

The Missing Link of Metrolinx:

Examining the Regional Governance of Transit Planning in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area

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ABSTRACT

City building requires investments and multifaceted partnerships, built on methodical long-term planning, cooperation and transparency. However, the structural conditions of Canada's federalist system disincentivizes intergovernmental cooperation and collaboration. This paper explores through the selected cases, how five key factors, acting individually and in interaction, compromise or prevent the efficiency and stability of evidence-based policy making. As a result, the transit file often becomes excessively politicized in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area. Although this paper does not engage in a strict causal analysis, it will be demonstrated how the selected factors interact in complex, non-predetermined manners to destabilize regional, evidence-based planning, and reinforce the public's perception of political paralysis.

Therefore, the institutional framework of intergovernmentalism will be critically analyzed in examining why municipalities tend to operate in isolation. The Eglinton Crosstown and Scarborough subway debate will then highlight the five factors which contribute to this policy crisis. Following, the paper will explore the role of Metrolinx, and how it can become a legitimate authority to execute efficient and effective transit investments. The policy recommendation of reforming Metrolinx's regional governance structure will be presented. In addition, expanding the role of the federal government's fiscal spending powers will be discussed as a policy alternative.

INTRODUCTION

Statistics Canada reported that as of July 2013, Toronto's population was 2,791,140, making it the fourth largest municipality in North America after Mexico City, New York, and Los Angeles (Moloney 2013). The Greater Toronto Area's population, which includes Toronto and the regions of Durham, Halton, Peel and York, is projected to increase from 6.4 million in 2012 to 8.9 million by 2036 (Government of Ontario, "Ontario Population"). This growth is incredibly significant, given that the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area or GTHA (appendix A) accounts for nearly half of the province's gross domestic product (GDP), and 15% of the country's total output (Grant 2013). Bakvis et al. reiterate how "national competitiveness is only a reflection of the success of local economies—which themselves depend on responsive, efficient local governments to provide the public goods and services they need" (220). Although municipalities are important jurisdictions of productivity, institutions like TD Bank and the C.D. Howe Institute have published cautionary reports regarding the economic barriers to further growth.

André Côté, manager of programs and research at the Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, argues that "efficient, multi-modal transportation networks [contribute] to the economic vitality of global city-regions...through the movement of goods and workers and provid[ing] connections with other regions and global trade networks" (2012: 2). "Local services can be provided efficiently and effectively within a municipality, [but as] transportation spills over municipal boundaries...mechanisms [are required] to coordinate its delivery across the broader metropolitan region" (Côté 2013). For example, seamless transfers between different jurisdictions' local bus services are an integral component of a regional network. However, this paper's focus is on capital-intensive rapid transit projects, such as light rail and subways. The

fiscal burden of transit infrastructure provides significant opportunities for politicians to reinforce their public relevance and support. As political opportunism is attributed to policy turnover, this has perpetuated the public's perception of inaction and disfunction. However, populist pandering and posturing are only symptomatic of a greater policy problem. The efficiency and stability of an evidence-based approach are often neglected in favour of legislators' electoral legitimacy.

Although this paper does not explore the direct causes of transit policy's instability, it will be argued that this policy crisis can be repeatedly attributed to key ideational, agential, and structural variables. These contingent factors act and interact in complex and dynamic ways to produce an inefficient and polarizing policy process. The Eglinton Crosstown and Scarborough subway present relevant case studies in critically analyzing five factors which contribute to the deleterious politicization of transit policy: (1) elected representatives repeatedly mischaracterize or misunderstand transit; (2) the urban and suburban constituencies are juxtaposed as having opposing interests and needs; (3) the financial resources for transit are limited; (4) different jurisdictional authorities compete for predominance and legitimacy; and (5) the federal government often intervenes by exercising its spending power. Furthermore, these factors reinforce a compartmentalized, or "sandbox" mentality between authorities and orders of government—inconducive to efficient regional-based planning.

Regional "decentralized action can often be more effective than standardized policy developed [centrally]" (Bakvis et al. 220). However, "policy interdependence places a greater burden on all governments in a federal system to act more harmoniously, to manage conflict better, and to cooperate more effectively when required" (ibid). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states that the

absence of effective regional governance can create a number of problems: high transaction costs and coordination gaps between local transit operators, political uncertainty or dysfunction in making planning and investment decisions...[and] the inability to exploit economies of scale (cited in Côté 2013).

Examples of transaction costs are the lack of coordination in transferring between systems, different fare media, and the absence of fare integration. Although transaction costs are important to examine, this paper's focus is specifically on the costs of political uncertainty and dysfunction. Andrew Sancton argues that all levels of government can theoretically operate interdependently and collaboratively (302). However, the reality is that the politicized nature of transit policy stymies multilateral coordination and evidence-based planning. Periodic turnover of plans also means that the policy process is inefficient, and ultimately detrimental to regional productivity.

Metrolinx, the province's transportation authority, estimates that the region's current cost of congestion, including travel delays, increased vehicle costs, increased chance of collision, and loss of productivity amount to \$6 billion annually (Metrolinx 2014). However, the C.D. Howe Institute argues that Metrolinx's estimates do not take into account the impact of lost opportunities, such as how congestion can dissuade people from potential employment or recreational spending (Learn 2013). Therefore, the institute believes that the cost of congestion is more accurately between \$7 and \$11 billion per year (ibid). Given that the region will continue to grow, both the public and private sectors cannot afford any more inaction on improvements to transit and transportation infrastructure.

Therefore, a reformation of Metrolinx's regional governance structure will be recommended. However, it is important to first examine the state of intergovernmental relations, and how jurisdictional rescaling has developed within the context of Canadian federalism. Areas such as provincial-municipal relations and intergovernmental partnerships will be explored.

Following, a conceptual framework will be established, providing clarity on an oft-misinformed debate, such as the technical components and operating capacities of different transit systems. The five interacting factors of politicization will then be explored through the cases of the Eglinton Crosstown and Scarborough subway, demonstrating the need for regional governance. The paper will then examine the effectiveness and efficiency of Metrolinx, and the challenges facing the current administration of public transit in the region.

The theoretical framework of regional transit governance will be critically analyzed, as each governance model has “distinguishing characteristics that make one or another more suited to a specific coordination effort” (Baker and Weaver 1). In proposing an effective and efficient regional body, the strengths and weaknesses of different governance models, such as a regional transit authority and transit coordinating council will be deconstructed. The paper will then recommend amending Metrolinx’s governing body, based on best practices, to enhance its planning and decision-making authority, and democratic legitimacy. Similar to the York Regional Council, an elected Metrolinx Council will have the representative decision-making structure to legitimately represent its jurisdictions. It can be held accountable by each municipality, and maintain the legitimacy of electoral mandates, while working collaboratively to meet the transportation needs of the GTHA. Consulting and advisory positions will also be discussed for the provincial and federal governments, and industry stakeholders.

Another policy option of intergovernmental cooperation will be presented, specifically regarding the role of the federal government in urban affairs. Notwithstanding the ad hockery of federal interventionism, its role in municipal affairs is not unprecedented, and can be leveraged to implement expensive transit lines. Although historical successes demonstrate how collaboration

can be maximized to produce viable partnerships and results, the ultimate policy recommendation will be that regional governance is the most effective way to respond to local dynamics, ensure sustained policy coherence and coordination, and keep plans relatively insulated from the flux of other policy windows, such as changes in government.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework of intergovernmental relations and regional governance was distilled from a variety of academic literature, including journal databases and textbooks. Thus, the majority of the citations are qualitative secondary sources. As articles on local regional governance are limited, a broad and general list was developed to extract relevant concepts and themes. In exploring the relatively recent nature and geographic specificity of the case studies, this paper relied on a variety of government publications, including Ontario's ministries, and media sources. Some anticipated problems with news articles are the journalistic bias in language, and narrow recount of events. Therefore, notwithstanding the theme of politicization in this paper, a large number of articles were examined objectively—as listed in the bibliography—to maintain the diversity of journalists and news organizations. Therefore, the impact of potential bias was minimized, and the findings should strictly express an academic interpretation.

Quantitative data is also used to discuss the financing and competition for resources in the case studies. For example, when specific dates and figures are cited from the media, those findings were confirmed through technical studies or line department reports. Lastly, a potential limitation with the sources, is the lack of academic literature on transit governance in the GTHA. Although it did not present problems in critically analyzing regional governance on a broader scale, this research area would benefit from more localized examples.

CANADIAN FEDERALISM and the RESCALING OF MUNICIPALITIES

“The economic structure, spatial dimensions, and social fabric of large globalized cities are in constant flux,” which generate new policy issues, and “generate pressure to reform the spatial architecture of urban authority” (Horak 311). As regional productivity and mobility are dependent on facilitating the intermunicipal movement of goods and people, it is important to foster municipal cooperation and collaboration. However, this section will demonstrate the structural difficulties of pursuing interdependent initiatives in the federalist context. In examining the rescaling of municipalities, and their relations with the provincial and federal governments, it will be evident that municipalities often operate in isolation, and have little incentive to pursue joint objectives. Despite the rescaling of the GTHA’s municipalities to improve their fiscal autonomy, “the absence of effective regional governance has been identified as one of the major barriers to transportation planning and urgently needed investment” (Spicer 6).

Provincial-Municipal Relations

The term “local government” broadly encompasses both elected councils, and regional special-purpose bodies, responsible for everyday services like school boards and policing (Sancton 303). Local governments exercise executive and legislative powers to service local roads, water and sewage/sanitation, and determine land use for development (Bakvis et al. 219). However, there is no consistent definition regarding the roles and responsibilities of local government. The most common description of municipalities is that they are distinct legal entities comprised of eligible residents within a territorial jurisdiction; they possess “legally defined access to public funds or to publicly regulated fees,” and are charged with decision-making autonomy in their policy fields (Sancton 303).

However, neither the Constitution Acts of 1867 nor 1982 recognize municipal governments or their special-purpose bodies as an order of government. Municipalities are asymmetric “creatures of the province,” as provincial legislatures delegate powers and responsibilities, and can even intervene in local affairs and dissolve municipal government (Sancton 305; Bakvis et al. 221). Municipal structures therefore vary according to provincial policy windows such as the province’s political stance, or fiscal health. For example, Alberta’s Municipal Government Act defines local functions broadly, grants municipalities full status under corporate law, streamlines governing statutes, provides for intermunicipal dispute resolution, and grants expanded tax bases for entertainment, retail sales and gasoline (Bakvis et al. 224).

