

U.S.G.

NEWSLETTER

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Editorial

This issue of the newsletter was put together by members of the McGill Local of the UoG. Its contents reflect, somewhat, on the situation in Quebec. Thanks to all those who typed articles, wrote articles etc.

McGill Local.

April, 1978.

REMINDED that membership dues and subscriptions are due MAY 1, 1978.

McGill
(Those who joined during the winter should have received book orders to Volume III.)

Genesis and Exodus: Capital and Population movements and
the Quebec 1976 election

J.H. Bradbury

In November 1976, the largely French population of Quebec elected a Social Democrat (Parti Quebecois) government to power. The subsequent actions of the provincial government, of the Canadian federal government and of corporations in the province, produced a level of confrontation and class conflict in Quebec not unlike the responses to Social Democrat parties elected in England, Australia, New Zealand, Chile and British Columbia in the early 1970's. However there were several vital differences. The platform of the Parti Quebecois included provision for a referendum to create a separate or autonomous region outside Canadian confederation; a language bill to consolidate French as the official language; an education system to entrench the use of French as a means of ensuring the survival of French Canadian culture in North America; and an economic policy which involved possible nationalization of several core resource industries, including parts of the steel and asbestos industries. By these actions the Parti Quebecois firstly sought to dilute the control of the Anglophone bourgeoisie in Quebec business, banking and government; secondly, it sought to reduce the dependence on, and control by, financial and political organizations outside the province; thirdly it sought to overcome the observed disparities and uneven development of the economy; and, finally it sought to promote a sense of French Canadian nationhood by attempting to redress 200 years of Anglo-American domination.

Implicitly there is a tacit recognition of the disparity between the English and French communities in Quebec. Anglophones are disproportionately over represented in the higher income brackets. In 1971 for instance the median income of male anglophones exceeded by a margin of \$1,000 that of francophone males. Likewise the business and capital control of the province lay firmly in the hands of an English speaking bourgeoisie living in the city of Montreal which itself has a 40:60 ratio of English to French while the remainder of the province has nearly a 10:90 ratio. While anglophones are only 13% of the population (only 1/3 of them can speak French) they generally occupy privileged class and economic positions firmly ensconced in a predominately English city. However the division of Quebec into English and French is as misleading as it is revealing. Ethnic or national divisions conceal the existence of class, core-periphery, and dominance and subordination relations in any given society, especially where the most significant division is between the owners of the means of production and the working class. It is this class division and the inequities of distribution which arise from it that the Social Democrat government of the Parti Quebecois has failed to address.

The response to the Parti Quebecois policies in Quebec, in Canada and in the United States was multi-fold and immediate. In the first instance the challenge to the Canadian Federal system produced a "unity crisis". In 1977 and 1978 both the federal and provincial governments saw the possibility of Quebec separation as either a form of deliberate balkanization and hence a threat to federalism, or alternatively as an opportunity to create pressures for increased decentralization of political and economic powers. The unity crisis promoted a questioning of the relative merits of federalism, and a number of alternatives, including increased regional autonomy, and closer association with the United States were suggested. However unity crisis per se was as much a creation of the federal Canadian government in its 1978 election year as it was a crisis of intent in the province of Quebec. Indeed the promotion of a crisis in the political arena was a response to crises in the sphere of production and circulation exemplified by high levels of inflation, depression and unemployment. This latter crisis enabled both federal and provincial governments to blame each other's actions for the unity crisis as well as for the high levels of stagflation.

Internally within Quebec the election of the Parti Quebecois and the creation of a unity crisis produced a flurry of response among both Francophones and Anglophones. A Federal government report published in March 1978 noted a significant change in out-migration of people from Quebec in 1977. More than 97,000 Quebecers moved to other provinces in 1977, an increase of 86% over 1976. The number of people moving into Quebec was 27,452 for a net loss of more than 70,000. Although no other Canadian province showed a similar sharp change in migration patterns in 1977, the temptation to attribute it entirely to the policies of the Quebec government has little scientific basis. From 1961 to 1966 an average of 47,680 people moved out of Quebec annually. In 1970 this flow peaked at 73,811, and remained between 46,000 and 56,000 up to the major outflow in 1977. A number of reasons have been advanced including the social and political stresses that Quebec went through in the 1960's culminating in several political and social crises. Unemployment, in what is basically a resource extraction economy, has forced emigration to jobs outside the province in Ontario and in the west of Canada in the province of Alberta. It is notable that the rates of growth of new employment (and capital formation) are significantly higher in the latter two regions, despite their own levels of unemployment and a slowing down of rates of foreign investment.

A study conducted jointly by two Quebec universities, Bishop's and McGill, on out-migration of school leavers in the early 1970's and a second study of historical out-migrations indicated several other significant population movements. The school leavers study showed that disproportionate numbers of people under 20 years of

age were planning to leave the province and not to return. However the survey also noted that the group of leavers was 50:50 French and English and that the movement commenced several years before the election of the Parti Quebecois in late 1976. The study of historical out-migrations showed furthermore that the pattern of population movement in 1977 was not unique because similar patterns were observed in the early 1950's and again in the late 1960's. What was significant about the outflows in 1977 and 1978 was that they were much larger than previous years and that they were composed largely of bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The out-migrations of these groups was also accompanied by an outflow of private savings and capital which is now invested in such places as Florida and the northern tier states of the United States.

In 1977 the out-migration patterns were also reflected in house prices in the city of Montreal. Quebec's "uncertain future", a term coined by investment companies and the Anglophone bourgeoisie following the election of the Parti Quebecois, was strikingly reflected in the decline in house prices in predominately English speaking districts of the city. Figures released by the Montreal Real Estate Board showed house prices in English areas declined by as much as 11% in 1977 while in the city as a whole they rose by 3.2% (a percentage increase lower than for the city of Toronto in the province of Ontario only 400 miles to the south). The decline in house prices was accompanied by a redistribution of some forms of housing between different classes. Apartment dwellers moved into houses and Francophones replaced Anglophones in some city districts. Newspapers also reported that speculators from several parts of Canada were purchasing property on the deflated housing market; real estate companies did not discourage such rumours.

Perhaps the most vital element of the exodus from Quebec, real or imagined, was that of capital and head office operations of major corporations, including a number of Quebec based multinational firms. While the absolute numbers of companies leaving or staying is difficult to ascertain the actual movement of one or two major firms and threats to move by others drew considerable attention in 1977 and 1978. Whether head offices move out of Quebec because of the language and economic policies of the government remains a moot point. Overall the threat to move may have the effect desired by the multinational companies in the province. The corporate strategy also points out the flexibility of multinationals and the ultimate dependence of nation states on their real or threatened activities. The corporations argue that the head office business has provided major employment in Montreal since 1900 (circa), but from 1950 to 1970 (circa) an increase in the flow of both financial institutions, commercial operations, and manufacturing has gone

to the rival city of Toronto in Ontario. Indeed the increasing centralization of ownership and control in Canada, as in other capitalist societies, has manifest itself in a spatial concentration in both Montreal and Toronto but increasingly in the latter. Thus the moves and the proposals to move in 1977 and 1978 are part of a long term and historically determined pattern of centralization.

A survey conducted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in January 1978 showed that of 90 major companies polled in Montreal, only 9 had actively discussed moving, and only one had actually decided to move. This was the SUN LIFE Insurance Company, a 100-year old firm based in Montreal. The announcement by Sun Life to move its head quarters from Montreal to Toronto sparked a bitter debate between the corporate world in Montreal and the provincial government of premier Rene Levesque. The proposed move meant a loss of 2,000 jobs as well as of investments in the province. The company argued that it needed to conduct its business in English and therefore could not tolerate Quebec's French language laws. The provincial government, visibly perturbed, accused the company of "bad corporate citizenship", and an unwillingness to reinvest in Quebec the capital it extracted. The Parti Quebecois published figures that suggest the company had for a number of years been placing its investments outside Quebec creating a drain-off effect of local benefits amounting to approximately \$400 million. At the end of 1976 Sun Life's policies in force world wide amounted to \$31.79 billion, \$22.7 billion in Canada, including \$6.8 billion in Quebec. In the face of this data the provincial government argued that the company should be placing more investment in the province.

Between 1920 and 1978 Montrealers grew used to other corporations such as Canadian Pacific, Du Pont, The Bank of Montreal, The Royal Bank and Bell Canada calling the city home. The contribution of these and other head offices is difficult to measure precisely but some indication can be obtained from employment figures, multiplier effects, capital investments and their tax base. One study published at McGill University in March 1978 noted that the 25 largest multinational head offices in Montreal employed 25,000 staff and spent \$750 million annually. Directly and indirectly these head offices created 70,000 jobs and \$2.5 billion in spending power. Overall the study reported, head offices in Montreal directly employ between 30,000 and 50,000 in their city offices and many times that figure throughout Quebec; they pay annual head office wages somewhere between \$0.5 billion and \$1.0 billion. A conservative multiplier effect of 3.0 would place the job impact of all head offices at between 90,000 and 150,000 jobs. Thus between 100,000 and 200,000 jobs in a city population of 3 million are at stake directly and indirectly in the head office

business in Montreal. Unfortunately no figures are currently available for the absolute surplus value extracted from the Montreal labour force nor the profit rates and rate of extraction of each company. Only by obtaining such data can a proper analysis of the effects of head offices and head office movements on a dependent economy such as Quebec's be ascertained.

By April 1978 the major threatened exodus had not occurred in Quebec but several reasons for moving had been publicly announced by a number of head office companies. Briefly these included: (a) A government which is perceived to have strong socialist leanings, enacting anti-business legislation including nationalization, taxation and control over free enterprise; (b) Legislation heavily weighted in favour of labour, including minimum wage laws and anti-scab legislation; (c) The prospect of independence and its economic consequences. (Montreal Star, March 25, 1978). Clearly the response by corporations reflected a form of corporate petulance and blackmail, and a direct threat to the people and government of Quebec. Quebec is a region in which American multinational firms in particular, have invested heavily over the last 20 years. Any threat to the 'rational' proceedings of the maximization of capital accumulation thus draws the ire of the corporate world followed by threats to withdraw capital and jobs. For a region developed, albeit unevenly, on such externally controlled investment this is indeed a dire threat. So severe in fact that both the premier of the province, and the prime minister of Canada, undertook pilgrimages to the mecca of finance and industrial capitalism in New York to reassure investors. However in 1978 the multinationals were withholding investment in an endeavour to break the Quebec experiment and bring the social democrat government into line.

A number of questions arise from our brief analysis of the Quebec genesis and exodus. Clearly the survival of the provincial government is more in question than the survival of a number of multinational companies and their head offices. The strength of the bargaining position lies with the corporations. We must ask how can a nation state survive in a continent dominated by the United States, the American dollar, and the hegemony of United States capital and culture. Penetrated and owned by foreign companies, with a branch plant and resource based economy, and with American commodity consumption patterns and forms of commodity fetishism, the continued survival of a distinct French Canadian culture is in question.

Sources: The Montreal Star; C Veltman, Récherches Sociographiques, 17, /76.

