

A MARXIST/POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

OF

CONFLICT OVER DEVELOPMENT

IN DOWNTOWN BURLINGTON

BY

CATHY FREDO

APRIL 1986

A Research Paper

Submitted to the Department of Geography

In Fulfillment of the Requirements

of Geography 4C6

URBAN DOCUMENTATION CENTRE
RESEARCH UNIT FOR URBAN STUDIES
McMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO

007026

Abstract

This research paper is a study of conflict over development in an urban society. The Marxist/Political Economy explanation of urban phenomena is employed throughout as a basis for analysis. Two specific development cases are discussed: the first case is the proposal to rezone property to permit a medical office and the second is the application to build an apartment complex on a piece of land that contains an historical building. The purpose of this paper is to explain how and why conflict occurs over development, taking into account the different facets of the Marxist/Political Economy perspective. Emphasis is given to the discussion of the roles that local government, the planners, the residents and the developers played in the decisions over the actual proposals for development. It is concluded that the Marxist/Political Economy perspective is the most advantageous to use in a discussion of urban conflict. This study of conflict is important for the urban geographer who wishes to explain this type of human interaction. Since urban geographers are interested in comprehending the city and its functions, it is important to begin by understanding the people, the most significant components of the city.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend a deep expression of thanks to Vera Chouinard for all the time and consideration she has given me, as well as the encouragement. Also, much thanks to my sister Stephanie for the many hours she spent processing my research paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction.....	1
-------------------	---

CHAPTER TWO

Research Hypotheses and Methodology.....	14
--	----

CHAPTER THREE (A)

The Heck Development - Introduction.....	20
- Data Analysis.....	22
- Conclusions.....	31

CHAPTER THREE (B)

The Pilotecture Development	
- Introduction.....	34
- Data Analysis.....	35
- Conclusions.....	42

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusions.....	45
------------------	----

LIST OF MAPS

The Heck Development.....19

The Pilotecture Development.....33

CHAPTER ONE

Our world, and the conditions in which we live in this world, are constantly changing. It is no wonder, therefore, that we are continuously faced with situations of conflict. Conflict is part of our everyday lives, whether it be on a personal scale, or on a much wider societal scale. The study of human contact and conflict is increasingly becoming more important in geography. Since geography is no longer just the study of countries and landforms, it is important to note the advances that can be made through research on human interaction. The topic of conflict over development considered in this paper is a good beginning for looking at the city and how it works. The urban geographer is interested in the city and the functioning of the city, and this paper reveals one facet of that interest: the struggle over development between different groups in society.

The purpose of this chapter is to expand on three main types of theory explanations given by various authors with respect to urban change/conflict. Each theoretical approach will be discussed with examples from geographic literature. Chapter Two reveals the methodology of the paper, including data collection and hypotheses for study, and Chapter Three is an account of the main research findings.

In general, social conflict can be defined as "That situation in which the behavioural dynamics of two or more social units interact in such a manner as to mutually condition the course and outcome of that behaviour, and in so doing, establish a relationship form recognized by participants as 'conflict'". (Jensen, 1979, p. 3). There have been many attempts throughout the years to construct adequate theories of social conflict. Very early on, in the 1800's, most explanations of conflict were based on the insights given to us by philosophers and political scientists. In fact, Oberschall, (1973, p. 1) notes:

The foundations of present-day theories of group conflict,...were laid by the eighteenth-century...moral philosophers, by the late nineteenth-century French social scientists, social Darwinists, and historians who specialized in the French Revolution and in the history of the socialist and labor movements.

It was in the early twentieth-century that sociologists concentrated some of their efforts on the issue of social conflict. Part of the reason for conflict was thought to have been found within the individual, and the disorder inherent in that individual's life. Sociologists such as Ralph Turner and Joseph Gusfield advanced the studies of social psychology and experimental psychology. They

provided a theory of collective behaviour as well, with wider, more accurate empirics. (Oberschall, 1973, p.2) Later on, the sociologists thought of conflict as a natural component of any society. McCord and McCord (1977) state that society exists as a mechanism for reducing and/or resolving the social strife that humans encounter. The implication here is that conflict and society co-exist in our world.

The first type of explanation of social conflict is a purely descriptive approach which considers a certain conflict situation and analyzes it by referring to such aspects as the people or groups of people involved, the roles these people played in the situation, the positions they held, and the existing circumstances in the area. The descriptive approach usually says what happened in a situation but does not attempt to explain the events. Another very different theoretical approach is the one referred to as 'urban managerialism'. In this theory, the workings of the socio-spatial system are controlled by members of the local government bureaucracy, called the 'urban managers'. (Badcock, 1984, p. 45) It is the urban manager who is primarily responsible for the distribution of resources and services in an area, thereby determining which people benefit and which people lose. The third type of theoretical analysis considered here is the Marxist/Political Economy approach. "Perhaps the most central proposition of the new urban political economy is that the city is merely a reflection of the larger economic and social fabric, termed the mode of production". (Sawers, 1984, p.4) It is thought that a convincing explanation of urban phenomena, such as social conflict, should take into account the characteristics of the existing mode of production. Also

inherent in this approach is the fact that class relations are very important. Since a city is made up of different groups/classes of people, it is important to realize the relationship between these classes in order to explain why conflict occurs. There are labourers, and there are capitalists (the owners of capital); their goals are quite different in terms of social reproduction and the organization of space in society. We also see, in this approach, some consideration being given to historical aspects surrounding the situation.

The purpose of the following sections is to discuss the use of the three approaches to conflict in the literature. The descriptive approach will be considered first, followed by the managerial perspective and, finally, by the Marxist/Political Economy theory. I will then give a brief introduction to my specific situation of development in the Burlington area, and will conclude by revealing what theory approach I will be using for the remainder of this paper to explain urban conflict.

Kevin Cox concerns himself with the "...relationships between market processes and local political processes in urban areas". (Cox, 1978, p.94) He says that localized political processes can be identified at two levels: the jurisdictional and the neighbourhood. At either level, attempts are made by the local government to attract utility-enhancing enterprises (defined mainly in fiscal terms) into the area. (Cox, 1978) In a descriptive type of approach to urban conflict, we see explanations given in reference to the immediate surroundings and the people involved therein. In his chapter on local interests and urban political processes,

Cox reflected that it was purely logical to expect neighbourhoods and surrounding people to lobby for or against certain developments. The achievement of these fiscal goals, as mentioned above, depended largely on exclusionary policies such as minimum lot sizes and single-family residential areas. Cox characterizes these policies as attempts to control market processes (such as the housing market) to local advantage. Some areas are good for development while others are not. (Cox, 1978). In this article, Cox also describes the differences in urban political processes between Britain and the United States. He offers a descriptive explanation for urban political processes/conflict, an approach in which he describes the situation and also gives comparisons such as that between Britain and the United States.

In an article by Dear and Long, (1978, pp.114-127) on locational conflict, the authors claim that in attempting to explain urban spatial processes, geographers tend to consult theories of conflict. Although it is mentioned that the geography of a city is seen as the outcome of a power struggle among different groups, thereby implying reference to the notion of class struggle used in a Political Economy approach to conflict, the authors continue to use a descriptive explanation in the article. "Locational conflict has been described as overt public debate over ~~some~~ actual or proposed land-use development." (Dear and Long, 1978, p.114). Dear and Long claim this, but do not really give an explanation for this public debate. They believe the main cause of conflict is the discrepancy between existing environmental quality and anticipated quality, if the plan is carried through. The authors feel that conflict (mainly locational conflict) focuses on decision making, especially planning decisions, but

they do not attempt to explain why. Also, they place conflict in a geographical context stating that the farther away you are from the original source/redevelopment area, the less the impact of conflict you will feel. Dear and Long give a good description of the problem of conflict, but no real explanations for its existence.

