold that a democratic solution for the problems of a metropolitan area is one which is based on the needs of the larger community rather than on the special interests of particular sections within that community. The situation in Metro must therefore be viewed in the context of one geographic, social and economic unit divided into thirteen municipalities which vary greatly in size and resources, with consequent disparities in tax burdens, in the range and standards of services, and in representation on the Metropolitan Council. There is the core city, fully developed, which is the financial, industrial, commercial and cultural centre, providing services which benefit all parts of the area. There is the inner ring of nine developed suburbs, of which some are not in a position to provide the range and standards of services required in a modern urban complex, while others, with large industrial and high class residential assessment, are able to provide local services with considerably less tax effort than their neighbours. There are, finally, the three large and populous outer suburbs which are still in the stages of development and, therefore, face problems which are different from those confronting the developed City and inner suburbs.

By far the bulk of population growth in Metro's first ten years took place in the three outer townships. This trend is continuing and, according to projections, will continue into the 'eighties, as shown in Table 51. It is forecast, on the basis of existing local boundaries, that by 1980 the proportion of Metro's population residing in the City and the inner ring will have declined as follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN METRO

Year	City and 9 Inner Suburbs		3 Outer Suburbs	
	%	%	%	%
1953.....	77.9	22.1	43.8	50.7
1963.....	56.2	49.3	44.6	55.4
1971 (forecast).....	49.3	44.6		
1980 (forecast).....	44.6			

and the other areas provide most of the employees for its industries and the municipal services for them and their families.

A look at the map shows the artificial boundaries which separate each of the five suburbs from the City of Toronto. Each is a political unit, but in terms of geography and of social and economic interdependence they are all parts of the City. It is only logical that they should be merged with it politically. A consolidation of the five suburbs with the City of Toronto will strengthen the core upon which the strength of the Metropolitan Area as a whole depends. It will make possible the coordination of planning for urban renewal and redevelopment by one planning body operating under one local council. It will also eliminate the unfair disparities in financial burdens and inequalities in the range and standards of services in the area of 54 square miles covered by the six municipalities.

The three outer suburbs are actually three large cities; in fact, they rank in population with the largest cities in Canada. Among Ontario municipalities, North York ranked second, Scarborough fifth and Etobicoke sixth, in 1963. They meet the tests of viable and effective local government in terms of size, population, resources and scale of operations. As urban entities, the municipal status of township is no longer appropriate to them. North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke should continue to be area municipalities of Metro and the status of each should be changed from township to city.

The remaining four suburbs of the inner ring, Weston and the Lakeshore municipalities of Long Branch, New Toronto and Mimico, share the problems of the inner group. However, they are not linked to the City geographically like the others. The geographic ties of the Lakeshore municipalities are with Etobicoke. It is relevant to note that in September 1962, the Town of New Toronto applied for amalgamation of the three municipalities with Etobicoke. I find that such a consolidation is logical and warranted by the existing situation.

Weston is geographically linked with North York and there is a history of inter-municipal agreements between them. For these reasons and in the interests of administrative efficiency, I find that Weston should be consolidated with North York.

Accordingly, I recommend that the area municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto should be consolidated to form four cities, as follows:

The City of Toronto, consolidating the City of Toronto, the Township of York, the Village of Forest Hill, the Town of Leaside, the Township of East York, and the Village of Swansea. (Area: 54 square miles).

The City of North York, consolidating the Township of North York and the Town of Weston. (Area: 69.1 square miles).

The City of Scarborough. (Area: 70 square miles).

The City of Etobicoke, consolidating the Township of Etobicoke, the Village of Long Branch, the Town of New Toronto, and the Town of Mimico. (Area: 47.9 square miles).

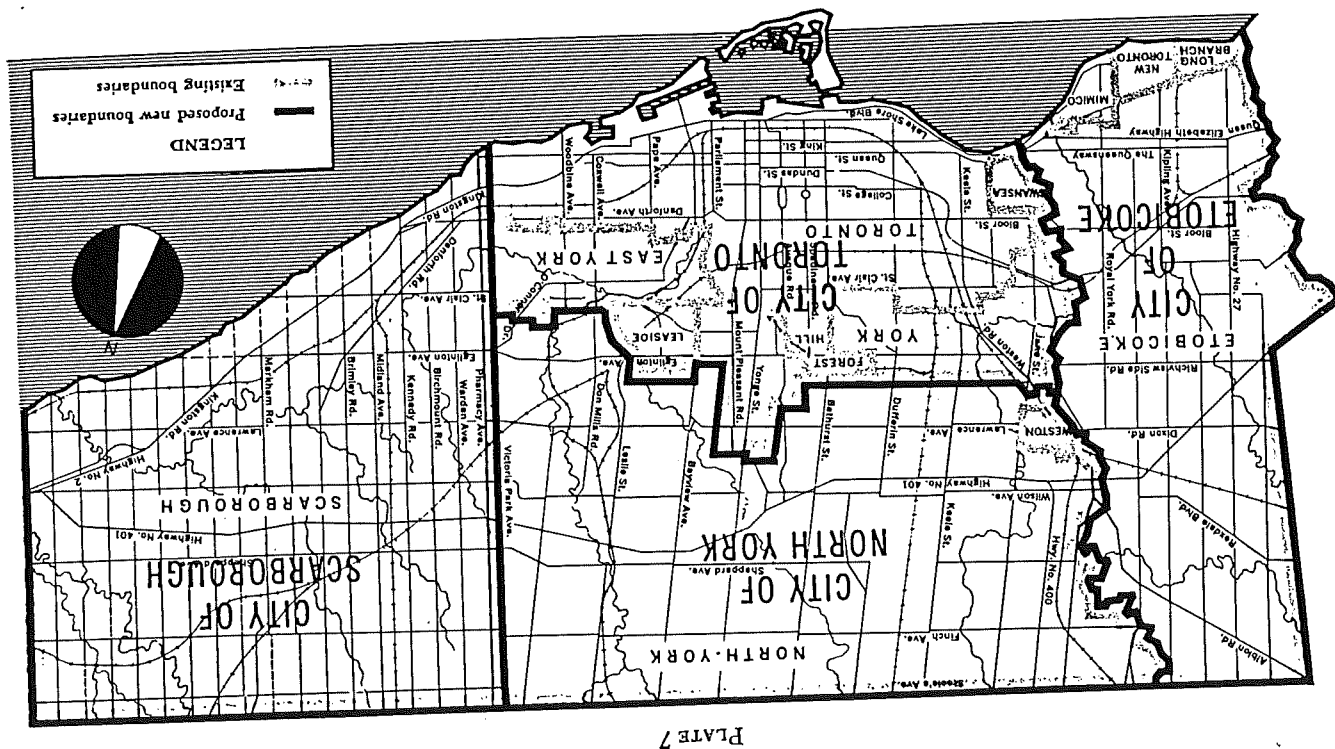


PLATE 7

Table 52
COMPARISON OF NET EXPENDITURES:
Present System and Proposed 4-City System¹

	Per \$1,000 of Metro Assessment			
	Present System ²		4-City System ³	
	Residential	Commercial	Residential	Commercial
City of Toronto.....	\$ 63.75	70.30	\$ 62.06	69.29
Toronto.....	63.75	70.30	63.55	71.10
Leaside.....	46.84	53.07	51.67	57.10
East York.....	59.19	66.08	56.66	63.62
Forest Hill.....	54.13	60.85	55.41	60.07
Swansea.....	46.67	52.88	51.19	57.06
York.....	60.11	66.94	57.63	65.07
City of Etobicoke.....	—	—	55.70	61.57
Etobicoke.....	52.87	59.29	55.87	61.52
New Toronto.....	49.82	56.07	52.11	59.96
Mimico.....	53.41	59.79	55.71	62.38
Long Branch.....	55.56	61.91	57.29	64.78
City of North York.....	—	—	56.12	61.87
North York.....	57.04	63.90	55.94	61.66
Weston.....	56.90	63.07	61.15	67.68
City of Scarborough.....	—	—	62.71	69.44
Scarborough.....	65.19	72.09	62.71	69.44

¹Expenditures of area municipalities, including respective shares of Metro expenditures, for general and education purposes, 1963.
²Expenditures adjusted for assumption by Metro of 20 per cent mandatory welfare costs.
³Expenditures additionally adjusted to reflect a uniform school tax rate and distribution of the Unconditional Per Capita Grant on a population basis, showing effect of these adjustments on basis of (a) present system of 13 municipalities and (b) proposed 4-city system.

Table 52 shows the following range of expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment under the existing system:

	Residential	Commercial
High.....	\$ 65.19 (Scarborough)	\$ 72.09 (Scarborough)
Low.....	46.67 (Swansea)	52.88 (Swansea)
Spread.....	18.52	19.21

If the figures are adjusted to give effect to a uniform tax rate for education and the distribution of the unconditional grant on a population basis under the existing system of thirteen municipalities, the spread is reduced as follows:

	Residential	Commercial
High.....	\$ 63.55 (Toronto)	\$ 71.10 (Toronto)
Low.....	51.19 (Swansea)	57.06 (Swansea)
Spread.....	12.36	14.04

Revised population figures for 1964, prepared by the Metropolitan Assessment Department in March 1965, and forecasts for 1971, prepared by the Metropolitan Planning Department on the basis of existing boundaries, show that the population of the four cities would be as follows:

	Population 1964	% of Metro Population	Population 1971	% of Metro Population
Toronto.....	900,513	51.7	944,000	46.3
North York.....	351,891	20.2	463,000	22.6
Scarborough.....	253,292	14.5	345,000	16.9
Etobicoke.....	238,635	13.6	288,000	14.2
Total.....	1,744,331	100.0	2,040,000	100.0

Taxable assessment in 1965, on the basis of figures prepared by the Metropolitan Assessment Commissioner in March 1965, would be distributed among the four cities as follows:

	Taxable Assessment 1965	% of Total Metro Assessment
Toronto.....	\$ 2,487,846,569	54.5
North York.....	893,946,785	19.6
Scarborough.....	496,713,346	10.9
Etobicoke.....	684,825,052	15.0
Total.....	4,563,331,752	100.0

ii. Financial Implications

It is not possible to forecast the changes in tax rates which would result from a consolidation which reduces the number of municipalities from thirteen to four. Mill rates are predicated on estimated expenditures and are influenced by factors of a technical and policy nature, and four councils would not necessarily adopt the same policies as the thirteen councils which they replaced. It is possible, however, to illustrate the impact of the redistribution of taxation under a four-city system by comparing net local and Metro expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment for each area municipality under the existing system with estimates of the corresponding figures for the proposed four cities adjusted to give effect to the recommendations for a uniform tax rate for schools and distribution of the unconditional grant to the cities on a population basis. This comparison is shown in Table 52 on the basis of 1963 figures, the latest available. It should be noted that no adjustments have been made for possible savings in administrative costs, recommended changes in partial exemptions in Toronto and New Toronto, or for the use of area charges in some of the townships. It has also been assumed that there will be no changes in provincial grants. Accordingly, the figures do not represent tax rates, actual or hypothetical, but serve only to illustrate how the tax position would be influenced by the proposed consolidation.

Under the four-city system, with expenditures similarly adjusted, the range of expenditures per \$1,000 of assessment would be narrowed much further:

	Residential	Commercial
High.....	\$ 62.71 (Scarborough)	\$ 69.44 (Scarborough)
Low.....	55.70 (Etobicoke)	61.57 (Etobicoke)
Spread.....	7.01	7.87

It is clear that the four-city plan would greatly reduce existing inequalities. By widening the areas of service, it would lead to more uniformity in the range and standards of local services. It would not produce uniform tax rates; while the public school rate would be the same throughout the area, the local municipal rate would vary. As urbanization spreads, the rates in the three outer cities are likely to move closer to each other. But, with the elimination of nine municipalities, the existing wide inequalities in financial burdens would be considerably narrowed.

Leaside, Forest Hill and Swansea would necessarily face the largest increases in taxation. While paying their due share of the costs of Metro services, they have been in the privileged position of not having to provide or to share the costs of services which Toronto, in particular, has been compelled to provide and from which the wider area has benefited. Having regard to the range of rates in the area and to the fact that assessments are still based on 1940 values, the anticipated higher rates would not be abnormal. In case of necessity, the effects of the increases could be cushioned.

The four-city plan would also redistribute local debts more equitably. Table 53 compares net debt per capita and per \$1,000 of assessment under the existing system with the corresponding figures under the proposed four-city system after assumption by Metro of local school debts outstanding at the end of 1963.

The figures show that in 1963 net debt per capita ranged from \$29.78 in Mimico to \$224.51 in Toronto; the spread was \$194.73. Under the four-city system, with Metro assuming the local school debts, the spread would be narrowed to \$36.12 per capita. On the basis of net debt per \$1,000 of taxable assessment, the spread would be reduced from \$85.52 to \$21.30. The largest increase in debt would be reflected in the existing municipalities which have not had to face the vast problems of development in recent years, but, as geographic parts of the area, have shared with the other municipalities in the benefits from such development.

