

# **Mining Capital and the Corporatization of Public Education in Toronto**

*Building a Global City or Building a Globally Ignorant City?*

Stuart Tannock  
stannock@gmail.com  
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## Summary of Report

For the past fifteen years, the Canadian mining industry has made a sustained effort to intervene directly in public institutions of education across Canada at all levels – from elementary through post-secondary – in order to promote its own sector-based interests. This corporate project of re-education was launched in response to the growing criticism of the industry by environmentalists, indigenous communities, unions, and other civil society organizations both in Canada and around the world, for its global environmental, labour and human rights abuses. Where critics see the need for extensive changes in industry practice and improved government regulation and public oversight, industry leaders see primarily a need for better public relations programming.

This report investigates the shape and nature of mining industry corporatization of public education in Toronto, which is one of the world's primary centres for global mining finance and home to the headquarters of more mining corporations than anywhere else. Since the mid-1990s, millions of mining industry dollars have been bestowed upon Toronto's health, cultural and educational institutions. Indeed, the mining sector has played a key role in investing in and supporting the city's aspirations to become a "world-class" or "global" city of knowledge, science and culture. Today, there is not a university in Toronto that has not accepted mining industry charity, named a building or program after a mining executive, or awarded a mining executive an honorary degree. Focusing on mining industry intervention in elementary and secondary public school curriculum, in the University of Toronto, and in the Royal Ontario Museum, this report raises critical questions about the educational/PR activities of the Canadian mining industry, the ongoing corporatization of public education in Canada more generally, as well as the global city and "knowledge economy" development model currently embraced by Toronto-area leaders.

Rather than permit the mining industry (or any industry) to take the lead in reshaping our public schools, universities and cultural institutions, we should be using these institutions of public education to reshape the Canadian mining sector. Instead of taking at face value the claims of business, political, cultural and academic elites in Toronto that their global city development model is dedicated to fostering "world-class" knowledge, innovation and creativity, we should be asking always: knowledge, innovation and creativity for what, and in whose interests? If we do so, we will find that what is now promoted by mining industry executives and others in our public spaces of learning and research is often less a matter of "global excellence" in insight and understanding than it is a systematically structured form of global ignorance – that, in this case, benefits the interests of the Canadian mining sector.

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# 1. Introduction

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw a steady stream of community delegations coming to Toronto from around the world to protest the role of Canadian mining corporations in the destruction of their lands, homes and livelihoods, and the violation of their labour, civil and human rights. These delegations, mostly from indigenous communities, have come from Mexico, Ecuador, the Honduras, Guatemala, Chile, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, Australia and elsewhere, in order to demand action and redress from mining company shareholders and the Canadian government, and raise political consciousness among the Canadian public. Canadian citizens, they insist, need to pay more attention to what is being done by their own corporations in the mining sector worldwide. Toronto bears particular responsibility, they say, for it is the world's leading center for mining finance, and home to the headquarters of more mining corporations than anywhere else.<sup>1</sup> The claims of these delegations have been repeatedly backed up by Canadian and international civil society organizations, United Nations reports – and even by the Canadian government's own Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, which in 2005 acknowledged that “Canada does not yet have laws to ensure that the activities of Canadian mining companies in developing countries conform to human rights standards, including the rights of workers and of indigenous peoples.”<sup>2</sup>

There are many reasons for the lack of attention paid by many Canadians to the global malpractice of Canadian mining capital. Mining activists in Canada have pointed to the “free ride” that mining companies are often given by the Canadian media, to the strongly pro-industry orientation of the Canadian government, and to the prevalence of a general national mythology that sees Canada as being inherently a force for good in the world.<sup>3</sup> But there is another critical factor that also needs to be talked about: that is the systematic efforts by the mining industry, in direct response to a global image crisis for the sector in the early 1990s, to reshape the public education of Canadians. These efforts, which mining company executives say are “succeeding well beyond our initial expectations,”<sup>4</sup> were made possible in the case of Toronto by the convergence of two political shifts: the growing emphasis, over the last three decades, by politicians in Canada and Ontario on welcoming direct business involvement in public education at all levels; and the resurgence, in the late 1990s, of a hyperactive civic boosterism among municipal politicians, dedicated to building Toronto into an “international cultural capital” and a “global city” of knowledge, innovation and creativity.

In this report, I focus on three key sites where the mining industry has directly intervened in public education in Toronto in support of its own sectoral interests: the

development of elementary and secondary school curriculum by the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC), one of the primary lobbying bodies for the industry; the sponsorship of mineral engineering research and education at the University of Toronto by gold magnate Pierre Lassonde and a cohort of industry colleagues and corporations; and finally, the funding by a number of high-profile mining companies of mining and mineral permanent galleries and special exhibits at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). My analysis in this report of these and other mining industry educational programs is based on a small number of interviews with program leaders and industry critics, direct observations of museum exhibits and a curriculum workshop for high school teachers in training, as well as close readings of curriculum materials; institutional documents, newsletters, annual reports and press releases; and mainstream media and academic journal articles.

These examples of corporatization of public education in Toronto, I argue, raise a number of public policy questions. First, we need to ask what mining corporations are doing in our public institutions of education pursuing what is often self-identified as an industry public relations campaign. *Do we accept this as being an appropriate use of public educational space? What are the global consequences of permitting public institutions of learning to be transformed into corporatized vehicles for industry public relations?* Second, we need to ask what the public interest impacts are of the business-education partnership model that has been promoted in Canada since the mid-1980s. *Is it not inevitable that, when given the opportunity, profit-driven corporations will seek to promote ideologies and agendas that benefit their own bottom line in our universities, schools and cultural institutions – even (and perhaps especially) when these ideologies and agendas are being criticized by civil society organizations for the threat they pose to the broader and global public interest? What safeguards exist in the business-education partnership model to prevent this from happening? Who is monitoring the public good consequences of these partnerships?* Third, we need to ask what is the broader social, political and educational significance of the widely promoted “global city” development model – a model that entails harnessing public and private resources to launch centres of scientific and cultural excellence, woo the “creative class,” and grow the knowledge economy. *Is it not likely that the project of building a global city in Toronto, driven as it is by a neoliberal, corporate-led model of reform, will often involve a simultaneous project of building a globally ignorant city – through shutting down and marginalizing dissent and critique, privatizing public space, and uniting broad-based local coalitions around the promotion of the knowledge economy, in general, and spectacular urban development works, in particular?*<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Toronto: A City Built on Mining Wealth

In 2003, the City of Toronto released its *Culture Plan for the Creative City*, that was intended to guide the city's cultural development for the next ten years. Recognizing that "great cities of the world are all Creative Cities whose citizens work with ideas," the Plan "called for Toronto to use its arts, culture and heritage assets to position itself as a Creative City, a global cultural capital."<sup>6</sup> The centerpiece of the Culture Plan was the development of a "spectacular Cultural Corridor," an "Avenue of the Arts" along University Avenue in the downtown core, that would link a series of major new and refurbished cultural institutions (the opera house, art gallery, museum, etc.), as well as the "Discovery District:" a two and a half square kilometre "centre of innovation," anchored by the major teaching hospitals, the University of Toronto and other research institutions, and promoted as "Canada's largest concentration of scientific research."<sup>7</sup> The Culture Plan, the Avenue of the Arts and the Discovery District are all key components of a project that has been promoted by business, political, academic and cultural elites since the late 1990s to "aggressively" position Toronto as a "world creative city," and jump headlong into the future by embracing the new, creative, knowledge economy.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the breathless portrayals of Toronto as a future-oriented city whose wealth is generated locally by a new economy of knowledge and ideas, a tour through the heart of the city's Cultural Corridor and Discovery District reveals an awful lot of wealth that in fact has been drawn from an "old economy" based on national and global resource extraction – including wealth drawn from mining. Starting with Toronto's sparkling new Opera House, we find that global mining conglomerate Xstrata is the name sponsor of the Canadian Opera Company's Ensemble Studio school tour. Moving north, we see two brilliantly coloured, multi-storey banners on the Toronto General Hospital promoting the Peter Munk Cardiac Centre – named after the Chairman and founder of Barrick Gold, the world's largest gold company. Around the corner is the McEwen Centre for Regenerative Medicine, housed in the new MaRS Centre Medical Discovery Tower, and named for gold magnate and principal donor Rob McEwen. Along the road, we find the Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program at the University of Toronto – named after another gold magnate, Pierre Lassonde – and north from here, we come to the Munk Centre for International Relations, also at the University of Toronto and also named after Barrick Gold's Peter Munk. Topping it all off at the northern-most end of the Cultural Corridor is the Royal Ontario Museum, with its brand new Michael Lee-Chin Crystal – an edifice modelled on the structure of a mineral formation – spilling out onto the street below. Indeed, the ROM has become ground zero for mining philanthropy in the city, now housing the Teck Cominco Suite of

Galleries of the Earth's Treasures, the Vale Inco Limited Gallery of Minerals, the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame, the Munk Debates, and from Fall 2008 through Spring 2009, the De Beers Nature of Diamonds special exhibition.

