

RACE IN CONTEXT: THE UNITED STATES.

by

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ABSTRACT.

The thesis addresses the problem of continued racial discrimination in the United States. This discrimination is revealed in the distribution of black Americans on income and occupational indices and in the spatial segregation of the black urban ghettos. The problem is approached through a critical review of representative writings on the subject of American race relations. These writings are classified by two broad categories: 'mainstream' and 'black nationalist' perspectives. A chapter is devoted to each perspective and the historical development and theoretical validity of the analyses are reviewed. Criticism is focused on the relative inability of the analyses to explain, in a consistent manner, the historical continuities in, and transformations of American race relations. The final chapter attempts to situate racial discrimination in the context of a Marxist analysis. A conceptual framework based on the works of Marx and Poulantzas is developed. This framework includes such concepts as the mode of production, the social formation, capitalist accumulation, periodisation and the state. These concepts are then used to develop a

periodisation of American society into the phases of slavery, sharecropping and the present phase of urban industrial concentration.

It is concluded that the history and the current spatial and socio-economic distribution of black people can be coherently situated within the proposed framework. The relationship between racial discrimination and the organisation of American society through the social relations of production and through competition inherent in the labour market is of particular importance. Thus the social relations inherent in the capitalist mode of production, in addition to the historical and spatial uniqueness of the American social formation are seen as appropriate conceptual tools for the study of racial discrimination. Further work is necessary however, before a full understanding of the complex effects surrounding the problem can be developed.

i gcomhar Micheál agus Maura,
my parents.

The coloured people of Washington enjoy all the social and political rights that law can give them, without protest and without annoyance. The public conveyances are open to them, the theatres, and the jury box, the spoils of party power are theirs. Many of these men are wealthy. (Constance Green: THE SECRET CITY).

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Undoubtedly the most important aspect of the intellectual climate within which this thesis was written, however, was the Vancouver Local of the Union of Socialist Geographers. Among them, I have learned much; not least that learning itself is a more rapid and enjoyable process when carried on in cooperation with other people rather than in isolation from them.

Ritual demands that I claim full responsibility for all opinions and mistakes contained herein and so, to ritual, I make my bow.

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CHAPTER ONE.

THE PROBLEM AND SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON ITS TREATMENT.

1. Introduction.

For some time, certainly since the turn of the century, geographers sociologists and other students of the city have attempted to explain the residential differentiation of urban centres. Within the geographical literature it is possible to identify two major streams. (Carter, 1972., Harvey, 1973). On the one hand, the approach favoured by Muth and Alonso stresses market forces, particularly demand, which through the generation of rental hierarchy or range, determines the residential patterning of cities. On the other hand, those in the tradition of the Chicago school prefer to assess the impact of a wider range of social, economic and historical forces on the spatial organisation of the city.

More recently, geographers have focussed on the black ghetto as a particular aspect of American urban centres. Subsequent to the dispersal of other ghetto occupants, the persistence of black spatial segregation suggested that forces different from those

affecting non-black ghettos maintained or reproduced the black ghetto. The extent of geographic research on the nature of these forces is not, however, impressive. (Deskins, 1969., Ernst and Hugg, 1976).

The events of the nineteen-sixties generated extensive research with the objective of understanding the conditions that led to the riots and civil disorder of that period. Black activists and radical academics also participated in the renewed inquiry. Little agreement on the causes of persistent discrimination emerged. Most however, were convinced that spatial segregation and social and economic discrimination persisted in some interconnected manner. Disagreement centred on the interpretation of the nature of that connection. (Harrison, 1974., Perlo, 1975).

This thesis confronts the problem of the persistent relative deprivation and ghettoisation of black people in the United States. In this brief introductory chapter the problem itself, the literature related to it, and the method to be employed in dealing with the problem will be outlined.

2. The Problem.

It is not the intention to embark here on an elaborate empirical substantiation of racial socio-economic differences. An appendix to the thesis attempts to present the factual basis for the assertion that black Americans live in a state of relative socio-economic deprivation and have been unable to alter this situation in any significant way. (See appendix A). The spatial segregation of black people hardly requires proof here either. (See Rose and McConnell, 1972). Consequently the following definition of a ghetto is adequate for the purposes of the thesis.

The ghetto generally is a territorially unified area of the urban community, often located near the Central Business District. It is an area in which inhabitants have similar racial, social, economic, and cultural attributes distinguishing them from the majority of the city's population. The ghetto as a social location is characterised by discrimination and inferior status and is maintained by suppressive forces of white majority over black minority. The word "ghetto" usually is accompanied by the connotation of a slum; however, this is not always the case. A slum is caused by economic factors, a ghetto adds cultural and social restrictions to those already present in the slum. A slum can be a ghetto, but a ghetto need not be a slum. (Ernst and Hugg, 1976: 115).

This thesis will focus on the social and economic processes and relationships which result in the ghetto characteristics described above. The specific thesis problem can best be stated

in the form of two questions: why and how does the relative deprivation and spatial segregation of black Americans persist?, and, in what manner is this discrimination related to American society as a whole?

These two interrelated questions can be approached in a variety of ways. Indeed there exists already a wide range of literature expressly intended to offer answers to these questions but the level of disagreement and contradiction therein, means that a careful investigation of its content is necessary. Such an investigation may help to identify the most appropriate means of dealing with the problem.

3. The Literature.

Despite the exclusion of material which is solely concerned with the measurement of racial discrimination, an extensive quantity of relevant work remains. There is no suggestion that more than a fraction of it has been covered in this thesis. From the texts which have been addressed it can be suggested that separate 'schools of thought' or dominant perspectives can be identified. Within each 'school' or perspective there exists, of course, disagreement and debate. (Tabb, 1970., Harris, 1974). Nonetheless, each perspective is in general agreement concerning the principle causative factors of racial discrimination. It is

noteworthy that writers within each perspective are frequently ignorant of the analyses of those in the other.

In addition to a general similarity of analysis, the historical development of each perspective is relatively discrete. By classifying the literature in this manner, the process of presenting and reviewing the material is facilitated. Two perspectives can be identified.

(A) A mainstream or established perspective views the problem as a consequence of mismanagement. State institutions are believed to be capable of correcting inequality through the modification of programmes and policies. The problem is believed to have been exacerbated by the persistence of psycho-sociological racial attitudes. These are explained as a remnant of the slave period when real economic discrimination existed and generated the attitudes. It is argued that the real economic basis no longer exists and that attitudes PER SE are at the root of the racial question in the present phase. The state is urged to terminate the manipulation of these attitudes by particular sectors of the economy such as real estate. (Kerner, 1968., Brown, 1972).

A variation of this approach is the proposition that pathological black behaviour is the root cause of continued discrimination and tends to obstruct government policies.

Originally formulated by Lewis (1965), the 'culture of poverty' analysis suggests that poor ghetto dwellers are trapped in a cycle of poverty which gives rise to pathological or deviant behaviour. This behaviour prevents the poor from successfully escaping the poverty cycle. Whereas Lewis applied his analysis to the poor in general, Banfield (1974) applies it to black people specifically.

Rose, a geographer, suggests that American society is motored by 'invisible' cultural forces which create and maintain social and racial divisions. Writers such as Kain (1969), and Harrison (1974), propose variations of a labour 'mismatch' theory wherein the problem is seen as a consequence of spatial and/or qualification gaps between the people and the jobs that could potentially eradicate the basis of deprivation.

Common to a majority of these analyses is one of two arguments. Discrimination is believed to have arisen either from a malfunction of the social system and requires therefore, some degree of state intervention and management, or, from natural or inevitable forces which the state must recognise and ameliorate as best it can. The state is viewed as an independent arbiter, a force related to the problem only in so far as it attempts to correct it.

(B) As with the mainstream approach, there are many variations within what can be called the black Nationalist perspective. The latter analysis suggests that black people in the United States are basically distinct from all other races, particularly from white people, in both economic position and cultural heritage. The attainment of economic and cultural development can only be realised through the establishment of separate institutions. (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967).

The forms of the proposed separate institutions have been the focus of much debate. Cruse (1967) has argued that the creation of protected institutions of cultural activity will eventually allow black people to participate equally in American society. More radical proposals, often associated with the Communist Party of the U.S., call for secession and the formation of a sovereign state. (Foster, 1954., Jacobson, 1968). More recently, black nationalism has been associated with the struggle to attain political power over the ghetto areas of central cities. (Allen, 1969).

The basis of these arguments is twofold. On the one hand racial identity and uniqueness of historical experience and cultural expression are posed as the constitutive elements of nationality. On the other hand, the concentration of black people in ghettos has led to the identification of ghetto space

with national colonised space. In order to break free from the alleged colonial domination political separation is advocated. (Thomas, 1972., Perry, 1974). This approach is frequently referred to as the 'internal colony' analysis and the relation between the ghetto and larger society as 'internal colonialism'.

Recent work in the internal colony field has attempted to link the concept of social class to those of racial discrimination and spatial segregation. (Tabb, 1970., Harris, 1974., Bailey, 1973). Although these scholars do not advocate secession, their work clearly stems from previous developments in the black nationalist tradition.

Another variant of the black Nationalist position is Pan-Africanism. Contending that racial differences are insurmountable, all black people are urged to return to Africa. Proponents of this approach have attempted to document their argument with a plethora of empirical case studies of discrimination. As a political movement it has been, on occasion, of importance in black American history. (Essien-Udom, 1962).

Finally, it should be noted that a number of black writers and leaders have supported integration through gradual assimilation. Attempting to accelerate the social and economic

climb of black people, assimilationists are frequently associated with the black bourgeoisie and with attempts to capture the black market. (Frazier, 1957). Implied in their analysis is the continued possibility of accumulating capital and developing industry capable of competing with 'white' industry. The suggestion is that black people will achieve equality through separate economic development but within the context of existing socio-economic structures. Allegedly, social and cultural integration will inevitably follow. (Washington, 1968).

The unifying theme of black nationalist approaches is the argument, implicit in most of them, that the processes causing racial discrimination are constitutively racial. In other words, these causative processes are believed to affect black people indiscriminately in order to enrich or protect an undifferentiated white population.

4. Problems in the Literature.

A comprehensive review of the literature must first confront the varied and contradictory perspectives noted above. Three questions are of particular importance here: Firstly, how have several distinct explanations of American race relations arisen and persisted for so long? Secondly, is it possible to arrive at a correct choice of the

most accurate interpretation ? Finally, if this is possible, how can it be achieved ? It seems appropriate to address these problems through a consideration of theory

A theory may be defined as a proposed explanatory statement concerned with a chosen section of reality and arrived at by a process of abstraction from that reality. Harvey maintains that theories are free creations of the human mind and speculative fantasy may thus be regarded as a theory of some sort. However, he believes that the success of scientific explanation lies mainly in the way it has taken this speculation and transformed it from an amorphous collection of ideas to a set of valuable explanatory statements. (Harvey, 1969:87/88). But this explanatory process presupposes the desire to understand and this desire must arise from a definite purpose.

Scientific inquiry must be understood as an attempt to satisfy particular purposes but this does not necessarily imply that each scientist is fully appraised of the purposes which his or her work attempts to fulfill.

Harris points out that purposes suggest values and interests. People approach the world they seek to understand imbued with the values of their society, imbued with a particular perspective on the world. The awareness of such interests on the part of the individual is not essential. (Harris, 1968).

It seems reasonable to suggest that the persistence of contradictory analyses of racial discrimination can be explained through an investigation of the interests and purposes of the theorists involved. Such an investigation would necessarily define purposes by reference to the theory simply because that is where the values of the theorist are reflected. The question of choosing the most appropriate or accurate analysis appears to be more difficult however, as the preceding remarks suggest that science is nothing more than the rationalisation of the interests of various groups.

This problem of relativism has been approached in a number of ways. Some employ an empirical method in an attempt to create objective theory through analysis of the 'objective facts'. In the past this form of analysis has led not only to bad theory but also to human suffering. (Harvey, 1974).

Empiricists pride themselves on being concrete and down to earth, interested only in 'the facts' --an interest which is in itself an ideology. The 'facts' exist discretely and in isolation from the totality. The direct experience of 'fact' which in its immediacy seems concrete is in a literal (Hegelian) sense, 'abstract'. A part is abstracted from the whole while to be properly understood it must be seen concretely, situated within the totality that gives it its specific meaning. (Anderson, 1973: 3).

The empirical approach offers no means of circumventing the problem of values in theory. A different approach has been taken

by Folke. He argues that values in social science operate to legitimise the hegemony of a particular class. Although similar assertions might be made of the analyses of all class perspectives, Folke interestingly proposes that a distinction can be made between science and what he calls ideology.

What is needed is the replacement of ideology with science, i.e. a science based on historical materialism. Obviously such social science is not neutral in any political sense. It is objective in the sense that it provides a correct understanding of the mechanisms, contradictions and direction of capitalist society. (Folke, 1973:16).

Beneath these rather ambitious assertions, Folke is arguing that a superior theory is one which most comprehensively analyses and explains both the complexity of the context and the manner in which any specific problem relates to it. Anderson clearly established the impossibility of scientific inquiry without contextualising the problem. Whereas the ascription of interests to scientific inquiry seems to reduce social science to relativist gainsaying, criteria can, nonetheless, be established whereby a comparative evaluation of theory is made possible.

From the above remarks it is possible to escape the relativist circle and establish some specific criteria for the evaluation of the literature and the approach to the thesis problem. It will be necessary, however, to return to a discussion and elaboration of the concept of ideology in the final chapter.

5. The Method.

An ideal solution to the thesis problem should take the form of a comprehensive theoretical framework capable of explaining the persistence of racial discrimination and the relationship of discrimination to the social whole. The variety of existing frameworks and some of the problems inherent in them have been indicated in the preceding pages.

This thesis will take the form of an extended literature review intended to evaluate existing theory, assess its usefulness and indicate the elements lacking in existing theory but essential to a comprehensive analysis. Subsequent to the review, a schematic outline of an alternative framework will be developed.

The form of the review will be guided by the following considerations.

Theory is generally concerned to explain material conditions. Because the context of the problem --American society-- cannot be understood without consideration of the historical forces which formed it, attention will be paid to the historical continuity of the forms of analysis and the relationship of these forms to the material conditions. The literature under review will not be classified by academic discipline but will be reviewed in the historical order of its formation.

The critical review will focus on the internal consistency of theory and on the degree to which each theory is capable of incorporating the complex of related social and historical forces without radical theoretical restructuring. In relation to this, the point of abstraction of each theory, that is, the set of implicit or explicit assumptions inherent in all theory, will be noted.

Theoretical analyses will not be viewed as objects or phenomena that are separate from and unrelated to the problem they address. Social theory, once enunciated and developed, and certainly when used as a basis for policy, constitutes an aspect of the problem itself. Social theory reproduces or contradicts beliefs and attitudes and thereby rationalises forms of practice. This is particularly clear in the case of nineteenth century theory and its relation to slavery.

A number of black Nationalist perspectives do not find expression in elaborated theoretical analyses. Nonetheless they are included in the review and, in addition to the Communist party and labour organisations, commented on in a critical manner. This has been done for two reasons.

Firstly, these organisations constitute important components of the social history of black Americans and thus of the context of the problem. Mainstream writers have often dismissed black culture as deviant and pathological, the nature of the groups to be discussed will demonstrate the inaccuracy of this view. Secondly, although lacking in formal theoretical expression, the practices of these groups imply an interpretation or analysis of racial discrimination. The implied analysis can be suggested, in most cases, without excessive guesswork. It would be nothing short of ignorance to omit from this review, actions and statements by people who, precisely because of the problem under discussion, were in no position to 'theorise.'

The review is intended to critically assess the current level of analysis dealing with the problem, to give some indication of the historical forces that have shaped both the problem and the analysis thereof, and to indicate what is required of any alternative framework. The subsequent schema of what an alternative framework might comprise is intended to

utilise the content and implications of the review and to point in what appear to be the directions of greatest import. The remainder of the thesis, therefore, will take the following form.

The second chapter will review representative texts from the mainstream perspective. The material and intellectual origins of the American racial problem will be drawn before proceeding to a closer analysis of the works which focus on the urban forms of racial discrimination. These date from the early twentieth century and in particular from the Chicago school of human ecology.

What have been termed black Nationalist perspectives are the focus of the third chapter. Because this approach identifies important continuities from the nineteenth century rural forms of discrimination to twentieth century urban forms, more attention has been paid to the earlier period than is the case with the mainstream perspective. Although mainstream perspectives are not without an appreciation of historical forces, they do not tend to identify significant continuities. The role of the Communist party and the labour unions will also be reviewed here. These organisations attempted to organise people in the labour force, and the distribution of blacks in the labour force is a fundamental aspect of the problem in hand.

The fourth chapter outlines some basic concepts that seem appropriate to a more comprehensive analysis of the problem. An attempt is made to apply these concepts through a periodisation of the forms of racial discrimination.

Finally, a concluding section attempts to summarise the thesis and its arguments and to suggest the implications of the preceding material for geographic inquiry.

CHAPTER TWO.

MAINSTREAM SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE GHETTO.

1. Introduction.

This chapter is an attempt to review the mainstream literature concerned with black-white race relations in the States. By no means a unified body of thought, it has been identified by its dominance in social science disciplines in general and by its importance to policy formation in particular. Although some reference is made to nineteenth century material, the chapter is concerned chiefly with twentieth century writings.

Some of the analytical tools and criteria suggested in the preceding chapter will be employed here. These include an investigation of the assumptions inherent to the method; the internal consistency of the theories advanced and, because it is appropriate to some of the material covered in this chapter, policy effectiveness. It was pointed out that the problem of the ideological and scientific intent of social analysis is a necessary component of all evaluation and this, along with the other criteria, suggest a means of organising the material.

Rather than trace the development of each individual discipline the literature will be reviewed in historical order. A brief section commenting on the study of race relations in the nineteenth century is followed by an investigation of the Chicago school, Franklin Frazier, Drake and Cayton, Myrdal, the social area analysts, the culture of poverty approach and the urban land economists respectively. The labour mismatch thesis of Kain and Harrison will also be examined briefly. Finally, the works of geographers on black America will be reviewed with particular attention to the writings of Morrill and Rose. A concluding section will attempt to summarise the basic elements of the critical review.

Because the review is intended to evaluate basic or structural 'causal factors' or 'explanatory variables', writings which attempt to articulate the deep rooted relations maintaining the racial dichotomy have been included and a wide range of articles detailing, for example, the extent of spatial segregation of races has been omitted. A further consequence of the search for 'primary factors' is that much of the material reviewed is concerned with poverty or ghettoisation as general problems rather than with these problems as they relate to black Americans. Invariably, however, reference is made in these works to racial differentiation and theoretical propositions concerning the origins of this differentiation are offered. A review of such literature is, therefore, not only justified but necessary.

2. Pre-Twentieth Century theory of Race Relations.

Herbert Spencer had perhaps the most significant influence on American sociology from the middle of the nineteenth century until the Second World War. His world view was systematic and complex. It rested on the idea of 'pervasive force' manifesting itself on various planes of existence - the physical, cosmological, biological and social. Spencer viewed human society as a social organism which developed slowly and in a manner similar to that of biological organisms. (Spencer, 1880). He is popularly regarded as the formulator of Social Darwinism. By 1855 he had already elaborated a theory of evolution not unlike Lamarck's environmentalist view. Transferring biological theory to human society was consistent with his theory in that each stage or section of 'the real' merely represented different forms taken by a continuous and pervasive 'force.'

In an essay intended to dissociate himself from the thought of Comte, Spencer wrote:

"That division of Biology, which concerns itself with the origin of the species, I hold to be the supreme division, to which all others are subsidiary. For on the verdict of Biology on this matter, must wholly depend our conception of human nature, past, present and future; our theory of the mind; and our theory of the future." (Spencer, 1968: 16).

Darwin's ORIGINS OF SPECIES provided for Spencer the theory of how organisms developed and species originated. However, whereas Darwin's formulation of natural selection suggested that accidental mutations, (if they increased the ability of species to survive and develop), were the basis of biological evolution, Spencer transformed the theory into one of battle or 'conscious conflict' between species. It was Spencer who coined the phrases 'the struggle for existence' and 'the survival of the fittest'. (Gossett, 1963: 146).

Spencer's Social Darwinist philosophy included two propositions:

1. The level of civilization attained by any given race (or nation) was a direct cause of the level of biological development achieved by that race. By implication, 'inferior' races or nations could not be allowed equal status with those which had attained superior levels of development.

2. Because society functioned as a 'natural organism' any interference in its development was bound to lead to catastrophe. The state (by Spencer's own implication) should confine itself to checking the 'inferior races' who, having been brought into contact with higher races, tended (presumably in an unnatural manner) to seek equal status.

Spencer's racism was not as thoroughgoing as some would have wished. His sympathies for the Lamarckian view of evolution allowed for the possibility of inferior races eventually attaining an advanced level of civilisation. Regarding the intermixture of races as detrimental to the unfolding of natural forces, he spoke against those who sought to expand 'western' civilisation into the hearthlands of primitive peoples. At a time when imperialist expansion was nearing its most frenetic levels of activity, this was not a popular position to take. (Spencer, 1880., Gossett, 1963).

Spencer's theory provided the context within which American sociology was to develop. Sumner, perhaps his most noted disciple was professor of political science at Yale; Hall who related the psychological stages of childhood to the evolution of human society through 'the theory of recapitulation', received his Ph.D. from Harvard; David Starr Jordan who developed the theory of eugenics was president of Stanford. The theory of Eugenics proposed that heredity explained individual superiority through intellectual ability. Unlike the laissez faire attitude of the Social Darwinists, the Eugenicists believed that the 'superior strata' of society were in danger of extinction because of inadequate reproduction. The 'inferior masses', on the other hand, were to be prevented from reproducing and thus debilitating the human race. (Gossett, 1963, Ladner, 1973).

Growing urban centers and continued immigration were a persistent feature of late 19th and early 20th century America. The black population had begun its Northern movement and race riots had occurred in several cities. The end of the nineteenth century saw protracted economic recession and labour unrest. It also saw the development of academic sociology in American universities and the study of societies with a view to reform and control. (Dowd, 1974).