QUEBEC NOTEBOOK

And now for the continuing story of Quebec 1978. Sometimes the whole situation seems like a bad joke. Nobody seems to know who is coming or going. (Actually 90,000 people left Quebec last year, But it had nothing to do with the political situation). ... The Sun Life Insurance Company affair has raised a lot of heated debate, not the least of which was its actual reason for planning to leave Quebec. Now, according to the company's own admission, it has nothing to do with the provisions of Quebec's language law but has to do with "the lack of political stability in Quebec". Yet Sun Life also reported higher profits last year. The company did not explain this discrepancy. ... The moving of head offices last year has been described (by various members of the Quebec government including the Premier, Rene Levesque) as a blackmail attempt to keep Quebec in Canada. In so doing the Parti Quebecois is presenting just as false an explanation as that given by business leaders and is trying to exploit the situation to their own advantage, just as federalist interests are. The fact is that the movement of head offices to Toronto has nothing to do with the present situation in Quebec. It is part of an ongoing process whereby the economic locus of the country has been shifting increasingly to Toronto. Montreal was once the financial centre of the country and most of the financial institutions were headquartered there. Over time Toronto has become the new financial centre and head offices of financial institutions shifted from Montreal to Toronto. To repeat, the Sun Life move is only part of an ongoing process, perhaps accelerated somewhat by recent events, but it was inevitable.

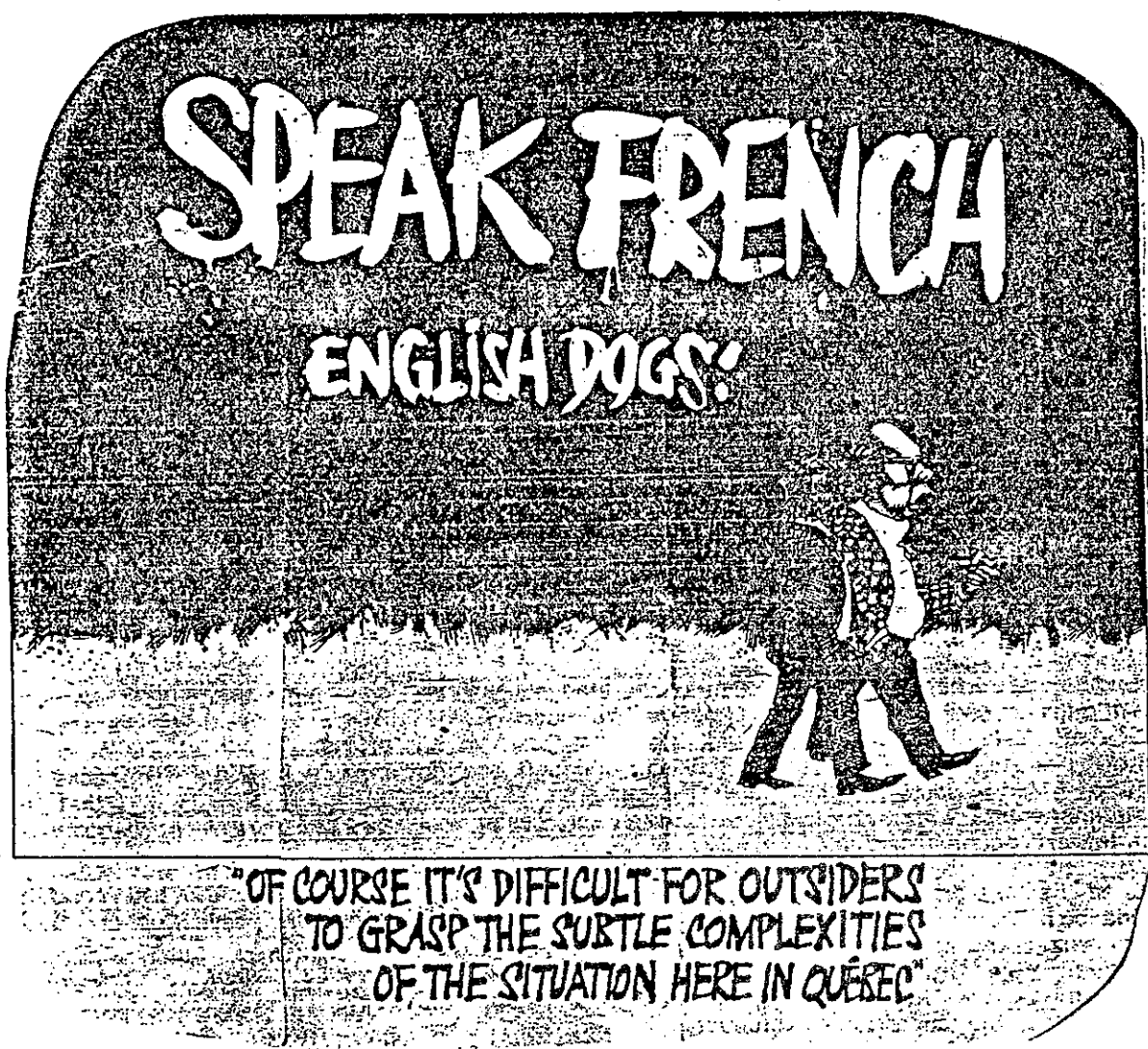
When Sun Life made its initial announcement of departure, some of the reactions of business leaders were amusing to say the least. One investment dealer lamented that "this sort of thing will make us hewers of wood and drawers of water". Odd, I thought, isn't that what we are now?

The more one looks at it, the more one can see the lack of any clear lack of ideological direction on the part of the P.Q. government. One gets the distinct impression that the P.Q. represents many different ideologies only linked together by an overriding nationalism that will begin to fracture once the actual course of independent Quebec has to be determined. On the one hand the P.Q. seems to be pro-business because the premier went down to New York to assure Mr. Rockefeller and his confreres that Quebec was and still will be a safe place to invest. Yet on the other hand, there seem to be distinct reactionary anti-business or anti-capitalist elements in the P.Q. . In one incident, 300 francophone businessmen signed a letter in which they stated they were in fundamental agreement that French should be the undisputed language of Quebec but that they disagreed with some of the clauses in the language legislation (Bill 101) on education. They fear that the lack of provision of teaching of English in French schools would result in the Quebecois falling into functional illiteracy in North America. The minister responsible for the legislation, Camille Laurin, responded that the opinions of these men are not worth considering because they are lackeys and sellouts of the English establishment.

This type of comment displays a narrow sense of provincialism and an intolerant view of other opinions. It has almost become a crime or a disgrace for any decent Quebecois to disagree with the government. Anyone who disagrees with the P.Q. is called a "bastard" by government members including the Premier. One gets the impression that the P.Q. thinks it has a monopoly on righteousness. ...

Who knows what tomorrow may bring? Stay tuned

--Michael Wiltshire



A NOTE ON HARP SEALS AND ESKIMO ECONOMIES

In 1977, after several years of relative dormancy, the controversy surrounding the hunting of harp seal pups in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was renewed. Several groups from southern Canada and abroad began a media-intensive campaign to ban the hunt. While this attempt has had only moderate effect on Atlantic commercial sealing, a larger, if less well-known, impact has been felt by many of Canada's Inuit.

Throughout much of Canada's eastern Arctic are Inuit communities which are heavily dependent on ringed seals (Phoca hispida) for food and for cash through the sale of sealskins. The ringed seal is by far the most numerous seal species in Canadian waters. In contrast, harp seals (Phoca groenlandica) are found in the Arctic only in summer and the Inuit harvest of this species amounts to less than 5% of the total taken in Canada.

The very general and highly emotional propaganda directed at the Gulf hunt has had a serious effect on the Inuit ringed seal market. This is evident when ringed seal data from several years ago is compared to events in the latter half of 1977. From 1971-1975, Inuit hunters at Clyde River, Baffin Island, harvested between 1400 and 1800 ringed seals annually at an average price of \$14.00 per sealskin. Following last spring's harp protest, an obvious downward trend was apparent in the market for ringed seals. In June, the price stood at \$14.00 per skin, by August this had fallen to \$10.00, and in November ringed sealskins were just below \$1.00. This latter price was the lowest since the 1950's. A similar trend was noted from Inuit communities in Arctic Quebec and the District of Keewatin.

This trend, if continued, holds several serious implications for the local economic base of many small Inuit villages. First, since modern hunting uses a high proportion of expensive imported technology, a decline in sealskin prices in the face of rising costs threatens to make hunting economically tenuous. During the early 1970's, important hunting equipment, such as the snowmobile and high-powered rifle, were priced at \$1,400.00 and \$150.00, respectively. In 1977, the cost of these two basic items had risen to \$2,100.00 and \$250.00. Overall, the cost to an Inuit hunter for a hunting outfit for one year now exceeds \$4,000.00. Second, a drastic reduction in the cash return from sealskins poses a threat

Hereafter, the term "Inuit", the people's name for themselves, will be used in place of Eskimo.

to the Inuit ability to continue subsistence hunting.

While it is impossible to claim a direct causal link between the protests heard in southern Canada and the decline of the ringed seal market, the broadstroke approach of ban proponents raises questions about possible results. In November, 1977, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Eskimo Brotherhood of Canada) raised similar questions with the federal government. While the possibility has been raised that the ringed seal market is suffering from a shift in fashion away from short-haired furs, the increase in ringed sealskin prices to \$14.00 per skin at European auctions in February, 1978, appears to contradict this. Whether this upswing in prices will continue, however, remains to be seen as this year's Gulf hunt sets off a new call for a hunting ban. The point to be emphasized is that a protest, which does not differentiate between hunts, can only continue to adversely affect the economies of small Inuit communities which are highly dependent on the international market.

--George Wenzel
McGill Geog. Dept.



"WE DEMAND , THEY SUPPLY."

Report: Northern Studies Seminars

The Northern Studies Centre at McGill University has lately held a weekly seminar series featuring speakers from the social and natural sciences. Last fall, a number of anthropologists, geographers, land claims lawyers, historians, etc., gave talks. The major topic was native land claims in Canada and Alaska--discussion of the native groups involved, the position of outside consultants (lawyers, social scientists, etc.), the role of governments, the implications of various claim settlements. Many people in the audience had worked and lived in the North, and discussion was quite lively at times. The following three seminars are reproduced here as being especially revealing of the problems in the North and of the perspectives of different people working there as professionals.

1) Anthropologist Dita Koster, "The anthropology of the Canadian government--the Northern Program in the Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development":

Theoretically, bureaucracy has been examined on two levels, 1) attitudes and tendencies of the actors, and 2) the specific forms of social organization involved: the structure. Hegel and Marx both treated bureaucracy as the mediation between civil society and the state. For Marx, this meant enforcing, while at the same time masking, class domination, as a semi-autonomous body. Bureaucracy is non-organic, because it is far removed from the process of production. For all these reasons, the bureaucratic system is an instance of alienation, as are the people involved in it. Its true nature is hidden from its members.

Evidence from the Dept. of Indian Affairs Northern Program tend to support the above. Employees were interviewed and observed repeatedly over many months. There was an atmosphere of weary cynicism, a general disbelief in bureaucracy and the political system, as systems out of control, and a negative view of human nature.

Disillusionment is due not to an authoritarian structure but to a contradictory one, in which cautious behaviour is highly rewarded. Upward mobility is achieved not through vertical but through lateral movement, especially with senior officials who regularly shift from one department to another. Consistency in programs within one department is thereby difficult to maintain.