In many respects, this prevalence of mining wealth in Toronto is nothing new. Historians attribute the initial rise of the city from regional to national metropolitan status within Canada at the beginning of the twentieth-century to Toronto's dominance over the financing and development of mining projects on the Canadian Shield, and its extraction of wealth from rich gold and silver deposits at places such as Cobalt, Porcupine and Kirkland Lake in the Ontario hinterland. "The roots of Toronto's status as a world centre in mining finance," wrote Donald Kerr in the 1960s, "may be traced back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" and especially "the establishment of two small mining exchanges in Toronto in 1895."<sup>9</sup> "The successive opulent suburbs of Toronto," historian J.M.S. Careless observed during the same period, "spell out a veritable progression of northern mining booms."<sup>10</sup> The patterns of metropolitan domination, regional exploitation and massive mineral wealth extraction that today extend out from Toronto in webs that span the entire globe are essentially just the extension of parallel relationships of internal colonization that were set up regionally within the province of Ontario more than a century ago.<sup>11</sup>

The most recent wave of spreading mining wealth around Toronto began in the mid-1990s and had its roots in the convergence of three political forces. To begin with was the realization by mining executives around the world that their industry faced a global crisis of legitimacy, caused by a series of major ecological disasters involving open pit mines, tailings ponds and mine waste dumping, by the growing political influence of the environmental movement, and by the collective, organized resistance of indigenous communities, whose lands are home to many of the world's active and potential mining areas. Every year from 1991 to 2000, writes mining critic Al Gedicks, "a major mine tailings containment ... collapsed somewhere in the world."<sup>12</sup> In many instances, the companies responsible were Canadian. In 1989, mining giant Rio Tinto was forced to withdraw from its Bougainville copper mine in Papua New Guinea by a local armed rebellion; and in 1995, a global indigenous-labour-environmentalist campaign against Rio Tinto was launched.<sup>13</sup> Both the Bougainville rebellion and the Rio Tinto campaign would become emblems and models for subsequent organizing efforts. By the late 1990s, the Chairman of Rio Tinto, Sir Robert Wilson, was warning his fellow executives that "a pressing concern for the mining and metals industry is the need to overcome poor public perceptions of our industry's performance in relation to the environment, and our consequent growing vulnerability to increased regulation based not on scientific analysis but popular prejudice."<sup>14</sup> "From a mining company perspective," says Canada's Pierre Lassonde, "the world is actually shrinking. The minute you go into a developing country the NGOs are making life a lot more difficult."<sup>15</sup> The response of the mining industry to this crisis was to launch an extensive public relations campaign aimed at rehabilitating their industry's image. This has involved holding "stakeholder" dialogues with environmentalist, community and indigenous groups, promoting voluntary "corporate social responsibility" codes,

engaging in political lobbying and philanthropy, and directly intervening to (re)educate the general public, through both the media and via institutions of public education.<sup>16</sup>

When mining corporations and executives began looking around Toronto for ways to use their massive amounts of capital in service of their industry's sectoral interests, they found a wealth of opportunity. First, politicians and education administrators across Canada were well on their way along a decades-long shift of placing ever increasing emphasis on direct industry participation in institutions of public education at all levels, and redirecting the driving goals of public education toward serving private, market-based interests. From the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s, Canada saw the formation of a series of institutions, initiatives and policies dedicated to creating alliances between schools and universities, the private sector and the state: for example, the Corporate Higher Education Forum (founded in 1983) and the Conference Board of Canada's National Business and Education Centre (founded in 1990).<sup>17</sup> Second, the project of building Toronto as a global creative city, which was just taking off at this time, was likewise based on a model of building public/private partnerships. All of the massive infrastructure projects of Toronto's "Cultural Renaissance" relied on extensive private sector support.<sup>18</sup> This was the dawn of a "new golden age" of philanthropy,<sup>19</sup> and in such a setting it was easy for mining industry executives to join the show, without anybody asking too difficult questions about the larger social, political or environmental contexts in which their wealth had been generated initially, or in which it was being given away now.

Thus, since 1995, millions of mining industry dollars have been bestowed upon Toronto cultural, educational and health institutions. In 1995, Seymour Schulich (Franco-Nevada and Newmont Mining) gave \$15 million to York University to create the Schulich School of Business; he has since given the School a further \$12 million. In 1996, Schulich's business partner Pierre Lassonde gave \$5 million (and raised a further \$20 million from industry sources) to the University of Toronto to found the Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program and Lassonde Institute for Engineering Geoscience. Also in 1996, Barrick Gold's Peter Munk gave \$6.4 million to the University of Toronto to create the Munk Centre for International Relations, and \$6 million to the Toronto General Hospital to create the Peter Munk Cardiac Centre; in 2006, he gave the Centre for International Relations a further \$5 million and the Cardiac Centre a further \$37 million. In 2003, Rob McEwen (Goldcorp and US Gold) gave the University Health Network \$10 million to establish the McEwen Centre for Regenerative Medicine; in 2006, he donated another \$10 million. In 2007, Teck Cominco gave the Royal Ontario Museum \$10 million, which was the largest corporate donation in the museum's history; while Xstrata became a major corporate sponsor of the Canadian Opera Company. In 2008, De Beers Canada sponsored the Nature of Diamonds exhibit at the ROM; while Peter Munk founded the Munk Debates (also at the ROM), and created a new Global Mining Studies Centre at the Toronto offices of the Fraser Institute.<sup>20</sup>

The spreading around of philanthropic wealth, at the most general level, provides a way to whitewash dirty money, secure local goodwill and political support, and discourage dissent and critique.<sup>21</sup> As mining activist Sakura Saunders notes, for

example, while Barrick Gold is criticized throughout the world for environmental and human rights abuses – to the degree that the Norwegian government barred Barrick from its pension fund investment plan for ethical reasons in early 2009 – in Toronto, the company’s Chairman, Peter Munk, is “honored as a philanthropist” for his local good works. Indeed, in December 2008, Munk was even awarded the Order of Canada, the country’s highest civilian honor.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, Rob McEwen – formerly the CEO of Goldcorp and currently CEO of US Gold – is lauded by the University Health Network in Toronto as “a man of vision” and a “caring, committed philanthropist” with a “profound respect for life and health.”<sup>23</sup> Little does it seem to matter to these creative economy visionaries that McEwen’s wealth, from which they themselves are benefiting, is based in part on a history of union busting in northern Ontario during the late 1990s. In 1996, McEwen and Goldcorp provoked a four year strike – the longest in Canadian mining history – at the Red Lake Mine, which is one of the richest gold mines in the world. Since defeating the union strike in April 2000, Goldcorp and its subcontractors have been fined repeatedly under Ontario’s *Occupational Health and Safety Act* for providing unsafe working conditions that have led to the death and critical injury of Red Lake mineworkers.<sup>24</sup> Despite the importance of these and other such examples, however, mining philanthropy in Toronto works in a far more directed fashion than simply covering over malpractice and indirectly manufacturing generalized goodwill.

### **3. *Mining Matters* and the Ontario Curriculum**

The *Mining Matters* education program that was established in 1994 by the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC), is a non-profit charitable organization that is “committed to educating young Canadians about mining’s importance to our quality of life.”<sup>25</sup> Inspired by a similar program that was launched in British Columbia in 1990, *Mining Matters* was motivated by PDAC’s concern over the industry’s “poor record of public relations” and inability to “get its message across especially in competition with a media-savvy environmental movement.”<sup>26</sup> *Mining Matters* does not just seek to recruit future workers for the mining sector, but also aims to reach children who might “some day become our politicians and have to make informed decisions about the many issues that will affect our industry.”<sup>27</sup> Initially, *Mining Matters* targeted schools and students in Toronto and Ottawa, “where it was felt there was least understanding of the mining industry.”<sup>28</sup> As the program has grown, though, it has spread throughout the province and country. Recently, it has targeted Indigenous youth in the north of Ontario, where, in the context of the new diamonds and minerals rush of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, industry executives have been alarmed by the assertion of some First Nations communities of their right to say no to mining on their traditional lands, and their insistence on the principle of free and fully informed prior community consent before any mining activity whatsoever is allowed to take place.<sup>29</sup>

#### *School Commercialism in Canada*

School commercialism or corporatization (the terms are used interchangeably in this report), in Canada as elsewhere, is not a new phenomenon. In one form or another, it has arguably been around for as long as schools have existed, with surges of direct business involvement and influence in public education corresponding to periods of capital’s strength in society generally.<sup>30</sup> The current neoliberal phase began in Canada during the mid-1980s, as national business groups – including the Conference Board of Canada, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and the Business Council on National Issues – started to take an increased interest in shaping Canadian education in service of their own agendas.<sup>31</sup> This industry interest was paralleled by political shifts at both the provincial and federal levels to push for closer business involvement in public education, so as to make education more “relevant,” efficient and better positioned to spur the emergence of a highly competitive world-class knowledge economy. In the mid-1990s, for example, Minister of Education John Snobelen in the Harris government in Ontario, called for “the cultivation of innovative partnerships

between schools and their communities,” clarifying that “when I use that term ‘community partners’ I’m speaking of business.”<sup>32</sup>

While much public, media and academic attention to school commercialism has focused on the issues of advertising, marketing and the selling of brand-name products and logos in schools, far more challenging to deal with is the selling of corporate and industry agendas, ideologies, viewpoints and values to children and youth. This type of school commercialism – what education writer Heather Jane-Robertson refers to as the attempt to “build mind-share as well as market-share”<sup>33</sup> – can occur at three different levels: corporations and industry groups may create educational materials for use by individual teachers in the classroom, and seek to reach these teachers through school boards, professional organizations, teacher unions, faculties of education or informal teacher networks; corporations may set up direct partnerships with local schools or school districts; or corporations may seek to influence education policy – including the setting of core curriculum guidelines – at the provincial and federal levels, directly or through industry groups or non-profit thinktanks and foundations that they create and sponsor.<sup>34</sup>

### *Mining Matters and the Junior Miner of Ontario Competition*

The PDAC *Mining Matters* program – which won a Partnership Focus Award in 1997 from the Conference Board of Canada for its work with schools<sup>35</sup> – generally does not seek to sell brand-name products or corporate logos to students. Indeed, in a personal interview, one of the *Mining Matters* curriculum developers and trainers said that, as a mother, she would object to her child’s school being plastered with corporate logos and advertisements. Instead, the goal of *Mining Matters* is to sell students a positive image of an industry that for decades has been the centre of conflict and controversy over its environmental, labour and human rights violations and abuses.