It was in these conditions and with the philosophical legacy of Spencer and his students that the Chicago school of Human Ecology commenced its urban investigations.

3. Human Ecology.

The Chicago school of human ecology played an important part in the development of American urban geography and urban sociology. Park and his colleagues developed a theoretical framework which allowed them to make interpretative statements concerning the forms and processes of American cities. Although their method was inductive, their interpretative statements were undoubtedly influenced by Social Darwinism.

There is no doubt that the early proponents of this approach took care to spell out the differences between the fields of social and natural science. They recognised that unlike plants

or animals, human beings effectively created their own environment, were capable of symbolic communication and independent locomotion, and possessed reason and sophisticated technology. Human societies, they proposed were structured by processes. The goal of Social Science was to uncover these processes. Park wrote:

There are forces at work within the limits of any area of the urban community - within the limits of any area of human habitation in fact - which tend to bring about an orderly and typical grouping of its population and institutions. The science which seeks to isolate these factors and to describe the typical constellations of persons and institutions which the cooperation of these forces produce is what we call human as distinct from plant and animal ecology. (Park, 1967:14).

By careful observation of the apparent chaos of urban life, ordered patterns which pointed toward underlying processes could be discerned. The system of relationships between the elements of the city were caused and transformed by the increasing complexity of urban society. In Park's best known essay, he separates the institutional functions and utilities from the economic aspects of urban centres. Park was aware of both the competition inherent in the economic system and the increased cooperation generated by the division of labour. Institutional structures reflected the essential harmony of a human existence based on community of interests. But, Park and his followers did not investigate the nature and origins of the interests involved

nor did they begin to examine the causes of urban growth or the forces which stratified people into social groups. Somehow the city

in ways that are not yet wholly understood selects out of the population as a whole the individuals best suited to live in a particular region and a particular milieu. (Park, 1974: Vol. 2.: 79).

Growth was attributed to the fact that urban centres attract people rather like a flame does a moth - a sort of tropism. (Park, 1967:41). In this manner the assertion that natural causation was at the root of urban change was substituted for a historical social science. The voluminous quantities of information derived from extended research were interpreted within this system of explanation.

The ecologists did attempt to interpret the spatial concentration of people with similar socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. (See Zorbaugh, 1929). Within an income constraint, locations were chosen on the basis of individual preference for specific socio-cultural environments. The characteristics of dwellers were ascribed to the spaces they occupied and relationships between groups of people came to be couched in terms of relationships between spaces or 'natural areas'.

A region is called a region because it comes into existence without design, and performs a function

though the function as in the case of the slum , may be contrary to anyone's desire. (Ibid: 79).

The predicament of black ghetto dwellers was subsumed under Park's general theory of race relations. Conflict and accomodation were the beginning and end points of his schema. Initially, conflict between races that had been brought into contact, led to a period of oppression and domination by one race over the other. Subsequently institutions were created to mediate between the races and these eventually led to increased communication and finally accomodation. Park maintained that this was a natural cyclical process. Nonetheless he was concerned to examine the historical unfolding of the process in its specifically American form. This task was undertaken not by Park himself but by a number of his students who were to become leading sociologists of American race relations. (Ladner, 1973).

(A) E. Franklin Frazier. In contrast to Park, Frazier devoted much of his time to the historical development of race relations in the U.S.. Frazier attempted to test the theory of a natural sequence of forms of racial interaction. In his work RACE AND CULTURE CONTACTS IN THE MODERN WORLD, he concluded that the explanation of American racial contacts required a fuller sociological and historical evaluation. Although he did not directly confront Park's schema he embarked upon a detailed examination of the forms of black social organisation. (Frazier, 1957).

His work THE NEGRO FAMILY was a major contribution to the social history of black Americans. He traced the form of the black family from the slave period through sharecropping and the migration of black workers to the North. What had hitherto been interpreted as deviant social behaviour was identified by Frazier as a set of necessary responses by blacks to the reality of their situation. This reversal of the commonly held belief that individual and group behaviour was naturally or racially induced, was a major advance for its time. (Frazier, 1968., Kovel, 1971., Ladner, 1973).

Frazier also studied what he called the black bourgeoisie - the wealthiest and most influential black people as well as the independent business people who sought to enter the mainstream of American business. He believed that their ambitions could never be realised and harangued them for for their consistent emulation of white cultural practices. He believed further, that the black bourgeoisie tended to have a divisive influence on the black population in general and that this hindered the attainment of racial equality. (Frazier, 1957). Thus, Frazier was unable to develop a theory which would allow him to understand the complex of social classes and groups within and between the black and white populations. Other writers in the Chicago tradition took up this task.

(B) St. Clair Drake and Cayton. In 1945 Drake and Cayton published BLACK METROPOLIS, which stands as the culmination of the work of the Chicago school where both writers had studied. To Frazier's concern for history they added a focus on social stratification:

A more fruitful approach to Midwest Metropolis than generalising about the 'spirit of Chicago' in the abstract is to view the city as split into competing economic groups, social classes, ethnic groups and religious and secular associations, each with its own set of traditions. The violent shifts in public sentiment and action which characterise Chicago history, reflect the combination and recombination of these groups when they feel that their interests are menaced. (Drake and Cayton, 1962:29).

Using these categories of analysis the two writers sought to reveal:

(1), the relationship of Negroes to whites in Chicago, (2), the kind of world which Negroes have built up under their separate, subordinate status, and (3), the impact of these twin configurations upon the personalities and institutions of Chicago Negroes. (Ibid: xix, xx).

The basic concepts used to develop the categories and reveal the relationships are

industrialisation, secularisation, urbanisation, social differentiation, the latter showing the social stratification and the development of social types. (Ibid: xx).

Unfortunately, these concepts are ill-defined. Increasing industrialisation is seen to be responsible for an expanding complexity in the social division of labour, but the causes of industrial and economic growth are not examined. The formation of economic and ethnic groups and of political and other associations is explained by the development of people's perceptions. Whereas perceptions are of importance, they do not constitute the basis of an understanding of society. Drake and Cayton emphasise the presence of radical Republican and Liberal sentiment to explain Chicago's strong anti-slavery laws in the early and middle nineteenth century. Other factors such as local labour requirements and the overall structure of the changing relations between North and South are inadequately developed.

As with the ecological school in general, the differentiation or breakdown of the context of the problem ceases with the identification of a set of processes. Most frequently these are urbanisation and industrialisation. Within the increasingly complex urban environment, groups allegedly respond, and act according to levels of perceived threat. This allows Drake and Cayton to introduce some important historical material (labour organisation and conflict between black and white workers is well documented), but it is an approach which raises some theoretical problems.

The reader finds in Drake and Cayton's work, a number of usages of the concept of class. Initially, following Warner and Lunt (1941) they propose that social class means

two or more orders of people who are believed to be and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions..... A system of classes unlike a system of castes, provides by its own values for movement up and down the social ladder. In common parlance this is social climbing, or in technical terms, social mobility. (Warner and Lunt, 1941. cited in Drake and Cayton, 1962:772).

They believe that although the socio-economic category to which an individual belongs strongly influences his or her class position, the dominant factor in class determination is the "evaluated participation of individuals and families." (Ibid: 772).

Having established these criteria of class determination, the two writers proceed to use the term in a different manner. One finds upper, middle and lower classes within the black community based on criteria of behaviour and status, and a division of working class and middle class at the national level defined by occupation. Labour is used as a category or class without any explanation of its relationship to the classes previously defined, and capital, although used to describe an important component of the class matrix, is not related to the ruling class in any elaborate manner. Class, in the midst of

this confusion quickly loses any meaning and it becomes clear that Drake and Cayton have succeeded only in developing a typology of status and occupational groups related in some manner to forces such as labour and capital. This presents problems for the writers when they attempt to explain historical change.

Their treatment of historical change in post-Civil war Chicago makes little use of the 'classes' defined by the writers. Instead, the forces of labour and capital are seen as the principle instigators of change. However, these forces are presented in a sequence of relations of mutual toleration and antagonism as the economy experienced parallel sequences of booms and depressions. The term 'labour' appears to be useful to the authors in periods of depression or labour militancy and tends to disappear as a term (and as a force?) during periods of relative prosperity. (Drake and Cayton, 1962., vol.2.: 13 et seq.).

The periodic strikes, unionisation drives, etc. are situated in the context of the reformist movement, but in the end, the only explanation of activity rests on the perception of the people involved. Capital and labour are used as undifferentiated forces responding to a situation about which one knows nothing but that urbanisation and industrialisation are (somehow) involved. There is no investigation of the causes of expansion and recession, nor of the transformation wrought on the

labour force by the development of automatic and assembly-line production, nor, in counterposition to labour's demands for shorter hours is there any examination of capital's desire to drive down wages or otherwise increase productivity. In short, the various classes, and labour and capital, are not forces or sets of active agents, they are nothing more than the forms of organisation and reaction which people adopt in response to the ongoing forces of industrialisation and urbanisation. The analysis fails to provide a framework for the explanation of these processes.

The above remarks addressed at Drake and Cayton apply to the Human Ecological approach in general. Indeed, the authors of BLACK METROPOLIS made significant advances in their field much as Park had done two decades earlier. But the development of urban social theory did not appear spontaneously. The provision of some information on the context of the development of the theory does more than generate some insights. It situates the theoretical abstraction in its place as a component of the problem under discussion and thereby helps to explain the form of the ecological theory. Early twentieth century America attained a maturity of economic development in which business contraction and market instability all were the more dangerous. State intervention to manage the economy was postponed by the prosperity induced by world war one. This prosperity persisted through 1929. (Dowd, 1974: 86).

Many of the Northern cities grew dramatically during this period largely because of high black and European migration flows. Chicago was perhaps the most rapidly growing city.

It is easy to imagine the striking effect which the social life of the city of Chicago must have had on observers as it grew by 5 , persons per decade between 19 and 193 , immigrants for the most part. (Castells, cited in Pickvance, 1976: 37).

Castells has pointed out that the Chicago ecologists did not so much study everything that went on in the city as they studied social disorganisation and individual maladjustment. Urbanism was the real context of the problems and aspects being studied, but urbanism was defined in a specific way. (See Zorbaugh, 1929).

The city was not simply a setting for research, a convenient laboratory, to use Park's description. The city, expressed sociologically in the notion of urbanism was also a way of life. The permanent settlement of a human population of high density and with a sufficiently high degree of heterogeneity results in the emergence of a new culture characterised by the transition from primary to secondary relations, role segmentation, anonymity, isolation, instrumental relations, the absence of direct social control, the diversity and transience of social commitments, the loosening of family ties, and individualistic competition. It is this socio-cultural context which is the ultimate explanation of the new forms of human behaviour. (Castells, cited in Pickvance, 1976: 37).

Thus, very specific forms of human organisation are associated with the general term 'urbanism'. They clearly reflect a way of life which is different from the rural, but more importantly they constitute the manifestations of capitalist urbanism in particular. This leads Castells to conclude:

...not only does this branch of urban sociology have a non-specific theoretical object (viz. everything that takes place within an urban setting), but it has a different and non-explicit scientific object: the process of acculturation to modern society, i.e. to American society. (Ibid: 38).

In this manner, human ecology can be seen as a form of modernisation theory, i.e. as a form of analysis which assumes (capitalist) growth and then proceeds to study its consequences with a view to the derivation of tools of management and control. (See Regan, 1975).

At a more specific level, it could be argued that the ecologists made valuable associations of certain forms of behaviour with particular urban areas. In this regard however, the context of analysis is almost completely lost and ethnicity, age and sex structures etc., begin to emerge as the important variables.

The reason that DuBois' pleas for the introduction of race relations to sociological inquiry at the end of the nineteenth

century were rejected while the Chicago school was well established by the late nineteen twenties is closely associated with the growth of the cities and the accentuation of the problems therein. Park's approach was reformist and humanitarian.

.....[I]t should be pointed out that there was a practical and reformist element in Park, who served as the first president of the Chicago Urban League. His research orientation included a strong interest in social problems. Much of the work of the Chicago school was directed toward studying the subject of urban social disorganisation and urban pathology; and Park himself saw detached sociological knowledge as essential for the decisions of policy makers. (Ladner, 1973: 12).

Park's theory cannot, of course, be judged by his good intentions. The assumption of specific economic relations as given, indeed the identification of them as explanatory variables, necessarily gave rise to forms of theory and policy which could take no account of the importance of these relationships to the problem. Theoretically, such assumptions gave rise to the confused usage of class categories and the identification of social with natural phenomena. Because of its impact on subsequent theory, on policy formation and its practice in reformist politics, human ecology must be clearly identified as a component of the relations of racial inequality under inquiry here.

4. Gunnar Myrdal.

Drake and Cayton's work appeared one year after the publication of Myrdal's AMERICAN DILEMMA. Even more than the contrasting receptions of Dubois and later American writers, the invitation of a Swedish sociologist to air America's dirty linen indicated just how dramatic the shift in the state's attitude had been over four decades.

Ellison has suggested that recovery after the interwar recession was hampered by the regressive practices of southern economic activity. A concerted attack on this 'backward' area required detailed knowledge of the social and economic milieu of the South. According to Ellison, Myrdal was invited by the Carnegie Foundation to undertake the investigation and to stand as a representative of fair play and impartiality to the sceptical and disillusioned black population. (Ellison, in Ladner: 1973).

Cox has described the form of Myrdal's analysis in the following manner:

The author seems to have been confronted with two principal problems: (a) the problem of avoiding a political class interpretation, and (b) the problem of finding an acceptable moral or ethical interpretation. (Cox, 1970:509).

From the outset, Myrdal identifies the 'American Creed' as the dominant factor in American society:

Americans of all national origins, classes, regions, creeds and colors have something in common: a social ethos, a political creed.... . When the American Creed is once detected, the cacophony becomes a melody... as principles which ought to rule, the creed has been made conscious to everyone in American society.... . America is constantly struggling for its soul. (Myrdal, 1944: 3/4).

Conflict in American society is seen as a set of barriers to the achievement of a society governed by the 'true creed'. Myrdal explains the persistence of racial discrimination by a set of caste relations which, by inhibiting the free movement of people, constitutes a malfunction of the system.

Myrdal's use of the concept of 'caste' is very specific. He uses it to describe the division of the American population into two antagonistic and competing camps. But, having identified a colour- caste basis to the 'American Dilemma' he indicates that the forms of, and bases for caste division vary widely along a scale of wealth and occupational status. (Myrdal, 1944: 597).

He suggests that caste antagonism is more prevalent in the South than it is in the North and that it is, in general, on the wane. There are three explanations offered for this tendency. Firstly, the tendency for 'Good' to triumph over 'Evil' in the

long run, secondly the presence in the United States of large institutions that help to steer society in the direction of that trend, and finally, the 'American creed of progress, liberty, equality and humanitarianism.' (Myrdal, 1944: 79).

The concept of caste is rarely used in the manner employed by Myrdal. His choice of the term seems to have arisen from his inability to find anything better and from the persistence of aspects of the problem such as endogamy. More often, the term caste is used to define differences maintained by extra-economic coercion. Cox refers to caste in yet another way, as...

a status entity in an assimilated, self-satisfied society. Regardless of his position in the society, a man's caste is sacred to him. (Cox, 1970:519).

Myrdal takes little heed of debate concerning concepts and after extensive documentation of the history and contemporary reality of racial discrimination, announces his overly simplistic interpretation. However his comments on the future development of race relations deserve attention. Myrdal candidly admitted that black culture tended to be erroneously defined as socially deviant, yet he believed that black culture would have to dissolve in a process of assimilation which was essential to the eradication of racial tension. (Ellison, in Ladner: 1973). Above all the problem was, for Myrdal, one which required extensive management and control.

Many things that for a long period have been predominantly a matter of individual adjustment will become more and more determined by political decision and public regulation. We are fast entering an era where fact-finding and scientific theories of causal relations will be seen as instrumental in planning controlled social change. The peace will bring nothing but problems.....new urgent tasks for social engineering. (Myrdal, 1944: 1022/1023).

Such elaborations invariably fail to relate the problem in hand to its material context in a systematic manner.

In Myrdal's work one finds a confusion of classes set within an ill-defined caste division, a focus on the problem of distributing a given number of jobs of a given variety among the population, a failure to focus on the forces which generate specific employment structures, the identification of the state with a neutral manager of social and economic problems - guided only by the desire to attain the realisation of the 'American Creed'. In short, this text contains a set of inadequacies that clearly reflect the significant input of the human ecologists.

But Myrdal's predictions concerning the growth of public sector intervention proved, in the end, to be quite accurate and if measurement is of any consequence to efficient management, Social Area Analysis contributed to its functioning. The thesis turns now to note briefly, the nature and content of social area analysis, an approach typical of urban social science in the post-war years.

5. Social Area Analysis.

The urban system of the United States underwent dramatic changes in the decades immediately after the second world war. The suburbs were growing, industry was beginning to move out of the city centres or at least to decline in rate of growth, urban slums and racial tensions persisted. (Mollenkopf, 1975: 257).

The appropriate response to a problem comprising the dispersion of metropolitan industrial activity and the social costs of maintaining the inner city poor seemed clear:

.....eliminate blighting slums, stimulate investment in the central business district and provide the transportation infrastructure to keep the central business district viable. (Mollenkopf, 1975: 260).

Despite federal legislation in 1949 and 1954, the impact of urban renewal did not reach significant proportions until 1960. (Harvey, 1975). The drive for efficiency and controlled modernisation found ready academic support in the adaptation of Wirth's ecological interpretation of urban development. Social Area Analysis comprised a set of techniques capable of accurately measuring existing social areas (similar to 'natural areas'), their precise socio-economic constitution and dynamic tendencies. This was thought to be essential to the development of appropriate planning policies. The social area analysts did no

more than attempt an empirical verification of what were regarded as fundamental principles of urban growth. These had been systematised in the ecological tradition by Wirth, who postulated that given an increasing scale in urban systems, change in the range and intensity of relations, differentiation of functions and complexity of organisation all tended to increase. The social area analysts developed a series of indices for these trends. Subsequent to an assessment of the urban landscape the most apparent changes were noted and related variables were chosen. Various technical developments did little to compensate for its inadequacies. (Carter, 1972: 267).

The measurements undertaken by the social area analysts are confined to census information and, by and large, do not consider the impact of planning and zoning regulations. Carter (1972) describes social area analysis as an exercise in measurement for its own sake. He criticises the highly arbitrary selection of statistical measures and dismisses the ecological theoretical basis as inadequate. (Carter, 1972: 268). He traces the complexities of the ecological interpretation of cities and concludes that

it does little more than abstract and enumerate the sorts of factors which the oldest studies in land use drew upon in explanation of unique or exceptional situations. It seems to make little contribution to theory. (Carter, 1972: 181/182).

The consequences of post-war urban growth had other effects on urban theory, notably on Land Economics. This was related to the increasing complexity of cities and constituted a rigorous analysis of the housing market. Necessarily, it had to confront the existence of racial segregation.

6. Land Economics.

The rapid increase of post war urban growth did not level off until the early nineteen-sixties. The transformation of urban centres was associated with a plethora of government programmes, mortgage subsidy schemes, banking interventions in the housing market and speculative consortia. Post war growth did not give rise to, but sprang from a growth coalition of business and government. (Harvey, 1975., Mollenkopf, 1975, 1976).

Harvey has identified the consequences of this period of growth. They include:

- (1) Low density urban sprawl (emphasised by fiscal policies toward housing production and land speculation both of which make it feasible),
- (2) Strong multiplier effects from housing construction through complementary investments.....and high operating costs,
- (3) an assumption which grew as the urbanisation process gathered momentum, that urban expansion was inevitable, which gave rise to

(4) self-fulfilling speculative activity on the part of individuals and (5) growth inducing investments on the part of many local governments who became 'growth dependent' by incurring heavy debts now in order to raise the tax base in the future. (Harvey, 1975: 17/18).

In this context, the ability to predict behaviour in the housing market became simultaneously more necessary and difficult. Land Economics became the theoretical terrain for the analysis of urbanisation. It is therefore of importance to review both its conceptual basis and its consequences for the interpretation of discrimination, particularly in the form of ghettoisation. The basic tenets of the approach may be outlined in the following manner.

Housing, according to this approach, is distributed among consumers according to laws of supply and demand, and in accordance too with the income constraints of the consumers. It is assumed that the consumer will always maximise his or her utility. Utility is defined as a certain combination of housing, accessibility and all other commodities. This should lead to household and market equilibrium or, in other words, the best possible location for each householder (given of course, the income constraint), within a market which has equated supply and demand quantities. As Alonso has it:

The market will be in equilibrium when (1) no user of land can increase his profits or satisfaction by moving to some other location or by buying more or less land, and (2) no landlord can increase his

revenue by changing the price of his land.
(Alonso, 1965: 77).

It is further assumed that society operates in response to several forces, in particular utility maximisation, and, that the economy tends toward an equilibrium based on the interaction of market forces. Alonso demonstrates the process of abstracting market forces from the overall socio-economic matrix:

The approach that will be followed in this study will be that of economics.....the squalor of the pawnbroker and the flair of the fashion house will disappear into that grey entity, the firm. The exquisite legal complexities of real estate will vanish into straightforward buying or renting, and the rich topography of the city will flatten to a featureless plain. It is hoped that by this method a self-consistent explanatory theory will be developed which will shed light on some aspects of the internal structure of cities however incomplete this explanation may be from the point of view of those things which are not considered. (Alonso, 1965: 1/2).

Both Kirwan and Martin (1971) and Harvey (1973) recognise Muth's work as the most sophisticated within this framework, pointing out that he introduces preference effects and a model of supply factors. It is appropriate, therefore, to view Muth's work as representative of this approach. It must be immediately indicated however, that Muth attributes little or no importance to the past in explaining the urban forms of the present. This is of great importance to any explanation of ghettoisation.

Many of the features of city structure and urban land use can be explained without reference to the heritage of the past. To the extent that there is any distinction between land, especially urban land, and other factors of production, such a distinction would seem to arise chiefly from the fact of spatial uniqueness. In fact, spatial uniqueness is not as clearly a distinction in kind as one might initially suppose. If labour were not sometimes highly immobile, and hence spatially unique, there would probably be no depressed area or farm problems..... (Muth, 1969: 47).

