

Ethics and Good Urban Governance in Toronto: The Tale of Two Love Affairs

Ethics and Good Urban Governance in Toronto: The Tale of Two Love Affairs

Dr. Shanti Fernando

Department of Political Science
York University
Toronto, ON
M3J 1P3

(416) 736-2100 x 88827
FAX: (416) 736-5686
sfernand@yorku.ca

Abstract:

Ethical behaviour or the lack of it in political life is not a new subject for discussion but rather a constant theme. In Toronto there have been two recent scandals that have brought the discussion of ethics in municipal public service to the forefront. This paper examines the actions of Wanda Liczyk as examined in the recent Bellamy inquiry and the more recent hiring and promotion scandal surrounding Pam Coburn in order to illustrate how the decision making process can be corrupted. The challenge for urban governance is to create a municipal public service that is professional and accountable and to create an ethical public service model that demonstrates the democratic role of local government. This is a challenge that must be met if local councils want to increase their power and capacity to control and shape urban development and community.

Key Words: ethics, city council, scandal, hiring, contracts

Introduction

Local governments now have increased pressure on them as service providers and policy makers because of the downloading of responsibilities from provincial governments. Many urban policy observers believe that local governments need to embrace their political role more fully in order to deal with this greater responsibility and to facilitate real forward thinking urban governance rather than mere reactive policymaking. (Tindal and Tindal 2004; McAllister 2004; Siegel 2005) That political role, however, comes with difficult questions about what good government and democracy are and how citizens are best served. Recent events in Toronto have brought this to the forefront and the Bellamy inquiry into the Toronto Computer Leasing and Toronto External Contracts has highlighted both the pressing need for good urban governance as well as the problems in creating a good urban governance framework in Toronto.

This is not merely the tale of two love affairs but the tale of a city whose governance structure is in need of examination and reworking as the recent Bellamy report so clearly points out. There have been ethical violations in municipal government before but the media interest and scrutiny were heightened because of the "sexy" nature of the revelations but this is not a sexual tale. It is a tale of cronyism, code of conduct violations and poor judgement by so many concerned. The two women that are referred to in this paper, Wanda Liczyk and Pam Coburn, are not singled out as anomalies. Instead they are examples of smart, successful professionals who nonetheless showed poor judgement and were led to believe that they were in an institutional culture that allowed them to overlook codes of conduct without fear of repercussions. They both were involved in personal relationships that seemed to have affected their decision making process in ways that compromised their integrity. These two women should not be vilified but instead looked to as case studies that are meant to reveal some of the problems of ethics in urban governance and the arrogance of those in power. What is the political culture that allowed these scandals to occur? Are there ways in which to change this culture and what are the difficulties involved?

There are several ways in which I intend to approach this kind of analysis. First I want to begin to develop a theoretical framework about good governance and political corruption. This is based upon three basic premises. The first is that the municipal employees are still public servants and need to adhere to ethical political principles. The second is that there is a role for municipal government that goes beyond a service delivery role and accepts a democratic political role. The third premise follows from the first two and contends that accountability is not just about financial accountability but also about accountability to the public trust and the interests of equity and fairness.

I look at two specific case studies. One is Wanda Liczyk's role as set out in the Bellamy Report and the other is Pam Coburn's part in the ongoing scandal in the licensing and standards department. The Bellamy report was helpful in addressing specific issues but there are also others that need to be addressed that will complicate ethical reforms and the code of conduct. This type of examination allows for a look at the future of urban governance in Toronto in terms of changes that need to be made and the potential and limitations of these changes.

Good Urban Governance In Toronto

Mayor David Miller was elected on a platform that included "cleaning up" City Hall in Toronto. Is this something that he could do in a weak mayor/strong council

model? What is a “clean” government? What many people consider “clean” is the absence of overwhelming cronyism and the concentration on merit. It is also about trust. The trust that the citizens of Toronto have in their government to use money wisely, be responsible for their actions and to adhere to a code of conduct. The public confidence in local government has been shaken by this latest round of scandals. It is therefore appropriate to look at what urban ethics policy should do in order to help local governments regain that confidence.

