



Shaping the Metropolis: Institutions and Urbanization in the United States and Canada

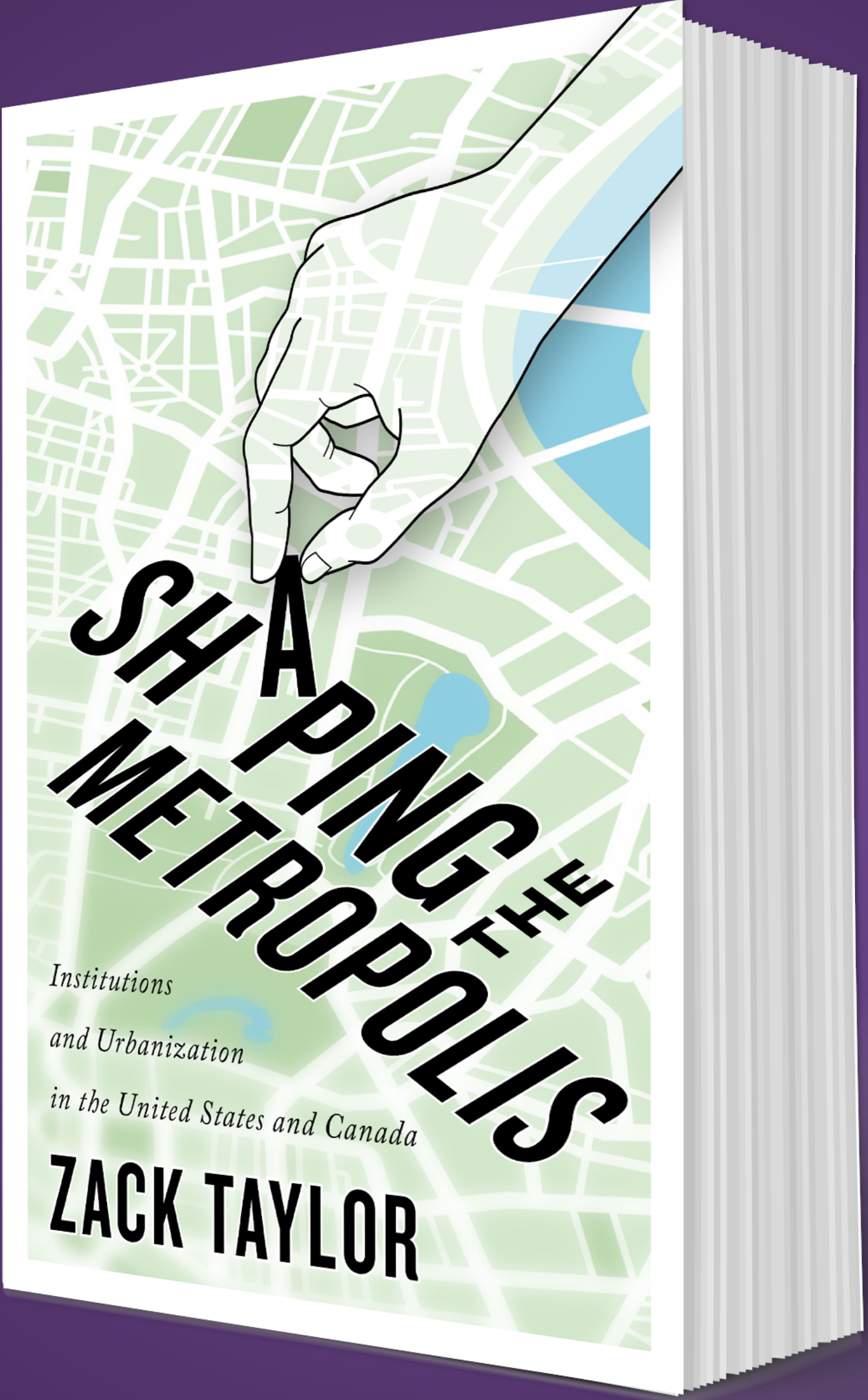
Zack Taylor
October 7, 2019

 @imfgtoronto | #IMFGtalks

IMFG
Institute on Municipal
Finance & Governance

at the **munk school**
OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS & PUBLIC POLICY

 UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO

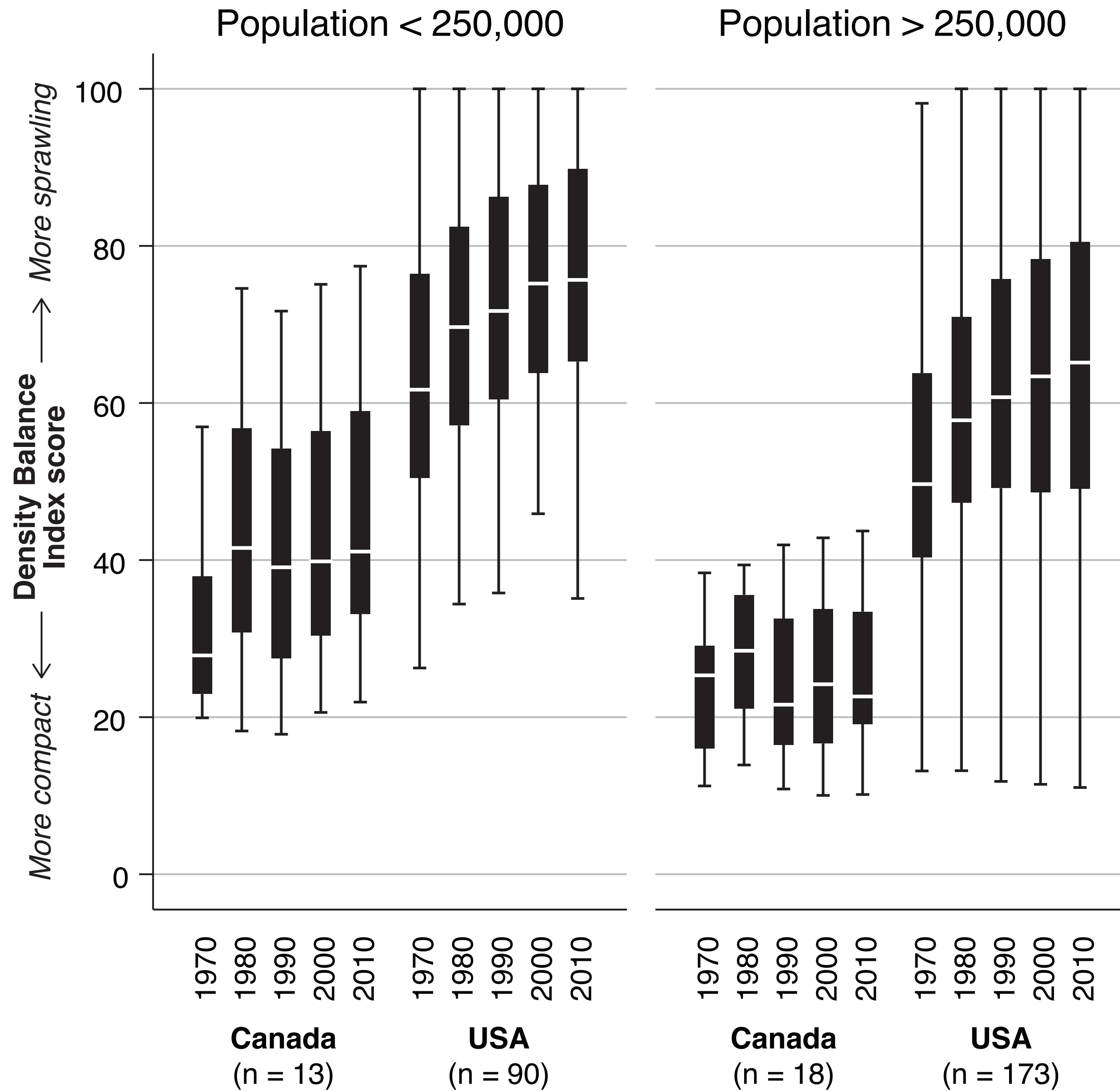


SHAPING THE METROPOLIS

*Institutions
and Urbanization
in the United States and Canada*

ZACK TAYLOR

Density trends



Density Balance Index

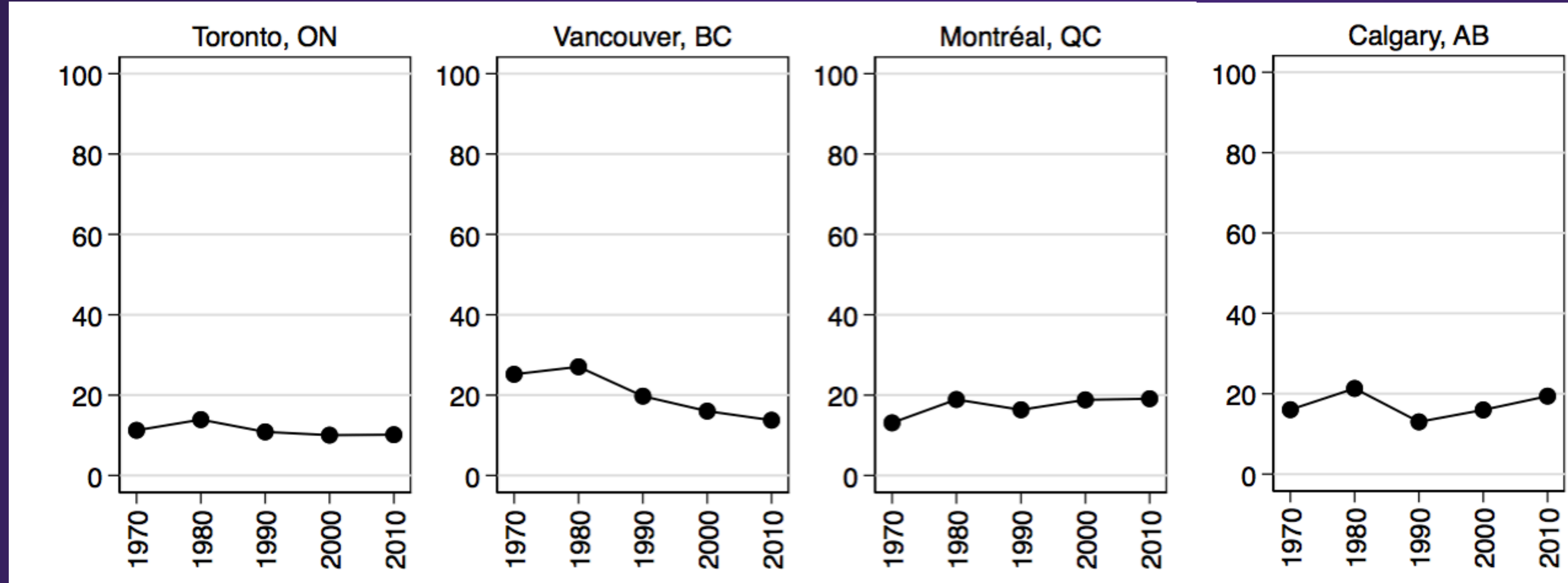
Proportion of the population that lives in low-density neighbourhoods

