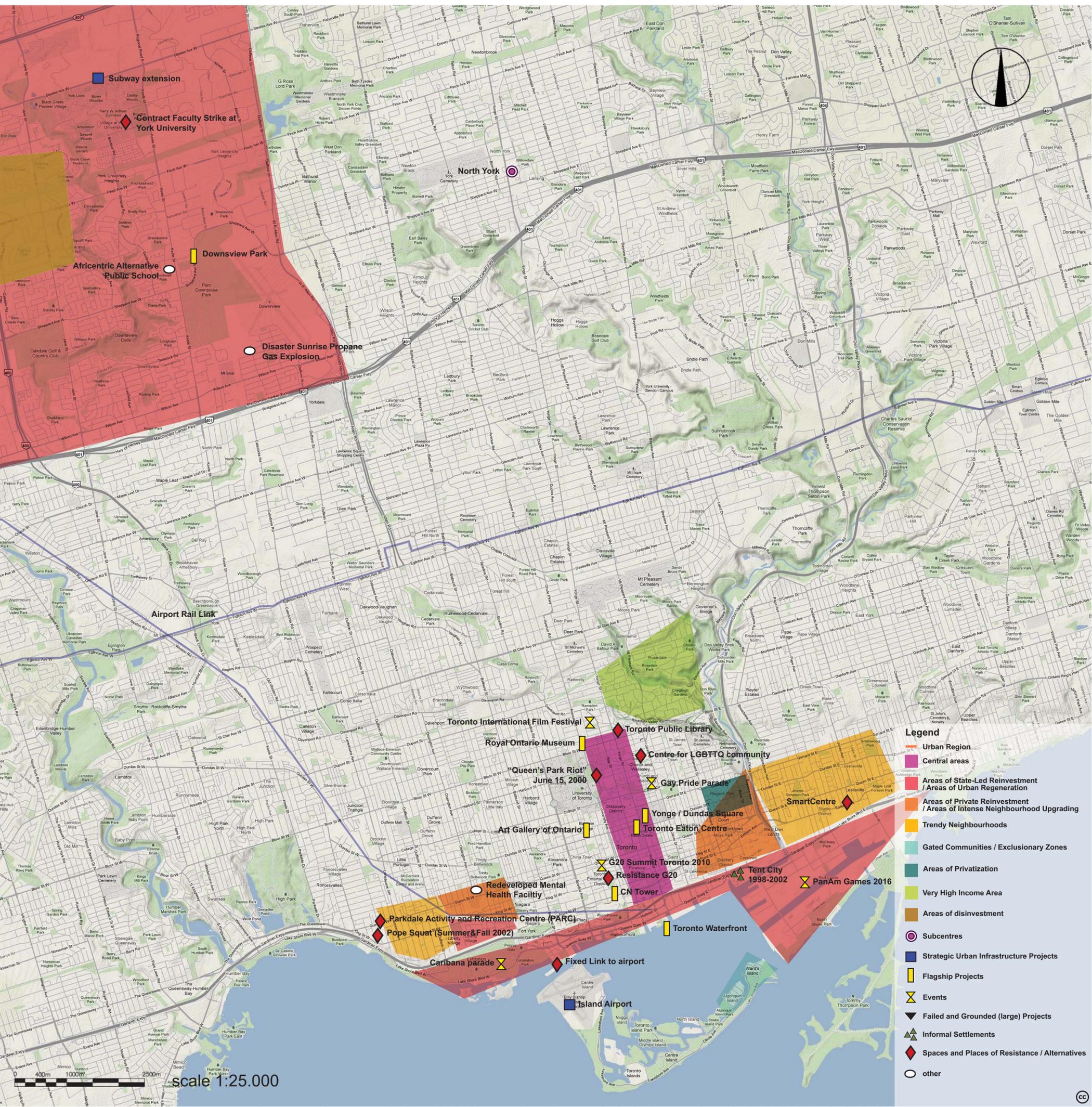


Canada 9'984'670 Km2 \* Inhabitants 34'019'000  
 Urban Region 7'124 Km2 \* Inhabitants 5'555'912



## Failed Project: Olympic Games 1996 and 2008

Purpose:	Draw the world's attention to Toronto and boost local economic development
Dimensions:	Large scale urban redevelopment imagined particularly along the de-industrialized waterfront in the east end of the city
Projects costs:	\$22,176,547 for the 2008 Olympic bid
Investors:	Public Private Partnerships



## Flagship Project: Various culture projects

Purpose:	To stimulate economic development, tourism and serve local artistic and cultural communities
Dimensions:	downtown core
Projects costs:	The city estimates that 980,655 people or 38.2 percent of the workforce are employed in the creative economy. Work in sectors as diverse as film, theatre, new media, television, design, etc. is estimated at bringing in several billion dollars a year to the urban region.
Investors:	various
Architects:	various star architects like Gehry, Alsop and Libeskind



## Event: G8/G20, June 2010

Purpose:	International policy summit
Dimensions:	global
Projects costs:	\$ 1.2 billion
Investors:	the Canadian taxpayers
Architects:	"Fencemakers Inc."