With respect to the adjustment of assets and liabilities between amalgamating and amalgamated municipalities under the four-city plan, I recommend that the transfer of assets from area municipalities to the amalgamated cities should be effected without adjustment to compensate any area municipality but subject only to the assumption and payment by the amalgamated cities of

Table 53
COMPARISON OF NET DIRECT DEBT:
Present System and Proposed 4-City System
(as at December 31, 1963)

	Per Capita		Per \$1,000 of Taxable Assessment	
	Present System	4-City System ¹	Present System	4-City System ¹
City of Toronto.....	\$ —	\$ 129.71	\$ —	\$ 47.71
Toronto.....	224.51		76.26	
York.....	106.85		59.58	
Leaside.....	137.32		33.21	
East York.....	74.04		41.13	
Forest Hill.....	71.12		20.98	
Swansea.....	39.38		15.84	
City of Etobicoke.....	—	94.20	—	34.58
Etobicoke.....	182.38		65.01	
New Toronto.....	121.10		33.50	
Mimico.....	29.78		15.49	
Long Branch.....	135.05		75.60	
City of North York.....	—	93.59	—	40.13
North York.....	160.83		69.19	
Weston.....	119.80		46.59	
City of Scarborough.....	—	104.13	—	55.88
Scarborough.....	188.21		101.01	
Area Municipalities Total.....	179.39	114.35	71.17	45.37
Metro.....	167.07	232.11	66.28	92.09
Grand Total.....	346.46	346.46	137.46	137.46

¹Adjusted for assumption by Metro of net local school debt outstanding on December 31, 1963. Source: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Debenture Debt Report of the Commissioner of Finance, December 31, 1963.

the relative outstanding capital indebtedness. This was the policy adopted with respect to assets taken over by Metro, and was recommended by the Ontario Municipal Board in the Cumming Report, which said that:

In the board's opinion, the true nature of these assets is often misunderstood. Although they have been built and financed by the various individual municipalities and their local boards, they are not in a legal sense the property of the residents or ratepayers for the time being resident within the municipality where the assets are located. They are, in every sense of the word, public property and are held in trust for the use and benefit of the present and future residents of the area within the jurisdiction of the local authority. But that area has no fixed and predetermined limits and it may be indefinitely enlarged or included with other areas for the purposes of local government at the will of the legislature. The municipal government is, after all, a government and not a commercial corporation which can wind up

its affairs, sell its assets and distribute the proceeds among its shareholders. For this reason it seems to the board that so long as the residents of the particular area are not deprived of the beneficial use of the assets built or maintained for them by their local government, the management and operation of the asset by a new type of local government which will be, in effect, a new trustee, deprives them of no rights whatever, and entitles them to no individual or collective compensation.

iii. *Provincial Road Grants*

It was pointed out that the estimates in Table 52 assume that the creation of the four-city system would not mean changes in provincial grants paid to the municipalities. Under current policy, as described in Chapter IX, road grants are equal to 50 per cent of approved costs in the case of townships and $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent in the case of cities; the townships of York and East York are considered to be cities for the purposes of these grants. If the townships of North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke are created cities, as recommended in this report, it is my recommendation that there should be no reduction in the road grants paid to them. The proposed cities of North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke should continue to be considered townships for purposes of such grants.

iv. *Partial Exemption of Dwellings*

Reference has been made to the partial exemption from general purpose taxation of single family dwellings assessed at \$4,000 or less in the City of Toronto and the Town of New Toronto. The exemption ranges as follows:

% of Exemption	Assessed Value
50	up to \$2,000
40	\$2,001 to \$2,500
30	\$2,501 to \$3,000
20	\$3,001 to \$3,500
10	\$3,501 to \$4,000

In 1963 the exempt assessment amounted to \$46 million in Toronto, representing almost 62,000 properties, and in New Toronto, to \$1.2 million. Under the consolidations which I have proposed, such partial exemptions could not be maintained in Toronto and New Toronto alone; they would have to be abolished or, in the alternative, extended throughout the enlarged City of Toronto and the proposed City of Etobicoke.

Introduced in 1921 to assist veterans of the First World War to acquire homes, these exemptions can no longer be said to serve their original purpose. They are difficult to determine and to administer. They increase the general tax rate and create inequalities among taxpayers because the benefit conferred is not related to capacity to pay. There are many home owners enjoying a partial exemption to whom it could not have been intended to apply. For example, 7,494 properties in Toronto's Ward 9 qualified for a partial exemption in 1963, although in each census tract of the 1961 census the median value of the houses ranged from \$15,818 to \$35,083. It is obvious that if assessed values had been

kept closer to market value, a much smaller number of homes would now be eligible for a partial exemption.

I recommend that, with the introduction of the four-city system, the partial exemptions in the City of Toronto and in New Toronto should be abolished in stages over a five-year period by reducing the percentage of exempted assessment by ten percentage points in each year, with provision for assistance in the case of affected owners and tenants who show need.

5. INTEGRATION OF MUNICIPAL STAFFS

Consolidation of the thirteen municipalities into four cities will necessitate the integration of services and of municipal staffs within each city. This should not create formidable problems. I am confident that, once the decision to adopt the four-city plan is made, the problems of adjustment could be solved through joint consultation during the transition period between the enactment of the relevant legislation and the date fixed for the plan to take effect. Ontario municipalities have had considerable experience in making adjustments consequent upon amalgamation.

With respect to those municipal officers and employees whose positions would be affected by the proposed reorganization, I am of the opinion that, with the continuing rapid growth of the area and the necessary expansion of municipal services, the new authorities should not find it difficult to absorb them. In his evidence before the Commission, Mr. Eric Hardy, appearing for the City, pointed out "that Toronto's growth rate corresponds to the addition of a Peterborough or a Brantford year by year." It is obvious, however, that, making allowance for growth, in a reorganization such as is recommended, each civic employee affected by the change could not expect to be guaranteed work equal in responsibility to that which he now performs. While I do not suggest any particular pattern for the integration of staffs, I recommend that:

- i. The new authorities should offer employment to all employees who had permanent status on the first day of April in the year preceding the effective date of the reorganization.
- ii. The new authorities should assess each employee affected by the change so that each person may be placed in the most responsible post available among those for which he is qualified.
- iii. Until an offer of a permanent post is made, an employee should be retained in employment at a level of pay and on terms and conditions of employment no less favourable than those which he enjoyed before the reorganization.
- iv. If an employee is transferred to duties reasonably comparable to those which he performed previous to the transfer, his pay, salary scale and terms and conditions of employment should be no less favourable than those which he, previously enjoyed.

v. If the employment offered to an employee is at a level of pay and on terms and conditions which are less favourable than those which he previously enjoyed and the employee therefore terminates his employment, he should be entitled to reasonable compensation for loss of employment.

vi. The existing and accrued rights and benefits of each employee in respect of retirement benefits, pensions, group insurance, sick leave credits, vacations, and the like, should be fully protected by the new authorities.

vii. If rights acquired under existing collective agreements are affected by proposed changes, there should be prior consultation with the trade union representing the employees concerned.

viii. Existing wage and employment standards should as far as possible be protected.

In conclusion, I draw attention to the following recommendation in the reports of the Board of Conciliation in the matter of disputes between Metro and Locals 79 and 878 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, dated October 17, 1964:

We do have one general recommendation to make, based on our experience this year on the various boards of conciliation in the Metro area. We recommend to the parties and to the Government that consideration be given to a scheme whereby all municipalities in the Metro area (if there are in the future to be a number of such municipalities) would be represented by one bargaining committee and all employees and union represented by one bargaining committee. We understand that such a scheme is in operation in the Vancouver area. The Metro municipalities and the various unions are aware, we are sure, that a duplication over the years of the 1964 experience negating collective bargaining in the conciliation procedure, may well lead to the imposition of compulsory arbitration, an end not desired by either side.

CHAPTER XV

THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL AND PROPOSED CITY COUNCILS

The constitution of the Metropolitan Council is described in Chapter IV of this report. There are twenty-four councillors, divided equally between representatives of the City of Toronto and representatives of the suburbs. Each of the twelve suburbs is represented by the mayor or reeve, while the representatives of the City are the mayor, the two controllers who received the highest number of votes at the preceding municipal elections, and the alderman from each of nine wards who received the highest number of votes in the ward. The chairman is elected by the Council which may choose one of its own members "or any other person".

The constitution of the Council thus presents some special features: the members are not elected directly but become Metro councillors by virtue of their election to office in an area municipality; the City and the suburbs, as a group, have equal representation; each City ward and the voters of the City at large are represented; and each suburb, regardless of size and population, is entitled to one representative. These were ingenious features of the Metro Act of 1953; they made for wider acceptability of the new form of government and helped to solidify its political base. Moreover, the system of indirect election was familiar to the people because the members of county councils in Ontario are selected in this way.

The value of the liaison between the area councils and the Metropolitan Council under the existing system was emphasized in the briefs submitted to the Commission by the area municipalities; Metro has not become a rival or alien government. Linking the councils in this way has made it possible for all parts of the metropolitan community to become associated in the solution of area-wide problems. I find that Metro's success is due in no small part to the fact that its Council has been composed of persons who were also members of the councils of the area municipalities. The brief of the City of Toronto pointed out that:

The arrangement for representation on the Metropolitan Council and School Board has had certain obvious advantages by comparison with the system of direct election which applies to county councillors in London, England, and to metropolitan councillors in Winnipeg. The method we follow has meant that one or more elected representatives in each area municipality has a personal stake in the success of the Metropolitan government. In addition, it has ensured that persons with an intimate knowledge of each area municipality and its problems would bring that knowledge to bear upon the consideration of the metropolitan undertakings.

While the system of indirect election has helped to secure Metro's political base, it is valid to argue that Metro councillors should be elected directly because they have decision-making authority in major matters of area-wide interest and are responsible for a large part of the tax levy in the area. It has been suggested that Metro should be divided on the basis of population into metropolitan electoral districts which disregard local municipal boundaries, as in Metropolitan Winnipeg, and that the councillors should be elected by such districts. This would destroy the formal link between Metro and the area councils, which I find has been one of the great strengths of the Toronto system as compared with other experiments in metropolitan government. To maintain this link, and, at the same time, to have regard to the principles of responsible government, reform of the existing system should combine direct election of councillors with representation of the area municipalities on the Metropolitan Council.

The basis of representation on Council, as set up in 1953, was politic but unequal. With one representative for each of the suburbs and for each Toronto ward, inequalities in representation have been greatly intensified by the wide disparities in the rate of population growth. Swansea, with a population of 9,322 in 1964, and North York, with 341,437, are each represented by one councillor. Seven small suburbs with 104,000 people have 29 per cent of the votes in Council, as compared with 21 per cent for five suburbs with 990,000 people. In Toronto, Ward 3, with a population of 40,738, has the same vote in Metro Council as Ward 6, with a population of 122,900. Toronto, with 56.7 per cent of Metro's population in 1953, was awarded one-half of the seats on the Council; to-day, with less than 38 per cent of Metro's total, it still retains the same representation. It is obvious that the system of representation must be reformed.

1. THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

Under the recommended four-city plan, the population of Metropolitan Toronto as has been shown, would be distributed as follows:

	1964	1971
Toronto.....	900,513	944,000
North York.....	351,891	463,000
Scarborough.....	253,292	345,000
Etobicoke.....	238,635	288,000
Total.....	<u>1,744,331</u>	<u>2,040,000</u>

This distribution provides a basis for equitable representation on Council within a metropolitan federation.

I reject the suggestion made in a number of briefs that representation should be determined by assessment as well as population. This is a theory which is long outdated. It is incompatible with the principle of representation by population. In modern democracies representatives are elected to represent

people, not dollars. As stated by Reeve True Davidson of East York, in her brief, "a democratic belief in the significance of the individual, regardless of his wealth or poverty, forbids acceptance of the theory that financial interest should be regarded as justifying special representation."

Metro Council is now composed of twenty-four members and the chairman. Considering the need to provide reasonable representation for each of the proposed cities, I recommend that the membership of the Metropolitan Council should be set at twenty-six, with the following representation for each of the cities:

City of Toronto.....	13
City of North York.....	5
City of Scarborough.....	4
City of Etobicoke.....	4
Total.....	<u>26</u>

On this basis, the representation of each city would reasonably approximate its percentage of the total Metro population, as shown by the following comparisons:

	% of Total Council Membership	% of Total Metro Population
	1964	1971
Toronto.....	50.0	51.7
North York.....	19.2	20.2
Scarborough.....	15.4	14.5
Etobicoke.....	15.4	13.6
		46.3
		22.6
		16.9
		14.2

The average population represented per member of Metro Council would be as follows:

	1964	1971
Toronto.....	69,270	72,615
North York.....	70,378	92,600
Scarborough.....	63,323	86,250
Etobicoke.....	59,658	72,000
Average.....	<u>67,089</u>	<u>78,461</u>

The overall average should serve as a guide on population and representation when the incorporation of fringe municipalities into Metro is considered.

I recommend that, to maintain reasonable equity, representation on Council should be reviewed every ten years on the basis of the last Census of Canada.

To maintain the link between Metro Council and the area councils, I recommend that the representation of each city on the Metropolitan Council should be composed of the mayor and of metropolitan councillors elected directly by each ward or by a combination of wards, the councillors to serve on both Metro Council and the respective city councils. This proposal is described in more detail below.

Considering the operation of Metro under its first two chairmen and my recommendation for the direct election of metropolitan councillors, I recommend no change in the provisions of the Metro Act governing election of the chairman of Metropolitan Council. If a metropolitan councillor representing one of the consolidated cities is elected chairman, he should be free to decide whether he is in a position to retain both posts. If, however, the mayor of a city is elected chairman and were to retain both posts, it would be difficult for him to remain impartial in the event of a conflict of interest between his city and Metro. Accordingly, I recommend that the Metro Act should be amended to provide that on the election of the mayor of a city to the office of chairman of the Metropolitan Council, the office of mayor of the city shall become vacant.

3. THE CITY COUNCILS

The municipal councils of the thirteen area municipalities now have a total of 119 members, including the mayor or reeve, deputy reeves, controllers, and aldermen or councillors, as shown in Table 54. Variations in local government in the area reflect variations in the size and municipal status of the units. The City of Toronto and the townships of North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke and York are divided for electoral purposes into wards; in the remaining units, elections are held at large. Toronto, North York and Etobicoke alone have boards of control. The size of council in relation to population varies widely: there is a council of nine members both in Scarborough, with a population of 253,000, and in York, with 128,000, while East York, with 72,000 people, and Weston, with 10,000, have councils of seven members each.

Table 54

COMPOSITION OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO, 1965

	Wards	Aldermen or Councillors	Controllers	Deputy Reeves	Mayor or Reeve	Total Elected Council
City of Toronto.....	9	18	4	-	1	23
Township of York.....	4	4	-	4	1	9
Township of East York.....	-	6	-	-	1	7
Town of Leaside.....	-	4	-	1	2 ¹	7
Village of Swansea.....	-	3	-	1	1	5
Village of Forest Hill.....	-	3	-	1	1	5
Township of North York.....	12	12	4	-	1	17
Town of Weston.....	-	6	-	-	1	7
Township of Etobicoke.....	4	8	2	-	1	11
Town of Mimico.....	-	6	-	-	1	7
Town of New Toronto.....	-	6	-	-	1	7
Village of Long Branch.....	-	3	-	1	1	5
Township of Scarborough.....	7	7	-	1	1	9
Total.....		86	10	9	14	119

¹Leaside has both a mayor and a reeve.

2. THE CHAIRMAN OF METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

The Metro Council may elect as chairman one of its own members or any other person. If elected from outside the membership of Council he has no vote "except in the event of an equality of votes"; when elected from Council he "has a second or casting vote". Mr. F. G. Gardiner, Q.C., the first chairman, whose dynamic leadership has become legendary, held no elective office when he was originally appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council nor when he was thereafter elected and re-elected by Council. His successor, Mr. W. R. Allen, Q.C., was a member of the Board of Control of Toronto when first elected chairman; he resigned from the Board following his election and held no elective office when re-elected for a second term. It has been urged that the responsibilities of the post call for the election of the chairman by the citizens of Metro at large; alternatively, it has been suggested that, if he is to be elected by the Council, he should be chosen only from among its members.

