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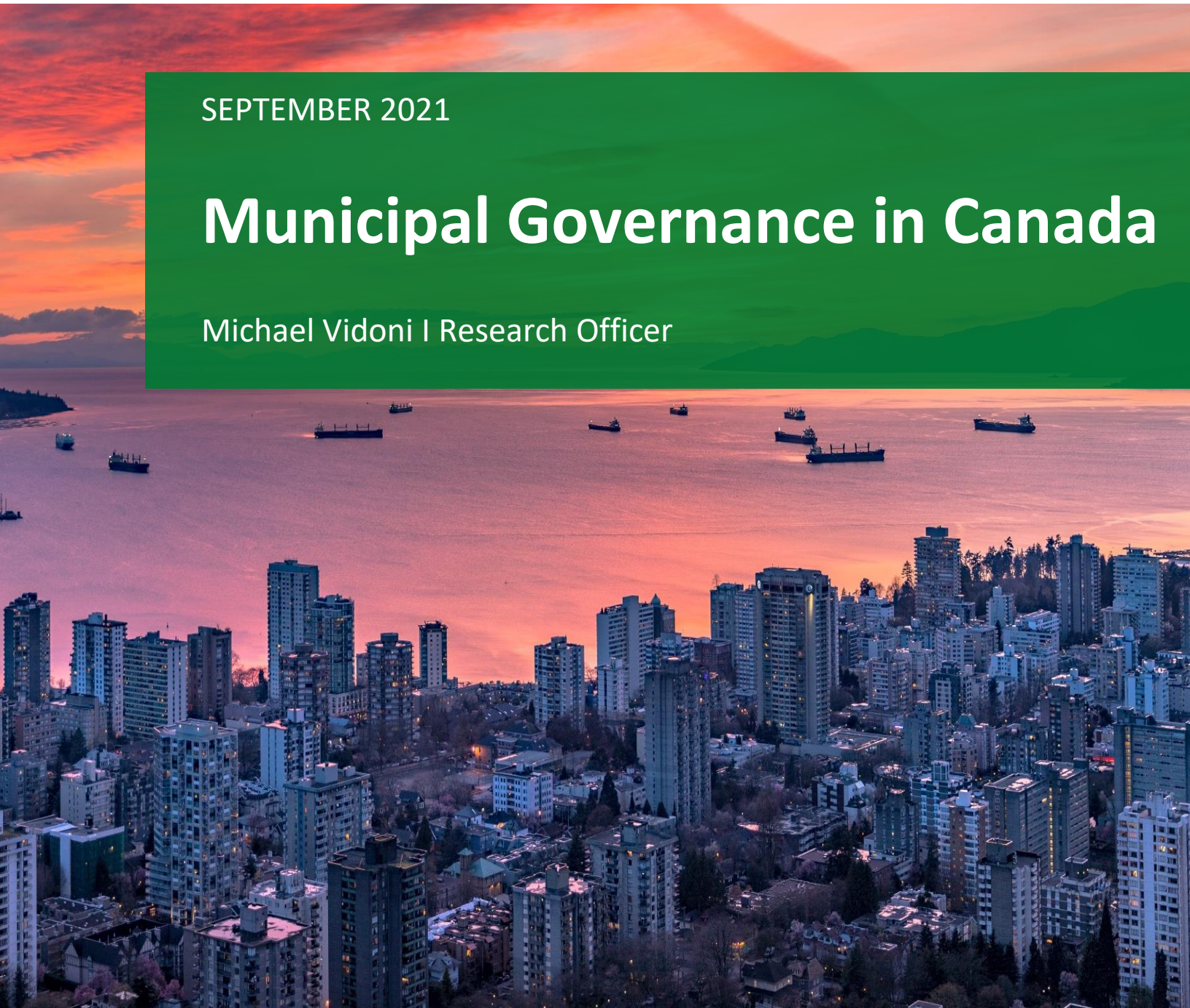
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Municipal Governance in Canada

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Most Canadians live within the boundaries of a municipality, whether in the country's largest population centres, in thinly populated rural municipalities, or in the many variations in between. For many, the municipality is the most visible level of government in their day-to-day lives, delivering essential services like police, fire protection, and waste management. Although there are similarities in how municipalities are established to govern and the services they are required to provide, their structures vary considerably by province. This research paper examines the variety of municipal governance structures across the country.