Although the health and success of municipalities are vital for a nation’s economic performance, they have few governance linkages, particularly since Canadian federalism compartmentalizes the different levels of government—each with their areas of jurisdiction (Innes et al. 55). Canada’s federalist structure does not incentivize the provinces to coordinate or create a uniform approach for intermunicipal initiatives. As the provinces determine the extent to which municipalities exercise their fiscal capacities or participate in larger partnerships, this presents a logistical and structural barrier towards regional governance.

The representation of regional or transmunicipal interests is limited. Although every province has an association which provides “formal avenues for [municipal] representation and lobbying, principally to the minister and department of Municipal Affairs,” informal channels are leveraged more frequently (Bakvis et al. 225). The “less structured political connections are formed through the direct relationships that develop between individual mayors or councils and provincial ministers and officials” (ibid). As these informal policy levers are more relied upon,

the “absence of political mobilization at the municipal level may mean that local and urban issues are insufficiently debated or considered in a systematic way in the political community...” (ibid).

The municipal sandbox mentality is in part a consequence of the intergovernmental structure, however, this would not be so salient if municipalities could afford expensive infrastructure. Fiscal autonomy is important because “governments that raise their own revenues and set their own tax rates to meet local expenditure needs tend to be more responsible and more accountable to taxpayers” (Slack 9). Accessing sufficient revenues allows cities to respond to dynamic circumstances (ibid 11), and ensure that spending is commensurate to salient needs. However, over the past two decades, municipal spending on social services has increased due to the downloading of provincial responsibilities, rather than absolute growth (Bakvis et al. 225). Furthermore, as provincial subsidies have decreased, municipal reliance on own-source revenues has thus increased from 77.1% in 1988 to 82.8% by 2005 (ibid 226). The combination of provincial offloading and increased municipal self-reliance means that new capital-intensive projects are fiscally untenable, as it is politically challenging to levy additional taxes.

Moreover, municipal self-reliance is challenged by the ability to levy taxes beyond the property base. Being able to draw revenues from different sources means that a city can “yield a given amount of revenue more efficiently (with a smaller negative impact on the overall tax base),” and be less dependent on other levels of government (Slack 9). For example, Manitoba transfers 2% of personal income tax and 1% of corporate income tax as unconditional grants to municipalities (Bakvis et al. 226). Only a few cities have been granted the power by their respective provinces to levy other taxes (ibid), such as how Toronto draws from property and the municipal land transfer taxes. Without the ability or capacity to raise more revenues,

municipalities are forced to reduce their costs by seeking the oft-mentioned service efficiencies, but ultimately resort to levying higher taxes or cutting services.

Municipal Rescaling for Fiscal Autonomy

Provincial legislatures have reformed the responsibilities, fiscal authority and boundaries of municipalities. Spatial and political reformation are often paired, known as jurisdictional rescaling (amalgamation or single-tier rationalization) (Horak 311). During the 1950s, 1960s and 1990s, core municipalities annexed suburban land to create new regional municipalities, or single-tier cities (Horak 316; Spicer 1). Provincial governments argued in favour of cost savings by creating economies of scale, and consolidating administrative and political platforms (Spicer 2). Rescaling may conglomerate municipal interests, and create streamlined decision-making structures, but they still face large expenditures and competition for provincial and federal funding. Not only did the integration of collective agreements and service standards lead to increases in wages and service expectations, but the number of civil service positions also increased (Bakvis et al. 223; Spicer 3).

In 1954, the Ontario provincial government created Metropolitan Toronto, a two-tier governing system where the upper-tier Metro was “responsible for metropolitan planning, policing, infrastructure development, public transit, and social policy,” while the 13 (later six) lower-tier municipalities were responsible for local matters such as property development and physical services (Horak 316). From the 1970s to the 1990s, Toronto’s suburban growth spread beyond Metro’s boundaries, as four distinct suburbs of the GTA began to form (Spicer 2). Therefore, the two-tier governance system was extended to include the regions of Halton, Peel, Durham and York. These regions were granted powers “analogous to those of Metro, while

numerous lower-tier municipalities managed remaining local matters” (Horak 316). For example, York Region is comprised of Aurora, East Gwillimbury, Georgina, King, Markham, Newmarket, Richmond Hill, Vaughan, and Whitchurch-Stouffville (appendix A). Members of York Regional Council are elected in “double direct” elections, where those elected as mayor or regional councillor earn a seat for both the local and regional council for four years; the chair is elected by the regional councillors, and together, they set the policies and budgets (York Region 2013). Depending on the size of the lower-tier municipality, the number of members who sit in the regional council varies (ibid).

Regarding single-tier rationalization and amalgamation, endemic conflict among the government units of Metro, and the “economic disparities between Metro and the booming outer suburbs” led to calls for governance reform (Horak 316). Under Premier Mike Harris, the province rescaled the city, and offloaded the responsibilities for affordable housing, public transit, and some social services, while education was partly uploaded by the province (ibid). In 1998, the province unilaterally amalgamated Metro and its lower-tier suburbs to create the new City of Toronto, again touting efficiency and cost savings—albeit erroneously (ibid 317). Toronto is now the sixth largest unit of government in Canada, headed by a 45-member council (ibid).

Since the city competes for residents and private development with the GTHA’s municipalities, “fiscal constraint has played a major role in post-amalgamation Toronto...as the difference in cost structure between Toronto and the surrounding suburbs [has] deepened the institutional divide between these two areas, discouraging inter-municipal cooperation” (ibid). However, despite the intracity and intraregional conflict, jurisdictional rescaling established municipal units with “significant intergovernmental clout” (ibid 318). Although the current

regional bodies and cities carry significant territorial and fiscal weight, scholars like Andrew Sancton argue that these units are bifurcated from its neighbouring municipalities (315). In addition, the constant evolution of boundaries contributes to confusing lines of accountability and jurisdiction. Statistics Canada often refers to the GTHA as the “extended Golden Horseshoe,” with debate over which municipalities to include (ibid).

As municipalities and regions continue to grow geographically, borders will remain a contested dynamic, perpetuating the problem which regional governance attempts to address.

Making central-city municipalities—and perhaps also their surrounding suburbs—more autonomous does nothing except reify existing boundaries that are invariably seen as arbitrary, outdated, discriminatory, and irrelevant; but to focus on the economic and social reality of a city means focusing on the city-region as a whole—and determining its territorial extent for the purposes of self-government is not a practical proposition (Sancton 314).

Despite the provinces’ efforts to seek cost savings by rescaling their municipalities, there are still significant challenges which even the biggest cities encounter. The practices of jurisdictional rescaling have not addressed an important policy issue, which is the “tendency to neglect longer-term investment and maintenance in infrastructure, both provincial and local, until problems—economic, social, environmental—become critical” (Bakvis et al. 226).

Federal-Municipal Relations and the Urban Agenda

The federal government can provide a national focus on important municipal issues, while counterweighting the paternalistic municipal-provincial relationship. However, the national framing of urban issues depends on the alignment of particular policy windows, such as if there is a strong municipal agenda or salient urban crisis. As aforementioned, the constitutional division of powers ensures that the federal government has no direct influence on local government. However, the federal operation of services, like airports, directly impacts municipalities (ibid

227). Therefore, this section will analyze how there is a precedent of federal intervention in motivating collective action regarding infrastructure.

Federal spending powers can only be exercised in municipalities if the respective provinces approve. However, given that provinces face their own fiscal burdens, it is not often that they reject federal monies. For example, the government loaned \$25 million to the provinces to construct new housing and infrastructure for the veterans of World War I (Sancton 305). Another federal-municipal initiative were the loans provided to municipalities for infrastructure investment, catalyzing the “urban renewal” of the 1950s and 1960s (ibid 306-307). During World War II, the federal government also administered rent controls, provided housing, and established the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). The CMHC developed housing standards, and today continues to fund public housing, promote community planning, and provide mortgage insurance (Stoney and Graham 385). These historical initiatives demonstrate how federal spending can effectively address infrastructure deficits, and create healthy, vibrant cities.

In 1971, the federal government created the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA), mandated to coordinate federal activities in cities (Sancton 307). Although the ministry was short-lived, it established an important intergovernmental concept. It sponsored national tri-level conferences, which provided a forum for municipalities to discuss revenue tools, but the provinces perceived this as a jurisdictional incursion (ibid 308). Since then, the federal-municipal dynamic has shifted away from a “unilateral, centralized federal approach to a more decentralized intergovernmental approach,” focused primarily on physical infrastructure and economic growth (Stoney and Graham 391). Most recent tri-level agreements and infrastructure programs are ad hoc, isolated to a single issue or locale.

Since the late 1990s, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) has lobbied for a federal “urban agenda,” sponsoring research by banks and think-tanks to investigate how compared to other advanced industrialized countries, the federal government makes “very limited contributions to the capital and operating budgets of urban municipalities...[as they] have insufficient capacity to raise money themselves” (Sancton 309). Municipal infrastructure deficits range from \$100 to \$115 billion to address “crumbling public infrastructure,” and meet growing demand (De Souza 2013). However, since the financial crisis of 2008, federal funding has been framed as stimulating the economy, as former Finance Minister Jim Flaherty has stated, “infrastructure drives productivity and contributes to long-term prosperity” (Smith 2013).

The Building Canada Fund was initiated in 2007 as a seven year program, providing \$8.8 billion for provincial, territorial, municipal, and private infrastructure (Government of Canada, “Canada Fund”). It is a cost-sharing program to help fund research, planning and feasibility studies, and up to one-third of municipal infrastructure (ibid). The Major Infrastructure Component targets “larger, strategic projects of national and regional significance,” such as water and wastewater, public transit, and green energy, while the Communities Component targets small communities with the same environmental, economic and quality of life projects (ibid). In 2013, the government announced that it would renew the program for another 10 years, providing a total of \$33 billion (De Souza 2013).