Research on the corporatization of K-12 schooling has found that industry sponsored curriculum in public education can range from blatantly manipulative and commercial materials to curriculum that is “crafted to work with and alongside the school, ... slip in under the radar, or be justified with the ‘good outweighing the bad’ – or even be considered part of the new corporate social responsibility approach.”<sup>36</sup> In this regard, *Mining Matters* runs the full spectrum, capable of being at turns blatant and subtle in its approach to student “education.” For example, *Mining Matters* runs a Junior Miner of Ontario competition that asks elementary school students to “make a poster or write a composition, essay, poem, story or article describing why the Earth’s rock and mineral treasures are important in our daily lives.” Winners of the contest are awarded cash prizes that currently range from \$50 to \$150 (although in some previous years, winners were rewarded with shares in Barrick Gold).<sup>37</sup> “If your teacher hasn’t told your class about this fun way to learn and win,” *Mining Matters* tells students on its website, “you could mention it!”<sup>38</sup>

In 2001, a Grade 7 student from the Toronto suburb of Thornhill won the Junior Miner competition over 120 other entries for her poem, “Why We Need Minerals.” The poem reads in part:

Minerals are very important to our lives  
In kitchens, bathrooms, and bedrooms  
Quartz watches, and steel knives  
Are made up of minerals....

Look at the buildings on a street  
Minerals are needed to make them  
Skyscrapers, houses, messy and neat  
Are dependent on mines to exist....

Imagine if all these things were suddenly gone  
You couldn't listen to the radio  
And you wouldn't have a sprinkler for your lawn  
No one could call you, because your phone wouldn't work....

The Stone Age, Copper Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age  
Would have gone to waste  
Mining improves many things, and lets us type a page  
We use minerals every day<sup>39</sup>

The mining industry is right to argue that it is important to raise student consciousness of where commodities come from, and how their consumption is dependent upon natural resource extraction. But the structure of the Junior Miner contest cuts off the next crucial step of asking students to reflect on the broader social, economic, political and environmental consequences of their own resource use. In a context in which the past and present negative impacts of mining on communities, environments and economies around the world is widely documented, such a move is irresponsible. What *Mining Matters* is basically doing with the Junior Miner competition is to use financial bribery to appropriate public school space and turn students into PR hacks writing ad copy and cheerleading slogans about why the mining industry – contrary to what environmentalists and others might claim – is good for us.<sup>40</sup>

### *Mining Matters Earth Science Curriculum Kits*

The curriculum units produced by *Mining Matters* to teach earth science in Grade 4 (“Deeper and Deeper”), Grade 7 (“The Earth’s Crust”) and Grades 11 and 12 (“Discovering Diamonds”) are, on the other hand, far more subtle in their effects. In designing these kits – which come with lesson plans, mineral and rock samples, testing equipment, maps, posters, photographs, books, videos, card games and fact sheets – *Mining Matters* went out of their way to ensure they were not producing slick, “public-relations-type” corporate material. They insisted that the units be developed by teachers themselves, not industry outsiders, and thus hired teachers to do the job for

them. They made sure the units were tied closely to Ontario curriculum expectations, and they provided training workshops and follow up support services to help teachers learn how best to use the materials in the classroom.<sup>41</sup> The curriculum units are not just focused on mining, but teach about rocks and minerals, fossils, soil, erosion, Canadian geology, plate tectonics, geothermal energy and so on; they engage in hands-on activities with actual rock, mineral and soil samples; they use debate, role-play and problem-solving scenarios; and in many respects, they are similar to other earth science curriculum modules produced by non-industry groups. They cannot simply be written off as one-dimensional propaganda vehicles.

Nonetheless, *Mining Matters* curricula remain industry documents that support the program's openly stated commitment to getting children and youth to see the world from a mining industry viewpoint. First, the central pedagogical device in much of this curriculum is to put students in the shoes of the mining sector. In the Grade 4 "Deeper and Deeper" unit, students dig up a small plot of earth, use it in their class activities, and then return it to where they found it at the end of the module. Likewise, in the Grade 11 and 12 "Discovering Diamonds" unit, students take on the role of mining prospectors searching for diamonds in the Canadian north. Second, the mining industry is portrayed in all of these units as a model social actor, a paragon of virtue and pillar of responsibility. To guide students in replacing the earth they have dug up in the Grade 4 curriculum, two before and after photos of model mine restoration projects are presented: *let the mining industry show you the way!*<sup>42</sup> There is no discussion of the abysmal, real world state of affairs of monitoring, managing and enforcing the rehabilitation of mines in Canada or elsewhere around the world, or of the 10,000 abandoned mines that litter the Canadian landscape today – or, for that matter, of the responsibility that one of PDAC's own past presidents, Viola MacMillan, shares in helping to create what was one of the worst environmental disasters in Ontario history at the abandoned Kam Kotia mine near Timmins.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, while *Mining Matters* curricula include other perspectives and supposedly open debates about mining development, these tend to be spun in a way that clearly favors a mining industry perspective. *Mining Matters'* Grade 7 unit, for example, concludes with a role play and debate about whether a nickel mine should be developed near the fictitious town of Wakima in northern Ontario. In this scenario, students are asked to perform one of a number of industry, government and community roles, based on information provided by the curriculum designers. The mine developer, Trillium Mines, is introduced as having an "excellent reclamation plan," a strong commitment to keeping emissions to industry and government standards, as well as a program to provide targeted training and employment to members of a First Nations community living in the area.<sup>44</sup> The Ontario Ministry of the Environment's role is to make sure that the company's environmental plan is strong (but students have already been told that it is excellent). The Ministry of Northern Development and Mines is also involved, and students are told its job is to "assist Trillium Mines with advancing their mining project," because the Ministry is "concerned with the economic development and well being of communities."<sup>45</sup> There is no discussion here of the resource curse or Dutch disease, or the many ways in which

mining may often *not* be good for economic or community development: no reference, for example, to why the city of Sudbury, which has been a leading producer of nickel in northern Ontario for decades, “fares very poorly on most measures of individual and community well-being.”<sup>46</sup> The “Economic Development Commission of Wakima” and the “Concerned Citizens for Progress” both support the mine, in the name of increased jobs and investment, but seek to leverage maximum economic benefit for the town.<sup>47</sup> This leaves the “Life Without a Mine is Just Fine Committee” – who are concerned about the environment, quality of life, property values and effects of a mine on tourism – and the “First Nations Cultural Protection Committee” – who are worried about increased pollution, the mine’s impact on subsistence hunting, and job opportunities – as the minority “voice” of potential opposition to mining development.<sup>48</sup> However, since we have already been told that the mine developer’s plan is excellent or good in all regards, and that, so far as we know, Trillium Mines has a spotless track record in the past, it is not clear that these groups have anything substantial to worry about either. In terms of the principle of fully informed prior consent, students are provided in the Wakima scenario with strikingly little information about the details of the mining proposal on which to base their opinions – and indeed, the developer has already spent four years prospecting and planning its mine before approaching the community for their consent anyways.<sup>49</sup> There is no discussion of the ethical, environmental and political problems associated with the “free entry” principle of Ontario’s Mining Act.<sup>50</sup> Nor is there any conflict between the developer and indigenous land claims – as there usually are in the province – for in the Wakima scenario, the First Nations community is represented as living on a reserve that is clearly distinct from the mine site. The activity ends with an open ballot on whether the mine should be allowed to proceed, based on the principle of one person, one vote, with no individual or group allowed more influence than any other, and with final say resting with the community: a nice portrayal of participatory democracy in theory perhaps, but hardly one the Canadian mining industry has tended to observe in reality, whether in Ontario or anywhere else in the world.

### *Revising the Ontario Science Curriculum*

*Mining Matters* curriculum units have reached 400,000 teachers and students since 1994.<sup>51</sup> But the program’s influence extends beyond just sponsoring curriculum packages. *Mining Matters* has taken an active interest in shaping the core expectations of the Ontario school curriculum itself, and has worked at developing close relationships with the Ontario Ministry of Education. When a proposed new draft of the Ontario science curriculum was released for comment in 2008, *Mining Matters* “assembled a team of technical reviewers from government, industry, academia, and education to review the curriculum and submit suggested revisions.” According to *Mining Matters*, “70 per cent of the team’s suggestions were partially or fully incorporated into the new curriculum.”<sup>52</sup> It is striking to look at some of the mining-related changes made between the old and the new science curricula. In the old curriculum, for example, the overview for the Grade 4 “Rocks, Minerals, and Erosion” unit consisted of a single introductory paragraph:

The study of rocks and minerals introduces students to geology. By examining different types of rocks and minerals found in the earth's crust, students will learn about their characteristics and properties. They will also discover that rocks and minerals are useful for many things and that their characteristics help to determine their use. Through an examination of the processes of erosion, transportation, and deposition, students will develop an understanding of the changing landscape and of the ways in which wind, water, and ice reshape it. The examination of these processes will lead to an exploration of the ways in which humans can both prevent changes to the landscape and adapt to these changes.<sup>53</sup>

In the new curriculum, this paragraph has been modified slightly and shortened, while an entirely new second paragraph has been added:

Because rocks and minerals are such an integral part of our lives, it may be hard for students in Grade 4 to see the issues clearly. It would be very easy for their viewpoint to be skewed as they come to realize the impacts associated with just one person's yearly use of these natural resources (including impacts from mining, manufacturing, use, and disposal). Therefore, it is critical that they be given opportunities to look at these issues from the standpoint of all stakeholders: mining companies, communities where the mines are located, manufacturers, those who are dependent on the natural environment, and people who benefit from the use of the products – the students and their families. In communities where mining or related manufacturing processes provide the livelihood for parents of many students, teachers must be sensitive to the feelings of all students when discussing the costs and benefits of using everyday objects and products made from rocks and minerals.<sup>54</sup>

The Ontario government, in other words, is warning teachers against being too critical of the mining sector in their classrooms, or taking too strong an environmentalist framework, and is demanding that they highlight the perspectives of mining companies as well as the benefits of mining products for a consumerist society. The government could have chosen to voice any number of other warnings about the risks involved in teaching this particular subject matter: *Because we live in a white settler colonialist state, it may be hard for students in Grade 4 to see clearly the continuities between past forms of colonization and today's encroachment by the mining sector on the lands of Indigenous peoples.* Or: *Because we live in a corporate-dominated, market-driven society, it may be hard for students in Grade 4 to develop strong and clear critical analyses of the many problems inherent in standard industry practice in today's mining sector.* But in a government that has made it clear for the last two decades that it is committed to embracing business perspectives and partnerships in Ontario schools and curriculum – in the name of promoting a cutting-edge, globally competitive knowledge economy in the province<sup>55</sup> – it is, of course, not a big surprise that among these and other possible points of view, it is the business-motivated warning that prevails.

