STRUCTURATION THEORY

AND

THE GHETTOIZATION OF EX-PSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS

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By

ADAM ISRAEL MOOS, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Adam Israel Moos, B.A.
(University of California, Los Angeles)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. M. J. Dear

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, Giddens' theory of structuration is employed in an analysis of the ghetto of ex-psychiatric patients in Hamilton, Ontario. A review of the main concepts of of structuration theory forms the basis for a theoretical model of the structuration of urban space that considers both the individual agent and the social system as equal partners in the production and reproduction of the urban built environment. From this general model, methodologies are developed for institutional analysis and an analysis of strategic conduct. The institutional analysis enables an understanding of the ghetto as the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy. An examination of the city of Hamilton's attempt to dismantle the ghetto focuses on the strategic conduct of the actors in the policy-making process, and provides insight as to why the city's attempt has thus far proved unsuccessful in halting the ghettoization of ex-patients. The study demonstrates the theoretical and empirical utility of structuration theory in providing an analysis that considers the complex interrelationships of system, structure, agency, time and space.

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"I think she got mad. She said the mystery of life isn't a problem to solve, but a reality to experience. So I quoted the first Law of Mentat at her: 'A process cannot be understood by stopping it. Understanding must move with the flow of the process, must join it and flow with it.' That seemed to satisfy her."

Frank Herbert, *Dune*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The production and reproduction of social life is the accomplishment of skilled, knowledgeable actors living in society. This statement reflects the core of the theory of structuration developed by Anthony Giddens. This view of society holds that both the social system and the individual actor are equally important in the explanation of social phenomena. Structuration theory is a bold and new attempt at resolving a great conflict in social theory. This considers whether the structural relationships of society or the individual in society should be accorded primacy in explaining social development. Structuration theory is exciting because it attempts to overcome this pervasive dualism in social theory by providing an explanatory framework that transcends the limitations of both views without dispensing with the beneficial aspects of each.

The solution of the structure and agency dualism is being sought at a time when geographers are beginning to examine the role of social theory in human geography. The questions that geographers are beginning to ask concern not only structure and agency, but also a reconsideration of space in geographic thought. These two areas of study have

led some geographers, notably Derek Gregory, Allan Pred and Nigel Thrift, to explore Giddens' structuration theory in an attempt to reconstitute a geographic agenda within the social theoretic perspective. However, the development of the new geographic agenda has focused primarily on theoretical and philosophical issues surrounding structuration theory; and, with the exception of Gregory (1982b) and Thrift (1981) there has been little exploration into the empirical viability of structuration theory for geographic research.

The lack of empirical research is understandable given the complexity and novelty of the theoretical issues involved in structuration theory. However, if structuration theory is to provide some promise for geographers, it must also show its power to inform practice. This is the primary project of this thesis. It is an investigation into the utility of structuration theory as a framework for practical application. This project carries with it two implications. First, the empirical application of structuration theory aids the continuing theoretical development since the many complex theoretical issues that structuration theory addresses may be augmented through practice. Second, the conceptual view of structure and agency in structuration theory enables a very different perspective in the study of social phenomena: it provides promise of a comprehensive explanation that considers how agency and structure come

together in the production, reproduction and transformation of society.

The empirical focus of this thesis is the ghetto of ex-psychiatric patients in Hamilton, Ontario. The 'mental health ghetto' as an urban form follows a change in policy toward the mentally ill. The traditional method of treatment involved isolating the patient from the rest of society in a hospital setting. The 1950s and 1960s were decades of progress in the treatment of the mentally ill; during this era, the primary location of treatment for the mentally ill individual moved outside the institution and into the community. This movement carried with it the optimistic aspiration that the formerly-institutionalized patient would become absorbed into the community, obtain follow-up care from community facilities and lead a "normal" life. However, two decades later, the outcomes of this policy have not been clear-cut. One unintended consequence of the phenomenon of deinstitutionalization policy has been that the mentally ill have tended to be drawn to the rundown areas of the inner city where rooming houses and board and care facilities are abundant. This new home for the ex-patient is not the anticipated positive experience of successful integration into the community, but rather resembles what Wolpert and Wolpert (1974) aptly named the *asylum without walls.*

The investigation into the utility of structuration

theory through an empirical analysis of the mental health ghetto contains five research objectives. First, an exegesis of Giddens' theory of structuration is presented. It is necessary to clarify the main concepts of structuration theory before they may be applied in practice. The second objective follows from the first. The clarification of the main concepts of structuration theory enables an assessment of current work in geography that has examined structuration theory. Third, further theoretical development of structuration theory is made by placing the main concepts of structuration theory into both a general conceptual framework for analysis and a more focused model of the structuration of the urban built environment. Fourth, an empirical analysis that underlines how structure and agency need to be considered together in an analysis of the mental health ghetto. The task involves developing analytical methodologies that enable empirical examination of (1) ghetto formation through an institutional analysis; and (2) the City of Hamilton's attempt at dismantling the mental health ghetto via an analysis of the strategic conduct of the actors involved. Following these four research objectives, the fifth objective is to assess the utility of structuration theory in practice and to consider its future role in the reconstruction of human geography.

The thesis begins to tackle these objectives in chapter two. Here, the literatures relevant to both the

empirical and theoretical problems are critically reviewed. First, the process of deinstitutionalization and its dramatic affect on the in-patient population of mental hospitals in North America and Great Britain is examined. While deinstitutionalization policy provided the ghetto's population, the formation of the ghetto is a different matter. This question of ghetto formation reflects a recent concern in geography to study how service-dependent groups have become ghettoized in a 'public city.' The question of theory surfaces in a discussion of both of these literatures, and this provides the basis for the final section of chapter two which examines Giddens' theory of structuration. This begins with a discussion of the geographic literature that has investigated Giddens' theory and also considers the problems associated with geographers' views of structuration. The chapter concludes with a critical presentation of Giddens' theory of structuration that forms the basis for the remainder of the analysis.

The first part of chapter three involves building upon the interpretation of Giddens in chapter two in order to construct a conceptual model of structuration. This provides the means of understanding the structuration of society as an integrated system of concepts. This model in turn forms the basis for a more focused model of the structuration of urban space. This model considers how agents, institutions, structures, space and time are all

implicated in the production and reproduction of the urban built environment.

The empirical question of the mental health ghetto becomes the main focus of chapter four. Here the model of the structuration of urban space is employed in developing analytical methodologies for answering both the question of the ghetto's formation and the attempt by the city of Hamilton to devise a policy to halt the ghetto's growth. This analysis of the ghettoization process focuses on how the ghetto resulted from a myriad of institutional actions, while the explanation of the policy-making process focuses on the key agents involved. In both analyses, however, the delicate balance between structure and agency is maintained. Finally, the implications of this work in relation to both the theoretical and analytical agendas are assessed in chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION, PUBLIC CITY, STRUCTURATION

This chapter presents a critical review of three literatures that forms the focus of the theoretical and analytical sections of this work. The first considers the massive discharge program of mental patients that occurred from the early 1960's to the present. The second literature examines how the deinstitutionalized patients have become part of the growing inner-city concentration of service-dependents and facilities, the so-called 'public city.' Finally, this chapter contains a critical presentation of Giddens' theory of structuration and a review of how it has been employed in human geography.

2.1. DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE MENTALLY ILL

The shift in mental health care from institutional care to community-based care typifies the deinstitutionalization movement. Most work to date has been concerned with the effects of deinstitutionalization policy in the United States (Bassuk and Gerson, 1978; Chafetz, Goldman and Taube, 1983; Goldman, Adams and Taube, 1983; Klerman, 1977; Schoonover and Bassuk, 1983), the United Kingdom (Bennett

and Morris, 1983) and Canada (Richman and Harris, 1983; Williams and Luterbach, 1976) although the trend has been documented in Italy, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Nigeria and Latin America as well (Goldman, Morrissey and Bachrach, 1983; Mosher, 1983; Volovik and Zachetpitskii, 1983). The in-patient population of mental hospitals in the United States, for example, fell from a peak of 558,922 in 1955 to 125,200 by 1982 (Alter, 1984, 25). In Canada the bed capacity of mental hospitals declined from 47,633 in 1960 to 15,011 by 1976 (Richman and Harris, 1983, 70). In the case of both the United States and Canada the shrinking of the in-patient population was mirrored by a corresponding increase in the development of a system of out-patient care.

The cause of this radical change in mental health care policy is generally agreed to be the result of a rather paradoxical coalition of psychiatrists, fiscal conservatives and civil libertarians. Following World War II, the prevailing opinion throughout society was that institutional care of the mentally ill was inefficient and inhumane (Klerman, 1977; Chafetz, Goldman and Taube, 1983; Richman and Harris, 1983). From a medical perspective, the concurrent developments of improved psychoactive drugs and innovative psychosocial technologies led many to believe that outpatient care was the best approach to enhance the individual's chance for recovery. Civil libertarians sought community-based care to preserve the rights of the mentally

ill and to end the incarceration of patients. Fiscal conservatives pursued deinstitutionalization policy in the belief that significant savings would be realised through the closure or phasing-out of state and provincial mental hospitals.

The deinstitutionalization movement suffered from many problems. The nature of the coalition was "inherently unstable and opportunistic, never addressing basic issues because they can not agree on a fundamental reform of the care of the mentally ill" (Goldman, Morrissey and Bachrach, 1983, 158). Thus, this was not a movement dedicated to the improvement of mental health care, rather the coalition represented the nexus of three separate movements joining together at a common issue. The push for deinstitutionalization was far too rapid, occurring before a system of community care could develop (Bennett and Morris, 1983). The results of this policy may be summarized by examining its outcomes in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada.

Klerman (1977) considers deinstitutionalization policy in the United States a partial success. On the positive side, deinstitutionalization coupled with community mental health centers brought the issues of mental health care into the forefront of issues confronting society. Additionally, the introduction of mental health care outside the institution serves a new class of patient that is now

using services that were unavailable ten to twenty years ago (Goldman, Adams and Taube, 1983). Conversely, much of the deinstitutionalization policy may prove to be shortsighted. There was little consideration of the chronic patient who could not function outside the institution. The optimism which surrounded the development of the new psychoactive drugs and psychosocial treatments quickly gave way to the reality that not all patients were curable (Klerman, 1977). Thus, it was extremely shortsighted to initiate the wholesale closure of institutions, such as was begun in California (DeRisi and Vega, 1983). Another effect of deinstitutionalization policy involved changing the locus of care rather than emphasizing the distribution and quality of care (Goldman, Adams and Taube, 1983). This is clearly observed when examining the reduction of the in-patient population of mental hospitals. Much of the drop in the hospital census resulted not so much from deinstitution-alization but rather from transinstitutionalization. Many elderly patients were shunted from state hospitals to publicly-supported nursing homes where institutional dependency persists (Klerman, 1977; Goldman, Adams and Taube, 1983; Chafetz, Goldman and Taube, 1983). Klerman (1977) attributes many of these problems to the notion that too much was attempted at once. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) tried to deal with the problems of alcoholism, drug abuse, racism and social unrest in addition

to mental illness, and consequently spread itself too thinly. Chafetz, Goldman and Taube (1983) offer the opinion that it is necessary to review the benefits and problems of ambulatory versus institutional care; and that it is necessary to develop an overall system of service delivery, to ensure accessibility of service to the mentally ill.

The British experience differs from the American since the development of community mental health care was not a means to deinstitutionalize, rather it was "a response to the needs of a newer and larger population that was willing to use the mental hospital" (Bennett and Morris, 1983, 7-8). However, the British experience mirrors the American in the process of deinstitutionalization. The push for discharge was a response to a generally negative view of the mental hospital and the over-optimism of the psychiatric community. The formal adoption of a policy of deinstitutionalization signalled the abandonment of the *gradual* development of a system of community care. This in and of itself was a problem, since the original aim and purpose of community care was not as a substitute for the mental hospital. Furthermore, British policy failed to consider the needs of the chronic patient who might require lifelong support in a protected environment. Instead, policy was geared toward centers which could provide a transitional step between the hospital and full reintegration into the community (Bennett and Morris, 1983).

The aims of deinstitutionalization policy in Canada were put forth in a 1961 report by the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA):

1) integration of psychiatric services with the physical and personnel resources of the rest of medicine;

2) close cooperation among treatment personnel and coordination of psychiatric services to ensure that the patient would receive appropriate help in his community through all phases of his illness, without interruption;

3) coordination of local psychiatric services in hospitals, clinics, and other centers to promote maximum effectiveness;

4) regionalization of psychiatric treatment services in population centers and a wide range of psychiatric services in the larger community;

5) decentralization of the management and administration of psychiatric services (Richman and Harris, 1983, 66).

A general evaluation of whether these aims have been achieved is difficult since the mental health programs are provincially and not federally administered. As each province enjoys a good deal of autonomy, each needs to be considered separately. Ontario has succeeded in integrating mental health care within general hospitals and in separating care for specific target groups such as the mentally retarded and elderly (Dear and Taylor, 1982, 50). However, the review of mental health policy provided by Richman and Harris (1983) generally regards the attempts by Ontario, Manitoba and Nova Scotia as insufficient since none of the three adopted a structured approach to

deinstitutionalization. The best approaches are those by British Columbia and New Brunswick which have developed policies that view deinstitutionalization in two ways. First, deinstitutionalization is considered to be more than a statement of policy. It is treated as an active, complex and systematic process involving a planning, monitoring and feedback system. Second, these two provinces have incorporated deinstitutionalization within an overall alteration of the delivery of mental health care (Richman and Harris, 1983, 73). Thus, New Brunswick has developed a comprehensive program that considers the role of the mental hospital, discharge planning and the need for social supports in the community within the context of the entire mental health care system.

The deinstitutionalization process has spawned four areas of research regarding the mentally ill. A first, and fairly recent area of study, concerns itself with the quality of life for the ex-patient upon release i.e., how the individual is coping in the community (Bachman, 1971; Bachrach, 1976; Dear *et al.*, 1980; Kirk, 1976; Lamb, 1974; Lamb and Goertzel, 1971; Laws, 1982; Smith, 1978). A second literature deals with the issue of externalities associated with the mentally ill and considers such factors as community attitudes in the acceptance or rejection of the mentally ill and facilities (Boeckh, 1980; Boeckh, Dear and Taylor, 1980; Dear, 1977a, 1977c; Dear and Taylor, 1982;

Dear, Taylor and Hall, 1980; Smith and Hanham, 1981, 1982). A third area focuses on health services planning (Dear, 1984, 1977b; Donabedin, 1973; Drury, 1983; Meade, 1980; Mechanic, 1969; Pyle, 1979; Rosenberg, 1983; Smith, 1976). A fourth research area examines the spatial concentration and distribution of the mentally ill and facilities (Dear, 1977d; Giggs, 1973, 1974; Gudgin, 1974; Hughes, 1980; Timms, 1965; Wolpert, Dear and Crawford, 1975). This last area addresses the question of the mental health ghetto, although the development of the mental health ghetto can not be fully comprehended without considering the research in the first two areas considered. Additionally, the mental health ghetto appears to be part of an overall process that affects other disadvantaged groups in society.

2.2. THE PUBLIC CITY

The ghettoization of the mentally ill in the inner core of many cities may be viewed as part of a larger problem involving the service-dependent population in general. [The term 'public city' refers to the agglomeration of public sector service-dependents and their helping agencies in the declining core areas of the inner city (Wolch, 1979).] Although the definitions of the public city vary somewhat--Dear (1980), for example, does not limit the population of the public city to only public sector

service-dependents--it is generally agreed that the residents of the public city include the mentally and physically disabled, the mentally retarded, the chronically unemployed, the dependent elderly, low income female head of household families and probationers and parolees (Wolch, 1978; Beamish, 1981). The service-dependent aspect exists because the primary means of support for these groups involves both government transfer payments and services-in-kind. Unlike transfer payments, services-in-kind must be located in proximity to the target population to enhance the use of the facility. The ghettoization of the service-dependent and service facilities has been termed the 'public city.'

Much empirical evidence for this phenomenon has been provided. Wolpert and Wolpert (1974, 1976) focused on a community of ex-patients in San Jose, California, and found the mentally ill and their facilities located in a ghetto in the declining area near San Jose State University. Dear (1980) examined the public city in Hamilton, Ontario and noted the ghettoization of the mentally ill and services in the core area of the city. Wolch (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981) documented the public city in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She broadened the focus to examine the location of all service-dependent groups and services and presented convincing evidence of ghettoization. Beamish (1981) examined the situation in Canada and concluded that the

public city exists as an urban form in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton. Beamish, like Wolch, focused on the entire spectrum of service-dependency and developed a service-dependent index as a way to measure the level of service-dependency for a given census tract. Finally, Oatley (1983) traced the development of the public city as an historical feature of the urban landscape. This provides the basis for viewing the public city as an evolving feature of the urban built environment rather than as an epiphenomenon.

Although there exists a consensus on the existence of the public city, there continues to be a debate regarding the theoretical explanations for its development. Wolch (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981) formulated a model that examined the colocational interdependence of service facility location and service-dependent residential choice. Wolch (1981) argues that the impaired mobility of most service-dependent groups makes the journey-to-service a far greater restriction on residential choice than the journey-to-work for the non-dependent population. The public good aspects of the services leads Wolch to develop a modified location-allocation model following Teitz' (1968) guidelines for public facility location. She affirms the usefulness of this model as "a model-predicted outcome resembles the observed facility distribution quite accurately" (Wolch, 1981, 60).