David Walker, in his book The Great Winnipeg Dream, seems to use an 'urban managerial' perspective to explain the conflict over development. (Walker, 1979). Winnipeg's Central Business District began declining in importance because of suburbanization and the population ^{cl}shrunk while entrepreneurs were unwilling to initiate new enterprises. To bring the city back to life, they decided they needed the commitment of capital from outside interests, such as multi-national firms in this case. Also, they needed the support of the managerial class, such as investors in real estate. A plan was made for downtown Winnipeg including a new sports complex, office space, and parking space. Trizec Corporation developed a close relationship with the local government in Winnipeg. The group involved, including Trizec, planning consultants and the local government, played a very important role in the development of projects in the CBD. Walker states that a major problem in Canadian government has been rapid expansion of boards/commissions (such as the Winnipeg Parking Authority) into areas of government activity, and these boards, composed primarily of the 'urban managers', claim that they are acting in the public interest. In the case of Winnipeg, it was the influence from the multi-national firm that was felt on the local government (councillors), planners, and urban managers in society. The local government carried out this large-scale public works project to assist private development on the

assumption that the plan was in the public interest. It was clear to see who would benefit: the people and businesses in the CBD (Walker, 1983). The managerial perspective is helpful to describe the actual situation, but it does not take other things into account, such as the structure of the city before multi-national firm interests, or the history of development in the area. If the city has a history of debate/conflict over new developments, it would be helpful to understand the groups that were involved and their opinions in order to try to explain the present conflict over development.

In Chapter Two of Badcock, (Badcock, 1984, pp.28-54), the reader is given a definite example of the urban managerial perspective. The author refers to Raymond Pahl's work, who contends that "...whatever the social system, the managerialist perspective, firmly grounded in the Weberian concepts of status, power and control, offers the most promising avenue for urban research." (Badcock, 1984. p.38). It is thought that the disadvantages and inequality in society can be alleviated by improving the existence of opportunities in a city. In terms of conflict theory, Pahl insists that urban managers control resources and therefore dictate who will be satisfied in society. The managerial perspective does not explain clearly the actual reasons for conflict over development/planning in society; it just says that some people live in locations with a proximity to the services and resources in society. There are criticisms of this perspective, the main one being that urban managerialism cannot be oblivious to material forces in society and that managers must be subject to constraints in their allocations, (Badcock, 1984, pp.47-48) because of the fact that services and resources are always limited in society.

A final examination of the urban managerial perspective is that given to us by Knox (1982). He refers to housing studies done in inner-city districts. Class struggle and conflict was apt to emerge in a market situation run by urban managers, wherein they controlled the sale of property for purposes of residential development. Knox states that it is the urban managers, including the mortgage financiers, real estate agents, and public housing managers, who control the housing market and create conflict.

Another type of conflict perspective is needed to improve on the previous two. The Marxist/Political Economy approach offers a different, more explicit explanation of urban phenomena, such as urban conflict. Marxists have criticized other practices of collecting empirical evidence to explain phenomena, those practices that do not consider that the phenomena observed may be part of an underlying process. "A proper explanation...must take the characteristics of the reigning mode of production into account. (Edel, 1981, p.35) Also, this perspective, as Edel (1981) says, considers class relations to be very important. There are advantages to looking at the way in which labour is used to create a surplus, the way in which labour power is reproduced, and the way in which the surplus is used for new investments. (Edel, 1981, p. 37). This perspective is also important because it considers details of history, and those aspects which can help describe the history of a capitalist system. Understanding the history of the growth of society as well as that history which explains capitalism is important for its relation to the present conditions of which we are a part.

David Harvey (1978) also uses the Marxist/Political Economy explanation of class struggle. He believes that capitalist society, the reigning mode of production that Edel (1981) refers to, creates a landscape in its own image appropriate to the purposes of production and reproduction. This landscape contains definite tensions between people, and it is the class relations between these people in a capitalist society that produce strong issues of conflict. (Harvey, 1978, p.9). In his article, Harvey goes on to examine the conflict related to the built environment such as roads, offices, homes and so on. He explains that the struggles we see in everyday life, such as that between a resident and developer, can be regarded as part of the same wider conflict between labour and capital. The Marxist perspective here is valuable in that it explains everyday processes such as conflict over redevelopment with respect to the wider processes that govern our lives. It attaches much significance to the fact that capitalism plays a very big part in our life-process.

While the Marxist and Political Economy explanations are considered quite similar in meaning, Larry Sawers, (Tabb, Sawers, eds., 1984, pp.3-17), in his article titled 'New Perspectives on the Urban Political Economy' focuses mainly on the problems with older, conventional explanations of urban phenomena and promotes the ideas of the new urban political economist. On reading the article, one can quickly see the similarities to the Marxist approach when Sawers says, "...the most central proposition of the new urban political economy is that the city is merely a reflection of the larger economic and social fabric, termed the mode of production." (Tabb and Sawers, eds., 1984, p.4) (For the purposes of this paper, the

Marxist and Political Economy approaches will be used interchangeably.) Also inherent in this type of explanation is the idea that urban analysis is specific to society at a particular time; there is emphasis given to history and the stages in capitalism. Class and class relations are also important in this explanation of urban phenomenon. Sawers also writes that the government plays an active role in class struggle and usually expresses the interests of owners. However, "urban development is not conspiracy and theft, or at least not only conspiracy and theft." (Tabb and Sawers, eds., 1984, p.9). Urban renewal/redevelopment is basically a joint government-business enterprise, but with businesses usually having the most power. Urban planners today function to restructure the city so that it is a place in which profits can be maximized, according to Sawers. In his article, Sawers gives a fairly detailed account of how the Political Economy approach attempts to explain urban processes and conflict.

In an article by Hartman and Kessler, (1978), The Yerba Buena Centre was an area of San Francisco in which the city's downtown was going to encroach upon an already existing low-rent, blue-collar residential part of town. The opposition and conflict arose because of the fact that the new plan was going to displace many residents. The redevelopment agencies were taking land away from one group of users who were supposedly using it inefficiently, and giving it to others for 'higher' and 'better' use. (Hartman and Kessler, 1978) As Hartman and Kessler write, the YBC is a classic case of urban development forces of the 1960's, along with the growing coalition between big business, labour and City Hall. The authors reveal the case of the YBC, concluding that the crises involved with it grew out of a class-based political

struggle. From the point of view of the working class, the YBC plan was not a good one because its main interests, to expand the city, were opposite to the interests of the working class. In this article, again we see conflict as explained by class structure and different interests, part of the Marxist/Political Economy perspective.

In the book City Trenches, Katznelson (1981) states that capitalist accumulation has been the source of both the simplification and the differentiation of the class order over the years. Classes have become more easily defined, thereby making them different. The difference between labour and capital has become painfully clear. Katznelson (1981) uses a Marxist/Political Economy perspective when he says that the development of urban movements or uprisings over change in a city are a result of the advanced capitalist society in which we live.

A final explanation of urban action, by Ruth Fincher, also places emphasis on the local government and the strategies it used in bringing about change in the urban built environment. (Fincher, 1981, pp.1233-1252). Two Boston neighbourhoods are used as examples of the political limits to local implementation strategies in the city. The South End and the Waterfront in Boston, considered for redevelopment (including housing), were both located near the CBD thereby possessing the advantages of proximity to the CBD such as monetary investment and implementation. Fincher identifies three themes characteristic of local state action in the previous thirty years: first, the local state encouraged the growth of diverse community groups in areas where policy was likely to be controversial; second, the state allocated

spending in those areas likely to attract outside interests; and finally, the state implemented policies advantageous to large-scale capital in the areas of the city that did not have a particularly volatile population. (Fincher, 1981)

Fincher (1981) states that in order to analyze the nature of state activity, you must use theory to help explain local history. She feels that implementation strategies are not a result of a 'conspiracy' of local officials; they are directed by a wider historical context of processes and events. (Fincher, 1981, p. 1234) This Political/Economy explanation suggested by Fincher is relevant in that it regards history as important and it recognizes a class division.

The preceding review of relevant literature has been included for the purpose of bringing my specific case studies in Burlington into perspective. In this paper, analysis of conflict at two specific sites will be carried out in order to determine the reasons for conflict and the nature of conflict:

1. Development of a medical building at Maple Avenue and North Shore Boulevard.
2. Construction of an apartment building on Lakeshore Road (a site incorporating an historic building).