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Introduction

Most Canadians live within the boundaries of a municipality, whether in the country's largest population centres, in thinly populated rural municipalities, or in the many variations in between. For many, the municipality is the most visible level of government in their day-to-day lives, delivering essential services like police, fire protection, and waste management. Although there are similarities in how municipalities are established to govern and the services they are required to provide, their structures vary considerably by province. This research paper examines the variety of municipal governance structures across the country.

Canadian municipal governments' relationship with the provinces originates in s. 92 of the [Constitution Act, 1867](#), which assigns to provincial legislatures exclusive authority to make laws "in relation to municipal institutions in the province."¹ While the relationship between the provinces and municipalities has not been without friction, it is useful to remember that the Act was passed at a time when Canada was largely rural and resource-based, and municipalities were small and few in number.

Over time however, provinces have passed legislation to establish municipalities and grant them increasing powers. These statutes have evolved to respond to the increasing responsibilities that residents expect their municipal governments to meet. Across Canada, there is both consistency in the services that municipalities are empowered or required to provide, and variety in how municipalities are structured, governed, and overseen by the provinces. In low-density areas of the country where no municipalities are legally incorporated, the provinces often act as a municipal proxy, delivering basic services through a variety of mechanisms.

This research paper focuses on the structural characteristics of municipal governments. While any such evaluation will inevitably include some discussion of municipal services and how they are paid for, the paper is primarily concerned with the variety of governance models across Canada. The paper is limited to municipal governance models within the provinces only, because of the territories' distinct relationship to the federal government. Likewise, the paper does not address municipality-like entities on some First Nations reserves in Canada, although they often share some practical similarities with off-reserve municipalities.

Legislative framework

Municipalities are sometimes referred to as “creatures” of the provinces because they are incorporated by provincial statute. However, such legislation typically only serves to establish the municipal corporation, its borders, and other constitutional elements, and does not necessarily delineate its powers. As such, all provinces have enacted some form of general legislation governing all or most of the municipalities within their borders, granting them jurisdiction over certain areas of policy. These statutes and their regulations typically include matters such as services municipalities must or may provide, how their councils are structured, and how they can raise revenues, among other things. As will be discussed below, some provinces have also given certain municipalities specific powers that differ from other municipalities in the province. Sometimes referred to as “charter cities,” these municipalities nonetheless are subject to provincial legislation and do not have independent status within Confederation.

In most provinces, municipalities are created by statute or regulation, although in some, like Saskatchewan, they are created by a minister’s order.

In addition to general purpose legislation, municipalities are often subject to targeted legislation that governs certain aspects of their operations. These include, for instance, taxation (e.g. Ontario’s *Assessment Act*), elections (e.g. Alberta’s *Local Authorities Election Act*), and land use planning (e.g. Newfoundland’s *Urban and Rural Planning Act*).

Appendix 1 identifies general municipal statutes for each province.

Trends in Municipal Affairs

As Canada urbanized rapidly in the twentieth century, provinces recognized the increasing importance of municipalities in delivering services and responding to local conditions. This evolution has resulted in some commonalities and important differences in how municipalities are governed across the provinces.

Spheres of jurisdiction

Since the 1990s, most provinces have shifted to a “spheres of jurisdiction” approach in establishing municipal powers and responsibilities. Spheres give municipalities broad statutory authority over general categories (e.g., health, safety, and well-being of persons; protection of persons and property), rather than relying on express authority for each municipal power. All provinces except New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador have defined spheres of jurisdiction for their municipalities.²

Natural person power

Most provinces have granted their municipalities “natural person power.” This allows municipalities more flexibility in their operations, and is closely related to the less prescriptive spheres of jurisdiction approach. Natural person powers are often interpreted to include the ability to enter into contracts, own property, and make investments without express statutory permission.³ All provinces except Quebec, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Manitoba have given their municipalities this power. In Manitoba, only Winnipeg has natural person power.