Wolpert and Wolpert (1974, 1976) present a "liberal" explanation for the public city. The public city is seen as an outcome of three interrelated processes. First, the movement toward rapid deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill and physically handicapped created a concentration of service-dependents in the community. Second, the ghettoization of this population results from both the socio-economic status of the receiving community and the extent of community opposition to these groups in many neighborhoods. Third, a successful solution to the public city problem rests with socially responsible planners engaged in intelligent and rational planning (Wolpert, 1978).

Dear's (1977d, 1978, 1980, 1981) explanation falls into the "radical" tradition in geography. He views the public city as the result of distinct historical processes, thus:

> the public city is the outcome of urban collective action; ... it is not some arbitrary creation resulting from the aggregation of many individual service-dependent decisions, but a structural feature which is both functional and convenient in contemporary urbanization (Dear, 1980, 231).

Three processes are seen to be relevant in explaining the public city. First, the historical coincidence of the abandonment of the inner city and the policy shift toward deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill is examined. Second, the process of residential differentiation is viewed as being functional for the capitalist economy and thus

reflects the "social organization of capitalism" (Dear, 1980, 233). Third, the importance of the state in continuing the isolation of service-dependent populations is considered as part of a wider socio-spatial organization which causes the separation of antagonistic groups.

Beamish's (1981) explanation for the growth of the public city draws together the theoretical links between the welfare state, accumulation crises and spatial structure. First, Beamish develops a theoretical explanation of the socio-spatial dialectic and of the capitalist urbanization process and its relationship to the process of suburbanization and abandonment. This argument follows closely the work of Harvey (1975, 1981) and Walker (1977, 1981). Second, Beamish provides a theoretical explanation for the specific welfare functions of the state in advanced capitalism and the underlying reasons for the changes in the mode of service delivery to service-dependent populations. Here Beamish draws heavily on the work of O'Connor (1973) and others (Hirsch, 1978; Cockburn, 1977; Wright, 1978). Third, Beamish employs an historical-materialist method of analysis to uncover the underlying reasons for the historical coincidence of deinstitutionalization and abandonment.

2.3. THEORETICAL LACUNAE IN EXPLAINING DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION AND THE PUBLIC CITY

The work on deinstitutionalization faces a fundamental problem because the work reviewed examines deinstitutionalization as a process, but not as part of an overall response to various changes in the social system. There is a need to link this radical change in mental health care delivery to wider social processes. Some attempt at this type of analysis was undertaken by both Dear, Clark and Clark (1979) and CJ Smith (1983). Dear, Clark and Clark relate admissions and discharges of mental patients to trends in the economy and argue that this macro-level analysis is of "vital relevance" in planning for mental health care. Smith employs a political economy approach to understand the development and decline of the community mental health movement in the United States. The relation of deinstitutionalization policy to larger social processes in each case provides a fuller explanation of the process. However, these explanations have room for further improvement, because they are not situated within a socio-theoretic framework that enables a critical understanding of the wider socio-political changes in the social system.

The lack of a supporting social theory is also prevalent in the public city literature. The explanations provided by Wolch and Wolpert fail to link the public city

as an urban form to a wider theory of society. Specifically, Wolch's explanation suffers from its atomistic focus on individual households, and from its ahistorical treatment of a socio-historical phenomenon. This does not enable an adequate understanding of the historical development of the public city and leads Wolch to conclude incorrectly that as an urban feature the public city is vanishing (Wolch and Gabriel, 1983). This conclusion is reached through an examination of macro-level processes but is not supported by a social theoretic understanding of the historical development of these macro processes. This is the primary difficulty with her assessment of the public city's future disposition. The explanation provided by Wolpert suffers in a similar manner. The call for rational planning as a solution (*cf.* Wolpert, 1978) is not developed as part of a social framework that explicates the role and autonomy of the planner within society. This must be a fundamental concern of any explanation that considers the role of planning (Forester 1982a, 1982b, 1983; Leonard, 1982; Roweis, 1981; Roweis and Scott, 1981; Scott and Roweis, 1977).

The explanations of the public city provided by Beamish and Dear examine the essence of social phenomena in relating the service-dependent ghetto to the wider social relations. Beamish accomplishes this by employing an historical-materialist framework for analysis. The problem

with this mode of explanation is that primacy is accorded to the economic relations of society. Two main objections surface. First, non-economic relations may be of major importance. Dear (1981) demonstrates this in an analysis of client-professional relationships in mental health care and concludes that the association is mutually dependent--the client needs psychiatric care and the professional needs a patient--yet asymmetrical in the distribution of power. Second, and of far greater significance, Beamish's explanation falls prey to the criticisms levelled at structural marxism (*cf.* Duncan and Ley, 1982, 1983; Pratt, 1983) since he considers the conditions for capital accumulation as the sole determining force in social development and includes individuals as merely unproblematical actors. Dear escapes these criticisms since his explanation forsakes historical materialism for an historical hermeneutic analysis. This enables Dear to consider non-economic relations and the role of individuals and communities as well as the structural relations of society.

The preceding discussion emphasizes that the primary problem with the public city literature is that the explanations do not complement or contradict one another. The reason for this is the social theory which (sometimes implicitly) supports each study. For example, the explanation by Wolch is based within the neo-classical

school and accords primacy to the individual, while Beamish invokes an historical-materialist perspective that accords primacy to the structural relations of the capitalist economy. This problem is just one instance of a wider theoretical concern in social science--the elucidation of the relationship between structure and human agency. The next section focuses on this problem by demonstrating how the work of Anthony Giddens has provided a way of transcending the structure and agency dualism which characterizes research on the public city.

2.4. THE THEORY OF STRUCTURATION

The theory of structuration is not solely the domain of Anthony Giddens. His work stands alongside other social theorists who are attempting to resolve the structure and agency dualism (Archer, 1982; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Bhaskar, 1978, 1979, 1983; Bourdieu, 1977; Layder, 1981; Shotter, 1983; CW Smith, 1983). However, Giddens' view of structuration is the focus in this thesis for two reasons. First, it is the most fully developed theory of structuration (Gregory, 1980, 335) and "effectively resolve(s) the problem of structure and agency, and the unsatisfactory poles of determinism and possibilism" (Sayer, 1983, 109). Second, most of the work in human geography that has considered structuration theory as a possible

solution to the structure and agency problem has focused on Giddens' writings. This section proceeds first by reviewing the work in geography that has examined structuration theory. Then, the key elements of Giddens' theory of structuration are presented in an attempt to clarify the main theoretical positions in his framework.

2.4.1. Geography and structuration

A concern over structure and agency is evident in many recent works in geography addressing such diverse topics as economic geography (Barnes, 1984; Sayer, 1982), marxist analysis (Eyles, 1981; Williams, 1981) and even geographic education (Lee, 1983). The debate in the geographic literature concerns whether the social formation or the individual should be the ultimate basis of explanation (*cf.* Duncan and Ley, 1982, 1983; Chouinard and Fincher, 1983; Gregory, 1981; Ley, 1980). Structuration theory has been proffered as a possible resolution to this debate not merely as a method of joining the two opposing camps at some middle ground, but as a means of transcending the dualistic nature of this debate to lend greater understanding the complex relationship between the reproduction of the social formation and the practice of everyday life (Gregory, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1984a, 1984b; Pred, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1983, 1984; Sayer,

1983; Soja, 1983; Thrift, 1981, 1982, 1983a, 1983b). Thrift (1983a) has provided the most comprehensive review yet to appear in the geographic literature on structuration theory.

Another reason for the increasing interest in structuration, particularly as developed by Giddens, involves the centrality of time and space in the constitution of social systems (*cf.* Giddens, 1979, 1981). Gregory has employed structuration theory in demonstrating the failings of both the humanist tradition (1981) and systems theory (1980) to theorize spatial structure effectively. Structuration theory provides Gregory with a means of transcending the structure and agency dualism while recapturing spatial structure through social theory (1978, 168-172; 1982a). Pred employs structuration theory to demonstrate that time-geography is more than "an extremely effective device for describing both behavior and biography in time and space" (Pred, 1982, 151). This is accomplished by integrating the concepts of structuration to the movement of individuals through time and space to the social formation via the external-internal and daily path-life path dialectics (Pred, 1981a, 1982). This blending of structuration and time-geography is developed further by Pred (1983) to reformulate the concept of a sense of place. This blending has also led Pred (1981b) to theorize power relations as a dialectical relation of the individual's "power to" with the

institution's "power over." However, this formulation is not fully satisfactory for while is portrays effectively the daily effects of the power dialectic (i.e. path and project changes), the limitations of the time-geography framework leaves an explanation of the long-term reproduction of the social system wanting.

This problem reflects in essence the current area of debate concerning Giddens' theory of structuration--the concept of determination. For Pred, determination occurs in the time-space path that individuals trace out in their daily existence (*cf.* Pred, 1982, 163-166). For Gregory (1982a) and Thrift (1983a), determination rests with the conjoining of structuration theory to a non-functionalist historical materialism that avoids the structure and agency dualism and explicates the "the material grounding of practical life which is at the root of both the *genre de vie* and the mode of production" (Gregory, 1981, 16). However, both of these schemas of determination are problematic since *Giddens never addresses the question of determination*. This problem, however, can not be resolved without first returning to Giddens' work and clarifying the main concepts of his structuration theory. Following this, the question of determination may be more thoroughly examined (in section 3.1).

2.4.2. A reading of Giddens

The theory of structuration (Giddens, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1982a) attempts to overcome a serious problem in social theory by transcending, without altogether dispensing with, the two main approaches employed by social analysts. The first group concerns itself primarily with the overarching structural relationships in society. The concentration on the objective social relations is characteristic of social theories as diverse as functionalism, marxism (in some forms) and structuralism. The common ground of each of these explanations is a disavowal of the importance of individuals, concentrating instead on those conditions that *determine* social outcomes. The second camp concerns itself with the individual and pays primary attention to subjective interpretation of society. This type of analysis reflects the work of phenomenologist and existentialist authors who accord primacy to how individuals attach meaning to the life world; yet, explanations from this philosophical perspective lack a theoretical understanding of both institutions and the societal totality. The division between these two perspectives can not be resolved through a simple marriage. Theories that focus on the cultural forces (e.g. Parsonian functionalism) and/or economic forces (e.g. Althusserian marxism) which *determine* social outcomes lack an

understanding of the individual as an active, knowledgeable, reflexively-monitoring agent (Giddens, 1979, 54). The problems with agent-oriented philosophies, on the other hand, include a treatment of institutions as only the background "to which action is negotiated and its meaning formed" (Giddens, 1979, 50). Furthermore, these philosophies do not concern themselves with power relations and conflict in society and very often focus "attention almost exclusively upon the nature of reasons or intention in human activity" (Giddens, 1979, 50). Giddens overcomes this dualism by developing a position where:

> ...the notions of action and structure presuppose one another; [the] recognition of this dependence, which is a dialectical relation, necessitates a reworking both of a series of concepts linked to each of these terms, and of these terms themselves (Giddens, 1979, 53).

The reworking of these concepts results in a social theory which may yield greater insight to the analysis of the mental health ghetto. The following sections outline the key elements of structuration theory which are employed in this analysis: structure, system, structuration; agency; the duality of structure and social reproduction; and time-space relations.

1. Structure, System, Structuration

The theory of structuration differs from other theories that examine the structural relations in society by

separating the concepts of *structure* and *system* (*cf.* Giddens, 1982b). The importance of this separation is that a system embodies the reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices, and situated in time and space; structures exist as recursively organized rules and resources that individuals draw upon and reconstitute in their day-to-day activities. Structures, unlike systems, do not exist in time-space, but have only a virtual existence in that they are drawn upon and reconstituted continuously in practice. Thus, structures are both the medium and the outcome of the situated practice that make up the system.

The structural properties of a social system may be characterized by those aspects of structures inherent in all social interaction--signification, domination and legitimation (Giddens, 1976, 118-126). Structures of signification become manifest in interaction through the communication of meaning. Structures of domination refer to the use of power in interaction. Legitimation refers to the moral constitution of interaction through "the application of norms" (Giddens, 1976, 123). In all three cases, the structures enable the interaction to occur (the medium of interaction); and the application of these structural properties in interaction acts to reconstitute those structures (the outcome of interaction).

The conditions governing the continuity or

transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems is *structuration*. The connection between structure, system and structuration is that:

> ...social systems are not structures; they have structure or, more accurately, exhibit structural properties. Structures are, in a logical sense, properties of the social systems or collectivities, not of the situated activities of subjects. Social systems only exist in and through structuration, as the outcome of the contingent acts of a multiplicity of human beings (Giddens, 1982a, 35).

This quotation brings out why the separation of structure and system is fundamental. The separation of these two concepts allows for an understanding of individuals and social systems. Structure is the medium whereby the social system affects individual action and the medium whereby individual action affects the social system. The outcome of these individual-system interactions always (in varying degrees) affects the structural rules governing the next interaction. Thus, the theoretical separation of structure and system enables Giddens to capture both agency and structure in the production and reproduction of social life without according primacy to either.

This conception of system, structure and structuration enables a view of society that considers structures as both enabling and constraining human action. Giddens (1979, 69-73) notes that previous attempts to incorporate structural analysis into subjectivist social theories included structure merely as constraint. The enabling aspect of social action rested solely with the

intentions and motives of the agent. These motives and intentions allowed for movement within the boundaries imposed by the social structure. This approach does not include the social structure as an active part of the structuration of social relations; rather, social relations result solely from the activities of individuals. Conversely, some functionalist, marxist and structuralist social theories argue that individual action is *determined* by the 'needs' of the totality. This position poses two problems. First, the activities of individuals are determined without regard to the agent's motives or intentions. Second, the functionalist characterization of a system's 'needs' is false. Giddens asserts that people, not social systems have needs and that it is misguided to attempt social analysis concerned with the 'needs' of a particular society (Giddens, 1979, 1982a). Thus, Giddens (1982a, 6) maintains that the concept of function has no place in social theory.

This conception of structure forms the basis for Giddens' understanding of institutions. Giddens (1979, 80) defines institutions as:

> practices which are deeply sedimented in time-space: that is, which are enduring and inclusive 'laterally' in the sense that they are widespread among the members of a community of society.

These practices are akin to the structural properties of social systems and a classification of institutions follows a similar logic to the analytically separable properties of

structures (Giddens, 1981, 46-48).

Structural Sequence	Institution
S-D-L	Symbolic Orders/Modes of discourse
D(auth)-S-L	Political
D(alloc)-S-L	Economic
L-D-S	Legal/Modes of sanction

Where S=Signification, D=Domination and L=Legitimation

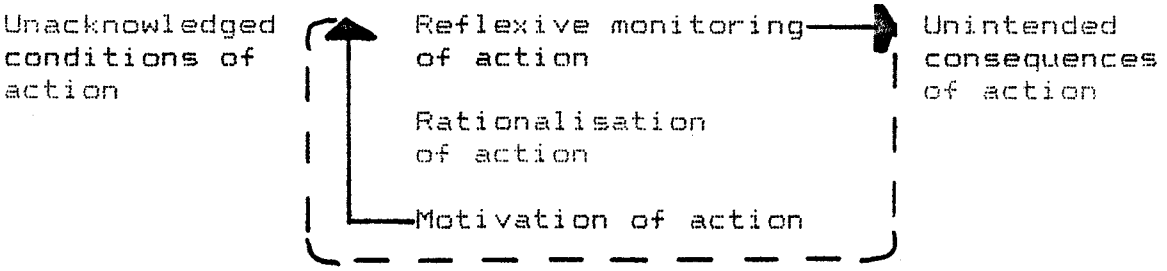
(After Giddens, 1981, 47)

In this schema, domination takes two forms depending on whether the institution is engaged in power over individuals (authoritative domination); or maintains power over the material environment (allocative domination). The four structural sequences indicate the possible directions for institutional analysis. The structure listed first provides the focus for the analysis, but the additional structures in each sequence are present because structures exist interdependently in institutions.

2. Agency

The individual in structuration theory is seen to be an active, knowledgeable, reasoning person. The social system presents conditions which bound the action of the agent, *yet do not determine the agent's activity.* This is brought to light in Giddens (1979, 1982a) "stratification

model of action."



(After Giddens, 1982a, 30).

This model views the individual as reflexively monitoring her/his own actions. The self-examination by the actor of his/her activity follows two paths. The first is the accounts or reasons provided by an actor for a given action. The rationalisation of action is an attempt by an actor to "form discrete accounts in the context of queries, whether initiated by others, or as elements of a process of self-examination by the actor" (Giddens, 1979, 55). The second is the intentions or purposes the agent employs for the actions. Purposeful conduct does not refer solely to goal-oriented behavior; it includes such mundane practices as salting food. The motivation for action results from the self-examination by the agent as to possible outcomes.

The reflexive monitoring of action occurs at three levels of consciousness: unconscious, practical consciousness and discursive consciousness. Unconscious motives for action operate outside the range of the agent's self-understanding. Practical consciousness refers to

knowledge which the individual uses but can not verbalize. This relates to the mutual knowledge employed by actors in interaction. Giddens cites as an example the idea of language use. Actors know and communicate via language without necessarily being able to formulate the rules which govern their speaking. Practical knowledge concerns the stocks of knowledge which result from the social system within which the actor lives. The resulting acts are not unconscious but instead reflect how the structural properties of the social system are embedded in practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness refers to that which the agent can verbalize. In the giving of reasons or intentions the actor may supply accounts, yet these are not themselves complete explanations because areas of practical knowledge may enter into the act.