The chairman is in law and in fact not only the head of Council but also the chief executive officer of the Metropolitan Corporation. He is the only member of Council who is required to devote his full time to Metro. As the head of the government of a federation of municipalities, he must be impartial. He must also be sufficiently independent in relation to local politics to be able to face pressures and to fight on issues where the area-wide interest may conflict with a local interest. There is no doubt that the independence of the chairman has contributed in large measure to the successful operation of metropolitan government in Toronto. I doubt that he could retain his independence if he were required to be elected at large; an election in an area of 240 square miles, with a population of 1,750,000, would have to be financed by large business enterprises or by a political party. The fact that the mayors of big cities in the United States are elected at large is not very relevant; they are as a rule the candidates of a party. Moreover, they are elected as heads of individual municipalities and not as chief executive officers of municipal federations.

While I find more merit in the submission that the chairman should be elected from among the members of the Council, I do not think that the requirements of the office and the experience of Metro justify such a limitation. As regards the Commission made frequent reference to English local government, it may be pointed out that municipal councils in England are composed of elected and non-elected persons: councillors, elected by popular vote, and a certain number of aldermen who are chosen by the councillors and not by the electors. The council as a whole elects the chairman, who qualifies if he is a councillor or alderman or is eligible for election as a councillor. The Greater London Council, created by the London Government Act, 1963, following the report of the Royal Commission on Greater London, is composed of one hundred directly elected councillors and sixteen aldermen chosen by the councillors. The chairman, who is chiefly a presiding officer, is elected by the Council but does not have to be a councillor or an alderman himself.

For the election of aldermen and metropolitan councillors in each city, I recommend as follows:

City of Toronto: one alderman and one metropolitan councillor from each of the twelve wards.

City of North York: two aldermen from each of the eight wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards. For example, one metropolitan councillor would be chosen by Wards 1 and 2 combined, Wards 3 and 4 combined, and so on.

City of Scarborough: two aldermen from each of the six wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards.

City of Etobicoke: two aldermen from each of the six wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards.

If this recommendation is implemented, the total membership of the municipal councils of the area would be reduced from 119 to 78. A council of sixteen members is recommended for Scarborough because it would be more appropriate to a city of 250,000 people than the present council of nine. The larger council proposed for Etobicoke has regard to the recommended consolidation with the Lakeshore municipalities, while, in the case of North York, particular account has been taken of the fact that it is the area of most rapid growth. The proposed increase in the number of wards in Toronto takes account of the recommended consolidation which would increase its population by some 250,000.

iii. Each city council should have an executive committee consisting of the mayor, who should also be the chairman, and four members elected by the council from among its members. The executive committee should exercise the powers conferred by The Municipal Act on a board of control.

The existing boards of control are in effect executive committees of council but they are elected separately and, like the mayor, at large. The history of municipal politics in the Toronto area shows that this system has not tended to produce harmony in council. With both the mayor and the controllers elected at large, there tends to develop a competition for popular support which accentuates division within the board. Relations with council are also affected where the executive and the councillors are elected separately and on a different basis. Election of the executive committee by city council, in addition to reducing unnecessary friction and rivalries, would make the executive more responsive and responsible to the legislative body in conformity with our concept of responsible government.

iv. The municipal franchise in the four cities should be uniform.

Ten of the area municipalities, acting under the provisions of The Municipal Franchise Extension Act, have extended the right to vote to all British subjects of the full age of twenty-one years who have resided in the municipality for at

With each area municipality constituted a city under the four-city plan, local government would be organized along more uniform lines. Having regard to the present population and prospective growth of each of the proposed consolidated cities, the need for adequate representation on a council of reasonable size, and the proposal for direct election of metropolitan councillors, who would also be members of the city councils, I recommend that:

i. Each city should be divided into wards, the number of wards to be as follows:

City of Toronto.....	12
City of North York.....	8
City of Scarborough.....	6
City of Etobicoke.....	6

If the wards were divided evenly in terms of population, which is scarcely possible, the average population per ward, based on the Assessment Commissioner's figures for 1964, would be as follows:

City of Toronto.....	75,042
City of North York.....	43,986
City of Scarborough.....	42,215
City of Etobicoke.....	39,772

The present range in population per ward is from 40,738 to 122,894 in Toronto; from 17,975 to 34,826 in North York; from 19,127 to 56,448 in Scarborough; and from 37,426 to 59,187 in Etobicoke.

I recommend that the division into wards should be made by the Ontario Municipal Board, by virtue of its authority under section 13 of The Municipal Act. In determining ward boundaries within each city, the Board should aim at a reasonably approximate equality of population per ward. It should also endeavour, as far as possible, to retain the whole of an amalgamating municipality within a single ward. Thus, in the consolidated City of Toronto, East York might constitute one ward and York, one and a half or two wards, while the Lakeshore municipalities could form one of the wards in the City of Etobicoke.

ii. The city council of each of the cities should be composed of the mayor, who would be elected at large and would be ex officio a representative on Metro Council; aldermen, who would serve only on city council; and metropolitan councillors, who would serve on both Metro and city councils. I recommend that the four city councils should be constituted as follows:

	Mayor	Aldermen	Metropolitan Councillors	Total Council
Toronto.....	1	12	12	25
North York.....	1	16	4	21
Scarborough.....	1	12	3	16
Etobicoke.....	1	12	3	16

least one year; Scarborough, Swansea and Weston have not done so. The extension of the franchise would apply within the present boundaries of Swansea and Weston if, as recommended, they are consolidated with Toronto and North York, respectively. The franchise should be similarly extended in Scarborough.

v. The term of office of members of the proposed city councils and of the Metropolitan Council should be increased to three years.

The term of municipal office in the area is now two years. It was suggested in a number of briefs that a longer term is warranted by the responsibilities which the elected representatives are called upon to discharge. The Cumming Report in 1953 recommended a term of not less than three years, pointing out that in a major metropolitan area "the elected representatives are expected to formulate wise long-term policies and to control the expenditure of millions of dollars". The argument for a longer term has been strengthened by the tremendous growth which has taken place in the area since the creation of Metro and the consequent increase in the responsibilities of the members of Metro and local councils.

CHAPTER XVI CONCLUSION

The creation of Metro in 1953 was a bold experiment which has been justified by the accomplishments of more than a decade of operations. To consolidate the gains achieved and to cope with problems which have been accentuated by growth and development, the time has come to move forward again. This, too, calls for bold measures.

I have recommended the continuance of metropolitan government with a consolidation of the thirteen area municipalities into four cities. Having regard to the strong instinct for institutional self-preservation, I know that the suggested elimination of nine municipalities, with a reduction in the membership of municipal councils in the area from 119 to 78, will encounter strong resistance. Changes in governmental structures which affect existing interests and relationships always arouse opposition. Writing on the long resistance to reform in Greater London, Professor W. A. Robson said that:¹

..... From the great county council down to the small parish, they one and all regard the continuance of their own existence not merely as an absolute good in itself, but as something compared with which any scheme of reform intended to benefit the larger metropolitan community is but as dust in the balance.

In the words of Dr. Luther H. Gulick, "among governmental institutions the suicide complex is notably absent."²

Notwithstanding powerful resistance, the reform of metropolitan government in Greater London which went into effect on April 1, 1965, consolidated 85 local authorities into 32 boroughs. My proposal for Metropolitan Toronto is therefore not without precedent. While there is no "one way" for solving the problems of diverse metropolitan areas, I hold that, in any circumstances, the solution must be determined by the needs of the larger community and not by the special interests of particular sections within that community. It is on this principle that I have founded my recommendations.

¹William A. Robson: *The Government and Misgovernment of London*. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1939) p. 457.

²*The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas*, op. cit., p. 36.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

REORGANIZATION OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

i. The system of metropolitan government should be maintained, with a consolidation of the thirteen area municipalities into four cities, as follows:
The City of Toronto, consolidating the City of Toronto, the Township of York, the Village of Forest Hill, the Town of Leaside, the Township of East York and the Village of Swansea.

The City of North York, consolidating the Township of North York and the Town of Weston.

The City of Scarborough.

The City of Etobicoke, consolidating the Township of Etobicoke, the Village of Long Branch, the Town of New Toronto and the Town of Mimico.

ii. The transfer of assets from the amalgamating municipalities to the amalgamated cities should be effected without compensation to any area municipality but subject only to the assumption and payment by the amalgamated cities of the relative outstanding capital indebtedness.

iii. The cities of North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke should continue to be considered townships for the purposes of provincial road grants.

iv. With the introduction of the four-city system, the partial graded exemptions in Toronto and New Toronto should be abolished in stages over a five-year period by reducing the percentage of exempted assessment by ten percentage points in each year, with provision for assistance in the case of affected owners and tenants who show need.

v. In integrating municipal staffs, the new authorities should offer employment to all employees who had permanent status on the first day of April in the year preceding the effective date of the reorganization. Existing wage and employment standards should, as far as possible, be protected.

THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL AND PROPOSED CITY COUNCILS

i. Representation on the Metropolitan Council should combine direct election of metropolitan councillors with representation of the area municipalities.

ii. The Metropolitan Council should be composed of 26 members, with the following representation for each of the four cities:

Toronto.....	13
North York.....	5
Scarborough.....	4
Etobicoke.....	4

iii. Each city should be represented on the Metropolitan Council by the mayor and by metropolitan councillors elected directly by each ward or by a combination of wards, the councillors to serve on both Metropolitan Council and the respective city councils.

iv. The existing provisions of The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act governing the election of the chairman of Metropolitan Council should not be changed, except to provide that on the election of the mayor of a city to the office of chairman, the office of mayor of the city shall become vacant.

v. Representation on the Metropolitan Council should be reviewed every ten years on the basis of the last Census of Canada.

vi. The four cities should be divided into the following number of wards:

Toronto.....	12
North York.....	8
Scarborough.....	6
Etobicoke.....	6

vii. The division into wards should be made by the Ontario Municipal Board, by virtue of its authority under section 13 of The Municipal Act. The Board should aim at a reasonably approximate equality of population per ward and should also endeavour, as far as possible, to retain the whole of an amalgamating municipality within a single ward or within contiguous wards.

viii. Each of the city councils should be composed of the mayor, to be elected at large and to be ex officio a representative on Metropolitan Council; metropolitan councillors, to serve on both Metropolitan Council and city council; and aldermen, to serve only on city council.

ix. Aldermen and metropolitan councillors should be elected on the following basis:

Toronto: one alderman and one metropolitan councillor from each of the twelve wards.

North York: two aldermen from each of the eight wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards.

Scarborough: two aldermen from each of the six wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards.

Etobicoke: two aldermen from each of the six wards and one metropolitan councillor from each combination of two contiguous wards.

x. Each city council should have an Executive Committee composed of the mayor, who should also be the chairman, and four members elected by the council from among its members. The Executive Committee should exercise the powers conferred by The Municipal Act on a Board of Control.

xi. The municipal franchise in the four cities should be uniform.

xii. The term of office of members of the four city councils and of the Metropolitan Council should be increased to three years.

iv. The law should provide for a representative of a municipality, which is not otherwise directly represented on the Metropolitan Planning Board, to attend and to be heard when matters originating from, applying to or of particular concern to such municipality are under consideration.

v. In the absence of other regional planning machinery, the area covered by Brampton and its vicinity should be included in the Metropolitan Planning Area and should constitute a fringe district entitled to representation on the Planning Board.

5. METROPOLITAN AND LOCAL SERVICES

i. *Transit*

The chairman of the Metropolitan Council should ex officio be a full member of the Toronto Transit Commission.

There should be a more formal coordination in overall transportation planning between the staffs of the Transit Commission, the Metropolitan Planning Board and other agencies, in order to ensure that proper consideration is given to all forms of transportation required to meet the present and prospective needs of Metro and the surrounding area.

ii. *Roads*

The design of access to metropolitan roads should require the approval of Metro authorities, and Metro should assume appropriate major local arterial roads.

The Metropolitan Corporation should be authorized to assume roads on Metro's boundaries as metropolitan roads.

The Province and Metro should coordinate expressway construction to meet the overall requirements of both transportation and local development.

iii. *Traffic Management*

The traffic engineering services of the Metropolitan Area should be unified under Metro.

Metro should establish an area-wide parking authority with power to operate parking facilities directly or to enter into a contractual arrangement for their operation by the Toronto Parking Authority.

iv. *Public Housing*

The Ontario Housing Corporation should act as a single agency on behalf of the federal and provincial governments in dealing with the Metropolitan Corporation in respect of all further low rental housing developments in the Metropolitan Area, with Metro assuming the remaining municipal financial responsibility therefor.

3. METRO'S BOUNDARIES AND THE FRINGE AREAS

i. Before considering extension of Metro's boundaries, the Province should give consideration to the position and function of the counties and to municipal reorganization in the fringe areas, including the possible creation of a smaller "Metro" on the western fringe.

ii. Failing satisfactory arrangements by Metro and the Ontario Water Resources Commission to provide the required water and sewage facilities on the northern fringe, the appropriate built-up area north of Steeles Avenue in Vaughan and Markham Townships should be annexed to North York without undue delay, with compensation for loss of assessment to the townships and the County of York.

iii. The Provincial Government should formally recognize the special situation of dormitory municipalities adjacent to Metro by appropriate adjustments in grants for municipal and school purposes.

4. METROPOLITAN PLANNING

i. A Metropolitan Official Plan should be adopted without undue delay. Adoption of the plan should be followed by the preparation, jointly with the local municipalities, of more detailed district plans and the enactment of the necessary changes in zoning by-laws. The plans should be subject to periodic review.

ii. The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act should be amended to declare more explicitly the responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation, as the designated municipality, for the general direction of the physical development of the Metropolitan Planning Area, with powers:

(a) to establish basic zoning standards and categories;

(b) to participate with an area municipality in redevelopment and urban renewal;

(c) to enact a uniform building by-law and to establish uniform engineering design standards;

(d) to review development applications and proposals and to make recommendations thereon to the provincial agency;

(e) to secure the conformity of local official plans and zoning by-laws in the Metropolitan Planning Area with the Metro Official Plan, reserving to the municipalities a right of appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board. The procedures to ensure conformity of plans should be prescribed by regulations under the legislation.

iii. The Planning Act should be amended to permit municipalities to transfer the functions now vested in local planning boards to a Planning Committee of Council with power to co-opt. The planning staff in area municipalities should be constituted a civic planning department.

v. *Health and Welfare*

The Metropolitan Corporation should take steps to provide a metropolitan public emergency ambulance service and should consider a contractual arrangement with the City of Toronto under which the City would operate the service.

A Metropolitan Board of Health Officers, composed of the health officers of the four cities, should be formed to coordinate the public health policies of the municipalities and to advise on health and sanitary inspection matters.