## *The Embedded Nature of School Corporatization*

*Mining Matters* is an industry-initiated, industry-run, industry-identified program.<sup>56</sup> It is headquartered in the PDAC office in Toronto, and has been supported with hundreds of thousands of dollars in funding over the years from PDAC as well as mining corporations such as Barrick, Teck Cominco, Placer Dome, Inco, Noranda, Falconbridge and De Beers Canada. But the program is not just an industry operation, for it has extensive ties with the state, academia, and professional organizations in the field. The Ontario government funds and supports *Mining Matters* directly, through the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, the Ministry of Research and Innovation, and the Ministry of Energy, Science and Technology;<sup>57</sup> its Ministry of Education also collaborates with the program, as seen above, on curriculum issues. The Ontario Science Centre and the Royal Ontario Museum are both *Mining Matters* partners. Universities across the province have close ties with the program; and for several years, *Mining Matters* was housed in the Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program at the University of Toronto, where its director was on the faculty (on secondment from PDAC), and where Lassonde university students assisted with its curriculum production.<sup>58</sup> Canadian professional groups of earth scientists work collaboratively with PDAC and its *Mining Matters* program in their efforts to promote earth science education at the elementary and secondary levels.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, EdGEO, which is the Canadian Federation of Earth Sciences body for supporting training workshops on earth science for Canadian teachers, is itself directed by the same individuals who run *Mining Matters*.<sup>60</sup> The extent of this embeddedness makes it difficult for a teacher, student or parent who might have concerns about the perspectives promoted by *Mining Matters* curriculum to know where to turn. There are good sources of critical information in the province, both about industry intervention in public education in general, and about the mining sector in particular: for example, the teachers' and mineworkers' unions, MiningWatch Canada, and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. But none of these have the resources that industry and the state have for shaping, monitoring and controlling how science and other subjects are taught in schools in Toronto or anywhere else in the province. When corporatization has spread throughout the state and all levels of public education, it becomes increasingly difficult, as philosopher Arthur Schafer argues, to know who the public can trust to provide an independent source of information, opinion and critical analysis that is committed to the service of the broader public good, and not private, market-based, corporate-dominated interests.<sup>61</sup>

## 4. Gold Diggers in the University

The Campaign for the University of Toronto, when first planned in 1994, initially set out to raise \$300 million in private sector donations for the campus. But, writes university historian Martin Friedland:

by the time the campaign was publicly launched in the fall of 1997, most of the \$300 million had been raised. The goal was reset at \$400 million, and later raised to \$575 million. When [university president Robert] Prichard left office at the end of June 2000, the official tally was \$705 million.<sup>62</sup>

By January 2004, the campaign had secured over \$1 billion in private sector money, making it far and away the largest fundraising effort in the history of Canadian higher education. The number of privately endowed chairs on campus soared from 15 to 175 in this period. “Our billion-dollar milestone sets a foundation for U of T’s ambition to rank among the world’s best,” said Robert Birgeneau, Prichard’s successor.<sup>63</sup> The fundraising feeding frenzy was not to stop there, however. “While we celebrate our success,” Birgeneau warned, “we must remain focused on our goal to become unequivocally one of the world’s leading public teaching and research universities.... The future of the University of Toronto is simply too important to our city, our province and our country.”<sup>64</sup>

### *The Rise of the Corporate Campus in Canada*

The University of Toronto fundraising campaign through the 1990s was one of the more prominent manifestations of a shift of universities in Canada and elsewhere around the world away from a clearly defined public sphere of post-secondary learning and research toward a model in which private and especially corporate interests take an increasingly direct role in shaping the nature and purpose of higher education work. As former U of T Vice President and Chief Advancement Officer Jon Dellandrea once explained, university fundraising is “not really about ‘fundraising’ at all.... The business we’re in is the business of making connections between the academic aspirations of the university and the dreams and aspirations of our best friends.”<sup>65</sup> This broad shift, which has been widely documented in Canada through conferences, articles and books (such as *The University Means Business*, *Universities for Sale*, *The Corporate Campus*, *The Exchange University*, *Universities at Risk*), has led to the rise of the corporate campus we are familiar with today: where programs, buildings and classrooms are named after corporate donors, halls are filled with corporate logos and advertisements, university

administrations adopt corporate values, practices, structure and language, teaching and research is shaped and often governed by business interests and partnerships, and campuses attempt to capture commercial profits through licensing and patenting agreements, spin-off companies and joint industry-university technology parks.<sup>66</sup>

Popular accounts of the rise of the corporate university commonly tell a story of public funding for higher education drying up and thereby providing an opening for corporations to use their wealth to harness university campuses to their own ends. But as Janice Newson and others have pointed out, federal and provincial governments in Canada as well as university administrations have played an active and vigorous role in promoting direct business involvement in higher education. Federal funding programs for university research (such as the Networks of Centres of Excellence, or the Canada Foundation for Innovation) often *require* faculty to solicit funding and participation from private industry partners.<sup>67</sup> Further, the focus on money in the corporate campus has a tendency to take on a life of its own: the corporatization of the university is not just a matter of accepting industry funding to replace public money lost to state budget cuts. Rather, in what some critics have called the “market-model university,” the goal of building up endowment funds and profit-generating capacity becomes the dominant priority, as the very worth of disciplines and departments, individual faculty members and students, and university campuses as a whole are increasingly judged in terms of how much cash they can help university administrations amass.<sup>68</sup>

Not surprisingly, then, programs seen as having good commercial potential (engineering, natural and health sciences) attract support across Canadian universities, while the social sciences and humanities receive inferior levels of investment. The federal government’s Canada research chairs program, for example, allocates 45% of its funding to the natural sciences and engineering, 35% to health, and 20% to the social sciences and humanities.<sup>69</sup> When the social sciences and humanities do receive new investment, it is typically to tie them more closely to a business-centred agenda. Thus, while the corporatization of the university has been widely contested in Canada since its beginnings, the very departments which traditionally have been most likely to provide alternative and critical social, political and moral analyses and visions are precisely the ones to be given the least support. Conflicts over the corporate campus continue to erupt across Canada, but over time the process of corporatization has become normalized: that which might once have been shocking is all too often now taken for granted by many faculty and students as a fact of life on the ground. “Prior to the 1990s,” writes Newson, “policy makers, university administrators and faculty members ... tended to either deny or down-play the idea that universities were being transformed by a ‘corporate agenda.’ But by the mid 1990s, not only were there visible signs on university campuses of a growing corporate presence but also, public policy statements and university publications of all kinds unapologetically and without qualifications adopted the language and conception of universities as businesses.”<sup>70</sup>

## *The Munk Centre for International Relations*

At the University of Toronto, the massive infusion of private capital to a public university over a short period of time that came with the administration's high profile fundraising campaign inevitably raised intense concern and debate over the broader political, social, moral and educational implications – and indeed, the university was soon hit with a number of fundraising-related scandals and crises.<sup>71</sup> One of the earliest and largest of these erupted in 1997 over the donation from Barrick Gold's Peter Munk that had been made the year before to create the Munk Centre for International Relations. Freedom of Information requests from the student newspaper, *The Varsity*, and the faculty association found that the university's contract with Munk stipulated that the Council on International Studies set up to oversee the Centre was required to "establish and maintain cooperation with Barrick Gold's international advisory board and be receptive to its assistance and resources."<sup>72</sup> Munk also retained the right to withdraw funding if dissatisfied with the Centre's progress. This put him in a position, Faculty Association President William Graham argued, "to exert enormous influence over the teaching and research activities of the Centre. What ... might happen to an untenured faculty member of the Centre who spoke out in ways perceived as contrary to the interests of ... Barrick Gold?"<sup>73</sup> Latin American studies faculty asked why the university was embracing a man who had been a vocal supporter of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, and whose mining-based wealth – from which the university itself was now benefiting – was amassed in part with the support of the Pinochet dictatorship.<sup>74</sup> The controversy led to an organized faculty walk-out at a university awards ceremony, and student demonstrations with the chant, "Robert Prichard, bought and sold/We don't work for Barrick Gold." The administration sought at first to shut down critique and dissent, but it was eventually forced to backtrack and revise the original Munk contract.<sup>75</sup>