0 = no sprawl
100 = all sprawl

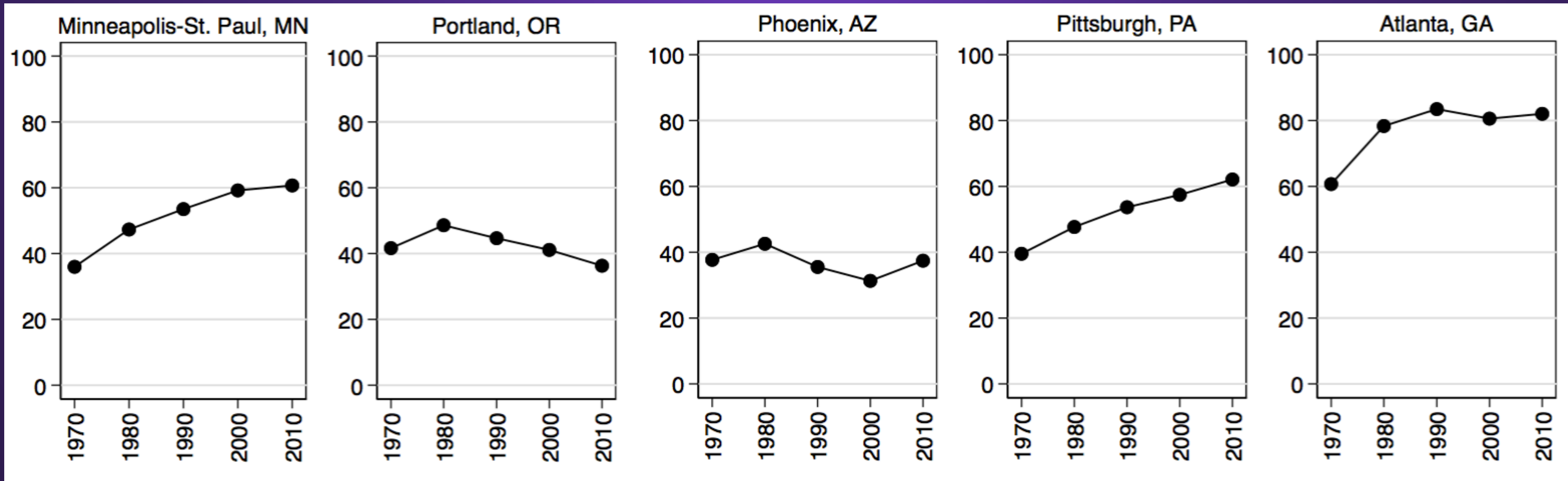
Large and small U.S. metros score high on the index with scores increasing over time, while Canadian cities score low and have held steady or are decreasing

