

---

# Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver: From Commercial Metropoli to Creative and Cultural Centres

*Tom Hutton, Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay,  
David A. Wolfe, Trevor Barnes and  
Juan-Luis Klein*

Presentation to the 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the ISRN  
Toronto, May 5-7, 2010



---

# Competing Metropolitan Hubs

- Traditional dominance of Central Canada
  - Montréal commercial, financial and transportation hub
  - Proximity to New York and Boston
  - Home to largest number of corporate headquarters
  - Toronto secondary metropolis for regional economy
- Reversal of roles in the 1970s
  - Impact of nationalist politics on financial services and corporate head offices in Montréal
  - ‘Economic shadow’ effect of branch plant investments in S. Ontario economy in 1950s and 1960s →
- Toronto supplants Montreal from 1970s



---

# Divergent Industrial Pathways

- Montréal
  - Crisis of 1970s leads to strategic planning and new directions in 1980s (Saucier report)
  - Refocus on high technology industries
    - Pharmaceuticals, aerospace and ICTs
  - Increased emphasis on transition to knowledge-based economy
- Toronto
  - Growth of financial services sector
  - Gradual shift from manufacturing to knowledge-intensive services
  - Growth of the cultural-creative sector



---

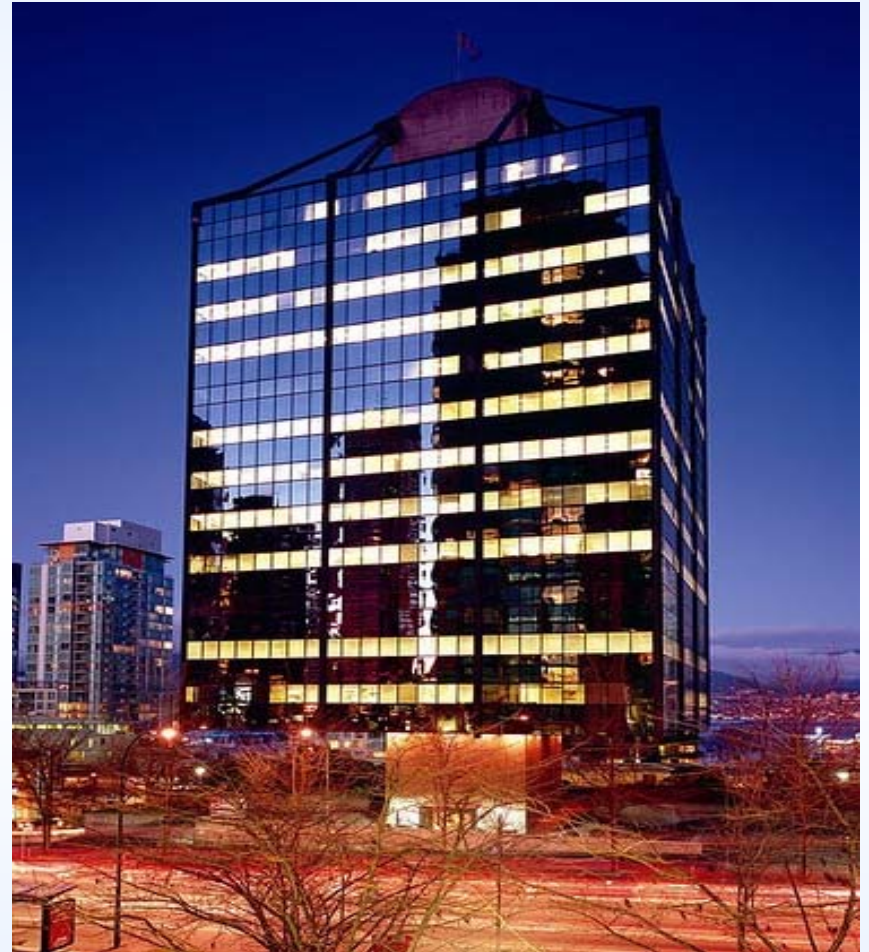
# Developmental Context: Trajectories of Urbanization & Urbanism in Vancouver, 1980s to the present

- High growth since the deep recession of the early 1980s: pressures on the land base
- Post-staples /postindustrial development trajectory
- 'Urban transnationalism' as defining trajectory: sustained high levels of immigration: emergence of SME economy
- Comprehensive social change: multiculturalism and rise of a 'new middle class' of professionals, managers, entrepreneurs – putative rise of the 'creative class'?
- Exemplary planning and local policy models: notably in the metropolitan core



# Post-corporate Vancouver

- US resource corporations leave Vancouver from the late 1970s.
- MacMillan Bloedel head office reduced from 11 floors to 1 by 1999.
- Vancouver loses 30% of head office jobs between 1999-2005.
- Conversion of head offices into condominiums.



