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THE VICTORIA EATON CENTRE  
AND THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL POLITICS

by

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**ABSTRACT**

By Spring 1986 it was clear that the construction of suburban shopping malls in response to the outward spread of residential development had resulted in the decay of Victoria's downtown shopping core. At the same time, industrial decline meant that the city was increasingly dependent on a tourist trade attracted by the historic city. As a result, a general consensus had arisen about the need for revitalizing the core area through major capital investment by sources external to the city. Since, in Canada such redevelopment is traditionally a private rather than public undertaking, Victoria City Council was economically and legally bound to rely on the attraction of market-place forces. As the largest retailer among the array of small shops characterizing the downtown core and in need of a new store, the Eaton department store chain collaborated with a previous partner in such downtown mall projects -- multinational developer, the Cadillac Fairview Corporation -- to redevelop a two square block site into a store and mall complex. In May 1986 Cadillac Fairview submitted a proposal to Victoria City Council which became the most controversial issue in the municipality's recent history.

In response to Victoria City Council's apparent accommodation of the proposal, a coalition of small

business owners, heritage conservationists, tourist operators, and citizens formed in community-based opposition. The "Save Our City Coalition's" position was that the socioeconomic requirements of the community would be best served by the enhancement of the heritage base of Victoria's tourist trade. Yet despite intensive public protest, the community-based opposition only achieved concessions about the aesthetics and design of the project. Thus, the question which this thesis will address is why the resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition" was so ineffective in altering Victoria city council's support for the revitalization project undertaken by transnational capital developer Cadillac Fairview?

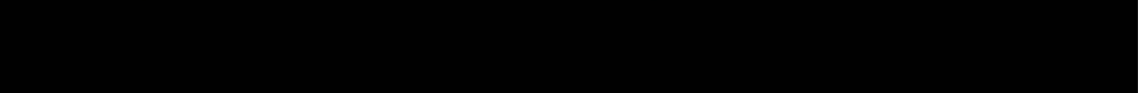
The idea of transnational capital's "intervention" in local politics presupposes its externality to practices modelled by conceptions of the sovereign state. Hence we first explore the notion of sovereignty, as it is constituted at the local level by the relation of municipal government to community practices, as theorized by Thomas Hobbes's classic model. Since this model also establishes a particular understanding of individuals and the necessarily economic base of their communities, we next examine the constitution of community within

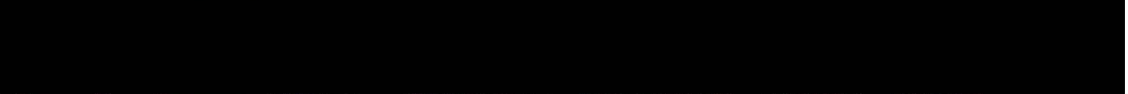
sovereignty in terms of John Lock's theorization of the implication of economic necessity expressed in property rights. As capital is deeply implicated in the relationship of government and community in sovereignty, we finally suggest that effective resistance requires a thorough-going critique of capital's implication in the constitution and practices of the sovereign state at the local level of practice, and the reconstruction of community on some other basis.

Examiners:

  
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**PREFACE**

Judith-Anne Williams died of a massive stroke on February 17, 1991. She was only thirty years old. Throughout her life, she suffered from a severe form of diabetes. By the time she completed the course work for her M.A., her health was deteriorating rapidly. She persisted with her thesis nonetheless, and produced her first complete draft in July 1990. She was in the process of revising this when she died.

When I last spoke with her, shortly before her death, Judith indicated that she had finished revisions on all but the final chapter. Although no hard copy of the latest version existed, Dennis Atkinson was able to identify the relevant diskettes among her effects. Laurel Barnes located and printed the manuscript, which I then copy-edited. I corrected typographical errors and punctuation -- Judith's sight had deteriorated so much that she could barely see what she was doing -- and made a few minor stylistic changes which were necessary to make sense of passages that she had not had the opportunity to correct. However, I altered the manuscript as little as possible.

Judith certainly would have wanted to make further changes to sharpen her argument and to expand on points which she left undeveloped. Nevertheless, the substance of her thesis is here. To help the reader, Ruth Rogers has prepared a brief chronology of the dispute over the Victoria Eaton Centre, and I have added as an Appendix the outline Judith was using for her work. I think Judith intended to add a concluding chapter, but I have no evidence of what it might have contained.

I am grateful to Laurel Barnes, who prepared the finished copy of the manuscript, and to the other examiners who consented to read a thesis that lacks the final polish that Judith would have given it. I also would like to thank Ruth Rogers and Dennis Atkinson for their respective contributions. Judith certainly would have appreciated such attention to this, the last work of her life.

Warren Magnusson

**CHRONOLOGY: THE VICTORIA EATON CENTRE CONTROVERSY**1986

- May Cadillac Fairview submits letter of intent to City Council with respect to proposed Eaton Centre development. Requests purchase of portion of Broad Street to facilitate land assembly.
- 11 June In closed session, City Council agrees in principle to sell Broad Street land.
- 16 July Cadillac Fairview releases initial design sketches.
- September Cadillac Fairview Open House attracts 700 visitors. Over a thousand written responses to proposals.
- 24 October Urbanics Ltd. reports positively to City Council on economic impact of proposed Eaton Centre.
- 6 November Cadillac Fairview submits development proposal to City Council.
- 12 November Public presentation of Cadillac Fairview proposal to Council's advisory bodies.
- 11 December Advisory Planning Commission, Advisory Design Panel and Heritage Advisory Committee report to Council's Committee of the Whole. Planning Commission recommends approval, with modifications.
- 16 December Citizens group appeals to Municipal Affairs Minister, Rita Johnston, to intervene to require the City to proceed by rezoning, which would necessitate full public hearings. Johnston ultimately refuses to intervene.
- 18 December City Council approves Eaton Centre development 7 - 1, after seven-hour meeting at which 40 public presentations are made (35 of which are critical of the project). Audience of up to 450 attend.

- 19 December Local Businessmen, Ron McKenzie, Sam Bawlf, and Eric Charman seek injunction against building and demolition permits for the development. (Suit ultimately fails.)
- 30 December Inaugural meeting of the Save Our City Coalition (SOCC) formed to oppose the Eaton Centre development.

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- 6 January 1200 attend Save Our City Coalition protest meeting at Empress Hotel.
- 8 January SOCC presents Finance Minister Couvelier with 300 name petition demanding public inquiry.
- 12 January Victoria Labour Council endorses Eaton Centre project.
- 15 January Mayor Brewin exercises power to require Council to reconsider its approval of the Eaton Centre; appoints Gwyn Symmons to report to Council on possible modifications to the Eaton Centre plan.
- 23 February Second SOCC mass meeting at Royal Theatre, addressed by John Sewell, Walter Hardwick, and Peter Pollen.
- 26 February Council received Symmons report, and decides to hear further public presentations.
- 7 March Council hearings on Eaton Centre proposal.
- 9 March Council approves slightly modified Eaton Centre plan, by 7 - 2 vote. SOCC soon dissolves.

## Chapter One: The Story

The logic of the growth and development of North American cities is generally governed by the relationship of private capital developers, municipal governments and the socio-economic concerns of community. Once a city is historically established as a location by the coincidence of favorable transportation routes, substantial and exploitable natural resources for purposes of either export or local industrial production, and regional centrality to surrounding economic activities, demand for residential housing and less productive and consequently less expensive residential land spreads development outward from the banking, commercial, transportation and industrial downtown core to newly created suburbs. Gradually, the distance from downtown shopping and industrial core to suburbs stimulates development of suburban shopping centres in response to the inconvenience caused by the congestion in the city core caused by the concentration of industrial, commercial, financial, transportation and governmental activity. Moreover, eventually the city core starts to decline in importance as demand for centrally located land pushes up property prices to the extent that only businesses, banks and other activity dependent on central location are willing to remain. At the same time, the establishment of more convenient suburban shopping centres releases consumers from

the need to shop downtown. It is the logic of the market which dominates the development of cities.

Based upon the logic of communities founded on economic necessity, the historical role of municipal government has depended on the facilitation of private rather than public capital. Constituted by the dual needs of community for legitimate leadership, and economic enterprises for legal regulation, municipal government has derived from a combination of community and central state requirements to operate as the singularly legitimate regulatory authority. Moreover, in terms of the relation between the central state and community leadership and based on the economic foundations of this community, municipal government practice establishes standards for safety and social control, which specify building and construction codes, regulate industry and the development of waste disposal and water systems, and make laws relating to acceptable behavior and social organization ultimately focusing on the uses of land in the city. For example, through zoning and the regulation of land use, municipalities may control the activities of industry and its hazardous and unfavorable by-products, or even control the behavior of citizens through advantageous location of bars and taverns away from proximity to incompatible enterprise upon which the community economically or socially relies. Indeed, municipal regulation of land use is predicated on its dependence on private capital to maintain the economic vitality and

viability of the location and consequently municipal government's *raison d'être*.

As the historic role of municipal government is to promote and maintain the economic health of the location, its legitimacy is inextricably linked to the needs and interests of the community it leads. As John Stuart Mill observed, the best argument for municipal democracy rests on liberal conceptions of autonomous individual rights to choose, translated via human interdependence into community demands for self-determination. In this sense, the activities and legitimacy of municipal councils derive from facilitating the private capital development which underlies community existence. Thus, the decline of central cities demands municipal council action to attract private redevelopment capital to revitalize the physical expression of the community's economic viability.

By the spring of 1986, it had become clear that not only was Victoria's downtown shopping core losing a substantial share of the retail market to suburban shopping malls, but that the transportational disadvantages of Victoria's island location, more general depression in world market demand for all natural resources upon which the province of British Columbia depended, and the decline and decay of Victoria's ship-building enterprise, combined to produce significant contraction of the city's primary industrial economy that threatened the community's viability. The effects of this contraction were superimposed on the

architectural and cultural remnants of Victoria's British colonial heritage, with the result that the city's economy was increasingly dependent on development and enhancement of features contributing to a growing tourist trade. In particular, Victoria's extensive English population and moderate climate probably initiated the city's devotion to gardens which provided a backdrop for the Empress Hotel, provincial parliament buildings, and 19th century architecture of the downtown core, which housed small speciality shops, boutiques and restaurants, primarily but not exclusively catering to tourists. Yet, the declining importance of this downtown shopping core for the city's residents prompted the emergence of a consensus and increasing public pressure for core revitalization. At the same time, however, this consensus was also faced with the realities of industrial decline: there was extensive agreement that capital for redevelopment must be found from a source outside the island and perhaps even the province. Limited by the dual parameters imposed by the logic of downtown decline and Victoria's growing dependence on tourism, this consensus was predicated on the well-founded opinion that the city's and island's economies were too fragile and depressed to provide sufficient capital for the redevelopment required by the city. Although small projects were being undertaken by various local developers, it was clear that local sources could not produce the significant injection of capital required for the complete

revitalization of downtown so necessary to ensure the enhancement and continued attraction of tourism.

Not surprisingly -- for it was the local outlet of a national department store chain which was inextricably connected to capital exterior to the community -- but somewhat ironically -- because the Victoria store of the T. Eaton company was central to shopping activity and provided an anchor for a variety of small businesses surrounding its downtown Victoria location -- the T. Eaton company initiated the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy. Housed in a turn-of-the-century former hotel, the company was badly in need of larger and more convenient premises for its primary Victoria outlet. Indeed, the heritage value of existing premises was never exploited and largely went unnoticed by Eaton's, which instead collaborated with a former partner in its downtown redevelopments to formulate the specifications of Victoria's revitalization, provoking the greatest land use and planning controversy in the municipality's history. Since both sides in the ensuing battle concurred that capital from a source external to the city was required to undertake the project of Victoria's revitalization, the contractual agreement between Eaton's and transnational capital developer, Cadillac Fairview, might have resulted in the construction of a new store proceeding without complication if the plan had not included an adjoining mall complex. Yet, malls are frequent in existing downtown redevelopments because they offer the convenience of

suburban malls to workers during the time they are employed downtown, and, while taking advantage of the proximity of other services which workers may use, make intensive use of land too expensive for a single retailer. However, because the proposed Victoria project encompassed a two square block site which threatened to dominate the downtown shopping activity, since it included a large mall complex in direct competition with surrounding independent business who were not or could not afford to rent space in the mall, the developer became entangled in local political controversy which focussed attention on its exteriority and apparent insensitivity to the interests of the Victoria community. Indeed, despite its involvement in local politics and employment of local labour and materials, Cadillac Fairview was perceived as a large scale outsider, interested only in maximizing profit at the expense of local concerns with the preservation of what was seen as the community's architectural and cultural heritage. The perception of the developer as exterior to the Victoria community became a crucial issue for attempts at resistance to the project proposal. The apparent incontestability of the power of transnational capital in supposedly democratic municipal activity seemed to account for Victoria City Council's accommodation of Cadillac Fairview despite the objections of the community.

In May of 1986, Victoria Mayor, Gretchen Brewin, received a letter of intention from Cadillac Fairview,<sup>1</sup> the massive transnational land development company whose shopping centre developments in Vancouver and Toronto are among the best known of its diverse property holdings. Cadillac Fairview indicated that it intended to propose the complete redevelopment of a two square-block site in Victoria's downtown core addressing both the T. Eaton company's need for a new store and Victoria's need for revitalization by providing an accompanying mall similar to the Eaton Centres in Vancouver and Toronto. The proposal could not have been totally unexpected, in light of Eaton's obvious need for new premises, its established working relationship with Cadillac Fairview in the Toronto and Vancouver Eaton Centres, and Cadillac Fairview's ownership of one of the city's suburban shopping centres, Tillicum Mall. Moreover, the proposal accorded with the governing historical principle of Canadian and perhaps North American city growth: private rather than publicly initiated and financed development.<sup>2</sup> As Magnusson says:

"The municipalities generally took the attitude that that their function was to facilitate private investment, by creating the appropriate conditions for it. This meant creating a favourable

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1 City of Victoria, Advisory Planning Commission, Report on the Proposed Eaton's Centre, December 9, 1986, p 1.

2 Warren Magnusson, "The Development of Canadian Urban Government", in Magnusson and Andrew Sancton, eds., City

regulatory framework, as well as improving public facilities ...The commitment of the provinces to the role the municipalities had adopted was reflected in legislation providing for zoning and planning. The assumption on which these acts were based was that urban development would come at private initiative and that the municipal councils would play a regulatory role. Given that development was wanted, the local authorities had little alternative but to facilitate private enterprises." <sup>3</sup>

In this sense, the Cadillac Fairview proposition seemed to meet all of Victoria's needs. The transnational developer provided a source of external capital which could not be raised locally. If it accepted the proposed development, Victoria City Council would fulfill the historic responsibility of municipal councils to promote the economic well-being of the communities they lead by the regulation of land use, which in the case of the city meant the revitalization of old downtown to increase retail activity and attract tourism. The Eaton's department store would receive new premises where, in combination with the adjoining mall, city residents could shop in comfort and convenience, while additional tourism could not fail to be attracted by still more downtown to explore. Perhaps as a token of its dedication to meeting the needs of the city and its residents, Cadillac Fairview solicited public input in a series of "open house" displays held over the course of the summer and fall of 1986. It appeared that private sector

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Politics in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp 3-57.

3 Ibid., p 27.

rather than public development, even if financed and undertaken by transnational capital, could have a social conscience.

That Downtown's share of regional retail sales has been declining as the result of regional shopping centres is undeniable. Urbanics estimates a decline of 8% over the past five years. In the absence of a major retail development, Urbanics estimates that the Downtown market share would slide another 6% to 8% in the next ten years. That it is possible to halt and reverse this trend is an assertion that the City of Victoria must necessarily make. Only a major retail development which is highly competitive in terms of merchandising and marketing can increase Downtown's market share. Under this circumstance, the assumption that Downtown could recapture 5% of regional sales is a reasonable one. Urbanics estimates that such a recapture would increase Downtown retail sales by \$75 million annually in five years and that the Eaton Centre would absorb \$60 million of that increase.<sup>4</sup>

Given the governing principle of private rather than public development, Victoria City council's agreement in principle with the plan was not surprising. In fact, an independent retail impact study of Victoria by Urbanics Consultants of Vancouver offered assurances of the correctness of the decision to council, arguing as early as 1981 that downtown Victoria was in need of redevelopment and economic revitalization. Indeed, the city's central downtown share of total regional retail potential was estimated by a 1986 update of the original study to have declined from

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<sup>4</sup> City of Victoria, *Ibid.*, p 9. The Urbanics report referred to is the updated 1986 version.

fifty percent in 1981, to forty-two percent in 1986.<sup>5</sup> Yet as a municipal council legally and financially bound by the Municipal Act, Victoria City Council was forced to await private development initiatives such as that promised by the Cadillac Fairview proposal. In this sense, accommodation of the company's proposed Eaton's Centre seemed crucial to a city council whose greatest fear implicitly became that this exterior source of redevelopment capital would "leave town". Specifically, Victoria City Council was forced to consider seriously Cadillac Fairview's offer of private capital redevelopment by the Municipal Act stipulation that a municipality is only permitted to develop and redevelop property owned by the municipality, whether for commercial, residential, industrial or a combination of these uses.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, implicit in prior and subsequent provisions, is the underlying principle that it is a municipality's responsibility and within its capability to encourage and facilitate, through its actions and provision of infrastructure and public works, appropriate uses of land by private real-estate developers, commercial and industrial enterprises and residential owners. Put another way, the Municipal Act places severe limitations on a municipality's taxation ability, thus constraining its abilities to act to

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5 Urbanics Consultants Ltd., Retail Impact Study: Victoria B.C., for the City of Victoria, (Vancouver: November 1986), p. 15.

6 Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act, RSBC (1979), Chapter 290, part 12, sections 529 -530.

nothing more than provision of the infrastructure (such as roads, sewers, and other services to property) implicit in its regulation of the uses of land within its jurisdictional boundaries. Clearly then, through these authorized actions, the Municipal Act intends a primary municipal responsibility for promotion of the economic well-being and social health of the community in ways which are conducive to the principle of private property ownership accomplished by the accommodation of private development interests. Thus, Cadillac Fairview's proposal was of great importance to Victoria City Council.

Presumably with experience gained in other downtown mall redevelopments, Cadillac Fairview's initial proposition coincided neatly with the principle of private rather than public development. Its initial approach to the municipal process reflected the strategy it would pursue throughout the Eaton's Centre development. In calculated avoidance of specially requested changes to zoning by-laws which required a complicated process of public hearings, the company sought municipal agreement to site alterations which would make its proposed mall design compatible with existing municipal standards of zoning, density and scale. Specifically, Cadillac Fairview requested not a development permit, but rather, "in principle" agreement from council for the permanent closure or sale of Broad Street between View and Fort streets, which had operated as a pedestrian walkway between the main Eaton's store and its annex to the west. A

further precondition to their interest in developing the property was the appropriation of a southerly ten feet of View Street west of Broad. Finally, Cadillac Fairview suggested the establishment of a process for project approval and requested council's position on the issue of downtown parking. On June 11, Brewin gave a positive response in her reply to Cadillac Fairview's request but warned that the project proposal would have to conform to the community plan formulated only three months before under the requirements of the Province of British Columbia's Bill 62.<sup>7</sup> Ostensibly, this legislation demanded more precise expression of municipal zoning regulations, thereby significantly reducing Council autonomy by legislatively requiring that developers be provided with more specific information, which it was claimed would avoid arbitrary council planning decisions on project proposals. Thus, while Brewin warned Cadillac Fairview that its project would have to fulfill the requirements laid out by the Community Plan, the developer, taking advantage of this legislation, in fact and from the start, demonstrated the limitations of council authority in land use decisions.