Density trends

Selected Canadian cities

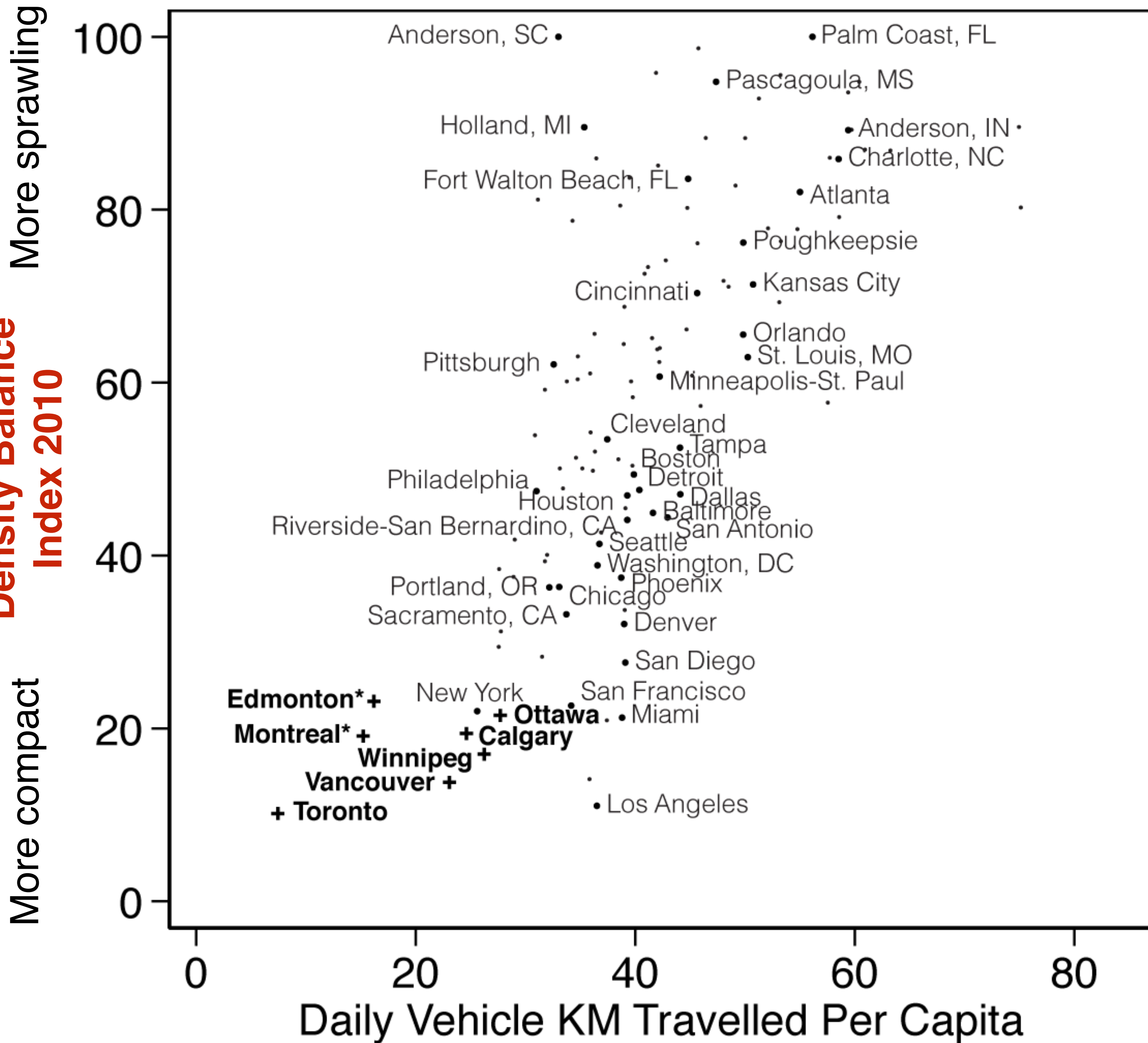


Selected American cities



Density & mobility

Density Balance
Index 2010



Density drives
mobility

Americans
drive more than
Canadians

Table 1.1
Local government complexity, 2010

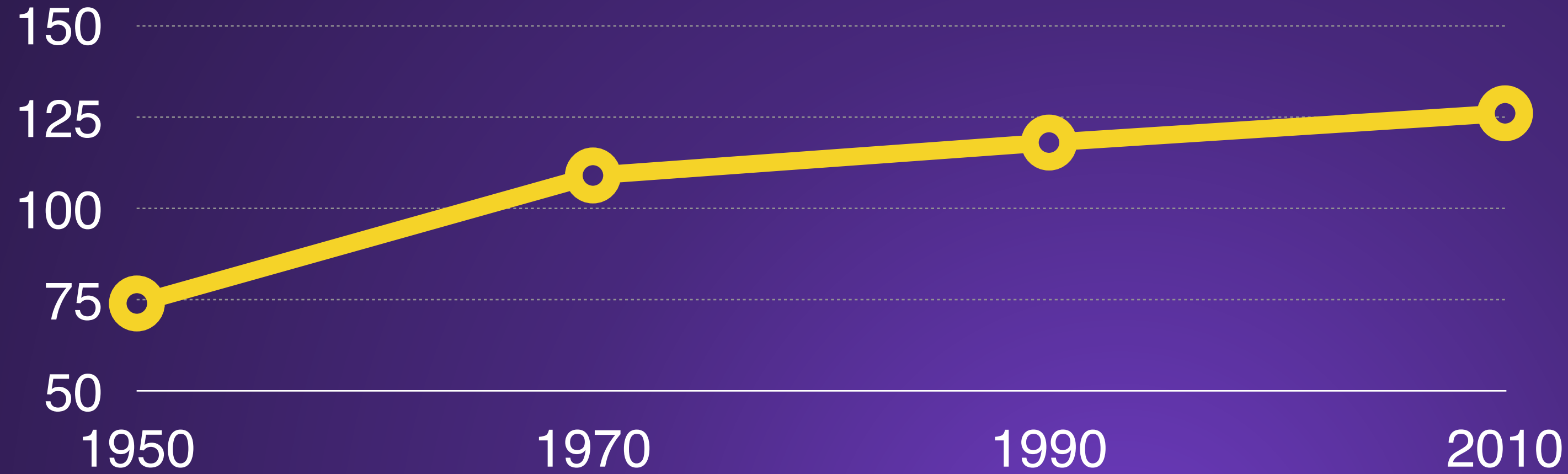
	<i>Central city-metro population ratio</i>	<i>All GPGs*</i>		<i>Suburban GPGs</i>	
		<i>Average population</i>	<i>Per 100,000 people</i>	<i>Average population</i>	<i>Per 100,000 people</i>
Canada (n = 47)	59%	48,950	2	22,331	1.9
United States (n = 357)	38%	17,184	5.8	10,919	5.7

* GPG = general-purpose government

Note: Nationwide, the average population is considerably smaller in the United States than in Canada, while the number of GPGs per 100,000 people is considerably higher. Excluding central cities from these measures reveals a similar relationship. The calculations pertain to all US metropolitan statistical areas and Canadian census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations.