Amalgamations

Starting in the 1990s, some provinces moved to amalgamate contiguous municipalities into larger cities in an attempt to achieve service delivery efficiencies. Municipal mergers had been imposed from time to time before this period, but in the 1990s, amalgamation was undertaken as part of comprehensive municipal restructuring projects. It was in this period that Ontario reduced its 850 municipalities to 444. This process included the amalgamation of the six former Metropolitan Toronto municipalities into the “megacity” of Toronto in 1998. Ottawa and Hamilton, which were not previously part of a metropolitan structure, were similarly amalgamated in 2001. The Halifax Regional Municipality was created out of four municipalities in 1996, and Montreal, Quebec City, and other large Quebec municipalities were also amalgamated in the early 2000s. In 2015, Manitoba undertook a program of amalgamation for its smaller municipalities with populations of less than 1,000 persons.

Amalgamations have not been universally popular however, and there remains some debate over whether they managed to achieve their purported efficiencies. One criticism is that amalgamations, while creating larger municipalities, do not necessarily result in cooperation across city-regions for vital services such as public transit.⁴ Quebec reversed some of its amalgamations shortly after they were enacted, instead creating additional region-level bodies to deliver certain services, as described below.

Single-tier municipalities

The most basic and ubiquitous form of local government in Canada is the single-tier municipality. In this model, the municipality is not subordinate to a county or regional government, but rather is accountable directly to the province. It exists in a variety of forms across the country, and exhibits differences both subtle and significant. Single-tier municipalities are often given different statutory powers depending on their size and location. In addition, some provinces have granted certain municipalities special status to reflect their size or importance within the province. These “charter” municipalities derive their powers from special—rather than general—municipal legislation. Charter cities are described in the last section of this paper.

All provinces have exclusively single-tier municipal systems, except for British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, which have some form of regional governance or administration. Notably, while all British Columbia and Quebec municipalities operate within a regional or multi-tier structure, Ontario has both single-tier and two-tier municipalities.

Differentiated Single-tier

Provinces that only have single-tier municipal organization typically differentiate between municipalities of differing sizes or functions, and accordingly grant them distinct powers and responsibilities. Differentiated single-tier structures allow municipalities to provide services and be governed in way that responds to their size and needs without an intermediate level of government, such as a region or county. Some examples of differentiated municipal structures are provided below.

Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan distinguishes between urban (including cities, towns, villages and resort villages), rural, and northern municipalities, with each form governed by a separate statute. These distinct enabling statutes reflect a province with cities and towns separated by vast areas of low population density. Where densities are too low to be organized into a conventional municipal government structure, the Province has established boards or advisory councils to represent residents’ interests in the delivery of services.⁵

Alberta

Alberta’s single-tier municipalities are differentiated on the basis of their residential density, and they are accordingly given different responsibilities and powers. Urban municipalities, which include cities, towns, and villages, are required to provide the same range of services. Rural municipalities, referred to as municipal districts, include some unincorporated areas and rural subdivisions, and provide minimal, basic services to residents. Alberta also allows the establishment of specialized municipalities, “when no other classification of municipal government can meet the needs of residents of the proposed municipality.”⁶

Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island has established simple criteria for distinguishing between municipal types. Cities have an estimated population of 15,000 or greater, with a total assessed property value of \$750,000,000 or greater. Towns have a population of 4,000 or greater, and rural municipalities make up the rest. The province's two cities, Charlottetown and Summerside, are granted additional powers (such as ownership of highways), and may have larger municipal councils.⁷

Manitoba

Manitoba distinguishes smaller municipalities, requiring them to deliver fewer services than larger centres. For instance, such municipalities are not required to provide police services or land use planning, although they may do so.⁸ As described below, the province has also granted Winnipeg, its capital and largest city, additional powers through a charter.