Despite the controversy, the form of the redevelopment mall project was never in question. Yet, in addition to its "in principle" agreement to the Cadillac Fairview proposal, Victoria City council also endorsed a list of principles in

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<sup>7</sup> City of Victoria, Advisory Planning Commission, Report on the Proposed Eaton's Centre, December 9, 1986, p. 1.

accordance with the Community plan that anticipated the aesthetic, tourism and heritage issues that would inform the focus and struggles of oppositional community resistance:

- a) Public Facilities: access to Broad Street be guaranteed eighteen hours a day including access to the Rotunda for public programs, with the developer responsible for maintenance and security;
- b) Municipal Infrastructure: Cadillac Fairview responsible for the costs of alteration, abandonment or reconstruction of municipal services and adjacent roadways resulting from the project;
- c) Parking: developer to maintain current balance of supply and demand;
- d) Heritage and Design: the developer to provide for:
  - an "urban design approach which must reflect the scale, style and character of Old Town, and the heritage features of existing buildings"<sup>8</sup>;
  - a balance between preservation and new construction
  - the preservation or replication of existing facades or significant portions thereof, with emphasis on specific heritage buildings, (named in the report)
  - retail store frontage on the perimeter of the project
  - a variety of store front treatments, picking up the Old Town and existing facade themes
  - retention of existing scales, and "sympathetic use of materials, colours, and signage".<sup>9</sup>

Finally, council strongly suggested to Cadillac Fairview that the project's street level perimeter enhance the shopping character of the streets affected.<sup>10</sup> Quite obviously, Victoria City Council recognized the tourist attracting qualities of heritage buildings in old downtown, and in these principles attempted to effect a compromise between the benefits of transnational-capital-financed, shopping mall style revitalization and independent small-business tourist interests in downtown heritage and its

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p 2.

10 Ibid.

preservation. Indeed, while certain factions of what would be called the "Save Our City Coalition" tried unsuccessfully to introduce the notion that Victoria's heritage would be more adequately preserved by renovation and restoration of old buildings rather than the construction of a new shopping mall, as certainly the tourist trade could be developed through an effort to focus on enhancement of the city's "museum piece" character, majority community opinion seemed to opt, even if unwillingly, for the compromises suggested in council's Community Plan guidelines. As the mall project itself was never in real doubt, serious resistance to outsider and community interloper, Cadillac Fairview, was reduced to questions of image, of the building's aesthetics and design, leading to the apparent measurement of heritage value in tourist dollars. Underlying this, however, it seemed that if transnational capital decided to risk investing in a mall to economically revitalize Victoria, a mall was what Victoria would get.

If transnational developer Cadillac Fairview's will to redevelop the Eaton's site seemed incontestable in terms of the mall form of the revitalization project assured by council's "in principle" agreement, the attention of resistant forces focussed on the potentially devastating economic impact of the proposal, and under the guise of the city's historic character, on amelioration of those consequences through preservation of existing heritage in a mall design compatible with the community and presumably the

city's interests. Although certain factions of the community based opposition disputed the utility of the mall form of the redevelopment, advocating instead revitalization through the renovation and restoration of existing historic buildings, the consensus on the need for redevelopment and Cadillac Fairview's ability and willingness to undertake the project convinced most opposition supporters to formulate objections in terms of specific concerns such as heritage preservation, which were grounded in fear of the economic consequences of the mall's anticipated competitive advantage. Thus, perhaps in response to the apparently incontestable power of transnational capital, a community-based oppositional coalition was formed, largely consisting of an alliance of independent small downtown business owners, tourist operators and heritage preservationists. Spurred on by Cadillac Fairview's public relations strategy of holding "open houses" as a "programme of public information, input and review, aimed at eliciting the opinions of Victoria's citizens on the project."<sup>11</sup> the "Save Our City Coalition" articulated community concerns from September 1986 until March of the following year. The purpose of this strategy, Cadillac Fairview insisted, was to ensure that its final mall design "... respected and integrated into the existing fabric of downtown Victoria and

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11 Cadillac Fairview, The Victoria Eaton Centre Design Proposal [Open House brochure], September 1986.

particularly provided extensive street related retail outlets and addressed the need for additional parking facilities in the downtown."<sup>12</sup>. In this sense, there existed a fundamental conflict between the interests of small private capital and heritage preservation in the claim to "community" made by the oppositional coalition.

"Don't we believe Eaton's deserves a new building? Sure we do. Don't we want to see major capital investment downtown? Sure we do. Why then are we going to devote so much space and energy to the topic [of Cadillac Fairview's proposal]?"

Because in our opinion the project will absolutely reshape downtown Victoria. At this point we're not against the project - just keenly aware of its profound impact... The Urbanics Study, commissioned only a few years ago [1981] by the city and the Downtown Business Association, said that downtown would, given economic and population growth, require 500,000 square feet of retail and office space to the year 2000. The Cadillac Fairview project puts all that square footage in place in two years. ... What has to give under pressure from all that new space? ... There are other factors: density transfer and the interests of surrounding downtown property owners; the long range impact on heritage, on the physical personality of downtown, on tourism... Clearly it is to Cadillac Fairview's advantage to keep the focus of concern on the cosmetic issues of design and heritage retention."<sup>13</sup>

The community base claimed by the "Save Our City Coalition" is implicit in its name, yet even with the difficulties involved in precisely defining community,

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12 Ibid.

13 Gene Miller, "Not Just another Manic Monday", Monday Magazine, July 31-August 6, 1986, p.3.

public opinion polls confirm that not everyone was supportive.<sup>14</sup> Instead, in large part the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to a fundamental community base was predicated on a community of specific interests, loosely encompassing some vague notion of the entire population of the city understood as a community. The claim referred to an organic conception of community produced by the joint experience of the city's inhabitants within the parameters of history and culture. Implicitly, it was precisely this authentic specificity which the "Save Our City Coalition" maintained was attractive to tourists and therefore threatened by Cadillac Fairview. Yet, the composition of the coalition by small business owners, tourist attraction operators and heritage preservationists, betrayed the appropriation of this conceptual position by a suddenly forged alliance of ultimately conflicting interests. The concerns of the "Hallmark Society" in the conservation of Victoria's historic buildings provided only a temporary and partial platform for the opposition of independent downtown small business owners and tourist operators whose essential capitalist interests demanded revitalization and redevelopment. Apprehension about the economic consequences of the new Eaton's Centre mall in terms of the developing tourist trade contingently bound the groups together. Yet, as Manuel Castells suggests, there is no necessary and

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14 "Solid Support for centre", Times-Colonist, January 10, p A4.

deterministic association between the production of culture and physical constructs.<sup>15</sup> The community base of the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim was thus primarily a community of economic interests which coincided with preservationist concerns with history and culture expressed in heritage architecture.

"To the rationalist sensibilities of a Toronto developer, Victoria's unusual plays of scale and form may seem to be but minor erraticisms, but in actuality they are some of the fundamental and subliminal underpinnings of our quirky, characterful and snug-fitting city centre - irregularities which make downtown Victoria an irresistible, provocative puzzle for visitors from so many other rigidly rationalized modern North American cities."<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, the July 16th release of Cadillac Fairview's initial sketches of the new Eaton's centre signalled the first overt community opposition in terms of heritage and design. Dedicated to the preservation and restoration of heritage architecture and buildings, the Hallmark Society expressed concern because the design of the complex failed to incorporate the heritage-listed buildings on the site and so violated the Community plan.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the claim to community was predicated on the relation of Victoria's

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15 Manuel Castells, The Urban Question, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

16 Chris Gower, "A Question of Design", Monday Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 41, October 2-8, 1986, pp 6-7.

17 Hallmark Society, Newsletter, "Special Edition: Heritage Update", Vol. 13, No 7, September 1986.

heritage to development of tourism. For example, while heritage became an important theme for resistance in the following weeks of the summer, the city's weekly newspaper, "Monday Magazine," offered early critical examination of the economic impact of the proposal in terms of heritage aesthetics, design and community effects:

It is reasonable to infer that the soon to be unveiled proposal both will encompass an imposing new shopping mall, and will feature the reuse, adaptation, or replication of existing heritage buildings. Some heritage buildings will be removed, and much new construction will be necessary. This opens a grab-bag of design and planning questions:

- Will the design diminish or increase the intensity and diversity of the architectural environment downtown?
- Can this mall figure as a grand urban attraction, to bring in new tourists, and bring back suburban shoppers?
- In winter months, despite a near myth to the contrary, weather worried downtown often does not compete well with the enclosed suburban malls. Will the interior of the Eaton's centre provide an adequately monumental space to establish a competitive focus? Can it also operate as a dynamic cultural amenity for downtown?
- will the interior only be another conventional arcade within a box, or can an especially outstanding architectural experience be achieved here - one distinctive to Victoria? Is there an appropriate emphasis and scale for the interior, so that the mall will not excessively contain pedestrians at the expense of the surrounding streets?...<sup>18</sup>

The constitution of oppositional forces on the basis of community is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the general perception of developer Cadillac Fairview as a

<sup>18</sup> Chris Gower, "The Old Downtown", Monday Magazine, Vol.12, No 37., September 4-10 1986, pp 8-12.

powerful foreigner, exterior and consequently threatening, imposing its will on an organic and inclusive community. The violation and the invasion of the community were powerful themes invoked by the "Save Our City Coalition", despite its foundation on the underlying consensus on the need for economic redevelopment. Indeed, since the community was overtly coalitional in nature, once it is recognized that the constitution of community depended to a large degree on the notion of heritage's connection to and implications for conceptions of an on-going experiential community, analysis is free to question the specific nature of this community, especially in terms of the connection of heritage and tourism. Even setting aside groups concerned with heritage for a moment, it was local real-estate owners and developers and small business owners who became best known for their community based opposition. Yet, the common feature among local developers, real-estate owners and independent business owners was not really that all were enthusiastic and dedicated heritage preservationists, but rather that they formed a community which shared a common interest in capital accumulation. For example, the unsuccessful attempt by local developers and property owners Sam Bawlf, Ron McKenzie, and Eric Charman to obtain a court injunction and involve the Provincial government's department of Municipal Affairs against what they claimed was Victoria City Council's impropriety, was probably inspired by their exclusion from the redevelopment process

which would have resulted.<sup>19</sup> Thus, organic and meaningful community based opposition in terms of heritage and shared experience seemed the only source of effective resistance to the "rationalist sensibilities" of a transnational capitalist developer. Indeed, the refusal of the Province of British Columbia and even the Federal Government of Canada to become involved in the process of local land development isolated municipal government authority and the response of the community within its jurisdiction as the site of the state's interaction with extra-state forces.

On this basis, throughout the fall and winter of 1986 - 87, the "Save Our City Coalition" organized a contingent series of "town-meetings" loosely ordered to precede regular council meetings at which the Cadillac Fairview project was of over-riding importance. In this sense, municipal democracy or the relationship between community and its leadership becomes the third component of the relationship between capital (Cadillac Fairview), community (the "Save Our City Coalition"), and the municipal government (Victoria City Council) which is central to analysis of the most intense controversy in the City of Victoria's recent history. Indeed, the timing of these meetings reveals the community- base of opposition and reflects the coalition's growing frustration and distrust of the actions of Victoria City Council's apparent accommodation of Cadillac Fairview's

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19 All three had interests in nearby downtown properties. Their unsuccessful suit was launched on 19 December 1986.

interest in redeveloping the Eaton's site.<sup>20</sup> In short, as government presupposes the governed, the "Save Our City Coalition" viewed municipal council not as local level administrators on behalf of provincial and ultimately federal responsibility, but rather as democratically elected leaders of the community, accountable to that electorate. Hence, the "Save Our City Coalition" community met before each council meeting, in effect to establish and formulate the community's position to be articulated at official municipal council meetings. Not only did the legitimacy of city council depend on the community's agreement, in the sense that local government had a responsibility to consider and minister to the good of the entire community, the "Save Our City Coalition" as community clearly felt that its duty was to offer community guidance as to exactly what that good might be. The future of the city hung in the balance.

On the other hand, Victoria City Council's conviction that the Cadillac Fairview project was in the best interests of the community, facilitated its agreement to the developer's timetable. Yet, the municipality's legal constitution by the Municipal Act and more general processes of legitimation, procedurally and democratically ensured at least some degree of public input. After an outpouring of negative public sentiment about the lack of conformity of Cadillac Fairview's first design plans, released in

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20 Richard Van Dine, "Victorians don't trust council...", Monday Magazine, September 11-17, p 5.

September, with the official Community plan and other public concerns about parking and heritage, Victoria City Council directed the developer to redesign the project. As had been included in the initial "in principle" agreement in the spring, the company again suggested a schedule for project approval. The Cadillac Fairview timetable, proposed:

November 6 - official presentation of new plans to City Council;

November 12 - special presentation by developer to council's Advisory Planning Commission, Advisory Design Panel and Heritage Advisory Committee, with special meetings between Cadillac Fairview and these committees to discuss specific details;

December 11 - presentation of reports prepared by these committees to Victoria City Council "Meeting of the Whole";

December 18 - city council to vote on the project proposal. Thus, in accordance with this schedule, and with the Urbanic's study firmly in hand, the Advisory Planning Commission, the Advisory Design Panel, the Heritage Advisory Committee, the Advisory Parking and Traffic Commission and the Downtown Advisory Committee--having conferred with developer--presented their reports to council as a whole on December 11. With the additional submission of a senior City staff report on the project application, these bodies all strongly recommended and supported approval of the project application. Yet, in this way, all official

community input was focussed on the December 18th decision day vote on the officially required development permit.

On the appointed December 18th decision day Council meeting and public hearing, the political nature of development and especially municipal roles within it were explosively revealed as Victoria city council found itself embroiled in what was later called the biggest political battle ever in the history of the city. On the whole, it is doubtful that Cadillac Fairview vice-president (shopping centre division) Peter Picherack's confidence was shaken by the expressions of opposition conspicuous at the meeting, although it lasted until almost 4 am the following morning. Speaker after speaker reiterated the same themes which had informed criticism since the late summer: the method and formulation of the negotiated selling price of Broad Street, the project's appropriation of part of View Street, downtown parking, heritage and design, tourism and economic impact loosely united the fully emergent opposition to the project. Conversely, defenders of the project proposal clearly stressed its beneficial aspects -- construction employment, the revitalizing effects of capital investment and the redevelopment of downtown which would attract the tourist trade -- and argued that if approval was withheld for much longer, all would be lost in the certain decline in the developer's interest and subsequent withdrawal of its proposal. However, in the end, Victoria City Council voted 7 - 1 in favor of project approval.

Although the "Save Our City Coalition" remained intact until early March, fighting strenuously against the project through continued public meetings, advertising and street activities such as protests and street level pamphlet distribution--and despite council's appointment of a special commissioner to attempt some compromise in implicit recognition of the extent of community opposition--in the end, this resistance to the new Eaton's Centre proposed by Cadillac Fairview was reduced to questions of aesthetics and design of the project. Indeed, the meeting's Coalition participants had lost some of their enthusiasm. Perhaps made aware by the cooling off period enforced by the appointment of Gwyn Symmons, and in knowledge of his purpose, there seemed to be a sense of resignation manifest in "Save Our City Coalition" protests in the early part of 1987 leading up to the final granting of the development permit. Indeed, just two weeks before the March 4, final, final decision day, the coalition was forced to hold a closed meeting -- closed because small merchants, beginning to fear a backlash against their support for the coalition, refused to attend if they could be identified.<sup>21</sup> Thus, these contributing factors combined with the release of the special commissioner Gwyn Symmon's report on February 26, to produce the return of city council to its neutral position as "approval authority" suggested by Symmons in his report.

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21 Lavoie, Judith, "Meeting closed as merchants fear backlash", Times Colonist , February 12, 1987, p B12.

In fact, Mayor Brewin's especial concern with the politics of land development and the community's opposition to the Cadillac Fairview plan, prompted her to delay the date of the final decision from February 26 until March 4, so that a last public hearing on the matter could be held. While this certainly sustained "Save Our City Coalition" hopes for a miracle, Cadillac Fairview vice-president, Peter Picherack, commented to Council on March 4 that, if the company was forced to conform to all the recommendations made by the Special Commissioner, the project would not go ahead: "It [the site of the proposed mall] will just sit there vacant. Or I'm happy to run a bingo parlor in the Woolworth's Building".<sup>22</sup> In short, both council and community opposition were co-opted and ineffective in autonomously arriving at a decision on the desirability of Cadillac Fairview's proposed new Eaton's Centre, despite council's official power and the community's role in legitimating municipal decision making authority.

In this sense, the limits of municipal democracy, at least in terms of public input into development projects, were exposed by the forces of transnational capital represented by Cadillac Fairview. Indeed, the historic, regularized and mutually dependent components of the state constituted by government and community were separated into support for and opposition to the development project. This

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<sup>22</sup> Peter Picherack quoted by Judith Lavoie, "City not threatened but...", Times Colonist, March 4, 1987., p B1.

is demonstrated by project support from sources which could usually be included in the "community" designation since they are not strictly governmental but act publicly in the interests of certain factions comprising conflicting interests in the community such as some independent, small business groups and organized labour. Yet, the interests of traditionally opposing interests also coincided against those of the "Save Our City Coalition". For example, support for the approval of the new Eaton's Centre from the Downtown Business Association, Chamber of Commerce, and the Building and Trades Council, exemplifies the limitation of critical community input into the decision making process on the basis of those conflictal community concerns. However, while such divisions are usual and unanimity is not to be expected among council or community members, transnational capital developer Cadillac Fairview appeared as an irresistible force to both sides of the conflict, as the failure of coalition resistance and municipal-organized labour and business interest support would suggest. Thus, rather than the irresistible strength of transnational capital vis-a-vis the government (in this case municipal government), and community components of the state explaining its seeming ability to impose its will, it is perhaps the implication of capital in the constitution of both Victoria City Council practice and in the basis of "Save Our City Coalition's" community concerns, which accounts for Cadillac Fairview's

ability to manipulate democratic development processes, demonstrating its apparently exterior power over both.

Hence, despite the propensity for municipal government to be guided by and even depend on and facilitate the private property development decisions of land developers, in terms of municipal government's ostensibly equally important other dependency on the community for the legitimation of its authority, the perceived exteriority of Cadillac Fairview to the dispute in which it was involved seems implicated in the explanation of the ineffectiveness of the Save Our City Coalition's resistance to Victoria City Council's support for the project. Thus, we will examine the implication of capital in the constitution of government and community, in order to address the reasons for both municipal government's and community based opposition's co-optation by transnational capital. To put it in terms of a question, we will ask how is it that transnational capital developer Cadillac Fairview appeared as an external and irresistible power to the mutually dependent legitimation and governance duality of the relationship of community and government or in this case, municipal authority, which comprises the foundation of the sovereign state?