All social action is bounded by the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of action. Much activity escapes the intention of the agent and is bounded on one side as an unacknowledged condition of action and on the other as an unintended outcome. Since history is not an intentional product, it becomes important to situate the intentional activities of agents within history. These concepts regarding conditions and outcome of action enable Giddens to accomplish this by connecting intentional human activity to the social system.

3. The duality of structure and social reproduction

Structuration theory is able to overcome the problems of both objectivist and subjectivist social theories by being able to elucidate theoretically the connection between the social system and the individual. The treatment of each, without relegating the social system to becoming a mere backdrop upon which human action occurs, and without relegating the individual to becoming the mere carrier of structural logic is achieved via the *duality of structure*. The structuration of society occurs via the duality of structure which Giddens (1981, 27) defines as connecting:

> ...the *production* of social interaction, as always and everywhere a contingent accomplishment of knowledgeable social actors, to the *reproduction* of social systems across time-space.

This can be illustrated through the *dialectic of control*. Individuals engaging in power relations draw upon structures of domination that characterize the relationship of autonomy and dependence in interaction, and in doing so, reconstitute these rules. The structural rules become the medium where the power relation is generated, and in the production of the interaction the agents contribute to the reproduction of the system as a whole.

The dialectic of control is important for it enters into every area of social interaction via structures of domination. Power relations are always relations of

autonomy and dependence and are necessarily reciprocal. The distribution of power in a relationship may be very asymmetrical, but an agent always maintains some control in the relationship and may avoid complete subjugation. In any relationship where the individual is totally powerless (Giddens (1979) offers the example of a person confined to a strait-jacket) and has lost all capability of action, that person then ceases to be an agent. Thus:

> ...in a social system, the most seemingly 'powerless' individuals are able to mobilise resources whereby they carve out 'spaces of control' in respect of their day-to-day lives and in respect of the activities of the more powerful (Giddens, 1982a, 197-198).

This conception is fundamental for it removes any notion of determinism (and determination *cf.* section 3.1) from an understanding of power relations.

The duality of structure is directly involved with question of reproduction, transformation and determination in society. Giddens' view of reproduction stresses the non-functionalist nature of structuration theory. Theories which examine social reproduction on the basis of the needs of the social system incorrectly impart teleology on the social system. Thus, Parsonian sociology or marxism (following Althusser or Poulantzas) view the reproduction of society as occurring "'behind the backs' of the agents whose conduct constitutes that society" (Giddens, 1979, 112). Giddens (1979) offers an example of the industrial reserve army in capitalism to illustrate how marxist explanations of

the phenomenon tend to follow functionalism. Thus, according to Giddens (1979, 112):

> all social reproduction occurs in the context of 'mixes' of intended and unintended consequences of action; *every* feature of whatever continuity a society has over time derives from such 'mixes', against a backdrop of bounded conditions of rationalisation of conduct.

This same reasoning is also to be applied to the analysis of institutions. There is no need to resort to a functionalist explanation to understand institutions, for as Giddens (1979, 113) clearly states:

> not even the most deeply sedimented institutional features of societies come about because societies need them to do so. The come about *historically*, as a result of concrete conditions that have in every case to be directly analysed; the same holds for their persistence.

This conception of social reproduction does not exclude questions concerning 'what *has to* happen for given features of a social system to come about/persist/be altered.' Thus, the proposition that: 'In order to persist in a relatively stable form, the capitalist economy has to maintain a certain overall level of profit' is valid if the "has to" is seen as identifying conditions that must be met for a certain outcome to be obtained.

> The 'has to' is not a property or 'need' of the system, and has no explanatory force--*unless* actors within the system get to know about the conditions in question and actively incorporate them in a process of reflexive self-regulation of system reproduction (Giddens, 1979, 114).

Reproduction in structuration theory is synonymous with change. Reproduction does not imply replication,

rather "any and every change in a social system logically implicates the totality and thus implies structural modification, however minor or trivial this may be" (Giddens, 1979, 114). This change occurs through the structuration of social systems across time-space.

The remarkable continuity that exists in society occurs because of the routinisation of day-to-day activities. Routinisation refers to the taken-for-granted character of day-to-day interaction. Giddens (1979, 216-222) develops this concept through an analysis of tradition, yet avoids any notion of functionalist explanation in understanding the routinisation of day-to-day activities. Thus:

> ...the most deeply sedimented elements of social conduct are cognitively (not necessarily consciously, in the sense of 'discursive ability') established, rather than founded on the definite 'motives' prompting action; their continuity is assured through social reproduction itself (Giddens, 1979, 218).

In this way, social reproduction handles both the evolutionary and continuous nature of society.

4. Time-space relations

Giddens (1979, 1981) demonstrates the importance that time-space relations play, via the duality of structure, in the structuration of society. First, he refutes the traditional distinction between synchrony and

diachrony that appears in social research. Second, time is examined as consisting of different layers of temporality. Third, he develops the concept of *locale* and the importance of *presence availability*.

The concept of time occurs in three levels. First, the *duree* refers to "the immediate nexus of interaction as contingently 'brought off' by social actors, the most elemental form of social reproduction" (Giddens, 1981, 28). The second layer of temporality is the *dasein*. This refers to the biologic life of the living human organism, "the contingency of life in the face of death" (Giddens, 1981, 28). The third conception of time is the *longue duree*. This concept refers to "the long-term reproduction of *institutions* across the generations, the contingency of the transformation/mediation relations implicated in structural principles of system organisation" (Giddens, 1981, 28). The duality of structure allows for the binding of the day-to-day reproduction of the *duree* to the *longue duree* of institutions and structural principles.

Giddens regards space in equal importance to time in social interaction. The concept of the *locale* refers to the:

> ...physical settings associated with the 'typical interactions' composing...collectivities as social systems...The locales of collectivities are integrally involved with the structural constitution of social systems, since common awareness of properties of the setting of interaction is a vital element in the sustaining of meaningful communication between actors (Giddens, 1981, 39).

The scale of the locale ranges from the dwelling to the small community to nation-states. Locale is very closely tied to the idea of presence availability.

> The 'small' community can be defined as one in which there is characteristically only a short distance in the time-space 'meshing' of interaction. The interactions constituting the social system are 'close' in both time and space: the presence of others is readily *available* on a direct face-to-face basis. Locales are *regionalised* on a time-space basis. By 'regions' within locales I mean aspects of the settings which are normatively implicated in systems of interaction, such that they are in some way 'set apart', for certain individuals, or types of individuals, or for certain activities or types of activities (Giddens, 1981, 39-40).

The regionalisation of locales is closely associated with the *duree* of interaction as the most elemental form of social reproduction. Additionally, "the regionalisation of locales is important in the concealment or visibility of social practices, a phenomenon of no small significance for the analysis of power relations" (Giddens, 1981, 41).

CHAPTER THREE

A THEORY OF THE STRUCTURATION OF URBAN SPACE

The task in this chapter is to employ structuration theory to develop a theory for the structuration of *urban* space. Before this may be realized, some preliminary work must be done. First, the reading of Giddens presented in the last chapter must be recast to form an integrated model of structuration since Giddens (1976, 1979, 1981) has not attempted to tie together the concepts of structuration theory. The second section demonstrates how the structure and agency dualism is avoided in the application of structuration theory through the concept of *bracketing*. The third section develops a model to understand the structuration of urban space in general, with the eventual goal being the application of this model in an analysis of the mental health ghetto. The way in which this last task is to be accomplished forms the final section of this chapter where the research agenda for the analysis of the mental health ghetto in Hamilton is presented.

3.1. A MODEL OF STRUCTURATION

The reading of Giddens (chapter two) distilled the major themes of structuration theory in order to clarify the main concepts supporting a structurationist understanding of society. The aim here is to build upon this clarification of structuration theory by recasting the major themes into a model of structuration (figure 3.1) that develops these themes into an integrated framework for understanding society.

In this model, the three "levels" of separation that Giddens outlines--agency, system and structure--are maintained, but also integrated. Agency, in this model, reflects both the dialectic of control and the stratification model of action. Giddens argues that power is a central aspect of all human interaction, and from this develops the notion of the dialectic of control. The dialectic of control is the primary force mediating the interaction between individual agents (represented by the bi-directional arrows in figure 3.1). Control in social interaction is not simply uni-directional in nature. All actors maintain some degree of control within social interaction, although the power relations may be extremely asymmetrical. This is particularly important when considering direct forms of domination. Political and economic domination involves exercising power via the rules

A MODEL OF STRUCTURATION

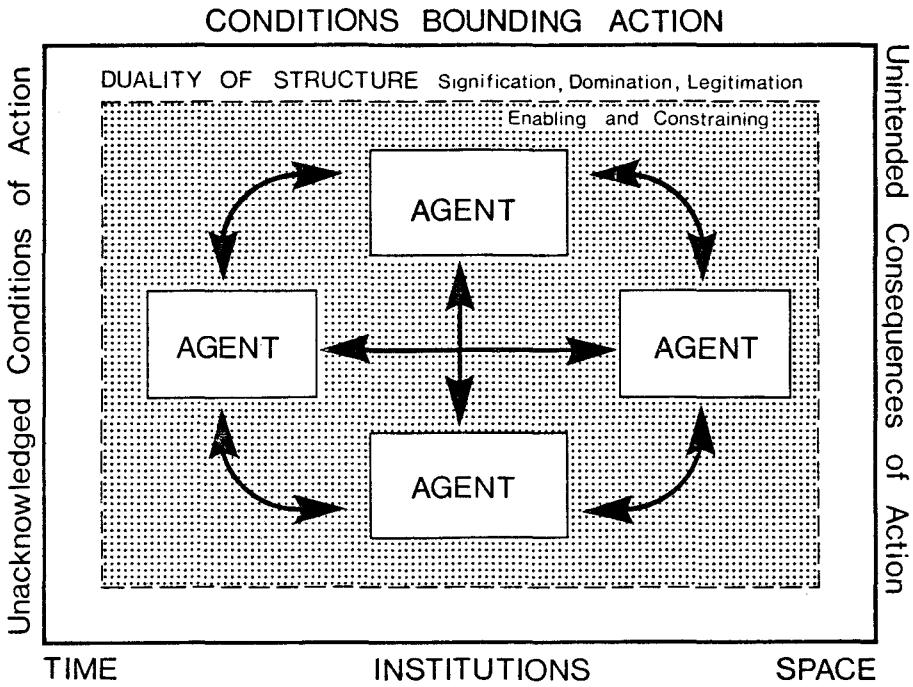


Figure 3.1

and resources of authoritative and allocative institutions to influence the actions of agents. The ability of agents to understand social relations as *discursive knowledge* plays an important role in the dialectic of control. The greater the knowledge the agent has concerning the reproduction of society and the relations within that society, the greater is his/her ability to engage effectively in interaction. In other words, the greater the ability of the agent to understand in a discursive way the continuing social reproduction, the more power s/he will be able to exercise within the dialectic of control. Thus, some agents may be able to combine political or economic power and discursive knowledge to create an even greater asymmetry in relations, or the effective use of discursive knowledge by an individual with less power may have the effect of reducing those asymmetries.

The social system is depicted as presenting conditions bounding action. These include the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of action, institutions, time and space. The unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of action are the most direct way that the social system bounds individual action, for these reflect the social system into the stratification model of action. Institutions at the level of system refer to phenomenal forms of the structural principles of the system. This is not to argue that

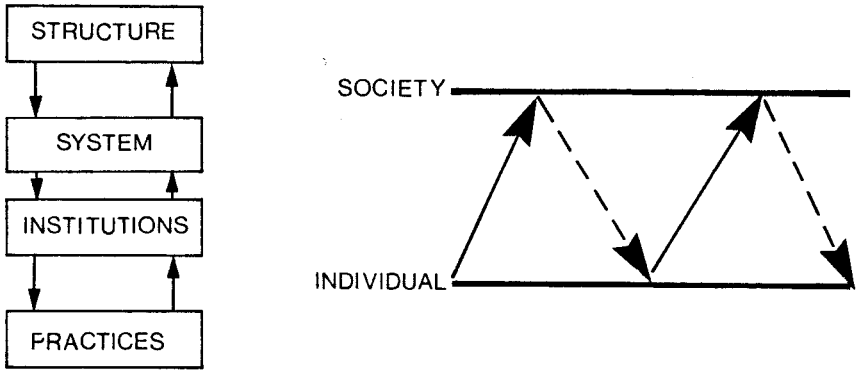
institutions directly correspond to these principles; rather, these structural principles achieve their "enduring and inclusive" nature through various institutions in society whose "actions" manifest these structural principles in time and space. Time bounds action in three ways following the concepts of *dasein*, *duree* and *longue duree*. The *dasein* bounds the action of the individual agent (i.e. at death, the agent ceases to act); the *duree* bounds action on the basis of the immediacy of interaction; and the *longue duree* bounds action in the way in which the reproduction of the system presents various opportunities that influence the agent's action. Space bounds action through the notion of the locale--the physical settings associated with typical interactions. As social interaction occurs in space, the locale provides various opportunities for and constraints upon action.

Structure is represented in the model as the "medium and outcome" of social interaction. The portrayal of structure in the model is to emphasize that it is the duality of structure which binds social system to agency. The structural properties are implicated in the social system through institutions and agent interaction via the structures that are universal to agent interaction. Structure in this model reflects the medium and outcome of interaction by being posited as an *intrastructure* in relation to both the social system and agency. This is not

to claim that these structures have a phenomenal form; they most certainly do not. Rather the structure acts as the mediating device which provides the rules that characterize the social system and thereby enable various forms of action; and in performing these acts, agents reproduce these structures and the social system (recall that reproduction implies change).

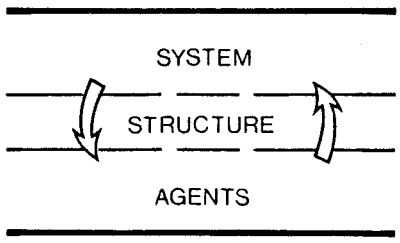
It should be noted that this portrayal of structure is very different from the portrayals by both Gregory (1981) and Thrift (1983a) (see figure 3.2). Gregory's graphical depiction of structuration contains no notion of structure; whereas Thrift's diagrammatic representation portrays structure as a *suprastructure* in relation to both the social system and agency. Gregory (1982a) in an attempt at including structure in structurationist explanation has also developed structure along the same lines as Thrift. A clarification of the concept of structure in structuration theory is fundamental because it is these differing conceptions of structure that lie at the heart of the problem of determination in structuration theory.

The implications of this intrastructure conception is that this model contains no notion of determination. As Sayer (1983, 109) noted, a benefit of Giddens' theory was that it resolved the structure and agency problem, "and the unsatisfactory poles of determinism and voluntarism." The determination scheme implicit in Pred's work is ultimately



(a) (b)

Diagrammatic representation of structuration (a) from Thrift (1983a) views structure as supra to both the system and agency. (b) from Gregory (1981) portrays society and individual but there is no indication of structure. (c) Follows my conception of an intra-structure which characterizes the relationship between agency and system.



(c)

FIGURE 3.2

voluntarist because primacy is accorded to the time-space path traced by an individual. The implication of this is that social interaction "in the last instance" is explained by the desires of the individual to trace out a particular path. A similar line of reasoning demonstrates how Thrift's attempt to attach structuration theory to an historical materialist framework and Gregory's conjoining of Giddens to Bhaskar's transcendental realism are ultimately determinist. The determination in this sense accords primacy to structure, and "in the last instance" it is these structures that determine social outcomes. Thrift (1983b) is sensitive to this problem in his concern for the "contextual dimension" as well as compositional questions, but his two works (1983a, 1983b) treat these questions separately and point toward a dualism rather than an integration of structure and agency.

This dualism and the problem of "the last instance" are both avoided here by abandoning the concept of determination altogether. This removal of determination from structurationist explanation follows CW Smith's (1983) understanding of the relationship between human agency (intentionality), social structure (practices) and socially defined context where:

> in the complex interplay of intentions, contexts and practices there exists *no set pattern of dominance*: the intentionality of actors may dominate, the socially defined context may dominate or established practices may dominate (CW Smith, 1983, 6; emphasis added).

This implies that individuals retain the characteristics that enable them to alter the social system, at the same time acknowledging that the socialization of individuals through living in a social system is of crucial importance; and that this can not be discerned outside a socially defined context. Furthermore, structures, although ontologically real, are not accorded primacy since they reflect the structural properties that are embedded in the *longue duree* of social reproduction. Structures only exist in the way in which agents draw upon and reproduce them in interaction.

The absence of determination carries consequences for empirical research as well. The lack of determination leads to a less "tidy" package with which to study society; structurationist explanations must balance both system and agency in practice and not accord *a priori* primacy to one or the other. This is well demonstrated by Thrift (1981) in a study that considers the changing social relations surrounding the development of capitalist time consciousness over a 580-year span *without the notion of determination*. This study captures the richness and complexity of the problem by examining both the changing social conditions of the period and the role of human agency in the development of a capitalist time consciousness. Thrift's study successfully demonstrates the utility of employing structuration theory's unique--because of the lack

of determination--interpretative schema in social research.