First there must be some attempt at a definition of what good government is. There are some basics of good local government but that does not by any means say that there is agreement on what kind of practices make a good government. There are, however, values that can guide good local government. The Bellamy Inquiry had a specific set of hearings into the meaning of good government. The values set out in the report include democratic values, most importantly loyalty to the public interest and professional values, such as merit, objectivity and impartiality of advice and fidelity to the public trust. Also included were ethical values such as integrity and honesty and taking responsibility and being accountable and having respect for law and due process. Finally there was the concept of people values such as courage and openness, communication and responsibility. (Bellamy Vol. 2: 32) It is this political framework and the guiding values referred to above that are the basis for my analysis for urban governance. Justice Bellamy also stresses the concept of accountability as beyond financial. This prevents the appropriation of this concept as a new public management or "market" value. As I have stated before this is not only financial accountability but also political accountability and personal accountability. It is about being accountable to the ethics and values of your government and adhering to principles of equity and fairness.

In this case it is also appropriate to talk about one of the principle enemies of good urban governance is political corruption in the form of political graft. This can be defined in a number of ways. The element of graft that is most applicable to this case is a subsidiary rather than a fundamental form of graft. A subsidiary form of graft is “the evasion of legal requirements, such as those in civil service laws and in regulations governing the award of public contracts”. (Key, 43) This subsidiary form, most applicable to the Toronto scandals, is about the abuse of discretion and the evasion of rules. This compromises the effectiveness of the municipal civil service and does not adhere to any of the principles of the good governance framework

Now that we have explored what good governance might be in an urban setting it is necessary to discuss how this applies to Toronto. Toronto is different than other Canadian cities by virtue of its size. It is the largest Canadian city made larger in 1998 by amalgamation. It also receives more immigrants than any other city. These facts mean that Toronto is atypical of cities in Canada and it is not only a testing ground for Canadian multicultural ideals but also for Canadian urban policy on a large scale. Policy is different in a city that has a larger population than is found in 5 of our provinces. It sometimes makes the municipal structure seem inadequate to deal with the level of economic and policy challenges and constant growth that exists in Toronto. It is what is referred to as a “global city” meaning that there is a strong connection with global markets, a large amount of tourism and those living there are from all parts of the world.

The title of global city seems to convey a sense of a well run metropolis on par with other large and powerful cities in the world. Toronto has grown spatially, since the

forming of the megacity, and has grown economically, with many wealthy residents, and has grown population wise with the advent of immigration and amalgamation being two of the largest factors. The problems in the city have also grown ranging from urban sprawl to increasing social polarization and poverty. This growth has not occurred, however, in the ability, coordination and effectiveness of the government. This lack of good urban governance in Toronto was revealed in sensational fashion by the scandals that began to emerge in the beginning of the 21st century. The MFP scandal and the inquiry and report that followed were a wake up call for Torontonians about the lack of ethical underpinnings in their government. They also revealed that there needed to be more vigilance on the part of those in government and those observing government to protect local democracy. We begin our analysis with the MFP Scandal and the ripple effect of the revelations surrounding it.

Table 1: Recent Chain of Ethics related Events

January 1,1998	Amalgamation of Toronto
April 23, 2001	MFP Questions begin in City Council Meeting
October 2002- January 2005	Bellamy Inquiry Hearings: Toronto Computer Leasing and Toronto External Contracts
November 10, 2003	Election of New Mayor David Miller with promise of ethics and integrity in City Hall
Jan 19-Feb 5 2004	Good Government Phase of Bellamy Inquiry
November 2004	Mayor Miller’s Administrative Restructuring in Toronto
July 2004	Appointment of City Integrity Commissioner
September 12, 2005	Bellamy Report is released
September 26, 2005	Pam Coburn and Joseph Carnevale are suspended
October 3, 2005	Mayor Miller affirms commitment to professional accountable civil service