In order to propose an answer, it seems necessary to examine in some detail Western liberal democratic conceptions of the constitution of the duality of government and community in relation to capital's implication in the foundation of the society of the sovereign state. This is

because the perceived exteriority of transnational developer Cadillac Fairview to the location of the controversy, raises questions about the interaction of external capital forces and the state. Thus, while events subsequent to the momentous December 18 council decision certainly did not alter the relevant facts and relationships of the case, it is the interaction of Cadillac Fairview, Victoria Municipal Council and the "Save Our City Coalition" which focus our attention on these abstractions, suggesting alternate understandings of the relation of the sovereign state, capital and community. These subsequent events include the appointment of special commissioner, Gwn Symmons, and consideration of his report on possible compromises between the developer and the community which resulted in Victoria City Council's reconsideration but ending finally in reaffirmation of its original decision. Thus, the relevant facts and relationships include: (1) downtown Victoria's economic situation and (the city's growing dependence on tourism and the loss of central city retailing market share to suburban shopping malls), which inspired a growing general consensus on the need for redevelopment, and (2) general recognition that the extensive and intense capital resources required for this revitalization must come from sources external to the city. Implicit and underlying both consensus and recognition were the principles guiding the development of land in Canadian cities: first, that private rather than public capital and initiatives should undertake

such projects and, secondly, that it is the duty of Canadian municipal authorities to encourage and maintain the economic well-being of the communities they lead through the facilitation of conditions conducive to private capital investment in land development, commerce and industry. Indeed, apparently because the available source of this revitalizing investment capital was transnational developer, Cadillac Fairview, the community input and autonomous decision making processes of local government suggested by principles of municipal democracy were implicitly subverted in favor of the developer's investment decisions. As suggested by Victoria City Council's initial approval and continuing support for the Victoria Eaton's Centre proposal, oppositional community forces to the project were almost completely ineffective in obtaining concessions from the developer except in the matters of mall design and aesthetics, and they were particularly unsuccessful in altering Victoria City Council's final decision. Yet, while the coalition's position was clearly based on community concerns, this basis is contradicted by certain community constituent support for the project. Obviously, then, there are various options for understanding how these realities contributed to a final fact: the failure of the resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition" to the proposed Victoria Eaton's Centre.

There appear to be three primary modes of understanding possible. First, it could be argued that the power of

transnational capital is so strong that mere municipal authorities and the communities they serve are largely unable to refuse it and inevitably succumb to its will. If the sovereign state is composed of the totalizing unity expressed in the relationship of government and community, this line suggests that in the absence of sufficient local capital resources, community based input such as that of the "Save Our City Coalition" was overwhelmed by the strength and externality of transnational capital given municipal government's propensity to support private development. Indeed, in light of this historic propensity of municipal governments to support their communities through facilitation of private economic development, there seems to be no need to refer to the external power of transnational capital over the state. Thus, a second type of explanation of the ineffectiveness of "Save Our City Coalition" resistance might be that the source of capital required for redevelopment is unimportant and that the outcome in this case was rather a result of the historical logic of municipal government roles in the development of cities. It was this logic that remained unchanged even in the face of strenuous community protest which was left to express its displeasure through electoral processes. Yet, since this suggests the possibility that it was weakness in the coalition itself which resulted in its failure, a third type of explanation might focus on the "Save Our City Coalition" itself. Its composition, strategies, organization,

leadership and the timing of the protest activities might not have produced effective change, especially in light of the hasty emergence of the coalition. Community based strategies such as street level pamphlet distribution and loosely organized town meetings perhaps expressed the lack of the development of coherent coalition positions, and this might be held to account for the failure of resistance, since these strategies did not effectively communicate the coalition's community concerns to city council. Poor leadership, organization or approaches could be blamed in this case.

Yet, while each individual line of argument--about transnational capital's powerful externality, the logic of municipal government's dependence on private capital development for the maintenance of economic well-being, and the "Save Our City Coalition's" poor organization and alleged failure to develop and communicate a coherent community based position--raise valid explanatory factors, a complete attempt at explanation requires their integration. For example, the argument that transnational capital power and exteriority simply overwhelm municipal government and the community it leads, requires analysis of the interaction of transnational capital forces and municipal government processes. Similarly, if the composition, leadership, strategy, organisation, timing, or inability to develop and communicate a coherent position, of the "Save Our City Coalition" is held to account for the

ineffectiveness of its resistance, the relationship between community and municipal government, the historic role of municipal government and its receptiveness to the strategies of community-based based opposition and input need to be investigated. Further, since we argue that the relationship between government and community is fundamental to the constitution of the sovereign state, the interaction of community-based resistance and transnational capital, or between community and capital and therefore between transnational capital or generic capital itself and the state seem implicated in the explanation of the ineffectiveness of the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistance. Thus, and although there are many other analyses possible, in order to achieve the most comprehensive understanding possible of the components contributing to the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy, the approach adopted here will attempt to understand how the relationships between the state, government and community, and capital are constituted.

While up to this point there appears a huge gap between abstract concepts such as the state, community and capital, and the practices of agents in the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy, the primary methodology used here will be to examine the constitution of these concepts by the practices of Victoria City Council, the "Save Our City Coalition", and Cadillac Fairview. For example, it is only through analysis of the concrete practices of transnational developer,

Cadillac Fairview, in Victoria, that it is possible to apprehend the interaction of otherwise inaccessible, abstract forces such as transnational capital and municipal government. The examination of practice then reduces abstract concepts to their constitution by concrete practices in the real world. Then, it is possible to examine and propose explanations of the interactions of forces affecting the lives of real human beings. This is the real importance of the examination of practice. The forces affecting the lives of individuals are only understandable in terms of practice: in this case, the activities of municipalities affect the communities they lead and from which they derive their authority, as the communities formed by individuals reflect and determine the values informing the strategies used by communities in coping with the practices of transnational capital developers, and municipal government support for revitalization projects which might jeopardize the historic ambience of the downtown, upon which the city's economy and the financial status of this community are based. Thus, the examination of practice refuses the dichotomy of theory and practice - abstract concepts are expressed in the real practices which constitute them - as real practices may be given purpose by their expression of and organization by abstract concepts. Given the perceived exteriority of transnational capital to local politics, this methodology, the examination of practice, might offer understanding of

the reasons for the maintenance of the perception of Cadillac Fairview's exteriority, in face of the developer's dependence on municipal approval, local labour and materials for construction of the mall project.

According to this methodology, we first examine the constitution of Victoria's municipal council and government in terms of the state conceived by classic 17th century theorist Thomas Hobbes, by contemporary Canadian state practices expressed in federal and provincial legislation (including, in particular, the British Columbia Municipal Act) and by municipal government's historic role and its relationship with the communities it serves. Indeed, Hobbes is especially illuminating with regard to the underlying implications of a specific conception of community which is served by practices constitutive of municipal government. For this reason, the relationship manifested in the interaction of the practices of Victoria City Council and the "Save Our City Coalition" is linked to particularistic theoretical underpinnings. The parameters delimiting the absolute spatial practices of the Western liberal state, which are described by Hobbes and Locke seem challenged by transnational capital. Yet, because the Victoria Eaton's Centre case precisely involves the interaction of the state and this external challenger, the following chapter specifically examines the ground between the classic theorizations of Hobbes and Locke, which abstractly demonstrate the practical relationship of capital and

community. The implication of capital in the constitution of the particularistic understanding of community in Western liberal democracies and therefore in the constitution of the state, thus seems to indicate the reasons for the failure of the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistance which was founded on this notion of community. Finally then, we suggest that effective community based resistance seems to depend on the development of an alternate conception of community through a thorough-going critique of the relationship of the state, capital and traditional liberal conceptions of community. It seems likely that this may involve the development of non-spatial conceptions of community which may emerge from current technological innovations such as the immediate and time altering long distance telephone and satellite communications now radically altering the possible connections underlying human conceptions of community in space and time.

Chapter Two: Founding Subject

"The polemicist ... proceeds encased in privileges that he possesses in advance and will never agree to question. On principle, he possesses rights authorizing him to wage war and making that struggle a just undertaking; the person he confronts is not a partner in the search for the truth, but an adversary, an enemy who is wrong, who is harmful and an adversary, an enemy whose very existence constitutes a threat. For him, then, the game does not consist of recognizing the person as a subject having the right to speak, but of abolishing him, as interlocutor, from any possible dialogue; and his final objective will be, not to come as close as possible to a difficult truth but to bring about the triumph of the just cause, he has been manifestly upholding from the beginning. The polemicist relies on a legitimacy that his adversary is by definition denied.<sup>1</sup>

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The apparent incontestability of the power of transnational developer Cadillac Fairview seems to introduce a non-local aspect into the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy which might conventionally be regarded as a local municipal political event implying the continued integrity of the state's domination. Ironically, however, neither Victoria City Council nor the community-based resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition" was able to successfully alter Cadillac-Fairview's proposed project largely completed by 1990. Indeed, while it has been suggested that on behalf of the economic health of the

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1 Michel Foucault, "Polemics, Politics and Problematizations", The Foucault Reader, Paul Rabinow, ed., (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 392.

community they serve, municipal government might historically be expected to support and even facilitate such a private development project, in the face of such intense community opposition, our intention to explain the reasons for the ultimate ineffectiveness of the resistance of the coalition must address the incontestability of the perceived, powerful externality of Cadillac Fairview to the relations of municipal government and the community. Yet this incontestability is all the more puzzling since municipal government, like its senior counterparts, acts and is conceived of as belonging to the single, unquestionably most powerful authority extant in any society: its authority, after all, derives from what is conventionally called the state. Since the state is comprised by the regular, legitimate and often institutional expression of this monolithic power in specific relation to society, the spatial articulation of this relationship of political society or community and government is evident in the practices of sovereignty extant throughout the territory of the state. Hence, it can be suggested that the constitution of this relationship must be examined more closely to explore the apparent challenge to the sovereign state from transnational capital implicit, in particular, in democratically-elected Victoria City Council's claim to the right to make the final decision on the project, when in the face of intense community-based opposition, this municipal authority ultimately accepted and even facilitated

the mall project's successful construction. In short, the power of transnational capital seems to be incontestable to governmental authority, consequently warranting the sacrifice of the legitimacy inherent in the foundations of any democratic political process. Thus, in this chapter, we examine the implications of these relations of sovereignty in constituting the basis of this governmental claim to be the basis or founding subject of the political society or community implicit in the legitimacy of council's authority which was presupposed, expected and questioned by the formation of the community-based opposition represented by the "Save Our City Coalition".

Specifically, Victoria City Council's claim to the right to make the final decision and regulate the standards to which the project was required to conform arises from its position as legitimate governing authority. As this is the foundation upon which all other existence is made possible, we might imagine that in the face of the intense opposition of the "Save Our City Coalition", Cadillac Fairview's mall proposal should have been rejected. Yet, the Founding Subject draws both its power and legitimacy from the economic community it founds in the municipality. Indeed, the implication of capital in sovereignty means that the leaders of the community economically constituted as municipality will find the prosperity promised by land developers to contribute immensely to the economic well-being of the municipal economy, substantially reinforcing

the irresistibility of the developer's power, and, in the Victoria case, trapping municipal authority in its historic role between the transnational developer's will and the concerns of the legitimizing community. Indeed, as it affected both city council and the resistant coalition, the perceived externality of transnational capital developer Cadillac Fairview, seems to challenge the sovereignty of the state and its power which we contend is constituted by the specific constitution of the relation of community and government. Accordingly, we examine the relationship of community and government constituting sovereignty, and especially the basis upon which the municipal government of Victoria City Council claimed the right to make the final decision and regulate the project's physical construction, but ultimately acquiesced to the developer's demands.

Moreover, because sovereignty is the basis of both Victoria City Council's position and claims, as well as our exploration of the interaction of the state and extra-state forces implicit in this case, analysis cannot depend on theories of local politics which powerfully presuppose conventional assumptions about the spatially defined state and the nature of power inherent in the practices of sovereignty which inform the position taken by municipal government in the Victoria case. Yet, as the liberal, democratic state appears as the contemporary totalizing enclosure of Western politics, we first examine the constitution of the state according to the theory of its

foremost advocate, Thomas Hobbes, because it is his conception of sovereignty which is expressed in the authoritative position taken by governments which seems to be challenged by transnational capital. Moreover, since the developer acted as a local company in its use of local labour, materials and its conformity to local construction standards, the methodological strategy adopted for this analysis will be the examination of practice. The examination of practice focuses attention on the interactions of the apparent free will or powerful profit-maximizing purposes guiding powerful, transnational capital development practices, with and within the socio-spatial practices of the sovereign state which are also constitutive of municipal government authority's presupposition of a particular conception of community. As community is defined as a municipal jurisdiction, we argue that municipal government articulates the principle of sovereignty in its practice. Thus, the examination of practice provides a common denominator for more concrete conceptions of abstract entities such as transnational capital, the sovereign state and community.

In this sense, our interest lies with practices in the local. It is practice in the local - regularized or contingent actions in the concrete world accessible to human beings - which constitutes meaning, and thus a way of apprehending or understanding the real implications of the interactions of global capital and cities. It is our

contention that, despite the current contestation of its definition by new technology such as the long distance telephone call, the local is the only possible site of human practice since it is the unique point at which human beings are able to act on the basis of their individual needs which, taken as together, encompass the relevant range of truly human needs. Moreover, because by definition, transnational companies may operate in many countries simultaneously, the extension of the Hobbesian conception of sovereignty into multiple sovereignties has traditionally resulted in the conceptual construction of a model of the international state system territorially organizing the entire globe, in a way that ensures that a state must contain the site or locality of real transnational activity in the municipality. Indeed, this remains the case despite the apparent fluidity with which international capital moves from one site to another. Moreover, because, as in the Victoria Cadillac Fairview Eaton's Centre, the company used local labour, materials and local construction standards at these locations of its transnational capital practice, these companies appear and act as if they were local. Thus, situated in terms of Hobbesian theory, the examination of practice in the local brings all forces involved to a site where they can be analyzed as concrete human acts. Local practice is therefore common to multinational capital, the sovereign state and community: analysed as local practices, the activities of abstract multinational corporations can be

reduced to the logical specificity of a series of concrete acts in the same sense that municipal government can be seen as a group of local practices of state sovereignty and the claims to community made by citizen groups in response can be analysed in terms of the actual realities and requirements of economic, social, political or human life.

Analysis will proceed by examination of language or discourse as practice. For example, we contend that in the case of municipal government, its authority is based on and expressed by its continuous articulation of the logic of the sovereign state. Yet, a particular conception of community is implicit in the discourse of the state and thus in the practices of municipal government. Hence the foundations of both are contained in their respective discourses or discursive practices. These practices, especially their practices of discourse, also constitute the unities we recognize as community and government. These unities, which can be conceptualized as solid, appear to have real existences, and are constructed around the logic of their composition by various regularized or institutionalized forces such as processes, agencies activities and resistances. Analysis involves breaking apart these unities to gain access to the way in which they are constituted which in turn offers clues to their constitutive role in the formation of other unities. The various logics informing practices are the cornerstones of these unities and analysis of these discourses as practices of language then allows the

examination of the forces interacting in the Victoria Eaton's Centre case. In this sense, we begin with the analysis of the geometric logic which gives meaning to the unities of community and government comprising the sovereign state expressed in the discourse of municipal government. Thus, because it seems to be challenged by the transnational forces acting in this case, we turn to the Hobbesian formulation of the state on the basis of a geometric conceptualization of power, human nature and individuals, and the relation he devises to ensure, peaceful, contented lives for the humanity he inescapably encloses within states. This logic informs the foundation of municipal government's authority and the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to community and is therefore implicated in the ineffectiveness of the coalition's community-based resistance to the Victoria Eaton's Centre project.

Specifically, we will argue that municipal government's inextricable implication in sovereignty is demonstrated by the "Save Our City Coalition's" regard for Victoria City Council as leaders of the community whose practices articulate and correspond to spatial principles conceptualizing the nature of existence theorized by Thomas Hobbes, which also contribute to the perception of the incontestability and externality of transnational capital to the politics of the Victoria Eaton's Centre case and ultimately the Canadian state. Indeed, it is Hobbes' geometric conception of atomistic, self-interested

individuals and the social compact they make for their preservation which constitutes his monolithic, sovereign state and the international system of states. Moreover, Hobbesian theory underlies the discourse of the state and its particular understanding of community and therefore constitutes its relationship to government as the exercise of sovereign power. This relationship is established by Hobbes' geometric conception of the social contract between individuals for their protection from each other and outside forces. As the relation of the practices of Victoria City Council and the community base claimed by the "Save Our City Coalition" express this social contract which forms the foundation of Hobbes' formulation of the sovereign state by the relationship of community and government, they comprise the socio-spatial site of transnational capital activity. In short, this logic demands that transnational activity take place within the state such that interaction between the sovereign state and transnational capital occurs in local political practice. The implication of capital in the relationship founding the sovereign state, particularly in community, will be discussed in the third chapter.

In order to understand the ineffectiveness of the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistance then, we must turn to an examination of the foundations upon which its claim to community was made and expressed in its practice. However, municipal government's inextricable implication in these foundations is suggested by the coalition's regard for

Victoria City Council as the leaders of the community. Indeed, as the methodology adopted for this analysis demands that language is treated as practice, the foundations of sovereignty in the relationship of community and government emerge in the discourses of Victoria City Council and the "Save Our City Coalition".

"The Obligations of Subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, that the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them".<sup>2</sup>

As he intended, the Hobbesian vision of the state organizationally and conceptually dominates the social and territorial surface of the Earth. Outside the state, chaos and anarchy rule: conditions of perpetual instability and insecurity, constantly threatening war. Conversely, the state is constructed to protect the reason expressed in its orderly and therefore peaceful existence. Indeed, only transnational capital is able to thrive in this conceptually chaotic universe and from this notion arises the challenge to the state implied by its interventions. Yet these threats notwithstanding, the state manages to survive. Indeed, we contend that local government, including Victoria's municipal council practices, represent a logic which neatly repeats this three-hundred-year old Hobbesian formulation of the sovereign state.

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, (London: Penguin Books., 1984), p 272.

The continued existence of the state's monolithic power, despite transnational existence, demands investigation of the state's constitution and relationship with capital. The pervasiveness and continued power of the Hobessian logic is evident not only in the forms of state and local government (or the local state), but also in approaches as diverse as those of Robert Dahl and Manuel Castells to the study of local and urban politics.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, if theoretically the state profoundly and powerfully underlies our conception of the space of politics, it is also the context of local politics, manifested in the behavior of local authorities. Hence, the state's geometric logic informs practical municipal conceptions of the municipal role and of the community of individuals encompassed by its authority; these conceptions emerge directly from this logic's influence on municipal government's historical specificity which conditions constitution of the local as a spatial jurisdiction, the municipality. As individuals are conceived in a uniquely geometric or atomistic way, communities and therefore local politics have been reified in this spatial jurisdiction, creating a particular municipal conception and practice of local authority in state sovereignty. In short, communities of geometrically conceived individuals or the economic men of economics naturally form geometrically understood or the

3 Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New York: Yale University Press, 1961), and Manuel Castells, The Urban Question, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

rational economic communities referred to as municipalities. Indeed, this implies the conceptual implication of economic necessity in the very foundations of the state. Moreover, the logic of the state is omnipotent throughout its territory and especially obvious in areas where its existence might be challenged: armies and navies defend state borders while municipalities and other institutions internally support its domination.