Harvey has commented on this approach:

The simultaneity presupposed in the micro-economic models runs counter to what is in fact a very strong process. This indicates a fatal flaw in the micro-economic formulations -- their inability to handle the absolute quality of space which makes land and investment such peculiar commodities. (Harvey, 1973: 167).

It cannot, however, be denied that it is possible to increase the supply of space 'artificially', as Muth suggests. But the absolute qualities of space are not necessarily the major force in the determination of the price of housing. It seems that (in Canada, at least) the large long-term assets which financial institutions have tied up in mortgages has resulted in the growth of development corporations. These operate on a scale big enough to withhold land and invest either abroad or in other sectors of the economy with ease. Thus, by maintaining price levels, the assets of the banks are guaranteed. Created scarcity may be of great importance in the supply and price of housing. (Edelson, forthcoming). Muth on the other hand, begins his model of supply with the assumption that

While firms can affect the prices they pay or receive by their choice of location, they cannot do so by the amounts they buy or sell. (Muth, 1969: 48).

Assuming initially that all firms are identical or have identical production factors, Muth later drops this assumption and notes differences between single-family and apartment construction. Increases in concentration are seen as responses to increased accessibility, but he does not examine the supply side of the housing market beyond this.

In assessing the importance of race in the housing market, Muth proposes that if discriminatory housing allocation did exist, he would expect to find blacks paying more than whites for housing of a similar quality. (Muth, 1969: 284). He does recognise that expenditure per square mile of residential land is greater in black than in White areas, but he attributes this to cost differences or relative importance of furnishings and utilities to the contract rent. Expenditure on housing per person may be higher for blacks than for whites but this arises from low income and 'not from race as such.' (Muth, 1969: 303).

Muth is, therefore, explaining racial variance in the distribution of housing by the socio-economic characteristics of residents and allowing a residual to be explained by some abstract notion of race. He does not address the abnormal

distribution of black people in the lower income and unemployed groups nor the various mechanisms, including the housing market, which reproduce that distribution. The logical extension of Muth's argument proposes that residential segregation occurs because blacks do not wish to live with or near whites and vice-versa. But this set of attitudes does not constitute explanation, it requires explanation. To accept this as a total explanation not only ignores the structure of the supply of housing but accepts as natural an antipathy between races.

Unequal pricing is not the only boon which discriminatory practices and attitudes allow to housing suppliers. The existence of a stratified housing supply system which plays upon (and consequently reproduces) the attitudes and aspirations of groups within each stratum, can lead either to maximum turnover of the housing stock or to an increase in demand for housing in the stratum catering to upper income groups, and this is the most profitable sector.

It must be noted that the urban land market and housing supply system vary from place to place in their manner of operation. The specific form of industrial development, the process of class structuration, the existence of land-banking laws and so on are important considerations to any detailed analysis. It is with great care, therefore, that abstractions

from case studies should be made. With this in mind, Edel's formulation can be noted.

Edel's emphasis is on factors of supply. Supplier reaction to demand is the construction of housing for upper income groups. Thus, higher quality housing is made available to progressively lower-income groups ---- hand-me-down-housing. (Edel and Rothenberg, 1972). Edel cites several studies which have investigated the reaction of housing supply to large, poor immigrant groups. Filtering, (the process described above), makes housing available to the new immigrants, but the previous owners must sustain losses. These owners are most often lower middle class people who attempt to maintain and improve the quality of their homes but find that their value is declining. Government in the United States has been almost totally ineffective in the provision of low-income housing. (Edel and Rothenberg, 1972: 214). It has rather, encouraged new home building through mortgage guarantees for higher income groups. Thus, demand for low-income housing is not met with the provision of low-income housing, but with a recycling of the existing housing stock and the provision of new units at the middle and upper levels. It is difficult to pinpoint how race is intruded in a discriminatory manner in this process, however, Harvey (1974) has documented a particular instance of racial discrimination in Baltimore, and Brown (1972),

has demonstrated that discriminatory practices are still significant among real estate agencies.

The above discussion attempts to show that, contrary to the implications of Muth's analysis, the supply of housing in American cities is controlled and that this control has definite consequences for housing consumers. Without suggesting the existence of some form of conspiracy, it is clear that suppliers of housing have the facility to manipulate ethnic and racial differences. This facility does not arise from national origins or from skin colour but from the particular positions of these ethnic and racial groups within the overall social and economic matrix.

In the course of the above discussion, the persistence of large pockets of urban poverty was mentioned as one aspect of the urban crisis. The social expenditure necessary to maintain the poor through welfare, policing and other services is a severe drain on already depleted city revenues. Urban renewal programmes had the effect of relocating rather than removing poverty and the existence of large groups of unemployed people posed a threat to the fixed capital located in downtown areas. (Harvey, 1973., O Connor, 1973., Hill, 1975). This review now turns to an examination of one dominant interpretation of the causes for persistent poverty and the behaviour patterns of poor people.

7. The Culture of Poverty.

In comparison to the late nineteen-sixties, the debate over the existence of a 'culture of poverty' in recent years has received less attention. Nonetheless, the absence of a more comprehensive theory to explain persistent poverty in 'advanced Western societies' has led to periodic revivals of this form of analysis. (Della Fave, 1974).

this form of analysis, however, did contribute to the formation of American social policy in the last decade and it is appropriate to present a review here. (Moynihan, 1968). Moreover, the publication of a new issue of Banfield's work gives added justification to such a critique. (Banfield, 1974).

Valentine (1968) recognises two major streams in this literature; the first is associated with Glazer and Moynihan and stems in part from the work of E. Franklin Frazier. Whereas Frazier conceived of black social organisation as a set of responses to discrimination, he nonetheless regarded these responses as deviant or as forms of behaviour to be corrected. Glazer and Moynihan continue in the pejorative tradition and apply the term 'culture of poverty' to the lifestyles of the poor. They focus more on the internal constitution of the social life of the poor at the expense of relating that poverty to the social context. The use of a term such as 'culture' to refer

to the almost complete disorganisation and pathology described by Glazer and Moynihan seems inappropriate. More importantly, however, it will be shown that the elements of this culture are simple measures of deviation from some assumed norm. (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963).

Moynihan argues that black people are more heavily distributed in the ranks of the poor originally because of their history of slavery and rapid urbanisation. They persist in a state of poverty for a variety of reasons. Poor schooling is, for example, attributed to the typically unstable domestic existence of black people. The policy recommendations which Moynihan drew from his analysis proposed that the era of protests was over and that nothing more could be gained from that approach. Solutions would be more quickly achieved through self-help activity. Ironically he had earlier suggested that black people were incapable of such help. (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). The analysis of these writers was limited in the following ways:

A: It included the use of data which were inherently biased and constituted no more than measures of deviation from an assumed norm. B: It failed to seek evidence of organisation or to interpret social behaviour and attitudes as rational responses to a particular place in society. C: Analysis tended to

concentrate on the internal structure of the black population to the exclusion of its position within the overall society.

The second stream is best exemplified in the works of Oscar Lewis who attempts to view the life style of the poor as adaptations to a 'life situation'. Lewis maintained that the differing perspectives from which people viewed the poor were attributable to a failure to recognise differences between poverty PER SE, and the culture of poverty. He suggested that for certain groups of poor people the situation of poverty included a sub-culture with its own structure and rationale, a way of life passed down from generation to generation through the family. This subculture, he suggested, is most prevalent where a cash economy motivated by profit exists; where there is high unemployment and low wages and a lack of basic services. Other contributing factors include a society wherein the dominant values stress upward mobility and blame low status on individual behaviour.

An important aspect of this approach is the means by which the culture of poverty allegedly reproduces itself. This reproduction is carried out through a socialisation process so complete that the succeeding generations are incapable of taking advantage of improved opportunities. Although the culture is to be understood as a set of responses, Lewis regards conscious

formal or informal organisation as foreign to the concept. Where there is high racial or ethnic homogeneity, the possibility of group consciousness or awareness is greater and such awareness erodes the culture of poverty. Once political or religious organisation develops, the social and psychological core of the culture begins to break down. The civil rights movement in the U.S.A. had this effect.

Through the welfare system, advanced capitalist countries have diminished the extent of the culture of poverty and socialist countries, (he cites Cuba), have also achieved this by involving the poor in the decision making process. The culture of poverty typically includes a rapid turnover of participants wherever it is situated

Lewis arrives at his framework through careful examination of the biographies of people living in the culture of poverty. No indication is given, however, of the process of abstracting to a general framework from these few case studies. Valentine discovered after a careful scrutiny of one of Lewis's works that

We have the characters of LA VIDA presented in turn as : (1) typical of the culture of the poor; (2) following on a life-style of unknown frequency and distribution; (3) deeply affected by a specialised occupational pattern confined to one third of the community; (4) characterised by an extreme deviance unique in their chronicler's experience, and (5) spanning the gap between the upper and lower

classes both in wealth and in family patterns..... . These difficulties merely illustrate the broader problem of discerning clear relationships between these case histories on the one hand and the abstraction of the culture of poverty on the other. (Valentine, 1968: 54).

Lewis provides no context, no analysis of the material conditions of the broader society and consequently his arguments take on the form of assertion. He implies, for example, that the level of opportunity available to participants in the culture of poverty is now far greater than it was and further, that it is the intergenerational transmission of values which prevents their being taken advantage of. He offers, however, no substantive evidence for this improvement. He stresses that the culture of poverty and not poverty itself needs most urgent correction. Apparently, at one level he sees consensual marriage, a high proportion of female headed families, inability to plan for the future etc. as adaptations to a situation while, at another level, by advocating the correction of this behaviour, he interprets them as deviations from a norm that must be maintained.

Banfield has employed a variation of this culture of poverty approach analysis in his recent work. (Banfield, 1974). He maintains that belief in the existence of an urban crisis is misplaced and arises merely from the increasing differential between rising expectations and the 'real progress of society.'

Moreover, according to Banfield, real crises occur only in two spheres: the essential welfare of individuals and the good health of society. A problem in the former comprises anything that may cause premature death or grievous sorrow while a problem in the latter of the two spheres would entail the curtailing of the society's ability to maintain itself as a going concern with its 'democratic and free institutions'. The problems which normally concern geographers, (for example, traffic congestion), fall under the heading of 'amenity and comfort.' The real problems being located for the most part in the inner areas of large cities, the urban crisis can be reduced to an 'inner-big-city crisis'.

Having presented a generalised model of urban development, Banfield introduces the concepts of race and class to explain variations that occur in metropolitan growth. The criterion for defining class best suited to Banfield's intention (viz.; social analysis from a policy oriented standpoint), is the psychological orientation of people toward the future.

Distinct patterns of attitudes and behaviour are consequences of particular time orientations.
(Banfield, 1974: 54).

Future-orientation is not easy to explain and he maintains there are two conflicting theories; social heredity and social machinery. The former is a culture of poverty approach after the

fashion of Lewis. It suggests that hopelessness and inability to achieve upward mobility arises from socialisation and the transmission of values. The latter suggests that each succeeding generation experiences the same frustration of ambition independently. Banfield refuses to prejudge the issue but later in the text he writes

Slum apathy tends to inhibit the individual from putting forth sufficient effort to change the local community. They may protest and they may blame the slum entirely on the outside world, but at the same time they remain apathetic about what they could themselves do to change their world. (Banfield, 1974, 72).

In this way, Banfield focusses his analysis and responsibility for conditions of poverty on the poor themselves. He rejects the importance of the social machinery, i.e., of the broader context of poverty.

Banfield's treatment of the working, middle and upper classes revolves around degrees of variation between them rather than on the specific qualities by means of which he isolates the lower class. (See Banfield, 1974: 61/63). He describes a member of the working class as one who does not invest

as heavily in the future nor in so distant a future as does the middle class one. He expects to be an old man by the time he is fifty, and his time horizon is fixed accordingly. Also he has less confidence than the middle class individual in his

ability to shape the future and has a stronger sense of being at the mercy of fate, a power structure and other uncontrollable forces. (Banfield, 1974: 61).

Nonetheless,

....the process of middle-classification....is undoubtedly continuing at an accelerating rate and will in a few decades have reduced the working class to a very small proportion of the whole population. (Ibid: 74).

Presumably this means that the time perspective of working class people is amenable to easy extension, but as to the reasons for this fortunate (?) condition, Banfield is not surprisingly silent.

Banfield's classes are purely descriptive. They do not refer to groups with specific or historical roles. Moreover, Banfield does not investigate the processes that gave rise to the classes he describes; he cannot explain massive inter-class mobility nor does he justify his criteria of classification. The distribution of power is unmentioned, and so, one assumes is not considered to be of any consequence to the investigation. (See Perlo, 1975: 120 et seq).

As black people are heavily distributed in Banfield's lower class, their position within society must be explained first, by class-cultural factors. Any residual may be explained by race.

He insists that the 'census negro' be separated from the 'comparable negro'. By this is meant that when educational levels are held constant for blacks and whites, the difference in income between the two groups diminishes. Thus, racial inequality is not based on race as such, but on educational levels etc.. It will be recalled that Muth also employed this approach in his analysis of the housing market. Banfield then attempts to separate the concepts of racial and class discrimination and behaviour.

Much of what appears (especially to negroes) as race prejudice is really class prejudice or, at any rate class antipathy. Similarly, much of what appears (especially to whites) as negro behaviour is really lower class behaviour. The lower class is relatively large among negroes; it appears even larger than it is to those whites who fail to distinguish a negro who exhibits outward signs -- lack of skill, low income, slum housing, and so on -- which in a white would mark him as lower class, from one whose culture is working, middle or even upper class but whose opportunities have been limited by discrimination and whose income is low. (Banfield, 1974: 87).

It is not clear whether Banfield believes that blacks are heavily distributed in the lower class because of discrimination which leads to ghettoisation or, that blacks are lower class, live in ghettos because they are incapable of achieving anything better and consequently, whites are justified in their discriminatory practices and attitudes. It is clear from his policy proposals that he ascribes great responsibility to the lower class for their position:

Avoid rhetoric tending to raise expectations to unrealisable levels, to encourage the individual that 'society' (e.g. white racism) not he is responsible for his ills and to exaggerate both the seriousness of social problems and the possibility of finding solutions. (Banfield, 1974: 269).

Banfield's recommendations reflect a trend which had begun in the late nineteen sixties. The trend was to make ghetto dwellers assume more responsibility for their predicament and to increase social investment at the expense of social expenditure. The model cities programme and black capitalism were a part of this process. (Allen, 1969., Lipsky and Olson, 1976). The causes for a shift in policy will be addressed in the next chapter.

Before proceeding to a review of geographical material related to the ghetto, it is necessary to dwell briefly on one other explanation of persistent racial inequality. This is the 'labour mismatch' analysis of such writers as Harrison and Kain.

8. Labour Mismatch.

Harrison has thoroughly reviewed the evidence put forward in support of statements that job opportunities are moving away from the city centre. (Harrison and Vietoritz, 1970., Harrison, 1974). Writers such as Kain (1969), proposes that the lack of

accessibility of inner city ghetto dwellers to the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for which they are suited, maintains the high level of ghetto unemployment and generates urban strife.

Existing skilled jobs in the downtown area are seen as the preserve of the suburban commuter. This 'labour mismatch' or 'dual labour market' is posited as the root cause of racial discrimination. However, as Harrison points out, the evidence does not corroborate this view as a generally accurate one.

....[W]e also found that the majority of those jobs which do remain in the central city do not require extensive skills. Quite the opposite; perhaps 7 % of the new jobs developed in the mid-1960s were of the unskilled and semi-skilled categories. Moreover, central city white populations have suburbanised much more rapidly than central city jobs, so that the excess supply of central city labour is not nearly so great as had been imagined. (Harrison, 1974: 76).

Harrison goes further and cites Freeman to support an argument that the

growth in central city jobs that has taken place in recent years has not been noticeably skewed in favour of the highly skilled white collar jobs, as has been feared. In fact there has been sufficient growth in the semi-skilled and lower-skilled jobs to accommodate virtually all of the employed in central cities if in fact the jobs had gone to them. (Freeman, 1970. cited in Harrison, 1974: 59).

Whereas Harrison agrees with the contention that lesser-skilled job opportunities are growing in the suburbs and

that much inner-city employment is being enjoyed by non-residents, he contends that growth in employment is continuing in the downtown areas. He identifies the non-participation of inner-city minorities as the essence of the inner-city problem. The variation in employment structures among cities of differing sizes and ages leads him to a criticism of 'either-or' solutions. He contends that public policy should be developed with greater concern for the particularities of each specific situation. (Harrison, 1974: 63/79).

Harrison, however, does not attempt to assess the American census bureau's stratification of the labour force. This is of great importance to an understanding of the constitution of the labour force and of the processes which generate change within the labour force. (See Braverman, 1974). The requirements of industry or of capital in general and the differential reproduction of the labour force remain outside the scope of Harrison's analysis despite the importance of the data brought together by Harrison to these questions.

Interestingly, Harrison has speculated on the parallels between chronically underemployed groups in various advanced western countries. He has compared the black people in the American ghettos to the native Indians and Maritimers in Canada. Clearly, there are important differences between these groups but

the suggestion that similar forms of discrimination and unemployment exist in different countries points toward a form of analysis that focusses more closely on similarities of economic organisation rather than the particularities of labour force participation by race. (Personal communication)

Harrison's rigorous attention to labour force participation and public policy formation is typical of the more sophisticated approaches to the urban ghetto problem. Subsequent to the riots of the mid-1960s, the Kerner commission report, and the recognition of black urban revolt as a material threat and as a real political issue, urban institutes were funded and developed for the express purpose of learning how to respond to the threat. A few geographers participated in this search for tools to solve the racial inner-city problem. They significantly reoriented the thrust of geographic interpretations of the ghetto. The final section of this chapter deals with two of these writers.

9. Geography of the Ghetto.

A. Richard Morrill.

In 1965, Morrill published an article on the geography of the ghetto. It was regarded as

....a benchmark for it is tacitly addressed to a contemporary American problem -- the expanding negro ghetto. This study is dynamic in that ghetto expansion is viewed as a spatial process of diffusion. It is also socially relevant because alternatives to offset future ghetto expansion are sought. (Deskins, 1969: 147).

The attention of geographers did not shift to any significant extent towards the ghetto subsequent to this 'benchmark.' Most of the 'socially relevant' literature on the ghetto did not appear until the seventies by which time the black urban riots had all but ended. Even today, contributions emanate from a small number of writers among whom Rose and Morrill are the most significant.

Morrill refined his 1965 work and presented a three-stage geographic perspective on the black ghetto. (Morrill in Rose and McConnell, 1972). He proposes that the decrease in southern agricultural labour requirements, the oppressed condition of black people in the south and the labour requirements of northern industry were the principle causes of black South to North migration. He initially treats the relationship of the migrants to the northern urban society as a typical situation of economic and cultural ethnic subjugation of the type experienced by most immigrant groups in the U.S. . Recognising that the black ghetto has, unlike others, persisted and does not appear to be disintegrating, he proposes three reasons for this: (1) The sheer size of the migrant group, coupled with the speed of its

movement, prevented any possibility of total absorption or equal opportunity. (2) By far the main reason for the persistence of the black ghetto, is the simple fact of blackness.

A large majority of the white population has an ingrained fear and distrust of blacks because they are physically different in such an obvious and visible way. (Ibid: 33).

(3) The third reason given is the strong sense of community which has resulted from isolation and segregation. This has led to a particular black American subculture and, among a majority of Blacks, a preference for living in the ghetto.

In his second stage, Morrill sets out to examine how the massive migration was absorbed through ghetto expansion. His model is founded on a set of principle actors with conflicting goals. These include black and white families, black and white organisations and media the real estate industry, financial institutions and government. The goals set by these actors (with the exceptions of real estate, financial institutions and government) are integration or segregation based on the desire either to maintain or to improve housing quality and property values in a community. Morrill identifies the interests of finance and real estate with the maintenance of spatial segregation intended to minimise areas of conflict. He suggests that

the behaviour of the real estate industry reflects the views of the residents of an area. (Ibid: 42).

The government, in Morrill's schema, responds to the other actors, giving greatest attention to those actors with greatest power.

Within this framework a model of the spatial diffusion of the ghetto is presented. Barriers to movement are combined into a composite probability of not moving which varies by class of mover, destination area and motivation of the mover. This constitutes the third stage of his analysis.

His framework may be summarised in the following manner. An ingrained racial prejudice against blacks on the part of whites led to cultural and spatial segregation when large groups of blacks migrated North. This segregation has been maintained particularly by the housing market which is in turn merely responding to the desires of ordinary people. Convinced that racist attitudes will not disappear, he suggests that the objectives of the Black Power movement are the only source of hope for black people. He sees Black Power as an attempt 'to foster black ownership in and control of black communities.' (Ibid: 53). Despite this acceptance of a separate black community, Morrill then expresses concern over the tensions of a plural society which contains a black sub-culture. His final

proposal is to work towards a situation wherein whites will accept blacks as equal. The achievement of this end will require blacks to forfeit their particular sub-culture.

Morrill's treatise is founded on the existence of ingrained racial prejudice. The historical explanation and contextualisation of these attitudes is, however, absent from his work. It should be noted that there have been periods of close cooperation between large groups of black and white people. (Sacoutos, 1960., Stein, 1974).

Dealing with the contemporary racial dichotomy, Morrill confines himself to the housing market when attempting to explain the persistence of the ghetto. The reader is left to explain the distribution of blacks in the labour force which Morrill ignores. Clearly, the problem cannot be reduced to an 'either-or' statement concerning the relative importance of attitudes and economic factors. It may be more appropriate to seek connections between the two. However, a more comprehensive investigation of the American labour force and its transformations since the last war is necessary in association with the development of an appropriate set of concepts. Morrill has, of late, begun on this task. (See Ernst and Hugg, 1976). Rose, however has attempted a more holistic approach.

B. Harold Rose.

Rose establishes that the "evolving status of urban black populations viewed from a territorial perspective" (Rose, 1971: 3), is the purpose of his work. He elaborates:

It is the principal objective of this book to review how the black ghetto as a territorial entity has shared the life chances of black Americans through its interactions with the larger American society. (1971: 13).