It should be the aim of the four cities to make health and welfare services equally available to individuals and families with the same needs, no matter where they live in Metropolitan Toronto.

vi. *Waste Disposal*

The Metropolitan Corporation should assume responsibility for all waste disposal in the Metropolitan Area.

vii. *Sewer Renewals*

The Metropolitan Area as a whole should share in financing the municipal costs of the necessary trunk sewer renewal programmes in the core area.

viii. *Parks and Recreation*

The Metropolitan Corporation should exercise responsibility for the development of the waterfront for park and recreational purposes.

ix. *Police*

The police function should not be divided between Metro and the area municipalities, but more effort should be made to improve relationships between the police force and the area municipalities.

x. *Administration of Justice*

The need for a properly staffed and serviced Metropolitan Juvenile and Family Court, with court facilities in each of the four cities, is sufficiently immediate to warrant the necessary increase in Metro's budget for this purpose, pending a review of the sharing of costs of the administration of justice between the Province and the Metropolitan Corporation.

xi. *Licensing*

The four cities should assume responsibility for the licensing of local businesses which are tied to a specific location, as distinct from metropolitan-wide businesses and activities which should continue to be licensed by the Metropolitan Licensing Commission. The Commission should set minimum standards for local licensing where required.

Consideration should be given to an arrangement between the four cities and the Licensing Commission under which, the municipality having made the

decision, the license would be issued on its behalf and at its request by the Commission, with the fee paid to the city concerned.

The law should require approval by the Metropolitan Council of license fees adopted by the Licensing Commission.

xii. *Fire Protection*

Under a four-city system, fire protection should remain the responsibility of the area municipalities, with an effective mutual aid agreement under which each could request assistance from one or all of the others when necessary.

Where centralization is necessary, as in the case of a central communications system, the system should be operated by the City of Toronto under a contractual arrangement.

The fire chiefs of the four cities should constitute an area committee to advise on matters of mutual concern affecting the fire fighting services of the area.

xiii. *Libraries*

The operation of libraries should remain a local responsibility in each of the four cities, with coordination by a Metropolitan Library Board. The recommendations of Report No. 1 (1962) of the Special Committee on Library Services appointed by the Metropolitan Council to study and report upon the Shaw Report should, as far as possible, be implemented.

6. EDUCATION

For public schools, the educational structure in Metropolitan Toronto should be reorganized as follows:

i. The Metropolitan Area should be divided into eleven school districts, with boundaries fixed on the basis of criteria for determining the viability of school districts. The proposed boundaries are set out in Chapter XII.

ii. An elected central board, to be called the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education, should have overall responsibility for school finance and for the development of an acceptable and uniformly high metropolitan standard of education. The administrative responsibilities of the central board should be limited to matters relating to area-wide policies, including teachers' salary scales, to coordination of mutual services, and to the provision of services which can best be provided on a metropolitan basis.

iii. Local elected boards, to be called District Education Councils, should operate the schools and administer the school programme.

iv. The central board should be composed of two trustees elected at large in each school district at elections held on the same day as the regular municipal elections, and two representatives of the Metropolitan Separate School Board. The chairman should be elected from among the members. The term of office should be three years.

v. The remuneration for members of the central board should be raised to a figure more commensurate with their responsibilities and the additional responsibilities of the chairman should be recognized by a higher remuneration.

vi. Each District Education Council should be composed of the two trustees elected to represent the district on the central board, one trustee appointed by the Separate School Board, and eight district trustees elected at large in the district. The chairman should be elected from among the members. The term of office should be three years.

vii. A Director of Education should be the chief executive officer of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education and a District Superintendent should be the principal officer in each school district, reporting directly to the former.

viii. Educational finance should be coordinated by the central board and a uniform tax for education established throughout Metro. The central board should secure all tax revenue for educational purposes from the Metropolitan Council through the uniform levy.

ix. District education councils should be allocated a fixed percentage of their total budgets to enable them to add to their programme if they desire to provide special equipment or a special service or to undertake educational experiments which are not included in the area-wide budget.

x. The Metropolitan Corporation should assume the local school debt of the area municipalities outstanding on December 31, 1963.

The whole respectfully submitted,



H. CARL GOLDENBERG,
Commissioner.

Toronto, Ont.,
June 10, 1965.

APPENDICES

- A. List of Submissions Received at Public Hearings
- B. List of Tables
- C. List of Maps and Charts

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SUBMISSIONS RECEIVED AT PUBLIC HEARINGS

- April 21, 1964—Mr. W. R. Allen, Q.C., Chairman, Metropolitan Council
 —Township of York
 —Township of North York
 —Town of Weston
- April 22, 1964—Township of Scarborough
 —Town of New Toronto
 —Town of Mimico
 —Village of Long Branch
- April 23, 1964—Township of Etobicoke
 —Township of East York
 —Town of Leaside
 —Village of Forest Hill
- April 28, 1964—Village of Swansea
 —City of Toronto
- April 29, 1964—Metropolitan School Board
 —Board of Education, City of Toronto
 —Group of Five Trustees of Board of Education, City of Toronto
- April 30, 1964—Board of Education, Township of East York
 —Board of Education, Township of Etobicoke
 —Board of Education, Village of Forest Hill
- May 5, 1964 —Board of Education, Town of Leaside
 —Board of Education, Township of North York
 —Board of Education, Village of Swansea
 —Board of Education, Township of Scarborough
 —Board of Education, Township of York
- May 6, 1964 —Board of Education, Town of Weston
 —Lakeshore Board of Education
 —Ontario Teachers' Federation
 —Leaside Property Owners Association
- May 7, 1964 —County of York
 —The Southern Six Municipalities of the County of York
 —Town of Richmond Hill

May 12, 1964—Township of Pickering and Board of Trustees, School Area No. 2	
—Town of Ajax	
—Township of Toronto	
—Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority	
May 13, 1964—Town Planning Institute of Canada	
—Urban Development Institute	
—Mr. Eli Conay, Metropolitan Planning Commissioner	
May 19, 1964—Toronto Public Library Board	
—York Public Library Board	
—Swansea Memorial Public Library Board	
—North York Public Library Board	
—East York Public Library Board	
—Etobicoke Public Library Board	
May 20, 1964—Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto	
—Dr. Albert Rose, University of Toronto	
June 2, 1964	
—Professor H. Kaplan, York University	
—Toronto and District Labour Council	
—Metro Toronto Council of Public Employees Unions	
—Independent Cab Owners Guild	
—Automotive Transport Association of Ontario	
June 3, 1964	
—Association of Women Electors of Toronto	
—Metropolitan Toronto Board of Trade	
—Greater Toronto Business Men's Association	
—Mimico Ratepayers Association	
—East York Federation of Ratepayers Associations	
—Reeve Lucien Kurata, Swansea	
—Mr. Karl Mallette, Scarborough	
—Mr. W. A. Edwards, Mimico	
June 4, 1964	
—Etobicoke Hydro Electric Commission	
—Metropolitan Educational Research Council	
—Communist Party of Canada	
June 9, 1964	
—Controller Allan Lampert, Toronto	
—Controller W. L. Archer, Toronto	
—Reeve True Davidson, East York	
—Mrs. F. Gell, York	
—Mr. E. H. Farrow, Etobicoke	
June 10, 1964—Mrs. Kathleen James and Mrs. Mary L. Axelson, Markham Township	
—Mr. J. C. Van Esterik	
—Mr. J. D. Parker, Etobicoke	
—Mr. Dalton J. Little	
—Mr. L. H. Saunders, East York	
—Mr. N. Maughan	
June 11, 1964—Bureau of Municipal Research	

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GREATER TORONTO

.....
Report of the
.....
GTA Task Force
.....
January 1996
.....

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GREATER TORONTO LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Dear Premier:

In April of 1995, the Task Force on the Future of the Greater Toronto Area was formed to respond to growing concerns about the health and workability of the city-region. We are pleased to present our report, which offers an integrated strategy to steer Greater Toronto towards a secure, prosperous, and sustainable future.

Our mandate was to deal with both the short-term and long-term needs of the region. We were asked to address those problems in need of "immediate action" — specifically, the property tax crisis — and to "provide direction for the future governance of the GTA." Our Terms of Reference called on us to "focus on setting a new course for the new century," and to "answer the fundamental questions our citizens are asking" about the region's quality of life, governance, and competitiveness.

The Task Force realized very early in its deliberations that the continued health and prosperity of the GTA are critical to the well-being of Ontario. Greater Toronto is the economic heartland of the province and the nation, accounting for fully 50 percent of the Ontario economy and almost 20 percent of the Canadian economy. It is, moreover, a major source of tax revenues for both Ontario and Ottawa. The GTA's economic role is increasingly pivotal as city-regions become the ascendant players on the world economic stage.

We also recognized that Greater Toronto is a highly interdependent region whose whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and whose overall health is dependent on the prosperity of those constituent parts. Our proposals speak to this interdependence and to the importance of both a regional and local identity. They are intended to affirm the diversity of local communities and a sense of belonging to a larger social and economic grouping.

Report Highlights

Our report is premised on a vision of Greater Toronto as *the place where people and businesses that can choose to be anywhere, choose to be.*

Our recommendations to support this vision include:

- a framework for a Greater Toronto economic strategy that focuses on both physical and human infrastructure;
- a common assessment system for Greater Toronto, based on Actual Value, with a program to cushion the impacts on those adversely affected;
- equalization of property taxes that businesses in the GTA pay for education;
- removal of the barriers to efficient infrastructure investment to allow for a more sustainable urban form;
- removal of overlap and friction between the Province and municipalities through a financially neutral disentanglement of responsibilities;



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- improved coordination for services that cross boundaries, without centralizing service delivery;
- replacement of the five existing regional governments with a single, streamlined Greater Toronto Council with a more limited range of functions; and
- giving local municipalities added powers and responsibilities to deliver a wider range of services more efficiently.

The directions set out in this report are consistent both with the global trends affecting the city-region and with the Province's commitment to make government more efficient and effective. Our recommendations will simplify roles, clarify mandates, and eliminate unnecessary duplication. On the one hand, they will devolve decision-making powers to municipalities; on the other, they will coordinate strategic planning and investment and manage key resources and assets at the regional level. We believe that the changes we are proposing will benefit not only the residents, communities, institutions, and businesses of Greater Toronto, but will be felt throughout the province.

The Case for Change

Greater Toronto is one of the world's few city-regions that combines all the ingredients for social and economic success. We are a civil society — tolerant, law-abiding, culturally diverse, and cosmopolitan. We also have many competitive advantages — a high quality of life, a skilled labour force, a strong manufacturing and service base, and a well-developed infrastructure.

Despite our many strengths and advantages, we have reached the point where the status quo is no longer an option. The GTA needs comprehensive change on a number of fronts. Without it, the region's economic competitiveness and prosperity will decline. The property tax crisis will continue to wear away at Metro Toronto's tax base and dissolve investor confidence in the city-region. Strategic planning and investment on a region-wide basis will not happen. Urban development will continue in unsustainable and undesirable directions. And we will have failed to ensure that our residents receive the highest quality services at the lowest possible cost.

The Case for Economic Competitiveness

Notwithstanding Greater Toronto's strengths, its economy has only partly recovered from the recession. Though there have been steady gains in productivity, Toronto still trails other North American cities in both employment and economic growth. Businesses are migrating out of Metro and out of the region, lured by lower property taxes and the persuasive arguments of relocation experts in other jurisdictions. Our aging transportation infrastructure is not keeping pace with the competitive needs of many manufacturers and service businesses. Our competitiveness is further undermined

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by the disjointed way various levels of government separately pursue their business attraction and promotion agendas.

Our report documents the economic challenges the GTA must meet to enable businesses to thrive locally and compete internationally. We also reconsider the public sector's role in economic development and recommend a better approach to attracting new businesses and promoting local business products and capabilities in international markets. We propose the creation of a public-private sector partnership to provide a single, strong, region-wide voice for economic development and investment marketing.

We recommend that the Province and the city-region nurture the engines of growth and sources of wealth-creation in the Greater Toronto economy. This means keeping our manufacturing base, particularly the automotive sector, strong and creating a business climate that encourages the expansion of important financial and other service industries. It also means maintaining our other key competitive advantages — a healthy and habitable urban core and a high quality of life — that make us such an attractive head office location for businesses.

Greater Toronto will not prosper unless we deal directly and expeditiously with the serious economic challenges we face as a city-region. We will pay a steep price if we fail to make the necessary changes. We will see the most productive parts of our economy wither or go elsewhere. We will see prosperity in the region's core and the suburbs decline in lock step. And we will see a once-great region squander its unique advantages and opportunities.

The Case for Property Tax Reform

Two pressing finance problems currently threaten Greater Toronto's economic stability. One is the continuing erosion of the property tax base through successful assessment appeals. The second is the inequity in the level of property taxes paid by businesses in Metro Toronto relative to those paid by businesses in the rest of the GTA.

We recommend the introduction of a comprehensive, uniform, and updated assessment system that is based on Actual Value Assessment — which our research shows to be more stable, more reliable, and more equitable than other assessment systems. We propose to cushion the impact of assessment reform by phasing in tax increases and decreases and by establishing a transition program for low-income households, along with a property tax deferral scheme for seniors.

The inequity in the taxes paid by businesses in Metro Toronto compared to those paid in surrounding municipalities requires urgent attention. Non-residential property taxes are up to three times higher in Metro municipalities than in other GTA municipalities. The distribution of the burden for financing education is at the root of this problem. The tax system puts Metro businesses at a serious disadvantage in



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comparison to businesses in other parts of the region, and encourages businesses to migrate from Metro to other GTA municipalities, which exacerbates the problem of an eroding assessment base.

In order to create a more level playing field for Greater Toronto businesses, we recommend pooling the education portion of commercial and industrial taxes across the city-region. Education, which accounts for 55 to 70 percent of the property tax bill, is a benefit that clearly crosses local boundaries. Pooling the education portion of business taxes across Greater Toronto is therefore the most effective and equitable way to narrow the tax gap.

The immediate benefit of our property tax reform proposals will be a dramatic reduction in the number of assessment appeals. This will protect the tax base from further erosion and permit municipal governments and school boards to fund their programs from a stable and equitable revenue base. It will avert the downward spiral of reduced assessment, higher taxes, and/or reduced services which, in other cities, has led to urban decay. The creation of a more level playing field for taxation will also put an end to the distortions that have made businesses hesitant to locate or expand in the GTA.

The Case for Integrated Planning

The need for a more strategic and integrated approach to city-building has never been greater. We must develop an urban environment that is responsive to the competitive needs of local enterprise and also sensitive to the needs of people and communities. The issues of urban form are critical, particularly given that Greater Toronto is expected to grow by two million residents by 2021, bringing the total population of the city-region to some six million.

Our recommendations focus on developing more compact, mixed-use, transit-friendly communities that offer many quality of life advantages and substantial cost-efficiencies. The Greater Toronto region could save more than \$12 billion in hard infrastructure costs and maintenance over the next 25 years if we were to adopt a more efficient, more compact pattern of development. We could save an equivalent amount by cutting back the additional costs associated with higher levels of land consumption and automobile use. A conservative estimate of the savings over the next two and a half decades is \$700 million to \$1 billion dollars annually.