MFP Scandal

On April 23, 2001 a Toronto city council meeting started to become much more controversial than was expected. Councillor Bas Balkisoon¹ asked questions about an “approved technology lease provider” and this question led to many others.(Bellamy, Vol 1: 34) The use of MFP as a computer leasing provider was questioned in terms of both computers and photocopiers. The report on this provider and on the photocopying lease did not seem complete. Had this gone through official channels? How was it approved? The Bellamy report begins with the phrase “ A Small Crack Reveals A Big Problem” and this scenario:

It was only a single phrase, buried in the mountain of paper given to every Toronto City councillor before a Council meeting – a passing reference in a run-of-the-mill staff report about ho-hum photocopiers. But that single phrase, “current technology lease provider,” would lead to stories about influence, ambition, greed, and secrets, and to many, many lies.(Bellamy, Vol 1: 33)

What also eventually emerged was that TMACS, a customized tax management and collection system for North York and eventually used in Toronto, had also been pushed through council in a suspicious manner. From the time of the infamous council meeting until the Bellamy inquiry the Toronto papers began to fill with stories about MFP and the chaos at city hall. A December 2001 story in the *Toronto Star* claimed the city “Council fears it has lost control to staff”(Lakey, A1) which was meant to show that City Hall was unmanageable and needed an overhaul to bring it under control. Given this situation the usual use of a city auditor general’s inquiry seemed inadequate for the scale of the scandal and problems. A public inquiry on the Toronto’s computer leasing was called on March 7, 2002 and soon afterwards one was also called on Toronto’s external contracts. Both were to be headed by the same commissioner and occur simultaneously.

The Bellamy Inquiry

The inquiry into the Toronto computer leasing and Toronto external contracts began in September 2002 and was a wide reaching and extensive hearing process chaired by Justice Denise E. Bellamy. It was a very public inquiry with daily updates on the inquiry website that received almost a million visits.(Bellamy Vol 3: 49) The value of a public inquiry was stressed by Justice Bellamy and the public’s right to know was certainly a cornerstone of the inquiry’s mandate.

The inquiry lasted for well over two years and heard from over a hundred witnesses and it was all in aid of surveying ethical governance in Toronto. This inquiry kept a focus on the ethical issues of public office in the city and led to demands by the people of Toronto and other observers to clean up city government. This was made clear in Toronto events external to the inquiry that occurred during the course of its hearings. In the mayoral election of 2003, which occurred a year into the inquiry hearings, all candidates had to address questions about corruption in city hall. The winner of the mayoral race was David Miller who was proclaimed by *Toronto Star* columnist Royson James as “the new sheriff in town” and claimed that his election was a ‘bleak day for lobbyists, back-room boys and the old cronies who’ve dominated politics at Toronto city hall.”(James, Nov 11, 2003, A1) Miller used a broom as his campaign symbol and this obviously resonated with voters on November 10, 2003 and his victory was decisive.

The inquiry continued and this should have been a signal that in fact Toronto was “cleaning house” at City Hall. Or was it? The process of a public inquiry is sometimes seen as merely a legitimization device.(Burton and Carlen 1979) A way that government tries to quell public dissent and show that it is willing to investigate wrongdoing but ultimately nothing changes. Public inquiries are meant to make the state seem open to the renegotiation of the existing order while at the same time maintaining that existing order through this renegotiation.(Manette, 1988) This is a fairly cynical view of public inquiries. The more positive view would be that inquiries are meant to give the public and the government information about how government has gone wrong and how it can be improved. It is then used as a resource and a discourse that can help to transform

government. Madame Justice Denise Bellamy refers to public inquiries as restorative. They help to restore public confidence and are part of the Canadian democratic process. They are also referred to as preventative. A way in which past mistakes can be learned from and not repeated. (Bellamy, Vol. 3: 20) The truth probably lies somewhere in between these two views of inquiries. Public inquiries are a way to highlight public concerns and look into important government failings. Their findings can be a resource for those seeking change but an inquiry does not represent change in itself. Change depends both upon the political will and the public support for that change.