In subsequent years, the Munk Centre has operated, for the most part, without much public controversy over its relationship with its name donor. In February 2008, after the student group, AlwaysQuestion, put posters up around campus accusing Munk and Barrick Gold of human rights, labour and environmental violations, senior administration officials ordered custodial staff to tear the posters down for being possibly defamatory. The move was highly irregular and indicative of the university's willingness to engage in censorship of criticism of important campus patrons, if and when students and faculty neglect to self-censor themselves.<sup>76</sup> Student activist groups have also criticized Munk Centre founding Executive Director, Marketa Evans, for using her university position to promote agendas of interest to Barrick Gold and the mining sector generally.<sup>77</sup> In March 2007, for example, Evans spoke on a panel of mining executives at a conference in Belgrade, co-hosted by the Munk Centre and Dundee Precious Metals, on "Business Opportunities for Canadians in the Western Balkans."<sup>78</sup> In September 2007, she spoke on a panel hosted by Barrick Gold's law firm to promote voluntary codes of corporate social responsibility – in a context where civil society groups were pushing strongly for the creation of mandatory codes to regulate Canadian corporate behavior in the global mining sector.<sup>79</sup>

Probably the most blatant and egregious example of corporate abuse to date at the Munk Centre, though, has been the willingness of the University of Toronto to allow itself to be used by Peter Munk as a personal bargaining chip in support of his non-mining-related business venture of developing a yachting resort for the super rich in Tivat, Montenegro.<sup>80</sup> In January 2007, the Government of Montenegro reported that Prime Minister Zeljko Sturanovic had met with Munk to discuss his business interests in Tivat, as well as “the cooperation project between the Universities of Montenegro and Toronto, emphasizing the importance of such cooperation, particularly when it comes to awarding scholarships to a number of Montenegrin students for studies in Canada, as well as visits to Montenegro by students and professors from the University of Toronto.”<sup>81</sup> The Canada-Montenegro Education Initiative, hosted by the Munk Centre, was launched that same month in Podgorica with Munk, the Montenegrin Minister of Education, and the Munk Centre’s Robert Austin.<sup>82</sup> In May 2007, the Munk Centre organized an annual workshop in Tivat on “Montenegro/Southeastern Europe and the Challenges of Globalization.”<sup>83</sup> In the fall of 2007, Munk took possession of the site in Tivat he would use for his resort development.<sup>84</sup>

### *The Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program*

At the same time that Munk was creating the Munk Centre, another gold magnate, Pierre Lassonde, was also contributing a multi-million dollar donation to the University of Toronto to set up the Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program and the Lassonde Institute of Engineering Geoscience. Ironically, while the Lassonde Program has not received a fraction of the critical public attention that has been paid to the Munk Centre, it arguably has brought a far greater and more direct industry presence onto the University of Toronto campus than the Munk Centre ever has. The Lassonde Program is openly and transparently an institution of industry, by industry and for industry: it is a classic example of what John Polanyi warns about when arguing that the corporatization of higher education is leading us to a point at which “we don’t have universities any more, but outlying branches of industry.”<sup>85</sup> While Munk used his millions to support an academic need that the University of Toronto had itself already identified, Lassonde used the University of Toronto to house a program that served an industry need that he (and other industry colleagues) had already identified: securing trained workers, technological resources and engineering research that might otherwise be directed to other industrial sectors or broader public purposes.<sup>86</sup> He chose Toronto as the site for his donation not at the request of university officials, but because it “houses more mining company headquarters than any other city in the world,” and thus has sufficient “critical mass” to support his industry-driven educational vision.<sup>87</sup> As business journalist Shelley Pannill Stein reports:

For the University of Toronto’s vice president and chief advancement officer, Jon Dellandrea, [Lassonde’s] offer came from out of nowhere. The university was accustomed to making decisions about its own academic priorities.... That is why Dellandrea warned Robert Prichard, the university’s president at the time, against letting even a friendly philanthropist with deep pockets set any kind of academic

agenda. Dellandrea thought the university should simply recruit philanthropists who wanted to sign on to specific projects. ‘We really shouldn’t have donors telling us what to do,’ Dellandrea recalls saying.<sup>88</sup>

At the time of Lassonde’s gift, the University of Toronto had not had a separate or distinct mining program since the 1960s. Not only did it not have any active plans for re-creating such a program, but it had actually been intending to shut down its mining-related division of geological engineering in the early 1990s.<sup>89</sup> Lassonde contributed \$5 million of his own money and helped to raise a further \$20 million from other industry sources – including Barrick Gold, Teck Cominco, Newmont Mining, Placer Dome, Inco, Aber Diamond, as well as the oil industry-based Keck Foundation (where former Falconbridge CEO and President Marsh Cooper was a director and adviser) – to create several endowed faculty chairs, high-tech state-of-the art research laboratories, and a helping of well-funded student bursaries and fellowships.<sup>90</sup>

The Lassonde Mineral Engineering Program is a four-year undergraduate program that prepares students for careers in mining and related occupations. It promotes itself not as a university program, but rather as a “partnership between the mining industry and the university” and boasts of having some of the closest industry ties of any mining engineering program in the world.<sup>91</sup> Most courses in the Program are taught by industry executives, curriculum is developed “in consultation with industry experts,” student extra-curricular activities are industry sponsored, and the Program as a whole is guided by a joint industry-university Advisory Board.<sup>92</sup> The stated aim of the Program “is to nurture the immediate need of the [mining] industry both short and long term.” Student education is subordinate to this aim. Indeed, the Lassonde Program vision statement does not even refer to “students” but instead talks of the “personnel” that it seeks to provide for the Canadian mining industry.<sup>93</sup> Like most engineering programs, the Lassonde Program states that the core “educational outcomes” for graduates of the Program include the ability to understand and assess the environmental, social, cultural, political and legal impacts of mining engineering work.<sup>94</sup> But the overall curriculum, as well as individual course syllabi, indicate that these outcomes – which the Program refers to as the “critical non-technical aspects of rock engineering projects” – are addressed, for the most part, in cursory fashion.<sup>95</sup> When they are addressed, they are presented through the filter of mining industry eyes, as they are taught by industry-based lecturers.<sup>96</sup> The primary concern of the Lassonde Program is not with such critical issues. Its principal focus, as it tells industry clients and sponsors, is “to ensure graduating students have a world-class education in mineral and geological engineering which embraces not only the technical aspects of the industry, but also the financial business side.”<sup>97</sup>

The challenge of providing students with a broad-based and critical education in the global, economic, environmental and social contexts of engineering work, and inculcating in students a deep commitment to and understanding of “social responsibility,” is one with which all engineering programs have long struggled.<sup>98</sup> “Clearly, at least one message coming from those in the highest and most respected positions in our profession has not changed a great deal in 100 years,” writes

engineering professor Kathryn Jablokow: “Engineers must know more than engineering in order to be good engineers. Equally clearly, a large number of engineers must remain unconvinced, or there would be little need to repeat the message with such urgency at those same high levels of influence.”<sup>99</sup> There are numerous cultural, political and even simply logistical obstacles that have to be overcome in order to incorporate in a meaningful way non-technical subjects – drawn from the humanities and social sciences – in what has always been a technically-oriented field of practice.<sup>100</sup> It would be false to suggest that any failures or shortcomings in this area are particular to the Lassonde Program, or in general, to engineering programs with extensive industry presence. Nonetheless, there are at least two obvious reasons for questioning whether the Lassonde Program and the University of Toronto are, in fact, fully committed to vigorously promoting such a broader vision of critical, socially, culturally and politically informed mining engineering education.

First, there is the role that Pierre Lassonde himself plays in the Lassonde Program. The relationship between Lassonde and his program is not just one of naming or being awarded an honorary degree for good works on campus – though the University of Toronto has done both of these things.<sup>101</sup> Lassonde not only came up with the basic vision for the Lassonde Program (with the collaboration of other Toronto-based industry colleagues), but he has continued to play a mentoring role for the Program ever since its creation. He has helped to secure other industry support for the Program, he sits on the Program’s Advisory Board, and he has taught a course, that Program faculty expect him to teach again in future years, on “Entrepreneurship and Mining” as part of the Program’s curriculum.<sup>102</sup> Lassonde also retained the right, through the first several years of the Program’s existence, to reclaim his donation (with interest) should funds be “subjugated to other engineering causes” than mining.<sup>103</sup> Even in the best of circumstances, we might question the appropriateness of allowing a private donor to have such influence over the shape of education and research in a public university. But in the case of Lassonde, there are more specific causes for alarm. Through his financial investments and executive positions with Franco-Nevada, Newmont Mining, as well as New Gold, Metallica Resources and Peak Gold (which merged, with Lassonde’s own guidance, under the New Gold name in 2008),<sup>104</sup> Lassonde has direct involvement in a series of highly problematic and controversial mining ventures that have been widely criticized for their environmental and human rights violations and threats, and that in no way can be considered examples of best practice in the industry. These include Newmont’s Yanacocha mine in Peru and Minahasa Raya mine in Indonesia; the Metallica Resources/New Gold Cerro San Pedro mine in Mexico; and the proposed Gabriel Resources Rosia Montana mine in Romania.<sup>105</sup> The Cerro San Pedro mine, for example, has operated in violation of local law and court order, and in the face of extensive opposition from local community, human rights and environmental groups; the company’s own environmental impact assessment acknowledges the mine will cause significant social and environmental harm.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, Cerro San Pedro is one of the many communities that have sent delegations to Toronto in recent years to plead with Canadians to pay more attention and take action to control and regulate the rogue Canadian mining corporations that are currently wreaking a “path of destruction” across the entire planet.<sup>107</sup>