“The Qube” formerly known as “The Westcoast Transmission Building”



---

# Innovation in the Toronto Region

- Innovation patterns vary across sectors
  - Knowledge flows primarily intra-sectoral within autos and advanced manufacturing
  - Weak links to local research infrastructure
  - SMEs rely more on in-house R&D
  - Universities primarily contribute to local talent pool
    - Weak collaborative links with firms
  - Biomedical sector relies on inputs from related industries
- Toronto's cultural-creative sector
  - Strong inputs from local sources
  - Strength of the local talent pool
  - Primarily oriented to serving local/national market
  - Strong infrastructure of supporting institutions



---

# Innovation in Montréal

- Innovation is not the exclusivity of high-tech sectors, and this is recognized in Montreal.
- An innovative society requires more than just technological change; it requires a social and cultural change + **inclusive governance**.
- Few knowledge crossovers between different sectors (+ intra sector)
- Intermediate actors play an important role in innovation processes flows and knowledge



---

# Factors and Forces Shaping Vancouver's Development

- Markets: commodity markets, capital, and property markets have shaped Vancouver's industrial structure, employment, and urban landscapes
- Global economic forces and industrial restructuring (including deep recessions as well as structural change)
- Social forces: coalitions, communities, leaders, business interests – influential since the 1960s
- Role of the state: institutions and agencies active players in shaping Vancouver's development in the postwar period: indirectly in resource boom of 1950s-1970s; increasingly important 1980s and after





---

# Role of Talent & Creativity

- Montréal
  - Ranks high in terms of creatives & bohemians
    - Extends to scientific and technical workers
  - Attracted by employment & educational opportunities
    - Limited impact of amenities and quality of place
  - Intersection of creative/cultural & design-intensive sectors
- Toronto
  - Similar pattern to Montréal
  - Growth of cultural/creative clusters
    - Cross-fertilization of fashion/design/theatre/dance & publishing



---

# Talent & Creativity in Toronto

- Toronto's quality of place helps attract, retain talent, but availability of economic opportunity is possibly more important
  - especially during economic downturn
- Character of the city most critical as talent attractor in sectors like architecture, where workers are drawn to the 'ghetto'
  - but even in this case, availability of cutting-edge employment opportunities seems to be as important as amenities, quality-of-place considerations
- Fashion: relies on talent attracted from elsewhere, but some (esp international immigrants) are attracted by factors unrelated to the local industry
  - Once here, diverse cultural economy helps retain talent



---

# Montreal and talent

- Montréal: « Small » big city (Rantisi)
  - Ranks high in terms of creatives and bohemians
    - Extends to scientific and technical workers
  - Attracted by employment & educational opportunities (Tremblay and Darchen, 2009,2010)
    - Limited impact of amenities and quality of place
- Montreal ranks above Canadian average with regards to percentage of creative, artistic ('bohemian') and technical workers
  - However, limited 'markets' may represent a constraint
- Good for incubating cultural and artistic activities, but more difficult for market