The First Love Affair: The Bellamy Report Findings²

The Bellamy report was published on September 12, 2005. It had much to say on the subject of good governance and also on the abuses of public office. Commissioner Bellamy not only made recommendations but also made statements about what she believed regarding the state of the City of Toronto's government. Bellamy traces the increased chaos back to the amalgamation of Toronto's seven municipalities into one megacity in 1998.³ This was a time when Wanda Liczyk became even more important in the city power structure and this perhaps allowed her more of a chance to abuse this power.

Wanda Liczyk's story was chronicled by the report as central to the external contracts scandal. She was characterized as a bright and ambitious 24 year old when she began working for what was then the City of North York in 1985 as a Budget Analyst. By 1992 she was the youngest person and first woman to be a City Treasurer in Ontario. (Bellamy, Vol 1: 45) The report also characterizes her as a protegee of North York Mayor Mel Lastman. He appreciated her aggressive and energetic attitude and the fact that the city was always on budget. North York is described as a family with an informal and friendly atmosphere but there were still rules:

The North York Code of Ethics said that an employee "never uses the position to secure advantages or favours for self, family or friends." Ms. Liczyk's contract went farther, prohibiting actual and apparent conflicts of interest. Her wrongdoing was perfectly clear when measured against both standards. It would have been to her credit had she accepted that she's made a mistake. Instead, she minimized her misconduct and criticized this inquiry for exploring it. This showed her inability—or worse, her unwillingness—to learn from her mistakes. (Bellamy Report, Vol 4:10)

Why did Wanda Liczyk believe that she had not broken the rules? Why did she show such arrogance in the face of a public inquiry? There seems no question of her wrongdoing. In order to make this conflict of interest clear the facts of this case must be made clear.

Wanada Liczyk had a relationship with Michael Saunders. He was an older married man who worked for American Management Systems who supplied a general system to North York in the late 1980s. Their relationship became sexual but Ms. Liczyk said this part of the relationship ended in 1991. They did, however, remain in close contact and were friends. Mr. Saunders worked in North York and in 1990 left his job to start his own company which was awarded a contract by that city. (Bellamy Report, Vol 4: 10) Wanda Liczyk was one of three decision makers on that contract and she did not reveal their relationship, sexual at that time, to the others on the decision making

committee.(Ibid.) In 1991 she again was a key decision maker in the awarding of a contract to Michael Saunders and his new partner David Maxson for their customized tax management and collection system for North York called TMACS. Ms. Liczyk did not reveal her relationship with Mr. Saunders nor was this contract tendered.(Ibid.)

In the new amalgamated megacity of Toronto former North York treasurer Wanda Liczyk still retained a powerful position as Chief Financial Officer and Treasurer of Toronto. In this position she still tried to favour TMACS over their chief rival Scarborough-Mississauga based TXM software. The latter was the choice of the many of the pre-amalgamation cities including Toronto. What the Bellamy Report states unequivocally is that Wanda Liczyk used her influence at City Hall to ensure that TMACS and Michael Saunders would be the choice of city despite all opposition. The report chronicles her involvement in every detail of this IT decision, which should have been out of her purview. She actively campaigned against TMX in numerous ways and venues and even put Michael Saunders in charge of its implementation, which ensured its demise. The report has a long list of violations committed by Ms. Liczyk on behalf of Michael Saunders. These include constant subversion of decision making and policy processes. Examples of this include lack of paper documentation and proper insurance provisions, Michael Saunders' excessive expenses that were never questioned, the use of Michael Saunders as project manager when city employees could provide the same service at a fraction of the cost, and the awarding of a further contract to Saunders for the city's water billing software all of which was done with little questioning because of his "favoured status".(Bellamy Vol 4: 13) This constant violation of the code of conduct seems surprising if one is to believe that there were firm ethical standards in place. In terms of ethical or democratic values this does not fit into a good governance framework. The Bellamy report also pointed out that the use of an American firm rather than a Canadian one and the reliance on only two people were both questionable decisions in terms of the protection of the public interest in terms of professional values. Perhaps the close relationship with Mel Lastman led Ms. Liczyk to believe that she could subvert the code of conduct.⁴ She was an employee who put in long hours and was well respected. Perhaps, as the report claims, she felt this among other things was "her due".(Bellamy Vol 2: 264) The arrogance that Madame Justice Bellamy had referred to in relation to Wanda Liczyk is apparent here. There seems little doubt that the decision making and the urban policy process was influenced by personal considerations and the belief that this was not the case seems counterintuitive.