Lassonde, further, has shown great concern with using philanthropy to serve mining industry public relations interests. For example, when Vancouver-based mining financier Frank Giustra joined forces with former US President Bill Clinton to create the global anti-poverty *Clinton Giustra Sustainable Growth Initiative* – as one part of a widely questioned series of deals that also saw Giustra secure a lucrative uranium mining contract for himself in Kazakhstan, allegedly with Clinton’s assistance – Lassonde’s analysis was the following: “What I find absolutely genius in the move here is that what [Giustra] has done is he has got Bill Clinton to more or less be the spokesman for resource development. That is momentous.”<sup>108</sup> Lassonde, finally, has consistently exhibited hostility to critics of the mining industry and a disregard for the concerns and arguments of the environmental movement – arguments he has tended to meet with derision and denial. Lassonde claims, for example, that “every study that has been done at Buyat Bay” in Indonesia, where the Minahasa Raya mine used submarine tailings disposal (a practice that is illegal in Canada), “none of them ever found any pollution. Period.”<sup>109</sup> He claims that opposition to the proposed Rosia Montana mine in Romania is based on the work of foreign agents using misinformation and disinformation.<sup>110</sup> Overall, he claims that opposition to mining companies in developing countries arises because there you are “working with a population that generally does not understand what mining is all about.”<sup>111</sup> Lassonde suggests that concern over the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska is exaggerated and misplaced.<sup>112</sup> He tells jokes about those who raise concern over the poisonous quality of cyanide; and when asked by a journalist for his response to the widespread criticism of Newmont Mining’s environmental track record, said: “We’ll never be Mother Teresa. We’re in the mining business. We move mountains. We crack rocks.”<sup>113</sup> Environmental groups, according to Lassonde, are interested mostly in “myth making;” they are motivated primarily by financial self-interest (“Make no mistake, these organizations are businesses.... That’s what it’s all about, money”); and they are “like two-year-old kids. All they can say is, ‘no.’”<sup>114</sup>

A second reason for questioning the commitment of the Lassonde Program and the University of Toronto to promoting a broad-based, critical, socially and politically informed model of mining engineering education has to do with the timing and manner in which the Program was set up in the late 1990s. This was a moment at which the mining industry was universally acknowledged, by insiders and critics alike, to be in a state of crisis, confronted by a series of serious environmental, social, cultural, political and development problems. There are good reasons, as critics of the corporatization of higher education argue, not to turn public universities over to direct and extensive industry influence and control under any circumstances. But surely, if there ever were a context in which such corporatization would be highly inadvisable, it would be precisely in such a time of crisis and extended concern over entrenched industry malpractice. This would seem to be an occasion when a leading public institution of education and research, such as the University of Toronto – whose mission statement commits it to a vision of “radical, critical teaching,” to raising “deeply disturbing questions and provocative challenges to ... cherished beliefs,” to the “vigilant protection for individual human rights, and a resolute commitment to the principles of equal opportunity, equity and justice”<sup>115</sup> – should step forward to draw on its

resources, expertise and authority in order to develop an innovative and critical “Mining in Society” or “Mining in the World” program, that could address the full spectrum of technical, but also social, cultural, political, environmental and development issues that mining work involves. This never happened. Not one of the nine endowed chairs created in affiliation with the Lassonde Program to date has gone to a professor who could bring a critical, social sciences or liberal arts perspective on mining; and no faculty members outside of engineering or geoscience have been involved in creating or guiding the Program.<sup>116</sup> Research support, likewise, has been concentrated on technical engineering investigations that are of primary interest to mining companies – and not, for example, communities that have been adversely impacted by mining. While industry outsiders to the university have been involved in creating and running the Lassonde Program, the many civil society organizations in Canada that have extensive experience acting as industry watchdogs and critics have not. It is possible for a student to graduate from the Lassonde Program without taking a single course that is dedicated to addressing, comprehensively, critically and from a non-industry viewpoint, the overall environmental, social, cultural, political and development contexts of mining. One likely contributing factor that led to this narrowness of programmatic vision is that the University of Toronto never had a plan for re-developing a mining program on campus before Pierre Lassonde showed up with his millions in pocket. The University’s focus, after all, had not been on how best to address the global problems caused by the Canadian mining sector. Its focus, rather, was on how to grow its endowment fund in the fastest way possible.

### *The University of Toronto at Bulyanhulu*

What are the entirely predictable consequences of this absence of public education leadership? The second issue of the Lassonde Program newsletter in the winter of 2005 offers an illustration. Several Lassonde faculty members conduct engineering research in some of the most controversial and problematic mining sites in the world – such as the Porgera mine in Papua New Guinea and the Bulyanhulu mine in Tanzania, both operated by the Barrick Gold Corporation.<sup>117</sup> In the summer of 2004, a third year Lassonde student did his summer fieldwork placement at a University of Toronto tailings research project at the Bulyanhulu mine, and recommended the site to his fellow students as an excellent place to work because of the “weather, people, culture and peaceful environment.” The student’s recommendation was reported in the Lassonde newsletter without critique, as a way to promote the benefits of studying in the Lassonde Program.<sup>118</sup> The Bulyanhulu gold mine is widely recognized as being a problematic mining venture: for years, Tanzanian human rights groups have protested the history of human rights abuses at the mine, including forced evictions and displacement, arrests and imprisonment, property loss and economic harm, violations of Tanzanian law, and allegedly, the killing of artisanal miners.<sup>119</sup> To this day, the conflict remains unresolved – and in the summer of 2004, it was very much alive. In November of that year, for example, a coalition of 29 civil society organizations from across the African continent named Bulyanhulu as one of the “most controversial and contested [extractive industry] projects in Africa.”<sup>120</sup> There are ethical questions about

whether the University of Toronto should even be sending its undergraduate students to such a site: that a student from what claims to be one of the world's top universities could visit the site and publicly praise its "peaceful environment" is shocking.

We need to retrace the steps of how a University of Toronto undergraduate student came to be working with Barrick Gold at Bulyanhulu in the first place. On a campus where there was no real student or faculty demand for mining education, a wealthy gold magnate shows up out of the blue to use his millions to create a mining engineering program. Rich student fellowships are used to help pull students into the program. A Toronto-based youth marketing company – Youthography, which advertises itself as "North America's only full service research and marketing communications agency dedicated exclusively to youth. We eat, sleep and breath young and youthful culture like no other shop on the continent" – is hired to run student focus groups, design a flashy brochure and website, as well as develop recruitment pitches at Ontario high schools to attract more students.<sup>121</sup> Enrollment sky-rockets.<sup>122</sup> Education in the program is industry-driven, focusing on technical engineering and business considerations. Only cursory attention at best is paid to the broader social, cultural, political, environmental and development problems associated with the Canadian mining industry worldwide. A student is sent to work on a university research project with Barrick at Bulyanhulu and praises the "peaceful environment" at the site. Is this really what global excellence in Canadian higher education should look like?

## 5. Renaissance at the ROM

Like the University of Toronto, the neighboring Royal Ontario Museum saw the turn of the twenty-first century usher in an era of unprecedented private fundraising activity, eye-catching development projects and expansive claims of its own global excellence and importance. The Renaissance ROM Campaign, according to the ROM, is “one of the largest museum projects in the world” and “the most successful cultural campaign in Canada,” having raised over \$270 million between 2002 and 2009.<sup>123</sup> ROM Director and CEO William Thorsell claims the new ROM is “creating the most radical re-imagination of architecture, function and public space in Toronto” since the mid-1960s. In a society that has become “segmented” and “particularized,” the ROM offers a “new Agora” or “Commons” that can bring the entire world together under one roof: for the new ROM sees itself as a “universal museum” and a “mindful museum.”<sup>124</sup> After its grand re-opening in the summer of 2007 – following an extensive renovation project – the ROM self-declared that it was now “firmly established as an essential civic social gathering space, a provincial cultural landmark and an international Museum of the first rank.”<sup>125</sup>

### *Cultural Renaissance in Toronto*

The Renaissance ROM Campaign is just one component of a broader, self-titled “Cultural Renaissance” in the City of Toronto as a whole. Influenced by the work of US academic Richard Florida on the “creative class” and “creative economy,” political and business elites in Toronto have for the past decade placed culture at the centre of their development strategies. Cultural industries in the city are seen as important economic sectors in their own right; but more importantly, they are considered to be pivotal to efforts to brand the city as a world-class or global city that has the status and allure to attract and retain the world’s “best and brightest” high-skilled workers, who will lead the way in developing other economic sectors in the region as well.<sup>126</sup>

In 1998, the newly amalgamated City of Toronto created a Culture Division that was charged with the task of identifying and developing the cultural communities and creative industries that could “give Toronto a competitive advantage in the global marketplace.”<sup>127</sup> In 2002, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Ontario Premier Ernie Eves announced a joint federal-provincial investment of \$233 million in cultural infrastructure in Toronto, in order to “support Toronto’s position as a modern, world-class city,” and “ensure that the Greater Toronto Area remains a magnet for tourism and investment.”<sup>128</sup> The funding package was targeted at seven cultural institutions:

the ROM, Art Gallery of Ontario, Canadian Opera Company, National Ballet School, Royal Conservatory of Music, George Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, and Roy Thomson Hall. In 2003, the City of Toronto released its *Culture Plan for the Creative City*, to guide the city's cultural development for the next ten years. In 2007, the city secured what some saw as its greatest coup of all: Richard Florida himself was lured from the United States to become Director of the Martin Prosperity Institute at the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto. In August and again in October, Toronto's political and business elites – including the Mayor, Premier of Ontario, ministers and MPs, bank executives, labour leaders, and top university administrators – gathered to welcome Florida to the city.<sup>129</sup>