There are several unwritten rules: One must constantly be aware of a complicated internal political situation, operating in a structure whose parts are isolated from one another. Do not be idealistic or ideological, but flexible. Do not identify too closely with the senior official's pet program because he will eventually leave and the program likely dropped. One must not embarrass the minister. Ministers must not embarrass their officials.

The lower and senior officials do not work together to create policy. They rather tunnel policy created by corporations, the prime minister and cabinet. The decision-making structure does not correspond to department structures but is lateral at a high level.

One basic dichotomy within the Northern program is between 1) old-timers, often ex-social workers in the North, often from the working class, with more missionary zeal, more romantic and nostalgic attitudes; most of them have been shelved in less powerful positions, and 2) the new technocrats, who hold positions of power.

Ironically, the Northern Program has a strong sense of being the defender of native rights, but as the bureaucrats define them. The new technocrats define native people as resources, like trees, etc. The old-timers define natives as people. For both, justification of policy is in terms of their role of saving northern people from poverty, marginalization, etc. This role implies control, as there are no rewards in the bureaucratic system for relinquishing control over native people or resources. The bureaucrats see themselves as dependent on 1) the political system and 2) the clients (the native people), and having to navigate between these two demands, even though the second is of lower priority.

2) Anthropologist Hugh Brody, "The traditional economy in the North":

Present-day official accounts of the native economy differ little from those of a century ago: they are heavily ideological in the same direction, because 1) their intention is consistently to justify conversion of people to wage labour, as in the past the intention was expropriation of the land base, and 2) they consistently ignore data which substantiate the viability of the traditional sector. The native economy has been repeatedly declared finished, economically doomed unless people move out to relieve population pressure.

Some scientists working in the North have concluded differently and have attempted to demonstrate quantitatively the resource potential. It is difficult to measure the domestic sector--equivalent or replacement cost estimates vary from \$4000 to \$8000 per household per year (see the geographer Peter Usher). William Kemp's work in Lake Harbour showed the people producing 30-50% of their total food use; the Northern Quebec Inuit Ass'n estimated that people in Arctic Quebec could provide 40% of their food and 80% of their energy needs, given existing conditions.

"Traditional economy" has several meanings in this context: anthropologists mean pre-contact economy; native people mean a mixed economy resulting from contact. Ironically, the fur trading economy, presumably so illegitimate and unstable, lasted longer than the era of petty commodity production in agriculture in the U.K. (the latter's ideology is still very much with us).

Assumptions of economic dualism are quite prevalent in the official view of the native economy: the native sector is stagnant, the modern sector is dynamic, the two are separate. The government policy of non-support for the traditional sector leads to the assumption that those involved in it are poor--poor being defined as short of cash. Development of the modern sector parallels official indifference to the traditional sector, but native people have for centuries looked on the two together: small-scale wage labour for white agents has long been seen as a subsidy to the traditional economy.

With the arrival of large-scale industrial wage labour in the North, this symbiosis is more difficult. Industrial wage labour potentially recruits everyone, full-time, into a network of spatial mobility (pipeline construction, mining, etc.). Corporate experiments with short-term industrial employment are limited (these could allow native people to continue the traditional economy). People centred in one culture become margins in another.

Points which came out in discussion: The penetration of industrial capitalism is a "package deal": along with industrial wage labour comes unemployment, welfare, marginalization, the importation of a particular element of the "modern economy", which is the boom-and-bust margin of that economy, with corporate control over local labour. The traditional economy, highly dependent on modern markets and political structures, is subject to extreme cycles of prosperity and immiseration.

3) A lawyer speaking on the James Bay Agreement with the Cree in Quebec (the following is a dialogue between the lawyer and audience):

CREE ASSESSMENT

Lawyer: The Cree were aware of accusations by southern supporters that they sold out with this agreement, and they think that this sentiment shows a lack of understanding of the situation: they had to agree or ultimately lose more. During negotiations, the Cree in fact agreed to a media blackout. The reason for this was that media support was mostly anglophone, not politically significant in Quebec, and it was, moreover, potentially dangerous to encourage the anglophone media given French-English conflict. In any case, the real Cree leverage was not media support, but their ability to sabotage the project.

CREE GOALS AND WORLD VIEW: PROPERTY

Lawyer: During and since the fur trade, the Cree perceived themselves not as dependents on whites but as engaging as equal partners in trade. In the fur commodities trade, the Cree used leverage-like mechanisms to get a more favourable balance of trade (eg., substituting inferior furs behind the traders' backs), so that many times they had the advantage over the trader. In the early years of Northern development, Cree worked as consultants, guides, road blazers, for decent wages. They thus kept their sense of equality and self-respect. Children came back after their schooling.

Question from group: Did the fur trade "become the culture", or was it perceived as a layer on top? Did they see themselves as subsistence hunters/trappers when in the bush?

Lawyer: The subsistence world view predominated.

Question: Did trapping induce property ownership? Were territories, traplines, etc., perceived as property?

Lawyer: Property awareness existed before trading contact, but it became more highly developed.

DESTRUCTION OF ENVIRONMENT

Lawyer: The Cree attachment to their environment led to a great sense of horror at the potential damage from James Bay development. This triggered off the first doubt about their continuing in equal partnership with whites.

Question: Perhaps because of this history of consultation and leverage in trade, the Cree, did not perceive the James Bay situation as a confrontation situation, as did, for instance, the Inuit in their land claims movement.

Lawyer: The belief eventually prevailed that the essential Cree way of life would survive the project; people were resigned, saying that the environment and economy would survive.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT

Question: Were they equally resigned to the prospect of a white labour force, institutions, technology, etc.?

Lawyer: According to Cree and their advisors, this impact was manageable. But the implications of the agreement are the creation of a ghetto, a "minority" of natives in their homeland, with political structures set up to enable them to participate as a minority in regional and national politics. Nothing guarantees that these new structures will have any political or financial clout for the Cree. It is a case of political defusement.

Susan Barry



THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.

ANARCHY IS NOT ONLY PUNK ROCK

Given the world-wide resurgence of the anarchist movement, it would not be surprising that as politically a city as Montreal, Quebec would have an anarchist presence. It does, and for the last three years we have been building the base of a movement.

Very briefly, the outward manifestations of our existence have been:

1) the founding of a successful bookstore which has become "indispensable" (to quote a charitable friend) to the non-leninist left, french and english, and is proving useful in terms of public contact and the subsequent growth of the movement. Also, this six-month old project should soon be an important source of defense and activity funds.

2) an annual lecture series, which, because we charge the universities is the mainstay of our fund-raising. Two years old, it has been run in English only - a severe limitation.

3) defense support work on behalf of various political prisoners and action groups in other countries; most notably in Spain.

4) the appearance of a French language anarchist journal "La Nuit", (a parody of the separatist weekly "Le Jour") at the annual May Day Demonstration organised by Quebec Unions. There is now a smaller collective intending to publish it as a quarterly.

5) conferences held here at May Day to solidify organised groups in Canada and eastern United States. This year in mid-May, there will be a french-language conference which will hopefully expand our base in the union movement and the working class.

This leads us to an analysis of our composition and organisation. In a city predominantly French, we are predominantly English. Although an equilibrium point is approaching, this fact, along with small numbers, remains the most serious limitation imposed on our ability to mount sustained, widespread action.

While we are weighted heavily towards the younger end of the age scale (mid-twenties), a substantial portion of us are not from upper and middle class background and a majority are engaged in working-class labor (ie. manual and routine). We are evenly divided in terms of women and men.

The classic affinity groups, numbering five-ten people each, remain our basic unit, combining systematic study with action. While no group has completed evolution from study group to affinity group, (with a much higher level of commitment and internal organisation), actions

are initiated and most effectively carried out in the context of a given group able to create some symbiosis between activity and theory. Some endeavours, most notably the bookstore are administered by a coalition which frequently falters in the absence of that symbiosis. The dialogue tends to be mechanistic and underlying assumptions are rarely examined.

A whole other range of activities and their appropriate organisational context are based on geographic proximity and affinity. Operating on the theories of Bookchin, Rousopoulos, Hess and others, we are in the process of drawing groups into a specific neighbourhood. This gives us a concentration of "live-in" activists who can help to organise various projects and to develop local self-awareness. The ultimate objective is not to manipulate people into a revolutionary posture, nor "infiltration" in the classical leninist sense with an eye to "taking over" the project of neighbourhood power. It is, rather, to support, articulate, initiate and encourage the total spatial, reproductive, and productive re-organisation of the living space. Organising issue by issue, building institution by institution, this work is our most critical. We have had several small successes and failures. Mistakes are made and the battle re-engaged. But here is where the symbiotic relationship between theory and practice comes most strongly to light. The theory focuses the effort, and the work transcends and forces a constant evolution of theory and the anarchist perspective. Far from the academic atrophy of many of the left, we have developed an experiential base from which to grow.

To create the proverbial seeds of the new society based on small scale technologies; on the end of hierarchy, domination and exploitation; on principles of direct democracy in social and economic life -autonomous groupings dedicated to the creation of Kropotkin's functionally integrated individual in an integrated society.

We are then working in two areas; That is, the growth of the neighbourhood and the growth of a coherent articulate anarchist movement in Quebec society.

 --John King.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON LAND OWNERSHIP AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A review of some historical research in Montreal.

Canadian history has, until recently been virtually devoid of class analysis. This is changing somewhat, as younger historians finally turn away from constitutional history and biographical work toward labour history, urban history and women's history. Class is now acknowledged as something that must be taken into account. There is, however, very little solid marxist theory in most of today's work. Obviously the reason for this lies partially in historian's traditional empirical obsessiveness and unwillingness to espouse theory in any form. It relates too, to the liberal nature of mainstream english canadian history.

History in Quebec has taken a different route from the rest of Canada. Influenced both by their situation as a conquered people, as a proletariat for the english bourgeoisie, and by french historiography, francophone historians have been much more likely to deal in depth with social and economic questions; and certainly within the most recent generation to turn to a marxist analysis of history. This review will briefly examine some of the work being done in Quebec urban history by a group at the University of Quebec at Montreal as it appears to be of interest to geographers both for its content and theory.

Massive studies of cities, involving vast amounts of computer space, money and energy have dominated north American urban history in the 1970's. Focussing largely on the question of social mobility, studies exist of Boston, Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, New York and numerous other American cities. In Canada similar projects are examining Hamilton, Peel County, Ontario and on a lesser scale Montreal. All but the latter appear to draw most of their methodological and analytical insights from mainstream American sociology. The work of the Research Group on Montreal Society in the Nineteenth Century differs in having a concern for theory; in dealing with class relations rather than socio-economic groupings, and in apparently managing to use a computer as a means rather than an end.¹ This assessment may be premature as not much of their work has been published yet. What has, however, demonstrates a use of marxist theory that is new to urban history.

The basic arguments on land ownership and urban development are set out by Paul-Andre Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert, directors of the project in an article translated as "Land Ownership and Society in Montreal: An Hypothesis", published first in french in 1974.² Here they argue that while the french canadians constituted a minority among financial, commercial and industrial capitalists in Quebec, that in the land-owning sector they "found their true footing". Furthermore, far from regarding land ownership as a necessarily conservative and passive activity, these entrepreneurs attempted to exploit the land holdings in a capitalistic and aggressive manner. The focus is on Montreal in the 1820's. This first argument obviously relates closely to the debate over whether, after the Conquest, the french had a bourgeoisie, to the question of french canadian entrepreneurship etc. More important, at

a general theoretical level, is their second argument. Land holding capital, they suggest,

had a specialized function of its own; it served to organize and administer, if not to control, urban space. It thus provided the necessary conditions for production and exchange. . . . Historically, investors in land have effectively acted as urban developers. They exploited their real estate. . . projects.