The Bellamy Report chronicled the wrongdoing associated with the MFP scandal and other associated scandals including TMACS. The report shows how power abuses had very obviously taken place. It also made recommendations about areas such as codes of conduct, lobbying and external contracts. Where it was also most instructive was in its description of what was going wrong with governance in Toronto and also in its prescription for what good urban governance might look like. It attempted to fulfill the restorative and preventative functions of a public inquiry. The report was quite clear that urban governance in Toronto was not impressive in terms of accountability, professionalism or transparency. The structure was describe as confusing and the political culture was one in which rules and codes of conduct seemed to be unknown at best and knowingly subverted at worst.

The Second Love Affair: Pam Coburn's Suspension

In September 2005 as the MFP fallout continued after the Bellamy Report had been published and the MFP payout for the city was being discussed yet another set of scandals emerged. City executive Pam Coburn was accused improperly promoting her second in command. Also implicated in the whistleblower letter were Councillor and Deputy Mayor Joe Pantalone and Councillor Peter Milczyn.(Lu et al, A1) Pantalone was accused of hiring relatives and Peter Milczyn's fiancée's hiring was also called into question.

The most sensational aspects, which the letter detailed would later become part of another public scandal about personal relationships. Pam Coburn, executive director of municipal leasing and standards department was accused of having an "improper" relationship with Joseph Carnevale who was director of investigations and second only to her in departmental power. This in itself was not the scandal but instead it was the contention that Joseph Carnevale only reached this level at City Hall because of his relationship with Coburn and that in this and other decisions she had let her personal considerations subvert the normal rules and regulations of her department. This harkened back to the recent Wanda Liczyk revelations and was once again an example of how private relationships had public policy consequences.

Both Coburn and Carnevale were suspended from their jobs on September 26, 2005 and shortly afterwards they were fired. The statements that were made by Coburn were indicative of a close personal relationship between her and the married Carnevale. While she said that her relationship with Carnevale was not sexual she did talk of him as a "soul mate" whom she had dinners with and with whom she hoped to have a future. Carnevale has not commented on the relationship. Mayor Miller made it clear that the firings were not about the personal relationship but about conflict of interest leading to inappropriate hiring or decision making.(Nickle, 19) The dismissal was said to stem from the fact that Coburn allegedly had told Carnevale about the job description, for the job he would eventually get, before it had been posted and coached him on how to get it. Secondly, according to the City Auditor General, allegedly Coburn and Carnevale had co-operated in improperly hiring personal friends of Carnevale.(Nickle,19) Miller called this a "reminder that as public servants we all have a duty to remain vigilant so that business is conducted ethically and fairly" (Nickle, 19) and that Torontonians deserve to feel more trusting of their public servants. At the time of the writing of this article there is still a city auditor general's inquiry into the leasing and standards department and the actions of Pam Coburn.

Details that have come out since the scandal and the firings have had some similarities to the Wanda Liczyk story. Coburn has been accused of dealing with some of her staff in an unprofessional manner and more importantly letting herself be influenced in decision making by her personal relationships. Both women had close relationships with married men who were dependent on their good will for advancement. Bad judgment in their love lives spilled over into their professional lives and their inability to separate these two spheres compromised their professional conduct. In both cases there was also no apology or admission of wrongdoing. Wanda Liczyk still maintained that she had done nothing seriously wrong even during the Bellamy inquiry. Pam Coburn has said that the rules of conduct regarding office romance was unclear and there was no guidance given. This might be true but there certainly are very clear rules about conflict of interest

and the reporting of any relationships that might lead to this conflict. This is not something that either of these women did. The ethical values of taking responsibility and being accountable for actions are lacking along with the professional and people value problematics. In terms of democratic values these were not services in the best public interest and did not show loyalty to the public trust. Both women were close to the mayors under which they worked. They might have thought this was protection enough. These women were considered to be highly professional and “stars” of public service who got things done and were tough decision makers. If the most respected of public servants have shown such poor judgement and arrogance this seems particularly troubling and the conclusion drawn should be that these are definitely not isolated incidents. There was a political culture that supported this type of action.