His approach proposes that, having been excluded from the 'games' of the dominant society and further having been spatially concentrated and segregated, black people have developed a subculture. Ghetto space is consequently presented as the locus of the activities of this subculture and as the space which has been created and maintained in isolation through the exclusory relations it has had, and continues to have, with the dominant society. These exclusory relations include both social and economic factors. He notes that

The economic characteristics of the place-based spatial configuration loosely identified as the ghetto are associated with level and character of employment opportunities available to its residents, the extent to which the forces of economic production found therein lend support to community development, and finally the quality of commercial services available to ghetto residents. (Rose, 1971: 81/82).

He suggests that the American urban system has been unable to supply an equitable distribution of wealth and that in the case of the ghetto there is a definite need for interventionist strategies. He maintains that the inequalities found in contemporary America may well indicate serious failings of the system itself. He does not elaborate on the nature of these failings. Various forms of socialism for the black ghetto are mentioned but, again, not developed.

Rose is, however, clear about what is wrong with relations between the black ghetto and the larger society. He examines the degree of political involvement which blacks exhibit and relates this to social class divisions within the black population. The provision of medical and educational services to blacks and the special difficulties they experience are clearly outlined. (see also Cox, 1973). Access to power and information are seen as the major contributors to this impoverished situation. Fundamentally, Rose regards housing allocation as the key defining criterion of ghettoisation. The nexus of racial attitudes, access to power and to services in which the housing market is seen to be imbedded, is in turn situated within a framework of 'social pluralism'. This he defines as

The involuntary operation of a set of forces designed to minimise social interaction and, as a consequence, promote social isolation. (Rose, 1969: 12).

The inadequacy of the housing market as the sole contributor to ghettoisation has already been established as also has the misinterpretation of its operations by the land economists. Rose has developed a schema wherein the economic exploitation of blacks, the poor provision of services and job discrimination, arise from limiting effects which a ghetto upbringing entails. In this sense a ghetto reproduces itself.

The word 'involuntary' in the definition of social pluralism which Rose provides (above), is both important and ambiguous. On the one hand it suggests that the desire for the segregation of the races appeared from nowhere into the human psyche and the natural antipathy between the races maintains the separation. On the other hand, it suggests that the development of society in America created racial discrimination as a by-product. The first meaning is unacceptable because racism arises as a social phenomenon in a particular social and historical situation, indeed some historians propose that racism and capitalism evolved together. (Cox, 1970., Kiernan, 1969). In any case it is susceptible only to assertion and not to historical scientific substantiation unlike the latter of the two interpretations. Similarly, it is difficult to assess whether Rose sees racial discrimination and segregation as an unfortunate by-product or a necessary component in the evolution of American society. The framework of social pluralism allows him to present

what he believes to be a set of important relationships between the ghetto and the larger community. The motor force maintaining them is a tendency to promote social isolation. But whether this isolation serves any purpose in the functioning of the society is not questioned.

It is significant that the possible solutions proposed by Rose are various options on spatial integration or segregation. This implies that the ghetto as a spatial entity and not the socio-economic relations which give rise to it, is the fundamental problem to be solved. Implicit in the work of Morrill as well as Rose, is a suggestion that whereas a material basis for racism did exist in the past (slavery, sharecropping,), this is no longer the case, but discriminatory attitudes have persisted beyond the existence of this basis. This is by no means clearly the case (Perlo, 1975), and is substantiated by neither of the two geographers.

Rex has studied the urban ethnic areas of England as socio-cultural places of refuge for the immigrant in a new environment. Local clubs, organisations, religions etc., have the effect of facilitating an individual's upward mobility if the opportunities exist, or, they are transformed into bastions of defence and rebelliousness against the status quo if the opportunities do not exist. (Rex, 1973: 15-31). Rex recognises

the complexity of the problem of situating immigrant groups in the social class matrix of the host society. He rejects an oversimplistic theory of identifying class in terms of one's relationship to the means of production but he is concerned to articulate the historical and cultural factors of colonialism and popular attitudes with the inherently unequal nature of the society into which such groups are thrown. (ibid: 81).

The final chapter will attempt to build on Rex's framework. Here it should be noted that the writers reviewed in this chapter have, like Rex, been concerned with black people in the labour force, with behaviour and attitudes and with the problems of planning for a 'better society'. It is as well to restate the purpose and function of this chapter and to summarise the criticisms that have been offered.

10. Conclusion.

This chapter has attempted a critical review of some of the mainstream approaches to the problem of racial discrimination in the United States. An attempt was made to suggest the relationship of these approaches and theories to the context of the changing distribution and level of urbanisation of American black people seen as a consequence of the development of American society in general.

The theories reviewed were posited as one perspective on the problem developed from the premise that a solution to the problem was necessary and possible. The general unity of the perspective of these writers can be seen through the forms of the solutions deemed possible. These forms were confined by the level of social reorganisation considered in the various investigations and by the particular social structures and relationships which were regarded as constant or given. There are two principle and related deficiencies evident in the theories in general.

The first concerns the identification of what constitutes the racial problem. High unemployment, low incomes and ghettoisation are viewed as the major components of racial inequality. From this point the analyses proceed to focus on relationships between the two racial groups as the most appropriate area of inquiry. Thus, the racial problem is seen to be reflected in indices of employment, housing quality etc., rather than the converse --- indices of employment, housing quality etc., reveal racial differences, consequently the appropriate question is what are the origins of these socio-economic differences and the forces that currently reproduce them. Confining the definition of the problem to a black-white division conceals more than it reveals since blacks are seen as a deprived minority within an undifferentiated white society. But white society is of course stratified into various

classes and groups. Thus, the above writers appear as people who seek to preserve the status quo by seeking to make labour more efficient, distributing it in a more appropriate manner and attempting to suppress urban discontent without analysis of its basis in a particular social and historical context. The mainstream writers, regardless of their intentions, must be placed within the context of the problem itself in so far as they constitute a part of what is required in the reproduction of the existing order.

The second deficiency concerns the role of the state in the theories under review. It is consistently viewed as an independent arbiter striving to achieve the best possible solution to the problem. The state is not identified with any interests but is seen as the institution that maintains a balance between all interests. Although Rose is the only avowed cultural pluralist among the group, this interpretation is the hallmark of the mainstream approach. (See Dahl, 1956). Critiques of this approach are in abundant supply and it is not necessary to provide another here. (Rex, 1973., Cunningham, 1976). It can be pointed out that the machinery of the state in the U.S. quite clearly upheld racism in the decades between 1870 and 1940, that the various programmes to eradicate poverty and racial inequality through the nineteen sixties were minimally funded, and finally that the state has quite openly maintained a social order

favourable to the accumulation of capital. (O'Connor, 1973., Dowd, 1974., Hill, 1975). None of the above writers have attempted to understand or explain these aspects of the state.

The mainstream literature has ignored the political, economic and cultural organisations of black Americans. From the perspective that black people should be integrated with the dominant lifestyle comes the necessary argument that all black culture and political organisation is either pathological or threatening if it does not strive toward the goal of integration.

The mainstream writers rarely consider the analyses put forward by scholars or activists in the black nationalist tradition. The following chapter is an attempt to trace the history of black social and political movements and to assess the validity of the perspectives periodically put forward by them.

CHAPTER THREE.

BLACK NATIONALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

1. Introduction.

This chapter attempts to evaluate another perspective on American race relations and ghettoisation. The black nationalist tradition in North America has a long and varied history and embraces a range of internal differences. This literature is examined here because it represents commentary and analysis by the people who have been most directly connected with the problem under discussion; it is, in a sense, a 'view from within'. More importantly, this material and the set of political responses which it represents has been notable only by its absence from the mainstream perspective and both approaches may have much to learn from each other. Finally this examination is a means of continuing the form of evaluation outlined in the first chapter. Assessing the assumptions inherent in black nationalist analyses and actions is equally applicable here.

Outlining the historical development of the forms of black nationalism requires that other and related political groups must be considered. Far from attempting to detach themselves from the

problem in hand, black nationalists confronted the problem and actively sought to eradicate it. In their attempts to do so, they necessarily acted in relation to the activities of other groups and in response to the particular conditions of the time. Thus, the development of black political activities cannot be considered independently of either the Communist Party of the U.S.A. or organised labour. Clearly, all political activity presupposes an analysis of some kind. This chapter attempts to trace various kinds of black political response through the changing historical conditions and to evaluate the basis of the analyses of the conditions. It will take the following form:

(1) A first section will comment on debates concerning slave revolts and outline some of the forms of black social organisation during the period of slavery. These organisations influenced the forms of black organisation for some time. (2) Subsequently, the rise of the populist movement in the late nineteenth century will be noted. The strength of this organisation demonstrated the instability of ruling elites in the South at that time. It was in the conditions surrounding its demise that men such as DuBois and Washington came to prominence. This section will attempt to review the analysis and activities of these two people and the ideas and social forces they represented. (3) The several threads linking Washington and DuBois to the activities of the nineteen sixties. These include

the Communist Party and organised labour, the National association for the Advancement of Coloured People, (NAACP), the Committee of Racial Equality, (CORE), and Pan-Africanism in a variety of forms. (4) Finally, the Black Power movement and the theory of internal colonialism will be examined.

2. Black responses to Slavery.

It has become common practice to refer to the revolutionary or rebellious tradition of black people under slavery. A rich history of revolts is insisted upon, often without careful documentation. (Aptheker, 1963). However, relative to other slave areas such as Brazil and Cuba, the extent of organised rebellion against enslavement seems particularly scant in the United States. The Turner rebellion, for example, never commanded more than 150 people at any time (Genovese, 1968). By comparison, large colonies of escaped slaves existed in Brazil and many successfully defended their borders for protracted periods of time. Genovese has offered an explanation for the apparent recalcitrance of the slaves in the American South.

Firstly, the developing American colony had an efficient state system and consequent power presence in most areas. The white population was large and well armed. Another factor in determining the forms of black political response was the size of

the plantations in the American South. Relative to other areas, they were small and consequently tended to prevent communication. Family and tribal groups were broken up all the more quickly in this situation. Further, the more open countryside of the southern states did not allow the establishment of maroon colonies. (Genovese, 1968: *passim*).

However, Genovese's suggestion that slaves were acquiescent because of the amelioration of slavery in the eighteenth century seems spurious. He implies, in fact, that only organised rebellions constitute evidence of rebelliousness. Recent work has begun to investigate other forms of black reaction to slavery. These are centred on the everyday practices of slaves in the labour process itself. Needless to say, such activities are very difficult to document. The absence of a tradition of collective action has also been suggested as the underlying reason for the failure of black people to organise effectively during and immediately after the Civil War. However, before proceeding to the the post-emancipation period, it seems pertinent to point out the forms of slave organisation which did exist throughout the slave centuries.

It is usual to date the origins of black labour organisation with the early twentieth century migrations to the North. This constitutes a post-dating of the event by almost a century. The

labour requirements of a plantation economy were not confined merely to cotton-picking but included a variety of trades and crafts for the upkeep of various machines, stock etc. These included carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, masons, wheelwrights and so on.

In 1865, according to some estimates, there were 100,000 black mechanics as opposed to 20,000 white mechanics in the South. (Ofari, 1974: 19).

In the North, black workers had come together in trade union organisations. They met with discriminatory practices on the part of white labour groups until the formation of the I.W.W. in 1864 but this organisation too was forced to compromise itself on race related issues. (Ibid: 22). This situation led to the formation of the National Coloured Labour Union in 1869 which elected its own representative to the first international in Paris. This organisation arose from the combination of a number of trades groups and abolitionist groups from the slave period.

The trades unions organised by skilled free blacks operated as self-help and mutual aid groups. This was typical of the early labour organisations but in this case, union branches frequently developed a systematic programme so that they could buy the freedom of slaves in the area.

A common form of black organisation during the nineteenth century was centred on the theme of a return to Africa. Such groups allegedly represented the interests of a people who had been completely denied any right to a free existence within the United States. The motivations of the people actively involved with these groups were certainly mixed. Some appear to have been imbued with the desire to demonstrate that the black race was capable of self-government and the successful revolution of 1804 in Haiti gave some encouragement to them. It is more probable however, that the people concerned had less altruistic aspirations. These men, such as Cuffe, Coker, Russworm and others had very definite views on the form of government and economy that the 'new African states' would establish. Cuffe

turned to Africa and particularly to Sierra Leone to work for the improvement and civilisation of the blacks of Africa, to provide selective emigration to Sierra Leone, and to seek the suppression of the slave trade and its replacement by legitimate commerce. His trader's mind was excited by the possibility of extensive commerce between Negro America and West Africa to raise the wealth and prestige of the race. (Lynch, H, cited in Butler, 1966. vol.2: 154).

The desire to establish Western style states in Africa is but one aspect of the rise of these movements. The American Colonisation Committee, one of the largest of the 'back to Africa' movements was founded in 1815 by white slaveholders. Until Whitney developed his cotton-gin in the late eighteenth

century slavery had begun to decline and a large number of black people had acquired freedom. Whitney's invention facilitated the harvesting of cotton that had previously been far too costly to gin . Plantations were subsequently established in the deep South and in more Westerly areas. The old South began to breed and export slaves to these areas while the existence of large numbers of free black people constituted a potentially disruptive force in society. It was for these reasons that some slaveowning interests undertook the establishment of 'back to Africa' movements.

By and large, however, they were associated with a black elite intent on participating in the lucrative merchant shipping activities of the time. It sought support in the community by arguing the case for repatriation. (Ofari, 1970: 13).

The church has traditionally been one of the more important forms of black social organisation. Strict segregation of the races within the churches of the old South eventually gave way to the establishment of independent black churches. The degree of autonomy allowed to a black christian community and its preacher seems to have varied widely. However, by the nineteenth century separate black churches had been established in most areas. These churches certainly advocated the improvement of the lot of Black people but in a manner quite different from other groups.

However, the Negro church may be regarded as the single institution which has uniquely given a sustained positive sense of ethnic identity to American Negroes without beating the Nationalist drums. The retention of the word 'African' in the titles of some of the larger denominations and interaction with Africa through the foreign missions have perpetuated the Negro's identification with Africa more than is generally admitted. (Essien-Udom, 1962: 25).

These separate black churches (such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church) are quite distinct from the separatist religions which unlike the former, are not patterned after the major christian denominations. In fact, many of the separatist religions emerge as sections of nationalist movements which recognise the traditional significance of religion as a focal point in black social organisation. Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A. recognised this importance, and the black Muslims are perhaps the most recent manifestation of this tendency.

Clearly, a wide range of social organisation characterised the black community in the nineteenth century and it is grossly misrepresentative to suggest that as a group, blacks have no tradition other than that of submission or pathology. Moreover, it is markedly difficult to reconstruct the social history of black slavery. It seems clear, however, that established patterns and forms of activity have maintained their effect through the present day, albeit in very different circumstances.

3. Populism and the Rise of Washington and Dubois.

The most significant organisation with which blacks were to be involved after Emancipation was neither religious, African or Nationalist. It was the populist movement of the Southern poor originating in separate farmers alliances (Black and White) and later merging to form the populist party.

These organisations were intended to protect the small farmers and tenants against the monopolies of credit, transportation and marketing. In their initial development, the alliances employed a rhetoric consistent with Southern nationalism and consequently were allowed to flourish. It soon became clear, however, that their system of a sub-treasury plan, (a type of government run credit union involving the printing of money), coupled with boycotts, could destroy the sharecropping system which the big landowners were seeking to develop. Under severe repression the alliances formed protection groups and sought to use their bloc vote as political leverage. The Republicans were at this time fast losing their dependence on the black vote to maintain their hegemony in the south. (Stein, 1974). With the rejection of the sub-treasury plan by both parties the alliances merged, formed the populist party and spread their activities into the cities where they co-operated with labour unions. Unable to fulfill their programme without

leverage, the populists had little chance of success. Blacks began to look elsewhere for leadership and whites sought survival as best they could. (Sacoutos, 1960).

The new South was unable to compete for Chinese labour, the mechanisation of cotton-picking was not to be developed for several decades and a cheap agricultural work force was needed to maintain low-cost production on the plantations. The full incorporation of the black labour force into the industrial wage-earning sector was postponed yet again.

White men's rule after the civil war signified a particular form of domination stemming from the prevailing pattern of the Southern economy. Even Southerners who wanted to industrialise their region saw that their programmes were dependent on the re-invigoration of the plantations which in turn depended on a secure and cheap labour supply. Southerners agreed that the labour force upon which the planter has to rely must be subject to his control. Political mechanisms were required to ensure an adequate labour supply and an agricultural supply. (Stein, 1974: 428).

Once it had become clear that the interests of both Northern industrialists and Southern planters could be reconciled, a compromise (the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877) was reached. Hayes had won the presidential election but Southern members of the House of Representatives who were opposed to him prevented his accession through obstructionist tactics. Hayes promised Southerners to withdraw troops from the South if the

obstructionist campaign were to stop. It did, and the Southerners secured the control they required over the black labour force. Disenfranchisement began and shortly afterwards the U.S. Supreme Court declared the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. (Allen, 1969: 78). Some black people began the trek to the Northern cities after this reversal of the gains they had achieved under reconstruction. In the depression years of the eighteen-nineties race riots occurred in New York, Springfield Ohio, and Greensburg, Indiana. For those who remained in the South there was lynching and victimisation and the reestablishment of planter-labour relations that were based on credit, crop-liens and extra economic coercion. (Haywood, 1976: 20). It was in the midst of these conditions that Washington and Dubois came to prominence.

A. Booker T. Washington.

Washington's writings reveal a rather ambiguous perspective on the American racial dilemma. Although he believed in the propriety of ultimate integration of the races he proposed that this would best be achieved by reducing inter-racial contacts to a minimum. Thus black people could advance economically and socially until they had reached the level of white society. At this point, integration would follow as a natural consequence. He recommended that black people make use of all the talents in their possession.

American slavery was a great curse to both races and I would be the last to apologise for it, but.....I believe that slavery laid the foundation for the solution to the problem..... . During slavery, the Negro was taught every trade, every industry, that constitutes the foundation for making a living. (Washington, 1968: 221).

Further,

The Negro who can make himself so conspicuous as a successful farmer, a large tax-payer, a wise helper of his fellow men, as to be placed in a position of trust and honour, whether the position be political or otherwise, by natural selection, is a hundred-fold more secure than one placed there by mere outside force or pressure. (Ibid: 223).

Nonetheless, Washington believed that black people would have to confine themselves to the trades and to manual labour. In the interim, the gradual process of acquiring the 'trust' of white people was to be undertaken. To this end he founded the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama where 'ambitious' young black people were trained. It was confined to Blacks not from any nationalist sentiment, but on the basis that Blacks must demonstrate their 'responsibility'.

The institute was readily accepted by the power structure in Macon county. Most of the graduates migrated from the area, but more importantly, Washington was training black people in various industrial skills and creating a supervisory or lower management stratum of black workers which would facilitate

industrial relations in the South. It is not surprising that he received much support from Northern industrialists.

Underlying this appearance of assimilation was the great support that Washington was providing for the black bourgeoisie. In 1898 black capitalists held a conference in Atlanta Georgia where they re-iterated their perennial intention of developing a strong class of black merchants and capitalists based on control of the market demand of people of their race.

As today, they (the black capitalists) were engaged in a desperate search for some method of operation that would first ensure them a share in the wealth, and second, if possible, bridge the economic gap which separated the black masses from other workers. Capitalism seemed the logical means. (Ofari, 1970: 31).

In 1900, Washington organised the National Negro Business League (NNBL) and later the Coloured Merchants Association. The latter organisation failed in its efforts to dominate the black market; the former persists but has had minimum impact. Certainly, neither effected any dramatic intervention by black capitalists into important sectors of the economy. Of course, these merchants and small manufacturers were happy to have a figure as respected as Washington at the head of their organisations.

His great influence with white financiers such as John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, Andrew Mellon, H.H. Rogers and Andrew Carnegie, to name a few, enabled him to expand greatly the programs he had designed to push his accommodationist line of economic withdrawal as a substitute for, rather than as a supplement to independent black political struggle. (Ofari, 197 : 34).

It is difficult to assess the degree of popular support enjoyed by Washington. His notoriety and status were maintained through his access to massive funding and his importance to the corporate and black elites of that time. At a time when some Blacks were demanding the vote immediately in the South, and demanding jobs in the depression ridden cities, any prospect of gradualism was welcome to those who would give neither. Small businesses, both black and white, were experiencing great difficulty in surviving through the last decades of the nineteenth century and Washington's organisations provided at least a rallying ground.

Washington viewed separate economic development neither as a movement toward the creation of a dual society nor as a culturally pluralist form of social organisation. On the contrary, he viewed his programme as the only appropriate means for the establishment of a fully integrated American society. To a large extent, his programme compared closely to the analysis of Park and the unfolding of a condition of accommodation between the races. The corporate interests involved in Washington's

activities suggest the material basis for his programme, a basis which includes the specific forms of economic growth during the period and the need to maintain social order while introducing sections of the black population to new positions in the labour force. But Washington's participation in this process did not escape the criticism of other black activists of the period. Most notable among these was W.E.B. DuBois.

B. W.E.B. DuBois.

Unlike many black leaders, DuBois grew up the son of free parents and undertook a brilliant academic career at Berlin and Harvard. The intellectual climate harboured little respect for people of his race and DuBois quickly recognised the ideological superstructure of racism in the sociological theories of the time. The confrontation of these academic rationalisations became a lifelong task for him. He suggested that the early twentieth century was a period when racial suppression was in fact increasing.

Today we have the caste idea again, not a sudden full grown conception but one being insidiously but consciously and persistently pressed upon the nation. The steps toward it which are being taken: first political disfranchisement, then vocational education with the distinct idea of narrowing to the uttermost the vocations in view, and finally a curtailment of civil freedom, of travel, association, and entertainment, in systematic effort to instill contempt and kill self-respect. (DuBois, 1909: 146).

Clearly, this opened a rift between DuBois and Washington and while the latter established the Tuskegee inststute and the business associations, the former confronted the theory of race and culture. He attacked specifically the 'Teutonic origins theory' and attempted to document that black people in Africa had achieved advanced levels of civilisation and were capable of democratic forms of govnrment. Thus, he could not himself dismiss the premise of these theories that civilisation and race were interlinked.

