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HS-Net is a network of individuals, networks and institutions engaged in human settlements research. HS-Net seeks to promote global dialogue, collaboration and exchange of information on human settlements conditions and trends and the implementation of the Habitat Agenda and the targets of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on slums, water and sanitation.

UN-HABITAT's research based flagship reports, the *Global Report on Human Settlements* and *The State of the World's Cities* report (published biennially) are the main vehicles for global reporting and dissemination of the agency's monitoring and substantive research results. The research on substantive issues and policies required for the Global Report on Human Settlements, the larger of the two flagship reports, is based on partnerships with research institutions all over the world. To strengthen this partnership, UN-HABITAT launched HS-Net in November 2004.

The main objectives of HS-Net are to advise UN-HABITAT on the contents and organization of its *Global Report on Human Settlements*. As part of its key activities, the network advises UN-HABITAT on the publication of the Human Settlements Global Dialogue Series, where experts are able to publish cutting-edge policy oriented research on human settlements. HS-Net also coordinates the UN-HABITAT Lecture Award, an annual award given for outstanding and sustained contributions to human settlements research. Lectures delivered by the Award winners are posted on the HS-Net website and also published in hard copy in the UN-HABITAT Lecture Award Series. The lectures are also disseminated through DVDs. In addition, HS-Net shares information on human settlements trends and conditions through its website.

The key organs of HS-Net are its members, Secretariat and Advisory Board. HS-Net members share information on new and ongoing research in human settlements and contribute to global dialogue through discussions hosted by HS-Net. The Policy Analysis Branch of UN-HABITAT serves as the Secretariat of HS-Net. The Advisory Board consists of experienced researchers in the human settlements field representing the various geographical regions of the world. The Advisory Board is primarily responsible for advising UN-HABITAT on its *Global Report on Human Settlements*. The Board also reviews papers submitted for the Human Settlements Global Dialogue Series, serves as the selection committee for the UN-HABITAT Lecture Award and defines the strategic focus and activities of HS-Net in consultation with the Secretariat.

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Governance Reform from Below: Multilevel Politics and the 'New Deal' Campaign in Toronto, Canada

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Martin Horak



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Human Settlements Global Dialogue Series

FOREWORD

The Human Settlements Global Dialogue Series provides a forum for publishing cutting-edge policy oriented research in human settlements. The Series is managed by the Policy Analysis Branch of UN-HABITAT, which also serves as the Secretariat for the Global Research Network on Human Settlements (HS-Net). The purpose of the series is to encourage dialogue and exchange of ideas in the human settlements field. It keeps readers informed and up to date with trends and conditions in human settlements, but also contributes to the building of research capacity in developing countries. The target audience of the series includes researchers, academic institutions, public policy makers and non-governmental organizations.

The subject of the series is confined to the human settlements field, both urban and rural. Authors are encouraged to submit papers on topics within the thematic focus areas of the Habitat Agenda, i.e.: urban planning, development and management; land and housing; urban environment; water, sanitation, transport and other types of infrastructure; urban economic development; housing and municipal finance; risk and disaster management; social inclusion; as well as global monitoring of human settlements conditions and knowledge management.

All papers submitted for publication are reviewed by human settlements experts selected from within and outside HS-Net's Advisory Board. Some five to ten papers are published annually and are also posted at the HS-Net website.

It is my hope that researchers, policymakers and practitioners will find the research papers in this series informative and useful. I urge researchers from all over the world to submit papers for publication. Guidelines for contributors are given at the back of this publication.



Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka

**Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director
United Nations Human Settlements Programme**

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Human Settlements Global Dialogue Series, No. 4

Governance Reform from Below: Multilevel Politics and the ‘New Deal’ Campaign in Toronto, Canada

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Nairobi, 2008

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List of acronyms

AMO	Association of Municipalities of Ontario
C4LD	Citizens for Local Democracy
CIF	Canada Infrastructure Fund
COTA	City of Toronto Act
CSIF	Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund
GST	Goods and services tax
GTA	Greater Toronto Area
GTTA	Greater Toronto Transportation Authority
IGR	Intergovernmental relations
LSR	Local services realignment
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
TCSA	Toronto City Summit Alliance
TTC	Toronto Transit Commission
US	United States of America
\$	Canadian dollar

Abstract

Since the year 2000 the City of Toronto, Canada's most populous municipality, has mounted a sustained, high-profile campaign to ensure the devolution of more powers and resources from its provincial and federal counterparts. This campaign for a "New Deal" is unique in Canada in terms of its scope and its achievements to date, which include new sources of finance and new legislation that expands the City's powers. The objective of this paper is to explain the origins and achievements of Toronto's campaign. Even though the Toronto area is one of Canada's most globally integrated city-regions, the paper argues that the pressures of globalization play only a supporting role in Toronto's New Deal campaign. Working with government documents and data from interviews with public officials, the paper argues that the campaign and its achievements are best understood in light of the particular dynamics of multilevel politics in Toronto. A major provincial government initiative in 1998 to reform local governance in Toronto inadvertently laid the foundation for the New Deal campaign by creating a huge single municipality but not endowing it with adequate fiscal resources. The achievements of the campaign have in turn depended on a confluence of political leadership and support at multiple levels of government, a condition that has proved difficult to sustain over time. The analysis presented in this paper suggests that even in a globally integrated city such as Toronto, the timing, dynamics and non-regionalist character of a major governance reform campaign have been the products of a particular confluence of multilevel politics within the domestic frame.

Keywords: Toronto, urban governance, multilevel governance, municipal finance, regionalism, globalization.

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About the author

Martin Horak is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario. His research focuses on the comparative politics of large urban areas in North America and Europe, with a special interest in issues of governance reform. His most recent major publication is *Governing the Post-communist City: Institutions and Democratic Development in Prague* (University of Toronto Press, 2007). His published papers include work on local politics in Toronto and environmental policymaking in the post-communist world. He is currently conducting research on Toronto for two large collaborative research projects: “Multilevel governance and public

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