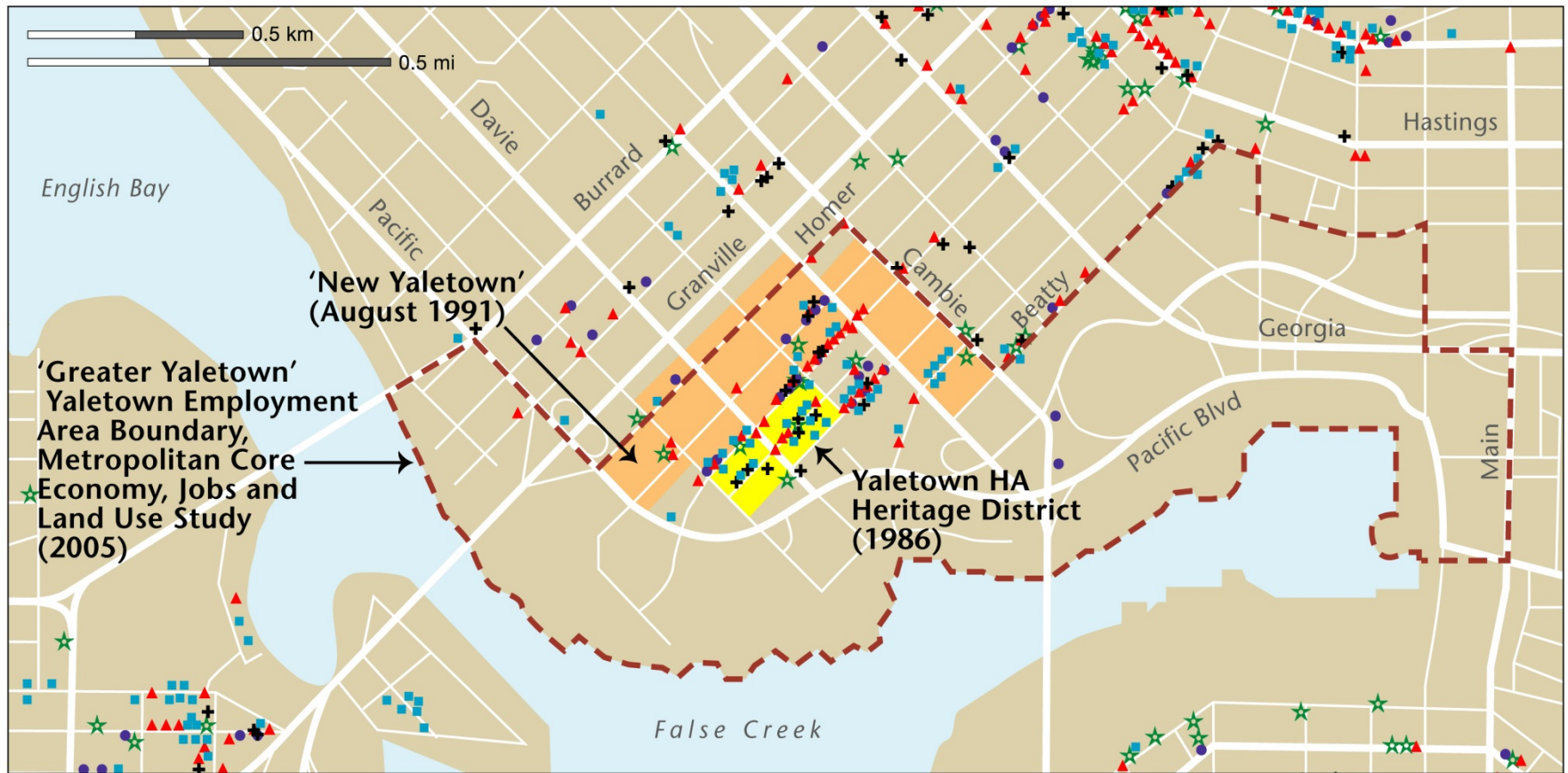


---

# Vancouver: new industry formation & the reconstruction of the metropolitan core

- Seminal influence of the Central Area Plan (1991): reordering space in the central city to privilege housing, but allowing scope for New Economy and cultural industries on the CBD Fringe and inner city
- Coincident emergence of new production spaces in the CBD fringe and inner city districts: generation of a new 'space-economy' of specialized production in the urban core
- Recasting of Vancouver's inner city as example of 'territorial innovation system' (Morgan 2004)





- |  |  |  |                             |                            |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <p>+ <b>Computer services</b><br/>         Computer graphic<br/>         Computer network<br/>         Computer applications</p> | <p>▲ <b>New media and design services</b><br/>         Multimedia<br/>         Graphic designers</p> | <p>★ <b>Technical support services</b><br/>         Commercial artists<br/>         Commercial photographers</p> | <p>● <b>Advertising</b></p> | <p>■ <b>Architects</b></p> |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|