As I have said before it is not helpful to pass moral judgement on the two women involved in these cases. As Judge Bellamy has said it is not about the relationships but about the possible compromising of municipal policy making decisions. Decision making is not a precise science but it should have certain criteria that include what is best for the city and in terms of equity and efficiency and should not include personal considerations for the friends and intimates of the decision maker. The subversion of ethical processes and guidelines is something to be avoided because the principles of accountability and professionalism rely upon the fairness of the decision making process. This is a misuse of discretion and an abuse of the public trust. This signals bad urban governance.

The Future of Ethics and Good Urban Governance in Toronto

Given all of the current problems what does the future look like for those interested in urban governance in Toronto? Well it looks like the problems will continue and the fallout might be falling for longer than anyone anticipated. The upheaval that the Bellamy Inquiry caused has made put former and present hirings, contracts and personnel under the microscope but has it created any real change?

In the light of continuing breaches of public trust how can public confidence be restored? This is what Mayor David Miller and subsequent mayors must figure out in order to fulfill his promise of a professional and accountable civil service. Miller has said restructured the administration in order to streamline it and make it more accountable. This was done in 2004. He appointed a City Integrity Commissioner to provide independent and consistent advice in upholding city Council’s Code of Conduct and to support high standards and principles.(City of Toronto 2004) Integrity Commissioner David J. Mullan began his duties on September 1, 2004. This was a year before the Pam Coburn scandal. Miller has also said that the independent watchdogs need to have more powers, given by the province, to keep the city government accountable. These watchdogs include the integrity commissioner, auditor general and the lobbyist registry. (Spears et al A1)

There are those who do not believe that Miller is taking the initiative in ethics and that as a leader this is necessary in order to facilitate a change in political and institutional culture. He is accused of giving mixed messages. This includes his stance that City Hall was rife with cronyism before he became mayor and the softening of this stance after he was in office that seemed to signal he was not as worried about this problem. After the Coburn scandal he said that the hiring process had adequate checks and balances and added that he did not think it was wrong for a politician to put in a good word to help a relative or someone they knew get a job at City hall. (Lu et al, A1) He was forced to

backtrack a bit on this stance because of public pressure. The jubilation about the ascension of Miller to the mayoral office seems muted as many realize that he has not been as vigilant about cronyism as had been promised. Many claim that Coburn's actions are not out of the ordinary but she was an example being vilified by the very people who were guilty of the same conflict of interest decision making. (James, Oct 8 B1)

Conclusion

My analysis of these scandals in Toronto is not meant as an exposé on the salacious nature of urban governance but rather an examination of the dysfunction and lack of democracy and ethical decision making in the urban governance structure. This is not a charge to be made only at this level of governance but it is exacerbated, as the Bellamy Report points out, by the confusing lines of accountability at the municipal level. It also has to do with the problem of rooting out longstanding systemic problems. The Bellamy report speaks of an "ethical culture" (Bellamy Vol 2, 25) that must take over from another institutional culture. Over the period of the inquiry Justice Bellamy says she has seen strides toward a more ethical culture and more vigilant attempts at accountability and ethical guidelines, particularly with the hiring of the integrity commissioner, that will help "healing process".(Bellamy Vol 4:82) This is what I want to highlight. This is what the purpose of public inquiries, public discussions, media scrutiny and academic discourse ultimately is. It is about politicians, other public servants and the general public being watchdogs for democracy and trying to achieve something that can at least approximate our democratic ideals. This healing process is about healing public confidence and healing a decision making process. It is also about closing the gap between public expectation and reality in order to increase confidence. The Bellamy Report talked about the regulation and power of lobbyists which needs further examination give the structure of urban governance that is based upon money and the development interests at city hall and the difficulties in changing that political culture. The report also does address issues such as political accountability but does not fully address the fact that local governments have had difficulties embracing their political and democratic roles and instead have been more concentrated on service provision. This is something beyond the scope of the inquiry but should be in the purview of those interested in urban governance reform.