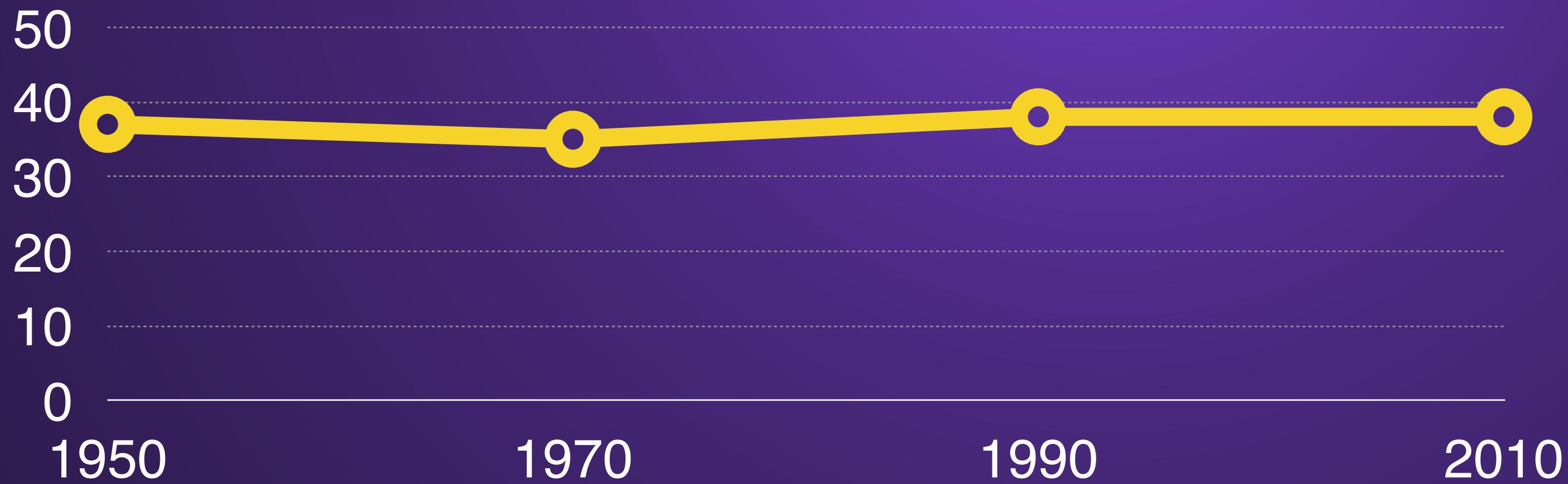
Local government

Special districts* per million suburban residents, USA



* Not including school boards

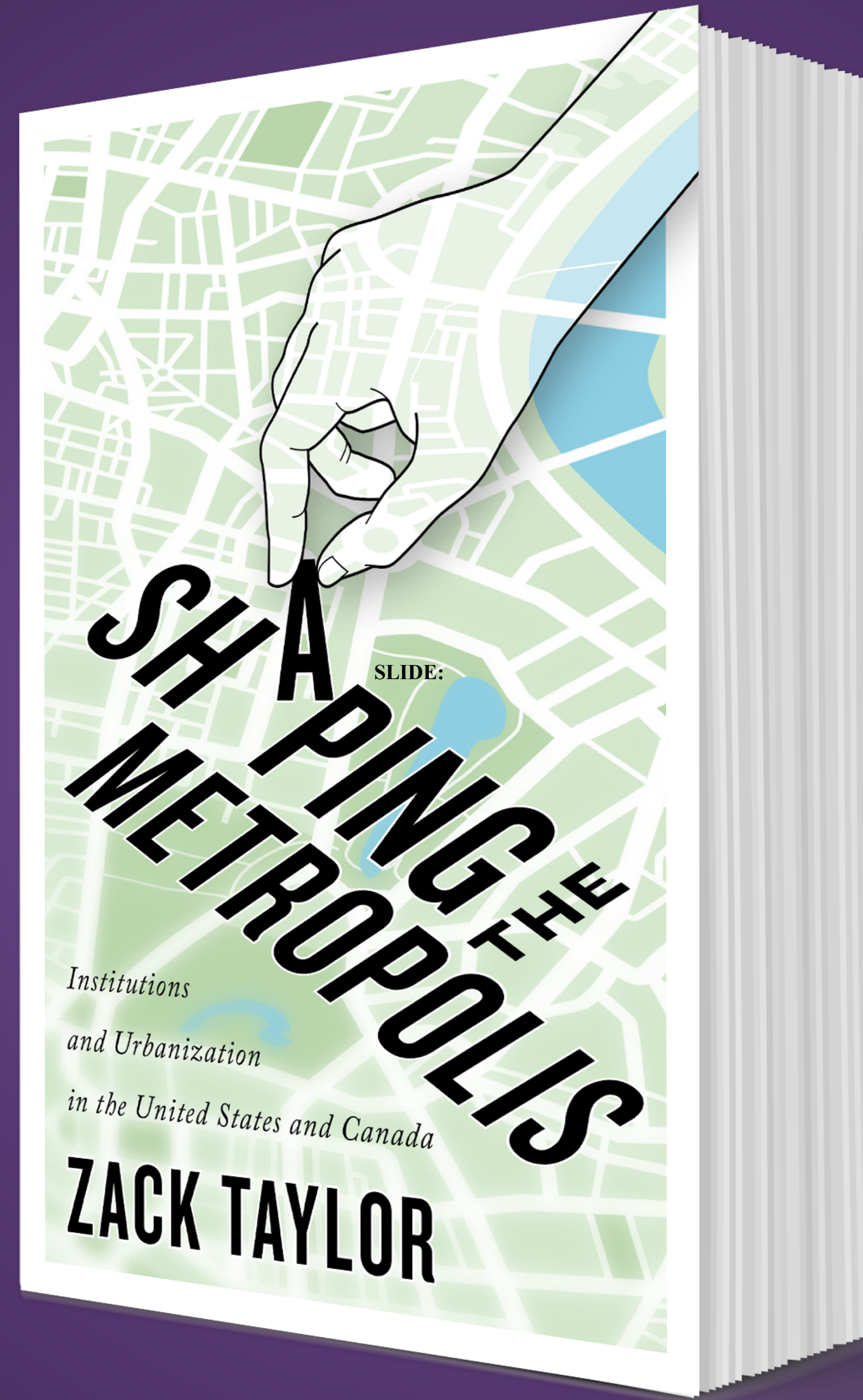
% U.S. population living in unincorporated areas



Local government in U.S. metropolitan areas is complex, with many residents living outside of municipal jurisdiction and receiving services from independent special districts

What proportion of Canadians live in unincorporated areas?