The renewal of Building Canada demonstrates the “largest long-term federal commitment to Canadian infrastructure,” including indexing the Gas Tax Fund at \$2 billion per year (ibid; Smith 2013). In 2005, the federal government—in agreement with the provinces—started to allocate five cents per litre of the gas tax into the Gas Tax Fund (Sancton 311). The money would

then be allocated to municipalities on a per capita basis for environmentally sustainable infrastructure (Bakvis et al. 226). Although Building Canada falls short of the 20-year plan requested by the FCM to plan infrastructure investment, it demonstrates a stable and predictable federal commitment to municipalities. In addition, \$119 million per year is directed towards homelessness; \$155 million over 10 years for First Nations infrastructure; and \$235 million has been earmarked for affordable housing (De Souza 2013; Smith 2013). Building Canada also maintains the GST (goods and services tax) rebate for municipalities, valued at \$5.8 billion (Government of Canada, “Canada Plan”). The Plan also renewed the P3 (public-private partnerships) fund, which is a “mechanism to leverage investment and manage risk,” resulting in “lower costs, higher construction quality, and improved performance” (Côté 2012: 5).

The Growing Influence and Importance of Municipal Regions

Scholars like Jean-Paul Addie argue that cities are often the locus of policy, both domestic and global because they are the “key sites for economic recovery...[and] alternative development pathways” (189). The \$14.8 billion of stimulus funds, through the 2009 Economic Action Plan, were aimed at creating “opportunities for urban and regional government to exploit infrastructural investment in order to realize new localized spatial fixes” (ibid). However, the absence of structural incentives for intermunicipal cooperation reinforces a pattern of isolated and fragmented decision making. “Formal government decisions are made at different scales, typically without consultation with those who will be affected and usually without coordination, much less an effort to achieve joint gain” (Innes et al. 58). Municipalities thus often compete against one another to lower their tax base to lure private development and new residents. Therefore, there are “population clusters in relation to infrastructure and housing type and quality,

producing a patchwork of socioeconomic enclaves, within which job opportunities, transit access and environment quality vary widely” (ibid).

Although some academics are hesitant to argue that there is a “new, viable spatial fix,” for regional bodies, the impacts of the global economic crisis, and the responses of key actors have “open[ed] a window to examine the continuities and ruptures underpinning the multifaceted developmental trajectories of city-regions” (Addie 189). When “assessing the coevolution of city-regions (as social, political, and spatial entities),” it is evident that transportation investments have been “selective and broadly neglected” (ibid). The status quo of ad hoc and intermittent funding is problematic, and must be addressed because “developing quality, modern transportation systems increases locational advantages for metropolitan areas competing in a global economy” (ibid).

The existing institutional structure of municipalities regarding residential growth and job creation produces little incentive to cooperate, particularly when each government is responsible, and ultimately held accountable by their own electorate, and not the greater region. When one examines the GTHA’s development, it becomes apparent that the traditional municipal paradigm of isolated and self-interested growth is not conducive to the interconnectivity of production centres and economies of scale. This fragmentation is further complicated “by the many ways that decisions of private players such as businesses, non-profits, environmental groups, and civic organizations...affect the region’s welfare” (Innes et al. 58). Therefore, regions are “unable to build synergies among diverse components, adapt to changing conditions in a productive way, or address region-wide issues” (ibid 55-56). With overlapping and often competing levels of government and associated bodies, “the result is a complex system without a public entity that

focuses on the overall welfare...[of] metropolitan regions” (ibid 55). The fragmentation of urban regions produces a complex “myriad of public and private players whose actions have large and small impacts [and] have neither incentive nor opportunity to work together to address shared problems” (ibid 56). Prior to examining the policy recommendation of enhancing Metrolinx’s governance mandate, one must first explore the conceptual framework of transit capacities.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF PUBLIC TRANSIT

Ken Greenberg, former Director of Urban Design and Architecture for the city of Toronto, argues that for the past 60 years, the Toronto region has experienced an “unusually difficult time” with tackling congestion. Rather than focusing on a particular mode of transit, the focus should be framed on “getting more people out of their cars...[on] safe and efficient multi-modal networks” (2013). Greenberg argues that the lack of a long-term vision or comprehensive approach to planning runs contrary to the nature of infrastructure investments like transit. Although “transportation projects are multi-decade efforts extending beyond the terms of single administrations,” some politicians “seemingly prefer to randomly cherry pick ideas and pander based on short-sighted political calculations” (Greenberg 2013). Greenberg argues that there is a justified sense of paralysis and cynicism among the general public, which perpetuates the “pervasive sense of failure” (2013).

Prior to delving into the five interacting factors of transit politicization of the two case studies, it is important to define and clarify key concepts. The saliency of regionalization is primarily due to a general lack of knowledge regarding the costs and benefits of transit projects. Prominent transit advocate, Steve Munro, argues that the poor understanding of transit by influential individuals “complicates the debate with all-or-nothing posturing” (“announce a

subway”). He believes that political leaders should exercise due diligence and comprehensive case analyses, “not cheap political theatre and...divisive strategies” (ibid). For example, a common misinformed rhetoric is that the public only wants and deserves subways. Mayor Ford has repeatedly said that “the people of the city have spoken loud and clear. They want subways” (Kalinowski and Rider, “subway dream”). However, the mayor is among a majority of politicians who either unknowingly express ignorance, or deliberately mischaracterize transit.

Although light rail technology is used in several cities like Vancouver, Paris and Barcelona, Toronto’s experience with this mode of rapid transit has been limited to the Scarborough Rapid Transit (SRT/RT), and future Eglinton Crosstown (Moore, “Seeing is believing”). Some transit officials believe that the lack of exposure contributes to poor technical awareness and knowledge. First, subways are “high-capacity systems that are fully grade-separated from other traffic,” running predominantly underground at average speeds between 25 to 50 km per hour, with capacities between 25,000 to 40,000 people per hour (Metrolinx). Subways also cost around \$300 to \$500 million per kilometre to construct in Canada, due to the labour and resource intensive nature of tunneling and underground infrastructure (ibid). As seen in appendix B, the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) operates 3 subway lines, with the Toronto-York Spadina Subway Extension (TYSSE) into Vaughan due to be completed by 2016.

Light rail transit (LRT) operates on dedicated right-of-ways to provide reliable service, with the option of travelling at grade, underground, or along an elevated structure (Metrolinx, “The Crosstown”). Unlike subways, LRTs operate between 20 to 40 km per hour depending on station spacing, and have capacities between 2,500 to 20,000 riders an hour—depending on vehicle module lengths and configurations (Metrolinx). In addition, they cost between \$60 to \$85

million per kilometre, or \$200 to \$250 million per kilometre in an underground or elevated configuration (ibid). Light rail and streetcars are sometimes synonymously referred to as trolleys or trams in other countries. Although these two distinct transit modes often use vehicles with similar appearances, they have different operational characteristics.

Streetcars, like conventional buses, operate mostly in mixed traffic, “used for local trips as feeders to the rapid transit network” (ibid). They operate between 10 to 15 km per hour—at times with traffic signal priority and dedicated lanes—with an hourly capacity of 2,000 riders; the cost of construction is \$25 million per kilometre (Metrolinx). “Toronto’s streetcar system began operating in 1861 and is the largest legacy streetcar system in North America...[comprised of] 11 lines, a total length of 300 km, and carries nearly 330,000 people daily” (ibid; appendix C).

Although there are other forms of local and rapid transit such as regional rail and bus rapid transit (BRT), the public’s most common misconceptions are about streetcars, subways, and light rail.

Rarely are transit debates framed around the evidence-based aspects of policies, such as whether ridership would meet demands, promote network connectivity, and produce sustainable levels of service (Rider, “Toronto transit”). The case studies will demonstrate the narrow and overly politicized nature of transit discourse.

CASE STUDIES

The politicization of transit demonstrates an urgent need to implement effective regional governance. The Eglinton Crosstown and Scarborough subway debate are two relevant case studies from the GTHA which clearly present the five interacting factors of transit politicization, which reinforces a compartmentalized decision-making process——both of which are inconducive to regional planning. Transit politicization is not unique to the GTHA, as Ottawa’s

initial LRT project in 2006 was protracted until 2013, due to subsequent councils' disagreements over alignment (CBC News 2009). However, given this paper's focus on Metrolinx and the GTHA, the Crosstown and Scarborough subway will be used to demonstrate a fundamental misunderstanding over transit technologies.

Misunderstanding fuels the rhetoric of elected representatives to champion opposing plans, and argue how the suburban constituencies have been underserved, compared to urban residents. Both cases will also demonstrate how the limited nature of public dollars motivates politicians to compete for funds, which results in opposing plans. The intra and intergovernmental competition for transit predominance and authority are also driven by the desire to claim credit over the successful implementation of the transit file. Lastly, although the Crosstown does not explicitly implicate the federal government—as the fifth factor—its culmination leads to federal intervention in the Scarborough case.

The Crossroads of the Eglinton-Scarborough Crosstown

Misinformed Debate

In December 2010, Mayor Rob Ford cancelled Transit City, a plan initiated by David Miller for a city-wide light rail network (Church, "Cost of cancelling"). This change would prove to be difficult, as portions of Transit City were already funded, and under construction by Metrolinx. Despite campaigning on fiscal conservatism, and targeting the city's "expenditure problem," Mayor Ford championed the costly extension of the Sheppard subway line to the Scarborough Town Centre (Lorinc, "Officials flagged"). He also propagated the ideological discourse—albeit erroneously—that light rail was equivalent to "fancy streetcars" (Kalinowski and Rider, "subway dream"). As it was clearly explained in the conceptual framework section,

light rail and streetcars have distinct operational characteristics, as streetcars are often designed without dedicated right-of-ways, and are intended to be local feeders to a rapid transit network.

Nevertheless, Mayor Ford stated that regardless of what these distinct forms are called, the people would not want transit blocking the roads (ibid). Although transit planners and analysts have demonstrated that light rail would meet the current and long-term demands of the Eglinton and Sheppard corridors, Ford has repeatedly stated that one of the main election issues is “to fight streetcars against subways” (ibid).

The Urban-Suburban Divide

Mayor Ford narrowly attributed his elected mandate as a vote of confidence to cancel Transit City, claiming that suburban residents deserve, and have repeatedly demanded the same underground rapid transit which exists in the urban core. This was also reiterated by his brother, Councillor Doug Ford, stating that “poll after poll, people want subways. They are very clear. The mandate was very clear in the election” (Church, “Cost of cancelling”). However, Leger Research found in early 2014 that 61% of all respondents, and 56% of Scarborough respondents were supportive of light rail (Kalinowski, “LRT to subway”). Leger’s Dave Scholz states that when one is “past all of that rhetoric...then people have a very realistic view of what they want” (ibid).