These two sites were chosen mainly because they were both controversial issues at the time of the proposal, as well as throughout the debate. They all had a number of residents/interest groups opposed to their development, and each of them had to be rezoned for the development proposal. Also, a commercial-type development (the medical office) was

chosen, as well as a residential development, to see if the processes surrounding the planning decisions and the conflicts arising from them are different in the two types of development. The literature cited in this discussion contains some of the same situations as these Burlington examples, such as conflict over housing developments.

It has been shown that while the descriptive approach to explanation places emphasis on the events surrounding a particular issue, it does not attempt to explain those events. The managerial perspective is also somewhat narrow in its approach because it merely states that the urban 'managers' in society control who gets what in the city. The Marxist/Political Economy approach has gone further than these other two; it has brought together the notions of the reigning mode of production (capitalism), a class-based struggle, and historical antecedents. These are all important factors in being able to understand the reasons for conflict. This approach offers much more in terms of explanation as it searches for the real reasons for conflict. The specific ideas of this approach will be applied to the two case studies in Burlington, and an analysis of why there was urban political conflict will be done. Using this single theoretical explanation of conflict, and incorporating the data acquired from the two sites, a conclusion will be drawn about the reason for conflict, and the events surrounding that conflict in cities today.

CHAPTER TWO

Research Hypotheses and Methodology

The main objective focus of this paper is to determine the reason for conflict over development/redevelopment by studying two examples from the Burlington area. The role of the residents, of developers, of the local state, and of the other interest groups in development issues will be examined. The focus will be on the interaction between these groups and the reason for conflict between them. Also, the strength of each group in the outcomes of the development will be determined.

The Marxist/Political Economy approach to explaining conflict/urban struggle is utilized throughout this paper. According to this approach, in today's society there is a basic division between the owners of capital and the workers. The division occurs in cities, as it does in society as a whole. Our cities are shaped by the economic and social forces in society; they are shaped by the dominant mode of production: capitalism.

Capitalism, as a mode of production, is the basic process of most of what we know as the history of country and city. Its abstracted economic drives, its fundamental priorities in social relations, its criteria of growth and of profits and loss, have

...altered our country and created our kinds of city. (Raymond Williams, 1973, pp.302-306.)

Because of the idea that capitalism as the reigning mode of production has shaped our cities, including the activities and conflicts in those cities, it is understandable that an approach to the study of conflict should take that idea into account. The Marxist/Political Economy explanation of urban phenomena does just this. It gives prime consideration to the notion of the mode of production in any city at any given time. Conflict seems to occur because of difference in preferences, but this is not entirely true; "...preferences are not independent of the economic system; they are a part of the larger mode of production." (Sawers, 1984, p. 5).

Also inherent in the Political Economy approach is the idea that class relations are important when analyzing urban problems. Since society is comprised mainly of owners and workers, it is helpful to understand exactly how the interests and demands of these two groups clash. Their ideas about the organization of urban space are also different, and the Political Economy explanation considers this.

The Marxist/Political Economy theory is a fairly new approach to explaining inequalities. It provides explanations where previous approaches were not good enough, and has been formulated because of the dissatisfaction with "liberal reasoning" about inequality. This perspective views the structure of capitalism to be imposing logic on the events that we see in everyday life. It attempts to explain conflict

in this way. Also, the approach makes us zero in on the idea that inequalities are endemic in a capitalist society. (Badcock, 1984, p.86)

The Marxist/Political Economy explanation of urban phenomena is used in this paper for the reasons stated above. Through the use of this single theoretical approach, an explanation for the existence of conflict surrounding the two case studies in Burlington will be developed.

The following four hypotheses for study will be tested in this research paper:

1. In capitalist society, there is a basic division between the owners (those who receive their income from property) and the workers (those who receive their income from wages). Profit maximization and capital accumulation are the main goals of the owners, while workers are interested in consumption and the availability of rational, comfortable conditions in which to reproduce.
2. Development frequently occurs through processes of debate/social conflict because the interests of owners and workers are different in reference to the way urban space is organized. The owners wish to develop urban land to its full potential, while the worker is interested in a quiet, private place in which to live.
3. Local government acts so as to aid the capitalist market it serves. Activities such as zoning or

urban renewal contribute to local governments' ability to advance the reproduction aims of owners in society in the wider hopes of protecting the prosperity of the economy. Generally, the local state intervenes in development activities in attempts to expand its revenue from the built environment. Tax revenues are higher from commercial or high-density buildings, thereby increasing the chance for capital accumulation.

4. The urban planner in society functions to organize space in a way in which profits can be maximized; the different ways of planning in society can create variable patterns of outcomes (cost/benefit) for the people.

Data was obtained for the two case studies sources including the Burlington Planning and Development Committee's rezoning files, site documents and council minutes. The Burlington Gazette and the Burlington Post were also used in the gathering of information. The collection of data included the researching of the people opposed to, and those in support of, the specific developments. This was found mainly in the rezoning files. A review of the council minutes from the years 1977 to 1985 was carried out. The assessment rolls for the two neighbourhoods were researched, in order to obtain some information about the character of the neighbourhoods and the class structure in it. Also, meetings with the planners in City Hall were helpful in obtaining general information about the developers and the development sites. The information gathered will be used for testing the previously mentioned hypotheses. The next chapter will discuss the

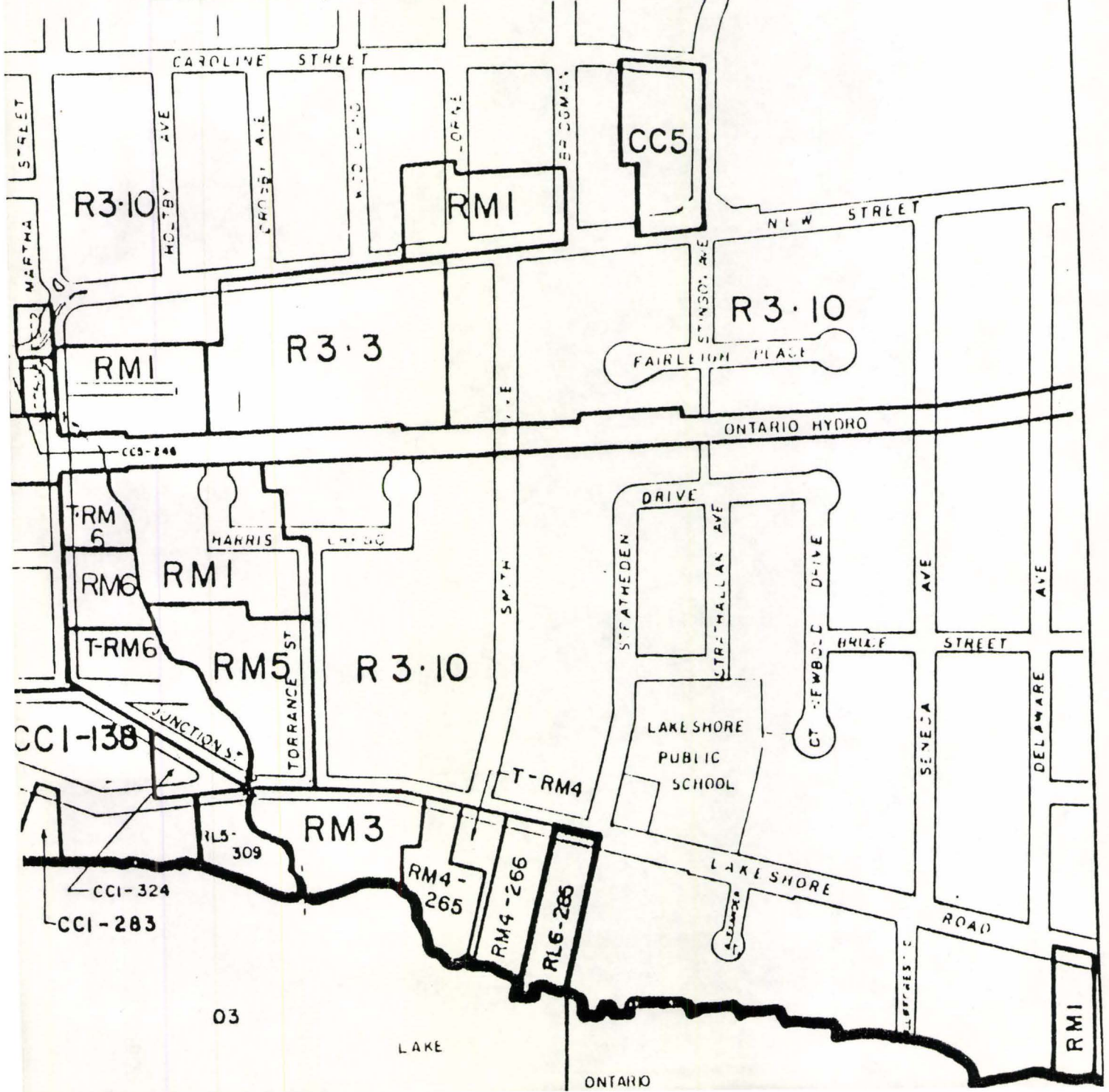
actual proposals for development and Chapter Four will conclude the study.