Two-tier municipalities

Two-tier municipal or regional structures are the exception in Canada. Only Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec have multi-tier governance structures, and these differ from each other in important ways. Some experts have argued that only Ontario has a true regional governance structure, because its regional bodies have substantive regulatory powers absent in the other provinces.⁹ But, while the regional structures of British Columbia and Quebec have limited powers, they provide some consistency of services and planning among municipalities, and in this regard, play a similar role to Ontario's upper-tier municipalities.

Ontario

Ontario is the only province with a municipal governance structure comprised of two distinct levels of elected government. It is further distinguished by having two-tier municipalities that exist side-by-side with single-tier municipalities.

Ontario's upper-tier regions and counties provide collective services for the constituent lower-tier municipalities, and are governed by an elected council. Their responsibilities are outlined in the *Municipal Act, 2001*, which distinguishes between the services that must be provided by each tier. Notably, the responsibilities assigned to regions and counties vary by municipality. For instance, Waterloo and York regions are assigned exclusive jurisdiction over transportation systems. Peel Region, on the other hand, has not been assigned jurisdiction in this area; Peel's lower-tier municipalities run their own transit systems.¹⁰ Similar disparities between regions exist for other services.

Ontario's upper-tier councils are all led by a chair, but are otherwise constituted in a number of different ways. There is much variety across the province in how regions' councils are structured and elected. For instance, Durham Region's council is composed of the mayors of each of the constituent municipalities and local councillors (who are elected to both upper and lower-tier councils, referred to as "double direct" election). The Region's chair is directly elected at large by residents.¹¹ Waterloo Region's chair is also elected at large, but the council is composed of the mayor of each of the constituent municipalities, and councillors that are elected directly to the regional council (and not to the local municipal councils).¹² See Appendix 2 for a table of Ontario's regional governance models.

Other legislation encourages consistency across the province in other facets of governance. For instance, the *Municipal Act, 2001* provides that municipal by-laws must not conflict between the tiers, and that upper tiers' by-laws prevail in cases on conflict.¹³ Similarly, land use planning is coordinated between the tiers, with the lower-tier's official plan being required to conform with the upper-tier's.¹⁴

British Columbia

British Columbia's 27 regional districts are a unique structure in Canada. They are federations of municipalities that work together to deliver services, and are governed by the *Local Government Act*. Regional districts are required to provide a small number of basic services, although many opt to provide a larger range of services. Regional districts are overseen by a board of directors that is comprised of local

municipal councillors (selected for the role by the constituent municipalities), appointees from local Treaty First Nations, and elected members in areas without municipal organization.¹⁵ Boards select their own chairs, and establish committees to address various concerns such as finance and economic development.¹⁶

Regional districts are a quasi-governmental structure, in that—with the exception of unorganized areas—their members are not directly elected and they have limited regulatory powers. They have been characterized as coordinating bodies, rather than municipal authorities.¹⁷ Nonetheless, they are incorporated and possess some characteristics of municipalities, such as the ability to enter into contracts and hold title to land.¹⁸

Quebec

Quebec has a complex multi-tiered municipal arrangement. Its municipalities operate within a two-tiered structure, with an upper-tier regional county municipality (RCM) responsible for certain services such as fire protection and regional land use planning.¹⁹ RCM councils are not independently elected, but rather are comprised of the mayors of the constituent municipalities.²⁰ Montreal, Quebec City, and other large municipalities are constituted as “agglomerations.” These are municipal amalgamations that provide certain services, and are governed by agglomeration councils, made up of the mayors of the constituent municipalities. The case of Montreal is particularly complex, as there is an additional upper level of administration, the Montreal Metropolitan Community (MMC), as well as 19 boroughs at the sub-municipal level. Each level has responsibility for certain services. For example, the boroughs provide such services as solid waste management and issuing building permits, while the MMC is responsible for planning and economic development at the regional level.²¹ This model of governance and service delivery has sometimes resulted in overlap and disputes over jurisdiction.²²

Charter cities

Some provinces have passed legislation to grant certain municipalities specific powers that differ from those conferred to municipalities by a general statute.²³

Sometimes referred to as “charters,” these instruments were historically granted to cities to organize their own affairs, hold markets, and collect taxes, among other powers.²⁴ Charter cities exist throughout the world in various models based on how the state/municipality relationship is addressed constitutionally.