Toronto's Cultural Renaissance shares many of the same characteristics as the business-education partnership model now embraced by many Canadian schools and universities. Public funding is used primarily as leverage to attract larger pools of private capital investment, and itself amounts to only 35-40% of the money needed for Toronto's large-scale cultural infrastructure projects. In fact, this neoliberal model of relying heavily on private donors to support public artworks is relatively new in Canada – and the social, political and ethical implications for the substance and content of arts and culture in the country has yet to be fully realized.<sup>130</sup> Further, culture – like knowledge, science and education – is deployed as a big-tent umbrella that can unite all groups in the city (who can be *against* any of these things, at least in the abstract?), while obscuring and erasing uncomfortable and inconvenient conflicts, inequalities and injustices. "Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the creative city agenda is the wide network of support it enjoys," writes Toronto-based commentator John Grundy: "The creative city appears to have something for everybody.... The bitter struggles between these different [business, community, labour, arts] interests that characterized the neoliberal austerity of the nineties dissolves in the feel good future-speak of creative city advocates. For the Creative Cities Project Team: getting creative floats all boats."<sup>131</sup>

### *The Nature of Diamonds Special Exhibition*

At the ROM – just like at the University of Toronto – "getting creative," however, floats some boats a lot better than others. Renaissance-era fundraising and expansion at the museum has provided mining companies with a golden opportunity for industry self-promotion and public relations activity. In October 2008, the ROM launched its "Season of Gems" with the opening of the *Nature of Diamonds* special exhibition, billed as "the most wide-ranging exhibition ever developed on the allure of diamonds."<sup>132</sup> Sponsored prominently by De Beers Canada, which had just recently opened its first two diamond mines outside of Africa in the Canadian North, the exhibit was a celebration of "beauty and bling," an entirely non-critical propaganda puff piece for De Beers, diamonds and the nascent Canadian diamond industry.<sup>133</sup> Cecil Rhodes, for example, the founder of De Beers, was portrayed by the exhibition as an "ambitious achiever" who spent his life "creating" Rhodesia, then leaving his fortune to Oxford University, where he funded the Rhodes Scholarships: there was no mention of Rhodes' brutal role in extending British imperial rule and economic exploitation across

southern Africa at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>134</sup> De Beers, likewise, was presented as a model social citizen and outstanding philanthropist, locked in full and mutual embrace with the ROM administration. “We are proud to be associated with the ROM,” says De Beers Canada CEO Jim Gowans. “We are enjoying our relationship with De Beers Canada,” the ROM’s William Thorsell echoes in kind.<sup>135</sup> There was no discussion here of the connections between the wealth of De Beers and its parent corporation, Anglo American, and the South African apartheid regime under whose rule diamonds were mined by De Beers for decades; no discussion either of the extensive history of corporate malpractice at De Beers such as the anti-trust violations that for years made it impossible for De Beers executives to travel freely in the United States until they finally pled guilty to price fixing charges in 2004.<sup>136</sup>

A nine-minute video, *Crystal Clear: Diamonds from Canada’s North*, that is part of the *Nature of Diamonds* show, tells the story of how Canada went from producing no diamonds at the start of the 1990s to becoming a “diamond superpower” by 2003, producing 15% of the world’s natural diamonds and ranking third behind only Botswana and Russia. The video offers speaking parts to mining industry executives only (namely Charles Fipke, the founder and co-owner of the Ekati diamond mine, Eira Thomas and Matt Manson of Stornoway Diamond, and Jim Gowans of De Beers Canada). It presents a tale of great feats of discovery, engineering and production that unfolds against a backdrop of the Canadian North that is portrayed by the video’s narrative and imagery as an empty, unpopulated landscape completely open for the taking. The First Nations peoples who have lived in the region for centuries – and who are supposedly signatory partners to all of the diamond mines in northern Ontario and the Northwest Territories – are made completely invisible. In the ROM, these communities are present only in a segregated “Canada: First Peoples Gallery” one floor up, apparently irrelevant to the story of Canada’s contemporary diamond rush (although De Beers is, in fact, a named sponsor of the ROM First Peoples Gallery). The socially, culturally and environmentally destructive legacies of previous mining booms in the Canadian North have no place in the story told here.<sup>137</sup> Viewers of the “crystal clear” video and visitors to the *Nature of Diamonds* exhibition in general are left with little ability to understand how and why conflicts are already starting to break out between First Nations communities and the diamond mining industry in the north of Ontario.<sup>138</sup> Of the approximately sixty information boards that make up the *Nature of Diamonds* exhibit, only one (“Restoring a Tarnished Image”) takes a look at some of the more problematic aspects of the diamond mining industry. This board, however, which discusses the history of “conflict diamonds” or “blood diamonds” in Africa, assures visitors that Canada’s diamonds are entirely “conflict-free:” indeed, they are even given a special, laser-inscribed “CanadaMark” to prove it.<sup>139</sup>

### *The Teck Galleries of the Earth’s Treasures & the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame*

In December 2008, the ROM opened the second major exhibit of its Season of Gems, the newly renovated permanent Teck Cominco Suite of Galleries of the Earth’s Treasures, including the Vale Inco Limited Gallery of Minerals and the Canadian Mining

Hall of Fame. Two years previously, the ROM had received the largest corporate gift in its history, a \$10 million donation from Teck Cominco to create the Teck Galleries, as well as a Teck Cominco Endowed Chair in Mineralogy and Teck Digital Education Module in Earth Sciences. Other mining companies have also contributed to the ROM mineral galleries, including Vale Inco, Barrick Gold, Battle Mountain, Falconbridge, Goldcorp and Inmet. Teck Cominco has close ties with ROM leadership: Teck President and CEO Donald Lindsay sits on the ROM Board of Governors, while Teck Directors Warren Seyffert and Jack McOuat are Honorary Trustee and Heritage Governor at the ROM respectively. For Teck Cominco, the ROM gift was seen as a way “to educate children, there’s 250,000 a year that visit [the ROM], on the value of mining and metals and what they mean to their lifestyle.”<sup>140</sup> ROM CEO William Thorsell, for his part, praised Teck as a generous and “great corporate citizen” – a characterization that may come as a surprise to groups such as Teck’s copper mineworkers in Chile, who say they are provided with considerably inferior working conditions to those enjoyed by Teck’s unionized mineworkers at home in Canada, or to the indigenous residents of the Columbia River basin in the US, who have battled with Teck for years over upstream pollution from its lead and zinc smelter in Trail, British Columbia.<sup>141</sup>

In the Teck Galleries display cases of gems and minerals, social, cultural, political, historical and ecological contexts are, for the most part, missing entirely – with the notable exception of the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame. The Hall of Fame is an industry-created and run institution dedicated to celebrating the heroes of the Canadian mining sector. Founded in 1988, the Hall had no permanent home until the late 1990s, when, as part of the deal that Pierre Lassonde made with the University of Toronto, it was moved to the Mining Building on the downtown University of Toronto campus.<sup>142</sup> The subsequent move to the ROM in 2008 was widely applauded by Hall officials as a major coup. “By virtue of Teck Cominco’s generous donation to the ROM,” said Hall of Fame Chair Donald Worth, “the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame will soon be in a much better position to assist with the education of the visiting public on the contribution of mining to society.”<sup>143</sup> For a public institution such as the ROM, housing the Mining Hall of Fame raises serious ethical, educational and even constitutional concerns. There is, first, the question of how individuals are selected into the Hall of Fame. This is not done by museum curators but by a twelve member Board of Directors who are selected by mining industry groups: the Mining Association of Canada, Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada, Canadian Institute of Mining, Metallurgy and Petroleum, and industry magazine *The Northern Miner*. Decisions made by the board are considered to be final.<sup>144</sup>

There is also the matter of who is selected into the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame. In January 2009, to take just one example, the first round of new inductions took place since the Hall had moved into its new home at the ROM. One of the 2009 inductees was Roman Shklanka. What is Shklanka’s claim to fame? From 1969 to 1990, Shklanka worked for Placer Dome, a company (now owned by Barrick Gold) that has been widely condemned for the “atrocious legacy” of social, economic and environmental destruction it left behind at its mines at Misima and Porgera in Papua New Guinea and Marinduque in the Philippines.<sup>145</sup> Shklanka was personally involved in

opening up the Porgera mine – as well as the Omai mine in Guyana, which later was the site of an infamous cyanide spill that poisoned all of the main river system in the country. In 1990, Shklanka left Placer Dome to head up Sutton Resources, where he played a central role in opening up the Tanzanian mining sector to Canadian mining capital, seizing the Bulyanhulu mine for Sutton Resources (later taken over by Barrick Gold), displacing tens of thousands of artisanal miners, and expropriating the lion's share of Tanzanian mining-based wealth back home to Canada.<sup>146</sup> In his 2009 Hall of Fame acceptance speech, Shklanka told his appreciative audience a colourful story of his shortest and most exciting experience of mining “negotiations:”

As an exploration geologist, Shklanka certainly had his share of close calls. In his acceptance speech, Shklanka recalled flying into Ecuador to check some newly noted gold occurrences in an area that had been invaded by thousands of artisanal miners. ‘As soon as our helicopter departed, the artisans built a fire on the helicopter pad so that the chopper could not return,’ Shklanka recalled. ‘They told us we had to leave the mountain as they had arrived – that is by foot.... To encourage our quick departure, they started pelting us with stones and spears.’<sup>147</sup>

Ecuador is a country that in 2008 issued a temporary moratorium on all large-scale mining exploration over concerns of the sector's social, economic and environmental impacts. In fact, in March 2009, a community delegation from the valley of Intag in Ecuador travelled to Toronto to file a lawsuit against Canadian mining company Copper Mesa and the Toronto Stock Exchange for financing years of violent threats and attacks against local farmers and community leaders who opposed the development of a large open-pit copper mine in their region that would lead to community displacement and environmental devastation.<sup>148</sup> The new Renaissance ROM, then, far from being a “universal museum” or a “mindful museum,” is instead a metropolitan museum that takes a decidedly partisan position in alliance with Canadian mining capital. What is more, the ROM uses its curatorial exhibits to block and obscure awareness and understanding of the socially, economically and environmentally destructive global actions of the Canadian mining industry it celebrates.