Yet, the Victoria Eaton's Centre case demonstrates the possibility of apparently peaceful and non-violent interaction between the state, its institutions and communities, and extra state forces. Indeed, perhaps because it demonstrates Magnusson's contention that it is the historical role of municipal government to protect and promote the economic well-being of the communities they lead, especially through the development or redevelopment of land, the de facto alliance of Victoria City Council and Cadillac Fairview in the Eaton's Centre case was not surprising.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as the large-scale developer searches at least the North American continent for profitable investment locations, the movement of its revitalizing capital, so needed by downtown Victoria, might be expected to represent a significant new force in conceptions of local politics. This is because where

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4 Warren Magnusson, "The Development of Urban Government in Canada," in Magnusson and Andrew Sancton, eds., City Politics in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 3-57.

previously capital was supposedly raised within the local community, Cadillac Fairview effectively operates on the "international" sources of large scale capital accumulation seemingly required for land redevelopment projects. Yet, despite the physical changes exacted by the company's developments on the city or town it selects, Cadillac Fairview is not a local company if local is defined as belonging to the spatially defined community of the municipality. Indeed, although municipal government is ostensibly the legal authority responsible for project approval or rejection, the company's consequent involvement in the local politics of the location it chooses, usually results in perception of its power as incontestable, its continent-wide pursuit of development activity guided only by comparative international real-estate prices, money market trends, and the whims of stockholder confidence.

On the other hand, city government itself, as exemplified by Victoria City Council, seems unconcerned: it is business as usual and it makes no obvious difference to their decisions or regulations whether the company in question originates in the community or elsewhere. Yet, while the logic underlying this seemingly unchanged role should be subject to undermining by precisely the non-local, transnational sources of land development capital with which municipal councils often ally themselves, the behavior and speech of municipal councils is still informed by the theme

of a logic we will call Founding Subject.<sup>5</sup> For example, undaunted by well-known Victoria real-estate developers and landowners Sam Bawlf, Eric Charman and Ron MacKenzie's November 1986 attempt to involve the Province in the struggle surrounding the Cadillac Fairview project, Mayor Gretchen Brewin remained confident in her Council's ability to make the "correct" and final decision on the project proposal according to the Municipal Act.<sup>6</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, the heart of the local developers' challenge concerned Council's propriety in the administration and disposal of the land affected by the proposed development. Although the official support provided by Provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs, Rita Johnston, for Brewin's contention that it was an entirely local affair was lost in the clamour and noise generated by mounting oppositional forces, Victoria City Council's majority endorsement of the project never wavered. Moreover, the authority claimed by Council was clearly and not unexpectedly upheld by the studies surrounding the project conducted by the municipality's bureaucratic organization and by those Council commissioned from Urbanics Consultants of Vancouver.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, a theme establishing and reinforcing

5 Ibid.

6. Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act (RSBC 1979), Chapter 290.

7. Urbanics Consultants Ltd., Retail Impact Study: Victoria, B.C., for the City of Victoria (Vancouver: November 1986), p. 15.

the regularity and legitimacy of municipal council authority reoccurs continuously in the Municipal Act and other documents of local government:

"Every municipality incorporated under this Act is a corporation under the name of 'City of \_\_\_\_\_', ...as the case may be, with all the rights and liabilities of a corporation, and with full power to acquire, hold and dispose of real and other property, subject to this Act, and to contract for materials and services."<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, as British Columbia's Municipal Act is constituted by enabling federal legislation (Constitution Acts of Canada) which establishes the legal jurisdiction of municipal government, its crucial assumption is that government of any sort has a unique and monumental, regular role to play. This expected behaviour constitutes and positions government practices as the foundation, legitimate enforcer and facilitator of properly and logically ordered, civilized life in municipalities, provinces or countries, and not only characterizes but is the central feature of the discursive practice and theme of governmental discourse: Founding Subject. As discourse is literally the practice of speech, its theme describes the way in which government speaks and is spoken about as a unity; it prescribes the particularity and regularity of rules constituting it as a unity in a social system and thus contains information about the precise method of deployment - about the practices of

8 Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act, (RSBC 1979), Chapter 290, Section 19, p 81.

government - and how it is possible to speak of it as a unity, to characterize it as an actor, and what may be said about it. Indeed, discourse or the practice of language, constitutes the way in which everything - government, multinational companies or oppositional coalitions for example - exists in our society.<sup>9</sup> Hence, perhaps the clearest statement of the assumptions or rules of the theme of governmental discourse or Founding Subject can be found in Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan.<sup>10</sup> However, at the outset it must be emphasized that, unlike Hobbes and the intentions of his text, we make no claim that a point of origin for the state or its discourse can be discovered or historically traced to Leviathan. That is, while the text merely details rules for understanding or for the formation of speech about the discursive practice and theme of Founding Subject which appears as the logic of both state and its ongoing manifestation in government, Hobbes' purpose is to describe the necessity underlying, or the origins of the sovereign state. As he says:

"The Finall Cause, End, or Designe of men, (who naturally love Liberty, and Dominion over others,) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, ( in which wee see them live in Commonwealths,) is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of Warre, which is

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9 Barry Smart, Michel Foucault, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985), p. 37.

10 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, (London: Penguin Books), 1984.

necessarily consequent ( as hath been shewn) to the naturall Passion of men, when there is no visible Power to keep them in awe, and tye them by feare of punishment to the performance of the Covenants, and observation of Lawes of Nature.....".<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, speaking of the theme of the discursive practices which we claim informs and thus describes government practice, Michel Foucault says:

"...the theme of the founding subject permits us to elide the reality of discourse. The task of the founding subject is to animate the empty forms of language with his objectives. Through the thickness and inertia of empty things, he grasps intuitively the meanings lying within them. Beyond time he indicates the field of meanings leaving history to make them explicit. And in which propositions, sciences, and deductive ensembles ultimately find their foundation. In this relationship with meaning, the founding subject has signs, marks, tracks, letters at his disposal. But he does not need to demonstrate them passing through the singular instance of discourse."<sup>12</sup>

Thus, Founding Subject is about origins and Leviathan offers an expansive and clear explanation of the logic of Victoria City Council's articulation of the importance of the origins of the state for all social existence including the inherent foundations of the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to community.

Central to the theme of Founding Subject is a geometric conception of power in which power is spatially expressed in

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11 Ibid., p. 223.

12 Michel Foucault, "Orders of Discourse," Social Science Information, 10, no. 2 (1971), p. 20.

the concrete form or material existence of things. On this conceptual basis, Hobbes' primary contention is that only the monolithic and absolute power of a monarch expressed in the territorial form of the sovereign state establishes the domination of reason in a rationally ordered, peaceful and civilized life for the atomistic bodies in motion he similarly characterizes as self-interested, egoistic individuals. Indeed, according to this spatial logic, human beings become citizens in the political community made possible by the state, while the same geometric rationality underlying the state's construction also provides the foundation for the usual conception of an international system of states constructed by the multiplication of the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty then is the foundation of a model of the conventionally conceived state including its practical, internal organization. Thus, the geometric conception of power results in the equation of order and reason in an otherwise chaotic universe. According to Hobbes' conception of human beings as atomistic bodies in motion, this geometric logic crucially and centrally constitutes Founding Subject's dominating insistence that the state is the very condition of the possibility of peacefully ordered, human existence, individual liberty and equality before the law. Furthermore, it is on this basis that Mayor Gretchen Brewin and Victoria City Council could remain confident in their

ability to make the final decision on the Cadillac Fairview Eaton's Centre project proposal.

Although Hobbes would have his readers believe that the very possibility of community is dependent on the constitution of the state, closer examination shows that his conceptualization of individuals presupposes the conditions required for its formulation. That is, prior to the construction of the state, a mass of atomistic, innately reasonable, self-interested bodies in motion, individually attempt to preserve themselves in the contingent and consequently dangerous and chaotic world of the conflicting needs and desires of similarly constituted others, that Hobbes calls the "state of nature". As the chances of perishing in the state of nature directly contradicts innate human desire for self-preservation and certainly self-gratification, Hobbes contends that these individuals come together to covenant the formation of the state. In return for the surrender of their innate power to preserve themselves, individuals become citizens subject to a rational, monolithic power over all, which guarantees their protection from each other and the chaotic world excluded by the covenant they form. Because the results of a return to the state of nature are inherently unreasonable and contradict the ultimate goal of innately reasonable individuals in self-preservation, the covenant is absolutely binding: once people become citizens, individual pursuit of self-interest is limited by the rules made by this

impartial, absolutely dominating sovereign. Legislation is specifically designed to maintain the rule of reason equated to the social order explicit in these laws. Thus, the breaking of a sovereign law is a crime against the political community formed by the founding covenant of all citizens in the joint goal of self-preservation. Yet, the entire formulation depends on the security established by the equation of liberty and necessity: individuals must risk their security to pursue their innate self-interest in order to prompt the constitution of the state which enables them to pursue their self interest in peace. Again, clearly, the frantic self-interested rationality of the market place is inherent in this formulation of the foundations of the state. However, although we might begin to understand the laws and institutions ordering our own political community, it must be recognized that the coming together of reasonable individuals before the construction of the state, also forms some sort of community.

As the moment of construction of the state is preceded by this moment of community (about which Hobbes has nothing to say), this suggests the legitimating role of the community formed by his citizens in the account of the state which follows and which is inherently demonstrated by the formation of the community-based opposition of the "Save Our City Coalition". Indeed, according to Hobbes, innately reasonable individuals come together to covenant the formation of a sovereign power greater than themselves to

protect them by geometrically creating a space for reason and order in the chaotic contingency of the state of nature. Indeed, both government and political community are formed by the covenant, yet in this formulation, no possibility exists for the formation of some other kind of human community which does not depend on the state. In fact, as this formulation implicitly suggests the co-option of community-based resistance to the state, an alternate starting point seems possible for other forms of human resistance but only if the state is somehow removed as the origin of social existence. However, the political community created in the state legitimizes state authority by consistently accepting or refusing governing uses of that power. Indeed, the implication of community in the exercise of sovereign power seems to lie in the very foundations of liberal democracy. Clearly, the claim to community of the "Save Our City Coalition" is based on precisely this conception of community's legitimate role in the authorization of state decision-making.

Yet, Hobbes is intensely serious about the absolute nature of the reason and order of the state and this is expressed in the domination of assumptions made by the state's practice of the discourse of Founding Subject. In this sense, the state is the mechanism by which all crucial political, moral, and legal, distinctions are possible. According to this geometric logic, the state as the basis of all existence distinguishes the concrete material forms of

things from the abstract possibilities of meaning extant in unrestrained language unordered by reason. Thus value is determined in terms of contribution to maintaining that ordered and reasonable existence implicit in the state: "[If] True and False are attributes of Speech, not Things... where Speech is not, there is neither Truth nor Falsehood".<sup>13</sup> The state then, founds the very possibility of meaningful speech: the reason of its geometric logic orders the meaning attached to all existence especially according to primacy of the preservation of that reason, expressed in the order it establishes.

Seeing then that Truth consisteth in the right ordering of names in our affirmations, a man that seeketh precise truth had need to remember that accordingly; or else he will find himselfe entangled in words as a bird in lime-twiggs; the more he struggles, the more belimed. And therefore in Geometry (which is the only Science which it hath pleased God hitherto to bestow on mankind) men begin at setting the significations of their world; which significations they call Definitions and place them at the beginning of their reckonings".<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the maintenance of this domination also proceeds by the geometric logic upon which Hobbes founds this sovereign state. The principles of geometry order its interior organization, which conversely appears in diametric opposition to subsequent conceptions of the context of the sovereign state's existence - the contingency

13 Hobbes, Leviathan., p 105.

14 Ibid.

and anarchy of the international. Indeed, as noted, the spatial conception of power expressed in sovereignty equates reason and order. On this view, the principle of sovereignty denies the non-spatial possibility of the implication of multiple national economies in a single and integrated global economy. Hence, Hobbesian logic demands that an international state system (order) is implicit in reason: multiple sovereignties are the only logical way to organize diverse cultures, languages, religious groupings and social systems. Thus, while the monarch is above the people he/she rules, he/she is also representative of their specificity, and sovereignty is literally the body of the sovereign's power: the absolute power of Hobbes' monarch is spatially expressed in the territorial boundary of the state, as the shape of a geometric figure is determined by the line which distinguishes it from infinite space more generally. Specifically, if that line takes an alternative turn, preventing the completion of the figure's outline, or similarly if the state is invaded so that border or boundary is incomplete, the figure loses its shape, as the state is no longer sovereign because a foreign power challenges the sovereign power spatially expressed in its borders. For example, in Leviathan, it is the covenanting together of all with all to give up, not self--interest, but only individual power, which forms the over-all or absolute power of the sovereign, who consequently ensures each protection from, first the "war of all against all" characterizing the

disordered and irrational "state of nature", and, second, from invasions by foreign armies likely to disrupt the peaceful order of rational lives guaranteed by the territorially sovereign state. Hobbes says:

"The Obligations of Subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, that the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by Nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no Covenant be relinquished. The Sovereignty is the Soule of the Common-wealth; which once departed from the Body, the members doe no more receive their motion from it. The end of Obedience is Protection;..."<sup>15</sup>

Yet, the territorial inclusivity of sovereignty is maintained by more than armed defense of the territorial state's borders. The notion of sovereignty also extends to the organization of its internal dominaton which institutionally emerge directly from Hobbes' geometric logic, and includes the extant conception of municipalities which in practice deploy the theme of Founding Subject expressed in all government discourse. Specifically, the geometric understanding of power formulates its expressive relation to space wherein, theoretically greater territory is equated with greater power. Although this may not be true with regard to factors which are important to the measurement of power internationally, such as economic and military strength, it suggests that within states, the assignment of responsibilities, authority and jurisdictions

15 Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 272.

to its internal divisions, (i.e. provinces, municipalities), at least theoretically correspond to territorial size. For example, provinces are theoretically and most often spatially larger than municipalities. Consequently, provinces have greater authority and correspondingly greater responsibilities than municipalities. Moreover, in this sense, each state is internally composed of an inherent hierarchy leading downwards from the singularity of the largest, central government jurisdictions to a multiplicity of smaller, weaker, municipalities. The Act governing the City of Victoria, for example, is the same provincial legislation that governs most cities within the provincial territory, while the province itself is the product of the constitution of Canada.<sup>16</sup> Yet significantly, in a similar sense these smaller divisions might also be regarded as less powerful replicas of the sovereign, central unit. Indeed, they take characteristics from the state and specify central government functions. Thus, according to the principle that power is expressed by territorial size, the structure of each level of the state's hierarchy of internal divisions resembles the central government, expressing and repeating at each level in an appropriate and relevant practice, the theme of government/state discourse, Founding Subject.

On this basis, the geometric logic of the Hobbesian state translates human communities into the spatial

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16 Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act (RSBC 1979), Chapter 290.

jurisdictions of municipal government which deploy the state's domination in their practice of its theme of Founding Subject. However, John Stuart Mill strongly contends in addition that local government is a practical necessity, arguing, moreover, for the autonomy of local government's municipal institutions comprising the lowest level of the state's hierarchy. That is, not only do locally autonomous institutions relieve the central government of the requirement of resolving a multiplicity of purely parochial community concerns, thus freeing Parliament to consider more general issues, but local self-government also provides an important educational setting: citizen participation in local affairs offers valuable experience in the practices of representative democracy or as the case may be, other principles specific to the state's domination.<sup>17</sup>

As Mill says:

"... the principle when applied as an exclusive and unbending rule to parliamentary representation is inappropriate; namely, community of local interests, is here the only just and applicable one. The very object of having a local representation is in order that those who have any interest in common which they do not share with the body of their countrymen, may manage that joint interest by themselves; and the purpose is contradicted if the distribution of the local representation follows any other rule than the

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17 John Stuart Mill, "Local Representative Bodies", Considerations on Representative Government, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1972, pp 346 - 359.

the grouping of these joint interests. There are interests peculiar to every town, whether great or small, and common to all its inhabitants; every town therefore, without distinction of size, ought to have a municipal council."<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, as Mill's description offers what has perhaps historically become the conventional view of the "correct" arrangement of central and local government relations, it also supports Hobbes' formulation of sovereignty in the relation of community and government. Indeed, to the extent that their legislative concerns differ substantially along historically specific or local, and general lines, Mill's argument for the autonomy of local municipalities suggests our claim that a community preceded the formulation of the state. Moreover, as Mill envisions a local government for every "community of interest", the enabling geometric logic of the Hobbesian state demands the spatial construction of these communities as institutional municipal jurisdictions embodied with the authority inherent in sovereignty's theme of Founding Subject. For example, geometric logic suggests Robert Dahl's conception of local governments as miniature and consequently weaker versions of the state: as with the comparison of geometric figures such as large and small squares, it is quantity rather than quality which

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18 Ibid., p 350.

distinguishes them.<sup>19</sup> The municipality then repeats the logic of the central state in a weaker, and more limited form. In this sense, municipal government is the government of the community constituted by sovereignty.

Specifically, municipal government's articulation of the discourse of Founding Subject concerns the regulation and uses of land or the territory of the state. In accordance with Magnusson's contention that municipal activities are guided by their responsibility for the economic health of the community, and probably because they are spatially oriented via the state's hierarchy to a level of government closer to the ground, land-use dominates the administrative duties and politics of local-level government. Hence, Victoria City Council was regarded and regarded itself as the final decision making authority on the proposed Eaton's Centre. Indeed, as the local expression of sovereign authority, Council was responsible for the health and well-being of the community which concerned either land-use and devices of its regulation like zoning by-laws and planning, or the provision of restrictions in the uses of land, supplementary services to land such as sewage systems and treatment, or animal and health regulations. In the case of the Victoria Eaton's Centre, for example, the City of Victoria required that the mall and new Eaton's store physically conform to its

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19 Robert Dahl, Who Governs?, (New York: Yale University Press, 1961).

building code with regard to the style and height of the structure, but were willing to consider and finally allow the sale of Broad street which reduced the building's density to correct (building code) standards. As intended by the theme of Founding Subject, then, the municipality operated according to the principle that as the founding subject, it was responsible for the safe and well ordered life of the community which was made explicit in rules and regulations like the city's building code.