A number of Canadian cities have charters, and several more have statutes that effectively function as charters, but are not named as such. For instance, Saint John, [Vancouver](#), [Calgary](#), [Edmonton](#), [Lloydminster](#), [Winnipeg](#), and [Montreal](#) all have charters that outline their powers. [Toronto](#), [St. John’s](#), and [Charlottetown](#) have provincial statutes that confer additional powers from those granted to other municipalities in the province, without being referred to as “charters.” Charter cities may exist within regional service structures (such as Vancouver), or as single-tier municipalities (such as Toronto).

As municipal budgets and the variety of services they support continue to grow, city charters have been suggested as a possible mechanism for providing municipalities with more autonomy. However, a city charter is nonetheless provincial legislation that can be repealed or amended at any time by the province. This has prompted occasional calls to entrench certain municipal powers in the Constitution.²⁵

Vancouver

Vancouver’s charter, passed in 1953, gives it a number of powers not conferred under the more generally applied *Community Charter*, which governs all other municipalities in the province, or the *Local Government Act*, which establishes regional districts. These additional powers include increased control over development, special development financing powers, and, granted recently, the ability to levy a special tax on vacant residential properties.²⁶ The City of Vancouver also operates within the Metro Vancouver Regional District, which delivers certain services at a regional scale.

Winnipeg

The *Winnipeg Charter*, passed in 2003, gives the city more autonomy than other municipalities in the province. For instance, the city is exempt from provincial approval for capital borrowing. Winnipeg also has a suite of fiscal tools at its disposal, including certain consumption taxes (on electricity and gasoline) and the ability to establish its own business property tax classes.²⁷

Toronto

Toronto’s powers are established in the *City of Toronto Act, 2006*. While not referred to as a charter, it functions like other Canadian charters in that it confers special powers on the city that are not available to other municipalities in the province. These include the additional authority to create a local appeals body for minor variances, enhanced business regulation, and explicit recognition of the city’s authority to enter into agreements with the federal government, among others. Perhaps the most consequential

powers conferred under the Act are the city's range of permitted taxes, including a land transfer tax, vehicle registration fees, and road tolls, among others.²⁸ It is important to note that these additional tools may not be exercised without provincial approval. For instance, an attempt by City Council to pass a road toll by-law for certain highways was denied by the Province in 2017.²⁹

Conclusion

As the twenty-first century progresses, an increasingly larger percentage of Canada's population will likely live in urban centres, large and small. Immigrants overwhelmingly choose to settle in urban areas, and despite the potential for virtual work arrangements, young people have always been attracted to the economic and cultural vitality afforded by cities and other urban centres. Thus, the centrality of municipalities in most Canadians' lives will likely increase, as will the services expected of municipalities.

In addition, municipalities are faced with new challenges such as climate change adaptation, economic inequity, and housing affordability, the solutions to which may lie beyond traditional governance and funding models. In response, some have called for municipalities to be given more autonomy, such as through charters. Edmonton and Calgary were most recently granted charters in 2018, in recognition of the need for large urban centres to have flexibility in meeting their responsibilities, rather than a one-size-fits all approach to municipal governance.³⁰ Others believe that a cooperative regional approach is warranted to coordinate transportation, planning, and other services in complex urban agglomerations like the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area.³¹ There has also been recent discussion of municipalities' constitutional status, with some arguing that their place in the constitutional order needs to be secured, formalized, and reflected in provincial constitutions or other instruments.³²

Municipalities are increasingly working together through provincial and federal associations (e.g., Association of Manitoba Municipalities) to find collective solutions to the issues they face. Organizations such as the Federation of Canadian Municipalities' Big City Mayors' Caucus works with the federal government to help develop policy for "nation-building through city-building."³³ At other end of the scale, organizations of small municipalities (e.g., the Rural Ontario Municipal Association) work with provincial governments to improve services and funding for their communities, which face different challenges than larger centres.