Toronto, Canada:

### Mainstreaming neoliberalism with sticks and carrots

Ahmed Allahwala, Julie-Anne Boudreau, Gene Desfor, Kanishka Goonewardena, Roger Keil, Markus Kip, Stefan Kipfer, Ute Lehrer, Marilena Liguori, Heather Mclean, Richard Milgrom, Parastou Saber, Thorben Wieditz, Douglas Young

Canada developed as a product of 'white settler colonization'. Capitalism and class formation in Canada have been strongly shaped by transformation-extermination-segregation of aboriginal peoples and by racialized labour-market and immigration policies. Embodied in the Canadian state, these historical legacies live on in number of different ways in Toronto. The metropolis was the most important nodal point in the Canadian political economy since the middle of the 20th century. It can now be understood as a global city with imperial reach (as a global centre for mining finance) and the most important and complex concentration of migrants in the country. It is also the city where 'multiculturalism' – an official Canadian state policy since 1971 – overlaps with daily realities of racialization and social inequality in the most contradictory of ways. While discourses of 'diversity' and attendant strategies of managing racialized inequality are a central aspect of Toronto's new metropolitan mainstream, they are not as novel as they might be in some other cities.

Another particularity of the new metropolitan mainstream in Canada may lie in its reversal of historical patterns of economic development discourses about cities within the national economy. On the basis of a colonial past, a mildly Keynesian federal state, after WWII, aimed to reduce intra-national uneven social development through territorial equity provisions embedded in the national welfare state. The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by a radical change in Canadian economic development. At least on a discursive level, Canadian economic development now embraces the real-and-imagined centrality of the global knowledge economy and the strategic importance of metropolitan regions as sites for the realization of innovation (nation-building through cities).

The relative unimportance of cities in early Canadian economic development can be seen as the reason why cities were not granted constitutional powers in the British North America of 1867. Cities are to this date "creatures of the provinces" and as such dependent on the political aspirations of higher levels of government within Canadian federalism, an anti-metropolitan state form. This may explain what one can see as another particularity of the new metropolitan mainstream in Canada. The political mobilization of urban actors in Canada, and Toronto in particular, has been concerned with improving the constitutional position of Canadian municipalities vis-à-vis the provincial and federal level of government (control of destiny). This push for power by public and more importantly private actors is justified using the arguments of the new metropolitan mainstream ('cities as strategic nodes in the global economy', 'cities as engines of economic growth', 'creative cities', etc.). Indeed, many actors who have been asking for "A New Deal for Cities" in Toronto since the late 1990s are key exponents of the new metropolitan mainstream. The consequent push for more power for city regions may undermine the territorial equalizing role of the federal government and thereby exacerbate the devolutionary tendencies of neoliberal state restructuring.

For research on Toronto's new metropolitan mainstream, one should take into account the figure of Jane Jacobs who died in 2006. Settling in Toronto in the late 1960s, Jacobs quickly got involved in middle-class resistance against urban renewal and the shift towards planning reform in the former City of Toronto. Ever since, Jane Jacobs has functioned as an urban icon. Her ideas and her image were used to buttress a civic tradition of urban reform - neighbourhood planning. Since the early 1990s, Jacobs approved of forms of neoliberal planning that sought to abolish zoning for the purpose of leveraging investment and building mixed-use loft and condominium districts. These planning strategies have become generalized as 'best practice' in the newly amalgamated City of Toronto. Today the name Jane Jacobs is used as much to legitimize liberal-cosmopolitan and corporate city building as to preserve 'urban villages'. The incorporation of Jacobs into strategies of competitive city building (and the nostrums of Richard Florida, another Jacobs follower and now also a resident of Toronto), may be said to be key moments in the formation of Toronto's metropolitan mainstream. Indeed, the urbanism of the metropolitan mainstream has become an export product. Planners, consultants and

architects shaped by Jacobs and Toronto reform planning in the 1970s have made names for themselves as transnational city builders from Los Angeles to London, Amman to Beijing. And key exponents of Toronto's metropolitan mainstream have tried to shape governance and politics in the Toronto urban region as a whole, through an American-style 'civic' organization (The City Summit Alliance).

Ethno-cultural diversity has become a key ingredient in Toronto's urban economic development discourse. This strategy is based on the assumption that "creativity" and "diversity" are strategic city-regional assets in the real-and-imagined battle for global economic investment and competitiveness. As a result, the management the diversity of the city's workforce has become a central building block of supply-side labour market interventions of the entrepreneurial city. The Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council, a business-driven multi-stakeholder coalition that aims to facilitate the labour market integration of skilled immigrants in the city-region, pushes this strategy. Its discourse around urban economic competitiveness, the centrality of cities in an era of globalization is firmly grounded in what could be called the new metropolitan mainstream. This new form of business-driven labour market integration of skilled immigrants breaks with earlier, legally mandated employment equity provisions to address group-specific labour market inequalities. Its focus on human capital and supply-side interventions neglects an analysis of the demand side of the labour market, in particular the increasing polarization of the labour market in the neoliberal city.

One of the main lines of division and possible future lines of integration runs between the core city (which is increasingly white and wealthy) and its old and new suburb (which are very socially mixed and often nonwhite). The spaces between these socio-spatial poles begin to matter more and more. Toronto's in-between city -- Zwischenstadt (Sieverts) -- occupies a certain centrality in urbanization today. Neither classical centre nor traditional suburb, the in-between city is home to many, perhaps most urban dwellers, and the site of many jobs; it is also the location of some of the metropolitan region's most dynamic social and environmental contradictions. Bypassed by the modernizing strategies of the "creative" inner city and the escapist outer suburbs, the in-between city poses challenges to planning but it also offers inevitable opportunities as it is more and more an image of society overall. Public and private infrastructures will reflect societal contradictions: automobile traffic and transit, gated communities and tower blocks will be part of a general and overall spectrum of metropolitan solutions to transportation and housing. The Zwischenstadt is not just the location of new normalcy (mainstream?), it is also where the catastrophe of urbanization manifests itself.