Our proposals will promote more efficient development by implementing existing Official Plans which provide for more compact development. Our report calls for removing obstacles to the productive use of vacant industrial lands, revising development standards to reduce infrastructure costs and land consumption, and introducing the

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user-pay principle of full-cost development charges and user fees. Integrating regional planning and infrastructure development will create healthier communities and generate significant savings.

The Case for Enterprising Government

People in the GTA feel they are over-governed. A multiplicity of governing authorities and special purpose bodies, with overlapping mandates and separate administrative structures and processes, has created jurisdictional gridlock in the city-region.

For three decades, commissions of enquiry and special committee reports have argued persuasively for the disentanglement of provincial and local government services and responsibilities. Government services and responsibilities have become so intertwined, so complex, and so costly that we can no longer afford to ignore disentanglement or wait for yet another report to tell us how desperately it is needed. The Task Force's proposals will disentangle provincial and municipal functions to increase efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability in the delivery of public services — and will do so on a revenue-neutral basis.

Though it is essential for GTA municipalities to become more entrepreneurial and competitive, current legislation prevents them from both exercising adequate control in local decision making and adopting entrepreneurial strategies and practices. The *Municipal Act*, which dates back to 1849, is a relic of a past when municipalities were small, lacked sophisticated resources, and were in need of detailed and restrictive legislation to guide them.

The Task Force recognizes that the Province is now beginning to loosen restrictions on municipalities. We recommend that municipalities continue to be given the freedom and flexibility they need to be more entrepreneurial and efficient by legislating a new *Municipal Act*.

The Case for a New Regional Government

The Task Force came to the inescapable conclusion that underlying nearly all the problems and issues facing our city-region is a fundamental lack of coordination. Greater Toronto's five regional governments lack the collective sense of purpose and momentum to address issues that could be handled more effectively on a region-wide basis.

Examples of fragmentation abound. Disputes among the regions over water, roads, sewers, and garbage disposal erupt frequently as municipalities engage in pointless in-fighting and competition. Tax competition and self-serving economic development activities are equally common and destructive to the city-region's interests.

We need a new governance model that coordinates decision-making at the regional

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level, promotes investment on behalf of the whole region, reduces the number of decision loops, provides for integrated resource management, and gives municipalities expanded powers to deliver local services more cost-effectively. We therefore propose that the five existing regional governments be replaced with a single Greater Toronto government that has clear responsibility for planning and coordination on matters of region-wide interest. Local municipalities should be strengthened by giving them added powers and the responsibility for delivering a wider range of local services. Our proposal for a smaller and leaner system of government for the region will prove less expensive and more efficient.

The reduction of regional governments from five to one will see an accompanying shrinkage in the number of elected office-holders serving at the upper-tier level from 134 to about 30. The Task Force also anticipates some reduction in the number of municipalities through the consolidations that will flow from our proposed restructuring process.

We propose that you immediately appoint a Greater Toronto Implementation Commission to recommend specific boundary changes, after it undertakes the necessary analysis and public consultations. This Commission should also conduct a review of policing, consistent with the terms of reference we have outlined, and resolve issues we have raised about education finance. These are matters the Task Force was unable to complete within its shortened time-frame.

Adding up the Savings

Adopting these proposals for streamlining and coordinating services will result in total annual savings of between \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion for Greater Toronto municipalities, the Province, and the private sector. The forecast yearly savings, not including potential savings from consolidations of area municipalities that may result from our restructuring proposal, are considerable. Regional cost savings are in the order of \$107 million. More compact urban development will result in savings of between \$700 million and \$1 billion. Contracting out of local services will achieve between \$190 million and \$380 million in savings. Savings at the provincial level, based on staff reductions for GTA municipal planning and environmental regulation, will be in the range of \$17 million.

For a Greater Toronto

The region is at a turning point. It can either slip into decline, losing revenue and competitive advantage — and the attendant human and social benefits — or it can be reinvented as a thriving city-region that competes with the best in the world. It can deteriorate into rancorous and unproductive factionalism or it can develop into a stronger, more cohesive, and more effective city-region. It can, in short, work or not work.

GREATER TORONTO LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL


We believe that to retain our present business investment and attract new investment, improving our human infrastructure and quality of life is not just desirable, but essential. The Task Force is convinced that environmental and social goals can no longer be seen as being in competition with economic goals, but must all be viewed as part of an integrated strategy to help the city-region prosper. Our proposals will protect and promote those values of civility, humaneness, peacefulness, and social involvement which are deeply rooted in our neighbourhoods, towns, and cities.

We also believe that our recommendations will reinforce Greater Toronto's reputation as "North America's most livable international city" and enable it to thrive in the global economy. Unless the changes we recommend are made, we will be hard-pressed to hold on to our distinctive qualities and we will be badly positioned to seize those opportunities that could secure a more prosperous future.

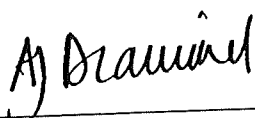
The Task Force believes that adopting the integrated and straightforward plan of action we are recommending will restore confidence in our governing institutions and in the economic and social health of the region. We urge the government to view these recommendations as mutually supportive elements of an integrated plan that must be implemented as a package, rather than adopted in a piecemeal fashion.

The Task Force has been enlightened by the process we have undertaken and pleased by the remarkable degree of consensus we have reached. We have been heartened by our understanding that though there are real problems in the region, there are also real solutions. We urge you and your government to endorse and implement this report.

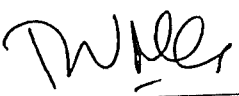
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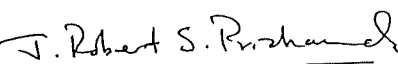
Anne Golden, Chair



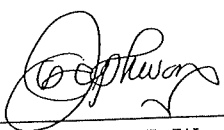
Jack Diamond



Thomas W. McCormack



J. Robert S. Prichard



Dr. Joseph Y.K. Wong

PREFACE

WHY THE GTA TASK FORCE WAS CREATED

The secure and satisfying quality of life that people in the GTA have historically enjoyed is under threat. The region's lagging economic recovery from the post-1989 recession has revealed its vulnerability in a changing global economy. People feel over-governed and unfairly taxed and they worry that the systems they have relied on — from municipal finance to public transit — are broken or no longer able to meet their needs.

The Task Force on the Future of the Greater Toronto Area was created by the Premier of Ontario on April 1, 1995 in response to these growing concerns about the future health and workability of our urban region.

Our Terms of Reference were ambitious: we were to set the Toronto region "on a new course for the new century." Specifically, we were asked "to provide direction for the future governance of the GTA, including the potential restructuring of the responsibilities and practices of municipal and provincial governments." We were to review virtually every aspect of governance of the five regions comprising the GTA; the only exceptions were waste management, non-local health management, and education governance.

The scope of this review and the complexity of the issues presented a formidable challenge. Equally daunting was the prospect of entering uncharted waters. We quickly discovered that there were no models to emulate, no ready-made solutions to be imported from other jurisdictions. The GTA, with its municipal-regional form of government, is unlike any other North American metropolitan area and faces unique challenges.

The urgency and importance of our task was clear. At stake was the maintenance of a healthy, vibrant, and economically competitive city-region. We were directed to address the issue of the "apparent and potential further decline in economic attractiveness of the core of the GTA" as our first priority, and specifically to propose, by the fall of 1995, a resolution of Metro Toronto's "property tax crisis" that was viewed as a prime cause of this economic malaise.

In accepting its mandate, the Task Force struggled with the difficulty of tackling municipal finance separate from, and in advance of, completing our comprehensive review. Recognizing the urgency of the finance issue, we designed a process which permitted us to take account of both the short-term and longer-term tasks.

P R E F A C E

With the change of government in June 1995 and the renewal of our mandate under the newly-elected Premier, our time-frame was shortened considerably — from the original eighteen months to approximately nine months. The new deadline accelerated our work schedule and compressed our consultation and research plans. It also prompted the decision to deliver this single report, rather than present our findings in stages.

HOW WE APPROACHED OUR TASK

Our Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference established some guidelines for the Task Force. We were to be action-oriented, collaborative, draw on extensive formal and informal consultations, operate in an open, transparent, and accessible fashion, and make creative use of communications technology. We were also to ensure the ongoing participation and advice of municipal and provincial staff and elected officials.

We were not intended to be a full-scale research body, but rather to build on the extensive body of existing research and to conduct primary research only where necessary to fill important knowledge gaps.

A Vision-Based Approach

Our first step was to examine the review processes used in other urban jurisdictions that had undertaken similar tasks.¹ We identified two alternative approaches: problem-solving and vision-based. The *problem-solving* approach focuses on current inadequacies of the system in order to develop recommendations for change. The *vision-based* approach defines a desired future and then determines the changes needed to close the gap between where we are and where we want to be.

We chose a vision-based process for several reasons: it is an approach more likely to lead to major change and breakthrough solutions, rather than incremental improvements; it is designed to produce integrated solutions, rather than piecemeal results; and it allows for managed, well-paced change, rather than *ad hoc*, reactive solutions. It also offers more opportunities to promote public discussion and involvement. Indeed, the fact that the Task Force received more than 300 submissions is indicative of the considerable public interest in the issues being addressed. (A list of these submissions appears as Appendix D to this report.)

¹ The commissions whose work we studied were: Task Force on Greater Montreal (Pichette Commission) 1992 - 1993; Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto (Robarts Commission) 1974 - 1977; The Ottawa Carleton Regional Review (Kirby Commission) 1992; Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario (Sewell Commission) 1991 - 1993; Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) Livable Region Strategic Plan 1990 - 1994; Metropolitan Portland Region 2040 Growth Management Initiative 1992 - 1995; and Rotterdam Metropolitan Government Reorganization 1990 - 1995.

P R E P A R A T O R Y

Consultation with a broad range of groups and individuals was key both to our education on the issues and to testing our thinking as it progressed. Early in the process, we wrote to leaders from all sectors in the GTA to request their vision for its future. We received many thoughtful responses which helped us in conceiving the vision outlined in the first chapter of this report and in shaping our thinking on many issues.

Throughout our consultations, we were mindful that different types of publics needed to be involved in different ways. The Task Force met with more than 165 organizations and individuals, including elected officials, professional associations, labour unions, ratepayer associations, community service organizations, conservation groups, boards of trade, cultural and arts groups, among others.

From April through June, the Task Force undertook an extensive outreach program that involved meeting with every mayor and regional chair in the GTA — most in person, some by telephone, and many on more than one occasion. We also met with numerous municipal and regional councils.

The Task Force drew extensively on the expertise of many business people and academics as well. We co-sponsored and participated in the conference "Urban Regions in a Global Context," organized by the University of Toronto in October 1995. The Task Force also worked closely with municipal and provincial public servants, including members of the Greater Toronto Coordinating Committee (made up of chief administrative officers from across the GTA) and provincial staff from the Ministries of Finance and Municipal Affairs and Housing. In the latter ministry, we worked particularly closely with the Office for the Greater Toronto Area.

Throughout our research and deliberations, we maintained a regular flow of information to more than 1,000 interested individuals and organizations through a fax bulletin developed to provide timely updates on our progress and our thinking. As well, we established advisory groups of "experts" from a variety of disciplines to help us clarify issues and develop solutions.

Because of our reduced timeframe, we were unable to undertake the broader consultation program we had originally envisaged. The shortened timeframe precluded public hearings and we focused our consultation efforts on the primary stakeholders and experts who were able to provide the Task Force with valuable data and advice.

We are deeply grateful to the people listed in Appendix C who met with the Task Force to offer advice and assistance. We are equally grateful to the many interested municipalities, organizations, and citizens listed in Appendix D whose submissions and views informed our thinking.

A Consultative and Collaborative Process

C H A P T E R F O U R

S H A P I N G T H E C I T Y - R E G I O N

it ends up being reflected in the price of a new home.

Having recently announced a review of the *Development Charges Act*, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing should consider establishing its own development charges for service standards since these charges could be set more efficiently at the provincial level. Provincial standards could be established to incorporate joint use of facilities, efficient regional road widths, integrated storm water and park dedications as ways of reducing excessive standards, as well as costs.

Development charges should be based on true-cost pricing for each basic unit type, but they should not be artificially inflated, as is now sometimes the case with individual municipalities setting their own standards. The Province should revise the development standards to achieve consistency, to allow for flexibility with respect to unit type, and to ensure that they accurately reflect costs.

Recommendation 14

The Province should revise existing municipal and provincial infrastructure development standards in its upcoming review of the *Development Charges Act* to ensure that the standards support compact and efficient urban form.

4.5 ELIMINATING MARKET DISTORTIONS

There are several mechanisms that raise revenue to pay for new infrastructure. Currently, none of these mechanisms, which include development charges and user fees, takes the efficiencies of compact urban form fully into account. Substantial cost savings in infrastructure could be achieved by eliminating market distortions in each of these areas.

Development charges are levied to pay for municipal infrastructure needed to support new growth. Because they allow municipalities to charge the developer the full cost attributable to new growth, these charges represent an improvement over the previous ad hoc system that used a combination of "impost" fees, or levies, for some infrastructure and property taxes to pay for the rest of the costs.

**Development
Charges**



C H A P T E R F O U R

S H A P I N G T H E C I T Y - R E G I O N

The costs of new development fall into three categories. First, the internal or on-site costs of development (the local subdivision roads, water, sewer and stormwater pipes, utilities, grading, parks, and school sites) are built to municipal standards and paid for by the developer directly. The second category is the off-site costs of arterial roads, water, sewer, and storm water facilities that are collected through development charges on a per unit basis. The third category is other off-site costs that are applied on a per capita basis, such as libraries, police buildings, hospitals, and social services.²⁶

When urban form and density are not fully factored into the development charge, a market distortion occurs and inefficient allocation of resources is often the result. Ultimately, the cost of infrastructure, including distortions, is reflected in the prices of housing, labour, factories, offices, warehouses, and goods and services produced in Greater Toronto.

There are two distortions that currently exist in the way development charges are calculated. First, a distortion exists because variations in on and off-site costs for different housing types are not always considered when development charges are calculated. If development charges were to reflect more accurately the actual off-site costs associated with different housing types, development charges for apartment units could be reduced by an estimated \$1,000.²⁷

Under the current *Development Charges Act*, municipalities have the authority to impose charges on new developments (residential, commercial, and industrial) in order to recover the net capital costs of public infrastructure and services to support such development. Eligible costs include infrastructure and services like parkland, sewer and water facilities, library books, municipal vehicles, police, and fire services. The Province is conducting a review of the *Act* to seek "a more equitable way to share costs between new and existing taxpayers" and to re-examine services for which municipalities can currently levy charges.

Another distortion arises out of education development charges. Development charges that help pay for new schools in a municipality are imposed under different rules than development charges for general infrastructure, such as sewers and roads.²⁸ In fact, educational charges are even less sensitive to urban form because they are levied solely on the basis of the number of units in a new development and take no account of different unit types. Thus, an apartment building with 100 units pays the same amount in education development charges

²⁶ Off-site costs include the off-site sewer, water, and road network costs, and fire stations.