3.2. BRACKETING: INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS AND STRATEGIC CONDUCT

The lack of determination calls for a distinct structurationist method of analytically separating agent and system in research. The primary concern is to avoid creating in analysis the dualism that Giddens so artfully avoids in developing the theory. An analysis guided by structuration theory must avoid two main pitfalls. First, the analysis must remain true to the theory and not accord a priori primacy to either system or agent in explanation. This avoids making one component the passive receptor of the actions of the other. It is imperative that agency and system be accorded equal ontological importance in the production and reproduction of society; and that this be a concern not only in theory but also in practice. Second, the analysis must pay primary attention to the interaction of agent and system. This means that a structurationist account is not simply the blending together of two separate analyses, one at the level of the system and the other at the level of the individual. The analysis must be integrated to capture the essence of the duality of structure.

The obvious problem is the tendency to separate system and agency analysis in application. Giddens (1979,

80-81) introduces the notion of *bracketing* to overcome this dilemma. Bracketing is simply a way to focus on one level of analysis without forsaking the other. In other words, bracketing provides a way of applying structuration theory without succumbing to either of the problems just outlined. First, the notion of bracketing in no way places agent or system in a superior position in analysis. Second, this method of studying either the social system or human agency necessarily integrates both areas of concern even though the focus may be on one or the other.

An analysis focusing at the level of the social *system* is primarily concerned with understanding how *institutions* affect society. However, this does not involve dismissing the agent as unimportant. Agents are a key to the analysis for institutional components are directly affected by the actions of the individuals who reproduce them. As an example of this, consider the state as an institution. An analysis of the actions of the state cannot ignore the individuals who make up the state apparatus. The intentions, motives, reasonings and other aspects of agency have a distinct impact on how the state affects society as an institution. An analysis of institutions that does not consider the agency aspect incorrectly portrays institutions as autonomous wholes outside the grasp of human influence. It is granted that institutions, by definition, exist in a time-space that is

greater than the lives of those who comprise them, yet this fact alone does not provide criteria for employing an institutional analysis that ignores the necessary and important role of agency in the reproduction of the social system.

These same concerns exist when conducting an analysis focusing on *agency*. An analysis of *strategic conduct* is concerned with how individuals draw upon the structural elements (reproduced rules and resources) in social interaction. In this way the components of the social system are seen as integral to developing an explanation which focuses on the actions of individuals. This view separates structurationist explanation from phenomenological analysis. Institutions are not the aim of analysis, but become relevant in the explanatory framework since individual action does not occur in a vacuum. The rules and resources of the social system both enable and constrain action and for this reason can not be dismissed as unimportant in the explanation. Returning to the example of the state will help illustrate this point. The state as an institution embodies specific rules and resources that the individual agent can draw upon when engaging in interaction with another agent. The dialectic of control present in the interaction of these agents very definitely reflects the bounded conditions within the state. An analysis which does not consider this fails in its ability to provide a

comprehensive picture of agency. These illustrations of bracketing become important in the succeeding section where a theory for the structuration of urban space is developed.

3.3. A MODEL OF THE STRUCTURATION OF URBAN SPACE

The model (figure 3.3) applies structuration theory to the development of a framework for understanding the structuration of urban phenomena. The conditions preceding action may either be acknowledged or unacknowledged by the actors involved. In either case, these preconditions to action both constrain and enable human agency. The relations between the various agents are characterized by the dialectic of control in interaction. The actors relate to the institutions involved via the duality of structure. This enables an understanding that considers both agency effects on institutions and institutional effects on agents. The constant interaction between agents and institutions yields outcomes which may either be intended, unintended or a combination. These outcomes of interaction set the stage for the entire process to be seen as ongoing within the *longue duree* of social reproduction, for the outcomes from interaction form the preconditions for action in the next *duree* of interaction.

The model is specifically intended for the analysis of the structuration of urban space. The agents and

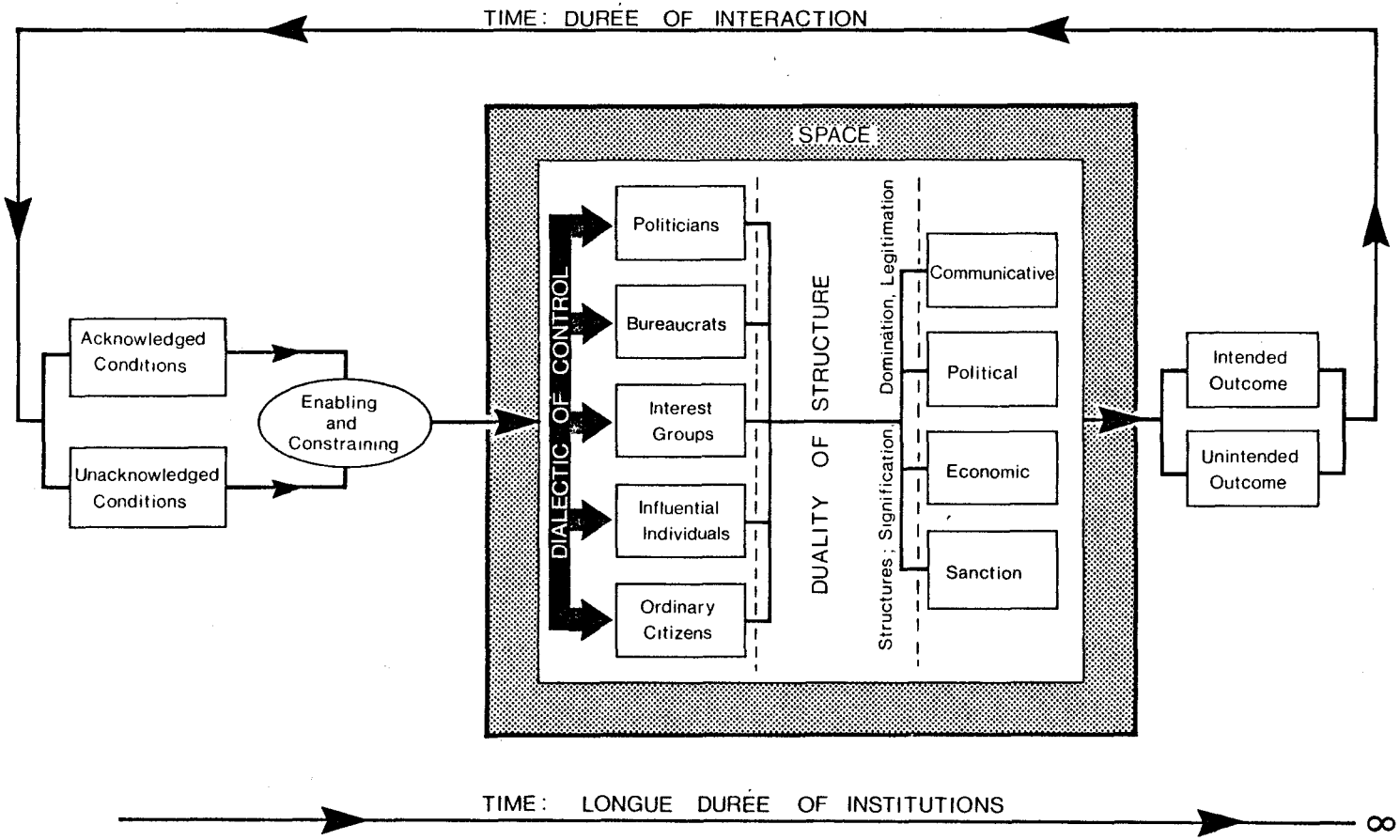


FIGURE 3.3. A MODEL OF THE STRUCTURATION OF URBAN SPACE

institutions represented in the model are geared toward an understanding of urban phenomena and are not meant to convey a notion of applicability to all social phenomena. The categories of agents and institutions in this model (figure 3.3) follow the Weberian conception of *ideal types* (see Saunders, 1981, 25-35; Giddens, 1971, 141-144). These categories reflect both existing empirical knowledge of the urban arena and the theory of structuration. In this manner, the categories "involve the logical extension of certain aspects of reality [and theory] into a pure, artificial yet logically possible type against which existing phenomena can be measured and compared" (Saunders, 1981, 28). Thus, the *agent* categories in the model are ideal types based on the relations of actors in the urban built environment and the dialectic of control. A similar argument also clarifies the institutional categories. The *institutions* embody both an empirical consideration of actual institutional forms and the categories of institutional analysis that Giddens develops in his theory of structuration (see pages 30-31 above). In both cases--agents and institutions--these ideal types are only a means to analysis and not an end in themselves. The following two sections detail these ideal type conceptions of both agents and institutions in the urban built environment. The discussion of agency prior to institutions follows figure 3.3 which has agents on the left and

institutions on the right; however, the presentation in no way implies that the analysis of strategic conduct of agents is of greater importance than institutional analysis.

3.3.1. Strategic conduct

The agents in the model are seen to be of five types. The first group are those individuals who are elected to public office (*politicians*). The second group consists of those in the government bureaucracy or quasi-governmental organizations (*bureaucrats*). The third, *interest groups*, may be considered to be an agent because, in the structuration of urban space, a common concern tends to bond individuals together and they speak with one voice. The fourth group, *influential individuals*, characterizes those whose status in the community--such as wealthy individuals, entertainers, former politicians, athletes, etc.--gives them a greater degree of power than individuals lacking any particular status. The final category of agent is the *ordinary citizen*. This refers to the remainder of agents who are not affiliated with an interest group and lack the status of the influential individual, but are a part of the structuration of urban space. It must be emphasized, however, that the distinction between influential individual and ordinary citizen is not a permanent one and that individuals do

indeed move between these categories.

In relation to the model, an assessment needs to be made of how these various agents interact and command power within the dialectic of control. For each category of agent, the dialectic of control mediates the relations within these groups as well as between the five groups. For the present moment, however, this discussion focuses on the dialectic of control in inter-group relations. The first group of agents involves elected officials (politicians). This group is very powerful within the dialectic of control in two ways. First, these agents have the ability to control resources and laws in the urban built environment. This status as the ultimate decision maker in the urban arena puts these agents as the major controlling force in political relations. This does not imply that decisions are made in a vacuum, quite the contrary is true--final decision-making authority rests with those in government. Second, these agents generally have far greater knowledge of the situation in the urban arena than most other actors simply by the nature of their jobs. This does not mean that in all areas of concern that politicians have superior discursive knowledge; only in a general sense is this so. Other actors with interests tied to specific concerns may indeed possess greater discursive ability on an isolated topic, but like most special interests tend to be blinkered to the overall picture.

Bureaucrats have less power than politicians, but still retain a high degree of control. This power is realized in three ways. First, bureaucrats generally have higher technical expertise than politicians. This enables the bureaucrats to have a definite input into the decision-making process. In some cases, this technical expertise can give the bureaucrat the upper hand in a relationship with a politician. This technical superiority leads into the second area where the bureaucrat exercises influence in the dialectic of control, and that is in the writing of legislation. A committee of politicians make recommendations for a by-law, yet the actual writing of the by-law rests not with the politicians, but with the bureaucrats. Thus, the way in which the bureaucrat deals with the politician's recommendations can affect the way in which the policy affects the urban built environment. The third area of control concerns the differing mandates for politicians and bureaucrats. The mandate for the politician comes from the electorate, whereas the bureaucrat is shielded from any such review. This is at once both a source of weakness and strength. The lack of a popular mandate hinders the bureaucrat since s/he can not employ it to alter the power relations between politicians and her/himself. It is a source of strength, however, since bureaucrats may pursue a course of action that is deemed necessary although not popular with the electorate, and they

are shielded, in most cases, from any reactions.

A third group in the dialectic of control is interest groups. A set of common concerns shared by members of an interest group serves as a means of mobilizing a great number of people around a specific cause. This gives the interest group a good deal of power in the dialectic of control. This means that within the dialectic of control politicians, bureaucrats and interest groups come together in an attempt to arrive at a mutually agreeable solution. However, the power of the interest group is limited, and the possibility always exists where the politicians and bureaucrats can ignore the demands of the interest group and continue along the path they choose to follow. This could lead to two outcomes. First, this use of power may lead to future difficulties as the politician may become the target of a negative campaign run by an interest group to keep him/her from being re-elected. Second, the courts exist as another venue where the interest group may try to exercise its strength. Thus, decisions made by politicians and bureaucrats do not occur via a *carte blanche* as the interest group can command some degree of power within the dialectic of control.

A fourth group of agents is the influential individual. The basis of power for the influential individual may vary--the charismatic athlete or entertainer with a highly recognizable name, the retired politician with

easier access to government, or the wealthy person with vast amounts of money. In each case, the status of the influential individual very often makes his/her actions legitimate, and enables this agent to mobilize a great number of people and/or resources. The way in which these individuals mobilize people and resources may take several different forms. An influential individual may use his/her power for social activism or personal gain *and this can not be specified a priori*. The point is not which way these individuals will attempt to influence decisions, but that their status gives them greater power and legitimacy in the dialectic of control than individuals who lack these qualities.

The final category of agent is the "ordinary" citizen. The amount of power commanded by these agents within the dialectic of control varies and in most cases is not very significant. For this set of agents, the ability to discursively understand society is their main source of power within the dialectic of control. The ordinary citizen lacks the additional sources of power available to the other agents in the model, but this does not make her/him powerless; because when Giddens emphatically states that all agents possess some degree of power in a relationship, he is making more than a trivial statement. Concerned individuals can become very involved in urban questions through their discursive understanding of urban issues. In this way,

these individuals can attract the attention of politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups, influential individuals, and other agents to various problems and concerns.

This discussion of agency relations within the dialectic of control necessarily brackets institutional analysis and its place in the structuration of urban phenomena. The following discussion of institutions requires that the strategic conduct of agents be bracketed.

3.3.2. Institutional analysis

Four aspects of institutional analysis are incorporated into the model (figure 3.3). This is not a classificatory schema of institutions, but a set of categories for elucidating institutions as *modalities of interaction*. These modalities of interaction reflect directly the structural features inherent in all human interaction: signification, domination (authoritative and allocative) and legitimation. Furthermore, these institutional categories are not mutually exclusive since institutions represent a structural sequence (see pages 30-31 above), and it is the primary institutional attribute that is being investigated with the implicit understanding that the other structures are involved. For example, it is difficult to imagine institutional domination without both communicative and sanction characteristics.

The first category concerns institutions primarily affecting the urban built environment through *communicative* actions. The aim here is to understand how institutions affect the urban built environment through a communicative modality of interaction. The second institutional category concerns *political* domination. The focus here is to understand how various institutions engage in authoritative domination. The third direction for institutional analysis involves *economic* domination. Here the analysis focuses on how institutional control of economic resources affects the urban arena. Finally, institutional analysis may focus on *sanction* as a modality of interaction. This involves understanding how institutional activity is legitimated.

There are two ways in which the communicative modality of interaction affects the urban built environment. First, institutions may be considered an *interpretative community*, providing a single, relatively stable code that actors employ when engaging in interaction (Clark and Dear, 1984, 87). This may be considered within the context of the specific languages of various institutions such as government, professional organizations or academia where the language employed affects the interaction of agents. For example, a community-based movement consists of agents all speaking a similar language concerning a governmental action that will affect their neighborhood. Yet, the entrance of

the community movement into the governmental arena brings a "new" language into play that represents the government as an interpretative community. The effectiveness of the community movement depends in part on the ability of the agents in the movement to engage effectively interaction characterized by the language of the government. The style of language employed in these contexts forms the second way in which institutions as a communicative modality of interaction affect urban space. Clark and Dear (1984, 90-91) identify four styles of political language. These styles consider how language is used to engender support (*hortatory language*); to resolve conflicts, yet remain flexible for subsequent interpretations (*legal language*); to serve a particular group and exclude others through the use of jargon (*administrative language*); and to offer a deal as well as an appeal (*bargaining language*). Although these styles of language bring forward the way in which economic or political power and sanction are implicated in the communicative modality of interaction, the goal in this area of analysis is to understand how institutions, via communicative modalities, affect interaction.

A second form of institutional action concerns political domination. The authoritative control of individuals may be understood specifically in cases where some aspect of authoritative control is identifiable, for

example the medical profession and its control over its members and dependent groups. In a more general context, the state as an institution is powerful through its ability to legislate the rules of society. In this way the state provides the power for politicians and bureaucrats to achieve desired goals. This is important in the structuration of urban space since the state can enact policies that may be considered unpopular. The authoritative power of the state enables it to withstand opposition to its actions. This authoritative power over society is limited, however, for at the same time the populace the state controls also contains its mandate for existence. Through political parties or interest groups the populace can exercise some degree of authoritative control over the state. There is another arena where authoritative control enters into the production and reproduction of the urban built environment. The control over certain programs realized at the local level but administered at either the provincial or federal levels of government affects the local level bureaucracy since the directions of a given program may not correspond to how the officials at the urban level want to handle the situation.

A third area for institutional analysis involves the control of economic resources. This affects the urban built environment in four main ways: taxation, finance, land speculation and intra-governmental transfer payments. The

power to tax rests with the state. The state may use this power to encourage or discourage various actions in urban space. Tax incentives are used by the state to encourage investment into a particular area, for example, urban renewal. Conversely, excessive taxes may be imposed to dissuade investment that the state considers to have an overall negative impact. Financial institutions, banks and insurance companies affect the built environment in the way in which they allocate capital. This is important since "red-lining" can affect how investment takes place in urban areas. Land speculation can affect the urban area by creating artificially high land values. This may lead to urban renewal schemes that are outside the direct control and monitoring of the state. Finally, many programs are executed at the urban level but funded at either the provincial or federal level. In this situation the money available for a given program is provided by an agency not directly connected to the urban arena.