Faced with the academic view that the Negro was inferior because he had contributed nothing to civilisation, he sought to establish a theoretical basis for the equality of the negro, but curiously, within a framework that completely accepted the racial basis of culture. (Brotz, 1966: 21).

For Washington, civilisation consisted of values and behaviour that were universally valid, but DuBois insisted on the importance of origin; insisted that for the black person to 'prove' himself, he had to make a contribution to civilisation. DuBois consequently opposed Washington's tacit acceptance of the inferior position of black people while simultaneously insisting on the separateness of the cultures of the two races. DuBois advocated the development of black schools, newspapers and business organisations if they were necessary for the autonomous development of the black people. Although he never spoke of a separate nation, he did advocate that a self-segregated economy

was preferable to a lowly position within a white-dominated economy. (Broderick, 1959: 168).

DuBois outlined two essential components of black organisation in reaction to racial discrimination. First, he urged anti-colonial sympathy for the African people who were suffering the intrusions of British, French and German interests. His association of civilisation with race implied a certain solidarity of the members of one race regardless of their distribution within or among different states. A further basis for his first component was a conception of Africa as the cultural hearth of the black race. His second component derived from the importance which he ascribed to the cultural heritage of Black people. Since it could be demonstrated that black people had historically contributed to civilisation, it was imperative that they preserve and maintain their cultural integrity. It was, therefore, essential to campaign for equal status, for civil rights for black people in America. On this basis, DuBois formed the Niagara movement comprised largely of black academics, intellectuals and some professionals. It had little success and soon became defunct. With the establishment of the NAACP, however, he had a growing and more broadly based vehicle for the dissemination of his ideas, indeed, the NAACP constituted the most significant of the civil rights movements from 1910 through the early nineteen sixties. (Moon, 1970: 69).

In addition to DuBois' examination of African history and critique of contemporary sociology of race relations, he spent much time criticising Washington's position. Some suggest that DuBois was so heavily entrenched in his racial view of culture and society that he was incapable of recognising the merits of Washington's programmes, merits allegedly applicable to Mexicans and other groups as well as to blacks. (Brotz, 1966). This argument contended that Washington's gradualism, vocational training, black capitalist development and so on, were the correct means of racial advancement.

DuBois, on the other hand, insisted that a self-imposed submission would merely guarantee that blacks, Mexicans, etc., would be confined to lowly positions. Unlike many black leaders of his time, DuBois consistently attempted to differentiate white society and to insist that although discrimination was racial in form, it had deep-rooted social origins.

Clearly, DuBois did not advocate assimilationist or 'back to Africa' reactions to American racism. He represented the forerunner of cultural nationalism, a racial pride that demands and requires cultural autonomy. If to achieve this autonomy, political secession or protective business or labour associations were necessary, then it must be achieved in that manner. Initially, however, blacks were to insist on their civil rights

within American society. The state was expected to protect the rights of all and within that framework of equality, each race could practice its own distinctive culture. What DuBois failed to examine was the relationship between the state and the economy. The argument implied in his analysis that the state could create the conditions of equality remained unproven. The legislation of equal rights for all has not historically been identical with the real establishment of equality. Further, the nature of the rights in question was clearly an outgrowth of the system of social organisation and not a panacea for all social and racial injustice. This is in part reflected by the nature of the support that the Niagara movement and the NAACP received. (Moon, 1972: 78).

Until the foundation of the NAACP, DuBois' importance appears to have been confined to that of critic and theoretician. His advocacy of civil rights and racial-cultural identity initially found support among a handful of receptive black intellectuals. The NAACP being more broadly based, drew to itself many of the skilled workers who had material interests in re-establishing rights they had lost and gaining new ones. It is, perhaps, this particular form of the support received by the organisations with which DuBois was associated that led to his belief in the advancement of black people through the activities of the most 'advanced' section of the population, what DuBois termed the 'talented tenth'.

DuBois' career extended over a protracted period of time and he significantly altered his position and analysis on more than one occasion. Not only his analysis, but also the economic position and geographic distribution of the black population was changing dramatically in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the urban areas where the black population had been small and increasing at a relatively slow rate, the numbers began to grow more rapidly. Net out-migration from the South had been significant for some time. In the decade

following the civil war an estimated 68,000 (net) left the South. Negro net migration from the South increased in each decade thereafter and had reached nearly 200,000 by the decade 1900-1910. (Kain, 1969: 9).

There is a tendency to explain the waves of migration from the South purely as a result of the opportunities afforded by increased wartime industrial expansion and this, of course, is an important factor. (Baran and Sweezy, 1968: 249). It is equally important, however, to recognise these waves as accentuations in a more protracted trend resulting from organisational and technological changes in the farming sector.

Given the unique historical experience of the black Americans and the scale of the migration, it is not surprising to find similarities between them and other large groups migrating from a rural to an urban environment. (Handlin, 1959., Rex, 1973).

Thus, a specifically black urban life-style quickly developed, one clearly influenced by earlier forms of black social organisation. This was clearly the case with Marcus Garvey and the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Equally clear at this time was the increasing proportion of blacks in the labour force and the rise of labour radicalism.

4. From 1920 to 1960: Garvey and Labour Radicalism.

A. Marcus Garvey.

Garvey, son of a Jamaican stonemason was rather privileged in his upbringing and by no means as much a man of the people as some would suggest. (Garvey, 1963). Greatly influenced by Washington's writings, Garvey's programme was consisted of a combination of striving toward economic strength and security as a race and, the militancy of African liberation and black repatriation. Essien-Udom has made a thorough study of the black Nationalist movements and he is worth quoting at length.

Garvey's ideology was both nationalist and racial. His nationalist objective was the redemption of Africa for Africans abroad and home. He advocated racial purity, racial integrity and racial hegemony. He sought to organise Negroes in the United States onto a vanguard for Africa's redemption from colonialism and hoped eventually to lead them back to Africa. The major instrument for the achievement of these objectives was economic co-operation through solidarity. He believed that if the negroes were economically strong in the United States, they would be able to redeem Africa and establish a world wide confraternity of black people. (Essien-Udom, 1962: 48).

Garvey is generally believed to have come to the aid of Black people (particularly those in Harlem) as a new wave of hopelessness was sweeping them.

Garvey leaped into the ocean of black unhappiness at a most timely moment for a saviour. He had witnessed The Negro's disillusionment mount with the progress of the world war. Negro soldiers had suffered all forms of Jim Crow humiliation (and) discrimination..... . After the war there was a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan influence, another decade of racial hatred and open lawlessness had set in. (Otley, cited in Clarke, 1974: 18).

Garvey's UNIA organisation came to prominence in 1917 when 1500 people joined in one day in Harlem (Allen, 1969: 85). Shortly afterwards, he formed the Black Star Steamship Company, encouraged the development of black banks and the black bourgeoisie in general, and established a church. Branches of the organisation were formed in South America and Africa and at one mass meeting

at Madison Square Gardens - the largest auditorium in the state - .. white reporters conceded that about 25,000 assembled inside the auditorium, and there was an overflow standing in the streets. (Clarke, 1974: 21).

There can be no doubt that this organisation was based on extensive popular support. Its organisation and philosophy, however, merit attention.

Garvey was in complete control of all activities and aspects of the UNIA. The organisation was structured along military lines and its officers decked out in the paraphernalia of Victorian imperialist soldiery. It regarded its mission as the uplifting and 'Europeanisation' of the 'primitive' African tribes. It openly espoused fascist principles; indeed Garvey claimed that Mussolini had learned fascism from him, that black reactionaries had sabotaged it, and that the salvation of the black people was to be found in extreme nationalism. (Moses, 1972: 46).

Garvey displayed a crass ignorance on several matters, proclaiming that whereas capitalism was the only means to human advancement and all its enemies therefore enemies of humanity, nonetheless, he would not allow any individual to own more than one million dollars nor any corporation, more than five millions. (Moses, 1972).

In reality, the UNIA made no attempt to confront the economic predicament of blacks within American society. The only solution offered was escape to an African homeland which was itself to be transformed into the economic image of America with the single difference that black people would be in positions of power. This implies one of two propositions; it either ascribes peculiar liberating qualities to the African continent (a proposition hardly deserving of serious attention), or, peculiar oppressive qualities are ascribed to American white people, on the face of things, a slightly more reasonable proposition but one that fails to differentiate whites within American society. In all probability, Garvey's organisation would not have attained the numbers it did had it posed a serious threat to the existing status quo of American race relations. In 1927 Garvey was deported on a charge of fraudulent use of the mails, Black Star Steamship Company went bankrupt and many blacks lost the investments they had made in these enterprises.

The interpretation of his popular success must be set in terms of what large migrant groups in a hostile environment attempt to preserve of their traditions and identity. As new generations of urban blacks appeared they tended to relinquish the social and cultural systems of their parents. Clearly, these processes can only be understood through a careful examination of the relationship between migrant group and 'host society' in the

specific context of their time but Garvey's popularity is anachronistic if not viewed in this way.

The concentration of black people in the urban centres and the specific nature of their difficulties in the labour force gave rise to an erosion of traditional forms of organisation and participation of more broadly based activities. Perhaps the most important component of black struggles for equality in the period from the nineteen twenties to the end of the second world war was their association with labour unions and the Communist Party of America. The nature of this Association is essential to an understanding of the formation of the civil rights movement and the black Power organisations of the nineteen fifties and sixties. The existence of workers organisations and trade unions among black people in the nineteenth century has already been noted. Discriminatory practices on the part of white unions have persisted from that time through to the present. Competition inherent in the job market has made unity among different sectors of the labour force difficult, nonetheless many unions have fought for principles of equality albeit with little success. The American Federation of Labour at its 1890 conference stated that

(t)he Federation looks with disfavour upon trade unions having provisions which exclude from membership persons on account of race or colour..... The National Association of Machinists

in 1890 and the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders in 1893 were refused charters by the A.F.L. because they constitutionally barred Negroes from membership. (Karson and Radosh, in Jacobson, 1968: 155).

By the turn of the century the stance of the A.F.L. had been almost completely reversed.

.....(I)n its 1900 convention, the Federation bowed to the White supremacists by endorsing a plan to organise Negroes into separate organisations. In effect, this action meant abandoning the Negro workers. (Foster, 1954: 373).

This reversal can be explained by the fact that the A.F.L., based as it was on the organisation of skilled tradespeople, feared the incorporation of the industrial unskilled workers who would supposedly threaten the security of the skilled workers. But this form of explanation requires the qualification that the positions of both black and white workers arose from the interests of workers as competitors within the job market. Labour unions have, by and large, tended to be protective self-interest groups of workers of similar positions in the labour force. The separation of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. is an indication of this.

Shifts and changes in the relationship between the A.F.L., the C.I.O. and the Communist Party (C.P)., and black workers occurred throughout the period 1920-1950. A brief examination of

these changes may reveal what the degree of integration between Black and White workers was during this time and what transpired from this relationship.

B. Labour Radicalism and Black Rights.

The relationship between black workers and the A.F.L. can be most concisely outlined through the activities of Philip Randolph, leader of the Sleeping Car Porters Union. By 1929 he was advocating the dissolution of the A.F.L. on the grounds that it perpetuated racism. He was met consistently with the A.F.L. position that whereas the organisation committee could urge unions to undertake non-discriminatory practice, it could not interfere with the autonomous rights of affiliated unions. A series of hearings and committees of enquiry did little to alter the situation, however Randolph amassed documentary information on the extent of discriminatory union practices. (Jacobson, 1968: 174).

Again, in 1945, Randolph demanded that the A.F.L. refuse to certify unions who practiced racial discrimination and further, he urged that the auxiliary unions be disbanded. These token organisations for black workers which were affiliated to the A.F.L. paid dues but could not vote officers into positions of union authority.

"(A)t the end of World War II, the record of the American Federation of Labour's attitude toward the Negro worker was a history of the acceptance of segregated unions. This attitude continued for a number of years after the war was over. The 1946 convention again defeated resolutions calling for an end to Jim Crow auxiliary locals, and in 1949, a resolution endorsing Federal Fair Employment Practice legislation passed only after delegates deleted the words " and labour unions" from a motion calling for the "elimination of discrimination in industry and labour unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry." (Karson & Radosh in Jacobson, 1968: 187).

The C.I.O. had a somewhat more egalitarian perspective on racial discrimination although a federated structure not unlike that of the A.F.L. allowed for wide variation of practices among affiliates. Many of the advances achieved by the C.I.O. for black workers were gained during the war when a persistent labour shortage strengthened the unions' bargaining position.

From its inception the C.I.O. appeared as a most appropriate ground for the Communist Party's activities and until the near elimination of its influence after 1950, the C.P. exerted considerable impact on the C.I.O.'s position on race. Rosen has identified three phases of the C.P.'s influence. (Rosen, in Jacobson, 1968).

(a) Prior to the war the C.P. successfully enrolled hundreds of thousands of black workers. Where members of the party were in positions of authority in affiliated unions, they helped bring

black people sympathetic to their views into office. Elsewhere they attempted to highlight the racial issue at every opportunity. The Communists clearly hoped to use the C.I.O. as a means of organising black workers around party programmes.

(b) The German attack on the Soviet Union radically altered the order of priorities of the Communist Party; the war was redefined as a holy crusade and black leaders attempting to maintain the centrality of racial discrimination as an issue were severely criticised. C.I.O. leadership persisted in its attempts to secure racial equality. The C.P. reduced the level of its activities in the south in parallel with its overall demotion of the racial issue and the stage was set for new forms of relationship between the C.I.O., black workers and the Communist Party. The N.A.A.C.P. and other black civil rights groups were increasingly taking their demands to government and confronting issues generally outside the purvey of C.I.O. activities.

(c) The post war period brought with it the cold war and particular difficulties for the C.P. . Although it attempted to return to militant positions on black labour rights, the decline in overall employment and the pressure on the C.I.O. to defend rather than develop its positions made it difficult to publicise their (the Communists) demands for super-seniority systems to

protect blacks against lay-offs and other forms of victimisation. Foster replaced Browder as Party president and reactivated the pre-C.I.O. nationalist position. Under great pressure, the C.I.O. was forced to remove many Communists from positions of power and the growing hysteria associated with the McCarthy period made militant labour activity almost impossible. In the face of weakening Communist participation, a hostile public and consequent dissension within the leadership of the C.I.O. its merger in 1955 with the A.F.L. was made from a position of relative weakness. The near capitulation of the C.I.O. to the A.F.L. silence on racial discrimination in labour unions was therefore, no great surprise. (Rosen, in Jacobson, 1968).

Real advances were made by black workers during the war period. Median black incomes as a percentage of white income increased, the percentage of black workers in professional and skilled labour also increased. However, some of the increase is explained by the movement of blacks from the countryside to the cities and the rates of increase drop sharply if individual rather than family income is considered. (Cook, 1970., Perlo, 1975).

The contribution of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. to the advancement of the economic position of black workers has been summarised in the following manner:

The conclusion seems inescapable that the C.I.O. did much to change the rhetoric of our society's response to social evils, but less to alter permanently the substance of this response. The A.F.L. unions emerged from their prolonged confrontation with the CIO deeply affected in several important respects, but the leaders had not basically revised their approach to race questions. Perhaps more important is the fact that the economic position of Negro workers in the United States was changed by forces over which the C.I.O. had little or no influence.... (W)hen the war was over, the C.I.O. did not find the levers of power that would have enabled it to continue the historic alteration in the Negro's position which the war had begun. (Rosen, in Jacobson, 1968: 208).

It is clear that although racial discrimination was a central issue in labour radicalism from the nineteen-twenties to the post war period, the bargaining strength and political control exercised by black people over programmes around this issue were very limited. Labour, in its position of strength during the war, achieved great advances. However, the divided nature of the labour organisations was reflected in the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and in the different practices of affiliated unions. These demonstrated that, in the end, each organisation favoured a preservation of the status quo. Racial discrimination in the labour market resulted not from innate elements of the unions, but from the unions considered as forms of protective associations whose relative strength was and is determined by economic factors beyond their control. The particular position of blacks within the A.F.L. and C.I.O. arose from the manner and timing of the incorporation of black people into the labour

force. Where multi-racial labour existed before unionisation it was subsequently reflected in non-discriminatory unions. These conditions did not, however, pertain in many of the key sectors. Post war redundancies thus affected those who were not organised and blacks were heavily numbered among these. Where blacks were organised it was often in a form which gave them little power in the overall union structure and this, coupled with employers tactics of last hired-first fired, led to disproportionate effects of the post-war depression on blacks.

Incapable of either independently confronting the employers or gaining a position of strength within the unions, black people turned again to racial organisation and confrontation with the state. The CORE and NAACP emerged as champions of racial equality in the post war period. Where labour unions had failed, it seemed that government legislation could succeed - if it were pressured by civil rights activities. These were not merely confined to such classic incidents as the Montgomery bus affair but involved demands on the Fair Employment Practices Commission, a federal board founded as a result of labour action in the thirties and forties.

Despite an industrial labour surplus in the post war period, black rural to urban migration continued. At the same time technological advances and a restructuring of labour force

requirements marginalised many of the black urban ghetto dwellers. By 1962, 70% of the black urban labour force was concentrated in the blue-collar and service work sectors. (Peck, cited in Jacobson, 1968: 213). But employment in the former of these sectors was declining in rate of growth and wage rates in the latter were slipping further behind average wage rates. (Braverman, 1974: 395). Low wage rates in the service sector were frequently offset by more than one family member participating in the labour force. This, however, was a rather tenuous solution as, although

....(i)t is true that nationwide, the average family has 1.7 full time equivalent workers..... the majority of low-income families in America are unable to find enough work to occupy more than one full time equivalent member. (Braverman, 1974: 397).

As promotion and wage scales do not increase significantly in lower echelon service work, the concentration of blacks in the service sector is suggested in comparative income figures for the same age cohorts of blacks and whites.

Among those aged 25-34 in 196 and 35-44 ten years later, the ratio of black to white incomes declined from 68% to 65% while the dollar gap more than doubled from \$1,700 to \$3,600. (Perlo, 1975: 83).

Both agricultural and industrial technological advances furnished the labour that operatives, services and retail and clerical sectors absorbed.

As the employment effects of the technological revolution began to be felt however, the steady proportional increase of operatives ceased and after 1950 the group fell backward as a proportion of the total (although numerically it continued to increase). But the continued and even accelerated increase of the other two groups, clerical and sales-service, has taken up the workers released from factory employment (or never hired). (Braverman, 1974, 381).

The sloughing off of labour by one sector and its absorption by another does not operate in complete harmony. Obvious logistical problems arise. More importantly however, the absorbing sector may require a different form of labour, trained in a particular manner and available at the lowest rates of pay. The absence of strong union traditions among the workers that are hired is an obvious consideration here. Thus black women have been incorporated into the clerical sector while black men have had increasing difficulty in finding work. That these tendencies should effect black people in particular is a mere reflection of the concentration of blacks in the employment sectors which are declining - unskilled labour and domestic service. (Perlo, 1975: 77).

These are the tendencies to which black movements of various kinds responded in the 1960s. Prior to 1964, more traditional forms of black action focused attention on political suppression and unfair labour practices both in the North and the South. The NAACP and CORE were very active in the nineteen fifties when the

'freedom rides' began and Martin Luther King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Racial discrimination was quickly re-established as a major focus in American politics and a massive march on Washington in 1963 brought promises of change and improvement. Johnson's 'war on poverty' was, however, too little too late and the fundamentals of life as a black American persisted unchanged.

This failure generated a series of splits within the organisations between those who were committed to the gradualism of peaceful protest for equal rights and those whose demands were more comprehensive and whose tactics were more militant. Malcolm X split from the Muslims, Carmichael and Hamilton broke the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee from its moorings in the SCLC, and new movements were beginning in various parts of the country. These new, militant organisations developed new methods for confronting racial discrimination and centred on the theme of increased black control over black lives. Grievances were couched in new terms: economic development for the race and immediate action to generate and guarantee black prosperity. The following section comprises a brief outline of the reception of the Black Power movements in the U.S.A. and attempts to evaluate, at some length, the theory of 'internal colonialism' on which so many of the black movements based their programmes.

5. Black Power and Internal Colonialism.

In 1964 the first riot of the decade was triggered by the shooting of an adolescent boy by police. CORE, who had long demanded the establishment of a committee to review charges of police brutality in Harlem, initiated a series of 'sit-down' demonstrations. The arrest of many of these demonstrators generated further violence. Within weeks the violence spread to Rochester (N.Y.), Jersey city, Elizabeth and Paterson (N.J).. (Waskow, 1966: 255). It was quickly recognised that the riots were not of the type that had occurred in previous decades where groups of people of different races confronted and fought each other. The riots of the sixties were unique in that they comprised attacks on ghetto property and, particularly, on non black-owned property. (Waskow, 1966., Rose, 1973).

The issues which emerged centred on control of the black community. In 1966 residents of Harlem were engaged in a struggle with municipal and school board authority to create Black controlled school boards. On the Western coast the black Panther party for self defence was formed. Through its sister organisation, the Community Alert Patrol, members of the party patrolled the black ghetto areas, intervening in any confrontation between residents and police. The Panthers attracted large numbers of the unemployed ghetto youth although

its leadership was dominated by students. Their basis of support differed significantly from that of other organisations which tended to represent black 'middle class' or black student groups. The Muslims had a strong basis in black working class areas although its tendency to abstain from political activity was revealed in the internal strife centred around Malcolm X.

In 1967 Carmichael and Hamilton outlined the demands of Black Power. Allen wrote of these demands:

This programme is of great significance because it represented the first concrete attempt to spell out the meaning of black Power. It is a sweeping program, ranging from such mundane but fundamental matters as employment and education to broad issues of freedom and self-determination. (Allen, 1969: 73).

However, the ambiguity of black power was immediately apparent. CORE and the NAACP were experimenting with state-funded programmes including black capitalism. The involvement of the state in such obviously 'separatist' activities revealed the degree to which it had moved away from the avowed goal of racial integration. Further, it revealed the urgency that had been generated by several years of continued rioting.