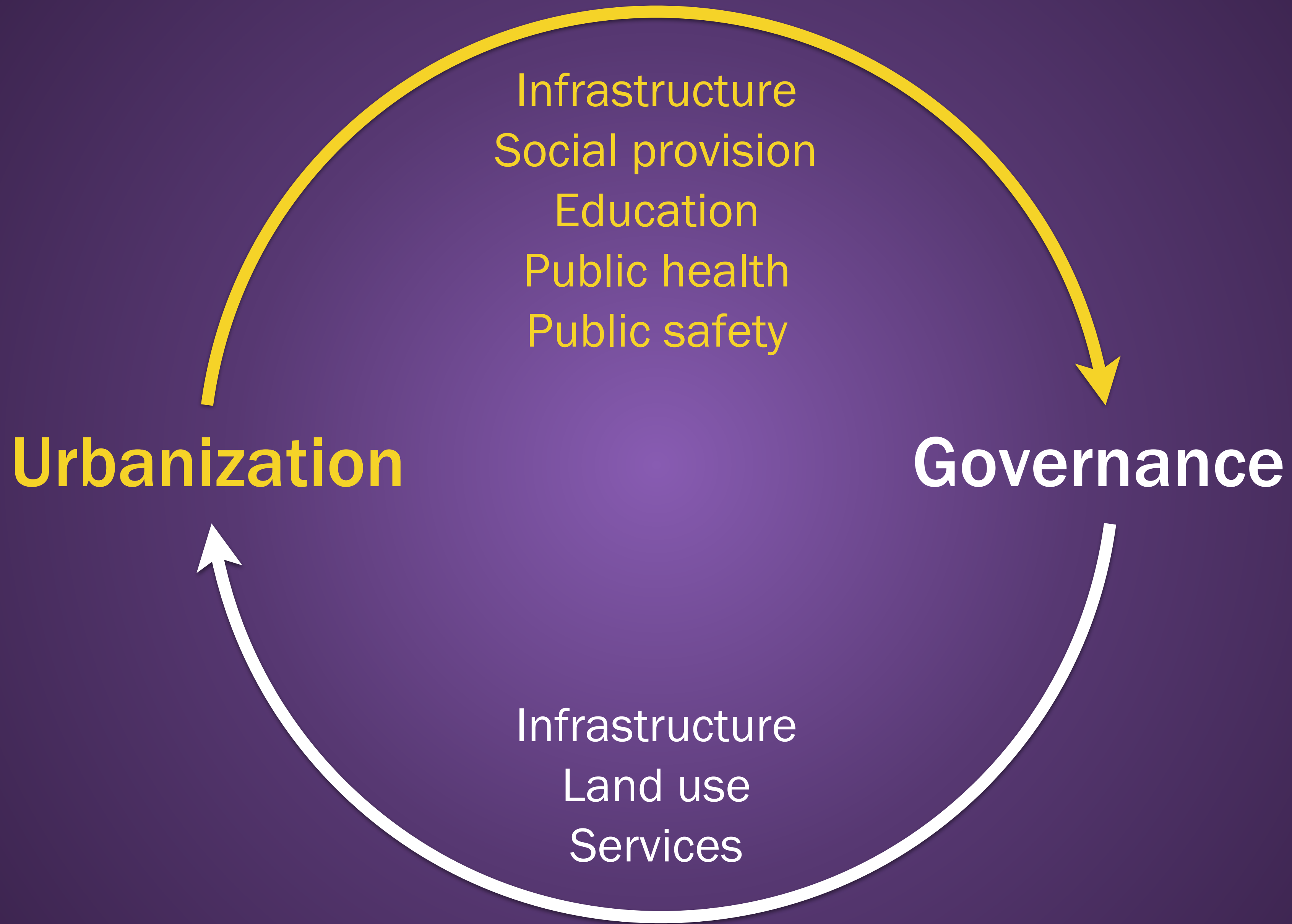
Toronto,
Ontario



Vancouver,
British Columbia

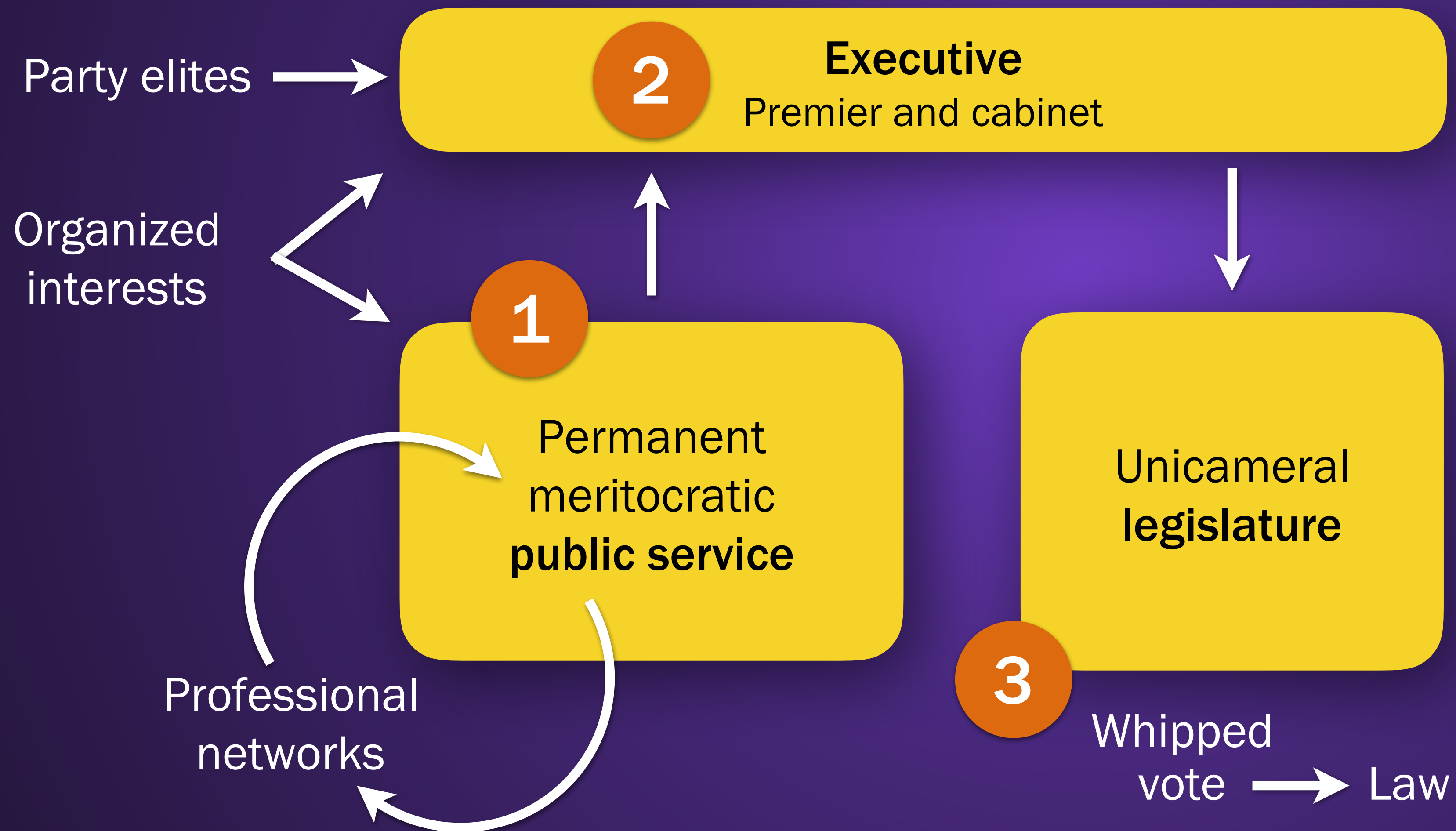
Minneapolis-St. Paul,
Minnesota

Portland,
Oregon



How a **policy idea** becomes **law**

In a Canadian province...



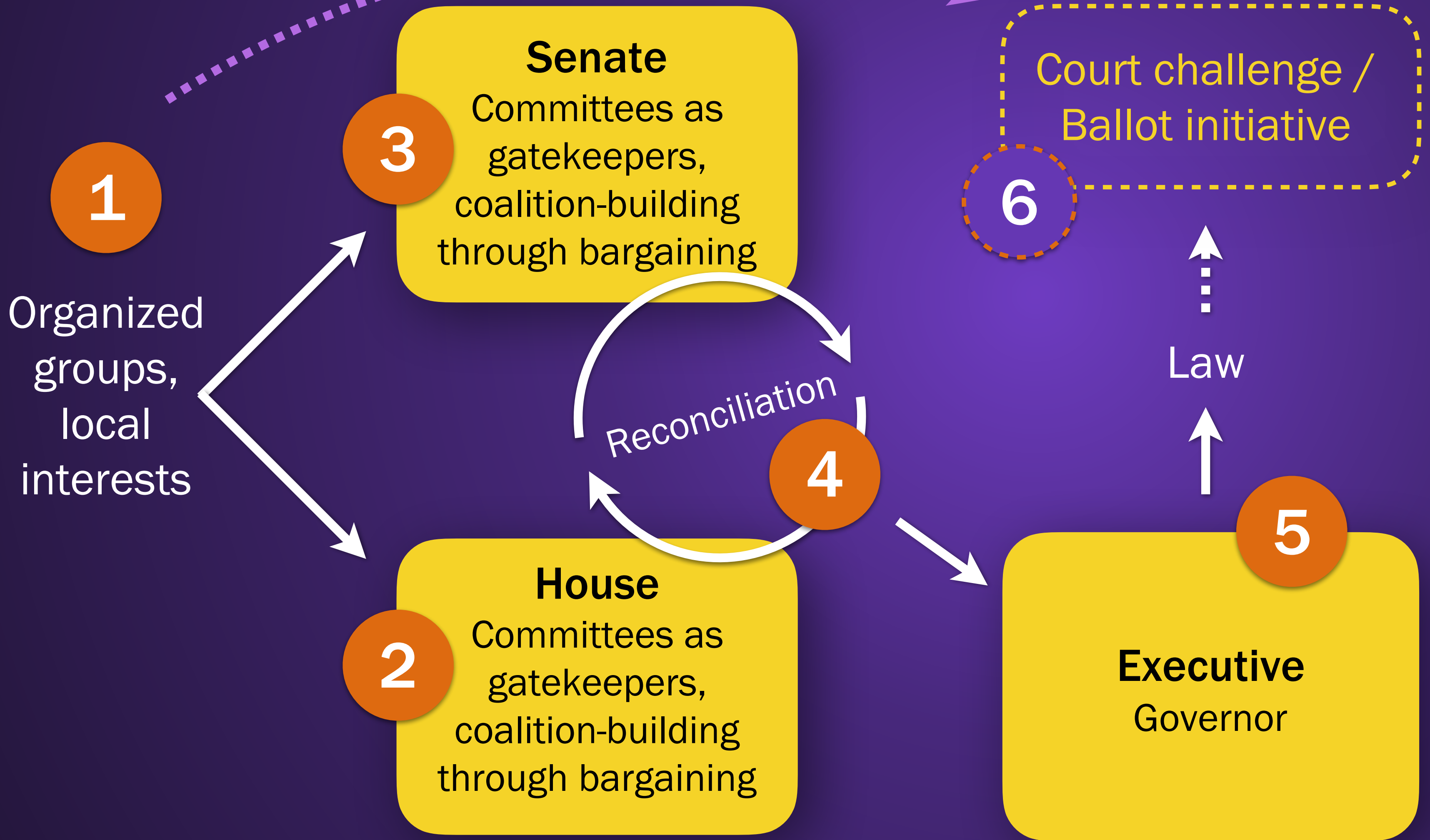
Westminster government in Canadian provinces

- Centralized executive
- Party and public service elites are integrated
- Policymaking is insulated from local interests
- No checks and balances

**Decisive & Resolute,
Programmatic policy**

How a **policy idea** becomes **law**

In a U.S. state...