The final area of institutional analysis involves the legitimation of institutional action through the sanction modality. Institutions may take action to demonstrate that various activities fall within legitimate social practices. This may involve the press leaking confidential documents on the basis of various rights of freedom of the press and freedom of information act; or the medical institution justifying higher costs and citing

excellence in medical care as the legitimating reason. Other examples could be presented, but the point is that in areas where institutional action is called into question institutions, through the sanction modality, appeal to have their actions legitimated.

3.3.3. Time and space

The two final components of the model to be considered are time and space. Both concepts are important for understanding the structuration of urban form, since both place the urban built environment into its geohistorical context.

The two concepts of the *duree* and *longue duree* are maintained in the model. The *duree* of interaction is manifest in the 'feedback' loop in the model. This model depicts in essence the *duree* of immediate interaction. Yet, this model does not erroneously distinguish between statics and dynamics, for it also incorporates the *longue duree* of interaction. This is accomplished through the recognition of this process as just one interaction in the continuing evolution of the urban built environment through time. Thus, while the model graphically illustrates the *duree* of interaction it also binds this process to the *longue duree*.

Space as the setting for interaction bears certain

affinities to Soja's (1980) socio-spatial dialectic, but here it is articulated within the language and concepts of structuration theory and can be developed along two lines of thought. First, urban space contains the built environment which is continually evolving, yet at the same time remarkably stable. If viewed from the joint ideas of reproduction and routinisation of social life, the stability of the urban form lends stability to the social form. As the urban form evolves, it not only reflects the changing social form, but also affects it by changing the setting for interaction. Second, urban space reflects the idea of regionalized locales. Within an urban system, several settings of interaction (such as communities) occur throughout. This affects interaction via the idea of time-space distanciation and presence availability (see pages 38-39 above). The combining of these two aspects of space lend insight in the effort to understand the relationship between social relations and spatial form.

3.4. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH AGENDA

In the next chapter, a methodology for both institutional analysis and an analysis of strategic conduct are developed and employed in an analytical account of the ghettoization of the mentally ill and the attempt by the city of Hamilton to control the ghetto.

The mental health ghetto may be understood as an unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy. Upon the release of the patients from the hospital, other dispositions of these patients were possible, yet the ghetto is the urban form that resulted. The first task in what follows is to reinterpret the deinstitutionalization literature through the framework developed in this chapter. The second task involves a reinterpretation of the public city literature in an effort to transcend the barriers which separate the various theoretical accounts. The result is a clearer explanation of the combination of circumstances that produced the unanticipated ghettoization of the ex-patients. Institutional analysis is used to understand the ghettoization as the result of various institutional actions which were involved in the political and economic control of the mentally ill.

The second part of the empirical analysis involves an investigation into the effort by the city of Hamilton to deal with the problem of the ghetto. The analysis focuses on the policy-making process and is conducted at the level of strategic conduct. This gives particular insight into how the dialectic of control between various agents became manifest in the city's attempt to dismantle the ghetto.

The fulfilment of these tasks requires the development of new methodologies for both the analysis of strategic conduct and the institutional analysis. For the

institutional analysis the sources of information are the secondary sources which examined both deinstitutionalization policy and the public city. For the analysis of strategic conduct the primary sources of information are studies by several municipal, regional and provincial agencies and the correspondence files compiled by Alderman Brian Hinkley for the entire policy-making process. The reports, correspondence and committee meeting minutes contained in this data set permitted an in-depth understanding of how the city developed a policy to control and eventually dismantle the ghetto.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURATION OF THE EX-PSYCHIATRIC PATIENT GHETTO

This chapter provides an empirical investigation of the ghettoization of the mentally ill in Hamilton. This builds upon the previous chapter by developing methodologies for an analysis both of institutions and of strategic conduct. These methodologies are then employed to understand (1) the ghettoization of the mentally ill from an institutional perspective, paying particular attention to the actions of institutions following the implementation of deinstitutionalization policy; and (2) the attempt by the Hamilton city council to relieve the pressures that led to the ghettoization through strategic conduct. However, before either stage of the empirical analysis is undertaken, a brief examination of levels of analysis in structuration theory will provide the initial methodological basis for study.

4.1. LEVELS OF ANALYSIS IN STRUCTURATION THEORY

The movement from theory to practice involves an understanding of the relationship between various 'levels'

of explanation (*cf.* Duncan, 1981; Gibson and Horvath, 1983, on levels of abstraction in marxist analysis). The schema that guides the analysis is depicted in figure 4.1. This separation of levels indicates the various ways in which structuration theory may be applied in analysis. The lowest level is *events*. These are the actual empirical occurrences which are the focus for action by both agents and institutions. Magnitude is unimportant here, for an event is equally the act of salting food as it is the response by financial institutions to an economic crisis. The event is the actual empirical happening that results from the production and reproduction of social life through the interaction of agents and institutions.

These events may be analyzed in two ways, each representing a different level of analytical 'abstraction.' First, events may be considered by examining the relationship between agents and institutions in the production of social reality (level 1). These are *contextual* questions and involve a concern with identifying the agents involved in a particular event and the interaction these agents engage in amongst themselves and their interaction with institutions. At this level, events may also be analyzed by considering how various institutions are involved in the structuring of social reality. In either case, the analysis should not become polarized into a dualistic representation of agency and

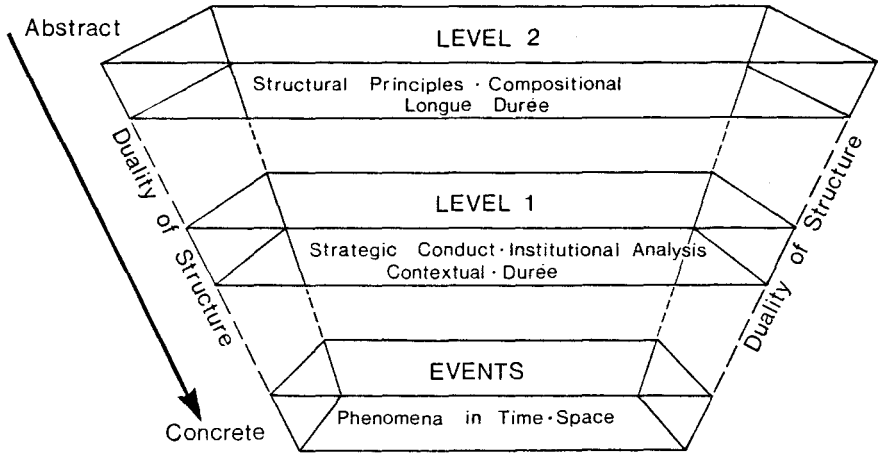


FIGURE 4.1 Levels of Analysis in Structuration Theory

institutions, but instead draw out the dialectical relation that characterizes agency/institution interaction.

Second, events may be analyzed at a higher level by considering the structural properties that affect agency and institutions in interaction (level 2). These are *compositional* questions that may be considered through an examination of the structural properties of the social system embedded in the *longue duree* of social reproduction. At this level, the analysis focuses on the abstract structural properties that both enable and constrain human actions. Thus, the concern is not with particular agents or institutions, but with those embedded characteristics of the *longue duree* that are drawn upon and reconstituted in everyday practice.

Structure enters into this schema through the duality of structure. The structures of signification, domination (authoritative and allocative) and legitimation are the basis for interaction at both levels of analysis. The duality of structure enables a binding of both the contextual (level 1) and compositional (level 2) analyses. Just as the duality of structure enables a transcending of the agency/institution dualism so does it also enable a transcending of the context/composition dualism. As the medium and outcome of all interaction, these structures are necessarily implicated in a dialectical understanding of the relationship between levels 1 and 2; and, between the

agent/institution characterization at levels 1 and 2. In other words, the duality of structure not only binds institutions and agency (at levels 1 and 2), but also context and composition.

The implications of this conception of levels involve an extension of the bracketing concept. In the explanation of empirical events, it is simply not possible to consider contextual and compositional questions simultaneously. Rather, analysis must bracket context when focusing on composition, and vice versa, without the analysis creating a dualism that leads to the forsaking of one for the other. In the sections that follow, the analysis is concerned with the contextual question of how particular actors and institutions were involved in the production and reproduction of Hamilton's mental health ghetto. Thus, the analysis focuses on level 1 to explain the events surrounding the ghettoization of the mentally ill, and brackets level 2 in explaining level 1 action.

4.2. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS: THE CREATION OF THE GHETTO

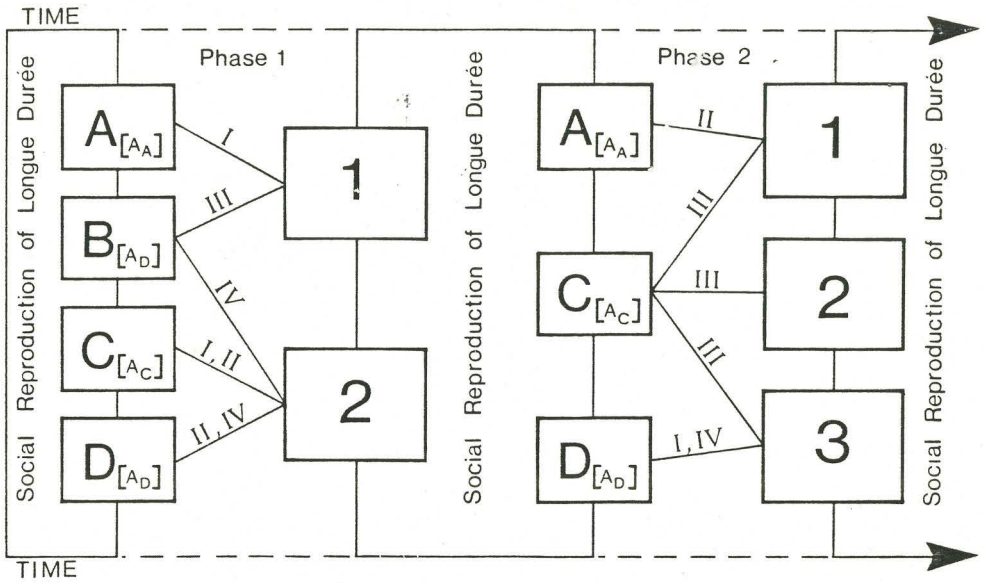
This section develops an explanation for deinstitutionalization policy and the ghettoization of the mentally ill. In each case, this requires a reinterpretation of the arguments presented in chapter two through the application of a methodology that follows the

theoretical development in chapter three. A methodology for institutional analysis is developed in the next section.

4.2.1. A methodology for institutional analysis

The primary goal of institutional analysis is to understand how institutions affect interaction. This involves an analysis of how the four modalities of interaction--communicative, political, economic and sanction--become manifest in various institutions. This must be accomplished by considering first the relationship between institutions and the reproduction of the *longue duree* of which they are a part; and second, the relationship between institutions and individuals. Figure 4.2 is an heuristic device for institutional analysis, bracketing both the reproduction of the *longue duree* and the strategic conduct of individual actors.

The bracketing of agents in institutional analysis is represented in figure 4.2 as the relationship between institutions (A,B,C...) and the agents who make up that institution ($[A_a]$, $[A_b]$,...). The model also portrays institutions and the outcomes of institutional action (1,2,3...) as embedded in the reproduction of the *longue duree*. The *longue duree* provides both the pre-conditions for understanding institutional action and is the setting whereby institutional outcomes become manifest.



A B.C D represents INSTITUTIONS

I.II III IV represents COMMUNICATIVE, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC and SANCTION MODALITIES OF INTERACTION

1, 2, 3 represents OUTCOMES from INSTITUTIONAL ACTION

$[A_A.A_B]$ Bracketed Agents in Analysis

FIGURE 4.2 A Methodology for Institutional Analysis.

Thus, there is a direct link between institutions and outcomes, but not between the results of action and institutions. This is the result of the realization that more aspects of the *longue duree* may affect institutions than merely the directly preceding outcomes. The dashed lines connecting the three blocks of the *longue duree* indicate that institutional action is fully embedded within it at all times.

The separations of the *longue duree* are an analytical convenience in the sense that this is an historical model. There really is no beginning and no end to institutional action, merely a continuing evolution through time-space. For analysis, the separation represents an attempt at distilling the important components of institutional analysis surrounding particular empirical phenomena.

The uncovering of institutional action within structuration theory involves understanding the modalities of interaction that the institution characterizes in action. These may be communicative (I), political (II), economic (III) or sanction (IV). Institutional action may involve a combination of these modalities, or a combination of institutions may be involved in the production of one outcome.

Institutions are not autonomous wholes, and the notion of institutional action is meaningless unless it is

understood that it is the individuals associated with the institutions who act. It is the nature of institutions, by definition, that gives this action special significance since institutions are recognized by the members of society. To the members of society, it appears that institutions act. Thus, analysis may discuss the actions of the state, but in reality what is being uncovered is the effect that the actions by individuals within the institutional context of the state have on society.

This clarification of institutional "action" is important for two reasons. First, the analysis of spatial relations may be considered in an institutional context. Spatial form reflects the relations of actors in the reproduction of the *longue duree*. In this way, the built environment qualifies as an institution according to the definition given in chapter two (page 30). This is not to imply that space is engaged in action (just as the state does not act), rather that an analysis of how individuals relate via an institutional context represented by the built environment is justified. The second reason for the clarification of institutional action is that the methodology presented here does not portray institutions acting in a similar manner to individuals, but is concerned to understand the effects of institutional outcomes on society.

This methodology is employed as an heuristic device

to examine deinstitutionalization policy and the subsequent development of the mental health ghetto. In both cases, the focus is on the institution and the way in which the outcomes of institutional action affected the production of deinstitutionalization policy and the ghetto. This is accomplished by bracketing, thereby including both the conditions of the *longue duree* and the strategic conduct of actors in the analysis.

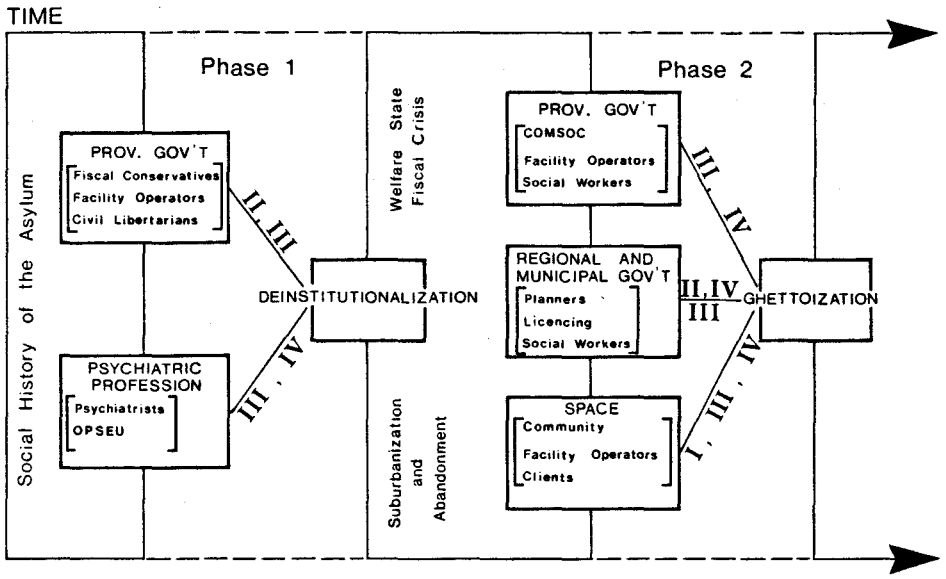
4.2.2. A reinvestigation of deinstitutionalization policy

In chapter two, deinstitutionalization policy was portrayed as a policy that was too ambitious and ill-prepared. The policy succeeded in the massive discharge of psychiatric patients, but failed to provide an adequate system of aftercare. An institutional analysis of this process must consider both the provincial government and the psychiatric profession as the primary institutions which were responsible for the policy through both political and economic modalities of interaction. Additionally, an examination needs to be made to assess how institutional action surrounding deinstitutionalization policy was legitimated, via the sanction modality, to the point where a system of community mental health care was considered to be a natural partner to the discharge program. Finally, the analysis involves a consideration of the problems of

communication between the different interpretative communities that were involved in the push for deinstitutionalization.

A major condition that affected deinstitutionalization policy within the *longue duree* was the social history of the asylum (figure 4.3). The history of the asylum reflects the history of the state exercise of political control over the mentally ill (Foucault, 1973, 1977; Dear and Taylor, 1982; Lemieux, 1977; Allodi and Kedward, 1977). Except for some brief attempts to develop alternatives, the role of the mental institution has been the custodial care and isolation of the mentally ill (Bloom, 1973; Allodi and Kedward, 1977). This role of the institution reflected the way in which the state exercised its authoritative control through incarceration.