However, as the relation of Victoria City Council and the "Save Our City Coalition" conformed to the regular roles constituting and constitutive of sovereignty, or, to put it another way, to the Hobbesian formulation of the state, the politics of the controversy surrounded precisely the nature of the mall complex rather than the question of the project itself. That is, as community is originally the foundation for the creation of the state, after its establishment, community remains the basis of the legitimacy of the state's decisions. The primacy of the state's domination is manifest in its ability to designate appropriate projects, but as with the mall's design and aesthetics, the standards of the community must be satisfied. Hence, while Victoria City Council articulated the theme of Founding Subject in the regulation and administration of land use on behalf of the community, it was faced with a difficult decision when confronted with the resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition", especially because that opposition was overtly

claimed on the basis of community. Thus, community is inherent in the theme of Founding Subject: it is the object to which the founding reason of the state brings meaning and the source of legitimacy of the authority wielded by governments. Thus both Council's apparent indecisiveness and the historically specific reasons for its support for the project emerge in Hobbesian theory. Sovereignty is constructed by the spatial relation of community and government: the diverse dominations of territory by a single, monolithic power spatially express the state or sovereign's relation to the inherent community which originally created its authoritative domination and upon whose continual legitimation it depends.

Thus, as Magnusson's contention that it is the historic responsibility of municipalities to promote and protect the economic well-being of the communities they lead demonstrates, the implications of the theme of government discourse are not as politically neutral, technical and administrative as the practice of municipalities would seem to suggest. Indeed, the economic nature of the community constituted as a municipality implies that the claims of the "Save Our City Coalition" to a culturally and historically specific community of unique architectural design and aesthetics should be ineffective in opposing the decisions of its leadership in Victoria City Council for the Eaton's Centre mall complex. Thus, in apparent contradiction of the claims of Victoria City Council's articulation of the

discourse of Founding Subject to be the the basis of the origin of all social existence, it in practice represented the specific interests of business capital to a community it presupposed would understand, appreciate and consequently legitimize its actions. Yet, on the basis of its claim to community, the "Save Our City Coalition" was ideologically opposed to the specificity of council's position and as a result, the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy was centred on the ideological battle between the apparently rational interests of capital and an organic and historic conception of a culturally constituted community. Yet, despite its claims, the composition of the coalition betrays its own economic interests and therefore highlights its constituents' fear of the additional competition inherent in the mall project. In this sense, the implication of capital and economic necessity in the foundation of the relationship of government and community comprising the sovereignty of the state and its discourse of Founding Subject implied that the formation of the community based opposition of the "Save Our City Coalition" was co-opted from the beginning. Indeed, the implication of capital in sovereignty only contributed to the perceived powerful externality of transnational capital developer, Cadillac Fairview, since the discourse of Founding Subject cannot by definition acknowledge that any force other than itself might provide the origins of social or individual existence. Yet clearly, the apparent incontestability of the developer's power emerged directly

from Victoria City Council's apparent inability, as perceived leaders of the community, to resist the developer's proposal because of the historic alliance of municipal government and capital inherent in the constitution of the state itself. Yet, because the sovereignty of the state expressed in the discourse of Founding Subject is constituted by the covenant of individuals comprising the community, what remains to be examined is the implication of capital or economic necessity in the origins of that community or in this case in the foundations of the "Save Our City Coalition" in its implicit formation as legitimator of the decision made by Victoria City Council to approve the mall proposal of Cadillac Fairview. Finally, as the discourse of Founding Subject suggests, the Council had both the responsibility and duty to decide in favor of the project and, for this reason, the ineffectiveness of the coalition's resistance was co-opted and inevitably doomed to failure from its outset by the recognition of the shared business interests in opposing additional competition among the small business people and tourist operators of the city of Victoria. Coincidentally, these interests found expression and could be adjusted to parallel the concerns of heritage conservationists and those motivated by the historic nature of the garden city and the apparent quality of life it seemed to ensure to its resident community.

### Chapter Three: Originating Experience

Science now makes all things possible, as Bacon believed. But it does not thereby make all things desirable. A sound and viable technology, firmly related to human needs cannot be one that has maximum productivity as its supreme goal. It must rather seek, as in an organic system, to provide the right quantity, of the right quality, at the right time and in the right place, in the right order, for the right purpose.<sup>1</sup>

In an attack on liberal ideology and the capitalist relations of production or economy it supported, Lewis Mumford's Technics and Civilization repeats the passionate longings of Max Weber and the earlier Romantics for a restoration, or at least a recapturing of the organic and meaningful community existence thought to characterize pre-modern life. Long before the spread of dominating functional rationality born of the scientific revolution tore fact from value and created the massively productive, technologically sophisticated, industrial societies of the age of modernity, human community contextualized life. Indeed, as a young man coming of age in the crucial transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Mumford observed the emergence of the modern city in New York, with keen awareness of the social and physical tensions which would shape human settlements

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1 Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilization (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934).

in the epoch. Specifically, he questioned the arbitrary effects of this enormously powerful rationality which, while producing incredibly rapid advances in all sorts of technologies, was equally incapable of distinguishing the morality or humanity of the ends to which they might be put. Yet, like Weber's, Mumford's work reflects his confused ambivalence toward the dilemmas posed by scientific rationality and technological growth and he chooses the critical position of the nineteenth century romantic poets. Thus, situating Mumford in neither the liberal nor the Marxist tradition, Leo Marx says,

"I see him as part of what might be called the romantic counter-enlightenment. One of the books that influenced him as a young man was Alfred North Whitehead's "Science and the Modern World". At the end of the chapter on the Romantic movement in Whitehead's book, he defines that movement as a protest against the exclusion of value from matters of fact, or, a protest in favor of the organic - the organic view of life. And I see Mumford and his American heroes, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, in that tradition of reacting against what they saw as an excessively rationalistic, positivistic enlightenment, with its assumption that you could find an absolutely context free basis for the truth."<sup>2</sup>

Implicit, then, in Mumford's extensive social commentary published throughout the first half of this century on topics ranging from contemporary

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2 "Lewis Mumford," Ideas (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1989).

architecture to the advocacy of urban planning and a mourning of the loss of meaningful human values and needs as the guiding force of progress in the modern culture of the American city and society, is a desire for the reintroduction of human community in the sense that might describe mythical English village life or the context of a New England "town meeting". Yet, as Mumford, longing for community, describes the culture of the modern city as increasingly cold, isolating and impersonal, it is precisely this sort of supposedly humanistic community which is claimed by the "Save Our City Coalition". For example, in this excerpt from an open letter written and distributed by the "Save Our City Coalition," and intended to involve provincial authorities in the Victoria Eaton's Centre controversy by the encouragement of overt, individual expressions of support for its resistant position, reference to the "citizens of Victoria" signifies the participation of the community:

"Since even the launching of a court action has not persuaded the City Council to even pause in the process, we believe that only a public inquiry will result in a development beneficial to the citizens of Victoria. We urge you to address the broader issues which cannot be addressed by a court in this matter

vital to the economic health of Greater Victoria.<sup>3</sup>

While it might be objected that Victoria is exactly the sort of regional "garden city" Mumford advocates, it is also relevant to consider that despite these winning characteristics, the city - officials and residents alike - is faced, albeit to perhaps lesser degrees, with many of the same urban difficulties such as street crime, poverty, central city decay, and aging as most other North American cities. Indeed, no matter what is suspected as the ultimate cause of these maladies, and even keeping in mind Manuel Castells' strict warning against presupposing that culture is produced by physical constructs or spatial form there is little obvious reason to expect that Victoria should be particularly different from other cities by virtue of its gardens. Thus, the claim to community espoused by the "Save Our City Coalition" throughout the controversy becomes problematic: in what sense was it possible for the coalition to speak of community, especially if it, although unifying in nature, did not include all or at least most residents? Some polls conducted during the Eaton's centre debate claimed majority resident support for the project.

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3 Letter from the "Save Our City Coalition" to the Honourable Rita Johnston, Minister of Municipal Affairs, January 6, 1987.

Moreover, as the "Save Our City Coalition" and its support was comprised by a diverse collection of small merchants, land owners and residents, not only of the city of Victoria, but from both geographically close municipalities and other entirely distant localities, definition or delimitation of community is thrown into doubt. In this sense, while it is clear that the community spoken of by the coalition refused, as a principle of its identification, the geometric constitution of communities as municipalities by the state, the related difficulties of defining the local and of politics in this community are more ambiguous. Thus, while the "Save Our City Coalition" did not strictly represent the community implicit in the municipality, it nonetheless articulated the interests of that economic community clothed in the heritage preservationist concerns generated by the history of the city. Indeed, this chapter is intended to explore the implication of capital in the constitution of that community and therefore in the principles and practices of sovereignty which result from community's relationship with government. Specifically, it will examine how the "Save Our City Coalition" constituted a community in whose foundations capital was so deeply implicated that it prevented the coalition's effective resistance to precisely the rationalization of transnational developer Cadillac Fairview to which it

represented by definition, the humanizing *raison d'être* referred to by Mumford.

To understand the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistance, we explore the theoretical basis of community's dependence on capital, theorized by John Locke's addition to Hobbes' formulation of the sovereign state, particularly in his assertion of the possibility of private property ownership created by an individual's labour in the state of nature in which the original community is formed. This leads us to question both the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to community and Mumford's assumption that community provides a solid basis for rejoining fact with value in the direction of technological progress to the human good. The contradictions inherent in the "Save Our City Coalition" suggest the impossibility of sharing Mumford's apparent faith that the reassertion of a presumably essential human community ensures a genuine and authentic expression of human values in modern techno-political decisions. According to John Locke's addition to Hobbesian theory, even the formation of the original community was dependent on economic necessity. We contend that the coalition's claim to community was ineffective because it was ideological - ideological in the sense that it was largely an expression of the economic interests connected with municipal

government's implicit presupposition of the existence of a legitimizing community. The apparent coincidence of these interests with the parallel heritage preservationist concerns produced by the history of the city, provided the context of the ensuing controversy, in light of the city's growing dependence on the tourist trade. Hence, since capital and economic interests are not necessarily defined geographically, the spatially scattered participants composing the oppositional coalition betrayed the economic foundation of the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim. This suggests the implication of capital in the foundations of this community-based resistance.

Theoretically at least, the implication of capital in the foundations of the original sense of community in which Mumford has such faith, arise in John Locke's addition to the Hobbesian theory of sovereignty called the "Two Treatises of Government".<sup>4</sup>

"Though the Earth and all interior Creatures be common to all Men, yet every Man has a *Property* in his own *Person*. This no Body has any Right to but himself. The Labour of his Body and the Work of his Hands, we may say are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath produced, and left it in, he hath mixed his Labour with, and joyned to it something that is his

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4 John Locke, Two Treatises of Government, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

own and thereby makes it his Property. It being by him removed by him from the common State Nature placed it in hath by his Labour something annexed to it that excludes the common right of other Men. For this Labour being the unquestionable Property of the Labourer, no Man but he can have a right to what that is once joyned to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others.<sup>5</sup>

Based on their labour then, Locke asserts the right of individuals to private property before the Hobbesian establishment of the state. Hence, when these individuals come together to form the original community covenanting sovereign power, the right to private property is implicit in the very foundations of the state. This is because the state is created with precisely the purpose of protecting individuals from each other and ensuring them the liberty to act freely, which in this case implies the liberty to labour for acquiring private property. In this sense, the state inherently serves to ensure individual rights to private property, yet in the protection of individual private property, demands that the survival it guarantees to citizens be maintained by their labour. Thus, the historical development of money as a medium of exchange for private property means that the requirements of capital are implicit in the very foundations of the state and consequently in the constitution of government authority to intervene in

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5 Ibid., p 129.

the lives of individuals governed by the inherent order it was created to ensure. As much is demonstrated by the historic concerns of municipal government with land development, as it represents the governing authority and primary importance of communities of land owners and private capital interests dependent on its facilitation of the economic health of those communities. Indeed, as governments are constituted to serve all citizens, the concern with the economic health of communities underlies and makes possible the attention which is focused by municipal authorities on less crucial non-economic issues such as those overtly expressed by the "Save Our City Coalition" with heritage preservation. Clearly, the guarantee of the state to protect private property is decisive in the allocation of municipal priorities and funding. Victoria City Council made its decision on the Eaton's Centre project on the basis of economic health first, heritage preservation later.

Indeed, if the "Save Our City Coalition" claimed to express precisely the organic sense of human community Mumford believed was missing from the culture of the modern city, certain fundamental aspects of the group's composition are problematic. Of central importance is the group's explicit claim to be that organic community cutting across the inherently divisive concerns of residents, merchants, heritage

preservationists and tourist attraction operators despite the economic base of its constitution. Clearly, the internal contradictions between these various interests betrays the community claim, since the additional competition promised by the large scale downtown development primarily threatened the economic interests of surrounding small merchants and tourist attraction operators. In light of Victoria City Council's final decision in favor of the project despite intense community based opposition, and in spite of, or perhaps because of the validity of non-economic reasons for opposition to the planned mall, it is clear that the economic well-being of the city lay at the heart of the reasons for the ultimate approval of the project. In this sense, the interests of large capital outweighed those of specific local capital interests which nonetheless lay at the foundation of the oppositional coalition. In short, although the claim to community was couched in terms of heritage and historic tradition, the economic interests upon which opposition to the project was based, betrayed those concerns as peripheral to the central issues of capital at stake in the dispute, simply because some supporters at least were employed by contractors to the project and certain merchants might benefit from the mall. Thus it was the economic basis of the coalition which made it ineffective in opposing the new Eaton's Centre.

Second, the coalition could not be the organic community for which Mumford longed because of the physical distribution of its support in terms of the specific delimitation of communities. In opposition to the conceptualization of communities as spatially-bounded municipalities, the Save Our City Coalition's members, by virtue of their places of residence, came from a variety of municipalities surrounding the city of Victoria and even from as far away as Cadillac Fairview's headquarters in Toronto, Ontario. While it might be objected that the proximity of the "home" municipalities of the vast majority of supporters to the official city district created a broader sense of community for residents regardless of boundaries, both the rejection of the notion of a spatial form of community and the difficulties of establishing alternative bases for the definition of communities except in terms of a notion of economic community become obvious, since the latter implies an interdependent division of labour in all aspects of existence not necessarily found among a group of individuals united by a single issue. Moreover, these problems are intensified by the coalition's evident displeasure with the particularity of Victoria City Council's position on the Eaton's Centre proposal. In short, despite the indeterminacy of the community's borders and indeed, regular identity, caused in part by

the 'other' municipal identifications of members, and perhaps because the proposed project was situated within the city's boundaries, the "Save Our City Coalition" recognized the City of Victoria's municipal council alone as the community's official government. However, because of the constitution of the coalition, this was realistic only for supporters of the coalition with businesses or located within the municipality governed by Victoria City Council, and this generally underlines the nature of the coalition as a community of economic interests.

However, while the "broader sense of community" argument, and the location of the project may be used to explain the "Save Our City Coalition's" identification with city government as community leaders, in light of municipal government's historic role this only serves to reinforce our assertion of the essential and underlying economic nature of this community, as does the claimed community's implicit refusal of geometric logic's spatial constitution of it in municipal form. In this sense, the community of economic interests in the coalition's supporters explains its temporality and sudden emergence, which seem to dispute the community's claim to be a direct manifestation of the sort of essential and timeless human community in which Lewis Mumford places such hope. As the "Save Our City Coalition's" expression of

community and its implicit claim to have existed as such is contradicted by the recorded history of the original British colony and of the subsequent city, it is rather J.S. Mill's "community of interests", particularly continuing economic interests, which lies at the foundation of its claims. As is usually the case, military acquisition is closely allied with the protection and or promotion of economic interest. Thus while it might seem that the military fort has as little to do with tourism in the 1850's as, conversely, present day downtown tourist facilities have to do with defense of British colonial possessions, it is possible to argue that economic interests unite the two in the same way that they underlie the economic community base of the "Save Our City Coalition". Indeed, although its opposition implicitly claimed to be part of a continuous tradition of human community stretching back to the original establishment of the colony, other than economic community only the possibility of native settlements existed in what is now Victoria before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and their historicity denies linkage with contemporary manifestations of community. Thus, rather than being expressed in the physical construction of a human settlement, community seems to be a practice and the historical relation of spatial and cultural or community forms notwithstanding, the sudden birth of

the "Save Our City Coalition" in May of 1986 betrays its immediately emergent claim to a community tradition extending back into the mists of forgotten time and only demonstrated in the artefacts of economic existence displayed in the historically specific architecture preserved in the city. In addition, the coalition's collapse immediately following the taking of the final decision on the Cadillac Fairview project in early March, 1987, serves to emphasize the temporality of the coalition's community claim. In direct opposition to Mumford's evidently idealistic but hopeful contention that only the reintroduction or recapturing and continuous informing of human endeavors (including settlements and their governance) by the essential value of community could possibly ensure the correct direction of technology and its functional rationality's logic toward meaningful and useful human ends, it was possible for the "Save Our City Coalition" to claim to be a community for only a short time, although the specific practices of the temporal community continued because for the most part they arose in the economic necessity underlying human existence implicit in the constitution of the state. Indeed, the economic base of communities is a familiar theme in post-eighteenth century Western thought as it develops the theme of community which can be found in .

the writings of the political theorists of ancient Greece.

In particular, for example, the central concern of Karl Marx's "The German Ideology" with the socio-material production of consciousness of human existence is easily understood in terms of community, and as such extends and deepens the notion of community running through the history of Western socio-political thought. Overtly presupposing and describing its economic necessity, Marx theoretically provides a foundation for the conception of community underlying the vision spoken of by the "Save Our City Coalition":

Men are distinguished from animals by consciousness, religion, or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. By producing their means of subsistence they are indirectly producing their actual material life.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, this paragraph continues that the processes producing consciousness originate in the human labour which provides the individual with the means of subsistence. According to the modern liberal assumption that the market place resolves the inter-dependency implicated in the satisfaction of individual needs to

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6 Karl Marx, "The German Ideology", in David McLellan, ed., Karl Marx: Selected Writings, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p 160.

obtain the means of subsistence, in what immediately follows, Marx discusses first the consequent development of a division of labour and then its larger evolution within a nation.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in implicit recognition of the implication of capital in the sovereignty of nations, Marx asserts that an element of the consciousness produced by material existence is likely to be an awareness of community reflecting the inherent interdependent relationship between human needs and productive activity. Thus, the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to community was predicated on this sense of community extended to include various other concerns with the economic interests which lay at its heart. This is demonstrated by the "Save Our City Coalition's" unification of a diverse but presumably authentic community of predominantly economic interests in resistance to the competitive, architectural or cultural threat posed by the Victoria Eaton's Centre project, under the banner of the physically constituted, historic ambience it saw as crucial to the future growth of the tourist industry in the city.