Canada's models of municipal governance have evolved over time to respond to urbanization and the increasing complexity and range of services expected of municipalities. Municipal governance models will continue to evolve and adapt in recognition of the centrality of municipalities and the services they deliver to Canadians.

Appendix 1:

Summary of municipal governance structure, by province

British Columbia

British Columbia's 163 municipalities, except Vancouver, are governed by the [Community Charter](#). While the municipalities are technically single-tier, some services are provided through a regional district structure, which allows for cooperation between municipalities in the delivery of services. The districts also provide services such as waterworks and fire protection to areas without municipal organization. The powers and structure of the regional districts are established in the [Local Government Act](#).

Vancouver, while within the Metro Vancouver Regional District, has its own [charter](#) that gives the city additional powers, including increased development control, special development financing powers, and the ability to levy a special tax on vacant residential properties.³⁴

Alberta

Alberta's 348 municipalities are governed by the [Municipal Government Act](#), which establishes three types of single-tier municipal arrangements: urban municipalities, specialized municipalities, and municipal districts. Urban municipalities comprise cities, towns, villages and summer (seasonal) villages, determined by population size. Each type of urban municipality is required or may provide the same kinds of services, but the size and composition of the council differs depending on the type. For instance, towns have a mayor and six councillors, while villages have three councillors, one of whom is the mayor.³⁵

Municipal districts are a basic form of local government in rural areas with unincorporated communities such as hamlets or rural subdivisions. Also known as counties in Alberta, municipal districts elect councillors in a ward system similar to urban municipalities, but are given fewer powers. Alberta also allows the establishment of specialized municipalities where the statutory municipal designations are not appropriate for meeting the needs of the residents of the proposed municipality.³⁶ Specialized municipalities are often hybrids of urban and rural areas, merged under a single governing body.

Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan's 773 municipalities are governed by [The Municipalities Act](#), [The Cities Act](#) and [The Northern Municipalities Act, 2010](#). Municipalities in the province are single-tier, differentiated as urban or rural municipalities. Urban municipalities are given some additional powers, such as the ability to determine the number of councillors. Northern towns, villages and hamlets are within the Northern Saskatchewan Administration District (NSAD). The NSAD provides services to unincorporated areas in the province's north, and is administered by a branch of the Ministry of Government Relations.

Manitoba

Manitoba's 137 municipalities are single-tier. Smaller centres (fewer than 750 inhabitants) are required to provide fewer services than larger municipalities. They are governed by [The Municipal Act](#). Manitoba has also granted a [charter](#) to Winnipeg, which gives its capital and largest city additional powers, including natural person powers.

Ontario

Ontario's 444 municipalities are a mix of single- and two-tier governance. Upper-tier municipalities include regions (of which there are six) and counties (23). There are also 11 districts, of which only the District Municipality of Muskoka provides services on a regional scale.³⁷ Many single-tier municipalities such as Toronto, Ottawa, and Hamilton are the product of amalgamations in the 1990s. The [Municipal Act, 2001](#) governs all municipalities except Toronto, which has its own enabling statute, the [City of Toronto Act, 2006](#), giving it additional powers commensurate with its size.

Quebec

Quebec's 652 municipalities operate within a complex two-tier governance structure. Upper tier regional county municipalities (RCMs) provide regional services such as land use and watershed planning, and are governed by a council comprised of the mayors of member lower tier municipalities. Quebec also has metropolitan communities and "urban agglomerations" comprised of smaller municipalities within its metro areas such as Montreal and Quebec City, delivering certain services at a regional scale. Several municipalities are further fragmented into boroughs with elected councils, which deliver certain local services. Due to the complexity of Quebec's municipal governance structure, a number of legislative mechanisms determine how the various levels share power and responsibilities. These include the [Cities and Towns Act](#) (for urban municipalities), the [Municipal Code of Quebec](#) (rural), as well as numerous statutes that establish municipal roles within specific sectors.