The 1950's were a decade of advancement in the treatment of mental illness. New psychosocial technologies and psychoactive drugs heralded a new era with increasing promise for care. This pointed toward a new definition of treatment for the mentally ill, directed toward prevention and cure rather than simple custodial treatment. The new psychosocial methods of treatment meant that mental health care could be expanded to serve a broader segment of the population. These advances in treatment and shifting focus of care meant that a new type of mental health facility was needed (Tynhurst *et al.*, 1963). The traditional



I, II, III, IV represents COMMUNICATIVE, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC and SANCTION MODALITIES of INTERACTION

FIGURE 4.3 An Institutional Analysis of Ghetto Formation.

institutions carried a social stigma that would exclude many who could benefit from the use of psychiatric services (Klerman, 1977). In Ontario, this led to the development of psychiatric units within general hospitals and a restructuring of the mental hospital to provide treatment of mental illness in the same sense that a general hospital provides treatment for physical ailments (Sylph, Eastwood and Kedward, 1976).

This new agenda was devised without consideration of the chronic patient who remained a problem. The behavior of this type of patient could be controlled through the administration of psychoactive drugs. Further hospitalization of the chronic patient was a detriment for this redefined role of the mental hospital since it was providing merely a custodial service and the patients were a drain on hospital resources. The patient was not benefitting because the custodial treatment of the back ward did not reflect the shifting focus of mental health care. The province of Ontario responded to this problem with measures that enabled the release of all but the most severely disabled persons. .The patients were discharged to community facilities governed by the Homes for Special Care Act. These homes were not community mental health facilities that would have provided treatment in a community setting. The purpose of these homes was to continue the custodial care, albeit in a community setting, that the

mental hospital had provided previously (Allodi and Kedward, 1973).

The institutional analysis of deinstitutionalization policy involves two levels of bracketing in order to understand how the provincial government and the psychiatric profession were the institutions involved in the discharge program. The first level of bracketing involves the social history of mental health care and its place in the structuring of institutional outcomes. The second area of bracketing involves the agents who played a key role in the development of deinstitutionalization policy--specfically, the paradoxical coalition of psychiatrists, civil libertarians and fiscal conservatives. The analysis explicates the modalities of interaction implicated in the institutional analysis (figure 4.3, phase I).

The asymmetrical power relationship between the province and the mentally ill had two main implications for deinstitutionalization policy that may best be understood within the political modality of interaction. First, deinstitutionalization policy was not written with the improvement of the care of the chronic patient in mind. The policy did not provide for community mental health centers nor was there any comprehensive plan for follow-up care (Schoonover and Bassuk, 1983). In essence, the province denied adequate psychiatric care to those dependent upon the province to provide it. Second, deinstitutionalization

allowed the government to remove the patient label from the individual. Patients upon release entered non-medical facilities and were restored legally as persons. If this indicated that the individual had indeed been cured, this reclassification would be welcomed and necessary. Yet, this reflected merely an accounting move by the province. By removing the patient label, the province removed the ability of the mentally ill individual to be returned easily to the hospital; thus insuring that his/her custodial care would take place outside the hospital (Sylph, Eastwood and Kedward, 1976).

The net effect of these two aspects of the asymmetrical political relationship was to facilitate the restructuring of the mental hospital by shifting the location of custodial care from the mental hospital to community facilities. These facilities fell under the jurisdiction of the Homes for Special Care Act. The level of care was determined by the ability of the facility operator to provide the custodial service. The operator was to arrange for regular visits by a physician who was normally a general practitioner charged with administering psychiatric as well as physical care. The official follow-up "care" rested with a field worker who was generally burdened with an excessive load of paperwork and clients (Sylph, Eastwood and Kedward, 1976).

In addition to the restructuring of the mental

hospital, fiscal conservatives within the province played a part in pushing for deinstitutionalization. First, this policy move enabled a shift in primary financial responsibility for the care of these individuals to the other levels and 'branches' (COMSOC, welfare rolls, etc.) of government (Dear, Clark and Clark, 1979; Lemieux, 1977). Second, the remaining provincial responsibility was considerably lessened since community-based custodial care is apparently far less expensive than hospital care (Beamish, 1981). Third, the financial responsibility for facilities to improve the quality of life for the ex-patient have become the responsibility of the facility operator. Since no government funds are available for this, the operator must locate additional sources of funding (e.g. charitable organizations) or the clients go without (Sylph, Eastwood and Kedward, 1976). These three factors illustrate how deinstitutionalization policy is an outcome of the province serving as an economic modality of interaction.

The professionals within the psychiatric community were caught in a bind. At one end, their focus could have been on comprehensive development of community-based care. This would have entailed using the vast proportion of available funds for the development and staffing of community mental health centers that would have provided adequate care for the discharged client. The other end of the spectrum concerned the restructuring of the mental

hospital. The new role for the hospital also meant a new role for the professionals in the hospital. Also, since the restructuring of the mental hospital was to expand the areas of treatment and practice, this would allow for the expansion of the mental health care profession. However, provincial policy was geared toward deinstitutionalization, and this involved the closure of many mental hospitals. This restructuring affected the psychiatric profession since it 'pitted' psychiatrists against hospital support staff because psychiatrists and not support staff were needed to satisfy the increasing use of out-patient care (*cf.* Wills, 1980). In an attempt to guard their own 'turf' the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), which represented the hospital support staff, argued that the ex-patient was not receiving proper care in the community (OPSEU, 1980). The clash of the professionals and the support staff reflected the political and economic modalities employed by the province in the restructuring of mental health care. The net effect to the client was that the psychiatric community attempted to increase the ex-patient's welfare (a sanction of deinstitutionalization policy) but the struggle for dwindling economic resources within the psychiatric profession had a negative impact on the entire discharge process (*cf.* section 4.2.3).

The portrayal of deinstitutionalization policy in chapter two reflects the way in which it is often

legitimated (Goldman, Adams and Taube, 1983). The policy is seen as being initiated in an era of psychiatric innovation, economic prosperity, increased concern over civil rights and an acknowledgement of the increasing role of social responsibility to disadvantaged groups (see Wolpert, Dear and Crawford, 1975). These prevailing social conditions at the time when deinstitutionalization policy was launched may have played a significant role in influencing many who supported the legislation. Yet, the way in which the policy was carried out and the net effects on the the ex-patient point definitely toward the provincial government acting to restructure the role of the mental hospital and only slowly to develop a system of community care (Allodi and Kedward, 1973; Bachrach, 1983; Sylph, Eastwood and Kedward, 1976). The restructuring of mental health care is admirable in the sense that the province was acting to find better ways of dealing with mental illness for the general populace (see Tynhurst *et al.*, 1963) and turning away from the traditional treatment of incarceration. Yet, the lack of comprehensive mental health care exhibited in deinstitutionalization policy points toward a reaffirmation of the historical treatment of custodial care for the chronically mentally ill that is legitimated within the existing social dynamic of the *longue duree* (*cf.* Chafetz, Goldman and Taube, 1983).

The intended outcome from deinstitutionalization

policy was the massive discharge program. The realization of this outcome occurred without a great deal of communication between the institutions and parties involved in the development of the discharge program (Beamish, 1981, 128). This lack of communication may be the result of the different interpretative communities that made up the paradoxical coalition which pushed for deinstitutionalization. The lack of coordination between the groups involved to prepare a comprehensive system of care for the discharged patient meant that the disposition of the ex-patients in the community was not an intended outcome. The arrival of a mental health ghetto may be considered as an unintended consequence of deinstitutionalization policy. The following section continues the institutional analysis to explain the development of the mental health ghetto within this context.

4.2.3. An explanation of ghetto development

An institutional analysis of the mental health ghetto as the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy requires a reappraisal of the public city literature. This is because the research on the public city represents the most thorough contextual investigations of the occurrence of the spatial concentration of service-dependent groups, particularly the mentally ill. In

chapter two, it was argued that each of the explanations provided by Beamish, Dear, Wolch and Wolpert were valuable, yet none was wholly satisfactory; and, because of the differing socio-theoretic perspectives employed in each analysis, there was no possibility of simply merging the studies together. The aim of this section is to provide a better understanding of the ghettoization process by transcending the theoretical divisions that separate the work on the public city. This is accomplished via a reinterpretation of the findings of these studies through the methodological framework for institutional analysis outlined in section 4.3.1.

The *longue duree* conditions (figure 4.3, phase II) affecting the ghettoization process were primarily the fiscal crisis of the welfare state and the massive post-second world war suburbanization and the associated abandonment of the inner city. These two aspects of the *longue duree* are the 'cornerstones' of Beamish's (1981) theory for the appearance of the public city. The implications of the province of Ontario's fiscal crisis were that funding for social service was cut back and many programs were shifted from the provincial to the regional levels of government. The post-war suburbanization and the resulting obsolescence and abandonment of the inner city provided an available location that could be readily adapted for housing the discharged population. These two aspects of

the *longue duree* are bracketed in the following institutional analysis of the ghetto's development.

The institutional analysis focuses on three categories of institution (figure 4.3, phase II). The movement by the province to decentralize social service delivery requires that both the roles of the provincial and regional governments be considered. The regional municipalities become the focus for understanding how zoning practices contributed to the ghettoization. Finally, space is examined in an institutional context. This view of space enables an understanding of how various characteristics of the inner city led inevitably to its becoming the eventual location of the ghetto. This is developed by examining the built environment, community opposition, and ex-patient coping, with space as a mediating institution.

Deinstitutionalization did not signal the end of the province's control over the lives of the mentally ill, only the shifting of the primary modality of control from the political to the economic. This was accomplished via the provision of social services to the mentally ill. These services-in-kind are part of the income that the ex-patient receives outside the hospital. An understanding of how this form of economic control led to the creation of the ghetto can best be achieved by re-examining Wolch's explanation. Wolch (1981) argues that both the impaired mobility of the client and the budgetary constraints of social service

provision indicate that a central location is needed to ensure accessibility within financial limits. Two major effects of the province's actions through the economic modality of interaction are evident. First, the cluster of existing facilities and the referral process (of ex-patients to these facilities) act as an impetus for the discharged patient to locate within the ghetto. Second, this channeling of ex-patients from hospital to ghetto facilitates the continued isolation of the ex-patient from the rest of society. Thus, in providing social services in the most cost-efficient manner, the state nearly eliminates the possibility that the ex-patient may join the mainstream of society.

The patterns of zoning in the inner city also contribute to the core area becoming the location of the ghetto. Oatley (1983) argued that the zoning practices of suburban regional municipalities were exclusionary, forcing service facilities to locate in the inner city. This aspect of zoning and service provision reflected how the political authority had shifted from the provincial to the regional/municipal level. The isolation and custodial care of the mentally ill in the inner city was similar to the isolation and custodial care of the asylum. The asylum represented *de jure* isolation of the patient from society. The zoning policies of the regional municipalities provided *de facto* isolation, since the possible

locations of residence for the ex-patient were limited by the location of service facilities.

A consideration of the ghetto as an institution enables a capturing of three important concerns of both Wolpert and Dear (Wolpert and Wolpert, 1974, 1976; Wolpert, Dear and Crawford, 1975; Dear, 1977, 1980; Dear *et al.*, 1980). Each was concerned to explain the effects of community opposition, the availability of large convertible properties and a developing social support network of ex-patients in the formation of the mental health ghetto. Space may be viewed as the institution implicated in understanding these processes by considering the modalities of interaction employed by individuals acting through the purposeful construction of space.

Community opposition may be analyzed through an institutional examination of space. Wolpert and Wolpert (1974) present an argument that the mental health ghetto occurs in the transient areas of the inner city. Dear (1980) considers communities in their opposition to mental health facilities. In an institutional context, those communities with a history of social cohesion, identity and status will be more successful in maintaining their neighborhoods than those lacking these aspects. In other words, those communities exhibiting a continuity over the *longue duree* are able to communicate community oppostion successfully. The transient areas of the inner city lacked

skill in this institutional aspect and became the area of least resistance and the home of the mental health ghetto. The ghetto in this sense reflects the political domination by the actors of one community over another in the spatial distribution of mental health facilities.

The stability of the built environment in the inner city also argues for an institutional interpretation. The built environment lends permanence to social interaction (see section 3.3.3). In this way, the built environment is implicated in social reproduction over the *longue duree*. Wolpert and Wolpert (1974) argue that the availability of large, easily convertible properties in the inner city was a contributing factor to the ghetto's formation. This factor becomes an economic concern for the facility operators. These structures are of limited availability and funds were not provided for new construction. The possible locations for these custodial facilities is thus limited. The built environment may thus be treated as an institution with actors relating to each other via an economic modality of interaction.

The final way in which the ghetto may be considered as an institution occurs through the ghetto's existence in time-space. The continued reproduction of the ghetto as a spatial form over the *longue duree* provides it with a degree of legitimacy as an institutional/spatial feature. This degree of legitimacy has been reflected in research on

the positive aspects of ghettoization (Wolpert, Dear and Crawford, 1975; Smith, 1975). These studies present a case that accessibility to services and a developing social support network among ex-patients are beneficial aspects of ghettoization. Yet these outcomes should not be used to legitimate the ghetto's existence; rather, they should be understood as the outcome of interaction between agents--social workers and clients--to make the best of a bad situation. Social workers generally maintain a genuine concern for their clients; and, given the existing locale of interaction, they attempt to make life better for those willing to receive their help. The social support network of ex-patients is hardly a surprising development since the ex-patients often share not only common daily paths but also common residences in group homes. Both of these positive aspects could likely have been achieved in a more humane setting than the ghetto. However, the existence of these positive aspects may be employed by various institutions (e.g. local or provincial government, psychiatric profession, academics) to sanction the existence of the ghetto.

4.3. STRATEGIC CONDUCT: THE ATTEMPT TO DISMANTLE THE GHETTO

This part of the empirical analysis considers the way in which the Hamilton city council dealt with the problem of the ghetto. The analysis spans the period from when city council first addressed the problem in 1977, through to the passage of the 1981 by-law to deal with the ghetto, and concludes with an examination of the post-by-law ghetto. The specificity and unique character of the problem requires an analysis that focuses on the strategic conduct of the agents involved in the *duree* of interaction. This section proceeds to accomplish the analysis of strategic conduct in the following manner. First, a methodology for analyzing strategic conduct is developed. Second, the analysis of the actions of the agents involved in the policy-making process is presented as an historical narrative.

4.3.1. A methodology for the analysis of strategic conduct

The intent of this analysis is to understand the structuration of events or objects through an analysis that pays primary attention to the interaction of agents in time-space. This must be accomplished by integrating institutions into the analysis and not treating them as

merely the backdrop for action. The figure (4.3) attempts to portray the analysis of strategic conduct which simultaneously brackets institutional analysis.

At the core of each agency space is a particular event or object that is the focus of the actions of the agents involved (E1,E2...). The agency space surrounding these events is divided into five segments. Each segment (Politician, Bureaucrat...) refers to the typology of agents developed in the model for the structuration of urban space (figure 3.3). The vertical aspect of the model (Time 1, Time 2...) captures the fact that the focus of interaction changes over time. The horizontal planes of agency space provide a way of analyzing strategic conduct around discrete events. Thus, each plane of agency space (I,II...) represents the period of time when that particular event was the focus of action. This is similar to the distinction between *duree* (a single plane) and *longue duree* (multiple planes). This view avoids treating each event as an independent snapshot and enables an understanding of strategic conduct as part of a continually evolving process.