This demonstrates how notwithstanding the rhetoric of influential individuals, the actual opinions of suburban residents may not be accurately represented or depicted. In addition, all the selected respondents, regardless of their place of residence, do not express polarizing affinities for particular modes of transit. Therefore, the idea that urban and suburban constituents are juxtaposed as consistently having opposing transit preferences is not necessarily accurate. The

“fight against streetcars” is more a projected ideological preference of particular individuals, rather than a representative concept.

Competition for Limited Resources

The province would have been able to independently finance the construction of four LRT routes, freeing the city from the financial burden of these expensive infrastructure projects. However, the mayor’s office and Metrolinx negotiated a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on March 31, 2011, whereby the city of Toronto would be responsible for fully financing the \$4.2 billion Sheppard line extension, east to Scarborough Town Centre, and westward from the Sheppard-Yonge station to Downsview (Lorinc and Morrow, “provincial approval”). The province would then allocate the entirety of the Transit City funds (\$8.2 billion) into an all-underground Eglinton Crosstown, and a refurbishment of the Scarborough RT’s tracks and stations (ibid). The Crosstown “would be the longest all-new subterranean transit line constructed in Canada since the 1960s, connecting the city’s busy midtown district with far-flung suburban neighbourhoods to the east and west” (ibid). Metrolinx renamed the Eglinton Crosstown as the Eglinton-Scarborough Crosstown, with a preliminary map showing the cancellation of the above-ground stations to accommodate the new design (appendix D). As construction work proceeded with initial section, Mayor Ford appointed Dr. Gordon Chong to examine the feasibility and financing options for the Sheppard extension (Lorinc, “Officials flagged”).

Dr. Chong and the consulting firm KPMG analyzed the viability of tax increment financing (TIF) as a viable municipal financing tool. It would allow the city to pay for infrastructure projects by borrowing against future property assessment growth (ibid). KPMG predicted that TIF could generate \$6 billion over several decades through up-zoning, as high-

density development would be directed to each station's 800 metre radius (ibid). Contrary to Dr. Chong and KPMG's preliminary assessments, the city's previous Chief Financial Officer (CFO) and deputy manager Cam Weldon argued that the city would only break even under TIF. Weldon stated that new developments would generate no new funds, as they would be offset by higher servicing costs, and potentially draw development away from other parts of the city (ibid). In addition, an application was made in June 2011 to the federal government for \$1.5 billion through the Building Canada fund (ibid).

However, city council began to express concerns over the underground Eglinton-Scarborough Crosstown, as both the Eglinton and Sheppard low-density, suburban corridors would not generate the revenue needed to finance or operate the lines (Lorinc and Morrow, "provincial approval). The mayor claimed that the Sheppard subway could be financed without new taxes, and that the city had over a billion dollars to spend. However, the Globe and Mail's urban affairs columnist, Marcus Gee, clarified that the figure was a "combination of provincial and federal funds that were to be made available to the city under a 2011 transit deal" ("\$1-billion"). The deal stipulated that in the unlikely scenario that the Crosstown had leftover funds, the province would allocate up to \$650 million, in addition to the federal government's previously committed \$333 million specifically for the Sheppard East LRT (ibid).

Intragovernmental Competition

The financial concerns regarding the all-underground Crosstown, and absence of viable means to fund the Sheppard extension caused some councillors, including TTC Chair Karen Stintz, to seek an alternative. In February 2012, council voted 25 to 18 in favour of a plan championed by Councillor Stintz to redirect the \$8.4 billion of provincial funds to a partially

underground Eglinton Crosstown and Finch West LRT (Kalinowski and Dale, “Special transit”; appendix E). Reinstating the surface portion of the Crosstown between Laird Drive and Kennedy station would free \$1.9 billion for Finch West, and up to \$650 million for Sheppard, if all the projects met their allocated budgets and deadlines (ibid). Several councillors like Karen Stintz, Glenn De Baeremaeker and Maria Augimeri justified the change due to a utilitarian gain in servicing more people in different parts of the city.

Regarding the Sheppard line, council initially sought to support the mayor, referring the issue to a panel to recommend a long-term funding strategy for transit expansion (ibid; Rider “Toronto transit”). Composed of representatives from the TTC and Metrolinx, the panel ultimately recommended light rail. Although the panel’s findings were dismissed by the mayor, council voted in March, 24 to 19 in favour of light rail on the Sheppard East corridor (Kalinowski and Rider, “subway dream”). This case exemplifies how intragovernmental competition led to several changes and delays to a system that is already struggling to meet the current demand.

Successful Result

The first of two major transit debates ended in November of 2012 when the TTC and Metrolinx signed a master agreement, ensuring that the Crosstown, Finch West LRT and Scarborough LRT would be completed by 2020, followed by the Sheppard East LRT (Kalinowski, “sign off”). Although the province will own the infrastructure, the TTC will operate the Crosstown for an initial period of 10 years, including security, staffing, and vehicle operations (Gupta 2013). Through an alternative financing and procurement (AFP) process, Metrolinx and Infrastructure Ontario, a provincial procurement agency, have short-listed teams to design, build, finance and maintain the project, including its stations, integrated system of trackwork, signalling

and communications infrastructure over 30 years (Government of Ontario, “Moving Forward”). The budget also includes a maintenance and storage facility, and 76 Bombardier light rail vehicles (Gupta 2013). Together, the TTC and Metrolinx will decide the fare, revenue sharing, and potential provincial subsidies (ibid). Former Minister Chiarelli stated that the agreement would “end nearly four years of debate and delay and signal to Toronto commuters that...[the province is] getting on with the task they have long demanded” (Kalinowski, “sign off”).

The Crosstown is one of the first wave projects outlined in Metrolinx’s The Big Move, representing the province’s largest public transit investment at \$5.3 billion (Government of Ontario, “Moving Forward”). The Crosstown is a 19 km line that will operate along Eglinton Avenue from Mount Dennis to Kennedy, with a tunneled section between Keele Street and Laird Drive (Metrolinx, “The Crosstown”). It will have up to 25 stations and stops, linking to 54 bus routes, three subway stations, and various GO Transit stations (ibid). The Crosstown is expected to carry 5,400 passengers per hour during peak times, reducing traffic congestion, and improving rates of productivity for the region (Government of Ontario, “Moving Forward”).

This case demonstrates how a project that was introduced in 2007 encountered several years of modifications and delay. The framing of adequate and inadequate transit is an example of poorly informed discourse that has been widely disseminated to the public. Regardless of the consistent evidence-based policy work produced by the TTC and Metrolinx, it is the rhetoric of elected representatives which have predominantly shaped public attitudes and perceptions. The limited nature of fiscal resources has also prompted legislators to debate modifications to the plans, neglect transit’s regional implications, and result in an inefficient, and drawn out process.

Ultimately, councillors postured themselves as champions of the city's interests, and proceeded with a utilitarian alignment.

Scarborough Subway Saga

Misinformed Debate

Although proponents of heavy rail (subways) characterize the technology as sustainable and equipped to manage future growth, city planners argue that every form of transportation such as commuter rail, light rail, buses, bicycles and walking should coexist in appropriate circumstances. However, in the summer of 2013, council sought to replace the SRT refurbishment plan with a subway (Kalinowski, "councillors seek subway").

A TTC report indicated that by 2031, up to 8,000 riders an hour would be served by a Scarborough LRT; the figure is within the capacity of light rail, while a subway is only projected to draw 9,500 riders per hour (ibid). This indicates that ridership would not maximize a subway line. However, a technical advantage of a subway extension is to eliminate the need for transferring between lines. Nonetheless, it would be difficult to quantify the value-added of investing exponentially more in a subway line, just to eliminate the need for transfers, especially since systems in Tokyo, Beijing and New York have several interchange stations in their network.

Councillors like Scarborough Centre's Michael Thompson argue that there is a greater potential for malfunctions on an elevated LRT, as seen by the RT's routine suspensions during the winter of 2014 (ibid). However, light rail is also used in the punishing winter climates of Calgary and Edmonton, with limited operational difficulties due to inclement weather. Notwithstanding the master agreement that was signed just seven months prior, a resolution was passed by city council in May 2013 to extend the Bloor-Danforth line to Scarborough Town Centre (Alcoba

2013). Although the province previously stated that it would respect the city's elected mandate and authority regarding transit, Ontario's Minister of Transportation, Glen Murray, said that the province would not consider changing the master agreement (Morrow and Church, "subway extension"). Metrolinx then stated that it would cease all work to replace the RT if city council did not reaffirm its support by August, without which, the light rail preparations for Scarborough would be indefinitely suspended—delaying the "delivery of improved, modern and efficient transit service to the people of Scarborough" (Alcoba 2013).

The Urban-Suburban Divide and Political Motivations

Councillor Gord Perks argued that the council's interest in a subway extension was dangerous, and would lead to a "subways-or-nothing showdown for political reasons" (Kalinowski, "price tag"). The culmination of the Crosstown demonstrates that council ultimately preferred an option that was financially prudent and utilitarian. However, in the following year, council now expressed a desire for Scarborough that lacked the same frugality or fiscal responsibility. Ford claimed that Scarborough residents always wanted subways, and that he was constantly opposed by the province, city council, and Councillor Stintz (Kuitenbrouwer and Alcoba 2013). Ironically, after having championed light rail in February 2012, TTC Chair Karen Stintz shifted her preference, and voted for a Scarborough subway (Alcoba 2013). In June of 2012, Karen Stintz even made the Bloor-Danforth subway extension an integral part of her short-lived "One City" transit plan, (Gee, "transit saga").

In response to the changes in preference, Councillor Stintz simply stated that council "took a vote at a moment in time and then...took another vote at another moment in time" (Alcoba 2013). As the Scarborough RT is near the end of its life cycle, elected

representatives have stated that Scarborough residents have been underserved. Therefore, the absence of subways has classified the residents as second class users who have been neglected, and deserve better options. However, the divide between urban and suburban constituents is often projected by politicians, as opposed to being an accurate representative concept. Nonetheless, following a subway extension, politicians would no longer be able claim that downtown residents only get “good transit while suburbanites ride the bus,”—assuaging the urban-suburban divide (Gee, “transit saga”).