New Brunswick

New Brunswick's 104 municipalities are governed by the [Municipalities Act](#) in a differentiated single-tier structure. The province has a significant proportion of unincorporated areas relative to its size. As of 2008, unincorporated areas comprised over 90% of its land mass, and were home to 35% of its population.³⁸ In these areas, local service districts, administered by the Province, provide basic services.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's 50 municipalities are organized under a differentiated single-tier structure with three classes: regional municipalities, towns, and county or district municipalities.³⁹ The classification principally affects the number of councillors. All municipalities are governed by the [Municipal Government Act](#) except for the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM), which has its own [charter](#). The province has three regional municipalities: Halifax, Cape Breton, and Queens. However, despite the name, regional municipalities are not supra-local governments with constituent municipalities; rather, they are single-tier municipalities created through amalgamations. HRM's charter gives it certain spending powers, as well as community councils that advise the city council on local matters.

Prince Edward Island

PEI's 59 municipalities are organized under a differentiated single-tier structure with three classes: cities, towns, and rural municipalities based on population. The classification principally affects the number of councillors, although cities are also given title to streets within their boundaries. Municipalities are governed by the [Municipal Government Act](#).

Newfoundland and Labrador

Newfoundland and Labrador's 276 municipalities operate under a differentiated single-tier structure. The [Municipalities Act, 1999](#) governs all of the province's municipalities except St. John's, Corner Brook, and Mount Pearl, which have their own statutes. While the *City of St. John's Act* gives the City additional spending and borrowing powers, the other two cities are treated similarly to other municipalities in the province, except they are given larger councils.

Appendix 2: Ontario's regional governance models

Region	Lower-tier municipalities	Council members, including chair	Chair	Council make-up
<u>Durham</u>	Town of Ajax Township of Brock Municipality of Clarington City of Oshawa City of Pickering Township of Scugog Township of Uxbridge Town of Whitby	29	elected	All lower-tier mayors, plus double-directly elected regional/local councillors
<u>Halton</u>	City of Burlington Town of Halton Hills Town of Milton Town of Oakville	24	elected	All lower-tier mayors, plus directly elected regional councillors
<u>Niagara</u>	City of Niagara Falls City of Port Colborne City of St. Catharines City of Thorold City of Welland Town of Fort Erie Town of Grimsby Town of Lincoln Town of Niagara-on-the-Lake Town of Pelham Township of Wainfleet Township of West Lincoln	32	appointed	All lower-tier mayors, plus directly elected regional councillors
<u>Peel</u>	City of Brampton City of Mississauga Town of Caledon	25	appointed	All lower-tier mayors, plus double-directly elected regional/local councillors

Region	Lower-tier municipalities	Council members, including chair	Chair	Council make-up
Waterloo	City of Cambridge City of Kitchener City of Waterloo Township of North Dumfries Township of Wellesley Township of Wilmot Township of Woolwich	16	elected	All lower-tier mayors, plus directly elected regional councillors
York	City of Markham City of Richmond Hill City of Vaughan Town of Aurora Town of East Gwillimbury Town of Georgina Town of Newmarket Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville Township of King	22	appointed	All lower-tier mayors. plus double-directly elected regional/local councillors

Notes

¹ Ian Rogers, *The Law of Canadian Municipal Corporations*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Carswell, 2017, loose-leaf), vol. 1, p. 46.

² Zack Taylor and Alec Dobson, [Power and Purpose: Canadian Municipal Law in Transition](#), Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, 2020, p. 16.

³ John Stefaniuk, [Municipal Powers and their Limits](#), Thompson Dorfman Sweatman LLP.

⁴ Zachary Spicer and Adam Found, [Thinking Regionally: How to Improve Service Delivery in Canada's Cities](#), C.D. Howe Institute, 2016.