Separated-powers government in American provinces

- Ideas come from outside
- Part-time legislators have few resources
- Assent reached through bargaining
- Weak and sometimes divided executive is reactive, not proactive
- Many checks and balances

Indecisive & Irresolute, Particularistic policy

1. Nineteenth-century urbanization

MINNESOTA

1854+ State facilitates incorporation, annexation using special legislation

1872 When legislature becomes overloaded, constitutional prohibition on local special legislation

1881 Constitutional home rule

**Particularistic policy,
Devolution**

ONTARIO

1849 Baldwin Act sets out standards for incorporation in general law

Legislative committee applies Baldwin Act standards

1906 When legislature becomes overloaded, jurisdiction is transferred to the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board

**Programmatic policy,
Provincial oversight**

2. Great Depression, 1929–39

MINNESOTA

1923–33 Legislative dithering over metropolitan sewage system

1930 Farmer-Labor Olson wins governorship

Widespread municipal insolvency

1932–34 State Planning Board studies municipal organization, metropolitan government and planning, taxation

1930–38 Legislature dithers

1938 Republican counterreaction; window ends

Indecisiveness

ONTARIO

Widespread municipal insolvency
1932 Fiscal collapse of City of Windsor

Provincial capacity-building:
1932 OMRB reconstituted as OMB
1935 Dept. of Municipal Affairs created

1935:
Windsor annexation,
Plumptre report on metropolitan Toronto,
strong fiscal oversight

**Programmatic policy,
Provincial oversight**

3. Postwar boom, 1945–75

MINNESOTA

1940–59 Massive incorporation boom on Twin Cities fringe (51 new incorporations)

1959 Minnesota Municipal Commission created (weak copy of OMB)

1961–67 Crises mount: groundwater contamination, collapse of private transit provider, central cities decline

Legislature enacts Citizen League proposals: Metropolitan Council and Transit Commission (1967), Sewer Board (1969), planning coordination (1976)

Indecisiveness

ONTARIO

General legislation: 1946 Planning Act, 1947 Conservation Authorities Act

Municipal reorganization:
1953 Metro Toronto (reorganized 1957, 1966),
1964–74 Local Government Review

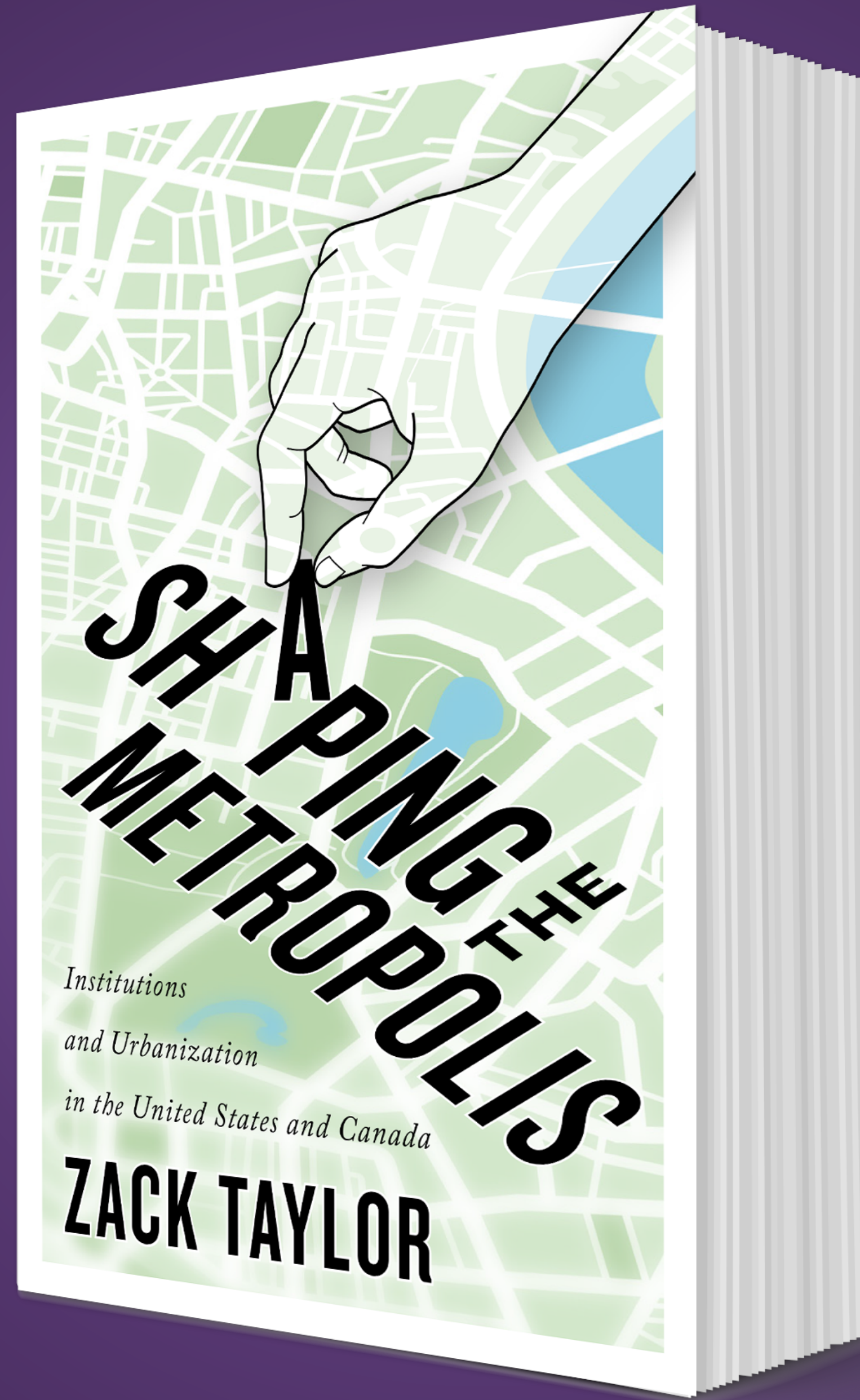
Regional plans and servicing:
Niagara Escarpment Plan, Parkway Belt Plan,
OWRC, Design for Development

**Programmatic policy,
Provincial oversight**

Toronto,
Ontario

Multi-level
urban governance

Minneapolis-St. Paul,
Minnesota



Vancouver,
British Columbia

Enabling &
protecting

Portland,
Oregon