"Victoria's unique heritage buildings and ambience are the chief attractions for the City's annual \$100 million dollar tourism industry. Visitors can see 'fake heritage' architecture without coming to Victoria. Many come to Victoria to escape the malling of

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7 Ibid., p 161.

their own downtowns and the loss of their own heritage street scapes".<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, what we have claimed is Mumford's desire for a reintroduction of community only apparently echoes Marx's contention that consciousness is produced by material life: as material production becomes increasingly meaningless due to technological advances produced by science, so consciousness of the meanings of life are lost. Simply put, Marx argues that human consciousness - a consciousness of only the apparent necessity of the "way things are", or of the evident organizing logic and nature of social relationships - is produced by capitalist material activities involved in obtaining the means of subsistence. Since Marx describes the implication of a socio-economic division of labour as inherent not only, in these capitalist but apparently in any kind of production processes, presumably the resultant community's values emerge from and are consequently embedded in consciousness. Thus, because socially unjust capitalist relations appear as necessary, the difficulties of achieving emancipation must focus on the development of productive processes guided by precisely the values Mumford presupposes are inherent in the origins of community, but which are also

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<sup>8</sup> Save Our City Coalition, "Information Sheet", (December 1986 - January 1987).

ironically implicated in the advancement of technology. Indeed, much of the rest of Marx's writings concern the transformation of human values in relation to the social relations of production inherent in capitalism. In short, while Mumford has faith that meaningful human existence is possible in the specificity of capitalist social relations, if only it is possible to recapture the values of community prior to the development of capitalism, the broader implication of Marx's work suggests that the values of a community are determined rather than natural or inherent, much as the value of community itself is not implicitly good, functional or conducive to meaningful human existence. It is then capitalism itself which must be critiqued in order that alternative, truly human values can be developed.

Despite this, however, the thrust of the "Save Our City Coalition's" opposition to the Eaton's Centre project seems predicated on the notion, both implicit and explicit in Western liberal democracy, that community values per se should have some input into local or any governmental undertaking, if the end result is to be of any intrinsically good or just social value. For example, the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistant position implicitly recognized the interdependence of consciousness or a sense of community and productive activity. Yet, the appearance

of its basis in the shared feeling of those who opposed the project that as community leaders, Victoria City Council's support for this form of redevelopment was misguided and betrayed the true interests of Victorians, demonstrates Marx's contention that consciousness of reality is produced by material life or the extant social relations of production which are taken to be necessary. Therefore, we contend that the opposition was based on its unification of those who had diverse reasons to fear the effects of the project for the economic interests of local small business and for the continuing preservation of heritage on which the claim to community was based; it consequently became logical to couch the underlying fears of additional competition in the language of aesthetics, culture, architecture and the preservation of artefacts of the city's history. Thus, as the claim to community tradition served to conceal the true nature of this economic community, its community discourse implicitly informed the comments of prominent coalition supporter, realtor Eric Charman, at the presentation of a petition to provincial minister of Finance, Mel Couvelier, opposing city council's December 18, 1986 decision in favor of the proposal, when he said, " I don't think, in the 33 years I've lived in the city, that I've ever seen a demonstration of enthusiasm for the affairs of this city by a group that is so cross-sectional in its

representation."<sup>9</sup> A similar sentiment, namely that city council had acted without a clear understanding of the community it represented and which according to Hobbesian theory created the possibility of its legitimate authority, is explicit in a "Monday Magazine" article entitled "My Buddies at the Chamber" by editor Richard Van Dine in which he says:

Most of all it's the terrible feeling that up to now the city has been reactive to the proposal to change the face of downtown. At a time when even Cadillac Fairview could have used some planning vision from the city working within that vision to develop a project best-suited to both Victorians and the developer, it lapsed into a planning daze, letting Cadillac Fairview orchestrate the entire process, from proposal to application to decision.

Clearly, the claim to community couched in terms of the history of the city, disguised the real economic basis of its formation. However, in terms of Hobbesian theory and the role played by community in the establishment of the state, the subsequent adoption of community as the basis of opposition to government constituted by sovereign power state seems understandable. Thus, rather than overtly understanding, adopting and following the economic logic of the Municipal Act, which would see it merely

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9 Eric Charman, quoted by Richard Van Dine and Rayanee Delani, "The People Speak - Again", Monday Magazine, January 15 - 21, 1987, Vol. 13, No.3, p 7.

as a group of concerned property owners or citizens gathered in opposition to a project in which local government was involved, the "Save Our City Coalition" saw and spoke of itself as representing exactly the kind of organic but unspecified values of community which Mumford presumably imagined could restrain and guide the progress of rapidly advancing scientific and technological achievement to substantively human ends. Moreover, since the local government of the community then appears as the logical institution to embody those values, the opposition of the "Save Our City Coalition" on the basis of the community is understandable. Thus, in contrast to the discourse informing local government, Michel Foucault describes the discourse of this community in relation to government discourse which we have called Founding Subject:

"The opposing theme, that of originating experience, plays an analogous role. This asserts, in the case of experience, that well before it could be grasped in the form of a *cognito*, prior significations, in some ways already spoken, were circulating in the world, scattering it all about us, and from the outset made possible a sort of primitive recognition. Thus a primary complicity with the world founds for us, a possibility of speaking of experience, in it, to designate and name it, to judge it, and finally, to know it in the form of truth."<sup>10</sup>

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10 Michel Foucault, "Orders of Discourse", Social Science Information, 10, no. 2, (1971), p 20.

Indeed, it is this discourse, or what we will refer to as Originating Experience, which informed the position and commentary of the "Save Our City Coalition" and upon which the claim to community was based. Predicated on Thomas Hobbes' implicit assertion of the formation of an original community ultimately constitutive of the power of sovereignty, this discourse reflects his theoretical implication of the legitimacy of community-based opposition to government's discourse of Founding Subject and therefore to the activities of governing institutions. In short, the discourses of community and government presuppose each other in exactly the same way that government is the founding subject which presupposes the community as object. Hence, sovereignty is constituted by this opposition which forms and represents the unity and absolute domination of the power of the sovereign in its Hobbesian formulation. For this reason, the discourse of Founding Subject in the practice of municipal democracy presupposes that as the state founds the possibility of community existence, so community and the discourse of Originating Experience legitimates the state or its articulation in government discourse. Thus, despite its opposition, the "Save Our City Coalition" recognized the legitimacy of Victoria City Council's authority in making the final decision on the proposed Cadillac

Fairview Eaton's Centre. Yet, despite the inherent opposition of the discourses of Founding Subject and Originating Experience, the implication of capital in the foundations of the community constitutive of the State suggests that the ineffectiveness of the coalition's resistance may result from the contribution community makes to the founding of the state and therefore capital's implication in both.

Indeed, although the discourse of Originating Experience seems to provide the basis for precisely the kind of human values Mumford imagines exist in community, as the community claimed by the "Save Our City Coalition" demonstrates, capital is inherent in that community as theorized by John Locke. Moreover, Locke's addition of private property to the sovereignty Hobbes establishes implies that the community which founds the state and subsequently legitimates its power, is primarily an economic community. Hence its implication in sovereignty determines the liberal nature of the state, and in this sense, the state provides the conditions and organization necessary for the effective operation of capital enterprise. Thus, while the discourse seems to provide another basis for community, the implication of capital in its origins means that the articulation of the discourse, always presupposes capital. Moreover, since community is implicated in the foundations of sovereignty, this may

account for the "Save Our City Coalition's" ineffective resistance to the Cadillac Fairview project since in this sense both community and government are dependent on capital.

Thus, the claim of the coalition to community is ideological in the sense that capital is implicated in its foundations, which suggests that the community is maintained in the interests of capital. In contrast to Mumford's presupposition, this precludes the continued operation of community on the value of human needs and ends. This is because the implication of capital in community asserts the value of everything in terms of economic value, as our contention that the "Save Our City Coalition" was primarily an economic community suggests. Thus, despite Socc discursive claim to be the kind of community Mumford seems to desire, the Cadillac Fairview proposal did not threaten this community because the implication of capital in sovereignty demands that individual preservation depend on the economic production of the means of subsistence which means that economic values replace those of the community imagined by Mumford.

Moreover, in addition to the constitution of sovereignty by community and government, we contend that the inter-dependency of capital and community suggests the role of the state and the importance of capital in motivating the sovereign state's action. For

example, communities depend on capital to provide the means of subsistence to its constituents and the state facilitates this process within the parameters of the Hobbesian formulation. Equally importantly, capital is dependent on community for workers and consumers and on the advantages of the centralized location community provides close to centres of production. In this sense, capital is also dependent on the reason of the sovereign state to establish an order conducive to its profit maximizing goals. More specifically, the state ensures that citizens have to obtain their own means of subsistence through labour in the employ of capital, while the state similarly is responsible for the education of these workers in ways necessary for capital to use them efficiently. Thus capital depends on community and government to establish the laws and order required for continued effective production as well as guaranteed markets and relatively stable profit margins. Yet, the importance of capital to sovereignty by its implication in the foundations of community are suggested by the "Save Our City Coalition's" discourse of Originating Experience. If capital is implicated in the originating experience of community, then the constitutive role of community in the founding of the state determines that capital is fundamental to sovereignty.

In short then, and in opposition to Mumford's assumption that the reintroduction of the values of community could ensure that technological advances were guided to human ends, the discourse of community, as it articulates the theme of Originating Experience, presupposes that the reasons for existence concern economic needs so that community is valued in economic terms much as the economic values of community take precedence over other reasons for its existence. So much is the implication of Marx's theorization of the production of consciousness by material activity and inherently the social relations of that production.<sup>11</sup> Not only is this demonstrated by the constitution of the "Save Our City Coalition" by primarily small business interests including those of tourist operators, but it may also account for the ineffectiveness of this community-based resistance, as a predominantly economic community opposed the local government of the state historically and theoretically constituted on an inherent dependence on the interests of capital. Indeed, as primarily constituted by the interests of small business, the practices of the community claimed by the "Save Our City Coalition" were necessarily economic since even concern with heritage preservation lay primordially in the interests of

11 Karl Marx, "The German Ideology", in David McLellan, ed., Karl Marx: Selected Writings, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p 160.

merchants dependent on the ambience it created, which was so attractive to tourists and reflected the growing importance of that industry to the economic vitality of the city.

In this sense, and despite the perception of Cadillac Fairview as external and invasive to the city and its local politics which are created by the discourse of Originating Experience, the implication of capital in the foundations of community suggests that the apparent challenge represented by the developer to state authority constituted by sovereignty was insignificant in terms of heritage preservationist claims to community. Indeed, the value of all existence in liberal democracy is determined economically. Indeed, transnational capital relies on these economic communities constituted as municipalities within sovereignty and because it is implicated in them, it represents little challenge to the authority of the state in terms of heritage preservation. Rather, transnational capital depends on the sovereign state to provide the conditions necessary for its successful achievement of profit-maximizing goals. This is demonstrated at the level of practice in the local, whereby it becomes clear that transnational capital needs the locations provided by the sovereign state to establish its productive activities in terms of local material supplies, consumption and labour markets.

While it might be objected that, as is often the case, transnational capital does not effectively engage in actual material production, it is clear that it still needs to expeditiously locate these activities, which are likely to involve the local community in some way. Thus, transnational capital's dependency on economic communities constituted and located within sovereignty implies that conversely, the dependency of community and government on capital may account for the ineffectiveness of the resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition" since in spite of the claims of the discourse of Originating Experience, the community existing within the sovereign state is constituted by the capital inherent in the valuing of the means of subsistence.

Indeed, in this sense, transnational capital should not be treated as external to local politics, except as, especially in the case of Asian companies operating in North America or vice-versa, it may have non-economic or cultural values attached to the specificity of its practices. Moreover, transnational capital becomes localized in terms of labour, the supply of materials, the social effects of its productive activities, and--as demonstrated in the case of Victoria and the Eaton's Centre dispute--transnational companies may become involved in the local politics of the location they choose. Yet, their

power appears irresistible because, in diametric opposition to the forces of community-based resistance which may be mounted against them, transnational capital has the capacity to withdraw its investment from localities in which political difficulties seem to preclude co-operative conditions for efficient productive activities. Conversely, this irresistible power, may also arise because the implication of capital in the foundations of the community basis of resistance combines with the most often fixed nature of the communities extant in the locations of transnational capital investment. In short, as these communities are constituted by economic necessity, their futures consequently appear bleak without transnational capital investment, since in this sense the future of the economic community seems to be at stake. Certainly, this appeared to be the case in Victoria as the consensus on the need for redevelopment and the ultimate ineffectiveness of the "Save Our City Coalition's opposition shows.

Thus, the real challenge of transnational capital to sovereignty may lie in the fluidity currently characterizing capital's operation in the world. Specifically, its irresistible power derives from its ability to leave locations of undesirable political tensions and potentially unprofitable conditions of production. In contrast to local capital whose

entrenchment within the conditions of production extant in the location of their profit-making activities largely forbids drastic relocations, transnational capital is able to search the globe for those most favorable to its profit-maximizing goals. Indeed, the fear of many supporters of the project that Cadillac Fairview would leave Victoria, was predicated on precisely a recognition of this characteristic of transnational capital.<sup>12</sup>

The evident superiority of transnational to local capital certainly aids the explanation of the ineffectiveness of the "Save Our City Coalition's" resistance, which was predominantly constituted by small businesses. Indeed, those interests would usually coincide with the historical responsibilities of the municipality. Conversely, however, transnational capital does not seem to be constrained by the economic relationship between community and government. That is, it is only if those relations affect transnational capital's ability to operate efficiently that it will reconsider the location of its investment decision. Yet, in this case it is likely that conditions exist in the location which are not conducive to even the presence of small business interests. Hence, somewhat ironically in terms of its constituents, the "Save Our

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<sup>12</sup> "City Not Threatened, but", The Times Colonist, March 4, 1987, p B1.

City Coalition" opposition did jeopardize the developer's interest in Victoria, which probably affirmed council's resolve to vote in favor of the project, especially because the coalition offered no substantial alternatives to Cadillac Fairview's proposal promising the scale of investment presumably deemed necessary by city council to effectively revitalize downtown. Thus, the predominant economic values inherent in the implication of capital in community, are likely to reinforce the willingness evident in Victoria to sacrifice history for capital investment. Indeed, the implication of capital in sovereignty and especially in community, may suggest the reasons for the implicit co-option of community-based resistance and the incapacity of municipal governments to resist the advances of transnational capital.

This is because transnational capital implicitly exploits sovereignty and community's dependency on capital, which are implicated in their respective origins and therefore determine the assigning of value in terms of economic value. Moreover, municipal governments are usually unable to resist transnational capital because their authority is predicated on the legitimacy they must apparently earn from the community they serve. This only seems possible by their facilitation of a buoyant economy which also may have

contributed to Victoria City Council's support for the Cadillac Fairview project. As they are constitutionally dependent on private capital for the continued economic health which results from privately financed land development, local government's initiatives are limited in terms of public expenditure. In short, the apparent inability of municipal government to resist transnational capital arises in the foundation of their authority in community dependent on capital. Thus, because capital is implicated in the existence of that community, governments are often seduced because it is precisely that community which provides their legitimacy.

Finally, then, the implication of capital in community and therefore in sovereignty implies that the community-based resistance of the "Save Our City Coalition" was inevitably co-opted by transnational capital. Constituted on the basis of economic necessity, its relationship with municipal government resulted in the determination of its value in precisely the economic sense that it is the historical role of municipal governments to protect. That is, based on capitalist relations of production, as transnational capital introduces potentially emancipatory technologies into communities, it tends to destroy the possibility of the truly human values Mumford imagines will guide them. As Marx contends, this is because our

consciousness of reality results from our material production of the means of subsistence. Thus, the implication of capital in community, demonstrated in the Victoria "Save Our City Coalition's" composition by predominantly small business interests, produced consciousness of that community in economic terms. In this sense, despite the claims of the discourse of the coalition to the originating experience of community, the "Save Our City Coalition" was constituted as an economic community. As such, Victoria City Council was its leader and fulfilled the historic responsibility of municipal governments to ensure the economic health of the communities they lead by maintaining the level of capital investment by facilitating the interests of private capital land developers.

In this sense, Mumford's imagined community might have corresponded to romantic conceptions of pre-scientific and industrial revolution life in an English village. However, in the social relations derive from capitalist production, claims to this sort of community, while probably historically inaccurate, appear illusory. Rather, it seems that effective resistance to capital on the basis of non-economic value, depends on the development of an alternate conception of the basis of community. Towards this end, it appears that an intensive critique of capital,

community and sovereignty is required, as the latter together produce our consciousness.

#### Chapter Four: The Possibility of Local Politics

How is it possible to speak of local politics?

In this paper I take the position that state sovereignty is in fact very interesting, indeed crucial, for any attempt to reconstruct our understanding of where and what political life can be at this historical juncture. It is interesting, I argue, precisely because of the practices through which it has been made to seem so incontestable for so long. Silences do command. They shape the practices and aspirations that are taken for granted, and the conditions under which alternative possibilities can be articulated. As everyone supposedly knows, state sovereignty is the primary constitutive principle of modern political life. But the manner in which this "fact" is known and treated tells us a great deal about the conditions under which claims about democracy, freedom, equality, and the rest have been constructed and deemed to be contestable. It tells us especially about the limits within which that contestability is constrained, ritualized, and fixed, through a historically specific account of the possibilities of political community and human identity<sup>1</sup>

In the particular case under examination, addressing the question 'how is it possible to speak of local politics?', seems to require inclusion and consideration of the participation of developer, Cadillac Fairview. Indeed, our silence concerning the ostensible initiator of the debate, by means of the original proposal for the Eaton's Centre project, may in fact illustrate the current confusion evident in the literature about what is at stake for humans

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1 R.B.J. Walker, "Sovereignty, Identity, Community: Reflections on the Horizons of Contemporary Political Practice", in R.B.J. Walker and Saul H. Mendlowitz (eds.), Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community, (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1990), p 2.

and their community in the intervention of large scale and/or multinational capital in the affairs of cities and ultimately the state. It is precisely what it is possible to speak of as local: the ability of human beings to communicate with one another in apparent disregard for spatial contingencies, for example, makes it difficult to describe the interactions of global capital as local or apparently anything else. That is, until recently or essentially until after its involvement with Victoria's downtown redevelopment, while it was ostensibly owned within Canada, Cadillac Fairview was able to command huge capital resources world wide, although its projects often depended on labour and materials available at the chosen site.<sup>2</sup> Specifically in this sense, while the local appears to be constituted as either the municipality or more problematically within the constructions of temporal, non-spatial expressions of community, it seems that Cadillac Fairview avoids, transcends or even ignores categorization as local or foreign since the company combines its access to architectural, administrative and financial with available, site specific labour, material and project construction resources. To the extent that the company is potentially able (can afford) to draw on global resources (like

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2 Ira Gluskin, Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration: Study #3, Cadillac Fairview Corporation Ltd.: A Corporate Background Report (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, January 1976) and John Twigg, "Cadillac Fairview: A Corporate Profile", Monday Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 36 (August 31 - September 3, 1986), pp 6-8.

architects, sources of operating capital, etc.), in the sense that these may originate anywhere in the world, the politics surrounding its chosen project site cannot be easily understood strictly in terms of either municipal government or community. Nonetheless, Cadillac Fairview's actual construction projects are constrained within the specifications of building codes, zoning by-laws and the administrative procedures of municipal democracy. Thus, investigations of the effect of multinational and/or large scale corporation investment on the affairs of cities, requires questions of the practices rather than the principle of state sovereignty as it is constitutive of modern political life. Hence, examination of the contestation or constitution of the local may suggest not only a way in which analysis might deal with the interaction of multinational capital and cities within the modern nation state, or how state sovereignty seems to self sustaining as the primary principle of political life, but also illuminate at the level of human practice, alternative possibilities for the future.