²⁷ C. N. Watson (Letter to the GTA Task Force, October 6, 1995). There are fewer off-site sewer, water, and road network costs, reduced water use, and fewer vehicle trips generated by people who live in apartments.

²⁸ The constitutional legitimacy of the education section of the *Development Charges Act* is currently being challenged by the Ontario Home Builders Association before the Supreme Court of

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as a new subdivision with 100 detached bungalows. The current structure ignores the fact that families in the largest single detached homes are more likely to have school-aged children than are people in one-bedroom apartments. This represents a subsidy to low density housing at the expense of more compact and efficient growth. If development charges were to reflect more accurately the actual costs associated with the demographic characteristics and needs of households in different unit types, the education development charges for apartment units could be reduced by an estimated \$1,400.²⁹

Recommendation 15

In its review of the *Development Charges Act*, the Province should revise the regulations under the Act to:

- require municipalities to incorporate full-cost pricing methods into the calculation of municipal development charges; and
- require that calculations of education development charges be based on the differential costs associated with the demographic characteristics and needs of households in different unit types.

For many types of municipal services, user fees can promote more efficient use of resources, allow for long-term planning of infrastructure, and offer an important source of revenue to local municipalities. Full-cost user fees that are based on the consumption of water and sewer services promote resource conservation, cost savings for municipalities, and more efficient urban forms.³⁰ User charges designed to achieve these purposes have been successfully implemented by many local governments across North America.³¹ Because future sewer and water infrastructure is expected to cost as much as \$1 billion, all municipalities should be charging full-cost user fees.³²

User Fees

Vehicle user fees in the GTA include registration fees and fuel taxes and will soon include tolls on Highway 407. Current vehicle charges and fuel taxes do not

29 C.N. Watson (Letter to the GTA Task Force, October 6, 1995).

30 For more detailed summaries of findings from various studies, and further analysis, see *Report of the Ontario Fair Tax Commission*, "Fair Taxation in a Changing World" (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1993), pp. 575-595.

31 For studies on sewer and water pricing, see Marshall, Koenig and Associates, *Background Study on the Pricing of Water and Sewer Services* (Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1991); Ontario Ministry of Environment, *Water and Sewer Financing in Ontario: Issues and Options* (Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1991).

32 Combined upper-tier and lower-tier operating revenues from water and sewer services in all regions fall short of operating expenditures on these services alone. The gap between revenues and expenditures on these services widens when capital expenditures are included in the calculation.

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even support direct expenditures on road construction and maintenance.³³

User fees in the area of transportation have significant cost recovery potential. The cost of private vehicle use includes municipal and provincial road expenditures, as well as the less apparent cost of environmental pollution. Municipalities in the GTA spent \$340.7 million on capital improvements for roadways in 1993 and about \$415 million on operating expenditures.³⁴ The Province also spent about \$215.1 million on provincial highways in the GTA. New or expanded user fees could help recover the public costs of private vehicle use in the GTA.

New or expanded user fees on private vehicles have been introduced successfully in other jurisdictions. British Columbia has applied local fuel taxes since 1980. Their experience with special fuel taxes in the Greater Vancouver Regional District and Greater Victoria District demonstrates that a special fuel tax in a large municipality is indeed feasible. Regional Transit Authorities make recommendations on tax rates to the Province for final approval. Taxes apply to both unleaded gasoline and clear diesel. Current tax rates are 4.0 cents/litre in the Vancouver Region and 1.5 cents per litre in the Victoria Region. The Vancouver Regional fuel tax generates approximately \$78 million on an annual basis.³⁵

Ontario's pending administrative changes for fuel tax reporting and collection will virtually rule out a regional fuel tax or user fees on diesel fuel. To facilitate tax reporting for international truckers and reduce the administrative costs of diesel fuel tax collection, Ontario is scheduled to join the International Fuel Tax Agreement (IFTA) in 1996. Under the terms of the agreement, Ontario will not be allowed to apply more than one diesel fuel tax rate within its borders.

Even if a Greater Toronto fuel surcharge were limited to gasoline and its rate was relatively constrained, it could generate significant revenue for the region. Assuming 1994 levels of fuel purchase within the region, each cent per litre on gasoline would generate approximately \$52.8 million.³⁶ The user surcharge should be capped at a percentage of the provincial gasoline tax rate so as not to impinge on the Province's tax room.

33 *Report of the Ontario Fair Tax Commission*, p. 569.

34 In 1994, the Province spent \$203.2 million and provided \$122.5 million to Canadian Highways International Corporation through the Ontario Transportation Capital Corporation.

35 Estimate provided to the GTA Task Force by British Columbia Transportation Finance Authority.

36 Estimates by Regional Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The recent Report of the Transportation and Climate Change Collaborative, "A Strategy for Sustainable Transportation in Ontario," supports a 2-3¢ litre price surcharge to help move towards fuller cost pricing in order

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Recommendation 16

The Province should allow the Greater Toronto Council to introduce user fees on private vehicles, including a region-wide user fee on gasoline up to a stipulated maximum. Revenues generated from these user fees should be dedicated to transportation and transit infrastructure in Greater Toronto.

4.6 REGENERATING BROWNFIELD SITES

The under-use of urban lands represents a major barrier to the efficient use of existing infrastructure. Nowhere is this under-use more evident than in the case of industrial and commercial properties with known or suspected soil contamination problems. These properties, known as "brownfield" sites, are found throughout the GTA but primarily in Metro Toronto and in the southern portions of Peel and Durham Regions. Brownfield sites are often passed over by developers who are drawn to previously undeveloped "greenfield" sites on the urban fringe.

The practice of developing greenfield over brownfield sites is costly in at least two ways. First, the expense of providing the necessary infrastructure to support greenfield development is difficult to justify when the infrastructure is already in place to service under-used industrial lands. Second, commercial and residential real estate markets in areas surrounding vacant industrial lands tend to remain depressed. This hampers the revitalization of these local economies and increases the demand for social programs and services.

Brownfield sites lend themselves to a variety of redevelopment purposes, ranging from continued industrial applications to parkland and residential use. These uses present challenges in terms of zoning and marketability, but the major barriers to the redevelopment of brownfield sites are undoubtedly financial and legal.

The fundamental equation in nearly all real estate development is risk versus yield. The amount of inherent risk in a project varies depending on its circumstances, objectives and nature, and these risks exist regardless of whether the development is planned for greenfield or brownfield land. Where brownfield sites are an issue, however, the inherent risks are compounded by issues of added costs for environmental risk assessment and legal liability. These factors give rise to uncertainty in the site selection process, uncertainty in site development, and delays in the development process.

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County around Bradford and Dufferin County around Orangeville. Both areas are in Greater Toronto's urban shadow and can expect increased urbanization. However, the negative financial impact on the two affected counties would be significant — Simcoe has just completed a major restructuring and Dufferin would be forced to do so if Orangeville were added to the region. Consequently, the Task Force does not recommend their inclusion.

Exclusion of the areas noted above from the Greater Toronto region could produce a more cohesive, interdependent, and logical city-region. This would involve the transfer of Georgina, Brock, Scugog, and portions of Uxbridge and Clarington to adjacent counties.¹⁵ Transfer of these areas would reduce the geographic size of the region by approximately 25 percent.

Because of our accelerated timeframe, the Task Force was unable to validate this proposal through a public process. However, we believe the proposal should be reviewed in conjunction with the municipal restructuring process discussed in Section 6.9 of this chapter.

Recommendation 26

Revision of the external boundaries of the Greater Toronto region, consistent with the criteria of commutershed, cohesiveness, and anticipated development, should be referred to the Greater Toronto Implementation Commission and considered in conjunction with the municipal restructuring process.

In establishing the governance system for the Greater Toronto region, the Task Force again applied three key criteria. First, representation should be proportional to population. Second, the Council should be small enough to be effective (ideally approximately 30 councillors). Third, there should be a political link between the Greater Toronto regional body and local councils. Based on these criteria, five options for electoral structure were considered:

**The Greater
Toronto
Council**

1. **Direct election**, with wards of 200,000 - 250,000 people and a council of 20 based on current population. This is a clear and understandable system, consistent with the principle of direct accountability. However, by creating a distinct and separate entity that is not composed of members of constituent local councils, this system invites friction between the upper and lower tiers. Further, there is no evidence that electing councillors directly to a regional body reduces parochialism.

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2. **Double direct election**, a form of indirect election whereby voters elect regional councillors at large from within the local municipality to sit on local council and regional council, is currently used in all the regions. This system allots larger municipalities more regional councillors so that their representation on the regional council is roughly equal to their share of the regional population.

This option is not viable with the current number of municipalities, as the Council would be too large to be effective. To keep the Council to about 30 members while providing representation proportional to the population of each municipality, the number of municipalities would have to be reduced substantially.¹⁶ This would compromise the principle that the structure should be as responsive as possible to diverse local communities.

3. **Indirect election**, in which each GTA mayor (or a member of municipal council designated by the mayor) would be given a seat on the Greater Toronto Council and a vote weighted according to the population of the area they represent. This model would create a smaller, proportionally-weighted and representative Greater Toronto Council. While this option is consistent with the principles stated earlier, its primary disadvantage is the complexity of the voting mechanism.

4. **A variation of the double direct system** combined with a system of weighted and capped votes. Each Greater Toronto mayor would be entitled to a seat on the Council. Each mayor (or designate) would have maximum of five votes (one vote per 60,000 population) on Council. The mayors of the larger municipalities would represent up to 300,000 people. Municipalities with populations greater than 300,000 would select additional municipal representatives to sit on the Greater Toronto Council, each with a maximum of five votes on the basis of one vote per 60,000 population.

This system of weighted votes, combined with a cap on the number of votes, is working well in the Greater Vancouver Regional District.¹⁷

¹⁶ For example, even if the number of municipalities were reduced to 17, with populations ranging from 100,000 to 900,000, the size of the Council would still be too large to be effective. To ensure fair representation by population, it would be necessary to assign one member per 100,000 population. The largest municipality alone would require eight councillors. The overall result would be a Council of at least 42, or even greater if municipalities smaller than 100,000 remained.

¹⁷ Formed in 1967, the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) administers regional services for 1.8 million people, including 23 municipalities, districts, and electoral areas and the City of Vancouver. The population-weighted voting formula (*British Columbia Municipal Act*, 1989 R.S. 290, Part 24) results in 31 local politicians on the GVRD Board with 95 total votes (GVRD Annual Report, 1989). The GVRD has reviewed the voting process in several studies and

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However, without local restructuring to reduce the number of participating municipalities, the size of the Council would be unwieldy at more than 30 members.

5. **Indirect election, based on municipalities of approximately 140,000 or more residents** (4.2 million divided by 30 members), and the combination of smaller municipalities into electoral districts of approximately 140,000 residents. Each of these municipalities and electoral districts would be represented by a mayor or mayor's designate. Larger municipalities, with more than 140,000 residents, would be entitled to additional representatives on the basis of one for each additional 140,000 population ($\pm 70\,000$). For example, the City of York (population 140,500 in 1991) would send only its mayor (or designate) to the Council. North York (population of 563,883 in 1991) would send its mayor or designate and three additional representatives ($140,000 \times 4 = 560,000$).

Smaller municipalities within combined electoral districts would select a joint representative from among their mayors or from among council members designated by the mayors. This position could rotate among the municipalities on a regular basis, if the municipalities involved so decided. With this system, keeping Council to approximately 30 members would not be contingent on widespread municipal consolidation, nor would it involve the complexity of a weighted voting system.

The Task Force is recommending the fifth option on the basis that representation on the Greater Toronto Council would be proportional to population and its deliberations would not be distorted by having a disproportionate number of seats occupied by smaller municipalities. At the same time, this option ensures the size of the Council will be kept within manageable limits at approximately 30 members.¹⁸ It also offers smaller municipalities the option of working cooperatively within combined electoral districts to ensure that their interests are well represented, rather than imposing widespread municipal consolidations solely for the purpose of keeping the Council to a workable size. Finally, it also creates a direct relationship between the regional Council and local councils, thereby reducing the potential for friction between the two tiers and enhancing municipal involvement in region-wide planning and decision making.

¹⁸ Population should be determined by the most recent census data. 1991 census data was used in our illustration of Council representation by municipality/electoral district (see Exhibit 6.1), but 1996 Census data should be used to revise the allocation of seats on Council as soon as it is available.

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Without knowing the full extent of local restructuring, it is difficult to delineate the precise boundaries of the new electoral districts. Exhibit 6.1 shows, for illustrative purposes only, one option for creating electoral districts. Whether Brock, Scugog, parts of Uxbridge and Clarington, and Georgina are to be included in the Greater Toronto region will affect the determination of electoral districts in Durham and York regions.