The Heck Development - *wrong plan!*

To extend Development Agreement deadlines for the property at 2218 and 2220 Lakeshore Road.

Area affected shown thus.....

DATE: FEB. 9, 1983 SCALE: 1: 5,000 FILE: 93-499



CHAPTER THREE (A)

The Heck Development

Introduction

In the case of development/redevelopment in an area, there is often some type of controversy or debate prior to construction, particularly if the specific development is different from the existing immediate surroundings. People who live and/or interact in an urbanized environment constantly find themselves faced with the issue of differential urban land uses. In this particular development case, after some background information provided, the chapter will deal with the findings of the research project including supporters, opponents and the major decision-makers of the Heck proposal. The information/evidence found in research will be related to the Political Economy theory of urban conflict, as developed in Chapter Two. Also, the hypotheses made in Chapter Two will be referred to in this chapter.

The first case of urban land conflict examined in this paper is the application by a Mr. W. Heck to rezone his property at 430 Maple Avenue (the northwest corner of Maple Avenue and North Shore Boulevard) to permit medical office use. The area consists of a number of single-family residences, an apartment building, and a nursing home and hospital across the street. In the 1950's, the entire area was zoned single family residential and in the 1960's, various parcels of land had been zoned for higher density uses. By

1969, the area immediately surrounding the proposed area was designated for future medium- to high-density residential uses and the land was placed under a "D" zoning. ("D" zoning is an area left unzoned, to be considered for future development.) In addition to this proposal, the staff of the Burlington Planning Department recommended that low-rise multiple family residential uses be allowed in the area.

The particular rezoning in question raised two primary issues: compatibility of the proposed land use with the existing and future uses in the area, and the need for land assembly. The planning staff in Burlington considered the medical office building to be compatible with the existing apartment building and hospital services in the vicinity of the subject property, both from an architectural and land use point of view. They felt that the medical building would also be fairly compatible with the adjacent single family homes until such time that they are changed from a "D" zone. All of the developments surrounding the Heck property were within the medium- to high-density residential area, and were zoned "Development". With regards to the issue of land assembly, the single family homes to the north of the proposed development did not necessarily have to be assembled with it, however the planning staff felt that their combined area would accommodate future redevelopment within the intent of the area's medium- to high-density designation. Also, when the application was made by Mr. Heck, it was the planning staff who proposed that he try to assemble the one single-family home to the West (1259 Lakeshore) that had an area of approximately .2 hectares. Staff felt that pursuing this assembly would allow for a larger medical building, additional parking, and access from North Shore Boulevard.

The owners of 1259 North Shore Boulevard refused on several occasions to sell their land to Mr. Heck. The planning staff wanted this land assembly for a larger, composite development, but felt that the future redevelopment of the rest of the land zoned "D" would not be adversely affected by the Heck property developing on its own.

Data Analysis

With a general review of the development and the events surrounding it, it is necessary to begin to relate the chosen theoretical approach, namely the Marxist/Political Economy, to the specific case study. As stated previously, the most important tenet of the Political Economy explanation to urban phenomena is the notion that the city is a reflection of society's dominant mode of production. We live in a capitalist society, and our cities reflect this. "The meaning of 'mode of production' is best conveyed by grouping actual economies and societies, or 'social functions', according to whether one class works for another, how labour is coordinated, and how the ruling class extracts the surplus produced by the workers." (Badcock, 1984, p. 61) In a city such as Burlington, class differences are not that easy to identify until you come upon a conflict situation. The owners of land, such as W. Heck in this specific case, are in conflict with the workers in society, (ie., the neighbourhood people who do not earn their wages from property). Because of the dominant mode of production, and because "Under capitalism, wage-labour, coordination by capitalist managers and by market relations between enterprises, and the appearance of the surplus in the form of profit are the characteristic features,..." (Edel, 1981, pp.21-22) we tend to

view today's cities as being prone to conflict. Related to the view that the city is a reflection of the reigning mode of production is the fact that the political economy approach considers historical aspects to be important. "Capitalism is not a single static system, but undergoes constant evolution." (Sawers, 1984, p.4) Sawers, (1984, p.4) also says that our cities have changed as capitalism has evolved. For example, the growth of office buildings in Central Business Districts, and revitalization projects such as urban renewal and gentrification are all linked to the broad transition from industrial to corporate capitalism. Even in the history of Burlington and its developing areas we can see the changes that have taken place as capitalism has evolved. The neighbourhood surrounding the Heck proposal was zoned single-family in the mid-1900's, and in subsequent years, the area was recommended for medium- and high-density uses. The area was finally placed under a development-type zoning in the late 1960's, and being fairly close to Burlington's downtown, it was evident to the planners and local government that high-density, multiple-use growth was going to occur. Because of the growth of Burlington, and of capital within Burlington in the last thirty years, changes in land use were complementing this growth, thereby allowing for more expansion.

The second major component of the Political Economy theory is the notion of class relations. "Classes are groups of people in similar economic circumstances." (Sawers, 1984, pp.5-6) Although these 'classes' may live in the same city and are a part of the same economy, there are many ways in which they can differ. As was stated previously, it is hard to see a clear distinction between classes in Burlington,

however the differences do exist. The main difference here is that between the owners of property (those who receive their income from property) and the workers (those who receive their income from wages). (Sawers, 1984, p.6) In the specific case study, Heck is seen as an owner of property. He wanted to develop his property, and generate more income from it. The people living in the neighbourhood around the proposed area could be considered the workers, as the area was composed of low- to middle-income, single-family home owners, and their preferences could not be considered the same as those of the owners of property.

The different ways in which the two groups receive their income naturally leads to a discussion of the different interests between the two groups. Generally, the income of owners in society, (W. Heck in this study) is property income such as rents and interest. This income can be grouped under the heading 'profit'. The interests of the owners, therefore, is to maximize that profit, thereby allowing themselves to reinvest that profit to accumulate even more capital. (Sawers, 1984, p.6) The site that Heck wanted to develop was in a good location; close to downtown Burlington and close to the amenities offered by proximity to the lake. However, the owner in this case sought to gain too much profit; the site was not bought for a long time because of the price. The interests of the workers, on the other hand, are seen to be quite different. "Their indirect interest is in consumption, in the uses to which the things they buy can be put...they have no interest in the profits or income of any individual capitalist as long as consumption can be maintained." (Sawers, 1984, p.6) The neighbourhood surrounding the Heck proposal, (workers in general), are primarily interested in

maintaining their homes and privacy in the neighbourhood. *evidence?*

The notion of class relations and the different interests between dominant groups in society leads us to a third major component of the Marxist/Political Economy theory. "The political economist...sees the government not sitting astride the class struggle but playing an active role in it...the government typically expresses the interest of owners." (Sawers, 1984, p.7) When the original proposal for rezoning was made by Mr. Heck in 1982, his plans included removing the 'D' (development) restriction from the land and making the area suitable for medium- to high-density, multiple uses. Property owners in the immediate vicinity, particularly those single family residence owners, were instantly opposed to the idea. Council did agree to the proposal for the rezoning. The property owners next to the development site, a Mr. and Mrs. C. Roberts, decided to present the case to the Ontario Municipal Board (O.M.B.) but their fight was lost as the O.M.B. stuck to the decision to rezone. They felt that the rezoning would allow for more growth in the area. Even at this early (point) in the development stage it was evident that the government indeed was expressing the interests of the owners in society. The Political Economy approach does imply, however, that the "working class is not powerless in the political arena." (Sawers, 1984, p.7) Occasionally, the opinions of the working class with respect to the organization of urban space can affect the political process. This can be seen by the fact that the residents at 1259 North Shore Boulevard, Mr. and Mrs. Roberts, refused to have their land assembled with the proposed development site and show no intentions of selling their property. They may not agree with the development in question, but they have maintained their *why*

position about their own residence and it does not appear that they will change their minds about selling in the future. While this did not stop the political process over development, it did defend their home.