**Yaletown as exemplar of 'territorial innovation system' (after Kevin Morgan 2004)**  
**Distribution of firms, selected industries and 'reterritorialization', for Yaletown**



---

# Montreal and governance

- Montreal in a reconversion process, based on inclusive governance: many social actors involved in economic development (CEDC, social economy organizations, associations, unions, etc.)
- They espouse the Montreal cause globally
- Provincial level actors also intervene at the metropolitan level
- Cluster strategy is more sector-oriented, but some intermediate organizations go beyond



---

# Governance and inclusiveness

- Our hypothesis is that in Montreal, the actors from civil society play a central role in the governance regime which is still in construction (Klein and Tremblay)
- They contribute to giving this regime a more inclusive character (all is not perfect, inclusion is not perfectly assured, but there is a strong preoccupation for inclusion)
- We need an inclusive governance on the social and territorial dimensions
- There is a culture of concertation which must be respected; it is sometimes questioned by some actors, but generally respected



---

# Particularities in Strategic Governance

- Highly networked nature of Montréal economy
  - Role of CDEC's, trade unions and social actors
    - Promotes integration from neighbourhood through city to regional level
  - Role of strategic planning
    - CMM Cluster Strategy
  - Impact of multilevel governance
    - Involvement of federal development agency and provincial ministries in economic development efforts
  - Integration of cultural, social and economic development agencies





---

# Strategic Governance in Toronto

- Weak integration of key actors in Toronto
  - Absence of regional governance structure
  - Civic associations exist at city level, but do not extend to city-region level
  - Competition between political and civic organizations
  - Growing integration of social, cultural and economic agenda's
  - Low degree of multilevel governance
    - Little coordination of economic development or cluster strategies between city, province & feds
  - Absence of regional development agency
    - FedDev new and untested
    - Primarily funded with existing federal allocations



---

# Role of Multilevel Governance in Vancouver's Development

- *Expansion of multilevel governance associated with:*
  - Growing complexity of policy issues: 'stretch' the policy capacity of (especially) local government
  - Multiscalar nature of development processes: global-local interactions require policy innovation
  - Expanding importance of cities in the national life
  - Need to combine resources (financial, regulatory etc.) of two or more levels of government
  - Opportunity to bring in social forces and other NGOs/CBOs



---

# Montréal : Present challenges

- Need to find an equilibrium between the metropolitan vision and the participation at the community (districts) level
- Need to bring actors together, but not to impose structures
- There are too many structures without links between them
- Universities appear to be relatively absent from the process of construction of a metropolitan governance and should probably be more involved
- Governmental bodies have difficulty defining themselves vs Montréal and work in silos
- Convergence exists between persons who share a vision of development, who have the Montreal metropolis as their scheme of reference (identity) and who transcend the limits of their organization



---

# Toronto: Current State

- Some successes
  - Growing cognitive-cultural economy, including finance & business services
  - Dense network of civic associations
    - But challenge of working across wide array of social, cultural and economic sectors – and
  - Some evidence of multilevel governance across jurisdictional scales,
  - Progressive economic development strategy at urban level
- Strong limitations
  - Lingering effects of neo-liberal amalgamation agenda
  - Competition between associational initiatives and civic government led ones
  - Limited cooperation across provincial and municipal government
    - New City of Toronto Act
  - But where are is the federal government?
    - Is FedDev the Answer?



---

# Rebranding Vancouver: from ‘ecotopian village’ to ‘transnational metropolis’

- Vancouver embedded as ‘city in nature’ – subsumed history as First Nations settlement; urban centre of ‘Cascadia’, settlement within Joel Garreau’s ‘Ecotopia’, history of resource processing, ‘metropole’ for vast resource hinterland in the postwar era
- How much of this imagery is left? Post-staples development, industrial restructuring, international immigration, Vancouver as ‘Cosmopolis’
- Winning the bid for the 2010 Olympics an amalgam of nature and culture: Multi-Level Government project interviewee:  
“we sort of went with the beautiful BC theme, sort of Bryan Adams tugging at our hearts with songs . . . something like that”