Recommendation 27

The Province should establish an indirectly elected Greater Toronto Council for the Greater Toronto region:

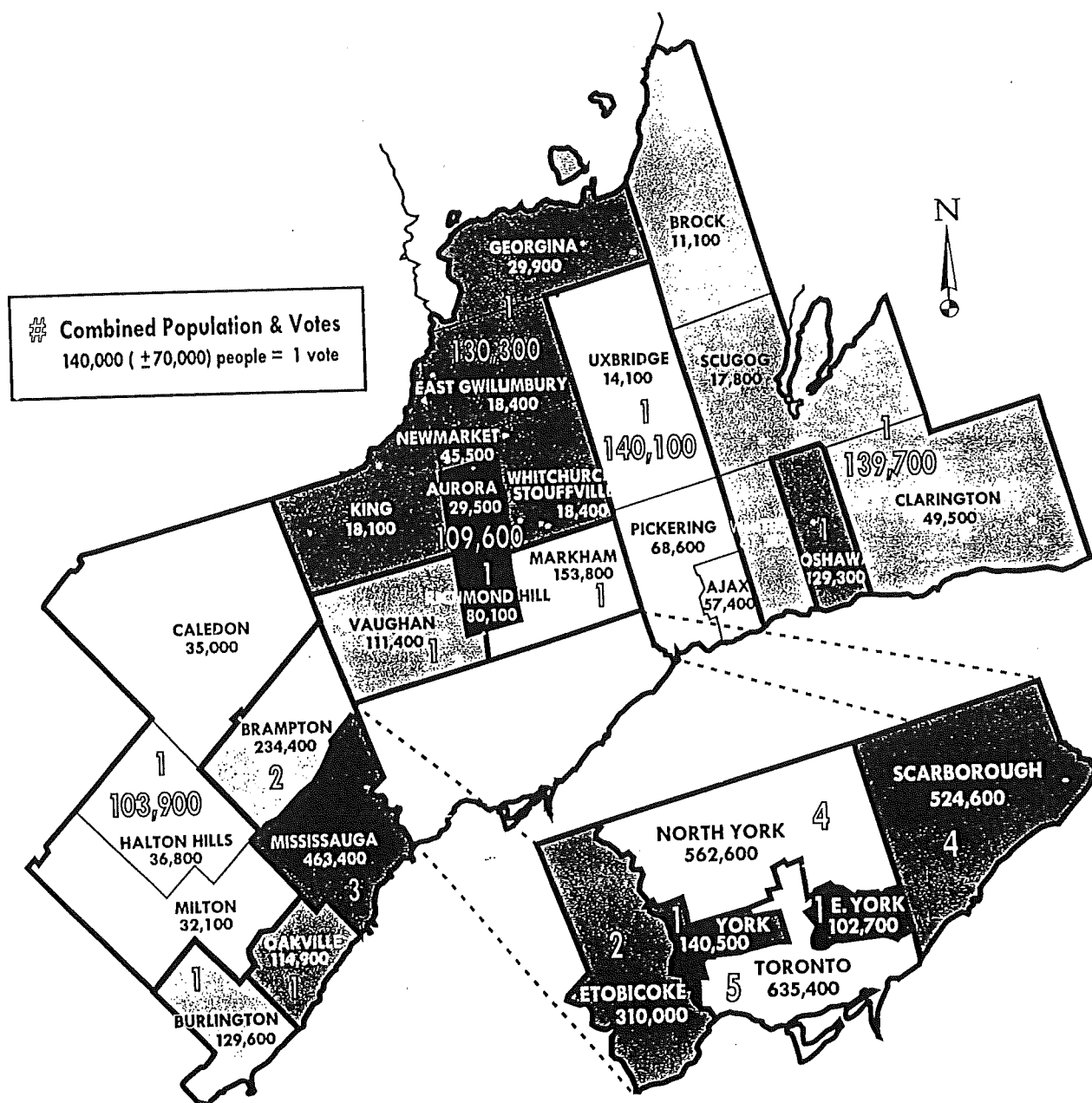
- including the mayor (or member of council designated by the mayor) of each municipality with a population of 100,000 or more;
- with provision for municipalities with populations greater than 140,000 to send more representatives from their local council, on the basis of one councillor for each additional 140,000 (\pm 70,000) residents;
- including one mayor (or member of council designated by the mayor) from each newly created electoral district, selected by mutual agreement by the constituent local councils;
- with each Greater Toronto Council member having one vote; and
- limited to approximately 30 members.

The Council must have an Executive Committee to ensure that matters before it are managed as expeditiously and effectively as possible. The Task Force gave careful consideration to the make up of this committee. While the Council itself should have the prerogative to select its Executive, the Task Force believes that two distinct perspectives must be represented on the Committee. The first is that of the City of Toronto, on the basis that the continuing health and vitality of Toronto's core is critical to the health of the entire region and that, consequently, the City must be involved in key decisions taken by the Executive. The second is that of the smaller, largely rural municipalities which represent a distinct and important perspective but, because of the small number of votes they will hold, may not secure a place on the Executive Committee.

For this reason, the Task Force recommends that the Executive Committee be selected at large from the Council, with the exception that one seat be reserved for the Mayor of Toronto or the Mayor's designate, and one seat reserved for a representative selected from those municipalities comprising the 25 percent with the smallest populations.

GOVERNING THE CITY-REGION

EXHIBIT 6.1: ILLUSTRATION OF ELECTORAL DISTRICT CONCEPT



Recommendation 28

The Greater Toronto Council should be guided by an Executive Committee of six members, comprising:

- the Chair of the Council;
- the Mayor of the City of Toronto (or a member of council designated by the Mayor);

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- a member selected by those municipalities comprising the 25 percent with the smallest populations; and
- three members selected at large by the Council from among the remaining members.

Based on precedent, the Province would appoint the first Chair of the Council. Thereafter, the Council would elect as Chair any one of its own members or any other person. If elected from outside the Council, that person would have no vote except in the event of a tie. If elected from Council, the Chair would have one vote as of right as a councillor and a second vote only in the case of a tie.

A Chair who already holds an elected office is more directly accountable to the public, even if only to a narrow portion of the GTA's total constituency. An outside Chair, on the other hand, may be more impartial, more able to concentrate full-time on GTA matters, and more likely to adopt a regional perspective on issues, unconstrained by local interests.

Recommendation 29

The Province should appoint the first Chair of the Greater Toronto Council, either from within or from outside the Council, for the first term. Thereafter, the Council should be empowered to elect as Chair any one of its members or any other person.

6.4 EXPANDING THE MUNICIPAL ROLE

Many of the submissions to the Task Force indicated that people feel the greatest connection to and trust for the level of government closest to them. This notion was reiterated by many studies and public opinion polls,¹⁹ and is supported by the principle of subsidiarity described earlier in this chapter.

The Task Force agrees that, wherever possible, services should be delivered by local municipalities to ensure maximum efficiency and responsiveness to local needs and preferences. The Greater Toronto Council will have only responsibility for services that are key to our competitiveness, require planning and coordination on a region-wide basis, or cannot reasonably be provided at the local level. All other services previously delivered at the regional level will be devolved to local municipalities.

¹⁹ Environics, "Focus Ontario" (1995).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 2 Understanding the Greater Toronto Economy

Recommendation 1

A Greater Toronto economic strategy should be developed to build on this city-region's unique strengths by:

- investing in the physical and social infrastructure necessary to support key traded goods and service sectors;
- maintaining Greater Toronto's quality of life in all its dimensions and supporting an attractive, compact, and high-quality downtown core; and
- reorganizing and focusing business recruitment and retention efforts on the clusters of economic activity we already have in Greater Toronto, using a public-private partnership model.

page 70

Chapter 3 Reforming the Property Tax

Recommendation 2

The Province should adopt the Actual Value Assessment system for all classes of property.

page 96

Recommendation 3

To address the urgency of the assessment crisis, the Province should reassess Metro municipalities prior to the rest of Greater Toronto. It should also place the highest priority on reassessment of the non-residential sector.

page 97

Recommendation 4

The Province should introduce transitional tax relief upon implementation of a new assessment system. This relief should include:

- phasing in tax increases and decreases;
- a provincially-funded \$200 million transition program for low-income households to ensure that nobody need sell his or her home as a result of the reassessment; and
- a property tax deferral program for seniors.

page 99

Recommendation 5

The Province should assign to local municipalities in Greater Toronto control over the relative mill rates that apply to different classes of property for municipal purposes.

page 101

C R E A T E R T O R O N T O
R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S**Recommendation 6**

For a transitional period, while assessment and education finance reforms are being implemented, the Province should establish mill rate bands to limit the variability in the residential-to-commercial tax rate ratio. Legislative provisions that create these bands should contain a sunset clause to ensure that bands are phased out as soon as the Task Force's education finance reforms have been phased in fully. *page 102*

Recommendation 7

Commercial and industrial education taxes should be pooled across Greater Toronto and uniform commercial and industrial education tax rates should be created across the entire region. *page 105*

Recommendation 8

A new regional education allocation formula that accurately reflects per-student costs and clearly delineates various recognized expenditure categories should be introduced. The new allocation formula should adequately reflect student needs and demographic characteristics which affect education costs. *page 106*

Recommendation 9

To dampen the tax impacts of pooling non-residential education property taxes, the 15 percent education mill rate bias against non-residential property relative to residential property should be eliminated. *page 107*

Chapter 4 *Shaping the City-Region***Recommendation 10**

Given the importance of effective infrastructure development to the region's economic competitiveness, the Greater Toronto Council should take responsibility for providing major infrastructure in the city-region, including:

- undertaking cost-benefit analysis to identify those infrastructure projects that support integrated and strategic planning region-wide;
- ranking infrastructure investments in order of priority;
- identifying opportunities for innovation in, and simplification of, infrastructure requirements; and
- establishing clear policies and procedures for public-private partnering in the provision of infrastructure. *page 120*

G R E A T E R T O R O N T O R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 11

The Province should immediately undertake a targeted review of those provisions of the *Environmental Assessment Act* that are critical to urban infrastructure with a view to simplifying approval processes, eliminating duplication and unnecessary documentation, and delivering environmentally sound decisions. Given the importance of effective infrastructure development to the region's economic competitiveness, this review should be undertaken on an urgent basis and completed within 24 months.

page 121

Recommendation 12

A Greater Toronto integrated plan should be prepared to set out a broad regional framework and objectives for the management of urban growth, infrastructure investment, economic development, and environmental quality. The new regional plan should accommodate most development in existing urban areas.

page 122

Recommendation 13

Local municipalities should revise their by-laws in order to:

- identify areas where the development approval process leads to unnecessary duplication, inflexibility, and cost; and
- incorporate standards and provisions that support more flexible, compact, and efficient form.

page 124

Recommendation 14

The Province should revise existing municipal and provincial infrastructure development standards in its upcoming review of the *Development Charges Act* to ensure that the standards support compact and efficient urban form.

page 127

Recommendation 15

In its review of the *Development Charges Act*, the Province should revise the regulations under the Act to:

- require municipalities to incorporate full-cost pricing methods into the calculation of municipal development charges; and
- require that calculations of education development charges be based on the differential costs associated with the demographic characteristics and needs of households in different unit types.

page 129

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 16

The Province should allow the Greater Toronto Council to introduce user fees on private vehicles, including a region-wide user fee on gasoline up to a stipulated maximum. Revenues generated from these user fees should be dedicated to transportation and transit infrastructure in Greater Toronto. *page 131*

Recommendation 17

The Ministry of Environment and Energy should establish standards appropriate for intended use in the clean up of brownfield sites. *page 136*

Recommendation 18

The Province (and the Federal Government) should enact legislation to address the issues of liability of lenders, receivers, and trustees regarding the redevelopment of brownfield sites. *page 136*

Recommendation 19

The Greater Toronto Council should establish a strategic and comprehensive regeneration program for the redevelopment of brownfield sites. *page 136*

Recommendation 20

Information on industrial and formerly industrial lands within the region should be collected in a Greater Toronto site registry to facilitate brownfield site redevelopment. *page 136*

Chapter 5 *Strengthening Municipalities***Recommendation 21**

The Province should disentangle the funding and policy-setting responsibilities for services as follows:

- the Province should assume full responsibility for policy-setting and funding of general welfare assistance and children's services;
- the Province should discontinue conditional transfers to municipal governments, but continue to provide provincial unconditional grants to municipal governments;
- the Province should continue to provide capital grants for regional capital investments, but discontinue capital grants for local projects; and
- this disentanglement should be neutral in its financial impact between the Province and the municipalities, with the Ontario Unconditional Grant being adjusted to balance any discrepancies. *page 142*

G R E A T E R T O R O N T O
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Recommendation 22

Municipal governments in Greater Toronto should actively pursue cost savings and efficiencies through competitive processes, including contracting out the delivery of service, after taking into account the impact on employees, service quality, and accountability. *page 153*

Recommendation 23

Municipal service delivery data should be collected and analyzed in a uniform and consistent fashion by the Greater Toronto Council in order to provide benchmarks of performance and increase the incentive for municipalities to deliver services in a cost-efficient manner. The first of a series of annual reports should be produced by the Greater Toronto Implementation Commission in 1996, with the support of the Greater Toronto Coordinating Committee (GTCC). The existing data compiled by the GTCC should be made available immediately to municipal councils for their review. *page 156*

Recommendation 24

In consultation with the municipalities, the Province should introduce a new *Municipal Act* that will empower municipal governments by indicating those broad areas where they can operate and by giving them scope to carry out their responsibilities. The new *Act* should enable municipalities to contract out and enter into public/private partnerships for service delivery. *page 157*

Chapter 6 Governing the City-Region

Recommendation 25

The Province should implement the following changes in the governance of Greater Toronto:

- replace the five existing regional governments with a single Greater Toronto regional government with a more limited number of functions; and
- strengthen local municipalities with added powers and the responsibility for delivering a wider range of local services. *page 166*

Recommendation 26

Revision of the external boundaries of the Greater Toronto region, consistent with the criteria of commutershed, cohesiveness, and anticipated development, should be referred to the Greater Toronto Implementation Commission and considered in conjunction with the municipal restructuring process. *page 169*

G R E A T E R T O R O N T O
R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 27

The Province should establish an indirectly-elected Greater Toronto Council for the Greater Toronto region:

- including the mayor (or member of council designated by the mayor) of each municipality with a population of 100,000 or more;
- with provision for municipalities with populations greater than 140,000 to send more representatives from their local council, on the basis of one councillor for each additional 140,000 (\pm 70,000) residents;
- including one mayor (or member of council designated by the mayor) from each newly created electoral district, selected by mutual agreement by the constituent local councils;
- with each Greater Toronto Council member having one vote; and
- limited to approximately 30 members.

*page 172***Recommendation 28**

The Greater Toronto Council should be guided by an Executive Committee of six members, comprising:

- the Chair of the Council;
- the Mayor of the City of Toronto (or a member of council designated by the Mayor);
- a member selected by those municipalities comprising the 25 percent with the smallest populations; and
- three members selected at large by the Council from among the remaining members.

*page 173***Recommendation 29**

The Province should appoint the first Chair of the Greater Toronto Council, either from within or from outside the Council, for the first term. Thereafter, the Council should be empowered to elect as Chair any one of its members or any other person.

*page 174***Recommendation 30**

Fire services should remain a local responsibility at this time. The Province should investigate the potential for improving cost-effectiveness through improved coordination or possible integration of some services and facilities.

*page 178***Recommendation 31**

The Province should review the appropriate scale for coordination of ambulance services, and the possible amalgamation of ambulance and fire services, with a view to achieving greater efficiencies and improving response times. This review must be completed prior to the restructuring of municipal governance in 1997.

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G R E A T E R T O R O N T O

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 32

Responsibility for streets, roads, and old provincial highways should be assigned as follows:

- all urban streets, avenues, and roads should be the responsibility of local municipalities;
- all local roads in rural communities should be the responsibility of the local municipality;
- all regional roads in rural areas should be the responsibility of the Greater Toronto Council; and
- as the Province devolves responsibility for old provincial highways, those in urban areas should be assigned to area municipalities, while those in rural areas should be assigned to the Greater Toronto Council.

page 180

Recommendation 33

Municipal electric utilities should be accountable to area municipal councils and their members should be appointed by the councils.

page 181

Recommendation 34

Area municipalities should assume responsibility for delivering a range of functions, some of which are provided by regional municipalities, including:

- community services (welfare, hostels, children's services and homes for the aged);
- public health;
- fire services;
- urban streets, avenues, and roads;
- parks, recreational facilities, and community centres;
- promotion of local arts and culture, management of libraries, and protection of heritage buildings;
- some development approvals, licences, and permits; and
- licensing (except for taxicabs, limousines, and tow trucks, all of which should be assigned to the Greater Toronto Council).

page 183

Recommendation 35

The mechanism of flexible service districts should be introduced to allow for region-wide service planning and coordination by the Greater Toronto Council, while ensuring that services are delivered on a more local basis, in accordance with the needs and preferences of different communities. Services to be delivered in this manner include: conservation, transit, police, water and sewer, and waste management.