⁵ Saskatchewan, "[About the Saskatchewan Municipal System](#)."

⁶ Alberta Urban Municipalities Association, [Local Governance: A Short Review of Changes in Various Jurisdictions](#), p. 3.

⁷ *Municipal Government Act*, s. 208(1).

⁸ Manitoba, [Council Members Guide—Once Elected... What is Expected? 2014-2018](#), 2014, p. 6.

⁹ See for instance Andrew Sancton and Robert Young, eds. *Foundations of Governance: Municipal Governance in Canada's Provinces*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, pp. 4, 5.

¹⁰ *Municipal Act, 2001*, S.O. 2001, c. 25, s. 11(4); and TABLE.

¹¹ *Regional Municipality of Durham Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. R.9, s. 6.

¹² *Regional Municipality of Waterloo Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. R.17, s. 5(1).

¹³ *Municipal Act, 2001*, s. 13(1).

¹⁴ *Planning Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. P.13, s. 27(1).

¹⁵ British Columbia, "[Regional District Powers and Services](#)."

¹⁶ Union of BC Municipalities, *Local Government in BC: A Community Effort*, 2015, p. 6.

¹⁷ Zachary Spicer, "[Inter-municipal Cooperation, not Amalgamation, the Better Route to Improve Servicing in Canada's Cities](#)," C.D. Howe Institute, 2016.

¹⁸ British Columbia, "[Regional District Corporate Powers](#)."

¹⁹ Quebec, "[Quebec Municipal Organization](#)."

²⁰ Serge Belley et al. *Foundations of Governance: Municipal Governance in Canada's Provinces*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 73.

²¹ MMC, "[The Metropolitan Community of Montreal](#)."

²² Serge Belley et al. *Foundations of Governance: Municipal Governance in Canada's Provinces*, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 73.

²³ Harry Kitchen, [Is 'Charter-City Status' a Solution for Financing City Services in Canada—or is That a Myth?](#) University of Calgary, The School of Public Policy Research Papers, Vol. 9, Issue 2, January 2016, p. 1. Compare for example, the [Municipal Act, 2001](#), applicable province-wide, and the Toronto-specific [City of Toronto Act, 2006](#).

²⁴ Encyclopedia Britannica, "[Charter, document](#)."

²⁵ Jennifer Pagliaro, "The push to make Toronto more autonomous," *Toronto Star*, June 17, 2019; Dylan Reid, "Embedding municipal government in the constitution," June 10, 2019; and John Michael McGrath, "[Giving cities](#)

[more power is complicated. Protecting their elections isn't,](#)" TVO, September 21, 2018.

²⁶ [Vancouver Charter](#), [SBC 1953] c. 55, Parts III, XXVII and XXX.

²⁷ Harry Kitchen, p. 4.

²⁸ *City of Toronto Act, 2006*, S.O. 2006, c. 11, Sched. A, s. 257.

²⁹ John Rieti, "[Mayor Tory decries 'short-sighted' road-toll rejection by province](#)," CBC News, January 27, 2017.

³⁰ Alberta, "[City Charters](#)."

³¹ Spicer and Found, *Thinking Regionally*, C.D. Howe Institute, 2016.

³² Kristin R. Good, *The Fallacy of the "Creatures of the Provinces" Doctrine: Recognizing and Protecting Municipalities' Constitutional Status*, IMFG, No. 46, 2019.

³³ FCM, "[Big City Mayors' Caucus](#)."

³⁴ *Vancouver Charter*, [SBC 1953] c. 55, Parts III, XXVII and XXX.

³⁵ Alberta, "[Types of municipalities in Alberta](#)."

³⁶ *Municipal Government Act*, RSA 2000, Chapter M-26, s. 83.

³⁷ Association of Municipalities of Ontario, "[Ontario Municipalities](#)."

³⁸ New Brunswick, *Building Stronger Local Governments and Regions*, report of the Commissioner on the Future of Local Governance, 2008, p. 28.

³⁹ *Municipal Government Act*, s. 3.