The changes that might result from this report will be slow but there needs to be public will and the resulting political will to change. The question then is if there is really a commitment to such change. Mayor David Miller has at times seemed very intent on cleaning up City Hall but then at the same time has tried to defend some of the culture and lauded his council and City Hall. The question is does he have the power to make any real changes or will he need a coalition of councillors and those municipal public servants who are anxious to see a change in the way the City of Toronto conducts its political business? The new City of Toronto Act is said to give City Hall more power. Will this provide change? If leaders who were elected had more power over their employees or more power to change the existing structures and culture this might signal change but it is not clear that the new City of Toronto Act does this. The recent ethical analysis by Atkinson and Bierling is premised on the fact that there is a wide gap between public expectations and political actions in terms of ethics. (Atkinson and Bierling, 2005) They conclude that there would not be an ethical convergence produced by further regulation but that instead citizens should "pay less attention to policy and more attention to finding

those persons who have the character and judgement to enforce existing ethics rules."(Ibid, 1025) This does not specifically deal with municipal leaders but I think the same standards can apply. This election of leaders does not, however, guarantee the hiring of those who have ethical characters. This then leads us to the conclusion that oversight by ethical leaders is necessary to foster an improvement in this political culture. This makes the upcoming Toronto mayoral race and the expansion of executive and councillor powers of more importance. It is also about public vigilance in pressing for ethical leadership rather than the "fatalism factor" (Ibid, 1014) that make the public believe that politics and corruption are inevitable bedfellows.

Despite the fact of Toronto's uniqueness in size and makeup Toronto's experience in ethical violations is not a unique one in municipal governance. For all governments there need to be clear lines of accountability and codes of conduct. Particular attention needs to be paid to the conflict of interest and lobbying rules that prevent the process of urban governance from being compromised. The story is more sensational when we think of love and lies, cronyism and cover-ups and the seamier side of political life. The democratic essence of this story is about the subversion of decision- making and policy processes by conflict of interest, personal interests and lack of transparency. There needs to be a signal from leadership, from watchdogs and from the public that there is an ethical political culture that serves the public. This is a public service guided by democratic, professional, ethical and people values that show loyalty to public interest and are mindful of public trust.

References

- Atkinson, Michael M. and Gerald Bierling. 2005. "Politicians. The Public and Political Ethics: Worlds Apart". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 38:4 (December) 1003-1028.
- Bellamy, Madam Justice Denise E. 2005. *Toronto Computer Leasing Inquiry; Toronto External Contracts Inquiry Vol 1 Facts and Findings*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- Bellamy, Madam Justice Denise E. 2005. *Toronto Computer Leasing Inquiry; Toronto External Contracts Inquiry Vol 2 Good Government*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- Bellamy, Madam Justice Denise E. 2005. *Toronto Computer Leasing Inquiry; Toronto External Contracts Inquiry Vol 3 Inquiry Process*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- Bellamy, Madam Justice Denise E. 2005. *Toronto Computer Leasing Inquiry; Toronto External Contracts Inquiry Vol 4 Executive Summary*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- Burton, Frank and Pat Carlen. 1979. *Official Discourse*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- City of Toronto. 2005. "Mayor Miller outlines commitment to professional, accountable, civil service" news release October 3. (City council website accessed October 4, 2005, <http://wx.toronto.ca/inter/it/newrel.nsf/82f55f14f8d6b4>)
- City of Toronto. 2004. "Appointment of City Integrity Commissioner". News release July 21. (City Council Website accessed October 4, 2005, <http://wx.toronto.ca/inter/it/newsrel.nsf/821f55f14f8d6b4>)
- Coyle, Jim. 2004. "Steamy annals of city tech-heads". *Toronto Star*. October 19. B1,B5.
- Editorial. 2005. "Miller should take initiative on ethics". *Toronto Star*. October 5. A22.
- Friskin, Frances. 1997. "Jurisdictional And Political Constraints on Progressive Local Initiatives." In *The Politics of the City: a Canadian Perspective*, ed. Timothy L. Thomas, 151-172. Scarborough: ITP Nelson.
- James, Royson. 2003. "Miller is best able to lead city's revival: Untried Miller worth the risk". *Toronto Star*. November 6. B1.
- Key Jr. , V.O. 1993. "Techniques of Political Graft". In *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Eds. Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Michael Johnston and Victor T. LeVine. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- . 2003. "There's a New Sheriff in Town" *Toronto Star* November 11. A1.
- Lakey, Jack. 2001. "Council Fears it has lost Control to Staff" *Toronto Star*. December 22. Pg A1