Their findings in this article are disappointingly thin, and the argument does not appear to be followed through in a rigorous manner. In Linteau's PhD. thesis, however, the role of capital involved in land ownership is much more carefully examined. As theses are generally difficult to get hold of, and it is written in French, the major arguments and findings are loosely translated and summarized in the following paragraphs as they appear to offer a very geographical approach to the question.

The thesis focuses on Maisonneuve, once a separate municipality north east of Montreal, and now a part of the city. Linteau's argument is similar to that presented in the earlier article - that within a capitalist society owners of land (capital fonciere) by their efforts to extract a surplus value from the land, acted as a sort of planner of urban space. Thus he sees the urban promoter as figuring in urban history as does the entrepreneur in the history of industrial enterprise. Land holding capital, he argues, both works with, and complements other fractions of capital, its own success is dependent on theirs, while at the same time, there is competition between them, for rises in the profit of land are made at the expense of industrial capital. Within the fraction of land holding capital there may be competition between individual land holders.

Maisonneuve changed between 1883 and 1918 from an agricultural area to an industrial suburb. This, he argues, was no accident, no result of chance industrial location. It was a conscious change engineered under the leadership of owners of property capital. In 1884, 72% of the municipality's land was held by nine families or groups. It was this group of people who had promoted the creation of Maisonneuve as a separate municipality in 1883. Over the next 35 years, at least one representative of this group was always on the city council and their interests were carefully looked after. These were not urban speculators, buying up land and awaiting changes in values. Rather they were urban promoters who had held agricultural land, but realized that profit could no longer be made from agriculture. They promoted rises in the value of their land by creating a municipality, pushing for first, the development of an urban and industrial infrastructure of roads, railway connections, public transport, etc., and second, the aggressive courtship of industry.

The relationship of these urban promoters with local council was vital in their role. Three factors enabled them to control local development. Firstly, their representation on council. Secondly, they always maintained good relations with the rest of council. Thirdly, they controlled voting on development by-laws as voting was weighted according to the amount of property held. In return for giving land to the municipality for street right of ways virtually all of these landholders were given fixed assessment rates on their land over a long period of time.

Maisonneuve's industrialization must be viewed within the context of both structural and conjunctural factors, Linteau stresses. Firstly, its

location on the outskirts of the growing industrial and commercial city of Montreal was vital. Attracting industry usually involved attracting companies away from Montreal, especially as factories were growing larger and required more space. Vital too, was Quebec's demographic situation. The surplus population of the countryside encouraged the growth of labour intensive industries based on cheap labour, like shoe-making. The period of real industrial growth in Maisonneuve (1896-1914) followed after significant expansion in Montreal. Maisonneuve's growth and development can thus partially be explained by locational factors-- proximity to Montreal, the only major industrial metropolis of Quebec; proximity to a good port and to a water and railway transportation system. However, Linteau argues convincingly, these factors do not explain industrialization. An "agent organisateur" was needed, and the landowning capital played this role.

"Capital fonciere" arranged fixed assessment rates on their own land in return for the donation of street right of ways. In attracting industry they arranged for concessions in the form of 20-25 year tax exemptions to industry and bonuses to firms to buy land and buildings. The bonuses were often conditional on employment of a certain percentage (usually 80%) of local residents. Thus, not only industrial location, but residential development was promoted on and near their land. Maisonneuve was advertised in commercial and industrial magazines as "La Pittsburgh du Canada", an ideal place for industry to locate. In general newspapers, industrial workers were invited to come and live in attractive industrial area with local work opportunities-- "vivez dans une petite ville paisible et propre". The end result of fixed assessments for the big land holders and tax exemptions for the industries was that the price of development was paid by small land holders and in rents by the workers. Only 10% of the residents owned their own homes. Street beautification, public buildings, and other monuments to successive municipal councils created a heavier and heavier debt burden. Rather than have the land holders shoulder some of the burden, it was decided during the first war that annexation to the growing metropolis of Montreal was the simplest solution. By this stage the landholders were losing their control anyway, to large private monopoly enterprises.

From his study, Linteau concluded that, alongside finance, industrial and commercial capital, and in direct relationship with them exists a fraction of land holding capital. It has a specialized function, that of administering and planning space, thus facilitating production and circulation. In Quebec, french Canadians appear to have dominated this field. It has been rather too widely argued, especially english speaking historians, that french Canadians have traditionally been timid entrepreneurs, leaving to the english all those areas of investment involving risk and interested only in small, secure, family based businesses. In the case of land ownership, Linteau points out, the stereotype does not hold. It was a risky business, it was a relatively big business, and it was dominated by french Canadians, most of whom also had interests in french Canadian banks, in the Chamber of Commerce (not the Board of Trade which was English), and in various industries. What emerges is a picture of a fraction of the francophone bourgeoisie which played an important role at the provincial and municipal level, but which could not challenge the english bourgeoisie which dominated national commerce, industry and government.

The group at the University of Montreal is engaged in a long term, large scale study of Montreal in the nineteenth century, involving at least two professors and several assistant graduate students. Publications to date include the article mentioned above in english and a series in french in the Revue d'Histoire d'Amerique Francaise. The theses of both Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert deal with the urbanization of Montreal. Their students have written on such topics as the employment of women between the wars, changes in shoemaking, from the artisanal to factory mode of production, Montreal carters etc.⁵ It is worth watching for future articles and publications as their approach seems more enlightened and more useful to socialist geographers interested in history, than is much of Canadian historical writing.

-- Bettina Bradbury, History,
Concordia University, Montréal.

FOOTNOTES:

1. On American cities, see, for instance, S. Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970(1973); also his Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City(1964). On the Philadelphia Social History Project, see Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 9, Nos. 2&3 (March-June 1976). See Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History, for an introduction to the founding fathers of North American quantitative urban history, edited by S. Thernstrom and R. Sennett.
On Canadian cities, see especially Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City, (1976).
2. In Gilbert A. Stetler and Alan F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History (1977), originally published in Révue d'Histoire d'Amérique Française, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Juin 1974).
3. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
4. Paul-André Linteau, "Histoire de la Ville de Maisonneuve, 1883-1918", Unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Montréal, 1975.
5. See, for example, Paul-André Linteau, "Quelques reflexions autour de la bourgeoisie québécoise, 1850-1914", R.H.A.F., V.30 (Juin 1976); Joanne Burgess, "L'industrie de la chaussure à Montréal: 1840-1870--Le passage de l'artisanat à la fabrique", R.H.A.F., V.31 (Sept. 1977); Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871; Aspects de l'urbanisation", Unpublished PhD. thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1977.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THESIS OF BIRTH CONTROL
ON UNDERDEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Imperialismo y Control de la poblacion, by A. Fucaraccio,
P.I. Singer, V.E. Ovsienko, D. Slutzky. NACLA. Edicio-
nes Periferia, Buenos Aires. (199 pp.).

On March 16, 1976, one of the major Central American newspapers printed the following statements by Dr. Emilio Bandes, Executive Director of the Asociacion Demografica Nicaraguense: "Plans for the massive sterilization of the men of our country have been set in motion....the program is already a success in Colombia where 25,000 men have been sterilized within a period of only four years and in Nicaragua a vast program will be initiated in order to convince men to undergo a vasectomy." Afterwards, the Catholic Church of Bolivia denounced the infamous politics of Population Control in that country. Along the same lines, the policy followed in India was one of the decisive guidelines to provoke the recent electoral loss of Indira Gandhi.

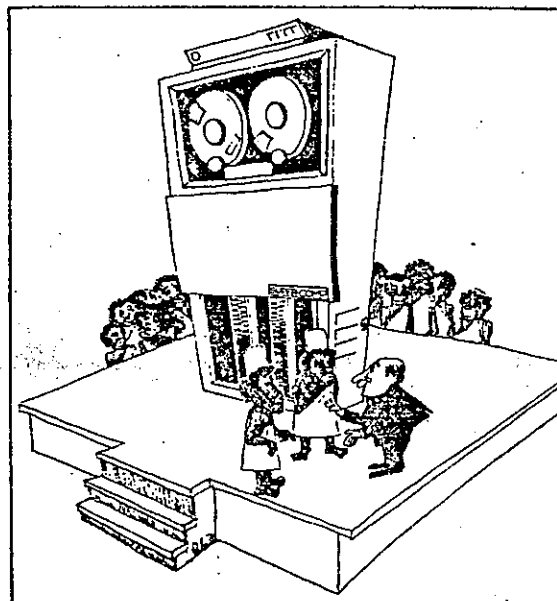
These facts are only a few examples of the intense birth control campaign which is currently attempting to bring a halt to the rising demography of the so-called "Third World Countries". This demographic increase, which has all the "experts" of the problems of underdevelopment worried, undoubtedly endangers the foundations upon which the present international ideological system rests and therefore activates, within the "Imperial Power," ideological defense mechanisms. Portents of demographic catastrophes (that are often touched upon by the realm of science fiction), and all sorts of apparently humanitarian reasons, flow from the mouths of the most prominent representatives of a cynical, international economic system--whose function is possible only by starving the underdeveloped countries--with intent to put an end to the rising population using any means available.

Obviously geography, a traditionally easy prey to the ideological traps of the dominant system, has frequently submitted to the temptation of attributing a great part of the causes of underdevelopment to the rise in population. Overwhelmed by the avalanche of data and statistical predictions that describe a "crowded" world within 50 to 100 years, geographers do not always warn of the deceit hidden behind a non-critical account of the concepts of "underdevelopment" and "population increase", a deceit set forth to strengthen ideologically the core of the present unjust system of international relations, wherein the poverty of the Third World is attributed to its numerous large families.