The local government is seen as expressing the interests of capital because it "...must try to expand its revenues, and it must do so from that source it most relies upon: its built environment." (Fincher, 1981, p. 1235) Since tax revenue received is higher from industrial or commercial establishments than from single family residences, it is obvious that the local government in Burlington would encourage the development of the medical building at the proposed site. It can be said that the Burlington government has similar interests to those referred to by Sawers in a Political Economy explanation. In the Planning and Development Committee's rezoning files, it was documented that the planners urged assembly of the land at 1259 North Shore Boulevard with the proposed property. With the possibility that the assembly would not take place, the Burlington planners offered other suggestions for the property at 1259 North Shore Boulevard. It was their opinion that the land could be used for "better" developments, when in fact the Roberts showed no signs of wanting to sell.

Related to the explanation of government interests is that of the urban planners' interests in society. In a political economy view, "...the function of the professional urban planner today is to plan the restructuring of urban space in such a way that the process of capital accumulation is rationalized; that is, so that the urban environment is an arena in which profits can be maximized." (Sawers, 1984,

p.11) In Burlington, it is the role of the planning staff to provide professional advice to council, and to recommend how urban space should be organized. The Burlington government runs on a committee system, and each department elects a few *untrue.* people to be members of the committee. The Planning and Development Committee is made up of five members (alderpersons) who listen to the recommendations of the planners, and then pass their proposals on to city council. It is the council members, however, who have the final word in decision-making. In this respect, it could be argued that the planner does not necessarily act in the interests of capital, but, as Sawers (1984, pp.11-12) states, "...the ideological role of the planner...is to technocratize what is essentially a political process in which some people gain (capitalists and possible others) and some people lose." In the organizing of society, then, different plans lead to various patterns of costs and benefits. The planner becomes a large part of the reason for the conflict in society because he is the one who recommends whether or not to put developments in a certain area, thereby causing dispute in that area.

The planner does have a fairly important role in society, as well as in the specific example of the Heck development. While staff originally wanted the land at 1259 North Shore Boulevard to be assembled with the proposed development at 430 Maple Avenue, they felt that it could be developed as a separate piece of land on its own merits. They felt that it could be converted to medical office use and the rear portion of the property could be severed for assembly with abutting lands to the east or west. Another option was the assembly of the land with a future development. Also, staff felt that if the single-family home changed its plans, it

could be added to the subject property at a later date, thereby allowing building expansion of the proposed medical office at 430 Maple Avenue. These ideas clearly reflect the notion that the planning staff was acting in the interests of capital. The Roberts family had no intention of selling their property. They had been approached a number of times, and the planners had thought of many options for development in case the Roberts changed their minds. The planners also recommended permission of the building of three-storey walk-up apartments, townhouses, and institutional uses at the time of the original rezoning proposal by Mr. Heck. The planning staff gave these recommendations because they felt that the property's potential would be limited due to its narrow lot width and the designation from the Official Plan. (medium- and high-density)? Therefore, there would be problems if development was to take place in the future. Once again, it is obvious to see that not only did the planners reflect the interests of the property owners, they were also responsible for making other recommendations for the area, in spite of some local protest. ?

The development proposed by Mr. W. Heck was a controversial one; there were some in support and some opposed to the plan. It was, and still is, a fairly controversial issue in Burlington's development history. The land has still not been subdivided, even though it has been rezoned. Four letters from residents who were opposed to the rezoning were received, and there were probably more undocumented accounts of opposition. The support for the project seems to have outweighed the opposition, perhaps because of the actual groups in favour of the development. (ie., the local government and the planners). The local state, it has been *evidence* ?

shown previously, has given support to the development from the beginning. Since it is the council members who make the final decisions in all planning proposals, they must have been in support of the development in order to rezone the area. *all?* The actual numbers of council members in opposition to and supportive of the area is not revealed here because a count is not taken unless the approval for rezoning is appealed (in other words, the majority vote wins). The planners also have given their support and suggestions as to how to make the development site a more practical and profitable area. Both the local state and the urban planners have played important roles in the subject proposal.

Other groups that were in favour of the proposal were the Burlington and Regional Public Works Departments and the Zoning Department. There were concerns from the Halton Region Planning Department in the beginning; the subject lands were located in the Waterfront Area of the Halton Regional Official Plan. The Halton Region stated that policies required that until a Regional Waterfront Plan was approved, the subject proposal must be evaluated on the basis of the relevant portions of the Halton-Wentworth Waterfront Study, and any other regional policies. The Region had minor concerns, but was generally in support of the plan. Another group that had some concerns were the city arborists. A tree-saving program, suggested by arborists Bill Granger and Richard Lipsitt, was required before approval of the proposal so as to ascertain whether sufficient protection was given to the trees in the immediate area. Many of the trees in that area were older, city-owned trees, and the arborists felt it necessary to voice their concerns prior to the approval of the development. It is evident that there were many concerns with the subject