In addition to the state, the private sector participated in the response to the threat of urban violence. The Ford Foundation funded Kenneth Clark's MARL group in Harlem and named

Roy Innis as civil rights 'fellow in residence'. The same Foundation funded CORE in Cleveland and helped to elect a black mayor. It appears, however, that life for the average ghetto dweller was not improving in any significant way. Some CORE members became disillusioned and at the Oakland meeting in 1967 a large part of the membership insisted that a separate black state be established and that all white members be excluded from the organisation. Others expressed faith in the new government programmes, underlining early splits in the black organisations of the nineteen sixties. (Allen, 1969).

The proponents of Black Power generally looked to 'internal colonialism' as the theory which underlay and informed their actions. (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967., Allen 1969). This theory or model did not develop in North America but originated in Latin America where 'dependista' scholars employed it to explain the position of Native Indians in those societies. (Casanova, 1970). Black Americans began to employ the model in the early sixties as an expression of identification with the emergent African republics and as a banner for the old struggle against racial discrimination. (Blauner, 1969). Clearly, the implications of separate nationality for American blacks corresponded with traditional forms of analysis and action.

The term 'internal colonialism' was initially used to refer to a broad range of black-white social relations but as a theory it gained more clarity and specificity as the decade proceeded. Cruse (1962) believed that educational domination was at the root of racism and that new cultural, media and educational centres were necessary to generate racial integration. The relations of internal colonialism were for him, institutional in form. Karenga and others explored the domain of language and music which, as the basic forms of black communication, constituted the vehicle of white oppression and thus, the locus of a solution to the race problem. (Karenga, in Jones and Neal, 1968).

From an early stage, writers addressed some of the inherent problems of the model. Questions were posed concerning the status of American blacks as a nation and the validity of seeking political autonomy to represent such a nation. The method of internal colonialism was to apply an analysis previously used to describe relations between geographically and economically distinct nations or states, to the American racial situation. Whereas Clark (1965), Cruse (1967) and Blauner (1969) were outlining these problems, others were deliberately answering them.

By 1970, Tabb had formulated a comprehensive statement of the ghetto as colony. He listed a set of relationships between

colonising powers and colonies and suggested that these could be seen to operate in urban America. The similarities included low per capita income, high birth rates, limited local markets, importation of goods and services, complete dependence of the ghetto on the export of unskilled labour and the control of local public sector jobs and business by outsiders. He concluded that two key relationships must be proven to exist if the internal colonial model was to be accepted. These were economic control and exploitation, and political dependence and subjugation. (Tabb, 1970: 23).

Having attempted to demonstrate the existence of these relationships, Tabb proceeded to a historical argument that blacks had contributed massively to the formation of capital in the U.S.A. and that racism persisted to the advantage of the white race in general. This advantage took the form of a 'labour buffer pool'; a last-hired first-fired status for black workers. Further, he argued, maintenance of this condition required processes of reproduction including educational and political institutions, employment and cultural structures. (Tabb, 1970: 27/30).

Many writers took issue with Tabb's formulation. Harris summarised Tabb's main theses in the following manner:

(1) (S)ubstantial black deprivation, segregation and exploitation do exist objectively, (2) These forms of discrimination are systematic, endemic to the form of internal colonialism that has developed in this country. (3) They are continued because important segments of White society profit from such arrangements. (4) Political influence follows economic power and those with vested interests use their power to resist progressive reform. (5) A great number of structural reforms are needed (but) such reforms are nearly impossible to bring about. (6) Success in changing the living conditions in the ghetto necessitates the rupture of the colonial relationship which now exists between the ghetto and the larger society. (Harris, 1972: 72).

Tabb's theses were derived from the application of the tools of analysis used in the study of developing nations. These tools seemed appropriate to him because of certain similarities between 'developing' nations and the black ghetto. (Tabb, 1970: 3).

Harris' critique suggested that , (a) Tabb had employed tools of analysis without careful consideration of their usefulness in this situation; (b) although Tabb listed those conditions which appeared to be common to both 'developing' nations and black ghettos, the achievement of his aim to describe the economic factors which help explain the origins of the black ghetto and the mechanisms through which exploitation and deprivation are maintained seemed to require a more careful theoretical foundation than the one he offered. For example, Tabb's analysis did not include an elaboration of 'exploitation' nor a differentiation of that concept from 'discrimination' and 'segregation'. (d) Although he attributed the persistence of

dominance, segregation etc., to the 'profit motive', it was not clear how white society in general could benefit. Moreover,

At a more analytical level, we should like to know what are the mechanisms through which such gains accrue. (Harris, 1972: 8).

Harris called for a more thorough investigation of how the profit motive applied to the particular circumstance of the ghetto, and by extension an elaboration of what precisely 'profit motive' meant.

Although Tabb responded at length to Harris' critique, (Tabb, 1974). Bailey later formulated the internal colony model in a manner that resolved some of the differences between Tabb and Harris. (Bailey, 1973).

Bailey proceeded from the premise that one's place in relation to the organisation of production (and the complex of relations that derive from production), is central to any understanding of the racial problem. His outline of internal colonialism was comprised of an exposition of three sets of relations.

(a) Relations of Production. These are centred on the Marxist analysis of exploitation. In the process of production, workers produce more than is represented by their wages, i.e.,

surplus value is extracted in amounts that vary according to worker productivity. Bailey gives some evidence that for the same work and with the same educational backgrounds, blacks are paid less than whites. This stratification of workers is made possible by the different processes and circumstances of the formation of the industrial work force. Bailey termed the greater exploitation of blacks 'superexploitation' and suggested that slavery, sharecropping, and industrial employment were different forms of surplus extraction, each phase being made possible by the relations of domination and subordination inherent in the immediately preceding phase.

(b) Relations of Monopoly and Dependence. Bailey believed that because blacks have no power or control over the forces of production, exchange or distribution, their position within the American society was completely under the control of a white elite. Blacks were monopolised and dependent in a specific way because they had little or no representation within this elite. These arguments will be pursued in greater detail in the succeeding chapter.

(c) Relations of Maintenance. By these, Bailey referred to the processes by which relations of production (and with blacks, superexploitation), monopoly and dependence are maintained. He included among these, token involvement of the black community in

government and politics and the co-option of radical black organisations as well as de facto discrimination in employment and housing.

Although Bailey's analysis provided important elements of a theory of race relations and the ghetto from a Marxist viewpoint, he omitted to situate the black working population within the working class in general. Whereas he ascribes dominance in the explanation to relations of production his analysis of the reproduction of these relations relies upon a racial classification of society that is not theoretically connected to classes derived from the relations of production.

Although he states a connection between racial stratification and relations of production, it is not elaborated in any consistent manner. The difficulty lies in the realm of a theory of social classes in so far as it appears difficult to situate the criteria by which racial groups can be differentiated within the normally crude conceptions of social classes defined by relations to the means of production.

From the mid-sixties, many black leaders subscribed to some variation of the internal colonial model. The general form of the programmes and actions to which it gave rise included, an increase of 'economic aid' (investment) to the ghetto, an

increase in the control by residents of ghetto space, or come combination of both. More radical or militant activities, such as those of the Black Panthers, were met with harsh police suppression. A series of other forces combined to minimise the impact of the less aggressive organisations.

Those organisations who were helping to establish black municipal governments were faced with the deepening urban crisis.

(Castells, 1976).

Organisations such as CORE and NAACP had been firmly brought into conditions of dependence by the Ford Foundation and other corporate interests. These firmly channelled activity toward self-help and job-training programmes and, for a time, boosted the chimera of black capitalism. (Cross, 1969., Ofari, 1970). In sum, the state and corporate interests launched a multi-level response to the urban rioting of the sixties which threatened the fixed capital of the urban centres. On the one hand, police pressure and suppression of disorder was greatly increased after 1967; (Allen, 1969), and on the other hand, the establishment of Riot Commissions gave the impression that much was being done and that grievances would soon be redressed. The illusion was that the state was neutral, that social pluralism did function and that the commissions could 'deliver' significant improvement. This was not to be the case. (Lipsky and Olson, 1976).

Traditions and aspirations that had long been part of black organisation in the U.S.A. found expression in new forms in the nineteen sixties. What was most significant during the period, however, was the mutual recognition by the state and by blacks, that segregation could and would not be solved in the foreseeable future. Black people had recognised this for some time, indeed it formed the basis of all nationalist organisations, but the state had never admitted the fact prior to 1965. The consequences of this recognition have yet to be drawn, both in terms of government programmes for social control and possible forms of black organisation. (But see Hill, 1975).

Both government programmes and internal colonialism exhibited particular conceptions of ghetto space. Although not reduced to the crass spatialism of some writers (Jones and Neal, 1968), Tabb's rather loose formulation of internal colonialism revealed some of the ambiguities of interpretations of ghetto space. His analysis suggested that greater investment in the ghetto coupled with greater political control by residents were important components of a solution. But the logical outcome of such an approach is a level of economic activity in the ghetto commensurate with other parts of the city. The argument suggests that spatial normalisation of economic activity will eradicate racism. But the absence of industry and large stores from the ghetto is not a result of racial discrimination, it constitutes a

part of it. Racial discrimination is the form of subordination experienced by blacks as a result of wide-ranging economic and political relations.

Taking some level of control over ghetto space makes undoubted inroads on the dominance of the larger society, but the influence of the relations of dominance will not be eliminated particularly as the ghetto is so clearly dependent. Moreover, dominance/subordination may inhere in the new relations generated by political control.

The relatively unified or discrete nature of the black experience of these relations arises, not from race, but from their relatively unified place within the labour force and the historical specificity of their incorporation within it. More precisely, their unified experience arises from their place within the complex of relations that define classes, and strata within classes. These relations are specific in form to the context of American history and society.

Ghetto space reflects the subordinated place of black workers, but it does not constitute the terrain of analysis or the proper focus for policies intended to fully explain, or fully eradicate the causes of dominance and subordination.

The ghetto as space undoubtedly reflects social and economic relations in a particular phenomenal form and this form, with equal certainty, contributes to the reproduction or maintenance of these relations. Thus, ghetto residents derive a perspective on the society in which they live through the meanings they draw from the place where they live. (Ley, 1974). Similarly, the provision of services including medicine and education, is spatially structured to the disadvantage of the ghetto dweller. (Cox, 1973).

In the final analysis, however, it is to the social and economic relations that any attempt at analysis and explanation must address itself. The required analysis is one capable of tracing the continuity of historical transformation without the loss of theoretical consistency. The final chapter attempts to develop the basis of such an approach.

6. Summary and Conclusion.

This chapter has attempted to outline a series of social economic and political reactions by blacks to racial discrimination in the U.S.A.

(1) As with the mainstream literature, it was suggested that a relationship existed between the forms and strength of black

organisations and the conditions of the economy at any given time. Thus in the early decades of the century when black people were, on the one hand, continuing to live under the economic and political conditions of sharecropping, and on the other hand, beginning to move to the cities and industrial wage labour, bases existed for both the gradualist approach of Washington and the assertive and more immediate demands of DuBois and the NAACP. The tight wartime labour market allowed for black participation in trade unions albeit in a marginal and discriminated manner.

(2) Although the actions of the black organisations were varied, most proceeded from the premise that a basic antagonism separated the black population from the larger society. In general however, the elaboration of this dichotomy did not proceed beyond some statements on the relationship of racism to the economy. The historical transformations from sharecropping to industrial wage labour were noted but no consistent framework for explaining these transformations was developed. This criticism can be stated as the absence of a theory of the context of racial discrimination.

(3) The persistence of strong social and political organisations and relative cultural cohesion seems to conflict with those of the mainstream writers who interpret black behaviour and social organisation as deviant or pathological.

(4) Participation in trade union activity was of some assistance to black workers. The conditions of the post war years led to a shift towards the civil rights movements and to confrontation with the state rather than with employers. Although few nationalists have attempted to analyse the nature of the state, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it is viewed on the one hand as a possible vehicle for the redressal of grievances, and on the other, as a vehicle of racial domination. The latter of these views led to demands for political autonomy in the ghetto; the former was the perspective of the more moderate of the civil rights groups.

(5) In the nineteen sixties, a view of the ghetto as 'underdeveloped space' underlay both government programmes and Nationalist demands. This has obvious implications for geographical analysis and these will be addressed in the final chapter. (See Harvey, 1973: 120/152).

The following chapter will attempt to outline the framework of an approach capable of circumventing some of the problems outlined in this and the previous chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR.

MARXISM, RACISM AND PERIODISATION.

1. Introduction.

In this chapter a broad framework of analysis will be developed for the analysis of racial discrimination and ghettoisation. This is possible without forfeiting the need to explain the historical particularities of the problem in hand.

Initially a series of general critical remarks on the material of the two previous chapter will be made. By elaborating on these criticisms very specific requirements can be made of the theoretical framework intended to supplant them. Primary among these requirements is the need for conceptual focus and clarity concerning the interrelatedness of the various aspects of the problem.

The second section of the chapter is comprised of an elaboration of various Marxist concepts appropriate to the discussion. These include mode of production, social formation, capitalist accumulation and the state. Periodisation and the conservation and dissolution effects inherent in any social

formation will also be defined. These concepts provide a means of tracing both the continuity and transformation of societies.

The third section is a preliminary attempt to situate American race relations within the theoretical framework suggested in section two. The concepts will be used to outline a periodisation of American history into the phases of slavery, sharecropping and the present urban-industrial phase. Because mainstream writers have tended to focus on attitudes and behaviour, this section concludes with an attempt to situate such phenomena within the proposed framework.

A final section will summarise the basic arguments of the chapter.

2. Critical Remarks on Mainstream and Nationalist Literature

Although criticisms of the literature reviewed earlier have been stated periodically in the preceding pages, it is appropriate to list them here again. This will have the effect of focussing more closely on what is lacking in these theories, and consequently on what any new theory must include.

A. It has been noted that the mainstream and nationalist interpretations invariably contain assumptions and that these are frequently unstated. The limitations of assumption are unavoidable but vary with the particular assumption. In chapter one it was argued that assumptions reflected certain ideological perspectives. Chapters two and three have demonstrated that the work of both the nationalist and mainstream writers is seriously limited in this way.

B. The starting point of analysis was most frequently the socio-economic characteristics and spatial distributions of the races. Occasionally some aspect of the political economy (e.g. the housing market) has been examined, but most often some 'natural' or 'innate' characteristics of humans or races are invoked as causative factors. The absence of an elaborated theoretical framework means that phenomena such as cultural practices, distribution in the labour force, variations in race relations through time etc. remain totally unrelated in theory. It is because of this that the historical experience of black people in the U.S. is frequently narrated in chronological sequence but rarely interpreted using the tools developed to understand the contemporary situation. Banfield (1974) or even Rose (1971) could not examine the populist movement of the late nineteenth century with any degree of thoroughness without relinquishing their present analyses. It is true that the

process of urbanisation is frequently suggested as an important variable in the development and maintenance of segregation. This point will be taken up immediately. Here, it can be noted that an alternate theory must be capable of interpreting the past as well as the present without recourse to major modifications of theory.

C. The persistence of segregation is explained by some writers as a consequence of urbanisation. Urbanisation is understood as a process of increasing size of urban concentrations with a concomitant increase in the complexity of managing urban systems. Urbanisation is seen as a process which, because of its complexity, cannot facilitate an equal racial distribution of workers in the labour force. Attitudes, misuse of power and so on, are uncontrollable in the urban system (Rose, 1971., Cox, 1973). Others (Muth, 1969) suggest that individual preferences, power structures or poor management are responsible for spatial segregation. However, urbanisation is not explained merely by identifying some of its characteristics. The distribution of power, and the basis of power have not been studied by these writers. The continued importance of biased attitudes or self-segregatory personal choices (in effect the same thing) presuppose a social context within which such attitudes take effect. Whereas complexity is an aspect of urbanisation, it is not a theory of urbanisation. The point is that attitudes are important but are not independent of other more fundamental forces

In sum what these writers fail to note is that urbanisation PER SE does not exist. Urbanisation must be situated within the context of a mode of production. Such radically different societies as feudalism, slavery and capitalism have all produced urbanisation. A theory which facilitates the contextualisation of urbanisation will be developed later.

D. Black nationalist writers frequently argue that urbanisation is but one phase or place within which blacks have been 'buffeted about' or discriminated against by White society. (Blauner 69, Cruse 62). Black people are believed to have been effected by economic change in a manner very different to the remainder of the labour force. Whereas the black experience can be seen as specific, the above arguement explicitly recognises that it is a part of the labour force experience. Rather than emphasise differences between sectors of the labour force an alternate theory should situate these differences in the context of a specific labour force - the labour force in a capitalist society. This will have the effect of surmounting the problems of a separate definition of class and race. These problems were confronted by Drake and Cayton (1962) and indicate the importance of social classification to this problem.

E. Because the racial problem is viewed as a set of relationships (however defined) between two relatively

undifferentiated groups - blacks and Whites - proposed solutions have frequently focussed on the space which the black subordinate group occupies. Morrill (1972) and to a greater extent Rose (1971), as well as many of the black nationalists suggest that the issue is one of control over the space or ghetto occupied by Blacks. The ghetto is seen as a spatial expression of subordination but because control over the space is seen as the means of eradicating this subordination the implied argument is that the basis of dominance lies in the inferior level of economic development in the ghetto. This underdevelopment allows for economic and political domination by the larger society. Political control of the ghetto by its occupants is intended to create greater economic development, more jobs, new industries and so on (Tabb, 1970). What this position fails to recognise is that blacks and whites are themselves differentiated into classes.

It is suggested here and will be argued later, that relations of dominance and subordination derive from basic class relations in society and take on specific forms among specific groups. The alternate theory must attempt to relate the spatial forms of dominance and subordination to their origins in the relations of production and the labour process.

A spatial category, the ghetto, does not provide the theoretical means of relating these phenomena to the processes governing the larger society.

F. There are two other aspects of the literature reviewed in the earlier chapters which merit attention. Firstly, the role of the state has been viewed on the one hand by mainstream writers as an independent force attempting to respond to conflicting forces and achieve some maximum of public good and on the other, by nationalist writers, as a vehicle for the imposition of white dominance. However, the state has taken very different positions at different periods. Prior to 1954, discrimination was sanctioned by law and since then government policy has undergone significant changes. This would imply that either the nature of the state has changed or the forces to which it responds now exert different levels of influence. Neither the mainstream nor nationalist writers address this problem adequately although it is of obvious importance.

Secondly, various conceptions of culture have been employed by writers reviewed earlier. These range from the concept of cultural pathology (Lewis, Banfield) through that of the unseen cultural basis of a pluralist society (Rose) to the set of practices, traditions and values which, nationalist writers argue, are specific and important to Blacks, and which must be

protected. An alternate theory must include not only some conception of black culture, but also of the attitudes, behaviour and practices of the larger society and of the relationship between the two. Finally, the theory should be capable of explaining the persistence of conflicting interpretations of discrimination as indicated by chapters two and three.

A thorough fulfillment of all of the above requirements is not only desirable but necessary. Here it is possible only to lay the basis for such a fulfillment and to indicate the directions in which further work might be undertaken. The theory is based quite heavily on Marx's political economy and on the works of other writers in that tradition. Some of these will be quoted from at length.

The most fundamental of the criticisms listed above is the absence of contextualisation or a theory of context in the mainstream and nationalist literature. Although reference by these writers was frequently made to 'American society', references do not constitute a theory and can do little to develop analysis and understanding. It seems appropriate, therefore, to commence with a concept which refers to the context of the problem in hand: the social formation. However, whereas 'social formation' refers to the complexity of a specific society, it can only be understood as a concept by beginning with

a definition of mode of production. This is because the complexity to which the former refers is nothing other than the specific articulation, or, joining together of several modes of production. Initially, therefore, the mode of production as a concept, and the nature of the capitalist mode must be defined.

3. SOME CONCEPTS.

The framework presented below is essentially Marxist in nature. Some qualifying remarks may be necessary at this point. Because 'Marxism' is not a complete or finished set of theory, it has been necessary to select material which best suits the needs of this thesis. In doing this, important debates within the Marxist discourse have been ignored. Thus, whereas the work of Poulantzas is used extensively, the reader should be aware of continued debate surrounding his arguments. (Wright, 1976., Union of Socialist Geographers, 1977). Poulantzas' work is generally situated within the French 'structuralist school' with which Althusser's name is frequently associated. Poulantzas' work on social class is, perhaps, the most theoretically advanced Marxist text on this subject. The centrality of social class to the problem in hand makes Poulantzas' work particularly appropriate to the discussion.

A. Mode of Production.

Balibar has drawn up a set of elements common to all modes of production.

(1) labourer, (2) means of production, (3) non-labourer. (These elements are combined by two connections). (A) Property connection: (B) Real or material appropriation connection" (Althusser and Balibar 1970, p. 215).

The property connection (relations of production) refers to relations of economic ownership and possession, and the expropriation of surplus-labour in a particular form. These relations allocate power and control over the distribution of the surplus and the bringing together of the forces of production. The real or material appropriation connection refers to the actual labour process, the transformation of some part of nature into use-values - means of production and subsistence. But these are not discrete relations. They are themselves inter-connected. Poulantzas notes that

The production process is composed of the unity of the labour process and the relations of production..... (W)ithin this unity it is not the labour process, including technology and the technical process that plays the dominant role; the relations of production always dominate the labour process and the productive forces, stamping them with their own pattern and appearance. (Poulantzas, 1975: 21).

The particular form which these relations take in an enterprise, i.e., the relations between people in particular places in a specific production process, are called the social relations of production.

In class societies there are different relationships between the worker and the productive forces, and the owner and the productive forces. Under feudalism, whereas the ruling class had control over the surplus, (real economic ownership), they did not possess complete power over the labour process itself, its duration and intensity. The feudal serf, when he worked on the land allocated to him, had real possession over the means of production. The wage-worker working in a capitalist factory enjoys no such possession. This aspect is called the relation of possession.

The capitalist mode of production contains two main classes, the bourgeoisie who own and control the means of production and who expropriate surplus labour in the form of surplus-value from the direct producers and those, the working class, who produce value and surplus value. The basic elements of the capitalist mode of production will be outlined before returning to the social formation.