Pro-subway advocates often cite favourable personal discussions and canvassing with local Scarborough constituents. According to a recent poll conducted by Forum Research, 65% of Scarborough residents and 49% of Ford supporters responded in favour of the Scarborough subway extension (Fox 2014). Regarding the general type of public transit for the city, 55% opted for subways, compared to 34% for light rail (ibid). However, when provided with specific details about both the LRT and subway projects, 49% responded in favour of a LRT, compared to 42% for a subway (ibid). Furthermore, Carol Wilding, president of the Toronto Region Board of Trade, has said that as transit debates have become “overly politicized,” the city should not neglect the \$2.5 billion backlog regarding the state of good repair (Nickle 2013).

Competition for Limited Resources

Notwithstanding Minister Murray’s previous dismissal of further changes, Metrolinx stated that if the city endorsed a subway line, it would respect the city’s mandate, and negotiate a new financial framework. This tone reflects a flexible and accommodating nature, despite the structural predominance of provincial authority over municipalities (Morrow and Church, “deal to build”). Although political representatives are entitled to make authoritative decisions for their

constituencies, the discourse is often fueled by misunderstandings. According to Metrolinx, building a subway would add \$923 million to the \$1.8 billion budgeted by the province, compared to the TTC's total estimate of \$2.3 billion (Kalinowski, "price tag"). According to the TTC's CEO Andy Byford, the estimate could even increase after finalizing soil conditions, geotechnical issues, and property acquisitions, among others (Kalinowski, "best estimate").

Metrolinx stated that if the city were to pursue its subway extension, \$320 million from the RT project would be shifted to the Crosstown, while the city would bear \$85 million in sunk costs for Bombardier's vehicle design, planning and management, and property acquisition (Kalinowski, "price tag"). There are also other costs which remain unknown, such as modifying the LRV order with Bombardier, penalties for cancelled contracts, and keeping the RT operational during subway construction, estimated to be \$60 million to \$96 million over five years (Kalinowski, "best estimate").

Byford argued that although Metrolinx had reasonable differing estimates regarding the sunk costs, the TTC could not support the quoted number, and division of costs (Kalinowski, "price tag"). However, Minister Murray adamantly declared that out of the original \$1.8 billion budget for the RT, only \$1.4 billion would be available for the city if it were to pursue a subway extension. In debating the merits of different proposals, each stakeholder's cost estimates can conflict, leading to misinformed discussions, and further delaying time-sensitive projects. Several councillors have expressed the belief that valuable and finite resources have been misspent, rather than having been used to deliver rapid transit (Church, "Cost of cancelling").

Inter and Intragovernmental Competition

All elected representatives are given an elected mandate by their constituents. Thus, they are held accountable by the populace on how public dollars should be spent. Although all levels of government have expressed the desire for cooperation and coordination, alterations are often made unilaterally, regardless of varying public opinion polls, previous debates, or master agreements. This further delays much-needed transit, especially when an issue is salient. Given Metrolinx and the TTC's differing cost-benefit analyses, and procurement deadlines, Minister Murray unilaterally announced in the fall of 2013, that the province would proceed with a two-stop subway extension to Scarborough Town Centre (Morrow and Church, "Ontario, Toronto at impasse"). Murray also stated that the province was the only administration willing to spearhead a project that lacked firm municipal or federal participation (Kuitenbrouwer and Alcoba 2013). However, contrary to those remarks, council's decision to extend the subway was also paired with a commitment for a property tax increase, conditional on federal contributions by September's end (Munro, "announce a subway").

As seen in appendix F, the city and province have different subway alignments. Murray claimed that the province could proceed unilaterally due to its constitutional trump, and independent financing ability. Murray also stated that the province's proposal would also be pre-approved under the existing master agreement, as it would only use different technology along the existing RT route (O'Toole, "Future of Scarborough"). Following the province's unilateral decision, Councillor Stintz asked Metrolinx to clarify: the consideration of the city's preferred route; the breakdown of costs and timelines; confirmation of Metrolinx's willingness to independently finance the project; confirmation that the RT would not be shutdown beyond three

years; confirmation of the TTC's role in designing, building, and operating the extension, among others (O'Toole, "answers from Metrolinx").

In response, Metrolinx Chair Robert Prichard stated that the existing RT corridor "offers the possibility of a better solution at [a] lower cost [in] serving more people and generating greater economic growth than any other alignment" (O'Malley 2013). The master agreement would also have to be amended with city council's vote (ibid). In addition, the city would own the project regardless of the subway route, fund the interim bus service, absorb the sunk costs and "any risk associated with the delivery of the project" (ibid).

However, neither the entirety of the province's route nor the city's alignment—at \$2.9 billion and \$2.5 billion respectively—can be funded solely with the existing earmarked funds (TTC, "Scarborough subway"). Even the province's preliminary truncated line at 6.4 km, stopping at Scarborough Town Centre, is estimated to cost up to \$1.9 billion, requiring additional municipal, provincial, or federal funding (ibid). Furthermore, in the TTC's review of the province's feasibility study, there were several factors which were requested for further evaluation, such as the cost breakdown regarding: vehicle procurement, storage facility, power substations, and interim bus replacement service (ibid).

As both the city and province's subway proposals have similar timeframes, the relevant factors which are often neglected or misunderstood are customer, community, and operational impacts. Regarding customer and community impact, the province's alignment requires a 3-year closure of the RT, the construction of a new Kennedy station, and a new bus bridge connecting McCowan to Kennedy station, among others (ibid). The province's plan would also lengthen the transfer time to the existing GO station and bus terminal (ibid). The tight curves of the RT

alignment would also “allow noise, such as wheel squeal, to carry further,” obligating a decrease in operating speed; this would increase the overall trip time, and diminish the desired time savings from eliminating the need for a transfer to a LRT line (ibid). Regarding operational impacts, the surface portions would present similar challenges which the RT currently encounters during inclement conditions, such as: freezing rain and snow interference with the switches and rail power, excessive noise, vibration, and increased maintenance costs (ibid).

Given that transit infrastructure requires a significant investment of capital, arbitrary and misinformed decision making are not conducive to comprehensive, and stable policy implementation. Evidence should reinforce decision-making, such as the short and long-term value of ridership projections, multimodal connections and customer impacts. Under the previous LRT refurbishment proposal, the city would have been free of financial burden, operated a longer route, and served more priority neighbourhoods. However, elected officials exercised their mandated right to reflect the dynamic needs of their constituencies. Nonetheless, the concerning aspect of policy interference is that facts are often misrepresented, such as how an elevated extension of the existing Bloor-Danforth would not technically constitute a subway (Kuitenbrouwer and Alcoba 2013). Particularly when plans have been in flux over several years, it is distressing and disconcerting that basic concepts and terminology would be questioned.

Overall, political competition, such as the provincial by-election for Scarborough Guildwood in August of 2013, demonstrate that “electoral exigencies soon trumped sound policy-making” (Morrow et al. 2013; Yakabuski 2013). Liberal candidate Mitzie Hunter championed subways despite having previously supported light rail (Munro, “announce a subway”). Hunter criticized her rival, former TTC Chair Adam Giambrone, for not having built a Scarborough

subway, stating that the Liberal administration was the only government which respected the transit needs of Scarborough (Morrow et al. 2013). However, that comment is facetious, as the province had only months prior supported light rail.

Federal Intervention

In response to the city's funding request, Finance Minister, Jim Flaherty, confirmed that the federal government would provide \$660 million in late September to build the city's proposal (Moore, "Ottawa pledges"). Following a tumultuous and delayed transit planning process, Ottawa confirmed that the city's alignment was the preferred option. Although Minister Murray initially dismissed the city's plan, Premier Kathleen Wynne stated that the province would work with all relevant parties to proceed (ibid). Despite the provincial government's spearheading of transportation investment in the GTHA, the federal government's contribution shaped the final outcome through its fiscal spending powers.

Successful Result

Toronto Council voted 24 to 20 for a subway extension of the Bloor-Danforth line, extending from the existing Kennedy station, east on Eglinton, then north to Sheppard on McCowan Avenue (Hopper et al., "council votes"). In late September, the TTC board also voted 6 to 4 in favour of the city's alignment (Kalinowski, "tepid approval"). Contrary to Mayor Ford's campaign to combat the "gravy train," ultimately he and council championed a transit policy decision that countered previous claims of fiscal restraint (Armstrong 2013). Council also voted in favour of increasing development fees and increasing property taxes—0.5% in 2014, 0.5% in 2015, and 0.6% in 2016—over 30 years (ibid). This would allow the city to borrow up to \$910 million to satisfy the funding gap (Hopper et al., "council votes").

Through deconstructing the presented case studies, the interacting factors of transit politicization have demonstrated why it is important to think beyond the “perceived prestige value” of policies (Moore, “Seeing is believing”). The volatility and fragility of transit policy can be attributed to the neglect of the quantitative and qualitative data of an evidence-based approach. If policies are always subject to political changes in leadership or opinion, the public will only perceive more discontent and disenchantment with the efficiency and efficacy of elected officials to make decisions on needed infrastructure.

Metrolinx’s CEO, Bruce McCuaig says that a master agreement only provides certainty regarding contracting commitments, and the delivery of products and services, as there are no absolute guarantees that further changes would not be made; the case studies have demonstrated that as governments are elected, they have the electoral legitimacy to make decisions which are inconducive to long-term coherency and collaboration (Kalinowski, “sign off”). Therefore, in addressing the five factors, the legitimacy of regional governance will be explored as a means to coordinate competing interests and priorities, make investment decisions based on evidence-based policies, and facilitate regional growth.

REGIONAL TRANSIT GOVERNANCE

Metrolinx is an agency of the Ontario government, created under the Metrolinx Act of 2006 to operate GO Transit, and “improve the coordination and integration of all modes of transportation in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area” (Metrolinx 2014). Its mission is to “champion, develop and implement an integrated transportation system” for the region, ultimately enhancing productivity, sustainability, and quality of life (ibid). Regional transit growth is important, given that the Conference Board of Canada has reported how every \$100

million of public investment in Ontario's infrastructure increases gross domestic product by \$114 million, particularly for the construction and manufacturing industries (Government of Ontario, "Moving Forward"). Metrolinx's creation stems from the MoveOntario 2020 policy, outlining 52 rapid transit projects to produce 800 million new annual transit trips, reduce 300 million car trips, and reduce 10 megatonnes of carbon dioxide emissions (Office of the Premier 2007).