?

~~~~~

proposal, but most of these concerns did not oppose the rezoning.

The opposition to the proposal was voiced primarily by the residents in the neighbourhood. As stated previously, the residents do have some political clout in a society governed by capitalism. However, this political clout is usually outweighed by the real political leaders: the local government and the planners. The strongest opposing voice was heard by the residents immediately to the west of the proposed development, the owners of 1259 North Shore Boulevard, Mr. and Mrs. C. Roberts. The fact that they took their case to the Ontario Municipal Board revealed their determination to protect their property. They still have no intentions of selling their property and are still opposed to the property development for a number of reasons: they have resided at that location for over 45 years and they feel that the medical building will crowd them, especially because they are flanked by a high-rise apartment building on their other side; they feel that the proposed medical office will result in noise and increased traffic in their area, with a general loss of privacy; they fear that their home and property would diminish in value; and, finally, they stated that the medical office would cause the rear portion of their property to be landlocked. Their obvious position in the matter has been important enough to preserve their home and property, but they were not influential enough because the area was finally rezoned. ?

Three other neighbours voiced their concern and wrote letters to city council. Their main remarks were that adjacent property values would be lowered, and there would be

parking problems due to the inadequate size of the property. Also, they felt that with rezoning there would be future undesirable developments occurring on adjacent properties. One of the nearby residents, Mr. Saunders, pointed out that there were only twenty-five parking spots shown on the site plan, and that there would be traffic problems leading to congestion and noise in the area. Mr. Saunders also felt that if development of 430 Maple Avenue was approved as proposed, the remaining properties on Maple Avenue would be severely restricted for future developments, thereby affecting their resale value. There were at least four neighbouring residents opposed to the plan for rezoning.

Conclusions


The Heck property was not sold for a relatively long time, probably because of price and also because the lot is not that big. As well, it is constricted by the North Shore Boulevard on the south side, and by Maple Avenue to the east. It was recently bought, however, by the Bram Group, a Toronto-based firm. During the period that the land sat idle, the city by-law for parking requirements had changed; more space was needed for parking purposes. There was even more demand to assemble the single-family house at 1259 North Shore Boulevard. The alternatives were clear; the land could sit and be left vacant, or a buyer would have to develop the land on a smaller scale. But the Bram Group purchased the property and they thought that if they needed more parking area, the floor space would decrease. They wanted to maintain the floor space and put the parking underground, but they needed a storm sewer as well, and could not have this with underground parking. The proposed area is still not developed and may not

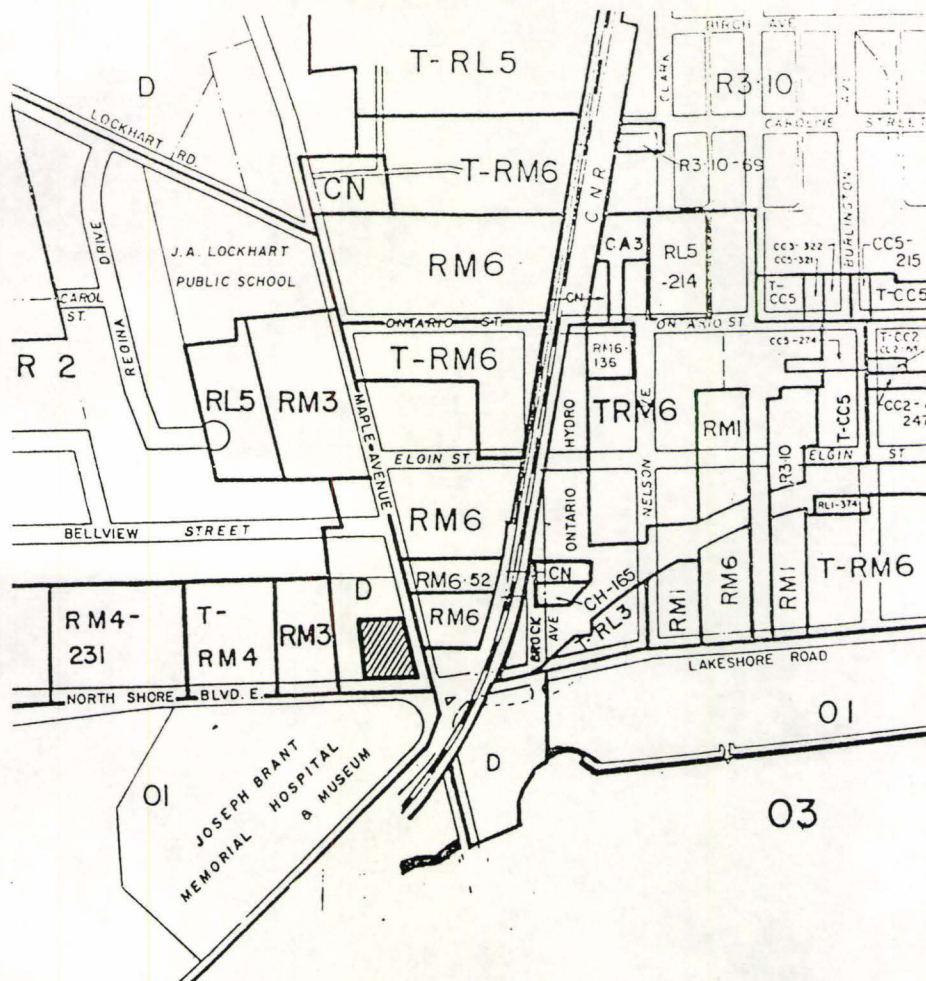
be for a long time. The rezoning in the area was passed, but the development is currently at a standstill.

This case study indeed shows the strength of debate over conflict and can be related to the notion of class struggle. The owners of capital and the local state desire one type of action while the workers desire another. "The study of the accumulation process...is at the same time a study of social conflict. Class struggles are fundamentally originated by capitalist exploitation relationships..." (Mingione, 1981, p.30) Viewed in a political economy perspective, it is true that capitalism, and the accumulation of capital that is inherent in this mode of production, breeds social conflict. The desires of the owners in society and of the local state to extract more revenue from their built environment promotes conflict with the workers in society. The workers are concerned with their own consumption and well-being, and also with preserving their property in the neighbourhood. When their privacy is infringed upon and the future of the residential area is made uncertain, the workers will usually make their concerns heard. In the Marxist/Political Economy theory, it is the class differences, and the varying interests among those classes that causes conflict. Even in the face of opposition, development plans can be approved of, as long as the wider interests of the dominant class are being served.

- wrong plan!



 AFFECTED AREA
File: 93-587



Note : See By-law 4000-3, Map No. 2

Note: ZONES MAY BE FOLLOWED BY EXCEPTION NUMBERS WHICH DENOTE SPECIFIC PROPERTY REGULATIONS IN THE BY-LAW

RESIDENTIAL		COMMERCIAL	INDUSTRIAL	OTHER
Single Family	Semi-detached	Multiple	CN CA3 CH-165 T-CC2 CC2-157 CC2-247	T-CC5 CC5-215 CC5-274 CC5-321 CC5-322
R2 R3-10 R3-10-69		RM1 RM3 RM4 T-RM4 RM6 RM6-136 T-RM6	RM4-231 RL3 T-RL3 RL5 RL5-214 T-RL5	D OI O3
Date: OCTOBER 12, 1982		Scale: 1"=500'	BURLINGTON PLANNING DEPARTMENT	

CHAPTER THREE (B)

The Pilotecture Development

Introduction

The second case study presented in this chapter is the application by a group of developers, Pilotecture Limited, to rezone property at 2218 and 2220 Lakeshore Road from a transitional multiple-residential area to allow a three-storey apartment building. The applicant originally requested a rezoning of the property to allow four-storey apartment buildings, each containing twelve units, but a number of comments were received by the council members from area property owners who objected to a four-storey building in their area. There is an existing 2 1/2-storey frame dwelling on the proposed site as well as an old 1 1/2-storey coach house. Both dwellings are centrally located on the site. The majority of the subject property is currently zoned so that the future intended use of this site is multiple residential with a maximum of three storeys. The "transitional" zone is a holding zone which can be removed provided that adequate land is available to build on, and services are present. The planners thought that a three-storey apartment building at this location would provide a suitable transition in land use between the single-family residences to the east and the multiple-family zone to the west where the construction of an eleven-storey apartment building was permitted. The zoning department intended that the "stepping down" in building

height and density in an easterly direction would decrease the impact of apartment buildings on adjacent low density residential areas.

This application by Pilotecture was quite different from the Heck development documented in the previous section. Not only was there opposition from the single-family homeowners in the neighbourhood, there was an additional problem in that the subject property incorporated an historical building. The building was a home for the first Burlington mayor and was considered by such groups as the Burlington Historical Society and the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee to be one of the most important heritage buildings in the city. There was also a coach house to the rear of the home, on the same property. Planning staff agreed to the rezoning, if the developer would agree to retain the existing historical dwelling on the property, and to relocate the house to the front of the property prior to the issuance of building permits for the new building. The developer would also have to submit, for approval, detailed plans showing all proposed alterations and renovations for the interior and exterior of the existing historical home. There were many different opinions and positions regarding the redevelopment of the proposed area, and the following section will document those views.

Data Analysis

The Political Economy approach to the explanation of urban phenomena can be applied usefully to the particular development in question. Once again it is clear that the city and its functions are indeed a reflection of the reigning mode

of production in society. The property at 2218 and 2220 Lakeshore Road is situated within the "Central Business District" of the city's official plan, and this means that multiple-residential uses are encouraged. Even though the existing neighbourhood is largely composed of home-owning, single-family residences, the city's official plan permits the construction of many multiple-use, high density structures. As Sawers, (1984, p.5) states, conventional types of urban analysis tend to view cities as apart from the social environment in which they are found. Cities of ancient times are clearly not run, or constructed in the same way as cities of recent times. People's needs and preferences are different through the times too, and these "...preferences are not independent of the economic system; they are a part of the larger mode of production." (Sawers, 1984, p.5) It is these preferences--those of the homeowners to live in a spacious urban environment, and those of the capitalists and the government to develop urban land to its full potential--that cause the conflict in an advanced capitalist society. Since the owners of capital and the local government have a lot of power in determining the fate of urban areas, it is reasonable to assume that the present-day cities are shaped by the dominant mode of production, and that conflict is inherent.

The importance of class relations in analyzing any urban problem, such as conflict over development, is the second important tenet of the political economy theory. In the case of the Pilotecture development, there were of course two different class interests: those of the developers, (the owners of capital) and those of the workers (the residents). The site plans were originally proposed by Brian Chamberlain of Pilotecture Limited. Since it was recommended by planning

staff that the original historic building be retained and moved closer to the front of the property, and that the exterior and interior of the house be preserved, the developer was forced to indeed retain the building. It was not in his interest to keep the house on the property, perhaps because it took up a fair amount of the proposed lot, and an appeal to remove it was rejected by the Planning and Development Committee. While the developer was not pleased with the incorporation of the building into his apartment complex, he did not feel strongly enough to appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board. It was decided that the historic building would have two apartment units in it and these apartments would be able to share the facilities offered to the eighteen unit complex behind them, including the swimming pool and the underground parking.