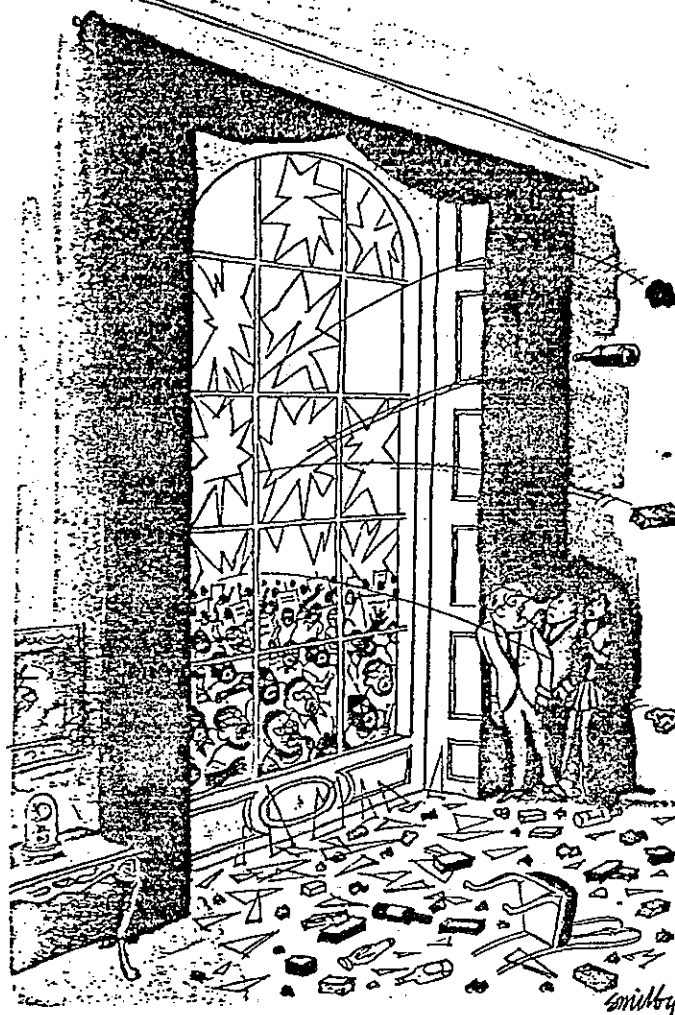
Actually, the problem goes back to the polemics of Malthus and Godwin. The latter accused the former of totally dispensing with the distribution factor in his observations of the lack of resources. The fact that a considerable fraction of the industrial and agricultural resources of the underdeveloped world (the proletariat of our times) is used to benefit foreign interests and is a detriment to the nourishment and employment of the native populations, manifests the reality that, upon altering certain data, the theses of Godwin have not lost validity as against the contemporary neo-Malthusianism.

The key points of the above book (a compilation of essays that appeared separately in 1970) contribute effectively, in my opinion, to the search of new, methodological models and ideological clarifications, recently begun by an increasing number of geographers throughout the world, especially in the studies of Geography of Underdevelopment, where demographic data is usually an important factor.

The central idea is to disentangle developmental problems from the ideologies which try to disguise them, and to place these problems in their true context: poverty is fruit of unequal international relations that are reproduced in the internal social relations of the oppressed countries (Theory of Dependence). Any other attempt at a complete explanation of its causes serves only to conceal the reality, even if dressed up with humanitarian--ideological--garb.



*THIS WAY, YOU CAN SAVE AT LEAST
100 JOBS*



*"Oh for the days when you could quieten them
with a stick of a cigarette lighter."*

ESTABLISHMENT AND REBUTTAL OF THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

Classically, the basic argument of birth control theories can be summarized as follows: "The missing factor within poor countries is capital. It is therefore necessary to increase the income per capita by means of a reduction of the demographic increase. This would allow the more modest families to augment their savings rate, as well as augment the savings of the public sector insofar as its infrastructure spendings in health and education are concerned. An increase in savings would increment proportionally a country's capacity to invest in its own industrialization and development."

Evidently, this enunciation gears itself so as to avoid recognition of the root of the economic structure. The missing factor is not the capital itself but its underutilization, a consequence of a poor distribution of the national income. Some well-known elements of this underutilization are: 1) Unemployment and underemployment, 2) High indices of idle capacity within the installed industry, 3) Underutilisation (toward the country's own gain) of mining and agricultural resources, often owned by foreign

firms, 4) Inadequate and unproductive agrarian structures, almost entirely dominated by the "latifundium", restricted primarily to extensive grazing which brings a low revenue, and additionally gives rise to the "minifundium" of very inadequate productivity, 5) Parasitic consumption by the country's dominant classes which translates itself into huge mansions, overseas tours, luxury automobiles, an unproductive and numerous army, bureaucracy, capital lost through transferral to other countries, etc., 6) Dependent industrialization controlled by the large multinational monopolies, which signifies an elevated volume of capital exports annually in the form of benefits and royalties.

With respect to the increased capacity of private savings, again the decisive influence exerted by the factor of income distribution is forgotten. Taking into consideration the present structure of distribution, it is the high-income class that accomplishes and controls it. The majority of the marginal population, whose incomes seldom are enough to satisfy even the most elemental necessities of life, would not be able to begin saving for at least twenty years even if their revenue were to rise 4% annually.

"Family savings are barely affected even minimally by population growth but are actually conditioned more by income level and distribution. It is sufficient to keep in mind that most private savings originate from the 20% more wealthy families who generally have fewer members. We can therefore conclude that an accelerated growth of the population has only slightly influenced the savings rate in the developing countries and that the probable drop in demographic growth within the next few years will do very little to affect it." (P.I. Singer).

Finally, public savings that a slower population growth would promote (on governmental health and education budgets), would, in reality, be insignificant if not nil, given the minuteness of them (an average of \$9 per capita in Latin America) and the still unsatisfied needs of the people.

Other, even flimsier, arguments, although they may be entertained more often due to their simplicity, are the following: 1) the direct relationship between poverty and population density, and 2) the supposed burden that a population of predominantly young people put on the national budget. The fallacy of the first argument is demonstrated by statistical data placing, for instance, El Salvador (the most populated of all Continental Latin American countries) far below several European countries in density:

Population Density and Level of Development in 1975:

<u>"Poor" Countries</u>	(No. Inhab./km ²)	<u>"Rich" Countries</u>
Angola (4.5), Bolivia (5), Red China (87), Zaire (11), Venezuela (13), Philippines (142), El Salvador (190), India (182)		Belgium (321), USA (23), Holland (334), UK (229), W. Germany (249), Denmark (117), Italy (185), Switzerland (155)

The connection between population density and development, therefore, does not exist.

With respect to the effect the youths have on the national budget, it must be kept in mind that in the wealthy nations, the tendencies of the population pyramid are reversed: there exists a high percentage of senior citizens within the passive groups, whose cost to the public surpasses that of children. In addition, the children of developing countries are incorporated into the production at a younger age. The problems are, in truth, very different: a high infant mortality rate, a small probability of life, a high morbidity index, malnutrition, and, on the other hand, "emigration of educated natives", are the actual reasons for the sterilization of a great deal of capital invested in the "passive" youths of the poor countries.

It is therefore obvious that we must again search for much different solutions, evading the ideological nonsense of population control.

AUTHENTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND POP. INCREASE

When confronted with demographic problems, we are confronted with one of the most striking direct consequences of underdevelopment.

Typical features of underdevelopment, such as necessity, crowded living facilities, infant mortality, etc., are decisive for a high birth rate. Modification of the population can only be accomplished by means of the transformation of economic and social determinants. Anything else results in confusing the effect with the cause, which naturally serves a few determined interests, not those of the poor countries.

IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVES HIDDEN BEHIND BIRTH CONTROL PROPAGANDA

It is interesting to summarize briefly the role of interests activating ideological mechanisms of population control. Under the guise of a sincere and scientific concern for the poverty-stricken of this world and for humanity in general, other intentions have been merged.

First of all, emphasize the authors of this book, we must take into consideration the "IMPERIAL" origin of funds for these programs. The country that has already completed

a century of exploitation in Latin America, stripping it of its bountiful resources (a country with a mere 6% of the world population which consumes 50-60 per cent of all non-renewable natural resources), observes nervously a strong population increase of its poorer neighbors to the south, and like Pharoah, confronted one day by the dangerous expansion of his Hebrew slaves, attempts a remedy via extermination. It is very suspicious indeed, the philanthropic gestures of such representatives of the imperialist system as Rockefeller, Du Pont, and McCormick, and their close connection to programs of population control.

"All the humanist rhetoric in the world can not possibly hide the fact that the exploiters are asking the exploited to let them control their birth rate so that the former can continue their exploitation." (NACLA. This article first published under the title "Population control in the Third World," by the North American Congress on Latin America, Inc., is dedicated to analyzing the connections that exist between the large North American capitalists and the organizations in charge of birth control programs.

Evidently, there exists the danger that the population explosion of today could bring doubt upon the justice of the entire international economic system. There also exists the danger that demographic pressure could topple the oligarchies and phantom governments which have been placed at the helm by the imperialist powers as foremen of their Third World slaves. Undoubtedly there is a danger for the false "Pax Imperial". The latest wars (Vietnam, Angola, Middle East, etc.) and the petroleum crisis have pointed out once again the cracks within the International System. Revolutions (Chile, Uruguay, Brasil, Rhodesia, Argentina, Nicaragua, etc.) lurk behind the doors making it necessary to drown them in blood time and time again. The poor are capable, in their growth, of devouring their own natural resources which historically have been and are still being pillaged by the wealthy countries to bring about their illegitimate prosperity. In one word, if the Third World can organize itself in an attempt to take control of its own destiny and development, many of its resources will not be as accessible to the wealthy countries. This should be followed by an attack on the authentic problems.

By eliminating (through new and subtle weapons of sterilization, strict laws of family planning, etc.) the future members of a possible world revolt, a brazen ideological alienation is exercised upon those of this world who are being exploited. It is dodging the problems' authentic roots. Birth control propaganda is such that

it accuses the poverty-stricken of causing their own misery.

Presented as an individual problem, the existing social order is barely questioned, because if it were, it could impel a revolutionary answer. Neo-Malthusian ideology acts decisively in favor of the social and economic order, hindering the possibility of the exploited classes becoming conscious of the causes for their misery, separating them from the opposition and driving them closer to the status quo.

There are other motives still more repulsive: an easy market for pharmaceutical products, and a relatively docile area in which to perform experiments of new contraceptive drugs that still have not given enough guarantees of safety and effectiveness for the more demanding developed countries. These get returns on the propaganda investments, and create a technological-ideological formation of native sanitation personnel.

It is imperative for geographers to be on their guard against false and interested solutions to the problem of underdevelopment, and to look for the answer where it really lies: in a change of the social, political and economic structures which, on both a national and international level, torment the poor countries of this world.

--Fidalgo



*"This is all very unfair!
I have never killed
anyone personally."*

EMPLOYMENT AND URBANISATION IN DEPENDENT CAPITALIST
ECONOMIES--A BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography has been divided into several themes which deal with the nature of "social change" in the dependent capitalist economies. It is a guide to the Spanish literature in this area.

1. General Theory

Cardoso, F.H. (1974), "Las Contradicciones del Desarrollo Asociado", Revista Paraguaya de Sociologia, Vol. 29 (Enero-Abril), pp. 227-252.

Cardoso criticises A.G. Frank's major thesis, the "Development of Underdevelopment"; the permanent stagnation of the Latin American economies; the sub-imperialist role assigned to Brazil; the total absence of any native social group which could take an active role in the development of Capitalism in the dependent countries; etc. He concludes that we must accept that Capitalism revolutionises the forces of production of the periphery, but not without provoking contradictions.

2. The Employment Problems in the Cities

Mendez Villareal, S. (1974), "La Capacidad del Sector Industrial para General Ocupacion", Demografia y Economia, Vol. 3, No. 1, Mexico, pp. 96-105.

This writer projects the possible separate impact of both the prognosticated changes in the Mexican structure of industrial production (heavy, intermediate and light industries), and the productivity increases in the industrial sector upon the level of employment in Mexico from 1965 to 1975. She found that a considerable number of persons who might be displaced by the light industries, might not be absorbed by the heavy industry, even though they expand their labour force faster than the other two types of industry.

_____, (1974), "Tecnologia y Empleo", Demografia y Economia, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

Preliminary data is used. She challenges the view that "capital intensive" industries were the cause of underemployment in Mexico (1960-1970).