Agency space is the arena where interaction between agents occurs. In most cases, the agents (A,B,C...) relate to each other via the particular event or object that is the focus of action. In some cases, an interaction may occur simply between two agents and not with the group of agents as a whole. In other cases, agents may join together and

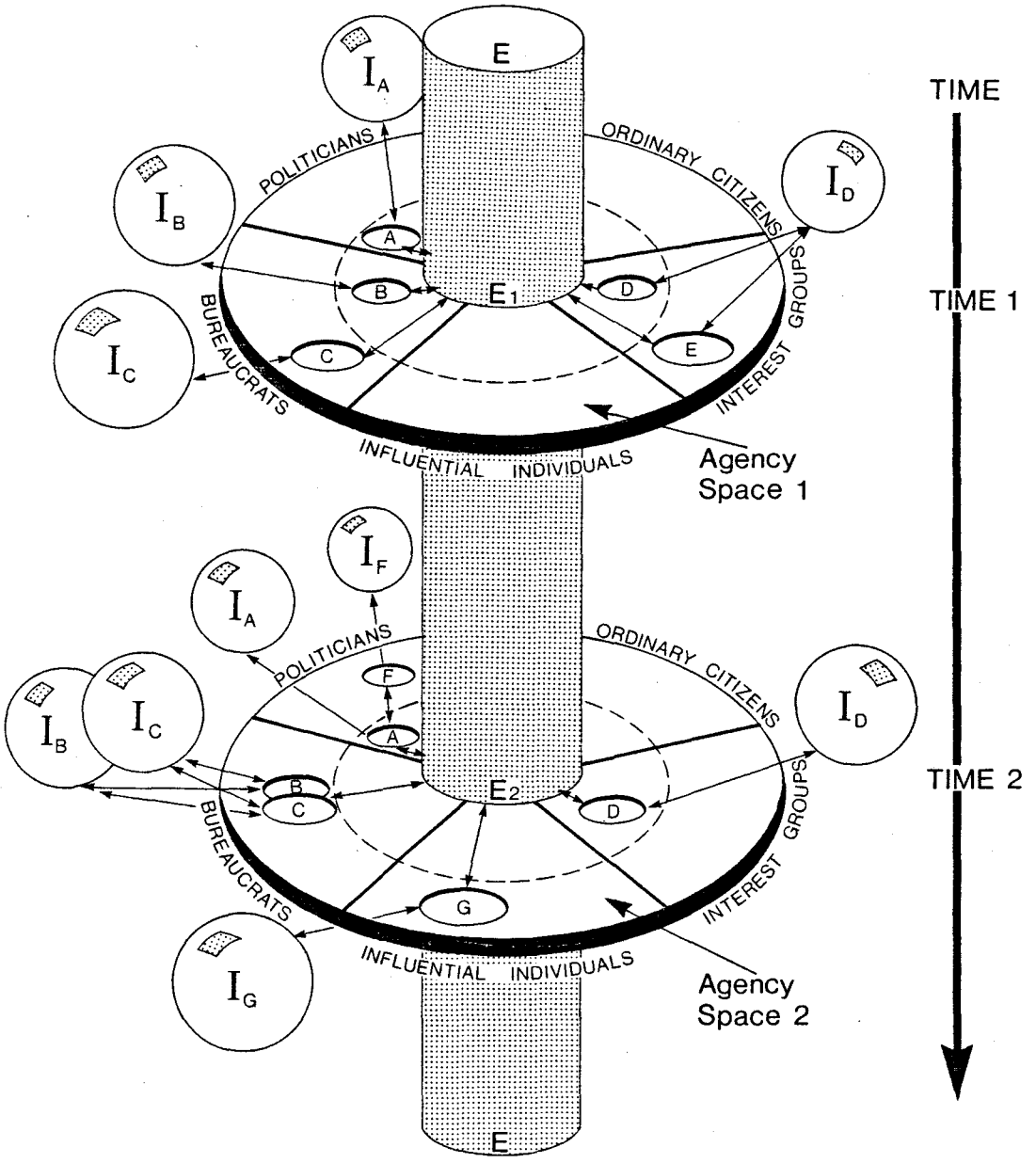


FIGURE 4.4 A Methodology for Strategic Conduct Analysis.

speak as one in order to gain more power through the dialectic of control. There are two factors which affect the interaction of agents. First, each agent is tied to a specific institution ($I_A, I_B...$), and as such represents not only his/her own views and interests but also the institutional interests that s/he represents. In some instances, agents may be tied to more than one institutional interest (e.g. agency space II) or one institutional interest may be reflected through more than one agent (e.g. agency space I). This relationship between agents and institutions does not amount to making the agent a dupe of the institution, but instead provides for the active role of institutions in the analysis of strategic conduct. This active role can enable an agent to undertake a specific action or may just as likely constrain the individual's behavior. Furthermore, as the agent becomes more aware of the situation and increases her/his discursive knowledge, the agent may actually affect these institutional concerns.

The second aspect of these agency spaces considers the placement of individuals within the domain of action. At various times, some agents may be more closely involved with a particular event than others. Those most intimately involved with an event are at the core of the agency space, while others involved are at the periphery (e.g. B is more important than A or C in agency space I). The reasons for the relative location of actors in agency space may fall to

a variety of factors, such as a reflection of an institution's concerns or simply through the agent's strength in the dialectic of control.

Each event serves as the focus of interaction between the agents involved. This interaction in turn produces various outcomes. The transition between events (E1→E2...) occurs as the outcome from a prior interaction becomes the focus of the "next round" of interaction. Each event is thus characterized by the common focus of interaction observed amongst the actors involved. As the interaction produces an outcome, the transition between events occurs. The outcome becomes the next event around which the cast of characters' interaction will change position or composition in agency space.

4.3.2. The strategic response to ghettoization: the evolution of a by-law

The diagram (figure 4.5) presents a stage model of the development of a by-law to deal with the problem of the ghetto. This analysis of strategic conduct brackets institutional action, for in each agency space the focus is on how the agents involved in the policy-making process produced both intended and unintended outcomes. First, *community opposition* to the ghetto directed at city council sets the stage for a dialogue of several parties. Second, this *dialogue becomes formalized* and

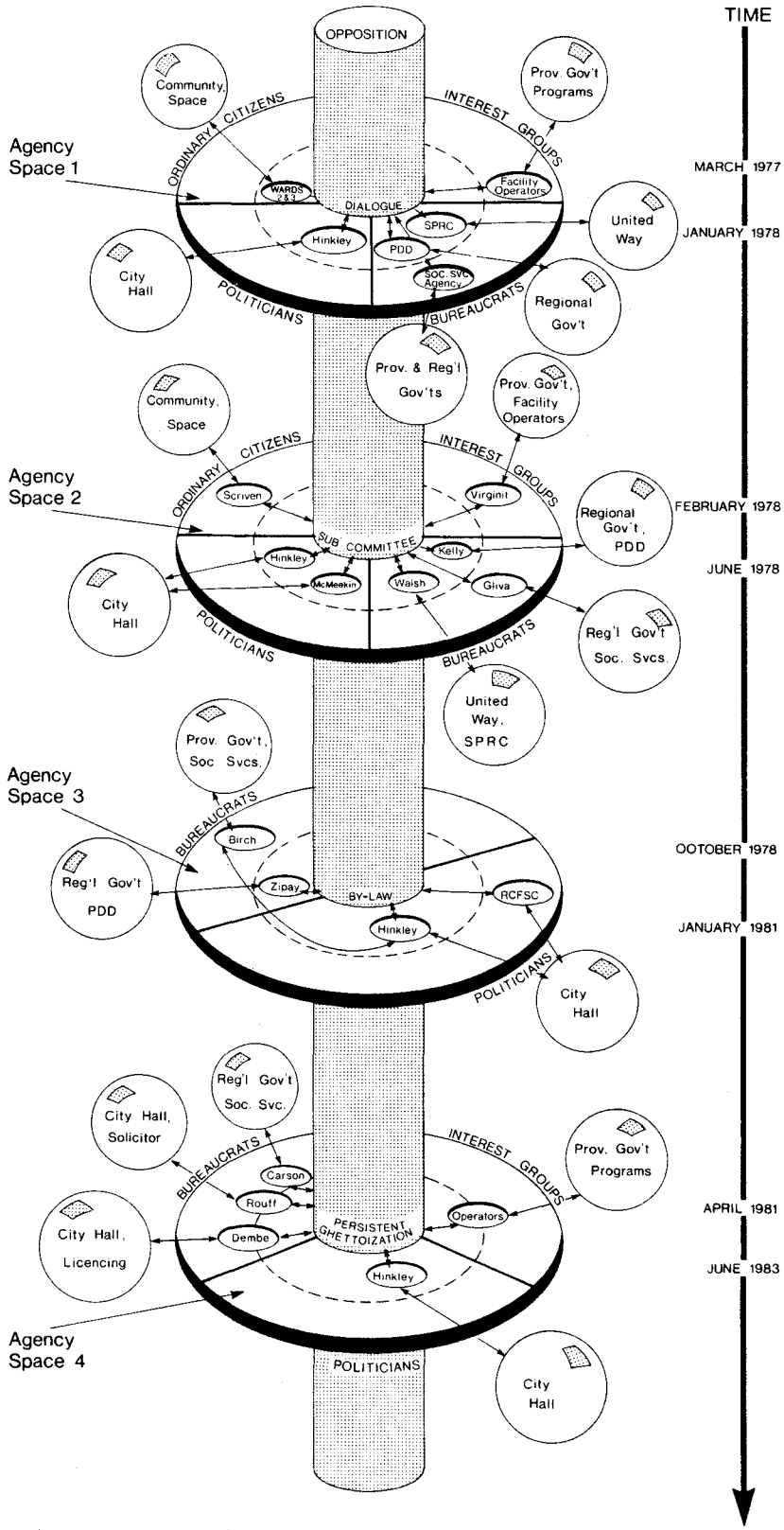


FIGURE 4.5 Strategic Conduct in the Development of the Hamilton By-law.

institutionalized in a sub-committee of city council. Third, the *writing of the by-law* is not a simple enactment of the recommendations of the sub-committee and forms a third area of analysis. The *persistence of the ghetto* in light of the passage of the by-law forms the fourth and final stage of the analysis.

1. Event 1: community opposition and an opening dialogue

The opening of a dialogue involved the interaction of community residents, Alderman Brian Hinkley, social service agencies, the Social Planning and Research Council (SPRC) and board and care facility operators (see figure 4.5, agency space I). The initiation of the dialogue occurred when the residents of Hamilton's Wards 2 and 3 complained to city hall about the growing number of lodging houses in their districts. The city council's Legislation, Fire and Licence Committee (LFLC) responded, through Alderman Hinkley, by issuing a report and recommendations on the topic (City of Hamilton, 1977a). One of these recommendations (the exclusion of lodging houses that provided care to 'deviant' populations from residential areas) caused considerable uproar. The main opposition to this recommendation came from two sources. The providers of social services, particularly those agencies which sponsored homes in Hamilton, argued against this exclusionary policy

on the basis that it ran contrary to the ideas of deinstitutionalization policy and the therapeutic benefits of living in the community. The opposition from these groups occurred because these agencies were responsible to other levels of government that strove for different goals from the city of Hamilton. Vociferous opposition came also from the SPRC. The SPRC is a bureaucratic organization that operates on the fringe of city hall. It is an autonomous unit, but at the same time very involved in the structuring of social policy. The autonomy of the SPRC from city council through the SPRC's connection to an institutional charity (it is mainly United Way funded) places it in the public interest role of council "watch dog;" and, because it is autonomous, its policy positions are taken seriously. Since the SPRC strenuously objected to Hinkley's report (SPRC, 1977) much of the strength of his report's recommendations was diminished. In this instance, the influence of the SPRC was so great that all agencies objecting to the Hinkley report (following the release of the SPRC position) mentioned in their opposition simply that they concurred with the findings of the SPRC.

During the dialogue, the Planning and Development Department (PDD) examined the by-law that dealt with boarding and lodging houses and ostensibly "covered" residential care facilities (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentwort (RMHW), 1977a). This bureaucratic arm of

the regional government considered the by-law only and ignored the fundamental differences between (1) the unlicenced and profit-oriented lodging and boarding houses and (2) the registered and licenced residential care facilities that provided varying levels of supervision to its residents. A loop-hole in that by-law would allow upward of 15 people in one structure in a low density neighborhood. The PDD suggested rewriting the by-law to eliminate the loop-hole, and also suggested that *all* lodging houses be eliminated from low density residential areas (RMHW, 1977a). This purely technocratic approach enabled the PDD to be another channel through which Hinkley's initial recommendation could be realized. Yet, the inadequacy of this approach to the problem was soon evident. The Group Home Directors of Hamilton and District argued that it was possible to close the loop-hole without segregating the groups which required residential care facilities. The PDD switched its position two months later (RMHW, 1978a) when it became evident that attempts to exclude the special populations from residential areas were futile. Their final recommendations before the dialogue became formalized as a committee process reflected the majority (i.e. SPRC) opinion. First, a temporary by-law was to be passed to eliminate from residential areas 'ordinary' boarding and lodging houses, but not crisis centers or residential care facilities operated or sponsored by public

agencies. This served to appease both the residents who opposed the ghetto, and the social service agencies and board and care operators who opposed the segregation of these groups. It let the residents know that city hall was responding to their requests, yet it did so without antagonizing the providers of care. Second, the PDD recommended outreach via the media to receive citizen input on how a permanent by-law should deal with lodging houses, crisis centers and residential care facilities. This change in emphasis, focusing on a by-law to deal specifically with residential care facilities, meant that both the political and bureaucratic arms of city hall were moving in the same direction. Thus, the formalization of this dialogue into an ad hoc sub-committee became the next logical step.

2. Event 2: the residential care facilities sub-committee

The residential care facilities sub-committee brought together the parties that had a stake in the issue (figure 4.5, agency space II): aldermen, the SPRC, social service agencies, the PDD, facility operators and community residents. The 'institutionalization' of the discussion was important for two reasons. First, it provided a forum whereby individuals representing the differing concerns and viewpoints could interact directly. This was particularly important because in this setting the discursive knowledge

of all the players increased. Second, the dialogue received a degree of legitimacy since the sub-committee was an arm of the city council; and this aided Aldermen Hinkley and McMeekin since their knowledge of the rules and resources of city hall as a communicative modality of interaction gave them an advantage in this dialogue that was not present during the informal discourse. This advantage allowed both Hinkley and McMeekin, at various times, to dominate the discussion. Although all members did contribute to the sub-committee's recommendations, Hinkley and McMeekin were most definitely in control. This is not surprising since in the end it would be McMeekin, the sub-committee chair, who would write the final report based on the sub-committee's findings.

In this forum, many issues were considered. First, the ghetto was viewed within the context of deinstitutionalization policy. This brought to light the role of provincial responsibility in the problem. Second, the notion that community living was therapeutically beneficial was raised to indicate the negative aspect of the ghetto from the view of the clients and providers as well as community residents. Third, it was revealed that the hands of city council were tied if the facility was part of a program that was provincially-sponsored. The municipality could not require licencing of a facility licenced by a special program or act. However, these facilities were

still obliged to obey the municipal by-laws regarding safety, health and other standards. Thus, since the facilities need not be licenced, they would escape municipal control in relation to zoning. Fourth, Hamilton benefitted from the experience of Toronto. That city had just completed a study (City of Toronto, 1977) concerning residential care facilities and many of their recommendations and definitions proved useful. The Toronto study served as the primary source for the sub-committee's recommendations. Additionally, the Toronto study was used extensively by the SPRC (1978) in preparing a report that was completely incorporated into the sub-committee's report.

There are several important aspects to this forum where the recommendations regarding the ghetto were developed. First, the sub-committee considered deinstitutionalization only in the way in which it was legitimated and did not consider how deinstitutionalization contributed to the isolation of the mentally ill from the mainstream of society. As the institutional analysis showed (section 4.2), the concerns of the provincial government were to restructure general mental health care, but it failed to promote the care of the chronic patient. Hence, the sub-committee did not consider how the ghetto became the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy. There was little consideration by the sub-committee of the various factors that provided the impetus for residential care

facilities to ghettoize. Second, the sub-committee's incorporation of the Toronto report was significant since the Toronto study not only increased the discursive knowledge of the agents involved, but also provided a means of sanctioning the sub-committee's findings through the prior experience of the province's capitol city. Finally, the outcome of this process was that the residential care facilities sub-committee report (City of Hamilton, 1978) was significantly different from Hinkley's original report nine months earlier. The primary difference was the recommendation that residential care facilities be allowed to locate in all areas of the city. The sub-committee's recommendations (see Appendix) were counter to community opposition that would have preferred extremely restrictive zoning practices. Instead, the sub-committee attempted to provide adequate safeguards, the registration of facilities, and provisions for enforcing the by-law, that would prohibit any community from becoming a ghetto and at the same time stem the growth of the facility concentration in Wards 2 and 3.

3. Event 3: the writing of the by-law

The next stage in the process was the writing of the by-law from the sub-committee's recommendations. This was essentially a bureaucratic process, but it was far from

unproblematic. Primary control of this process shifted from the politician, Hinkley, to Mr. John Zipay of the PDD (figure 4.5, agency space III). In his report to the Planning and Development Committee (PDC), Zipay recommended that the PDD act only on those recommendations that fell within the domain of land use planning (RMHW, 1978b). In doing this, Zipay ignored the sub-committee recommendations that dealt with registration of residential care facilities and enforcement of the by-law. Thus, Zipay's translation of the report into a by-law considered only definitions, spacing and density of residential and short term care facilities, omitting the recommendations concerning the registration of facilities and by-law enforcement. The problem of the translation of the sub-committee's recommendations into an identical by-law lay in the two distinctly different approaches taken by the political and bureaucratic actors involved. The political sub-committee viewed the problem as one of social policy. Hence, land use and zoning questions formed merely one aspect of the package. This was counter to the perspective of the planning bureaucracy that provided the basis for action of the PDD. This difference reflects the different institutional concerns affecting both sets of actors. The actors in the sub-committee were in a forum that enabled creative and imaginative discussion for solutions to the problem, and provided little in the way of jurisdictional

constraints. This differed from the conditions bounding the action of Zipay, which reflected the strong jurisdictional boundaries of the bureaucracy and limited the PDD to questions of zoning and land use, not enforcement and administration of registration policies.

This proposed by-law was redirected to the residential care facilities sub-committee for its approval and comments. The debate in the sub-committee considered only minor changes in definitions and expressed concern over the small maximum number of clients permitted in low density residential areas. Yet, the sub-committee did not discuss the points of the report that Zipay deemed outside the jurisdiction of the PDD. Furthermore, there was no consideration of a course of action that would have enabled another arm of the bureaucracy to draft a by-law on the remaining recommendations concurrently with the PDD in order to preserve the package as conceived. Thus, while it was understood throughout the sub-committee process that the whole package was important, the sub-committee apparently succumbed to the problem of bureaucratic jurisdiction and passed a resolution supporting the enactment of the proposed by-law.

This failure of the sub-committee to push for the enactment of the complete set of recommendations ended the debate on the by-law. From this point forward, changes that were made were basically minor, for there was no longer a

forum for any fundamental changes to be suggested and debated. What remained was to make sure that the Hamilton by-law did not run counter to provincial guidelines. To this end, Hinkley remained involved in the process, acting as the liaison between the city and the province. This again led to some minor changes in the by-law, but its intent and core remained unchanged. Thus, at one stage where a change in direction could be made it was not. The by-law passed in a council vote in 1981 and became law 3 1/2 years after the 1977 Hinkley report.