B. Capitalist Mode of Production

Under the capitalist mode, powers of economic ownership and of possession tend to concentrate in one class -- the bourgeoisie. This class allocates resources and labour-power, controls the deployment of the surplus, and regulates the labour-process. The direct producers (workers) are separated from the means of production and therefore from the means of subsistence. The surplus-value which capital expropriates from workers, appears as profit, interest, ground rent, dividends etc.

The rate of exploitation, i.e., the ratio of surplus value extracted to variable capital (wages) can be increased in one of two ways. The extraction of absolute surplus value involves the lengthening of the working day and, thereby, the length of surplus labour time. Relative surplus value is extracted through increasing the productivity of the worker, i.e., through the substitution of constant capital (dead labour, e.g., machinery) for living labour.

It should be noted that productive workers are those who are involved in the production of surplus value, i.e., those who exchange their labour against capital rather than revenue or income. Thus, workers in the state or in the banking sector are not productive although surplus labour may be extracted from them.

Having expropriated surplus-value, capitalists have to realise it, i.e., sell the commodities containing surplus-value. Capitalists compete to capture shares of the market. The ability to compete on the market depends on the efficiency of the production process. More efficient capitals produce commodities whose individual values are below the social average value. These capitals can either sell at the average value, thereby realising more surplus-value per commodity than their competitors or sell below average value and thereby, capture larger shares of the market. Competition forces inefficient producers out of production and thereby reduces the number of capitals in particular spheres of production. Successful capitals accumulate and Marx calls this the concentration of capital. Concentration generates centralisation, the merger of once independent capitals which facilitates rational management and increased growth.

Both of these processes reflect the competition between capitals, a competition which is based on ceaseless attempts to cheapen the commodities being produced. Marx notes:

The battle of competition is fought by cheapening of commodities. The cheapness of commodities depends, CAETERIS PARIBUS, on the productiveness of labour, and this again on the scale of production. Therefore, the larger capitals beat the smaller. It will be further remembered that, with the development of the capitalist mode of production, there is an increase in the minimum amount of individual capital necessary to carry on a business under its normal conditions. (Marx, 1972, Vol.1.: 586/587).

Concentration, centralisation and the cheapening of commodities created difficulties for southern planters during the periods of slavery and sharecropping as they were forced to compete with capitalist production of commodities traditionally the preserve of the agricultural sector.

The concentration and centralisation of capital increases the complexity of exercising the powers of capital and of circulating and exchanging the increased product. This complexity leads to a multiplication of class places that may appear to be bourgeois and proletarian at the same time - an engineer who directs the labour process while participating in productive work is one such class place. The development of this complexity must be understood in terms of transformations in the relations of production and these will be noted later. Poulantzas, however, explains these 'new class places' in a theoretically consistent manner.

The relations of production and the relations which comprise them (economic ownership/possession) are expressed in the forms of powers which derive from them, in other words class powers; these powers are constitutively tied to the political and ideological relations which sanction and legitimise them. These relations are not simply added on to relations of production that are "already there", but are themselves present, in the form specific to each mode of production, in the constitution of the relations of production. The process of production and exploitation is at the same time a process of reproduction of the relations of political and ideological domination and subordination" (Poulantzas 1975: 21).

According to Poulantzas, ideological relations refer to a set of material practices that are not only related to but are inherent in the relations of production. Thus the concentration of the powers of economic ownership and possession in the hands of the bourgeoisie includes the concentration of the knowledge of the production process itself, a knowledge that induces relations of dominance and subordination between the people in a particular production process. These relations are an aspect of the social relations of production and as such, are essential relations in the determination of class places. Poulantzas further notes that political dominance and subordination, the actual supervision and control of the labour process, similarly inheres in the relations of production. Moreover these relations of dominance are systematised in the state which is considered as a 'condensation of class forces' that maintains the long term interests of the bourgeoisie by attempting to guarantee the conditions for capital accumulation. The state may of course intervene and directly participate in the reproduction of capital through taxation policies, tariffs, the provision of infrastructure (especially means of transportation and communication), the production and reproduction of labour power through immigration laws, education policies and so on. Thus the legal, political and everyday sanctioning and legitimisation of racism under slavery were not mere afterthoughts to the establishment of slave production. They were the specific forms of the relations of dominance and

subordination inherent in the relations of production under slavery.

It is not suggested here that all workers who exercise a degree of control, or who possess a degree of knowledge of the labour process are members of the bourgeoisie. The problem is to identify the dominant relation of class determination, to isolate the dominant function of the class place involved.

The types of labour required in the production process also require capitalist domination of the reproduction of labour, a reproduction that is necessarily sectoral in that it must reproduce manual, clerical, skilled and unskilled, managerial and supervisory workers. These sectors are not infrequently aligned parallel to divisions that predate capitalist domination and reflect in fact, the division of labour and the social relations of production of previous modes. The reproduction of the labour force therefore adapts itself to the requirements of a social formation. Thus, the divisions may be sexual, racial, religious, or ethnic, or a combination of any two or more of these divisions. In the end, however, they are determined by the requirements of the production process in the manner in which it generates new labour requirements.

The continued existence of any mode of production requires its reproduction. The reproduction of capital is, however, expanded reproduction. This leads to its constant penetration of other social formations and to its increased domination over pre-capitalist modes. The relationship between capitalism and slavery in nineteenth century America is a particularly complex form of such penetration and increasing domination. However, it is now necessary to turn to the concept of the 'social formation.'

C. Social Formation.

Fundamentally, a social formation can be defined as a specific articulation of modes of production in a particular time and place. Poulantzas notes:

"The mode of production constitutes an abstract formal object which does not exist in the strong sense in reality. Capitalist, feudal, and slave modes of production which equally lack existence in the strong sense, also constitute abstract-formal objects. The only thing which really exists is a historically determined social formation, i.e., a social whole in the widest sense But a social formation, which is a real-concrete object and so always original because singular, presents a particular combination, a specific overlapping of several pure modes of production" (Poulantzas 1973. 15).

Thus, it follows that the two fundamental classes are those of the dominant mode of production but a concrete society, a social formation

"involves more than two classes in so far as it is composed of various modes and forms of production. No social formation involves only two classes, but the two fundamental classes of any social formation are those of the dominant mode of production in that formation" (Poulantzas 1973: 22).

The social formation refers to the articulation of modes of production in a specific and real place, the historically unique manner of their reproduction and the processes of dissolution and conservation which give rise to specific class structures.

In the articulation of modes of production, i.e., in the social formation, one mode is always dominant. This

"produces complex effects of dissolution and conservation on the other modes of production and gives these societies their overall character ..."
(Poulantzas, 1973: 22).

In a capitalist dominated social formation dissolution and conservation processes or effects refer to the tendency for the social relations of production in the pre-capitalist forms to dissolve under the dominance of the extending capitalist social relations of production. Simultaneously, the pre-capitalist form exhibits tendencies to conserve its particular social relations in the face of this domination. This discussion touches on the problem of the transition from the dominance of one mode to the dominance of another in a social formation. This is an area of considerable debate and is beyond the scope of this thesis. (See

Hilton, 1976). The meaning of conservation and dissolution effects will become clearer when the sharecropping economy of the southern United States is examined. The effects themselves are specific to a social formation in that they are determined by the articulation of modes of production in a particular time and space.

The social formation has a real spatial existence that tends to coincide with political hegemony, (boundaries of the nation state) i.e., with nation states in the capitalist era. Clearly, however, it is structured in part by the manner of its integration with other social formations.

"This category [social formation] concerns the differential evolution of societies in terms of their own setting and in connection with those external forces which are most often the source of their motive power. The fundamental basis of explanation is production, i.e. man's labour which transforms according to historically determined laws, the space with which the group is confronted" (Santos, 1977: 1).

The social formation, involving the relations between modes of production and the reproduction of these relations, is clearly concerned with the process of social transformation, with history. In order to interpret change in a social formation, the notions of conservation and dissolution effects can be employed to periodise these continuing changes.

D. Periodisation.

Effects of conservation and dissolution derive, in the end, from the 'fundamental basis of explanation...production'. In other words, they arise from transformations in the relations of production. This does not mean that the core of production relations outlined above change, rather, these relations take on new forms.

This can be clearly seen in the dissociation of legal from economic ownership and of economic ownership from possession which defines the initial phase of monopoly capital. In the phase of the consolidation of monopoly capital, these dissociations became quite marked. In the present phase, the internationalisation of capitalist relations of production, Poulantzas notes a strong tendency for the powers of ownership and possession to coalesce. The first phase of this periodisation is marked by conservation effects of competitive capital, specifically, the vigour with which competitive capitalists sought to retain powers of possession. The present phase clearly marks the dominance of monopoly capital and its effects of dissolution on the non-monopoly sector. (Poulantzas, 1975: 140/141).

These effects were, and are, specific to each formation and depend on the particular articulation of modes of production that characterise each formation, and on the position of the social formation within the international articulation of social formations - the imperialist chain. (Poulantzas, 1975: 46).

The context of the problem in hand is the American social formation considered as the articulation of modes of production and the consequent reproduction of specific class places under the dominance of capitalist relations of production. The concepts outlined above can be employed to develop a framework for the analysis of persistent racial discrimination. It is not suggested here that the framework is anything more than an initial attempt.

The framework will be used to periodise American history focusing primarily on the position of black people within the American social formation. Three stages are identified; (A) slavery, (B) sharecropping and (C), the present stage -- incorporation into the industrial labour force.

4. SLAVERY

In this thesis, commercial slavery as it developed in the southern states is under consideration and this is quite

different from earlier forms of the slave mode of production. It must be pointed out, however, that whereas the legal status of slavery may exist within a social formation, this does not mean that such a formation is dominated by the slave mode of production. (The slave mode in dominance implies specific relations of possession and ownership and a particular manner of surplus expropriation. What distinguishes slavery as a mode from other modes is the

...separation of the labourer from the means of reproduction of his labour-power which is the mode of subsumption of the slave labourer as the possession of the owner of the means of production. (Hindess and Hirst, 1975: 127).

Hindess and Hirst then proceed to demonstrate the existence and dominance of the slave mode in the ante-bellum southern states. This dominance arose with the articulation of agricultural production in the South to growing capitalist markets. Thus, slavery in this region underwent a transformation from a legal status within a predominantly petty commodity producing social formation to its attainment of dominance as a mode within that social formation.

Marx comments on these forms in the following manner:

.... (T)he negro labour in the southern states of the American union preserved something of a patriarchal character so long as production was

chiefly directed to immediate local consumption. But in proportion as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the over-working of the negro became a factor in a calculated and calculating system. It was no longer a question of obtaining from him a certain quantity of useful products. It was a question of production of surplus labour itself. (Marx, 1972: 226,227).

Later, Engels commented on the predominance of slave production in the export trade of the nineteenth century American social formation.

At that time (1847) the world trade of the United States was limited mainly to imports of immigrants and industrial products, and the export of cotton and tobacco, i.e., the products of southern slave labour. The northern states produced mainly corn and meat for the slave states. (Engels, cited in Marx, 1963: 112).

In other words, the American social formation, especially its slave mode was articulated into the imperialist chain through the export of raw cotton and of tobacco. The articulation of the slave mode and the capitalist mode was achieved through market relations. This articulation opened up large and increasing markets for the commodities of the slave mode. At the same time, however, it brought slavery into competition with capitalist production of the same or similar products (synthetic fibres) and, in slavery's need to expand the territory under slave production, generated conflicts between the southern slave states and the capitalist and petty-commodity producing interests to the north. The conflict over Kansas reflected these tendencies. (Hindess and Hirst, 1975: 175).

Slaveowners made profits through the sale of specific commodities (cotton and tobacco) primarily to the British market. They were interested above all in maintaining these market connections, connections that had led to the development of slavery in the first place.

Because world trade permits domestic capital to expand and achieve economies of scale, it is, therefore, an important source of capital accumulation. Thus, the American form of slavery, although formally a distinct mode of production is subsequent to capitalism, economically dependent on capitalist markets and, because it contributes to the formation of large-scale industry, incapable of controlling the conditions of its reproduction.

"Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry" (Marx, 1963: 111).

When large-scale industry developed in the North, it required tariff walls for protection, while the slaveowners feared the creation of interruptions in exchange of their commodities for money. This contradiction was partially responsible for the Civil War (Aptheker, 1961).

The different property connections of capitalism and slavery contained within them and gave rise to definite forms of political and ideological domination. Although federally united the state-system allowed for the persistence of different forms of domination. Thus slavery constituted a legal status of non-humanness, a total absence of any bourgeois democratic rights.

"A legal non-subject, the slave's value as property depends upon the fact that he has attributes of a human subject, that is the capacity to act on instruction, the faculty of judgement etc.... The chattel slave is a contradictory being, a human subject and a legal non-subject, a man-thing" (Hindess and Hirst 1975: 112).

Because of the identification of slavery with blackness, large numbers of legally free blacks suffered forms of discrimination not unlike that of the slaves. County and state jurisdictions could enforce this discrimination independently of federal structures (Gossett, 1963). Although free blacks were not slaves, tendencies operated to isolate them as the lowest echelon of free workers thereby implying and reinforcing racist conceptions of black inferiority while ascribing a superior status to white workers.

It is at this point that the differential proletarianisation of the free labour force along racial lines begins.

This introduction of racial discrimination to wage labour is related to the inherently competitive nature of the labour market and the organisation of the labour process and such discrimination was not, of course, unique to blacks.

As indicated above, the control over and knowledge of the labour process are powers deriving from one's place in the labour process itself, i.e., they inhere in the economic relations that define the class place. This complex of places requires a sectoral reproduction of labour to fill certain places and discrimination is one means of facilitating this sectoral reproduction. Subsequent to the Civil War, the American social formation comprised an expanding industrial capitalism constantly generating new labour requirements and articulated to and dominating the remnants of the slave mode of production.

The social classes deriving from that articulation of modes under the dominance of the capitalist mode, and in relation to the reproduction of labour, constitute the terrain of any theoretical investigation of racism beyond the period of slavery.

The effects of this articulation, and its development, on southern agriculture gave rise to the form of agricultural production known as sharecropping. The thesis turns now to an investigation of this form.

5. Sharecropping.

When we look at the organisation of agricultural production in the southern states during the decades prior to the second world war, two aspects must be noted.

(a). Southern landowners or planters were dependent on both foreign and domestic capitalist markets. Price fluctuations brought about by the development of synthetic fibres and by the production of cotton in Brazil and Egypt required these planters to maintain the lowest costs of production possible. The low level of technological development in the agricultural sector, coupled with the high labour intensity of cotton growing, exerted great pressures to drive down the cost of labour.

(b). In order to maintain low labour costs, the planters parcelled out land to direct producers, mainly sharecroppers. The planter maintained dominance over the cropper in a number of ways:

(1) He advanced all or most of the machinery, fertiliser, seed and cash credit required by the cropper.

(2) He retained the right to supervise the labour process if only to the limited extent allowed by agricultural production. Occasionally he hired 'riding bosses' to exercise this power. (Haywood, 1976).

(3) He retained complete control over the marketing of the total harvest and over the accounting of transactions between the cropper and himself.

(4) The extraction of surplus from the cropper took the form of surplus product. In other words, the direct producer contracted to give up, say, 50% of the crop in exchange for the use of the land. The absence of signed contracts and the monopoly over marketing exercised by the planter, coupled with the exorbitant interest rates charged on cash and other advances allowed the planter to retain far in excess of 50% of the crop.

In sum, the planter, by retaining the powers deriving from economic ownership and important aspects of the power of possession, maintained a low cost of labour.

We must, however, make two other points here: Firstly, the control over the labour process and the extraction of surplus described above was facilitated by the existence of a legal system which effectively disenfranchised the propertyless and uneducated. Peonage too was legal and croppers who entered into debt were bound to work for their debtor until the debt was cleared.

Although poor white people in the South enjoyed a relative privilege, they too were subjected to the usurious practices of the merchants and landowners. They tended, however, to acquire a written rather than verbal contract with relative ease and could expect 'greater equality' in the eyes of the 'law'. It was a common practice among landowners to let their best land to whites and to prevent even the the smallest of black landowners from gaining a foothold on an area that was traditionally farmed by whites. (Rosengarten, 1974).

The sharecropping economy was not simply divided among landowners and croppers nor between blacks and whites. The interests of bankers, merchants and transport companies in the agricultural surplus has already been noted. Among the direct producers a hierarchy or 'ladder' of possible relationships to the land, gave the appearance that it was possible to climb out of the poverty and dependency of sharecropping. Vance has described the hierarchy or ladder in the following manner:

It is possible to name thirteen separate 'rungs'....all the way from the unpaid family labour of a son working on his father's cropper farm to the status of casual wage hand, regular wage hand, cropper, share tenant, standing renter, cash renter, manager, part owner, mortgaged owner, full owner of a small farm, landlord and large planter. (Vance, 1945: 215).

Some mobility was certainly possible along the lower rungs but the higher rungs were well out of reach of the vast majority.

Definitions of the status need not concern us here, however some indication of the disproportionate distribution of blacks in the cropper stratum of this hierarchy is given by the following table.

Agricultural Tenants by Status and Race, Southern States: 1940.

	White.	Black.	%Black of Total
Cash.	189,667	64,684	25.4
Share-Cash.	32,131	6,547	16.9
Share-Tenant.	389,561	89,483	18.7
Croppers.	242,173	299,118	55.3
Others.	89,123	46,806	34.4

----- (Source: Haywood, 1976: 34).

The same figures show that of all tenants in the South, 59% of blacks were croppers compared to 25% of whites.

The net effect of this form of production was the availability of cotton at low prices and the maintenance of high rates of profit for both merchant and landowner. It had the added advantage of removing the responsibility for reproducing labour from the landowner.

The sharecropping system of production can be viewed then as

(1) a process containing and embodying an increased subordination to capitalist relations of production. This was brought about by its dependence on capitalist markets and through competition with capitalist forms of production.

(2) as a process containing aspects of the slave mode of production in its organisation of the labour process and the extraction of surplus.

Clearly, sharecropping is not slavery, as under slavery surplus labour and not surplus product is the form of expropriation. The labour process too is organised in very different ways. Equally obvious, however, is the fact that a declaration of emancipation does not obliterate all aspects of the slave mode. What we find, in short, is a particular articulation of modes of production containing effects of conservation and dissolution. In other words, the dependence of

southern agricultural production on capitalist markets, its status as a part of the international division of labour and its consequent need to compete, brought it more and more under the dominance of capitalist relations thus giving rise to dissolution effects, i.e., giving rise to the need to reorganise the social relations of production. At the same time, these effects or tendencies could be opposed, if temporarily, through a conservation of social relations of production that derived from the slave mode. (Stein, 1974).

It is necessary to point out that this schematisation does not suggest a static economy in the southern states. The development of agricultural machinery and of diversification in agricultural production, the increasing concentration and expansion of industrial production in the cities and the concomitant demand for wage labourers are contemporary with the sharecropping economy outlined above. Indeed the transformation of the sharecropping economy is inextricably related to these processes.

From 1914 to 1929 the American economy experienced a relative prosperity and growth. The depression of the thirties was a major reorganising force which gave rise to increased state intervention. Dowd has suggested that the prosperity of the twenties should be understood as the outcome of advances in the

monopoly capital sector. These included the increased productivity brought about by technological innovation and vertical and horizontal integration. The non-monopoly sector, according to this argument, persisted in its attempts to gain representation and protection from monopoly domination through anti-trust laws, etc. Monopoly capital experienced particular difficulties in the housing and automobile sectors; markets were not expanding and real wages were increasing very slowly. Production was obliged to slack off in the face of this. The New Deal comprised a series of interventions by the state intended to stimulate production through market subsidies while providing guaranteed prices but limits on production for farmers. (Dowd, 1974: 95 ff).

Many black people migrated in the inter-war period and met with new forms of discrimination in the cities. The role of organised labour in this process has already been outlined but the actions of the unions must be explained, in the end, by the dispossession of the workers, that is, by the separation of the workers from their means of production. As dispossessed workers control only their own labour power and are forced to exchange it against capital, competition develops between workers in the labour market. The accentuation of divisions within the labour force facilitated both the continued dominance of capital over labour and the sectoral reproduction of the labour force.

Thus, not only were blacks concentrated in the non-monopoly sector where wages tended to be lower and unions less active, but they were often employed deliberately by large employers (monopoly capital) to bring down the overall wage rate. (Sherman, 1970: 40/45).

Residential segregation was maintained by the real estate market and by threat of physical force. The F.H.A. maintained a policy of funding black housing projects only if they corresponded to the existing racial distribution of people in the city. (Sherman, 1970: 28).

Education, although superior to facilities in the South, was in effect, another means of reproducing the differences between the black population and the larger society. This was made possible by the American school district system and the elaborate tracking procedures whereby the minority population could be confined to a particular training and set of opportunities. (Edwards, et al., 1972: 232).

The extent and persistence of these practices is indicated by the continued enactment of civil rights legislation through the mid-nineteen sixties.

The period of sharecropping then, refers to a particular phase in the American social formation characterised by particular effects of conservation and dissolution. On the one hand, southern agriculture maintained a form of production characterised by a particular organisation of the labour process. This entailed the dispossession of large sections of the labour force of their means of production, particularly land. The development of a peasant proprietary class of independent commodity producers (implied in the false promise of 'a mule and forty acres') was prevented by the retention of the powers of economic ownership and possession by the planters or large landowners. This had the effect of creating a new source of free (i.e. dispossessed) workers for the industrial labour force. But, on the other hand, the failure to develop a peasant class, and the sharecropping system itself, with its strata of tenant status and its racial divisions was an outcome of the articulation of southern agriculture within the capitalist dominated American social formation. It was this dependence or subordination, and not any 'independence' of southern agriculture, that generated sharecropping. It was the continued effects of dissolution that led to its decline in the post war period.

6. The Present Phase.

The treatment of the present phase will differ significantly from that of the phases of slavery and sharecropping. This difference does not constitute any abandonment of the theoretical framework but arises from a number of specific considerations:

(A) In the present phase, the dissolution effects generated by the development of monopoly capital have effectively obliterated sharecropping as the prevailing locus of racial discrimination. The analysis should, therefore, proceed to an investigation of the distribution of blacks in the labour force, focussing on the reproduction of labour. This has been done, and appropriate tables have been appended to this thesis. It is not, however, a full elaboration as there are two other aspects of the present phase to which this section must address itself.