Munoz, H , and O. de Olivera, (1976), "Migracion, Oportu- nida desde Empleo y Diferencias de Ingreso en la Ciudad de Mexico", Revista Mexicana de Sociologia, Mexico, (Enero-Marzo), pp. 51-63.

The authors conclude that, even though the industrial sector of the Federal District of Mexico absorbed a significant number of migrant unskilled workers from 1930 to 1970, the standard of living of the population could not be said to have improved as the intersectoral distribution of income does not compare too favourably with the other sectors' distributions.

Trejo Reyes, S., (1975), "El Desempleo en Mexico: Caracteristicas Generales," Trimestre Economico, Mexico, No. 17 (Julio-Sept.), pp. 671-694.

Reyes presents some figures on the unemployment suffered by the different regions of Mexico, and by the whole country. He reminds us that underemployment levels may be much higher in the countryside than in the cities.

_____, (1976), "Expansion Industrial y Empleo en Mexico: 1965-1970," Trimestre Economico, Mexico, (Enero-Marzo), pp. 37-56.

He finds that the displacement of small industry by much bigger ones is decreasing the labour absorption capacity of the Mexican industrial sector.

Valtsos, C. (1974), "Efectos de las Inversiones Extranjeras Directas sobre la Ocupacion en los Paises en Vias de Desarrollo," Trimestre Economico, Vol. XLI, No. 162 (Abril-Junio), pp. 377-406.

He enumerates almost all possible angles from which the multinationals can reduce the level of high income employment for workers in the periphery.

Garcia, B. (1975), "La Participacion de la Poblacion en la Actividad Economica," Demografia y Economica, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 1-31.

The internal evolution of each major economic sector (primary, secondary and tertiary) in Mexico from 1950 to 1970 is studied in this article. She concludes that the process of industrialization of the Mexican labour force has been accompanied by an equally strong process of "tertiarization" which shows the weakness of the former process.

3. Occupational Mobility Related to Migration

Munoz, H., y O. de Oliveira (1973), "Migracion Interna y Movilidad Ocupacion en la Ciudad de Mexico," Demografia y Economica, Mexico, No. 2, pp. 135-148.

These findings do not predict Browning's expectations (also Balan's) that the positive selective migration to rapidly growing cities tends to decline over time.

Stern, C. (1974), "Migracion, Educacion y Marginalidad en la Ciudad de Mexico," Demografia y Economica, Mexico, No. 2, pp. 171-186.

He finds that the level of education of recent migrants to the Mexican capital city has been declining over time. This, again, confirms the findings of the above study.

4. Urbanization Issues

Hardoy, J.E. (1973), "Un Essayo de Interpretacion del Proceso de Urbanizacion de America Latina," Revista Interamericano de Planificacion, No. 27 (Sept.), pp. 95-134.

Very useful typology for all Latin American countries. Unusual amount of socio-economic data for each Latin American country for the years 1960 and 1970.

Unikel, L. (1975), "Politiclas de Desarrollo Regional en Mexico," Demografia y Economica, No. 2, pp. 143-181.

After reaching the conclusion that to understand the increasing regional disparities of Mexico we should look at the dominant mode of production and appropriation of the regional productive resources together with the social and political relations that are derived from it, he then criticizes the first regional policy in Mexico, recently designed by the government.

_____, ____ y O. Lazcano (1973), "Factores de Rechazo en la Migracion Rural en Mexico, 1950-1960", Demografia y Economica, No. 1, pp. 24-57.

Using correlation analysis, they found that most of the migrants to the urban areas of Mexico from 1950 to 1960 came from either modern rural areas or smaller urban areas.

Portes, A. (1971), "Urbanization and Politics in Latin America," Social Science Quarterly, pp. 637-720.

The author challenges the model which predicts the political conservatism of shantytown dwellers on the basis that they have improved their lot. He provides another model which does not only uncover the structural conditions under which "marginals" may get actively involved in the overthrow of a conservative government, but also explains why they are politically apathetic when those conditions do not exist.

Walton, J., and J.A. Sween (1971), "Urbanization, Industrialization and Voting Behaviour in Mexico: A Longitudinal Analysis of Official and Opposition Party Support," Social Science Quarterly.

Using sophisticated mathematical techniques, he tests some widely held hypotheses concerning the relationship between the process of urbanization and the other socio-economic variables (education, percentage of population employed in industry, etc.) in Mexico. He denies that with the increasing urbanization of Mexico there has come a higher participation of the population in the decision-making process of the country.

5. Case Studies

Figueroa, A., y R. Weiskoff (1974), "Vision de las Piramides Sociales: Distribucion del Ingreso en America Latina," Essayos ECIEL (Nov.), pp. 83-154.

Chronological and cross-national distributions of income of seven Latin American countries: concentration figures (Gini coefficients), and the distribution of income by a divided (by percentages) population. Also, comparisons between the distribution of income in the countryside vs. the cities, and in agricultural vs. non-agricultural activities.

Serra, Jose (1972), "El Milagro Brazilenso: Relaidad o Mito?" Revista Mexicana de Sociologia, Mexico, (Abril-Junio), pp. 245-282.

With a good set of data, he exposes the great weaknesses which underlie the "Brazilian Miracle" in the last half of the 1960's.

 --Submitted by Danilo Colindres (with apologies to the Spanish Language from the typer).

CHILEAN HANDICRAFTS

The craftwork is the result of efforts made by political prisoners and their families. The majority of those in prison together with their families have no other obvious means of support outside of charity and whatever work - washing, mending, and personal service - they can find in a society of high unemployment and political discrimination.

This work is therefore of some pecuniary value to those undertaking it. But it is more than that. It provides the opportunity for people to express themselves politically/artistically, to establish a certain level of independence and self-sufficiency, and to work cooperatively with each other in a common task, sharing the returns on the basis of need.

The political and economic situation in Chile has not improved for the mass of the Chilean people despite four years of repression and "Chicago School" policies aimed at reducing inflation. Real unemployment is still extremely high - up to 70% in certain working class districts of Santiago - and worsened by the fact that political factors lead to further economic discrimination. The "free market" policies of the government have caused a large number of bankruptcies in small and medium-sized businesses, while the Allende programme of agrarian reform has been twisted 180 degrees, forcing peasants and cooperatives off their land.

Nevertheless the fight continues over a wide front - despite the recent "democratic" plebiscite, probably three-quarters of the population is against the military junta. The sale of these pieces of copperware, textiles, tapestries and adornments is part of that fight.

--Warwick Armstrong

Anyone interested in buying and/or assisting in the distribution of these handicrafts please contact Rosalie Armstrong for a discription and price list:

Rosalie Armstrong
230 Bedford Avenue
St. Lambert, Quebec.

BEYOND THE GEOGRAPHY OF WOMEN

It was inevitable that the geography of women which Bonnie Loyd (U.S.G. Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 3) advocates would become an acceptable part of establishment geography. For, as she suggests, research trends in this new field are firmly anchored within the establishment values and areas of discourse within the discipline. While it is true that women have been ignored by academics - hidden from the discipline - it is doubtful whether there is much of value in the established geographical research on women with which we are currently being bombarded. Many of those very social scientists who once ignored women are now jumping on the academic bandwagon in search of recognition and tenure.

Ms. Loyd's article clearly indicates that its time that people on the left critically evaluate the new directions of research on the geography of women.

Loyd clearly believes that we still need more information on women, on the differences between men and women in terms of perception, their use of space (patterns), differences in the use of landscape, differences in the position of women in other cultures and regions and so on. She says, "we are still documenting patterns and quietly pointing out differences" and "that the spatial mobility of women becomes a political issue only if we can show that it is much more constrained than the spatial mobility of men." The standard used implicitly throughout her discussion is clearly that of spatial equality with men. What she apparently doesn't realise is that there is no such thing as men's "patterns" or use of space per se, but that patterns are an expression of particular social relations. Spatial equality is a meaningless abstract concept bordering on space fetishism and completely divorced from most people's struggles and realities.

The absence of any socialist (or even feminist?) analysis in Loyd's article is striking. She does not ask any important questions here. Questions such as "What would a socialist or even Marxist analysis of the geography of women involve?", "Is the spatial dimension important at all?", "Is not the spatial dimension a diversionary one in political terms?", "Does not Marxism destroy the very categories that geographers work with, those very categories such as perception and space that Loyd is advocating we study?" Nowhere in the article do we hear anything of women's struggles in the workforce or in the community; surely studies should start from the very real problems and struggles that women are facing in our society.

Loyd might do well to reflect on the following quote from Rosa Luxemburg which discusses women's class antagonisms in terms of their relations to the means of production and consider its

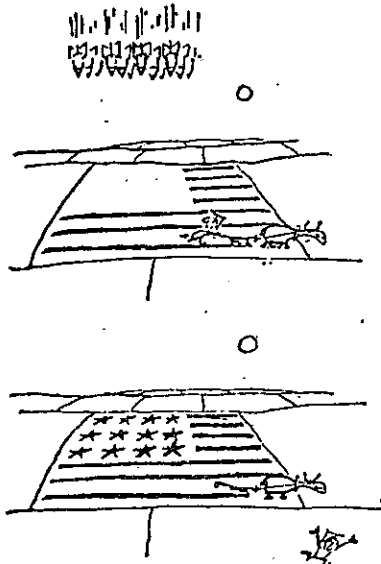
relevance for the geography of women:

Aside from the few who have jobs or professions, the women of the bourgeoisie do not take part in social production. They are nothing but co-consumers of the surplus value their men extort from the proletariat. They are parasites of the parasites of the social body. And consumers are usually even more rabid and cruel in defending their "right" to a parasite's life than the direct agents of class rule and exploitation..... The women of the property-owning classes will always fanatically defend the exploitation and enslavement of the working people by which they indirectly receive the means for their socially useless existence. (Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle, 1912).

Unless geographers who claim to be socialists and feminists firmly anchor their academic studies and theory within the realm of political practice, their work will be sterile and meaningless and may even be used against the struggles of working class people as much of the work of geographers has been used in the past.

Lee Seymour

St. John's, Newfoundland
March 1978



Fall 1976
John Holmes
Queens University

Geography 863 - Issues in Economic Geography

Reading List

I. INTRODUCTION

Harvey, D. (1973), Social Justice and the City, Ch. 4.

Olsson, G. (1974), The Dialectics of Spatial Analysis, Antipode, 6, 3, and Servitude and Inequality in Spatial Planning: Ideology and Methodology in Conflict, Antipode, 6, 1.

Boddy, M.J. (1976), The Structure of Mortgage Finance: Building Societies and the British Social Formation, IBG New Series, 1, 1, 58-71.

Barnbrock, J. (1974), Prologomenon to a Methodological Debate on Location Theory: The Case of Von Thunen, Antipode, 6, 1.

Holland, S. (1976), Capital versus the Regions, London: Macmillan 1-35.

Gray, F. (1975), Non-Explanation in Urban Geography, Area, 7, 4.

Schmidt, R.G. (1976), Transportation Expansion and Development in Canada to 1927: A Political Economy Approach, Queen's University Department of Geography M.A. Thesis, Ch. 1.

Allan, R. (1976), The Fiscal Crisis of Local Governments and the Political Economy of Urbanisation, Queen's University Department of Geography M.A. Thesis; Ch. 1.