Establishing an "integrated [multi-modal] transit network" also helps to reinforce the Greenbelt Act and Places to Grow Act (Metrolinx 2014). Both of these are new growth management policies, aimed at intensifying development in existing built-up areas to protect 1.8 million acres of environmentally sensitive and agricultural land (Horak 322). The 2004 Greenbelt Act "froze development in a wide arc of rural and forested land surrounding the urbanized core" of the GTHA, while the 2005 Places to Grow Act "authorized the province to establish growth plans for designated areas in Ontario" (ibid). Given that these policies were crafted to tackle suburban sprawl and environmental degradation, transit can help maximize the value of existing developed areas by facilitating the intraregional connectivity of the GTHA.

The cornerstone of Metrolinx is the Big Move, a 25 year plan which "envisions a seamless, coordinated and user-centred regional transportation system that supports a high quality of life, a sustainable environment and a strong, prosperous and competitive economy" (Côté 2012: 1; Metrolinx, "The Crosstown"). Metrolinx has already distributed \$16 billion in provincial funding for projects such as the renovation of Union Station, the YRT/VIVA rapidways, the Union-Pearson Express, and Eglinton Crosstown. However, in order to implement the Big Move strategy in its entirety, Metrolinx has recommended an investment strategy to generate \$50 billion through additional revenue tools (Côté 2012: 2). As economies and nodes of production are

increasingly interconnected through the supply chains of interdependent economies, multifaceted approaches are integral to long-term growth and success.

Regional coordination “can contribute toward additional services” as it “creates a more efficient allocation of existing resources” (Baker and Weaver 1).

Without an effective regional governance structure, service provision can be hindered by political uncertainty and a lack of transparency, high transaction costs or the inability to exploit economies of scale, and administrative gaps where jurisdictional boundaries do not coincide with regional economic and service delivery patterns (Côté 2012: 3).

Metrolinx represents a top-down “spatial conceptualization of a single, unified region,” rather than a “bottom-up collective regional agency” (Addie 205). Therefore, this section explores how Metrolinx is structured, and compare its strengths and weaknesses with other models that exist for regional coordination, and the rationales for each. Metrolinx’s initial structure included local politicians from across the GTHA, comprised of two appointees from the province, four from Toronto (including the mayor and TTC chair), and one each from Hamilton and the four regions (Addie 205). Although municipal rescaling practices are imposed provincially, the deficiency of Metrolinx’s governance structure is not its “top-down” approach. Rather its deficiency is that it did not entrench democratic municipal representation like York Regional Council. The absence of public participation to elect concurrent representation at the regional and municipal levels contributes to the public confusion over accountability, and lack of legitimate authority.

Ultimately, the “infighting over priorities among representatives” led to its restructuring in 2009 with provincial appointees (Horak 323). Although Metrolinx was intended to be representative of its constituent jurisdictions, the absence of democratically elected representatives contributed to the perception of Metrolinx as provincial exertion of dominance over the transit file, leading to several debates over which jurisdiction would design, build and

own new transit lines (ibid). Furthermore, the current “provincially-appointed Board lacks the public or municipal representation present in most other jurisdictions,” thus raising “concerns [again] about accountability to local governments and residents” (Côté 2013).

Regarding Metrolinx’s financial authority, it relies entirely on fares and provincial subsidies, with no taxing powers or dedicated revenue sources (ibid). Although Metrolinx’s relationship with the TTC and city of Toronto remain the “Achilles heel of regional transit governance,” due to the debates over funding and planning, the province has been reluctant to centralize the management of the GTHA’s transit (Horak 323). What makes regional planning and management distinct from provincial centralization, is that provincial centralization would be logistically inefficient, and cost ineffective due to the fiscal overhead (Fafard 2014).

Theoretically, a devolved approach under a regional model can manage all the constituent jurisdictions efficiently, while allowing for local flexibility and responsiveness. It has stability to coordinate different municipalities and agencies, ensure long-term coherency and sustainability. If a representative governance structure is held accountable by the public and each municipality, it will be perceived as legitimate. Other advantages include creating an economy of scale to negotiate procurement, and produce cost savings. Regional coordination addresses the fragmented status quo, and reduces transaction costs, such as the duplication of services or overlap (Fafard 2014). Overall, a regional body can foster cooperation, dialogue and transparency between different jurisdictions in seeking utilitarian gains. It streamlines the decision-making process to efficiently facilitate investment, while addressing the needs of multiple stakeholders.

The disadvantages of a regionally-governed transit body is that similar to the status quo, there are concerns over revenue, and whether municipalities or the province would transfer

subsidies or tax points to the body. There would also be significant administrative costs for implementing a regional body. However, given Metrolinx's existing staff and internal infrastructure, transition costs can be minimized. In addition, inserting another layer of governance into Canada's federalist framework may further blur the avenues of accountability, as it may compete with other jurisdictions for authority and legitimacy (Fafard 2014). If the regional body were to be elected like York Regional Council, the biggest concern is whether it would be held accountable for its decisions, or if it would deflect any criticism to the province because of its constitutional trump.

However, the overall strengths of a regional body outweigh its potential disadvantages, as it can develop, finance, and implement transit infrastructure, while mitigating the overpoliticization of transit. While municipal agencies can continue to operate local services, a regional body can effectively unlock regional congestion and address losses in productivity. The final policy recommendation will draw from various governance models to "create an efficient and equitable transit system" (Baker and Weaver 8). "Individual transit providers, both public and private, can realize...substantial operating and managerial benefits through cooperation and coordination" (ibid 1). Therefore, it is important to distill applicable elements and best practices from other jurisdictions. For example, "some models allow for a fully-enabled state-authorized agency...[while] other models limit the policy-making or taxing powers of a coordinated transit system" (ibid). A properly structured regional organization has the promise to deliver sustainable, evidence-based transit planning, while maintaining or enhancing the quality of services (ibid).

Some relevant governance models for regional transit coordination are: a regional transit authority (RTA), a regional transit coordinating council (TCC), joint powers agency (JPA), and

joint powers board (JPB). A TCC is represented by various levels of government as an advisory board to coordinate services, but leaves funding and operations to individual agencies and operators (Baker and Weaver 3). Although Metrolinx is a policy-making body, it is like a TCC in that they both do not have spending powers to enforce their recommendations. The other two relevant models are the JPA and JPB, as one does not include non-governmental stakeholders, while the other does, respectively (ibid). Both the JPA and JPB can only advise agencies and operators, as policy making and funding are the responsibilities for the constituent jurisdictions. Therefore, the RTA holds the most promise, as it can be a “fully state-enabled organization with the ability to locate and further develop dedicated funding sources (taxes, bonds) as well as develop its own policy” (ibid 2).

RTAs possess “the greatest capacity to govern and operate” due to its representational structure and revenue powers. RTAs are agencies whose “arm’s length relation with government limits political interference with operational decisions, while retaining political accountability at the national, state or local level” (Côté 2013). They are staffed, and mandated to plan, budget or operate transit services, and charged with public consultation and reporting requirements (ibid). Its representation can include the provincial government, municipalities, regions, external stakeholders, and private providers (Baker and Weaver 2). “Governmental units are guaranteed board positions [while] other stakeholders may be limited to ex-officio positions” (ibid). Their ability to levy taxes or borrow means that they can plan long-term projects, and enhance existing services beyond fare revenue and subsidies, as both are politically fungible.

For example, Chicago’s RTA is the third largest public transportation system in North America, providing oversight, funding, and coordination for three transit operators: Chicago

Transit Authority, the Metra commuter rail, and Pace bus and regional paratransit (Metrolinx).

“The resources required on an annual basis to operate the region’s public transportation system”

is approximately \$2.2 billion, while the RTA has a five-year capital program funded at \$5.1

billion (ibid). The RTA uses a combination of dedicated revenue tools and government support

programs, such as fare revenue, a 1.25% sales tax in Cook County, 0.75% sales tax in

surrounding counties, road tolls which range from 40 cents to \$4, and debt issuance (ibid). This is

an example of how creating revenue tools can empower the legitimate authority of a RTA.

A local example of a regional transit authority is York Region Transit (YRT), as it amalgamated five municipal transit systems. Since amalgamation in 2001, ridership has grown to

20 million riders annually (YRT 2011). VIVA is YRT’s bus rapid transit service which began in

September 2005, operating in dedicated right-of-ways like light rail, called rapidways (ibid).

Unlike other service delivery models in Canada, the YRT utilizes service contracts to employ four contractors to operate the network and maintain the fleet (ibid). A service contract enumerates:

the operating schedule and policies on modifications, fee for the provision of services, payment schedule, schedule for negotiations of contract renewals, and policies for service expansion or

contraction (Baker and Weaver 5-6). The advantage of service contracts is that they ensure value-

for-money by incentivizing the private sector to operate efficiently, while regulating

performance-based measures to maintain standards and quality. Other merits include how

insulated policies and operations are from changes and delay. As council representation is

distributed equitably across the region, the YRT can avoid “turf wars” by coordinating on behalf

of all its municipal jurisdictions, based on objective factors like high-demand corridors (ibid).

If Metrolinx were to pursue a democratically legitimate RTA, it would be resource-intensive, as councillors from across the region would have to coordinate each of its municipal priorities, negotiate, and set the agenda on transit on behalf of its respective councils. It may also be difficult to implement, given that every unit of government would be hesitant of partially surrendering its unilateral authority and jurisdiction.

POLICY OPTIONS

Reforming Metrolinx's Regional Governance Mandate

“Moving from a single agency...or single population transportation provider agency to one which is coordinated, provides regional public transit service, and coordinates the needs of multiple communities, [but] presents specific challenges with respect to governance” (Baker and Weaver 1). As each “municipal fiefdom” is concerned with their local needs, “getting leaders to think regionally...[and] convincing people that...their local community’s project may not be first on Metrolinx’s to-do list” are challenging (Gurney, “Metrolinx minefield”). Therefore, Metrolinx remains dependent on the cooperation of local municipalities. Unfortunately, it is often challenged by the “institutional power and interests of the TTC...and Toronto’s ideological volatility” (Horak 323). Therefore, this policy option recommends the reformation of Metrolinx’s governance structure, planning and decision-making process, and financial authority.

Regarding governance reform, the current practice of appointing external stakeholders should only continue for consulting or advisory positions. The absence of democratic representation from its municipal jurisdictions means that there is no accountability to local governments and residents (Côté 2013). Therefore, similar to historic rescaling practices, Queen’s Park must exercise its constitutional authority to create new legislation for Metrolinx.