- Lowenstein, Daniel H. 1993. "Legal Efforts to Define Political Bribery" in *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Eds. Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Michael Johnston and Victor T. LeVine. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Lu, Vanessa, Paul Moloney and Gabe Gonda. 2005. "City council meets over alleged relationship; 'Concerned employee' wrote letter" *Toronto Star*. September 30. Pg.A1.
- Lu, Vanessa. 2005. "Suspended Pair invited back". *Toronto Star*. October 29. Pg A1.
- Manette, J.A. 1988. " 'A Trial in Which No One Goes to Jail': The Donald Marshall Inquiry as Hegemonic Renegotiation". *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XX no. 3.
- Mancuso, Maureen, Michael Atkinson, Andre Blais, Ian Greene, Neil Nevitte. 1998. *A Question of Ethics: Canadians Speak Out*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- McAllister, Mary Louise. 2004. *Governing Ourselves? The Politics of Canadian Communities*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Monsebraaten, Laurie. 2005. " City Hall Scandal: Pam Coburn: 'I'm collateral damage'". *Toronto Star*. September 30. A1,A7
- Nickle, David. 2005. "Toronto's top two licensing officials let go" *The Scarborough Mirror*. October 17. p.19.
- Siegel, David. 2005. "Municipal Reform in Ontario: Revolutionary Evolution" In *Municipal Reform in Canada: Reconfiguration, Re-empowerment, and Rebalancing*. Eds. Joseph Garcea and Edward C. Lesage Jr. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Spears, John. 2005. "City Advised to pay MFP \$9.65M" *Toronto Star*. September 30. B1, B5.
- with Vanessa Lu and Laurie Monsebraaten. 2005." Watchdogs need more bite: Miller". *Toronto Star*. October 4. A1.
- Tindal, Richard and Susan Nobes Tindal. 2004. *Local Government in Canada*. 6th Edition. Scarborough: Thomson Nelson.

Notes

1. Councillor Balkisoon was approached by lobbyists and those associated with MFP and told to stop trying to meddle in the leasing agreement and to stop his investigation and questioning of this matter. One of the top lobbyists was Jeff Lyons, one of the most powerful lobbyists in City Hall, and his attempts to subvert the accountability process were also looked at by the Bellamy Inquiry and recommendations regarding the regulation of such lobbyists was recommended.

2. The Bellamy Report is officially known as the Toronto Computer Leasing/Toronto External Contracts Inquiry and is available on the City of Toronto Website or in book form from City of Toronto publications. I have summarized some of the points of the inquiry that pertain to Wanda Liczyk but there is a large part of the report, especially concerning lobbyists such as Jeff Lyons and MFP's Dash Domi, within the City of Toronto government that is beyond the scope of this article.

3. The amalgamation of the city of Toronto was imposed on the city by the provincial government. While a full discussion of amalgamation is not possible to discuss all of the problems associated with amalgamation I concur with the Bellamy Report that it has contributed to the growing confusion and lack of coordination in City government.

4. Wanda Liczyk was also accused of having personal ties, albeit not as close as was the relationship with Michael Saunders, with Dash Domi of MFP Consulting who won the computer leasing contract from the City. She was in regular contact with Domi and this also appears to have caused her to make decisions inconsistent with the rules and practices of the city such as sign a “faulty” report about computer leases and again be part of decision making processes beyond her purview.