II. MARXIAN ECONOMIC THEORY

a. Method of Analysis

Marx, Preface to A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy

Mandel, E. (1971), The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx, London: New Left Books, 1-39.

McLellan, D. (1971). The Thought of Karl Marx, London: Macmillan, 122-137.

Haring, K. (1975), Marxian Cultural Evolution: A Review, Antipode 7, 2.

Godelier, M. (1972) Rationality and Irrationality in Economics, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Cornforth, M. (1973), Materialism and the Dialectical Method, New York.

Lichtheim, G. (1973), Marxism, New York: Praeger, 393-406.

Good short summaries:

Fine, B. (1975), Marx's Capital, London: Macmillan.

McLellan, D. (1975), Marx, London: Fontana.

Mandel, E. (1969) An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, New York: Pathfinder Books.

b. The Theory of Value and Surplus Value

1. Value Theory in Classical, Neo-Classical and Marxian Economics

Desai, M. (1974), Marxian Economic Theory, London: Butterworth, 1-16.

Bose, A. (1975), Marxian and Post-Marxian Political Economy, Hamondsworth: Penguin, 1-100.

Mandel, E. (1971), op. cit., 40-51.

Mandel, E. (1968), Marxist Economic Theory, London: Merlin, 1-20.

2. Commodity Production

Sweezy, P. (1942), The Theory of Capitalist Development, New York: Monthly Review Press, 23-74.

Desai, M. (1974), op. cit., 17-26.

Lichtheim, G. (1973), op. cit.

3: Three Circuits of Capital.

Desai, M. (1974), op. cit., 27-32.

Mandel, E. (1968), op. cit., 72-94.

4. The Transformation Problem

Desai, M. (1974), op. cit., 45-53.

Sweezy, P. (1942) op. cit., 109-132.

Bose, A. (1975), op. cit., 87-100.

5. Simple and Extended Reproduction

Mandel, E. (1968), op. cit., 305-341.

Sweezy, P. (1942), op. cit., 75-108.

Desai, M. (1974), op. cit., 77-98.

Barnbrock, J. (1976) Conditions for Stable and Unstable Growth in Marx's Model of Accumulation, Antipode, 8, 2, 12-23.

c. The Political Economy of Capitalism

1. The Development of Capital

Mandel, E. (1968), op. cit., 95-131.

Sweezy, P. (1942), op. cit.

2. Contradictions of Capitalism

Sweezy, P. (1942), op. cit., 133-238.

Mandel, E. (1968), op. cit., 132-181 and 342-392.

3. Advanced Capitalism and the Role of the State

Sweezy, P. (1942), op. cit., 239-328.

Mandel, E. (1968), op. cit., 393-547.

Miliband, R. (1969), The State in Capitalist Society, London: Quartet Books, 1-106 and 161-236.

O'Connor, J. (1970), The Fiscal Crisis of the State I and II, Socialist Revolution, 1, 1, 2.

O'Connor, J. (1973), The Fiscal Crisis of the State, New York: St. Martin's Press. Particularly 1-63 and 97-178.

Habermas, J. (1975), Legitimation Crisis, Boston: Beacon.

Gold, D. et al. (1975), Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State, Monthly Review, 27, 5, 6.

Harvey, D. (1976), The Marxian Theory of the State, Antipode, 8, 2, 80-89.

Poulantzas, N. (1976) The Capitalist State: a Reply to Miliband and Laclau, New Left Review, 95, 63-83.

Poulantzas, N. and Miliband, R. (1972), The Problem of the Capitalist State, in Blackburn, R. (ed.), Ideology in Social Science, New York: Vintage.

III. POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

1. General Implications of Marxian Economic Theory for Economic Geography

Harvey, D. (1975), The Geography of Capitalist Accumulation: A reconstruction of the Marxian Theory, Antipode, 7, 2, 9-22

Castells, M. (1968), Is there an Urban Sociology? in Pickvance, C.G. (1976), Urban Sociology, London: Tavistock.

Castells, M. (1969), Theory and Ideology in Urban Sociology, in Pickvance, C.G. (1976), op. cit.

Holland, S. (1976), op. cit., 36-47.

Caloren, F. (1976) The Urban World of Manuel Castells; Our Generation, 11, 2, 35-45.

2. Rent, Production of Urban Land and Housing.

Lamarche, F. (1972), Property Development and the Economic Foundations of the Urban Question, in Pickvance, C. G., op. cit

Harvey, D. (1974), Class-Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital and the Urban Revolution, Regional Studies, 8, 239-225.

Walker, R. (1974) Urban Ground Rent: Building a New Conceptual Framework, Antipode, 6, 1, 51-57.

Bruegel, I. (1975), The Marxist Theory of Rent and the Contemporary City: A Critique, Political Economy and the Housing Question, v.1. London: Housing Workshop of the Conference of Socialist Economists.

Scott, A.J. (1976), Land and Land Rent: An Interpretative Review of the French Literature, Progress in Geography, 9, 103-145.

Byrne, D. and Beirne, P. (1975), Towards a Political Economy of Housing Rent, Political Economy and the Housing Question, v.1 London: Housing Workshop of the Conference of Socialist Economists

Pickvance, C.G. (1976), Housing, Reproduction of Capital and Reproduction of Labour Power: Some Recent French Work, Antipode 8, 1, 58-68.

Clarke, S. and Ginsburg, N. (1975), The Political Economy of Housing, in Political Economy and the Housing Question, v.1. London: Housing Workshop of the Conference of Socialist Economists

3. Regional Development

Holland, S. (1976), The Regional Problem, London: Macmillan, 1-54

Frank, A.G. (1967), Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin

America, New York: Monthly Review Press

Brookfield, H. (1975), Interdependent Development, London: Methuen, 124-165.

Carney, J. et. al (1975) Regional Development in Late Capitalism: A Study of the North-East of England, in Masser, I. (ed.), London Essays in Regional Science, London:Pion.

Mellor, J.R. (1975) The British Experiment: Combined and Uneven Development, in Harloe, M. (ed.), Proceedings of the Conference on Urban Change and Conflict, London:CES.

4. Urban Social Movements

Harvey, D. (1976) Labour, Capital and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies, Politics and Society, 6, 1976.

Castells, M. (1970), Theoretical Propositions for an Experimental Study of Urban Social Movements, in Pickvance, C.G. (ed.) Urban Sociology, London: Tavistock, 1976.

Olives, J. (1972), The Struggle against Urban Renewal for the 'Cite d'Aliarte' (Paris) in Pickvance, C.G. (1976), op. cit.

Pickvance, C.G. (1974) On the Study of Urban Social Movements, in Pickvance, C.G. (ed.), op. cit.

Pickvance, C.G. (1975), From Social Base to Social Force: Some Analytical Issues in the Study of Urban Conflict, in Harloe, M. (ed.) op. cit.

Schechter, S. (1975), Urban Politics in Capitalist Society, Our Generation, 11, 1, 28-41.

5. Urbanisation Processes

Lojkine, J. (1972), Contribution to a Marxist Theory of Urbanisation, in Pickvance, C.G. (ed.), op. cit.

Preteceille, E. (1976), Urban Planning: The Contradictions of Capitalist Urbanisation, Antipode, 8, 1, 69-77.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Department of Urban and Regional Planning

1180F - THEORIES OF URBANIZATION, I

Fall, 1977
Shoukry T. Roweis

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

A NOTE ON COURSE NUMBERS AND TITLES:

In past years I offered a full year course on "The Land Question in Urban Analysis" (1173Y). Several reasons lead me to modify both the contents and organization of this course and to offer, instead, a sequence of two half courses on "Theories of Urbanization". 1180F, the first in the sequence, will be a prerequisite to 1181S -- Theories of Urbanization, II -- offered in the Spring.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF 1180F:

The course is based on two related convictions: first, that it is neither feasible nor desirable to separate urban *planning* and urban *studies*; and, second, that a systematic understanding of the dynamics of urban development (at the metropolitan level) is a key prerequisite to an understanding of regional development and growth (or underdevelopment and decline).

Therefore, 1180F seeks to introduce you to the current (and not so current) literature on urban form and structure and on the process(es) of urbanization.

If your interest in this subject is limited, 1180F will serve the purpose of giving you a basic overview of the main issues, concerns, perspectives and controversies in the field. If your interest is strong and you like to pursue the subject at some depth later, then 1180F will serve as a necessary background to a more sophisticated and advanced treatment of the subject (as, for example, in 1181S).

The exposition and discussion of the materials will focus on the broad (and, in my opinion, important) conceptual and policy issues and will deliberately deemphasize formalistic details and other technicalities.

FORMAT:

1180F will be conducted as a series of seminar presentations and discussions. *YOU ARE EXPECTED TO PREPARE WELL THOUGHT COMMENTS, QUESTIONS AND POSITIONS IN ANTICIPATION OF CLASS DISCUSSIONS.* If necessary, class

-2--

size will be kept reasonably small to allow for useful dialogue.
SYSTEMATIC PARTICIPATION IN CLASS DISCUSSIONS IS REQUIRED.

An outline of the topics chosen for treatment is included below.

REQUIREMENTS, PREREQUISITS, ETC.:

...will be discussed in the introductory session.

OUTLINE AND READINGS
 (All readings are required)

Session 1: Introduction.

PART I: OVERVIEW

Session 2: On the Meaning(s) of Theory, Urban and -ization.

Mayer, H.M., "Definitions of City", in L.S. Bourne (ed.), The Internal Structure of the City; Readings on Space and Environment, Oxford U.P., Toronto, 1971, pp.28-31.

Session 3: Concepts, Perspectives and 'Paradigms' in Urban Analysis: A Primitive Overview.

Stelter, G.A., "A Sense of Time and Place: The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past", in G.A. Stelter and A.F. J. Artibise (eds.), The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, McClelland, Toronto, 1977, pp.420-441.

Abler, R., Adams, J.S. and Gould, P., Spatial Organization; The Geographer's View of the World, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971, pp.54-61; 193-201, 233-235.

Netzer, D., Economics and Urban Problems, Basic Books, N.Y., 1974, pp.3-25.

Boskoff, A., The Sociology of Urban Regions, Appleton-Century-Crofts, N.Y., 1970, pp.3-10.

PART II: ECONOMICS BASED THEORIES

Session 4: The Raison d'Etre of Cities.

Isard, W., Location and Space-Economy, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp.1-15.

Goodall, B., The Economics of Urban Areas, Pergamon, Toronto, 1972, pp.19-45 (references appear on pp.347-356).

Heilbrun, J., Urban Economics and Public Policy, St. Martin's Press, N.Y., 1974, pp.7-18.

Session 5: The Internal Structuring of Cities.

Heilbrun, J., op. cit., pp.105-136.

Muth, R.F., Urban Economic Problems, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1975, pp.55-84.

Session 6: The Urban Public Economy.

Bish, R.L., The Public Economy of Metropolitan Areas, Markham, Chicago, 1971, pp.18-34.

Winger, A.R., Urban Economics, Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1977, pp.249-276.

Session 7: An Economist's View of Urban Problems and Policies; The Case of Housing.

Heilbrun, J., op. cit., pp.239-266.

Netzer, D., op. cit., pp.100-149.