Similar to York Regional Council, the new Metrolinx Council would address the issues of accountability and legitimacy, representing its constituencies equitably. Its members would be derived concurrently from municipal elections, as each of the GTHA's municipalities' mayors would make up the initial 26 members, in addition to new regional councillor positions determined on a per capita basis. However, the regional councillor positions do not necessarily have to be new positions, as they can occupy concurrent municipal ones. Such a structure would preserve the mandated right for politicians to champion their mandate in a collective, and systematic manner. A regional elected body would also allocate resources in a less partisan manner, and provide a referential point of access for citizens, given that the province can be perceived as distant and unresponsive (Fafard 2014). In addition, the provincial and federal governments should be granted advisory positions on the new council. Despite the ad hocery of their intervention in municipal affairs, their constitutional importance and spending power should be recognized as important mechanisms for intergovernmental collaboration.

Regarding planning and decision-making, the Metrolinx Council would allow its councillors to change policy direction based on a majority vote. Without the need for consensus, it would set an annual fiscal budget, and effectively insulate its long-term projects from electoral swings and overpoliticization. Although this would be administratively complex, the Metrolinx Council would be more efficient than having every municipality's council change plans based on misinformed interests. Implementing evidence-based policies supports regional growth, promotes inclusive representation, and reduces transaction costs for each stakeholder. Through collective representation, Metrolinx can create an economy of scale to achieve cost savings, minimize

overlapping or competing environmental assessments, and maximize provincial or federal fundings for targeted projects.

Regarding financial authority, there are significant ambiguities which must be addressed. The Metrolinx Council must have legislative authority from the province to access new revenue sources, beyond Presto card fares and subsidies. For example, Vancouver's RTA has access to a regional gas tax, while New York and Chicago have dedicated sales taxes (Côté 2013). As it is unlikely for municipalities to transfer their revenues or tax points, a provincial government would have to transfer their revenues, or legislate the ability for Metrolinx to create revenue tools commensurate to its fiscal responsibilities. However, the primary challenge would be establishing the conditions or policy windows for a provincial government to create new revenue tools.

After Kathleen Wynne became premier, she endorsed Metrolinx's "Big Move," and expressed the desire to spend political capital implementing the revenues tools of Metrolinx's investment strategy (Warren, "Ontario's transportation"). Metrolinx delivered the Investment Strategy in May 2013, providing an "independent global review...of the best practices among leading regional transportation authorities" (Gee, "another panel"). Metrolinx also spent 18 months engaging with stakeholders, holding more than 100 meetings, and 12 public roundtable sessions with municipal councils, community groups, and a residents' reference panel (ibid). Despite all the time and resources spent on delivering the final report, the Liberal government announced in September that it was creating another transit panel to similarly recommend sources of revenue.

Led by Anne Golden, the panel would "meet with stakeholders and residents in the GTHA to get input," and to "consider other options to fund public transit" (ibid). However, the premier

ironically dismissed Metrolinx's evidence-based report as "suggestions" (ibid). In March 2014, Premier Wynne added that contrary to her initial remarks, the government would no longer pursue an increase in the harmonized sales tax, increases to the gas tax, or increases to personal income tax for families (Leslie 2014). Rather, Premier Wynne discussed other mechanisms such as leveraging debt and issuing green bonds (ibid). As it is difficult to align policy windows to pass new revenue tools, the role of the federal government will be explored as an alternative to regional governance. Intergovernmental relationships can shape institutional approaches to produce viable partnerships and results.

Strengthening Federal-Municipal Relations

Cities are growing, and economies are increasingly interdependent, "yet few of them have the policy levers they need to renew their economies" (Bakvis et al. 223). As "traffic congestion is worsening and commuting times have grown...policymakers and residents alike have begun to recognize the inadequacy of the transportation system for the growing metropolitan region and for the future prosperity and quality of life" (Côté 2012, 1). Matthew Mendelsohn, director of the Mowat Centre for Policy Innovation at the University of Toronto states that "underinvestment in transportation systems in Canada's large metropolitan areas," are local problems which require national resources (cited in Côté 2012: 4). A federal strategy or framework can help galvanize local issues by prioritizing them on the national agenda, and engaging more actors systematically. This can help ensure that "effective federal transportation funding...[will] be provided over a long time horizon, and targeted to Canada's three largest city-regions through a single [principles-based] transfer mechanism" (ibid 4-5).

In reality, however, federal contributions are ad hoc; funding formulas are either arbitrary, or based on a per capita basis, both of which have limited “strategic value...and reduced transparency for citizens and other governments” (ibid 4). However, the FCM’s advocacy for federal intervention on municipal and urban issues has been credited with the successful creation of the Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund (MRIF) and Gas Tax Fund (Bakvis et al. 230). Therefore, rather than reform the governance structure of Metrolinx, this policy option recommends that agencies and municipalities continue lobbying for federal intervention, and leverage the expertise of the private sector to maximize value-for-dollar.

Although the Public-Private Partnerships Fund only makes up \$1.25 billion of the Building Canada plan, Minister Flaherty stated that requests for financing, such as the Scarborough subway, would be processed through a P3. P3s are a “performance-based approach to procuring public infrastructure where the private sector assumes a major share of the risks in terms of financing and construction and ensuring effective performance of the infrastructure” (ibid). Therefore, the government does not pay for the asset until it is built, and a substantial portion of the cost is paid over the asset’s life, according to performance measures (ibid). In Vancouver, the Canada Line was a successful P3, delivering a 19 kilometre connection between the airport and downtown by Canada Line Rapid Transit Inc. (Côté 2012: 5). CLI held “an international competition to identify a private-sector partner to design, build, finance, and operate the new line for 35 years” (ibid). Based on the \$720 million investment, SNC Lavalin received milestone payments during construction, and will continue to receive performance-based payments for its operation (ibid). Although TransLink retains ownership of the assets and ability

to set fares (ibid), P3s ensure that any construction financial overruns, delays or performance issues are borne by the private partner (Government of Canada “P3”).

Therefore, the federal government can help fund transit infrastructure through existing earmarked funds, and leverage the “expertise and innovation of the private sector and the discipline and incentives of capital markets” (ibid). However, the government must create a “credible project oversight structure...[in] finding capable private partners,” and enforce a rigorous cost-benefit analysis to “inspire public confidence in the process and the partners” (Côté 2012: 5). Regarding the current federal climate, Stephen Harper’s “open federalist” approach has sought to respect provincial areas of jurisdiction, while contact with large municipalities has been limited to informal policy levers, rather than through official departments and channels (Bakvis et al. 299). The only disadvantage in maintaining the status quo is that it reinforces the ad hoc nature of transit planning. The concern is that evidence-based transit policies which are not “politically sexy” will not generate the salient support for the federal government to intervene, despite their regional benefits (ibid).

POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Paternalistic provincial-municipal or federal-municipal relations are not conducive to regional growth. Municipalities have no constitutionally recognized power, and the formal processes for joint-decision making between provinces and municipalities are practically non-existent. Although large cities have greater autonomy, there is still a “fundamental inequality” in intergovernmental relationships (Bakvis et al. 231). The provinces hold tremendous “legal power and the political will to impose [a] ‘take-it or leave-it’” stance (ibid). Therefore, expanding the role of the federal government in municipal affairs was explored as a policy option. However, the

ad hockery of federal funding “could lead to regional antagonisms and [perceived] injustices” (ibid 232). For example, following the federal funds for Scarborough’s subway, several mayors questioned how the city was able to access the renewed Building Canada funds when the program had not yet started in late 2013.

Ottawa’s Mayor Jim Watson stated that his ultimate concern was whether municipalities would be judged according to predictable criteria (Curry 2013). When Minister Flaherty was asked why Toronto had already received funding, he replied that the federal government simply responded to the city’s request. This demonstrates how Canada’s federalist system “thrives on informality and a competitive ethos that encourages each government to pursue its own interests, and offers the governments concerned a broad range of choice as to when, how, and under what conditions they will pursue cooperative solutions” (Bakvis et al. 231).

In addition, federal funding “does not have a direct impact on municipal operating budgets” (Sancton 311). In theory, “funding is supposed to be for capital expenditures that municipalities would not otherwise have incurred,” but the federal government cannot enforce that stipulation (Stoney and Graham 374). Therefore, although federal contributions are supposed to improve quality of life, they often substitute for municipal expenditures, or reduce the total borrowing which would have otherwise been accrued by the municipality (Sancton 311).

Therefore, reforming Metrolinx’s governance structure is the recommended policy option to establish democratic legitimacy and public relevance to regional governance. It can legitimately represent all its municipalities, receive input from stakeholders, and set fiscal budgets to mitigate the overpoliticization of transit policy. A Metrolinx Council would also become a localized point of accountability for the public and municipalities. It can facilitate

infrastructure development by conglomerating conflicting municipal mandates, and spend resources equitably and efficiently to address regional congestion. By focusing on collective interests through regional negotiation, the Council can ensure a stricter adoption of cost-benefit analyses, and maintain long-term consistency and sustainability. Especially as projects like the Scarborough subway have planning and construction processes which exceed single terms, it is important to minimize changes and overpoliticization.

Regarding its fiscal authority, Metrolinx's new governance structure would also require the legislative authority to collect a regional tax or specialized revenue tool, such as Chicago's RTA. As subsidies and federal funds are politically fungible, new revenue tools must be implemented. Despite the political challenge of raising new fees and taxes, the Scarborough subway debate demonstrates that the public will support tax increases if the benefits of transit are framed as having a positive net benefit. In addition, P3s are effective procurement mechanisms to achieve best value for dollar by leveraging the expertise of the private sector. As long as there is a "systematic consideration of costs, risks, and performance expectations," P3s can effectively transfer the risks of designing, building, financing, operating or maintaining a project (Government of Canada, "P3"). For example, the Crosstown is a P3 project, conducted through the AFP (alternative financing and procurement) process, which bundled station construction and maintenance for a private firm.