### *A Universal Museum or an Imperial Museum?*

Critical scholarship on the sociology of museums as cultural institutions argues that there are historical, cultural and structural reasons not to expect museums to ever be sites for critical reflection and learning. Museums “were born during the Age of Imperialism,” writes anthropologist Michael Ames, “often served and benefited capitalism, and continue to be instruments of the ruling classes and corporate powers.” The mandate of museums to preserve leads to an inherent conservatism and there is “a general expectation, both in and outside of museums, ... that they should be uplifting and emphasize the positive sides of history.” Dependent upon corporate philanthropy and tourist dollars, museums tend to opt “for programs and exhibitions that are more entertaining and revenue-producing than reflective and disputatious.”<sup>149</sup>

This argument is no doubt quite accurate. Nevertheless, the ROM makes a sustained effort to identify itself not just as a site for tourist entertainment but serious education. The ROM is “one of Canada’s largest extra-curricular educators,” and more than 150,000 students visit the museum each year from 4000 schools. The ROM has a partnership with the Toronto District School Board, and runs teacher nights, school visits, Ontario curriculum-keyed educational programs and bursary funds to enable visits from low income students.<sup>150</sup> Mining corporations are highly conscious of this school outreach, and it is precisely why they support the ROM. But the ROM cannot have it both ways. Either it is a site for metropolitan elite entertainment, where “business tycoons” and “ladies from the social set” gather to attend Peter Munk’s Munk debates, and dine on foie gras, lobster, caviar, black truffles, champagne and cocktails as part of a “Diamond Tea” the museum’s C5 restaurant created to go along with the *Nature of Diamonds* special exhibition.<sup>151</sup> Or the museum takes seriously its role as an institution of public education, in which case it must be held accountable for promoting not a soft-padded menu of corporate-sponsored global ignorance, but critical engagement with the full spectrum of issues that are associated with mining or any other human activity in the world.

In 1989, the ROM faced one of the biggest crises of its history, when its special exhibition, *Into the Heart of Africa*, that curators had intended to be a critical and reflexive examination of the history of European imperialism, “aroused outrage and accusations of racism from black individuals and organizations in Toronto.”<sup>152</sup> For weeks in the spring and summer of 1990, the ROM – dubbed the “Racist Ontario Museum” by protestors – was picketed by the local community-based Coalition for the Truth about Africa.<sup>153</sup> Twenty years on, the ROM seems to have become worse, not better. Rather than offer a critical representation of colonialism and imperialism in the past (no matter how problematically this was done), it now offers a completely non-critical and celebratory representation of what many see as a contemporary form of neo-colonialism and imperialism associated with the global activities of Canadian mining corporations – and the Canadian government that supports them.<sup>154</sup> Today, however, there are no street protests outside the museum doors, no public condemnation or critique. There is only the sound of polite applause as ROM CEO William Thorsell delivers his vision of the new ROM at the aptly-named Empire Club in Toronto, celebrating the museum’s “capacity to astonish,” instill “wonder and pleasure,” and achieve “resonance” with the “whole city, even as the whole city evolves.”<sup>155</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

In Toronto, as anywhere else, political struggle is locally focused. The injustices and inequalities that get paid most attention are those that show up within the city boundaries; and demands for resources, justice and inclusion are framed, first and foremost, at the city level. In large part, this local focus is precisely what is needed to promote a broader agenda of global justice, equality and solidarity. The struggle to reclaim our schools, universities and civic spaces and defend a public over a corporate model of education has consequences not just locally but worldwide. The embrace of business-driven partnerships by the state and institutions of public education over the past few decades left the door wide open for mining corporations to walk straight in and promote their own interests, in the context of a global sectoral crisis the nature of which many Toronto teachers, professors, curators and students may never have fully recognized to begin with.

However, it is not just the hegemony of corporate over public models of education that has enabled mining capital's self-interest in Toronto: it is also the ways in which the very definition of the "public" in Toronto has been defined by and tied to the interests and projects of a wealthy, privileged and powerful metropolitan urban centre. There is a strong parallelism between the claims of mining executives – so many of whom are either based in Toronto or come to the city to raise capital for their global mining ventures – that what is good for them is good for the rest of the world, and the claims of a broad political, business, academic, cultural and labour regime in the city that what is good for Toronto must *de facto* be good for the rest of the province, country and world as well. Toronto is often referred to by local leaders as a key "engine" of the provincial, national and global economy. Toronto's "ability to generate wealth," the Mayor's Economic Competitiveness Advisory Committee argues, "is critical to the future prosperity of all Canadians.... For the sake of Canada's continued prosperity, we cannot afford to let Toronto's economic performance continue to slide."<sup>156</sup> "We must ... reverse the perception that investing in Toronto only benefits Toronto," insists the City of Toronto's recent *Creative City Planning Framework*.<sup>157</sup> These are versions of the "golden goose" argument that geographer Doreen Massey has described in the context of London, England: "Instead of the concentration [of wealth and resources in London] being an element in the production and reproduction of inter-regional inequality, it is taken as given and then interpreted as a source of London's largesse to the nation as a whole.... The existence of great wealth in one part of the country is understood as being ... beneficial to those who do not have it."<sup>158</sup>

There is not a university in Toronto that has not accepted mining industry charity, named a building or program after a mining executive, or awarded a mining executive an honorary degree. Most of Toronto's major hospitals and cultural institutions have likewise taken full advantage of the mining sector's millions. The city's status as a world centre for mining finance attracts major conventions and gatherings of scientists, engineers, business and political leaders, and even rock stars and Hollywood celebrities – to the added benefit of local hotels, restaurants and entertainment venues.<sup>159</sup> Toronto's Mayor has travelled the world to try to attract more mining corporations to set up their headquarters in Toronto; and in 2007, in the middle of a massive mineral commodities boom and in recognition of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the annual Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) convention, the City of Toronto officially declared the first week of March to be "Mineral Exploration and Mining Week."<sup>160</sup> Yet, so long as Toronto's leaders convince themselves and the rest of the city that anything they do to grow Toronto's wealth automatically benefits the rest of the country and world, and that wealth in Toronto is generated locally and flows outward and not vice versa, then difficult questions about the role of mining corporations (or any other industry sector) and the different levels of government that support them in their ventures around the province, country and planet never need to be acknowledged or addressed.

The community delegations that now stream into Toronto from Cerro San Pedro in Mexico, Porgera in Papua New Guinea, the Intag in Ecuador and elsewhere around the world all seek to tell a different story. They seek to point out the ways in which Canadian mining capital, and the Canadian government that stands behind it, far from bestowing wealth and well-being upon their communities, extracts wealth, while leaving in its wake a legacy of social, economic and environmental destruction. They seek to impress upon the consciousness of the citizens of Toronto and Canada their responsibility for controlling and regulating the actions of Canadian corporations in the rest of the world. To hear this story and take local action in Toronto, it is not enough simply to kick mining corporations out of our schools and universities. We need also to challenge the global, competitive, creative city development model that is hegemonic today and examine the ways in which the project of building Toronto as a "global city" may not be producing the global excellence that we think or hope it does, but rather a systematically structured form of global ignorance instead. We need to examine, too, the ways in which wealth in Toronto is not just locally generated, but often has been extracted and appropriated from elsewhere. As Stephan Kipfer and Kanishka Goonewardena observe, "Canada's corporate and financial centres are not merely 'engines of growth.'... Hardly free-standing sources of innovation, productivity and growth, the ruling classes of these cities also parasitically draw on all manner of 'resources' from other parts of the country and the rest of the world."<sup>161</sup> We need to embrace, then, as a founding principle for local action in the city, the recognition that what benefits a wealthy, privileged and powerful city such as Toronto may not benefit at all the rest of humanity who live, work and struggle to build a better world for themselves beyond the horizon of Toronto city limits.

## Acknowledgement

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## Notes

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In the venture capital world, transactions in the K-12 education sector soared to a record \$389 million in 2011, up from \$13 million in 2005. It would be interesting to find out charter school profits but, alas, they are not beholden to the government to report profits. Yes, that's right, they take our tax dollars but are not accountable to taxpayers. The right to an excellent public education is one of our most fundamental rights. There are some solid charter schools. But many "junk charters" perform below public schools. The corporatization of education puts democracy at risk by demonizing democratic forces like elections, collective bargaining, local control. Elections, collective bargaining and local control are scary concepts to Wall Street money-makers. Public School Teacher Education Program Charter School National Reading Panel Texas Education Agency. These keywords were added by machine and not by the authors. This process is experimental and the keywords may be updated as the learning algorithm improves. This is a preview of subscription content, log in to check access. Preview. Keeping public schools public: Testing companies mine for gold. Rethinking Schools. Available at [http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/19\\_02/test192.shtml](http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/19_02/test192.shtml). Cite this chapter as: Leistyna P. (2010) Taking on the Corporatization of Public Education: What Teacher Education Can Do. In: Macrine S., McLaren P., Hill D. (eds) Revolutionizing Pedagogy. Marxism and Education. In India, media conglomerates like the Times Group have risen in prominence in the last few decades thanks to the corporatization of the media. In the UK and the US, NewsCorp and Time Warner have come to symbolize big business and corporate media in all its glory. The point here is that the media is no longer content with just reporting the news but instead, it has morphed into entities that set the agenda and entities that play a prominent role in shaping the public discourse. In addition, the media houses entered into strategic partnerships with the leading corporates so that they get friend