Session 8: A Preliminary Assessment and Critique of Economics Based Theories.

Broadbent, T.A., Planning and Profit in the Urban Economy, Methuen, London, 1977, pp.29-89; 182-211.

PART III: SOCIOLOGY BASED THEORIES

Session 9: The Chicago 'School' and the Social Ecological Accounts of the Urban Phenomenon.

Schnore, L.E., "The City as a Social Organism", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol.1, No.5, March 1966, pp.58-69. Also in Bourne, L.S. (ed.), op. cit., pp.32-39.

Gans, H.J., "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life", in Pahl, R.E.(ed.), Readings in Urban Sociology, Pergamon, Toronto, 1968, pp.95-118.

Form, W.H., "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology", Social Forces, Vol. 32, No. 4, 1954, pp.317-323.

Session 10: Factorial Ecology (Old Wine in New Bottles?).

Timms, D., The Urban Mosaic; Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation, Cambridge U.P., London, 1971, pp.36-63; 84,85; 95-122.

Session 11: A Preliminary Assessment and Critique of Sociology Based Theories.

Castells, M., "Theory and Ideology in Urban Sociology", in C.G. Pickvance (ed.), Urban Sociology: Critical Essays, Tavistock, London, 1976, pp.60-84.

PART IV: THE HARVEST AND THE TASKS

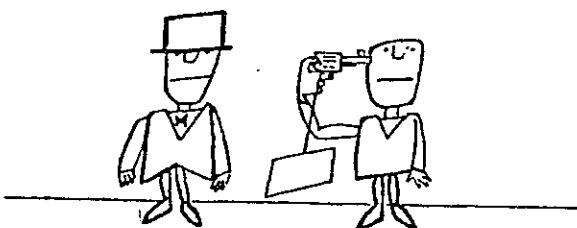
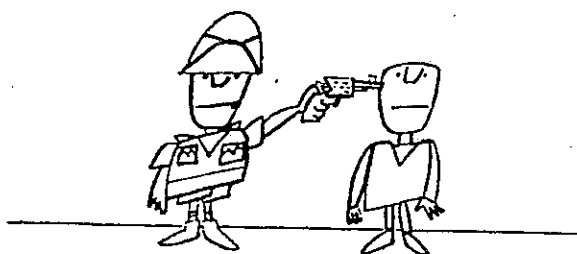
Session 12: Where Is Urban Theory at?

Roweis, S.T. and Scott, A.J., "The Urban Land Question", in K. Cox (ed.), Urbanization Processes and Conflict in Market Societies, Maaroufa, Chicago, 1977 (forthcoming).

Session 13: The Tasks and Basic Characteristics of a Viable Theory of Urbanization.

Castells, M., "Advanced Capitalism, Collective Consumption and Urban Contradictions: New Sources of Inequality and New Models for Change", in L.N. Lindberg et. al. (eds.), Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism, Lexington, Toronto, 1975, pp.175-197.

Offe, C., "The Theory of the Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation", in L.N. Lindberg et. al., op. cit., pp.125-144.



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Department of Urban and Regional Planning

1964F - PHILOSOPHIES OF SOCIAL POLICY PLANNING

Fall, 1977

Shoukry T. Roweis

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

In every system of morality I have hitherto met with, I have always remarked that the author proceeds for some time in the ordinary way of reasoning, and ... makes observations concerning human affairs; when of a sudden I am surpris'd to find, that instead of the usual copulations of propositions, is and is not, I meet with no proposition that is not connect- ed with an ought or an ought not. This change is impercepti- ble; but is, however, of the last consequence. For as this ought or ought not expresses some new relation or affirma- tion, 'tis necessary that it should be observ'd and explain'd and at the same time that a reason be given, for what seems altogether inconceivable, how this new relation can be a deduction from others, which are entirely different from it. But as authors do not commonly use this precaution, I shall presume to recommend it to the readers; and am persuaded that this small attention wou'd subvert all vulgar systems of morality.

David Hume, Treatise on Human Nature, 1739

PURPOSE

As planners, we are expected to make policy recommendations and to reach such recommendations on the basis of some empirical/scientific understanding of current realities. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to deduce -- in the purely logical sense -- normative conclusions from factual premises. Chains of reasoning which begin by descriptions and end by prescriptions must have philosophical links in between. This is the case whether we recognize it or not.

1064F is based on the philosophical conviction that planners must try to be as clearminded as possible about the philosophical links they (and others) use (wittingly or unwittingly) in reaching their policy recommendations. For one thing, this clearmindedness allows them to scrutinize and assess their personal 'gut feelings' and policy 'biases'. For another, it enables them to decide, consciously and systematically, which policies to support, oppose or ignore. Finally, it makes it possible to estimate, well in advance, the chances of a particular policy recommendation being accepted in a particular climate of opinion.

The purpose of 1064F, therefore, is to provide a forum in which students can develop (at least the beginnings of) this clearmindedness.

APPROACH

The first four sessions (including the introduction) shall be used as a quick introduction to some basic theoretical issues concerning the philosophy of science, the social sciences, and policy derivation. The object here is to develop, as it were, a minimum of 'common language' to enable us to proceed.

In the next eight sessions, we shall study and critically evaluate some selected policy statements representing a variety of theoretical/methodological/philosophical orientations. We shall use these as case studies. In each case, we shall try to discover the philosophical links between description (empirical or theoretical analyses) and prescription (policy recommendations). Additional theoretical considerations shall be introduced and discussed in due course. The last session can fruitfully be used to assess what we accomplished and discuss possibilities of further work.

FORMAT AND ORGANIZATION

Except for the first three or four sessions, 1064F will be conducted as a seminar. Full participation in class discussions is required. Other details concerning criteria for enrollment, course requirements, readings, etc. shall be discussed in the introductory session.

SESSION 1: Introductory RemarksPART 1 : CONCEPTUAL ISSUESSESSION 2: Philosophy? Why?

- Horkheimer, M., Eclipse of Reason, Seabury, N.Y., 1974 (originally published in 1947)
pp. 162-187.

SESSION 3: Philosophy and Scientific Knowledge

Popper, K.R., Objective Knowledge, Clarendon, Oxford, 1972.
Appendix, pp. 341-361.

SESSION 4: Scientific Knowledge and Social Action

Gil, D.G., Unravelling Social Policy, Schenkman, Cambridge, Mass., 1973.
Part 1, pp. 3-56 (notes appear on pp. 158 and 159).

Bailey J., Social Theory for Planning, Routledge, London, 1975.
Chapter 2, pp. 20-39.

PART 2 : CASE STUDIESSESSION 5: Social Policy, Egalitarianism and Humanism.

Gil, D.G., op. cit.,
pp. 57-156 (notes appear on pp. 159-164).

SESSION 6: Social Sciences or Policy Sciences

Dror, Y., Design for Policy Sciences, Elsevier, N.Y., 1971.
pp. 1-49; 117-142.

SESSION 7: The Urban Crisis: May Thinking Make It So?

Banfield, E.C., The Unheavenly City, Little, Brown and Co., Toronto, 1968.
pp. 3-66; 238-263 (notes appear on pp. 267-278, 307 and 308).

SESSION 8: More Social Services or 'Radical' Politicing?

Galper, J.H., The Politics of Social Services, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975.
pp. 22-43; 140-152; 188-227.

SESSION 9: The Montreal Citizens' Movement

Editors, "The Montreal Citizens' Movement", Our Generation, Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 1974,
pp. 3-10.

M.C.M., "The MCM Manifesto", Our Generation, Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 1974,
pp. 11-22.

Schechter, S., "Urban Politics in Capitalist Society: A Revolutionary Strategy", Our Generation, Vol. 11, No. 1, Fall 1975,
pp. 28-41.

SESSION 10: Social Psychology, Complex Organizations and the Prospects of Social Policy Planning

Michael, D.N., On Learning to Plan and Planning to Learn, Jossey-Bass, London, 1973.
pp. 16-36; 37-48; 131-143; 237-254; 281-304.

SESSION 11: If Technology Is Capable of Abundance, Why Does Society Drag Its Feet?

Higbee, E., A Question of Priorities, William Morrow, N.Y., 1970.
pp. 55-81; 160-197 (notes appear on pp. 200, 201 and 203).

SESSION 12: Anarchy: A Liability or an Asset?

Sennett, R., The Uses of Disorder, Knopf, N.Y., 1970.
pp. 85-103; 137-158.

SESSION 13: What Do You Think? What Do You Feel Like Doing Next?

DID YOU
REMEMBER THEM
ABOUT RENEWING
MEMBERSHIPS AND
SUBSCRIPTIONS?
N.

BOOK REVIEW

Malcolm Caldwell: Wealth of Some Nations

Published by Zed Press; Distributed by Carrier Pidgeon in North America and by Omnibooks, Brussels, in Europe.

In The Wealth of Some Nations, Malcolm Caldwell combines an introductory overview of imperialism with an overview of energy consumption patterns. His synthesis is thorough, scientific and highly politicized, that is, anti-imperialist in point of view. As such this small, readable, inexpensive book makes an excellent text for a wide range of undergraduate teaching situations; courses in human-environment relations, environmental economics, the political economy of energy and resource use etc. His focus on the way in which the mode of production determines the choice of technology makes the book useful also in courses dealing with "science and society".

His analysis is not "eco-catastrophic", although the evidence he brings together argues a devastating case against the capitalist energy industries and, by implication, the capitalist mode of production. He contrasts this with energy use in China, Vietnam, Cambodia, and North Korea. In these chapters one finds much new and interesting data. If the basic data on resource use in the earlier part of the book is better known, his method of converting all capitalist industrial and agricultural production to fossil fuel energy equivalents is refreshingly uncomplicated. His treatment of imperialism integrates well with his exposition of basic world energy dynamics. Details are used well, without interrupting the flow of the argument -- for instance, the way in which British imports of nitrates from, and use of grassland fertility in its wide-flung empire was essential in providing cheap food for its metropolitan labour force.

The book is divided into three sections. First, an exposition of basic approaches to energy balance and energy use; second, an historical overview of imperialism; and third, the socialist alternatives in southeast Asia and China.

I cannot overemphasize the usefulness of this book in introductory teaching. Here an historian based at London's School of Oriental and African Studies with a long history of anti-imperialist activism has done what many geographers and environmental economists have said should be done. He has taken a giant step towards a Marxist theory of environmental relations. To be read with Engel's Dialectics of Nature, Mao on Contradiction, and Castell's Urban Question.

Ben Wisner

Departamento de Geografica,
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane Maputo
Mozambique

Geography, Social Welfare and Underdevelopment

Edited by

**Neil Smith
Malcolm Forbes
Michael Kershaw**

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Development of Modern City and Regional Planning
 Planning Techniques
 Economic Theory and Planning
 Introduction to Political Economy
 Political Economy of Urbanism
 Philosophy and Scientific Method

OPTION AREAS

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 Regional Problems of the EEC
 Urbanization in Latin America
 Planning in Socialist Countries
 Housing in Less Developed Countries
 Housing and Community Action
 Urban Design
 Ecology and Energy Studies

Write for Prospectus and Application Forms to:

The Co-ordinator
 Department of Planning
 Architectural Association School of Architecture
 36 Bedford Square
 London WC1
 Telephone: 01-636 0974

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