CONCLUSION

"Large urban conglomerates are essential for fostering national well-being and economic growth" (Bakvis et al. 232). The TTC alone serves 1.6 million people a day, with a fleet of 700 subway cars, 247 streetcars, and 1,800 buses (Fox 2013). However, some scholars present the

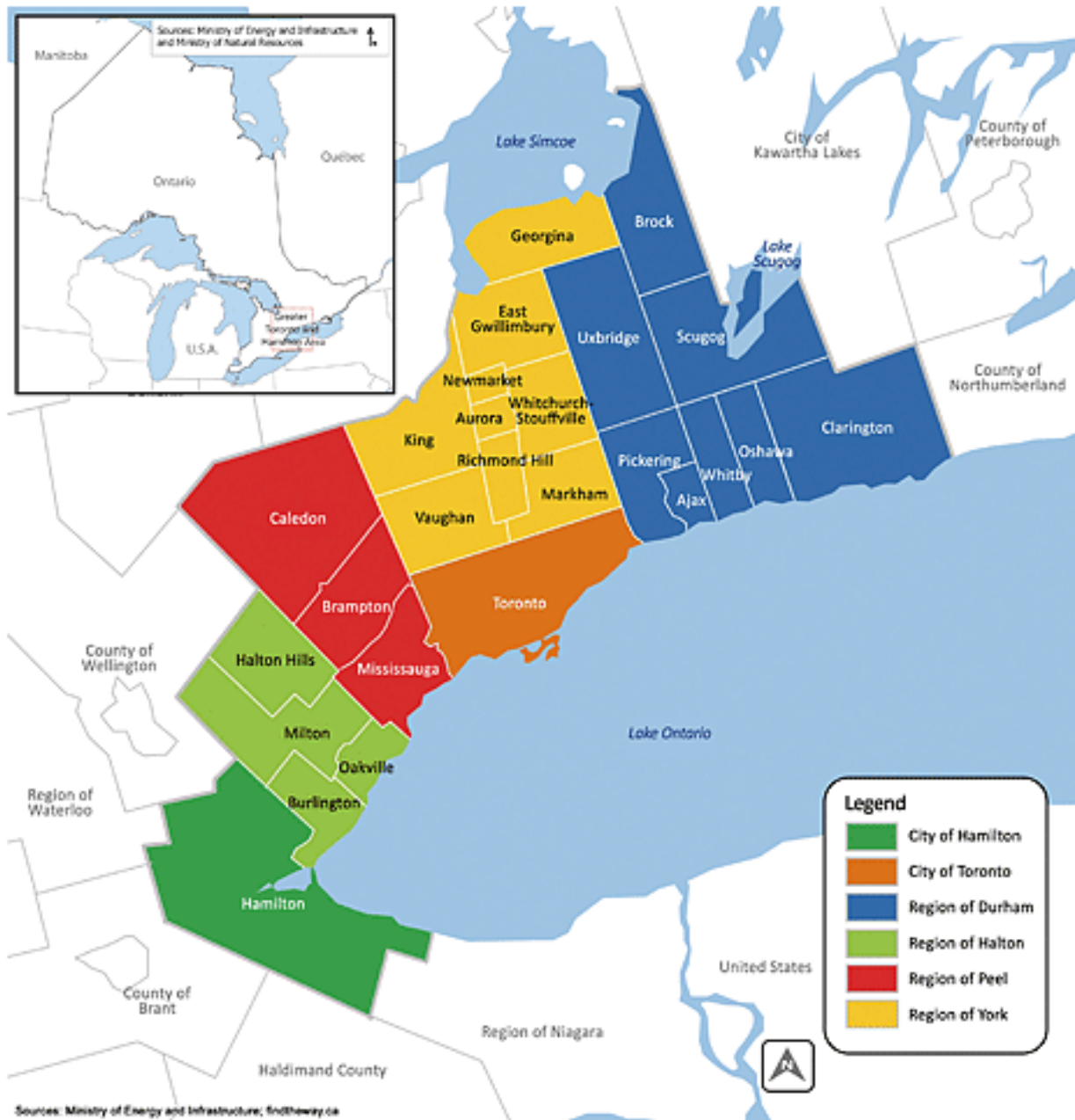
counterargument that notwithstanding the economic and political advantages of regional governance structures, they would marginalize smaller municipalities, and further complicate the decision-making process. Rather than attempt to dismantle or reshape the federalist structure, municipalities and transit agencies should recognize that each problem has unique circumstances, and can implicate a wide range of actors. Furthermore, provinces may also fear that the federal government would negotiate directly with the regional body, and neglect provincial jurisdictions and interests (Sancton 316). Lastly, a regional body would also still have to confront inter and intragovernmental competition. Not only would it compete with other jurisdictions for funding, it would also potentially face internal divisions between municipalities prior to Metrolinx's reformation, as councils would lose their decisive decision-making authority.

However, similar to the previous rescaling practices of the provincial governments, the concerns of marginalization and intergovernmental complication are minimal, as they have proven to be ideologically and politically palatable. Accountable regional governance creates more responsive and flexible units than provincial centralization. A new Metrolinx Council could tackle the high cost of transit infrastructure and misinformed policy making. Expensive infrastructure investments would thus be relatively insulated from municipal intervention and change.

This paper's discussion of regional governance has highlighted an important concept of cooperation and collaboration. Regardless if partnerships are formed ad hoc or through regional bodies, Metrolinx's CEO Bruce McCuaig has stated that it is important to remember that there are multiple dimensions to "establish[ing] the reputation of driving forward on the agenda" (Paikin 2012). Although there are several valid reasons for why transit is politicized,

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politicians and officials need to develop a common understanding that investments cannot be achieved by a single person or jurisdiction. Costs of congestion impact every person, regardless of the type of transportation that is used. In pursuing a high quality of life and environmental sustainability, mass transit has tremendous potential to create “dense, compact, mixed-use transit-oriented neighbourhoods” (Greenberg, “reality check”).



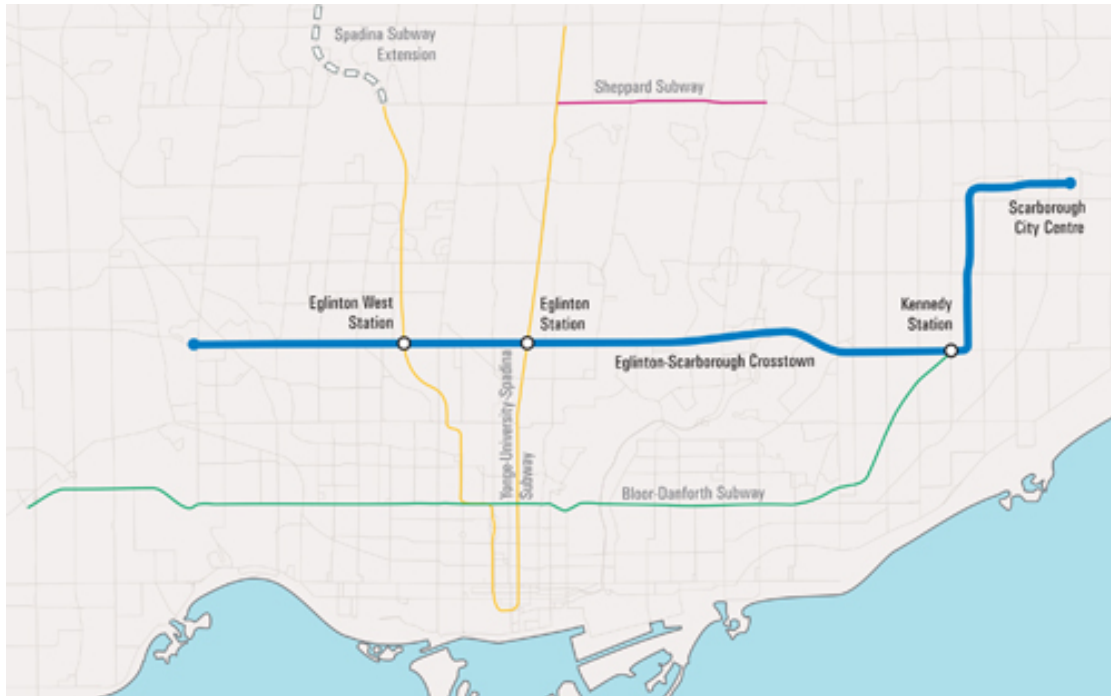
appendix A



appendix B



appendix C



appendix D

Stintz's proposal

- Finch: Street-level LRT
- Sheppard: LRT or subway TBD
- Eglinton: Below ground Black Creek to Laird, street-level to Kennedy
- Scarborough: Replaced by Eglinton extension



appendix E

**PROVINCE PLANS
SHORTER LINE**

- PROVINCIAL PLAN
- EXISTING SCARBOROUGH RT LINE
- - - ORIGINAL LRT PROPOSAL
- - - CITY SUBWAY PROPOSAL
- BLOOR-DANFORTH LINE



SOURCES: TTC, NATIONAL POST NEWS SERVICES
ANDREW BARR / NATIONAL POST

appendix F

appendix G

	Regional Transit Authority	Regional Transit Coordinating Council	Joint Powers Agency	Joint Powers Board	Private Not-for-Profit
GOVERNANCE					
Policy level representation for city/county	+	—	+	+	possible
Policy level representation for other stakeholders	possible	possible	—	possible	possible
Policy input for city/county	+	+	+	+	possible
Policy input for other stakeholders	+	+	+	+	possible
Regional perspective	+	better	+	+	possible
POWERS & FUNCTIONS					
Construct, operate, and maintain transit	+	+	+	+	+
Construct, operate, and maintain other modes	+	possible	possible	—	+
Condemn property and issue bonds	possible	+	+	—	—
CREATION					
Method of creation	legislation	agreement	agreement	agreement	agreement
TAXING & REVENUE AUTHORITY					
Potential for new funding	possible	—	—	—	—
Reduce reliance on city/county general funds	possible	—	—	—	possible
EXPENDITURE & FUNDING OBLIGATIONS					
Primary control	board	agencies	board	board	board
Secondary control	agencies	n/a	agencies	agencies	n/a
WITHDRAWAL					
Permits withdrawal	difficult	n/a	+	+	n/a
Method of withdrawal	legislation	n/a	agreement	agreement	n/a

Key: + : strength — : weakness

Source: adapted from *Charlottesville-Albemarle Regional Transit Authority Plan*, Thomas Jefferson Planning District Commission, Charlottesville, Va., 2008. Nelson/Nygaard Consulting Associates.

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Appendix A: *The Big Move*. Metrolinx. Ontario Ministry of Infrastructure. Web. 15 Jan. 2014

Appendix B: *TTC subway RT map*. 2013. TTC. Schedule & Maps. Web. 15 Jan. 2014.

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