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R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 36

The responsibility for regional planning should be transferred from the five existing regional governments to the Greater Toronto Council. The Greater Toronto Council should be given primary responsibility for integrating infrastructure and land use planning in the region. *page 186*

Recommendation 37

The Greater Toronto regional plan should give priority to infrastructure investments needed to support key sectors of the economy, specifically improvements to Pearson International Airport, the completion of Highway 407, and enhancements to the region's transit systems. *page 187*

Recommendation 38

The Province should devolve delivery of the environmental permitting and approval functions currently delivered by district and regional offices of the Ministry of Environment and Energy, Ministry of Natural Resources, and Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs to the Greater Toronto Council. These should be carried out by restructured conservation authorities that report directly to the Council and are responsible for delivering their current functions, as well as those newly devolved from the Province, on a watershed basis. *page 188*

Recommendation 39

Environmental services for the city-region should be coordinated at the regional level. The Greater Toronto Council should coordinate and streamline planning, administration, and delivery of services currently split among several provincial ministries, five regional governments, and five conservation authorities. *page 192*

Recommendation 40

A Greater Toronto public-private economic development partnership should be established to act as a single marketing body for the city-region. The partnership should be responsible for:

- marketing the region internationally to attract investment;
- delivering a broad-based business retention strategy;
- monitoring Greater Toronto's economic performance; and
- acting as a repository for strategic economic data collected on a regional basis and used for business attraction and retention purposes.

The new partnership should be structured as an independent corporation at arm's length from the Greater Toronto Council and have majority representation from the private sector. *page 193*

G R E A T E R T O R O N T O
R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S**Recommendation 41**

Municipal economic development functions relating to business attraction and international marketing should be replaced by those undertaken at the Greater Toronto regional level. Certain functions, including facilitating new business formation, local business retention, assistance with business expansion, permits and approvals, and data collection, should continue to be provided at the local municipal level. *page 194*

Recommendation 42

The Greater Toronto Implementation Commission should undertake an immediate review of policing in the Greater Toronto region in order to institutionalize community policing, ensure civilian control of police forces, enhance budget accountability, and make policing more effective. The Province should integrate the findings of this review with its planning for the future of policing in Ontario. In the interim, Greater Toronto police services should continue to be provided through the five existing regional police forces. *page 197*

Recommendation 43

The Greater Toronto Council should undertake the planning and coordination of transit services across the region, while allowing for service delivery by a variety of transit operators on a service district basis to maintain locally responsive services and promote efficiency, innovation, and competition among service providers. *page 199*

Recommendation 44

Consistent with the principles for disentanglement set out in Chapter 5, the Province and the Greater Toronto Council should resolve the ownership and co-financing of the region's highways and expressways and establish clear protocols for approval processes, funding, construction, and maintenance. *page 200*

Recommendation 45

The central traffic computer, a critical component of the region's road infrastructure, should be managed by the Greater Toronto Council to ensure the efficient movement of traffic between local municipalities. *page 200*

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 46

The Greater Toronto Council should be directly responsible for:

- regional planning;
- economic development;
- management of regional assets; and
- construction and maintenance of regionally significant highways and Metro expressways.

In addition, it should oversee the delivery and operations of:

- environmental quality services;
- police;
- transit;
- water and sewer works, major trunks, reservoirs, and pumping stations;
- waste disposal, transfer, and recycling; and
- licensing of taxicabs, limousines, and tow trucks.

page 203

Recommendation 47:

The Province should establish the necessary policy and procedures to enable relevant Ministries and the Greater Toronto Council to undertake complementary planning and co-financing initiatives in the following areas:

- regional planning;
- environmental protection and conservation;
- transportation planning and development;
- sewer and water works, and waste treatment and disposal; and
- economic development and investment.

page 204

Recommendation 48

The Greater Toronto Council should approve budgets and determine cost-sharing arrangements for all regional services. To meet its responsibilities, the Greater Toronto Council should levy annually against area municipalities, raise other taxes and fees, and borrow for capital purposes.

page 208

C O U N C I L O F G R E A T E R T O R O N T O
R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Recommendation 46

The Greater Toronto Council should be directly responsible for:

- regional planning;
- economic development;
- management of regional assets; and
- construction and maintenance of regionally significant highways and Metro expressways.

In addition, it should oversee the delivery and operations of:

- environmental quality services;
- police;
- transit;
- water and sewer works, major trunks, reservoirs, and pumping stations;
- waste disposal, transfer, and recycling; and
- licensing of taxicabs, limousines, and tow trucks.

page 203

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- transportation planning and development;
- sewer and water works, and waste treatment and disposal; and
- economic development and investment.

page 204

Recommendation 48

The Greater Toronto Council should approve budgets and determine cost-sharing arrangements for all regional services. To meet its responsibilities, the Greater Toronto Council should levy annually against area municipalities, raise other taxes and fees, and borrow for capital purposes.

page 208

Recommendation 49

The Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing should appoint a Greater Toronto Implementation Commission, reporting directly to the Minister, to oversee implementation of the recommended reforms in Greater Toronto. Its mandate should include:

- finalizing the city-region's outer boundaries and managing municipal consolidations as required;
- advising on legislative and administrative changes;
- reporting on the costs of municipal services;
- undertaking the proposed review of policing;
- developing new processes and structures for education financing;
- supervising the allocation of municipal assets and liabilities arising from restructuring;
- developing an adjustment strategy for local municipal and regional employees affected by restructuring;
- planning for the replacement of regional governments by the Greater Toronto Council; and
- building an understanding of Greater Toronto's emerging identity and promoting a sense of regional citizenship among its municipalities and residents.

page 212

Recommendation 50

The Greater Toronto Implementation Commission should:

- update initial modelling of the fiscal impacts of the reforms proposed in this report on each municipality in Greater Toronto;
- identify those municipalities which should be considered for consolidation;
- develop initial consolidation proposals, taking into account their own analysis and any recommendations arising from the municipal restructuring processes currently underway in the regions of Durham and York;
- undertake a process of public consultation with the affected municipalities and their residents; and
- make final recommendations to the Province on the optimal number and configuration of local municipalities in Greater Toronto, consistent with the reforms outlined in this report, by June 1996.

page 214

Recommendation 51

The Province should adopt the timetable set out in Exhibit 6.7 for implementation of the Task Force's recommendations.

page 215

A P P E N D I X D


SUBMISSIONS

There are 211 submitters listed below. A number provided more than one submission. This list does not include the authors of approximately seventy personal vision statements that were submitted at the Task Force's request by community leaders from various sectors. Their names are not listed because the authors were assured of confidentiality.

Ajax, Pickering, Whitby Hydro Electric Commissions
 Ajax, Town of
 Argier, Lindsay
 Artsvote
 Association of Conservation Authorities of Ontario
 Association of Municipalities of Ontario
 Aurora, Town of
 Bannerman, Groo
 Barr, Erin
 Beath, Walter
 Berry, Bob
 Bloor-Bathurst Madison Business Association
 Blythe, Scot and Nelson, Fiona
 Boards of Education, Peel, Durham, Halton, and York Regions
 Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto
 Boggs, Michael H., CAO, Region of Niagara
 Bossons, Ila
 Bossons, Professor John
 Bourne, Professor Larry S.
 Brampton Board of Trade
 Brampton, City of
 Brampton Hydro-Electric Commission
 Brock, Township of
 Buck, Karen
 Burlington, City of
 Bushby, Abby
 Caccia, Charles, MP
 Caledon, Town of
 Canadian Bankers Association
 Canadian Federation of Independent Business


A P P E N D I X D

Canadian Institute of Public Real Estate Companies
Canadian Life & Health Insurance Association Inc.
Canadian Property Tax Association Inc.
Canadian Union of Public Employees - Local 79
Canadian Urban Research Bureau
Carr, George
Cavanagh, Larry
Challinor II, John
Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto
CHP Heritage Centre
Citizens for Property Tax Reform
Clarington, Municipality of
Comay, Professor Eli
Connell, Stephen
Conseil des écoles francaises de la communauté urbaine de Toronto
Consulting Engineers of Ontario
Cook, Jennifer
Confederation of Resident & Ratepayer Association
Credit Valley Conservation Authorities
Cryer, Kathy (Citizens Against the Amalgamation of School Boards)
Dowd, Eric
Downey, William B.
Dufferin-Peel Roman Catholic Separate School Board
Durham, Regional Municipality of
East Gwillimbury, Town of
East York Board of Health
East York, Borough of
Engel, Krystyna
Environmentalists Plan Transportation
Etobicoke Board of Health
Etobicoke, City of
Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers' & Residents' Association
Etobicoke Hydro
Federation of Canadian Municipalities & Canadian Association of Municipal Administrators
Federation of Metro Tenants' Association
Federation of Oakville Residents Groups
Gauer, Christopher



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Canadian Institute of Public Real Estate Companies
Canadian Life & Health Insurance Association Inc.
Canadian Property Tax Association Inc.
Canadian Union of Public Employees - Local 79
Canadian Urban Research Bureau
Carr, George
Cavanagh, Larry
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Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto
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Comay, Professor Eli
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Conseil des écoles francaises de la communauté urbaine de Toronto
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Dowd, Eric
Downey, William B.
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East York Board of Health
East York, Borough of
Engel, Krystyna
Environmentalists Plan Transportation
Etobicoke Board of Health
Etobicoke, City of
Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers' & Residents' Association
Etobicoke Hydro
Federation of Canadian Municipalities & Canadian Association of Municipal Administrators
Federation of Metro Tenants' Association
Federation of Oakville Residents Groups
Gauer, Christopher



A P P E N D I X D

Gaul, Alison
Gaw, Doris
Georgina, Town of
Greater Toronto Co-ordinating Committee
Green Door Alliance Inc.
Griffin, Lois
GTA Conservation Authorities
Gutkowski, Stefan E.
Halton, Regional Municipality of
Halton Board of Education
Halton Hills, Town of
Halton Hills Corridor Development Association
Halton Regional Police Services Board
Hamilton-Wentworth, Regional Municipality of
Harbourfront Centre
Harron, Kevin
Heighington, Gary
Heisey, Alan
Hopcraft, Marcia
Hopcraft, Marg
Hospital Alliance of Durham, Halton, Peel and York
Hotel Association of Metropolitan Toronto
Independent Cab Owners' Co-operative Incorporated
Institute of Municipal Assessors
International Council of Shopping Centres
Janle, C. E.
Kalaydjian, Steve
Karmiris, Maria
Kay, Jeffrey
Kinahan, Blake F.
King, Township of
Kite, Fred C.
Kyle, Dr. Robert
Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and York Region
Lavalle, Nick
Leone, Marie; Plunkett, Valerie; Halliday, Wanda and Coaten, Robert

A P P E N D I X D

Liczky, W.A., Commissioner of Finance and Treasurer, City of North York
Long, John J.
Longwoods Publishing Corporation
Mahdjoubi, Darius P.Eng.
Mangov, Brett
Markham, Town of
Markland Homes Association
Markham Hydro Electric Commission
McKnight, Margaret
Meadow Wood Rattray Ratepayers Association
Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children
Metro Cultural Advisory Committee
Metro Toronto Sewer and Watermain Contractors Association
Metropolitan Separate School Board
Metropolitan Toronto, Municipality of
Metropolitan Toronto District Health Council
Metropolitan Toronto Library Board
Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board
Metropolitan Toronto School Board
Metropolitan Toronto's Electric Utilities
Miller, Gavin
Milton, Town of
Milton Public Library
Mississauga, City of
Mississauga Board of Trade
Morgan, Gerry, Assessment Commissioner, Huron-Perth Counties
Motala, Yasmeen
Mulkewich, Walter
Municipal Electric Association, District Four
Municipal Tax Collectors of Ontario
Mushinski, Hon. Marilyn, MPP
Newmarket, Town of
Niagara Escarpment Commission
Nicholson, Brian
North York , City of
North York Board of Education
North York Board of Health

A P P E N D I X D

North York Hydro
Oakville, Town of
Oakville Citizens' Committee on Property Tax Reform
Ontario Arts Council
Ontario Cable Telecommunications Association
Ontario Community College Student Parliamentary Association
Ontario Public School Boards' Association
Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, District 51, East York
Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association
Ontario Waste Management Association
Orangeville, Town of
Organizational Renewal Project (OPP)
Oshawa, City of
Oshawa & District Chamber of Commerce
Peel, Regional Municipality of
Peel Board of Education
Peel Region Police Services Board
Pickering, Town of
Police Associations of Halton, Peel, York, and Durham Regions
Powell, Thomas L., Fire Chief, City of Scarborough
Quance, Jeff
Regional Municipalities of Durham, Halton, Peel, and York, Chairs
Regional Planning Commissioners of Ontario
Richmond Hill, Town of
Roberts, Bill
Rosenberg, Michael
Safe Sewage Committee
Scarborough, City of
Scarborough Public Utilities Commission
Scarborough Volunteer Citizens' Budget Advisory Committee
Seiling, Ken
Sewell, John
Sexsmith, Mark
SMART Toronto
Society of Industrial and Office Realtors
South East Toronto Industrial Awareness Organization

A P P E N D I X D

Topham Park Homeowners' Association
Tormey, Tim
Toronto, City of
Toronto Arts Council
Toronto Board of Education
Toronto Board of Health
Toronto Construction Association
Toronto Economic Advisory Committee
Toronto Harbour Commissioners
Toronto Real Estate Board
Toronto Taxi Cab Owners and Operators Association
Transit Integration Steering Committee
Transport 2000 Ontario, Inc.
Tyrrell, Amber
Uxbridge, Township of
Vallance, David
Vance, C. E.
Vaughan, City of
Visima, Ryan
Vrantsis, Litsa
Ward 2 Parents Council, Board of Education for the City of Toronto
Waterfront Regeneration Trust
Whitby, Town of
White, Robert M.
Whitehead, Richard, Councillor, Regional Municipality of Peel
Wiesner, Peter A.
Wilfert, Bryon
York, City of
York, Regional Municipality of
York Federation of Ratepayers Association Inc.
York Region Board of Education
York Regional Police Senior Officer's Association
York Region Roman Catholic Separate School Board
York Region Police Services Board
York University

ROCCO ACHAMPONG
Applicant

and

ONTARIO *et al.*
Respondents

Court File No.: CV-18-00603797-0000

THE CITY OF TORONTO
Applicant

and

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO
Respondent

Court File No.: CV 18-00603797-0000

CHRIS MOISE *et al.*
Applicants

and

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ONTARIO *et al.*
Respondents

Court File No. CV-18-00603633-0000

ONTARIO
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE

**RESPONDING RECORD OF THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL OF ONTARIO**

(VOLUME 2 OF 2)

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