4. Event 4: persistence of the ghetto

The problem of registration and enforcement did not vanish. Following the passage of the by-law Hinkley pursued the issue, realizing that without an effective means of enforcement and registration the by-law would have little impact. To this end, he enlisted the aid of three members of the city hall bureaucracy in an attempt to pass a by-law that would deal with the remainder of the sub-committee's recommendations (figure 4.5, agency space IV). The coalition reflected three areas of expertise. The city solicitor, Mr. K.A. Rouff, was responsible for the writing of the by-law. The Commissioner for the Department of Social Services, Mr. W.M. Carson, lobbied from the perspective of the importance of registration for the

coordination of information concerning all levels of government that are involved with residential care facilities. The Licence Administrator, Mr. S.J. Dembe, developed a procedure for the registration of facilities and the enforcement of the by-law. Additionally, both Rouff and Carson commanded a great deal of power within the bureaucracy and could use their influence in affecting the actions of other bureaucrats via the dialectic of control. Yet, even with the pressure being applied from both the political and bureaucratic channels of city hall, there is still not a by-law for the registration of the pre-by-law facilities. The intended outcome of the policy-making process was to control the location of residential care facilities and to halt their ghettoization, leading eventually to the dismantling of the ghetto. The process, however, has resulted in two distinct and unintended outcomes. First, without the regisration of the pre-by-law facilities the by-law is being circumvented by operators going through the committee of adjustment. Without a central registry, there is no expedient way of determining whether or not a particular request is within the by-law's zoning requirements. Second, the by-law is proving to be ineffective in stemming the growth of the ghetto. The aim of the sub-committee that stressed facility placement in all residential areas of Hamilton has not been realized. In a study of facility location following the the enactment of

the by-law, Demopolis (1984) found that 85% (12 of 14) of newly licenced facilities were located in the ghetto.

While the problem has not vanished in the immediate *duree* of interaction, the true test of the by-law will be in its effectiveness over the *longue duree*. Institutions by their very nature are not altered overnight, and the impetus for ghettoization discussed in section 4.2 is indeed still evident. The onus is on city hall at this point to provide for the registration of pre-by-law facilities to make the by-law an effective governmental action in the *longue duree*.

4.4. INSIGHT AND IMPLICATIONS OF STRUCTURATION THEORY IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE GHETTO

The empirical analysis of both institutions and strategic conduct was enhanced by two features of structurationist explanation. First, the lack of determination in the explanation enabled a consideration of the ghetto as the unintended outcome of both institutions and strategic conduct. The ghetto was the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy since the proponents of the discharge program did not provide for a comprehensive system of community-based care. The by-law's passage was accompanied by two unintended consequences--circumvention of the by-law and the persistence of the ghetto. Additionally, the by-law itself

was an unintended outcome since it was initiated in order to appease community opposition to the ghetto but ended up focusing on issues that benefitted the client more than the opposing community.

The second benefit was the concept of bracketing. When coupled with the lack of determination in the explanation, bracketing enabled an understanding of how the *longue duree* and agents affected institutional action; and it allowed for a consideration of institutions in the analysis of strategic conduct. In each analysis, the bracketing concept enabled a transcendence of the structure/agency and composition/context dualisms in practice. The institutional analysis benefitted since it was both an historical and a non-functionalist account of the formation of the ghetto. The analysis of strategic conduct demonstrated how agents affected and are affected by institutions in interaction.

The institutional analysis provided two main areas of improved understanding. First, institutions were considered as modalities of interaction and this allowed for understanding the different ways in which institutions affected the growth of the ghetto. The examination of the ghetto considered deinstitutionalization through political, economic and sanction modalities; and, the absence of the communication modality in the discharge process was profferred as a possible reason for the ghetto as an

unintended outcome. Second, the institutional analysis allowed for a consideration of how modalities of interaction became manifest in the urban built environment and directly implicated space in the structuring of society. This provided greater insight into understanding the ghetto's formation than the prior studies (of the public city) that did not provide an 'active' role for space.

The analysis of strategic conduct provided three areas of insight. First, the clients, as an interest group, were excluded from the policy-making process. The entire process reflected a concern by the agents involved for improving residential care facility location, but the clients were not consulted. The outcomes of future policies may be enhanced by considering the client's perspective on the proposals. Second, an understanding was derived of how alliances by actors may lead to action or inaction. In the analysis, the alliance between Hinkley and three powerful members of the bureaucracy failed to produce a desired outcome. This demonstrated the limitation of an agent's power in the face of institutional rules. However, the third benefit from the strategic conduct analysis reflected the other side of this coin. The analysis of the policy-making process demonstrated how the determination of one agent, in this case Alderman Hinkley, could bring about changes in social policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this thesis outlined in chapter one, was an inquiry into the utility of structuration theory in practice through an investigation of the "ghettoization" of the mentally ill in Hamilton. This final chapter presents a summary of the main research findings and then provides an assessment of the analysis contained in the thesis.

5.1. SUMMARY

In chapter two, the empirical and theoretical foundations for the thesis were laid. The review of the deinstitutionalization literature enabled a general understanding of the effects of this policy on the patient census of mental health hospitals and how the discharge program provided a ready population for the eventual mental health ghetto. A consideration of how the discharged patients became ghettoized was facilitated by an examination of the public city literature. This provided a means for understanding the mental health ghetto within the wider context of social service delivery to all service-dependent groups. The deinstitutionalization literature suffered

because the policy was not always considered within a social theoretic framework of the state's role in the provision of mental health care. The public city literature revealed four useful explanations for the formation of the service-dependent ghetto, yet these were found to be mutually exclusive owing to the incompatability of the social theory that grounded each study.

The social theory problems of the public city literature were viewed in the light of the structure and agency debate. The theory of structuration developed by Giddens was presented as providing a possible solution to the debate. An examination of structuration theory in the geographical literature found that there was no consensus amongst the authors who have examined structuration theory in detail. This theoretical heterodoxy coupled with a lack of empirical research necessitated an examination of Giddens' writings. The subsequent reading of Giddens formed the theoretical basis for the thesis.

The exegesis of Giddens was employed in chapter three to develop a model of structuration. There were two implications of this model that set this work apart from the work of Gregory, Pred and Thrift. First, social structure was argued to exist as an *intrastructure* that was both the medium and outcome of social interaction, and thereby connected agents to the social system. Second, this view of structure was employed to remove the concept of

determination from the analysis in order to provide an explanation that avoided the problem of defining 'the last instance.' The model of structuration along with the reformulated views of structure and determination were employed to develop a model of the structuration of urban space that considered agents, institutions, time, space and the duality of structure in the production and reproduction of the urban built environment.

The model of the structuration of urban space formed the basis for the analytical investigation of chapter four. Here the primary concern was to attempt an analysis both at the level of institutions and at the level of agency. Institutional analysis was employed to understand the ghettoization of the mentally ill, and involved viewing institutions as modalities of interaction in the development of deinstitutionalization policy and the subsequent ghettoization of ex-patients. The formation of the ghetto was found to be the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy. The focus then shifted to an examination of the strategic conduct of agents in the attempt by the city of Hamilton to pass a by-law to halt and reverse the ghettoization of the mentally ill. This involved an examination of the policy-making process where the main finding was that the by-law was proving ineffective at stemming the ghettoization.

5.2. ASSESSING THE PAST AND CHARTING THE FUTURE

The empirical analysis contributed three major advances to research on the ghetto. First, the ghetto was understood as the unintended outcome of deinstitutionalization policy. This view enabled an understanding of discharge policy that followed the social history of mental health care, and thus involved more than providing the population of the ghetto. Second, the institutional analysis of ghetto development involved a synthesis of the public city literature in order to provide an explanation of ghettoization that considered agents, institutions and structural properties of the *longue duree*. Third, the analysis of strategic conduct demonstrated the problem that agents encounter when interacting in the policy-making arena, and could prove useful in anticipating where problems might arise in future policy development.

These insights to the problem of the mental health ghetto reflected and informed the theoretical advances in this work. There are five main contributions of this thesis toward the ongoing debate and development of structuration theory. First, the formalization of the theory into an integrated framework enabled a clearer understanding of the relationship between system, agency, structure, time and space. Second, the reformulation of structure as

intrastructure provided the basis for eliminating the notion of determination from structuration theory in both theory and practice. Third, the lack of determination enabled the delicate balancing of structure and agency both in the development of the theoretical models and in the methodologies for institutional analysis and analysis of strategic conduct. Fourth, the incorporation of the joint concepts of *duree* and *longue duree* avoided the problem of statics versus dynamics at both a theoretical and analytical level. Fifth, the consideration of space in an institutional context was a development of Giddens' conceptualization of the regionalized locale for it brings forward how social relations and spatial structures are connected.

This thesis demonstrated the utility of structuration theory in geographic research. The primary advantage of employing structuration theory involves an extrapolation of the duality of structure notion. The concept was developed to bridge the structure and agency chasm, but the logic behind it was used to bridge the context/composition, synchrony/diachrony and space/society dualisms as well. The bridging of these dualistic gaps involved conceptualizing the relations between the extremes as complementary rather than exclusive (i.e. each is implicated in the other). This theoretical advance was operationalized through the concept of bracketing. The

question of the mental health ghetto was examined at a contextual level, but the analysis considered the implications of structural principles for context. The synchrony and diachrony distinction was avoided through the application of the concepts of *duree* and *longue duree* in relating agent actions to the reproduction of the social formation. The space and society dualism was transcended by considering space as modality for interaction, thus allowing space to be involved in the structuring of social reality and at the same time structured by that reality. The concepts of bracketing and duality are very difficult to capture in the presentation of empirical research, yet they are vital in order to create an analysis that always considers those aspects that are not the focus of the research but are still an important part of social life.

The theoretical and analytical compatability of the notions of duality and bracketing demonstrate how structuration theory is an internally consistent social theory. Although Giddens developed the theory through an analysis of writers as diverse as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Habermas, Parsons and Wittgenstein, it is *not* an eclectic stapling together of these competing perspectives. Giddens reinterpreted these antagonistic schools of thought in order to develop a social theory that could draw out the beneficial aspects of each perspective that could be

demonstrated to have a theoretical complementarity.

Structuration theory is not without problems, however. The greatest hurdle in applying structuration theory to the analysis of the ghetto concerned the role of institutions. In Giddens' attempt to recover the active human subject in social analysis, he has not fully developed a theoretical understanding of institutions. The ambiguity which surrounds institutions was illustrated in the thesis in the two different conceptions employed in the empirical analysis. The institutional analysis treated institutions as modalities of interaction, yet in the analysis of strategic conduct, institutions were necessarily translated into a phenomenal form that exerted an influence on the agent's actions. The theoretical clarification of what is meant by institutions is the major area in need of development in structuration theory.

The other areas of concern do not relate directly to the theory but reflect the wider issues in the search for a social theory. The primary agenda for the future is active debate of these broader issues through theoretical and practical development of structuration theory. Four aspects to this debate were addressed at various points in this thesis. A first area is further development of the role of social structure in relationship to agents and society. A second involves an investigation into the question of determination in structuration theory. Third, this thesis

focused on contextual (or level 1) questions, and an examination of the manner in which compositional (or level 2) questions may be addressed by structuration theory is needed. Fourth, further inquiry into the relationship of society and space in structuration theory may provide a framework for a reconstituted regional geography.

Such investigations should be carried out with further empirical application of structuration theory. The requirements of future empirical study involve developing models based on ideal types for the particular problem being examined. This is necessary because at the level of strategic conduct, not *all* agents enter into the *duree* of interaction. Actors will leave and enter according to their 'relevance' to the event at the core of agency space/*duree* activities. Additionally, some agents may be deliberately excluded from engaging in certain *duree* activities (recall the lack of input by the clients in the policy-making process). Thus, the model which guided this thesis is specific to an analysis of the urban built environment, and different social phenomena will involve different sets of agents and institutions and, consequently, different ideal types. Therefore, further empirical application of structuration theory requires new models in order to examine a diverse area of research questions such as: coping of the mental health ex-patient in the community, service-dependent populations, industrial

restructuring, housing, urban and regional planning, technological hazards, pollution, international relations and the development of public policy. These questions represent very diverse areas of research that should be at the core of a socially-responsible human geography. Additionally, these are inherently political questions, and while the theory does not propose a definite political agenda, the view of agency and action as being able to transform social relations has definite political implications for both individuals and classes. Furthermore, the application of structuration theory to these questions will be an excellent test of its flexibility and versatility; and the complementarity of the political and academic agendas is crucial if structuration theory is to form the basis of a reformulated human geography.

APPENDIX

These are the thirteen recommendations that the Residential Care Facilities Sub-Committee presented to the Planning and Development Committee concerning the development of the by-law (City of Hamilton, 1978).

Recommendation 1:

That residential-care facilities in Hamilton be based on a definition similar to that developed by the City of Toronto; A residential-care facility is any community-based group living arrangement for a maximum number of residents, exclusive of staff, with social, legal, emotional, mental or physical handicaps or problems that is developed for the well-being of its residents through self-help and/or professional care, guidance, and supervision unavailable in the residents own family or in an independent living situation. A residential-care facility must be fully detached and occupied wholly by that use.

Recommendation 2:

That residential-care facilities in the City of Hamilton be permitted uses in all residential and commercially zoned districts in the City of Hamilton based on an agreement with principles of civic responsibility and normalization.

Recommendation 3:

That a residential-care facility in the City of Hamilton must be spaced at least the following radius from another similar facility, depending on the number of residents, exclusive of staff, in either the locating facility or the located facility, whichever is the greater distance as follows:

6 residents	-	600 feet
7 residents	-	700 feet
8 residents	-	800 feet
9 residents	-	900 feet
10 residents or more	-	1,000 feet

These distances shall apply to any residential-care facility locating in any commercially zoned district only in terms of its distance from a residential-care facility in a residentially zoned district. Residential-care facilities located in commercial areas must be 600 feet from one another.

Recommendation 4:

That short-term residential services serving a transient population not requiring neighbourhood integration be defined a short-term care facility in the City of Hamilton, as follows:

> A short-term care facility is a facility which houses persons in a crisis situation and in which it is intended that short-term accommodation of a transient nature be provided.

A short-term care facility may locate in a single-family dwelling, boarding or lodging house, converted dwelling house, in a mixed-use commercial residential building, or in any building built for that purpose, but which in all cases must be fully detached.

That in whatever By-law that is developed the terms; short-term, transient population and crisis situation be clearly defined.

Recommendation 5:

That a short-term care facility in the city of Hamilton must be spaced at least 1,000 feet from any residential-care facility located in a residential area or at least 1,000 feet from any other short-term care facility.

Recommendation 6:

That in addition to the spacing between residential-care facilities and/or a short-term care facility, consideration be given by the Planning and Development Committee to determining an appropriate acceptable density of residential facilities for a designated area (e.g. neighbourhood planning area).

Recommendation 7:

That the City of Hamilton urge the various Provincial Ministries under whom residential-care facilities operate, to develop licencing and/or approval procedures that would ensure that the following criteria (as recommended by the

Standards and Information Group, Children's Services Division, Ministry of Community and Social Services) are met:

(a) that minimum standards be developed concerning the density and distribution of residential-care facilities;

(b) that licencing and/or approval be essential before any Provincial funding commences;

(c) that a minimum level of support services be available prior to licencing and/or approval;

(d) that standards be developed for licencing and/or approval purposes and that these relate to qualifications for residential facilities staff;

(e) that communities be assured of Provincial scrutiny and enforcement of legislated standards.

Recommendation 8:

That a central registry of residential-care and short-term care facilities be established (located at the local level) which would incorporate information on facilities under Federal, Provincial and Municipal jurisdiction.

Further, that an accountability-communication mechanism be developed in concert with this registry which would:

(a) contain a neighbourhood complaint mechanism;

(b) provide for information on complaints to be shared with all elected representatives in that area;

(c) promote a liasion mechanism whereby direct and periodic discussions would take place between officials at the Municipal level and their Federal and Provincial counter-parts.

Recommendation 9:

That the Planning and Development Committee recommend to Hamilton City Council that an Advisory Committee composed of citizens, service providers, service funders, Municipal staff and elected representatives be formed to:

(a) monitor policy developments on all issues relating to residential-care and short-term care facilities;

(b) to organize on at least a yearly basis a conference whereby the concerns and expertise of those interested in the development, programme standards, directions, policies and trends relating to residential-care facilities could be shared; and

(c) relate to the appropriate municipal and regional staff and/or committees, concerns with respect to care facilities.

Recommendation 10:

That the Legislation, Fire and Licence Committee be requested to seek information and guidance from the Regional Social Services Commissioner (or a designated member of his staff) on all licence applications seeking a Municipal licence for a residential-care facility.

Recommendation 11:

That Municipal licencing procedures be revised so as to ensure that any advertisement having to do with the granting of a licence to a residential-care facility clearly indicate:

(a) the nature of care to be provided by the residential-care facility and

(b) the total number of residents for which the licence is sought to accommodate.

(c) that further ways and means be sought to improve community awareness of the planned establishment of a residential and/or short-term care facility (e.g. signs, leaflets, etc.).

Recommendation 12:

That a separate licence category for residential-care facilities and short-term care Facilities be developed.

Further, that any agency individual or group applying for a residential-care or short-term Care facilities licence be required to meet a series of standards relating to more than just the physical requirements (e.g. training for qualification of staff, supervision, etc.).

Recommendation 13:

That where appropriate enforcement of designated standards for residential-care and or short-term care facilities be improved.

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