(B) The first of these aspects concerns the continued relative impoverishment of blacks in relation to their specific spatial distribution, their concentration in urban centres. Because of this concentration, they experience particular effects of the contemporary urban crisis. (Hill, 1975., Castells, 1976). The urban crisis is, of course, closely related to capitalist production and reproduction; indeed, it constitutes a manifestation of problems in capitalist reproduction. Because

the city is the new locus of what appear to be racial antagonisms, it is appropriate here to attempt to situate the black ghetto and the relations reflected by the ghetto within the context of the dynamic of capitalist urbanism.

(C) Because mainstream and nationalist writers have emphasised attitudes and behaviour as causative factors in discrimination, this section also attempts to situate the undoubted existence of these attitudes, etc., in the context of the foregoing analysis. To do this, some recent works in sociology and social history have been employed.

This section will, therefore, deal briefly with the reproduction of the subordination of black workers and the manner in which this is situated in the urban economy. Finally, some propositions will be made concerning the relationship of attitudes and behaviour to the overall analysis.

(A) Reproduction of black Labour and the Urban Economy.

High concentrations of black people in American cities and exceptionally high rates of unemployment among them, are now normal aspects of urban centres. Sharecropping has effectively disappeared, the south has become more industrialised and monopoly capital has come to dominate the economic and political institutions of the United States.

Today seventy-one percent of the black population resides in metropolitan areas as compared to sixty-four percent of the white population. The central cities of metropolitan areas are the home for more than one-half (58%) of the nation's blacks as compared to one-fourth (28%) of whites. Black suburbanisation remains a trickle compared to the tidal flow of whites.... (a)nd when it occurs, black suburbanisation rarely seems to entail 'suburbanisation as a way of life' or residential integration among blacks and whites. (Hill, 1975: 26).

Changes in the employment as they effect blacks may be summarised in the following manner: Employment generation in the operatives-labourers sector has begun to taper off but the demand for such jobs continues to increase. Although there has been a decline in the number of people employed in domestic service, large numbers of black women have have been incorporated into the lower echelons of clerical labour. Braverman poses the problem as the imposition of a sexual division of labour over a sectoral or social division:

What has been happening is....an increasing mass of relative surplus population which takes place by way of a market repulsion of male labour and an attraction of female labour. Both on a very great scale. (Braverman, 1974: 392).

Educational streaming, access to credit and to housing all mitigate against the black male in his attempts to compete successfully in the labour market. Increasingly they become porters and janitors or 'drop out' of the labour force. The problem, quite simply, is that the jobs are not there. The black

worker has been marginalised by capitalist expansion. The export of labour intensive (and capital intensive) industries to Taiwan, Mexico and South Korea to avail of cheap labour, and the export of industry to Europe to cut transportation costs have resulted in the curtailing of such activities in the U.S.A. and, of course, these are precisely the areas in which operative and labourer employment are made available. (Leroy, 1968).

Bailey (1973) and Perlo (1975) have systematically demonstrated the disproportionately high distribution of blacks in low income sectors of the work force, the slower rate of promotion for blacks in a given age cohort, the increase in dollar gap difference between blacks and whites in a given age cohort over several decades and the persistence of the ratio of black to white unemployment. This ratio has in fact increased from 1.6 in 1949 to 1.8 in 1970. (See appendix).

The processes of maintaining these differentials is caught up in legal and illegal procedures in employment and promotion practices, but also, and fundamentally, in the overall process of the sectoral reproduction of labour. This involves the influence of social background including educational opportunities and training and the effects of the ghetto socialisation process. In the end, however, the places are simply not there in the labour market and so the problem persists.

In this way, the ghetto can be seen both as a spatial manifestation of the subordination of black workers within the labour force, and as a spatial condensation of relations of subordination that tends to reproduce these relations. Moreover, as a spatial entity, it experiences particular effects of the urban crisis.

But the geographical circulation of surplus value according to the criterion of profitability, within a state structure characterised by federalism and a fragmented system of local governments, has meant the divorce of tax base from social needs, exploitation through fiscal mercantilism and fiscal crisis in ageing central cities. (Hill, 1975: 14).

These aspects of the urban economy have accentuated the disaffection of black people. Some black organisations have successfully confronted the political system and taken control of city hall. It remains to be seen how much can be achieved by this handful of administrations. There seems to be little reason to hope for successful reinvigoration of urban economic activity as the urban centres are dependent on the form of accumulation that develops and the manner in which the cities are articulated to that process. The political representatives of the impoverished and inefficient metropolitan centres have little input to the formation of economic policy at the national level. (Allen, 1969).

This black struggle constitutes one important aspect of the present urban crisis. (Castells, 1975:15). Social expenditure and investment in the form of welfare and policing costs on the one hand, and make-work programmes and inducements to industry on the other hand, are the persistent attempts of the state to stave off discontent in the inner city. This discontent poses a continued threat to the fixed capital invested in the city centre. But these expenditures themselves represent other aspects of the urban crisis. The responsibility for the maintenance of the poor and unemployed falls disproportionately on the already overburdened revenues of local governments. The regressive nature of the tax basis of local governments (property taxes rather than income taxes) leads to a continually diminishing tax base and consequently reduces the effectiveness of attempts to eradicate poverty.

In this way, social discrimination constitutes not only differential incorporation of black workers into the labour force and the spatial expression of their subordinate position through the ghetto, but further, the particular effects of the urban crisis on black ghetto dwellers. This has the effect of perpetuating and accentuating racial division and generates the nationalist wish for political separation and control.

The civil rights movement sought democratisation of the labour market through education, housing credit and equal employment practices. Any formal success made little difference to the material problems of the unemployed and it was this in part, that led to the development of urban based black nationalist movements.

It is on wishes, desires, behaviour attitudes etc. that much of the material reviewed in the preceding chapters based its analyses. This chapter concludes, therefore with an attempt to indicate how the undoubted existence of such attitudes, behaviour, etc., can be situated in the framework outlined above. This is best achieved through the works of Rex (1973) and Gutmann (1977).

(B) Attitudes and the Social Formation.

Rex poses the problem of explaining why difficulties arise

when people from colonial economies and, more generally, black people find their way to the cities of metropolitan countries, and seek to enter the roles of industrial worker and citizen which are available to them. (Rex, 1973: 81).

He added that it should not stretch his theoretical framework too far if he included

problems ... (which arose) in the United States, when the descendants of negro slaves, who worked originally on southern plantations, have settled in 'the North' and in the urban economy and society. (Ibid)

In Rex's analysis, the 'normal' suspicion with which immigrant groups are received is exacerbated by the association of the black immigrant with inferiority. This peculiarity he attributes to the colonisation wars in which most advanced capitalist countries have been involved. Because black immigrants normally arrive in a state of poverty they find employment first in marginal, often menial and invariably vulnerable positions. This has the effect of reinforcing prejudicial attitudes and behaviour by the larger society who are concerned not with class separation or income differentials but with status. This status is the basis of the shared beliefs held by the various strata of the host society. Status differentiation, by implication, is a form of expressing the fear for job security generated by increased labour supply.

The immigrant group necessarily responds by maintaining a social integrity within the spatial integrity of the ghetto. The immigrants are concentrated in ghettos by the cost and supply structure of housing and the location of jobs available. As job location and status in the housing market are related, the ghetto can be said to arise from the multi-faceted relations between the two groups. Discriminatory attitudes and practices support the

formalisation of discrimination through housing, education and welfare. Rex insists that these problems are the product of 'uneven economic and social development in the advanced countries.' (Rex, 1973: 82).

Viewing everyday discriminatory attitudes and practices as aspects of the cultural life of the community, Guttman provides a useful means of relating them to the overall economic framework. Referring to recent work in Sociology and Anthropology Guttman finds

in culture a 'kind of resource' and in society 'a kind of arena', the distinction being between sets of historically available alternatives or forms on the one hand, and the societal circumstances or settings within which these forms may be employed on the other. Culture is used and any analysis of its use immediately brings into view the arrangements of persons in societal groups for whom cultural forms confirm, reinforce, maintain, change, or deny particular arrangements of status, power and identity. (Guttman, 1977: 16).

A wide range of 'uses' for culture is of course possible and it is difficult to apply this proposition to such a broad issue as American race relations. However, some further comments can be offered.

It is reasonable to suggest that except in periods of transition from the dominance of one mode of production to another, popular cultural response is not only confined but also

structured and formed by 'arrangements ...of power.' That is, whereas other cultural responses are possible, they may not be tolerated. (One thinks of the populist movement, the Communist Party and the Black Panthers).

Racist attitudes and behaviour, considered as a cultural or everyday response, derive from the ideological and political relations of production. The larger society, the people who occupy places in the American social formation do not spontaneously decide to discriminate, discrimination arises from material social relations within the social formation. Two aspects can be identified:

(a) Discrimination arises and is maintained because of the existence of a material basis for discrimination. This basis arises from a context which gives the real or material effect to the attitudes themselves. In other words, it derives from a context which allows for the 'use' of discrimination as a response. Such a basis in a capitalist dominated formation includes the competition inherent in the labour market and the hierarchy, or range of authority within the social relations of production. Both of these derive from the dispossession of the direct producers.

(b) The particular form of the discrimination derives from the articulation of specific modes that constitute the social formation.

Thus American racial discrimination is an effect of the articulation of the slave mode to the capitalist mode of production, and the particular form taken by the subsequent development of that articulation. In the present phase, the effects of this articulation are seen in the distribution of blacks in the labour force. Although a series of responses is in a process of constant formation, they are invariably suppressed in one way or another.

Racial discrimination is not a basic invariant element of the American social formation; it is viewed as a form or aspect of the relations of dominance and subordination generated by a specific reproduction of labour, albeit unemployed labour. The forms of this reproduction reflect changes in the relations of production and in the labour process itself.

Finally, none of the above is intended to suggest a 'conspiracy theory'. It merely insists that capital will continually attempt to determine the conditions of its own reproduction.

7. SUMMARY.

Before proceeding to the conclusion and implications of this thesis the preceding schema can be summarised in the following manner.

A. The social context of the problem 'why does racial discrimination persist?' is subsumed under the concept of social formation. This refers to the historical and spatial uniqueness of the articulation of modes of production, the relationships between the classes and forces deriving from these modes, and the particular development which these relations undergo.

B. The abstract concept 'mode of production' refers to the organisation of the productive forces. In the capitalist mode, one class the bourgeoisie, owns the means of production and employs them to increase the value of capital advanced. Working people sell labour power to the bourgeoisie and have minimal control over the labour process or the final product. Such control resides in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The need to expand causes transformations in the labour force requirements of capital. In order to fit the ever more complex social and technical division of labour, labour power is reproduced, technicians, managers, supervisors, clerical workers and so on, each occupying a specific place in the economic, political and ideological relations of production.

C. The expansionary nature of the capitalist mode of production is the basis of its domination of the American social formation. The manner of its articulation with the slave mode, and the subsequent development of classes and divisions among the labour force are the terrain for any analysis of the persistence of racism or discrimination beyond slavery.

D. The periodisation of slavery, sharecropping and full incorporation into the industrial wage-earning work force is based on the increased domination of the capitalist mode as forces of conservation and dissolution operate.

E. Considering racial discrimination as a set of practices with material consequences, it is to be found in the distribution of blacks in the labour force, in income levels, and housing accessibility. These differences are clearly related to the existence of discrimination under slavery and sharecropping.

Capital and the state manipulate the divisions generated by other modes of production in the stratification of the supply of labour. This stratification is inherent in the complexity of social relations involved in the production process. The apparent acquiescence of the population at large is a structured response in the sense that they too occupy places in the complex of social relations.

F. Because racial discrimination can only be studied if it takes the form of material practices, the perpetuation of practices must be explained by a study of the manner of the incorporation of blacks into the labour force, the changes wrought by technological development and the marginalisation of large portions of the black labour force.

G. The ghetto is a spatial manifestation of the dominance of capital over labour and of the structured sectoral reproduction of labour that in this form is specific to the American social formation. It maintains the sectoral division of labour and inhibits 'mobility'. Further, it serves the purpose of maintaining the poor and unemployed. More recently it has functioned as the locus of alternate response to the dominance of capital. Black nationalism is in form, and often defines itself as, racially separatist. In effect, however, the practices of these groups constitute a struggle against the domination of capital.

H. Attitudes and practices carry over from previous forms and modes of production and become part of the possible set of responses to new forms and modes. The attitudes and practices however, can only take on a meaning, a social significance, if the new form or mode of production contains a set of relations to which such attitudes etc. might correspond. This is quite a

different proposition from that which suggests that attitudes alone have persisted beyond the material conditions which generated them. The argument here is that new material conditions emerge which adapt previous divisions in conformity with their own particular structure and thereby give them new social meaning and form.

CONCLUSIONS.

Two questions were posed in this thesis: why and how does the relative deprivation and spatial segregation of black Americans persist?, and, in what manner is this discrimination related to American society as a whole? These questions have been the focus of much attention.

It was decided that a critical review of existing literature would be the most appropriate approach to the problem. Two categories were identified in the literature; 'mainstream' and 'black nationalist' perspectives. In addition to theoretical writings, an effort was made to indicate the nature and inadequacies of various forms of black political organisation. Moreover, because the perspectives were treated individually, and in order of their historical formation, it was possible to situate the theories in their respective social contexts. This form of review revealed a major and general problem in the literature: the inability of many of the analyses to relate the specific problem of racial discrimination to the larger social whole. Various attempts to make this connection tended either to be specific to one stage in the development of race relations and therefore incapable of dealing with historical changes in the form of the problem, or, to explain social processes by attitudes and behaviour.

In order to develop a more comprehensive theoretical understanding of American race relations, several concepts were developed and a periodisation of slavery, sharecropping and black urban concentration was provided. Finally, some suggestions concerning attitudes and behaviour and their relationship to the theoretical framework were made. Here, the work of Rex was particularly useful.

Obviously, there are several inadequacies and problems in the thesis and it is as well to indicate the more important of these here.

(A) The literature reviewed by no means exhausted the relevant material. The majority of the texts chosen were American and relatively familiar to geographic analysis. A thorough review of other related material may provide valuable insights.

(B) Urban industrial centres are now clearly established as the loci of racial discrimination. A more comprehensive analysis of the present phase than that provided above is necessary. This will entail the use of concepts such as the reproduction of labour and the changing composition of capital. The relationship between cultural practices and the reproduction of labour should also be further explored.

(C) It is important to note that material concerning the status of black Americans as a national minority with or without rights of political secession has been treated in a most cursory fashion. A review of such material is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Despite these inadequacies, however, the foregoing chapters allow the conclusion that racial discrimination in the United States has a real basis in the social relations of production and the competition inherent in the labour market. The specific form of this discrimination is shaped by the particular nature of the American social formation - the unique articulation of modes of production under the dominance of capitalism which constitutes American society.

This conclusion and the analysis on which it is based, have certain implications for geographic analysis and particularly for the development of a more useful conception of space.

(A) The uniqueness of the social formation is in part a consequence of the unique space that it occupies. The spatial organisation of a social formation at any given moment effects, or is a part of, the processes of conservation and dissolution. Santos writes:

forms themselves also have an influence on (the) movement of society, or at least on the results, since social determinants must take into account forms inherited from the past. As Cassirer wrote 'The fundamental meaning of pure actuality changes itself, according to the form in which it is articulated'. (Santos, 1977: 8).

Rather than interpreting space as a mere vehicle through which social processes are expressed, it can be conceived of as an element with its own effects on the social formation, but an element only in the sense that it 'concretises' social processes and in the doing of it, acquires a significance of its own. This currently stands as a promising arena for geographers and is of consequence to current conceptions of ghetto space.

(B) Various conceptions of ghetto space have been noted in the preceding pages. It is difficult to extract any consistent or useful meaning of space from the writers reviewed, and geographers are no exception. The predominant view of ghetto space is a locus of poverty, poor provision of services and racial concentration. Many indeed recognise the impact which the ghetto environment has upon the reproduction and maintenance of discrimination. But this is a very different conception of space from that suggested above. The former posits a ghetto environment, ghetto dwellers and a set of relations between them. However, beyond this, it offers no explanation of ghetto formation and maintenance. This arises because such analyses are unable to relate the ghetto to its social and historical

context. Further, this theoretical silence reflects a particular object of such theory - the object of eradicating the potentially disruptive living conditions of the ghetto dwellers. The model cities programme, black capitalism and ghetto enrichment are attempts to solve problems that have not been properly defined. This is not because the theory has yet to be developed but because the object is not the development of theory. The object is the maintenance of stability within the existing social order, or, in other words, the reproduction of capital.

APPENDIX.

In 1969, the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics and the Bureau of the Census published a detailed examination of the economic situation of black Americans. This report purported to be a documentation of the social and economic progress of blacks. (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 1970). It rested its arguments on four assertions.

In the past eight years, family incomes have generally risen, with percentage gains somewhat higher for Negro and other races than for whites. (U.S. B.L.S. 1970: vii).

In 1969 there were a million more workers of negro and other races employed in white-collar, craftsmen or operative occupations than in laborer or service jobs. Employment of persons of Negro and other races in these occupations increased 67% between 1960 and 1968 compared with 22% for whites. (Ibid: 4).

Employment has increased in the past nine years.... The number of employed persons of Negro and other races rose 1.5 million in the nine -year period - increasing 21% compared with 18% for whites. (Ibid: 28).

The unemployment rate for Negro and other races was lower in 1968 and 1969 than in any year since the Korean war, and the unemployed fell below 600,000 for the first time since 1957. (Ibid: 29).

These statements require a number of important qualifications.

The contention that the income gap is narrowing is based on the ratio of the median income of nonwhite families to the median income of white families. The report itself recognised that the 'median income in 1968 of Negro families was not significantly different from that of white families with only one earner. (Ibid: 19). An examination of the tables presented in the report shows that black families with three earners had a median income of \$7,981 in 1968, while a white family with one earner had a median income of \$7,724.

At the same time, only 39% of all nonwhite families earned \$7,000 or higher, while 66% of white families earned \$7,000 or higher. This is the set of figures that should be underlined. (Roberts, 1970: 26).

The assertion that occupational upgrading has significantly improved the lot of black Americans requires a certain skill in semantic gymnastics. The B.L.S. displayed such skill by placing the categories of 'operatives' (machine-operators, assembly line workers), and white-collar workers (file-clerks, secretaries, salesmen and saleswomen), as well as executives in the categories of 'upgraded employment'.

Table 1, in this appendix, shows that clerical and sales workers, operatives, service workers in and out of households and non-farm labourers comprise 68% and 86% of the male and female nonwhite labour force respectively. This is markedly different

from the 44% of the male white labour force and 77% of the female white labour force in the same categories.

Changes in the income levels and occupational status of black workers must also be considered as a consequence of significant population movements from the agricultural sector where wages are relatively low, to industrial and wage-earning sectors.

The percentage of blacks living in the South has declined from 77% in 194 to 68% in 195, 6% in 1960 and 52% in 1969.....But between 1950 and 1966, the median income of nonwhite families as a percent of the median income of white families....rose....from 54 percent to 60 percent. This growth in income levels by no means fully reflects the immense shift of the black population from southern farms to cities and the shift of black population growth to the metropolitan centers. In fact, one must deduce from these figures that 'job upgrading' in the cities has been far from sufficient to absorb the increased population at levels commensurate with expectations. (Roberts, 1970:28).

It seems, despite the profusion of empirical data, that a more careful disaggregation is necessary before a true representation of the social and economic status of black Americans can be developed. (Cook, 1970).

Nonetheless, some evidence has been appended here which indicates the persistence of racial discrimination in the labour force. The following tables are, we hope, self-explanatory.

TABLE 1.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED WHITE AND MINORITY EMPLOYEE
BY SEX, 1973.

Occupation:	White Men	Minority Men	White Women	Minority Women
Percent	100	100	100	100
White-collar	45.2	19.2	64.5	41.7
Officials and Managers	15.3	3.9	3.8	1.6
Professionals	10.4	3.7	7.1	3.9
Technicians	5.2	2.8	3.9	4.1
Sales Workers	8.9	2.8	12.6	6.5
Office and Clerical Workers	5.4	4.1	37.1	25.7
Blue-collar	50.0	67.4	26.0	39.0
Skilled Craft Workers	19.8	12.6	2.5	2.8
Operatives	22.5	33.7	17.2	24.2
Laborers	7.8	21.0	6.3	12.0
Service Workers	4.7	13.4	9.5	19.2

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Vol. 1.,
Washington, D.C. 1975.

TABLE 2.
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES: 1949 TO 1970.
(Annual averages)

Year	Negro and other races	White	Ratio: Negro and other races to White
	-----	-----	-----
1949	8.9	5.6	1.6
1950	9.0	4.9	1.8
1951	5.3	3.1	1.7
1952	5.4	2.8	1.9
1953	4.5	2.7	1.7
1954	9.9	5.0	2.0
1955	8.7	3.9	2.2
1956	8.3	3.6	2.3
1957	7.9	3.8	2.1
1958	12.6	6.1	2.1
1959	10.7	4.8	2.2
1960	10.2	4.9	2.1
1961	12.4	6.0	2.1
1962	10.9	4.9	2.2
1963	10.8	5.0	2.2
1964	9.6	4.6	2.1
1965	8.1	4.1	2.0
1966	7.3	3.3	2.2
1967	7.4	3.4	2.2
1968	6.7	3.2	2.1
1969	6.5	3.2	2.0
1970	8.2	4.5	1.8

Note: The unemployment rate is the percent unemployed in the civilian labour force.

Source: U.S. Department of Labour, Bureau of Labour Statistics, in Bailey, 1973, appendix 5.

TABLE 3A.
 MEDIAN INCOMES OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS, 1970/1974.

Income (\$)	Blacks	Whites	Black income as % of White.
1970	6,279	10,236	61.3%
1974	7,808	13,356	58.5%

TABLE 3B.
 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS,
 1970/1974.

	1970	1974	%increase
Blacks	8.2%	9.9%	21%
Whites	4.5%	5.0%	11%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Report on the Status
 of Black Americans, Washington, 1975.

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