Underlying the question 'how is it possible to speak of local politics?' has been an attempt to understand the ways in which local politics appears as a unity for us - as something which can be grasped, analyzed and known. In the examination of the Victoria Eaton's Centre case, attention has focused on the constitution of the local - either in terms of the municipality or the much more problematic

community. Constitutive of these different understandings of the local are discourses which, using the particular logic of their power, assemble conceptual unities, which, operating in the world, express the extant, constitutive possibilities of that power. Conceived in the discourse of Founding Subject for example, the constitution of the local proceeds according to certain regular rules of formation which, contained in the logic of the discourse, specify the conditions under which it is possible to speak of the local: the ways it may be referred to, its existence as an apparent unity to be spoken of in newspaper editorials and such. As the fundamental assumptions and logic of the discourse of Founding Subject are predicated on the notion that its creation originally established and continues in practice to sustain civilized, rationally ordered human existence, its expression in the municipal institution, not only guides the activities and logic of this institution of local government, but provides the parameters for a particular way of speaking of the local. Similarly, the community is the limit of what the discourse of Originating Experience refers to as local. And, despite the difficulties in specifying other than municipal or what is meant by non-spatial community, there appears to be a connection between these discourses in the so-called democratic or modern political configuration or constitution of the principle of state sovereignty. It is this connection, this sovereignty which seems to be so radically disrupted by Cadillac Fairview.

Indeed, although we have only loosely addressed what is political in each discourse, attention has focused on the politics surrounding the corporation's development proposal. However, as Plato originally noted, politics occur at the margins, and, in terms of the centrality of state sovereignty to modern political life, municipal government or the local is apparently, hierarchically at least, marginal. It seems that as much is suggested by the lack of consideration in the literature of the fact that eventually multinational corporations need actual, territorial locations for their activities: the technical, administrative and apolitical way in which they become involved in the affairs of local government and cities. These are all considered there in the local - and contribute to Victoria City Council's apparent disregard of the efforts of the "Save Our City Coalition" as it represented a democratic example of resistant human practice. Yet as Cadillac Fairview appears to bring the question of the local into sharp relief and consequently that the "Save Our City Coalition" appears as other than a strictly local actor, how then is it possible to speak of local politics?

The preceding chapters have contained an attempt to show how the local was distinctly constituted by the discourses of Founding Subject and Originating Experience in the Victoria Eaton's Centre case. Theoretically, the emergence and subsequent involvement of a presumably primordial community immediately prior to the 'covenanting

together', inextricably implicates later claims to community in the constructions of state sovereignty which obtain as the general principle of modern political life following the Hobbesian moment. Thus, in the usual practices of state sovereignty underlying modern political life, the discourses of Founding Subject and Originating Experience appear together as government and official opposition, local government and community, aboriginal or native peoples and Federal department of Indian Affairs. In short, in modern political life, a claim to power based on the legitimate or illegitimate appropriation of the claim to be the foundation upon which all else is possible, is most effectively countered by a claim to be more original and therefore more legitimate. Hence, in the Victoria Eaton's Centre case, the discourse of Founding Subject spoken by city council representing the municipality, battled with the "Save Our City Coalition's" claim to community or the discourse of Originating Experience, not over the issue of redevelopment itself, but over the form that redevelopment should take. It seems more than coincidence that much was made of the architectural form of the proposed mall building. Still, it is in this sense that two different conceptions of what the local should be, confronted one another and, despite the apparent naturalness or the logic of the constitution of this opposition within the practice of state sovereignty, it should be remembered that the design proposal was not generated by either opponent. Rather, the battle was

instigated by developer Cadillac Fairview whose global resource potential seemed to strengthen its ability to refuse the division of local and foreign created by state sovereignty.

Still, in order to assess the possibilities for state sovereignty of the interaction of global companies and cities, it is the practice of state sovereignty, rather than the principle which requires examination. While in spatial or Hobbesian terms, it is relatively easy to show that in theory, the territorial state is the only conceivable, possible and necessary site of rational human existence, except as it concerns defence or maintenance of the actual border of the state (for example in a military sense), the practices of state sovereignty are often both subtle and pervasive. Essential to sovereignty as the primary principle of modern political life is the notion of centering, best exemplified by Hobbes' monarch. For example, the territorial state is the spatial embodiment or expression of the ultimate concentration of power centred in the sovereign, who as such is the final authority and arbitrator within the state. In short, Hobbes' sovereign is the central source of power in the state and its creation is the foundation upon which all else is possible. Drawing on this unique and ultimate constitution by the covenant of rational individuals, all the agencies of the extant governing authority given by that legitimate power manifest its centrality throughout their hierarchical arrangement of

its spatial constitution. Thus, the discourse of Founding Subject is deeply implicated in the principle and practice of state sovereignty. Thus, in order to exercise governmental authority or to continually establish a claim to legitimate power, a social institution must speak in the voice of the sovereign, conscious that it is both the foundation upon which human existence is possible and the ultimate authority within the state. Even at the hierarchically lowly level of municipal government, manifestation of the principle of centred power in government institutions indicates the practice of state sovereignty in the local.

Although in a much more obscure way, the community, which is spatially constituted within the totalizing power of the state is similarly implicated in the principle and practices of state sovereignty. Indeed, it is precisely the constitution of community which is at stake in questions of the local conceived in terms of state sovereignty. Indeed, it is the characterization of human beings as atomistic, rational, self-interested individuals which creates in turn the possibility of speaking of community within the municipal, provincial or federal jurisdiction. Indeed, the current confusion about what human community can be is certainly demonstrated by the "Save Our City Coalition's" ideological claim to community which seems to have been evoked by Cadillac Fairview's involvement with the City of Victoria. In what sense did this group constitute a

community? However, with regard to the constitution of community by both the implications of Hobbesian theory and the practices of state sovereignty, it appears that as the originating experience of those involved in the process leading to creation of the monarch, community underpins the legitimacy of government. Of course, the process of legitimation is much more complicated within the practice of state sovereignty's reified governing processes, institutions and procedures (of representative democracy for example), but in essence, the human community formed immediately prior to the establishment by covenant of state sovereignty is translated by that move, into the community of rational, self-interested, atomistic individuals of the municipality, province or federal jurisdiction. On the other hand, as the establishment of this sovereignty is only one alternative available to human beings in the state of nature or presumably even from within the state, the local as site of human practice, is itself central to other possibilities. Still, as constituted within state sovereignty, the discourse of Originating Experience seems to be the usual resort of groups who do not find adequate representation in the democratic processes of government in the sense that governmental areas of concern are articulated around the theme of Founding Subject.

While it might be objected that there is nothing remarkable in the observation that the discourses of Founding Subject and Originating Experience usually appear

on opposite sides in political conflicts, and that these confrontations are mostly initiated by some social, human, cultural, corporate, financial, or currently, environmental science force, in the Victoria case it appears that it is the connection of the discourses in sovereignty, or state sovereignty itself, which is challenged by Cadillac Fairview's refusal of local/foreign categorization. For example, it is relatively easy to discount the role of city council as final decision maker on the proposed development, arguing instead that Cadillac Fairview held the upper hand all along, by virtue of its enormous financial resources. Indeed, as much is suggested by Judith Lavoie in the Times-Colonist

"If Victoria insists Cadillac Fairview meet all terms of the special development commissioner's report, Eaton's Centre will not go ahead says Peter Picherack. 'We are not going ahead with the project at a loss', the Cadillac Fairview vice-president said ...Deals have been closed on most properties he said, but if the project is put on hold, he would not offer long term leases. 'It will just sit there vacant. Or I'm happy to run a bingo parlour in the Woolworth's building.' Picherack said he is not threatening the city. 'We want people to know exactly where we are. I don't want them, (city council) to shoot themselves in the foot'. Mayor Gretchen Brewin however, said Picherack may not be holding a gun to council's head, 'but it sounds remarkably like something very pointy with a very strong mechanism inside that we are supposed to fear terribly'." <sup>3</sup>

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3 Judith Lavoie, "City not threatened but...", Times-Colonist (March 4, 1987), p B1.

However, if Cadillac Fairview did entirely dominate, the choice available to Victoria City Council would have been either to accept the proposal or the consequence of the developer's quick and threatened exit. Yet this account presupposes the quite radical development of a new variation of the principle of state sovereignty which, although possible, does not easily explain the huge debate which surrounded the development proposal. On the other hand, while it is only the city of Victoria and local politics which are ostensibly at issue here, the fact that Cadillac Fairview, aside from its other property holdings, was apparently prepared to leave Victoria without redevelopment, raises questions about the extant health of the principle of state sovereignty practiced in the local as municipality. Indeed, it should also be remembered that abundant resources or not, the company's proposal still largely conformed to the city's building code and zoning by-laws. Only the community plan was violated. In short, it appears that the local is the contested site of interactions between global capital and the practices of state sovereignty.

Moreover, at the heart of the position taken here, is the contention that the local is presently the only real and possible site of human practice. This is based on the observation that all strategies of power, democratic or not, require deployment in the local. For example, Canadian federal practices of representative democracy are participatory because their legitimacy is acquired through

the election of representatives at the level of the local constituency. In short, it is the electoral linking of these local or constituency politics to the abstract level of the federal government which authorizes a democratic description of Canadian political processes and practices of state sovereignty. Equally, the Soviet Communist Party practice of nomenklatura assigns political advisors to bureaucratic officials at the local level with the express intent of ensuring local conformity to official party standards and policy lines.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in Hobbesian theory, the practices of individuals constituted as citizens, inextricably tie the local to state sovereignty through the origins it conceives in human community as the site of possible individual action. Even the activity of multinational corporations must occur at the local level in the sense that that is the actual site of practice. Yet, the precise character of the local, and therefore the space of human practice and the nature of community at this historical juncture, is thrown into question by global actors, by the high technology, systems of rapid communication and transportation, and unrestrained flows of capital often represented by their presence at a location.

Thus, this disputation of the local appears to arise precisely because of intervention into the constitutive power of discourses. That is, the constitutions of the

4 Donald D. and Carol Barner-Barry, Contemporary Society Politics: An Introduction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1982).

local by both Founding Subject and Originating Experience-- as practices of state sovereignty which contain questions of legitimate authority within it--are challenged by Cadillac Fairview. However, although they usually appear on opposing sides within the totality of state sovereignty as expressed by the bounded territorial state, global capital seems to break apart the agreement to disagree inherent in that arrangement: identifying each discursive claim to an understanding of the local as distinct, global capital apparently challenges the constitution of this sovereignty with its presence. Yet, rather than challenging the authority of Victoria City Council's implicitly constituted sovereign authority to accept or reject its proposal, Cadillac Fairview's initial interest in public input at its open houses and willingness to follow procedures of local government democracy make its role in the affair appear as mediator between the requirements articulated by council or Founding Subject and the demands of the "Save Our City Coalition". Indeed, as might be expected of any corporation making a capital investment, Cadillac Fairview remained intently focused on the success of this project throughout these considerations. Yet, its intervention into municipal government resulted in the appearance of claims of government and opposition as ideological in comparison with its own interests in constructing a mall which hopefully would bring with it the benefits of downtown renewal.

Certainly global capital's apparent lack of interest in challenging state sovereignty is implicit if not inherent in the analysis of such multinational intervention in cities in the current literature.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, although relatively unsophisticated in terms of political theorization, these analyses demonstrate the confusion we contend now characterizes understandings of the local and the exact condition of state sovereignty. For example, John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff's now classic article, "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action",<sup>6</sup> argues that the integration of certain cities into the global economy constitutes "...the spatial articulation of the emerging world system of production and markets through a global network of cities."<sup>7</sup> They contend that cities are the sites of global production and as such become superior international actors. Yet, while Friedmann and Wolff claim that their "central theme is the content of urban life,"<sup>8</sup> they offer little more than a geographic description of these cities which are exemplified by New York, Paris,

5 See for example: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1986), or Michael Peter Smith (ed.), Cities in Transformation (London: Sage Publications, 1984), or Manuel Castells, (ed.), High Technology, Space and Society, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 28 (London: Sage Publications, 1985).

6 John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff, "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action", International Journal of Urban and aRegional Research, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1982), pp 309 - 343.

7 Ibid., p. 307.

8 Ibid.

Tokyo, London and etc. There is only a minor account of local politics which is assumed to carry on as usual within the state. While this is possible, this argument leaves the implications of multinational activity in production and markets for the local and especially for state sovereignty untouched. Yet even if it was the specificity of developer Cadillac Fairview which caused the immense debate in Victoria, economic and productive difficulties will surely still exist for surrounding municipalities, and in this sense what is local and the space of local politics is of some interest. Instead, Friedmann and Wolff adopt the apparent perspective of global capital itself which is relatively uninterested in the constitution of the local by the state as municipality or for that matter, in the local politics of their activities at all.

Yet the centrality of the local for consideration of state sovereignty is implicit in the later work of Manuel Castells. In this approach to questions of the effects and implications of globalization on the urban, Castells' attention in "High Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban Regional Process in the United States,"<sup>9</sup> is focused on the accelerations of high technology, which he loosely defines, for urban society. He argues that the goal of high technology is information with the result that it emphasizes process rather than the product of its activity. In this, the local becomes of great concern since it is

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9 Castells, Ibid.

precisely the rapid communication of information which the high technology of global capital brings with it, and productive human existence and activity which is at stake in the local. He says:

" The new informational logic of production and management creates a *new space of production*, the development of which fundamentally reshapes regional structure and the dynamics of each city according to the functional importance of their social, economic and institutional characteristics for the new production system. *The direct impact of new technologies*, (particularly communications technologies) on the ways of working and living tends to modify the urban form. Yet the effects of high technology are mediated by the broader economic and social processes that frame its uses. *The most important global process conditioning the relation between the new technologies and spatial dynamics is the economic restructuring that ... capitalism is currently undergoing ...*"<sup>10</sup>

However, in the vast majority of the current literature which concentrates, mostly in case studies, on the effects of global capital on cities, a geographic or economic conception of the local and cities is adopted. As a result, consideration of the political and local political implications of high technology and multinational presence are virtually ignored, or addressed only through traditional categories. For example, Jane Jacobs is seriously interested in the role played by cities in the economies of nations, arguing that cities, rather than other geographic units are the real productive networking organizers of

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10 Ibid., p. 12.

national economies.<sup>11</sup> In this text and another, she advocates the reconstruction of present, territorially large countries into smaller, presumably sovereign units, which more closely correspond to the functional, necessary organizations of their production found in each region's central city.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, Jacobs also promotes investment contributing to the diversity and intensity of productive activities of cities, since cities alone are truly responsible for coordination, processing, transporting and organizing productive activities in the regions they centrally serve. Yet Jacobs does not try to escape the principle of state sovereignty in any one of its three traditional guises: the state writ large - a single global state, for example; the state in its current form; or a multiplicity of smaller versions or sovereignties, maybe even in a global federation. Indeed, perhaps because of the implications for the constitution of an economy arising within this traditional conception of sovereignty, her perspective is one of largely capitalist economic theory's construction, in which human or social implications disappear beneath the assumptions surrounding economic man. Jacobs seems to recognize the emergent "network of world cities" central to the work of Friedmann and Wolff, but again, even economic man/woman's conditions of existence,

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11 Jane Jacobs, Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life (New York: Random House, 1985).

12 Jane Jacobs, The Economy of Cities (New York: Random House, 1969).

his/her work and life are, apparently of necessity, framed within state sovereignty. Particularly in practice in the local which seems to provide their only possible site, human existence and community receive little attention on the assumption that if the national economy is good, all else will inevitably follow. Yet, what this local can be, exactly, is still in doubt - what the local can mean to human practice and state sovereignty is still in question. Thus, questions of the way in which we might attempt an apprehension of the local are crucial in the reconstruction of alternative ways of living in a human community. Indeed, such questions become extremely interesting when it is remembered that even global capital requires at some point, material manifestations of its enormous power.

Indeed, questions to do with what the local means are central and silently dominate the current literature which attempts to analyse and deal with the effects of global capital on specific cities. In articles where some consideration of its impact on sovereignty might be at least expected to be practically discussed, such as John Trachte and Robert Ross's, "The crisis of Detroit and the emergence of global capitalism"<sup>13</sup>, Joe R. Feagin's, "The social costs of Houston's growth: a sunbelt boomtown reexamined",<sup>14</sup> or, "Corporate Structure and Corporate

<sup>13</sup> International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1985), pp 186-215.

<sup>14</sup> International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1985), pp 165-183.

Change in a local economy: the case of Bristol" by K. Bassett,<sup>15</sup> the failure to offer any comprehensive or other definition of the local, even as municipality, precludes the possibility of assessment of the practical effects of this supposed restructuring for labour and life. On the other hand, these implications are typically anticipated to be geographically or municipally so far-reaching that they cannot be easily specified. Thus, the view adopted by these approaches and the perspective of the editors of "World Property"<sup>16</sup>, a publication devoted presumably to real-estate investors with global potential interests and resources seems to be of cities as the unities of points of concentration on a map denoting localities of interesting economic activity, without reference to the practicalities of human life involved. Yet, in some sense it seems that the consequences and future of these activities rests on the conditions of existence of human beings in practice, such that understandings of the local are crucial. Moreover, it is precisely the conception of state sovereignty as the general context of real activities which focuses attention on the local as the only possible site of material human practice.

However, the possibility of constructing alternatives must also confront our contention that in this case at

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15 Environment and Planning, Vol. 16B (1984), pp 79-200.

16 Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, World Property: the International Magazine of Real Estate (London: British Builders Group, 1964- ).

least, both the discourses of state sovereignty or Founding Subject, and community or Originating Experience are ideological. The argument is that the claim of state sovereignty to be the source and foundation of rationally ordered life, articulated in its practice - in every manifestation or institution of governing authority - is constituted by and is constitutive of the possibility of speaking of the state. To the extent that the state has a history of practice, but also in Hobbesian theory, this constitution is overt and particular. Among dozens of social unities or institutions, this construction occurs in state agencies around the deep implication of the logic we have called Founding Subject which is characterized by a spatial conception of power. Yet despite its claim, the state is only one possibility. Similarly, the community we speak of is also specifically constituted, and despite its claim to be the originating experience of humanity, from its beginning is implicated in state sovereignty. Indeed, its construction within the municipality only shallowly expresses this engagement. Of great concern here is the apparent continuance of the constitution of this claim to community, although the "Save Our City Coalition" at least appeared to refuse a spatial understanding of power. Yet the claim is ideological precisely because in practice there seems to be no connection between the "Save Our City Coalition" and the originating experience of humanity within a community. Furthermore, a competing claim to designate

community is contained within the municipality and ultimately the state. It seems to be the nature of human existence that life is practice, and in this sense the practice of community, in the municipality or not, must be constituted within state sovereignty, informed to some extent by its centrality. In the case of the "Save Our City Coalition" for example, the claim to community as originating experience was contested by the municipality's understanding of community constituted in its spatialized jurisdiction. Thus, both the discourses of Founding Subject and Originating Experience appear as ideological - as self-consciously constructed claims which in turn construct particularistic practices.