After rezoning was granted, the property was sold to a group of developers under the name of Harold Freure. This company developed the land much the same way as the previous owners. The interests of the residents of the area were quite different, however, from those of the developer. Two neighbours were opposed because of the height of the apartment building. One resident, K. Coles, felt that the development would sandwich his property between two high density developments, and at the same time would tend to block any future development of a property between them. Mr. Coles stated that the application for development justified another look at the zoning of the lake side area, and he believed that the concerns of the owners of property on the lake side of Lakeshore Road should be weighed more heavily than the vocal comments from citizens who did not own property on Lakeshore Road at all. He felt that their comments were more important

because they have to live near the development. In this case we see the intervention of another group of people--interest groups such as the city arborists, the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, (L.A.C.A.C.) and the Burlington Historical Society. The concerns of these people was the preservation of the landscape and the historical buildings. The question of varying interests and class conflict will be developed further in the subsequent parts of this chapter.

A third important analytical tool of the political economist is the statement that the government, in planning issues, usually expresses the interests of the owners of property. In this particular case study, the local state did affirm the request for rezoning, but they did not, however, approve the whole of the proposal given by Pilotecture. The development group had wanted to remove the historic building on the property; they did not want to worry about its retention while they were building there. The government stood firm in its decision to preserve the historic surroundings, probably also prompted by the wishes of groups including L.A.C.A.C. and the Burlington Historical Society. Nonetheless, this case study does not show the government expressing the interests of the developers in the same vein as it did in the previous case. Perhaps it was the outside interest groups who were able to retain a political stronghold in the issue, thereby influencing the government decisions. *evidence?*

Finally, it is the observation of the political economist that the urban planner's function is to organize urban space in such a way that profits from the built environment can be maximized. It is true that even in the

knowledge that there were many concerns from the neighbouring single-family homes, the planning staff recommended the construction of the apartment building. The zoning in the area reflected the wishes of the planners,² and the site was considered to be close enough to the CBD to encourage medium-to high-density residential use. As was stated before, the city works on a system such that the developments in the downtown area pay higher taxes, thereby accruing more tax revenue. The decision made by planners and council members generally reflect the interests of the owners in society. Decisions are made so that profit is maximized.

Support of the proposed development was strongly voiced by members of the planning department. They wanted to grant approval of the development with only two considerations: that the existing dwelling be retained on the property, and that the construction be satisfactory to the Public Works Department and to the Halton Region Conservation Authority's shoreline protection plans. The planners in Burlington felt that there was no problem incorporating this apartment building in the proposed area. The role of the planners in decision-making is an important one: they provide professional advice and recommendations to city council and can indicate where they think support of a development is beneficial.

The local government, on the other hand, have the power to make the final decision in planning matters, and their powers are obviously felt. In the case of the Pilotecture development, council listened to the planners' recommendations and implemented their ideas. Just as in the Heck development proposal, city council approved the plans

given by the Planning and Development Committee. *why*

The remaining support was voiced by interest groups, although most of it was definitely conditional support. The Ad Hoc Committee of Burlington Citizens was not opposed to the plan on the conditions that the historic dwelling be preserved and a tree-saving plan be put into effect. Similarly, the Halton Region Conservation Authority was mainly interested in preserving the shoreline and protecting it from erosion with the development being set back one hundred feet. Although these concerns are somewhat similar to those of the planners, (planners wanted the land preserved as well), it is highly unlikely that the role played by these interest groups was an important one. The interest groups provided a lot of input, but there were groups which did not want the rezoning at all, and their concerns were not accounted for.

Opposition to the proposal in question was not strictly that of the residents. The involvement of many interest groups was fairly significant. The Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee demanded the preservation of the historic home, and wanted its conversion to apartments only if it was genuinely necessary. They felt that the rezoning of the area was unnecessary, thereby causing disagreement with the planners. The Burlington Historical Society noted the fact that the house was located on the Heritage Highway (Lakeshore Road) and that if zoning was relaxed on this type of development, it would likely continue, thereby affecting much of the Lakeshore Road area. The Society was in favour of the development of single-family dwellings only and thought that the rezoning would have a detrimental effect on many new homes recently built along the

Lakeshore, such as those to the east, on Alexander Court. Property values would decrease if the area was turned into a multi-family zone. These interest groups do not hold much power in the decisions over development; they have no voting privileges. Nonetheless they confirm the opinion of this paper that there are many different classes and class interests in conflict in the organization of society.

The opposition from residents was very evident. Letters from five homes in the area were received by city council. A resident of the area, Dr. R. Wynn, felt that redevelopment should take place in blocks, not piecemeal and that the different types of zoning in the area were beginning to create a mess. He was in opposition to the rezoning, but said that if development was to take place at all, it should occur as a unit. P. Sephton was opposed to the plan from the very beginning because of the height of the proposed apartment. Finally, two other area residents, Mr. Denninger, and Mr. Campbell, were opposed to a developer's idea in 1982 to subdivide the property at 2226, 2230 and 2238 into fourteen units, and they were equally opposed to the Pilotecture development.

The last group of opponents noted here were, interestingly enough, private development firms. Holcan Investment and Development objected to the rezoning because they felt that the proposal was incompatible with municipal policy. They stated that the apartment building was an inappropriate land use near single family homes. Spags Holdings Company was also opposed to the plan. They have owned property on Lakeshore Road to the west of the subject property for almost twenty years, and they were denied

privileges to build apartments or townhouses. They were, at the time of the proposed development, awaiting approval of a single family lot subdivision, on the recommendation from the planners that there would be no further apartment developments approved in the vicinity. "Urban political struggle...brings into confrontation--either individually or in alliance--property 'fractions' possessing differing degrees of power in the property market...it 'is more often defensive than aggressive'." (Badcock, 1984, p.272) The commercial property 'fractions' such as the developers and the holding companies are in conflict with property owners/landlords, but they can also be in conflict with each other, depending on who has the most power. In this case it was the developers of the proposed site who had the most clout.

With the subject proposal, we can see how the owners of property (the developers) in society are not always that influential in planning decisions. If their goals are similar to those of the local government and the planners, they will usually be successful in their proposals. "The state...prescribes the rules of the game, but it is for the property development sector to decide whether it will enter on those terms, or try to procure more favourable conditions for its participation." (Badcock, 1984, p.272) It is necessary to look at all the opponents and supporters in a case study, and the role each played in determining the outcome before conclusions can be drawn about the particular type of conflicts encountered.

Conclusions

In December of 1978, city council granted approval of

the plan to rezone the property at 2218 and 2220 Lakeshore Road to allow for the building of a three-storey apartment building. It is only now that the apartment building is being constructed, however. After the rezoning, the developers had a difficult time selling the units; they wanted to have buyers for the proposed units before they actually went ahead and constructed the building. Eventually, the property was sold to another developer under the name of Freure Homes. Freure wanted the land developed in much the same way as the original proposal, and the plans for the actual building were retained.

An account of this case study has revealed the various interests in development, and the types of conflict experienced in a situation such as this. The conflict is, at first, caused by differences in people's preferences, but is maintained by inequalities in power throughout the urban environment. As we have seen, it was the planners, the local government, and some of the developers who had the upper hand in decision-making. The residents and the interest groups were not considered powerless, but they could be easily overruled. The approval of plans despite local forms of opposition is not an uncommon site in capitalist societies.

In the struggles between capitalists and workers, or within those two classes, unevenness prevails. This is reflected in all aspects of the capitalist city. Differences between neighbourhoods, between city and suburb, between cities or regions seem to grow continuously...

Capitalism is a system which must generate contrasts...dynamic growth and steady decay. (Sawers, 1984, p.17).

The conclusion found here is that development in an urban environment and the conflicts of interest that go along with it, are products of the society we live in and we must consider the ideology of the Political Economy explanation for urban phenomena when studying those developments. One must determine the classes and the class interests in order to explain conflict, and the Political Economy approach does just that. Also, the approach places importance on the reigning mode of production. In this case study, it was evident that the issue of capital accumulation was important.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusions

This paper has analyzed two case studies. **They have been** analyzed in order to determine the extent of conflict over development/redevelopment in an area, and the reason for this conflict. This section will review the major findings of this analysis and the significance of the findings. Conclusions regarding social conflict with reference to the hypotheses made in Chapter Two will be drawn. Following this will be a discussion of advantages and disadvantages of utilizing the Marxist/Political Economy explanation for urban conflict. Finally, some recommendations for analyzing future development/conflict situations will be presented.

The first case study, the application by W. Heck to rezone his property to allow the construction of a medical office, had the support of the local government and the city planners from the beginning. The local government encouraged the development of the medical building, as did the urban planners and, seen from a Political Economy perspective, they did so from a profit motive. Revenues gained from an establishment such as the medical building would be higher than if the area was left unzoned and a single-family house was built. The conflict over this proposal was evident, as the many different interests reveal. Mainly, the class difference was evident from the wishes of W. Heck to develop his land against those of the neighbouring residents who did not feel that the office would be appropriate in that area.

Many other groups were in favour of the development, though, including the Zoning Department and the Halton Region Planning Department. Opposition to the plan was expressed mainly by the residents. Their main concerns were noise and increased traffic, crowding because of the parking requirements, and the lowering of surrounding property values.

The conflict was evident, and significant because it revealed just how easily the local government and planners, and the owners in society can proceed with a plan that receives much opposition from the proposed area. Referring to the hypotheses evaluated in this study, it can be concluded that the local state and city planners do intervene in developments in such a way as to create benefits for some people, (the property owner in this case), and losses for others (the nearby residents). They are reproducing the aims of the owners in society and because of this, it can be concluded that development frequently does occur through a process of debate/social conflict. Also, a division between the owners and the workers in society was evident because of the different preferences for land development revealed.

The proposal by Pilotecture Limited to rezone the property on Lakeshore Road to allow a three-storey apartment building was surrounded by fairly different circumstances. While the local government and the city planners did approve the rezoning, they were influenced by other interest groups in their decision to provide for the preservation of the existing historic home and the old, city-owned trees on the property. The planners and the council members recommended that development take place with those considerations in mind. The developers, on the other hand, did not want to preserve the

home at first; it would decrease the amount of available land he had to develop on. But the council members stated that he must comply with their rules if he wanted the land for development. The different interests in the case study were clearly revealed. The local government and planners did want the development, even if it was subject to the preservation of the existing historical home. The owners of property, Pilotecture in this case, were only interested in developing the land to its full potential. They did not want the preservation of the home on their land, but had to agree with the government in this case. Local interest groups, such as the Burlington Historical Society and L.A.C.A.C. were opposed to the plan, and probably had some influence in council's decision to preserve the historical home. But the interests of the workers, the residents of the area, were ignored. Their views did not really influence the outcome of the development, as was expected. Residents were concerned about the height of the apartment buildings, and the introduction of more medium- to high-residential developments into their area.

In this particular case study, the conflict of interests between workers and owners was also evident. The development took place in the face of much conflict and debate because of the different interests/preferences between these two groups in organizing urban space. The owners wanted full development potential on the lake, and the residents wanted to preserve their area as a private, single-family area. Finally, while the local government and the urban planners did encourage the preservation of the historic building, they also encouraged the development of the apartment complex in the face of much opposition from area residents.

The conflict and the debate over development has been examined in two case studies through a Marxist/Political Economy perspective. The reasons for conflict have been explained using this approach. "The conflict between capital and labour is the main dialectical characteristic of all capitalistic social formations because the two parts are complementary and yet have inevitable contrasting interests..."(Mingione, 1981, p.13) It is these interests that have caused the conflict, yet the Political Economy approach seems to consider only the interests of the workers and the capitalists. A limitation to this theoretical explanation is that it does not consider the preferences of other interest groups. In the two cases studied in this paper, there have been local interest groups involved. Groups such as the city arborists, the Halton Region Conservation Authority, the Burlington Historical Society and the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee have all had some input into the proposed developments. While it is obvious that these groups are not extremely influential, in the second case study it was evident that their pleas were heard by local government. The historic building was preserved in the development of the apartment complex. In studies of local conflict, the interests of other groups and their significance should be considered. ✓

Generally, however, there are many advantages to the Marxist/Political Economy explanation of urban conflict. It considers the fact that time and environment have primary importance. Our society and the conflicts inherent in it are instruments of the dominant mode of production, capitalism. The Marxist analysis is materialist; our lives are structured by the way we organize production to subsist and this

demonstrates the importance of analysis with reference to the dominant mode of production. Another advantage of this perspective is that it treats the idea of class relations/interests as significant. The case studies presented in this paper gave a clear indication of the different classes in society and their different interests/preferences for reproduction. The Marxist/Political Economy perspective attempts to explain why conflict occurs. It is a useful, significant explanation for the conflict and struggles we see in everyday urban life.

Analysis of urban conflict can be a difficult, complex procedure because of all the actors involved. One must consider the role of the local government and urban planners, the residents, the developers, and the different interest groups, who may be representatives of any of the above stated parties. Each case is unique and must be analyzed separately. The direction this study has taken has been to uncover the reasons for conflict in society, and to show that conflict is inherent in capitalism. "The Political Economic viewpoint, which sees the present social and economic structure and the cities that it has generated as merely one stage in the historical unfolding of human history, provides the basis for a profound optimism about society." (Sawers, 1984, p.5) By using this viewpoint in conflict analysis, one can determine the real reasons for conflict and realize the potential for a correction of the inequalities found therein.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Badcock, B. 1984. Unfairly Structured Cities Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Burlington Gazette. 1978 - 1982.

Burlington Post. 1978 - 1982.

Cox, K.R. 1973. Conflict, Power and Politics in the City: A Geographic View McGraw Hill Book Company, New York.

Cox, K.R. 1978. Urbanization and Conflict in Market Societies Maaroufa Press, Chicago.

Dear, M.J. and J. Long. "Community Strategies in Locational Conflict" in K.R. Cox (ed.) Urbanization and Conflict in Market Societies Maaroufa Press, Chicago.

Edel, M. 1981. "Capitalism, Accumulation and the Explanation of Urban Phenomena" in M. Dear and A. Scott (eds.) Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society Methuen, London.

Fincher, R. 1981. "Local Implementation Strategies in the Urban Built Environment" Environment and Planning vol.13. pp.1233-1252.

Hartman, C. and K Kessler. 1978. "The Illusion and Reality of Yerba Buena" in W. Tabb and L. Sawers (eds.) Marxism and

the Metropolis First Edition, Oxford University Press, New York.

Harvey, D. 1973. Social Justice and the City The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Harvey, D. 1978. "Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle Around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies" in K.R. Cox (ed.) Urbanization and Conflict in Market Societies Maaroufa Press, Chicago.

Jensen, V. 1979. Time-Space Approach to Locational Conflict Analysis Fourth year Dissertation for Bachelor of Arts, University of Western Ontario, unpublished.

Katznelson, I. 1981. City Trenches University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Knox, 1982. Urban Social Geography Longman Press, Essex.

McCord, A. and N. McCord. 1977. Urban Social Conflict C.V. Mosby Company, Saint Louis.

Mingione, E. 1981. Social Conflict and the City Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Oberschall, A. 1973. Social Conflict and Social Movements Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

City of Burlington, Planning and Development Committee.
1977 - 1985. Council Minutes.

City of Burlington, Planning and Development Committee.
1977 - 1985. Rezoning Files.

City of Burlington, Planning and Development Committee.
1977 - 1985. Site Documents.

Scott, A.J. and S.T. Roweis. 1977. "Urban Planning in Theory and Practice: A Reappraisal" Environment and Planning Vol. 9, pp.1097-1119.

Tabb, W.K. and L. Sawers. 1984. Marxism and the Metropolis Second Edition, Oxford University Press, New York.

Walker, D.C. 1979. The Great Winnipeg Dream Mosaic Press, Oakville.

Williams, R. 1984. in W.K. Tabb and L. Sawers (eds.) Marxism and the Metropolis Second Edition, Oxford University Press, New York.