Thus, perhaps the anticipated challenge by global capital to the pervasive and evidently continuing dominations by state sovereignty can be best approached through the analyses of practice if we are to avoid the extant constitution of unities that demand and permit us to speak of presupposed entities like state and community. Indeed, it is the practices of the local which seem to be at stake in Castells' high technology challenge of unrestrained flows of global capital (exemplified by rapid communication capabilities and the like) not only to the state, but also to the practice of human community. While the current literature seems to analyze the interactions of multinational corporations and cities as if the latter are constituted as singular entities, no more than common sense

tells us that cities, like all other apparent entities, are in fact constituted by a diverse conglomeration of practices which are implicated in processes operating far beyond the realms of geographic location. Yet, these processes can not proceed at some abstract "level". Rather, the local assumes paramount importance as challenges to state sovereignty occur in specific localities in the practices which presently throw its understanding into question and conversely appear to maintain its constitution in terms of the state.

In this sense, the possibilities for human community perhaps seem inapprehensible since an understanding of those alternatives appears to rely on the relationship of the local to community. Indeed, the present ambiguity surrounding the local is apparently accompanied by ideological claims to community originating not in some unself-conscious practice but precisely in the constitution of state sovereignty in which its own practice and meaning is deeply implicated. Thus, a clear understanding of what the local is at this historical juncture may be the key to the analysis of the principle of state sovereignty which underlies the present constitution and possibilities of community and modern political life. As Walker suggests, consideration of alternatives seems to consequently require much more serious consideration of the principle of state sovereignty, particularly in light of its apparently continuing ability to sustain the practices of territorial

inclusivity and dominating centrality to human life.<sup>17</sup> Finally then, although it is not alone in this, but because it is a practice or perhaps is constituted by a variety of practices, community generally provides the constitutive context of human life. Yet, in accordance with the relationship between them, the local appears as the site of the interactions of the practices of community, state sovereignty (including the practices of the discourses of Founding Subject and the ideological claim to community articulated by Originating Experience) and both national and global capital. It seems that understood as the site of practice, the local might be a place to begin to examine what is currently constitutive of social existence and to understand the alternative possibilities of what human community can be.

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17 R.B.J. Walker, "Sovereignty, Identity, Community: Reflections on the Horizons of Contemporary Political Practice", in R.B.J. walker and Saul H. Mendlowitz (eds.), Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community, Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1990.

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OUTLINEChapter 1 - The StoryA. Victoria's situation - 1986

- 1 - the historical logic city growth
  - outward spread of residential development
  - construction of suburban shopping malls
  - industrial decline
  - decline of downtown shopping core
2. Victoria's character - Dependence on Tourism
  - history of city results in old buildings surrounding Empress and parliament
  - island location - loss of economic centre to Vancouver
  - industrial decline
  - British colonial heritage
  - capital city - bureaucrats
3. Victoria's situation - Consensus on Redevelopment
  - loss of economic importance to Vancouver resulted in industrial decline
  - outward spread of residential area but still lots of people live close to downtown
  - decline of shopping core downtown except for tourists attracted by historic city
  - dependence on tourism growing but industrial decline and economic situation of city means that downtown needs redevelopment to keep attracting tourists
  - Eaton's needs new store, for example
4. External capital needed
  - economic situation of city leads to perception that capital had to come from outside city - no source in city - shared by small merchants and large.
  - msfr Eaton's a good choice and no one was ever made at Eaton's although it was connected to outside capital because chain store
  - needs new store and land acquired to add mall
  - downtown shopping malls - logic of capital is that while pressure is on for property surrounding city, downtown becomes cheaper
  - attractiveness of Victoria's downtown to tourism upon which city if becoming dependent
  - according to logic of city natural to propose new mall
  - consensus on redevelopment by external capital so Eaton's approached previous partner in these projects (Cadillac Fairview) and started biggest local political issue ever
  - council's apparent fear that developer would leave town

## B. The Story of Cadillac Fairview and Victoria

1. Private rather than Public development
  - role of city council according to Magnusson - why accommodation of CF - council fears CF leave town
  - council decisions always to promote economic well-being of community - safety, through zoning and by laws - land use
  - constraints on council - legal and economic - Municipal Act
  
2. Cadillac Fairview's proposal
  - exteriority of CF
  - how received by council and its concerns
  - details of the proposal
  - strategy of Open Houses
  - stage of legal processes according to Municipal Act that proposal was at - in principal agreement
  - how both government and community ultimately failed to resist CF
  
3. Formation of Oppositional Coalition
  - consensus on need for redevelopment
    - a. Socc's community base and claim they made - to be community but not everyone included  
leaders and why opposed
    - b. constitution of coalition - community of business owners, tourist operators, etc.
    - c. position toward council - community leaders
    - d. position with regard to Cadillac Fairview
    - e. position on future of Victoria - issues concerned about
    - f. strategy - public meetings  
constitution of strategy - community based opposition
  
4. Process of project approval - Municipal Act
  - relation of government and community - propose-oppose
  - Socc participation: what tried to do
  - Council reaction to Socc
  - municipal democracy - parameters of public input
  - Socc failure to change logic of revitalization despite support
  - council didn't move despite public meetings etc.
  - concessions to Socc changes to design not plan itself
  - plan was never in doubt
  - logic of form of redevelopment never in doubt - focus of CF open houses
  - consensus on need for redevelopment
  - Socc produce own plan
  - was to redevelop existing heritage buildings - museum piece
  - ultimately both municipal government and community could not resist CF project - why were they so ineffective?

C. Pose the question - why was Socc so ineffective

1. Summarize relevant facts

- economic situation of city - dependence on tourism - revitalization needed - all agreed
- private rather public development - council couldn't
- external capital needed - CF was but transnational
- municipal democracy guaranteed opposition, but couldn't on of community - Why not?
- neither council nor Socc was effective
- ultimately both council and community failed to resist - project turned out essentially as CF wanted - why was CF's power so incontestable?

2. Options for understanding ineffective resistance

- downtown decline - city accommodate those who would revitalize
- consensus and logic of city councils
- logic of city growth in capitalist econ - outward pressure on suburbs - made inner city land cheaper all more attractive since Eaton's needed new store - coalition members do not have enough capital
- Victoria's growing dependence on tourism necessitated redevelopment esp. in case of Eaton's which had faced downtown decline before - Eaton's biggest retailer - Socc resistance only to design and achieved concessions - just opposed to added competition of mall merchants
- Socc itself - leaders, timing, organization, etc. all wrong - ineffective strategy
- municipal councils and opposition forces too weak to oppose large capital - especially transnational over which it had no control
- council fear that it would lose CF - did have control over building and land - level of practice
- in terms of community interest it seems that both Socc and council were betrayed by CF - why? - perception of CF as transnational capital and external
- \*\*\*Perception of CF as external is crucial point to understanding why resistance failed

3. Thesis Approach

- Victoria story raises questions of relationship of transnational capital, community and government

Question - by examining practices of transnational capital, government and community, thesis will analyze the ineffectiveness of Socc resistance

- examine practice to apprehend transnational intervention in local politics to which it seems exterior
- exteriority of capital to local politics despite locating of capital in locality arises from principle of sovereignty
- exteriority of transnational capital derives from sovereignty - exteriority to local politics as in Victoria case where CF seemed outsider - focus on

a. Practice not principles

- transnational capital was implicated in local politics in Victoria
- to explain ineffectiveness of resistance need to explore relationship of government, community, and capital as they were practiced in Victoria
- escape conceptualization of terms: explore their practices - how the three related in Victoria - examine how concepts constituted
- at the local level they become tangible actors whose activities can be explored and analyzed
- local is site of authentic human practice - can see how factors are related to human existence and practice
- by examining practice see how concepts are constituted - focus is on how these concepts are constituted - specifically how is relationship constituted in sovereignty
- first tell story of practice

b. Relation of government and community in state sovereignty

- since transnational capital seems to challenge sovereignty, it is the relation of government and community which constitute it
- Municipal act etc. practiced in Victoria in relationship of Socc, council - natural opposition
- logic constituting relationship
- since the underlying purpose of sovereignty is preservation - includes econ - indeed interdependence of human need constitutes community
- community depends on economic base - capital has a role in community - see at level of practice - like CF in Victoria

c. Relation of Capital and Community

- the economic base of community is implicit in sovereignty - in practice transnational capital is not exterior to local politics and therefore resistance must critique sov and capital to develop strategies of effective resistance and reconstruct community on some other basis.

Possibilities of Resistance on basis of community

- Community defined in a particular way in sovereignty as having to do with economic interdependence, but project is to reconstruct community on another basis.
- look at practice because is a human level where individuals can act and experience effects. Through practice can develop new basis for reconstructing of community.

Chapter 2 - Founding Subject - Government and Community

A. Sovereignty - Hobbes

quote from Hobbes about invasions

1. - spatial geometric logic - sovereignty
2. - the sovereign - the state of nature and formation of the state - obligation to
3. - international state system - anarchy and ends of sovereignty  
- impossibility of transnational capital in this model and apparent challenges to sov since does exist
4. - individuals - getting out of state of nature  
- being a citizen  
- characteristics atomistic - self interested  
- links to capitalism
5. - constitution of society - community conception  
- liberty and necessity equated - citizen rights and obligation
6. - conception of power of the state as founder of order and reason  
- internal/external  
- concept of transnational capital is challenge to sov. power of state as foundation  
- end of sovereign power - CF

B. Founding Subject and Practices of Sovereignty

1. Michel Foucault and Founding Subject
  - a. - quote
  - b. - ideological claim of state to be founding subject  
- precludes possibility of transnational capital which is betrayed as by CF  
- i.e. transnational capital is not external in practice - involved in local politics - i.e. uses local labour, construction etc. - council can act in certain ways to CF because is not exterior  
- part of this sovereignty involves relation of government and community  
- CF betrays ideological claim in challenge to sovereignty and therefore is not external to it - apparent if study practice
2. In sovereignty, theorised by Hobbes, Spatial logic orders interior of state
  - Constitution of the local - hierarchical connection of state to municipality
  - cities viewed as miniature states i.e. Dahl
3. Foucault and Founding Subject - hierarchically passed down to municipal government
  - state attitude that it is the foundation of everything: civilized life, etc.
  - is implicit in local government practices of discourse
  - what discourse is and how its analysis is analysis of practice allowing us access to logic of practice as they express and articulate principles, i.e. Victoria City Council and Municipal Act as founding subject of community - land at lowest level of hierarchy

4. State and municipality as Founding Subject, i.e. Mill - makes clear that state has to be founder of understanding of community implicated in foundation of state
  5. - understanding of community within sovereignty  
- as what legitimizes sovereignty  
- municipality is community informed by state logic
- C. Relation of government and community
- spatial conception of individuals constitutes wholeness of sovereignty - citizens as basis of sovereignty - so government and community
1. Community implicit in sovereignty  
- in Hobbesian story individuals come together in state of nature to form state - out of self interest in preservation so presupposes community as central to state - implicit in
  2. Constitution of community as Municipality  
- municipal act - in practice, sovereignty maintained in community by municipal practice  
- Hobbesian spatial logic expressed in boundaries, reason of building code, zoning, sewers etc.
  3. Constitution of sovereignty  
- community requires government so community natural opposition to government
  4. Role of Municipal Government  
- in combination with logic of capital - historical role of municipality is to be foundation of Community - as necessary economic union
  5. Role of community in Hobbesian theory - sovereignty
    - a. - composed of rational, atomistic self-interested individuals  
- out of self preservation - must therefore include means of subsistence
    - b. - community natural opposition to government - role is to keep government in line since community prior to state - legitimization
    - c. community has economic base in sovereignty
      - description of individuals
      - historical role of state as per Magnusson economic well-being
      - theory - to protect citizens, to ensure they can preserve selves
      - means living means capital --- so ---
      - capital implicit in practice of sovereignty - need to examine constitution of community in sovereignty, role of capital in it.

### Chapter 3 - Originating Experience - Capital and Community

quote from Mumford - need for return to community as ideal or not constituted by economy

- A. Constitution of Community in Sovereignty  
On basis of economy - rational individuals need each other to survive and produce means of subsistence - other human needs produce culture etc. in community but in sovereignty individuals form community to achieve economic survival - takes priority -

- like state is also ideological claim that is betrayed by CF potential employer, uses local construction etc.
- coalition formed on basis that mall compete with local capital
- those not involved in capital therefore not part of community?
- claim to community is ideological

1. Capital implication in origins of community
    - a. Hobbesian theory of community before state
      - review community in sovereignty as opposition
      - Hobbes' originating experience presupposes capital - preservation in it
    - b. Michel Foucault and quote about Originating Experience
      - similar origins of capital and community
      - implication of capital in Originating Experience - Hobbesian theory - economic base of communities - Hobbesian description of individuals as self interested etc. state of nature - preservation means economics
    - c. John Locke and addition to Hobbes
      - natural rights of economic preservation continue in state in form of property, implicated economy in state of nature origins
  2. Economic understanding of community in Sovereignty
    - implication of capital in constitution of community in sovereignty - understanding of community as economic
    - i.e. historical role of municipality
    - municipal democracy - state founds community and community legitimizes state - community on economic basis - state provides organization nec. for capital to work
    - originating Experience speaks of some other basis for community
    - but as it informs Socc, always presupposes capital
- B. Capital and Community
- claim to community is ideological because capital implicated in origins of community - CF not attack on community because despite claim, capital implicated in sovereignty - people preserving themselves involves economic production of means of subsistence
1. Capital and Community in sovereignty
    - dependent on one another in sovereignty
    - community depends on capital to provide a living for individuals - they create community in relation to state
    - capital depends on community for workers, consumers, locations and sovereignty to establish system where individuals have to work, according to laws - system
    - both depend on government for law, order of system, civilized life - rational constitution of man so dependent on capital to employ etc. so government depends on both
    - originating experience presupposes capital on basis of community - Socc coalition of business complete with mall
    - community presupposes reason for existence has to do with economic need which take priority - other reasons for community subservient
    - capital depends on community and sovereignty to establish order, law, economic system

## 2. Transnational capital

- Should not be seen as external even though appears to challenge sovereignty
- at level of practice demonstrated at a location is clear that it is implicated in sovereignty - needs state and community to operate
- transnational capital needs place to touch down - makes its money in sovereignty
- challenge is that it is superior to local capital since it is capable of being fluid - can move - does not seem to be constrained by specific relation of government and community in location - but capital needs sovereignty relations ultimately to profit and exist
- is not external - but raises questions of what local is
- municipal governments unable to resist it because its authority rests on gaining legitimacy from community which can only do if keep economy going - constrained in what can do without private capital - constituted to encourage it - can't resist because capital necessary to existence of community which legitimizes it, i.e. Cadillac Fairview and Victoria - needed city to extent that to make money needed workers etc.

## 3. Transnational capital and community

- transnational capital should not be treated as external to local politics - resistance implicated in sovereignty when it locates becomes as local
- difference is not that it can leave town if resistance too serious - but hard to resist because community based on economy - without capital bleak future - community not survive - is implicated in sovereignty, sovereign practice at local level - difference is that if capital finds relations in Victoria too difficult it can locate somewhere else
- community needs capital to exist as much as capital needs community - so hard to resist - even if form is the problem, ie consensus and focus on aesthetics, design rather than concept of project itself

## C. The case of Victoria

### 1. Socc's claim to community

- ideological claim (show) - not including everyone who lives in city

### 2. Constitution of Socc coalition on economic base

- particular basis in coalition (show)
- how this explains constitution of Socc esp. as coalition of small business, tourist operators
- community implicated in forces of capital, even citizens
- basis of claim to community was economic

3. Municipal Government and Socc
- natural opposition according to municipal democracy
  - Socc saw municipal council as community leaders - imagining that meant community in some organic, non economic sense which had to do with representing community position to outsiders
  - focus on council as made decisions as community leader not realizing economic base of community and municipal gov constituted to maintain and encourage it - as part of sovereignty in which economic survival characterizes community existence
  - neither government nor community effectively resisted - both government and community implicated in capital in sovereignty - how to resist

#### Chapter 4 - Possibilities for resistance

- A. Relationship of Government, Capital and Community
- appears that Socc betrayed ideological claims of both government and community - appears as challenge to sov
1. Sovereignty
- characteristics - constitution by spatial logic - relation of citizens and monarch - expressed in territory - absolute
  - characteristics of individuals at base
  - sovereignty is ideological construct of claims to community and state that appears real in terms of territory, power etc. - does order life - in order to understand how to resist have to grasp fact that how people survive in sovereignty implicates capital Hobbes
2. Capital
- since ultimate reason for sovereignty is preservation of individuals - source of preservation is way people survive
  - implicates capital according to nature of individuals
  - Locke - capitalist economy
  - Marx points out that capital is means of exchange
  - capital implicated in sovereignty - possible that it is an ideological means of exchange - particular way of understanding how people preserve themselves that reduces everything to money value - i.e. community - human need for each other too.
3. Community
- to escape reducing things to money to value - have to see ideological claims of capital, government and economically based community - critique capital etc. - i.e. Socc not a coalition of business interests afraid of CF
  - community on economic base - in order to preserve themselves, citizens have to interact in regular way - provided by sovereignty and capital
  - provided in relation of community and government since community creates state and state protects individuals in preserving themselves - where can get means of subsistence according to natures
  - according to nature of individuals who constitute the state - means of subsistence provided by capital which depends on people

living together to provide its way of letting them provide means of subsistence - economic base of community.

B. Failure to Resist

1. Socc

- economic base of community in coalition and recognized in consensus meant that without capital influx community would not survive - couldn't talk about other benefits of Victoria - encourage tourism
- Socc failed to offer effective resistance because it couldn't risk losing the livelihoods of members and therefore all the other things claimed for community
- concession Socc did receive
- why aesthetics and design not protect form
- because design did not affect the project itself except in that if Socc could agree to design would put less pressure on Victoria City Council

2. Municipal Government Ineffectiveness

- Municipal government and transnational capital
- transnational capital is large - seems to provide a solution to problems of city decline etc. all problems of municipal government resulting from its constitution as practice of sovereignty
- municipal democracy - legitimacy of government comes from citizenry
- implication in sovereignty with capital - historical role of municipal government is to look after economic well-being of community through facilitation of capital - private not public development
- municipal government is ineffective in resisting capital because it is dependent on it to fulfill its role as protector as citizens who give legitimacy by economics
- municipal government could only resist if project proposal did not provide enhancement

C. Possibilities for Resistance

- as long as we are ideologically constituted by the implication of capital insovereignty - the way laws etc. are made - cannot resist capital because implicated in understanding of what community is.

1. Transnational capital should not be seen as external - in practice is local - problem in resistance is that as long as sovereignty - all towns are essentially the same and as medium of exchange, capital can choose because implicated everywhere - innovation of transnational capital is that its implication in sovereignty and community on economic base means can be assured of importance everywhere - harder to resist than capital tied to a location by physical constraints - transnational capital is able to move -
2. Economic base of community - need some other reason for being community and living together - might not be spatial

3. Starting point seems to be thorough going critique of Capital's implication in sovereignty constituted by co-dependence of government and community
4. Remember:
  - transnational capital needs local site for production because in practice is implicated in sovereignty
  - local is also level of human practice and therefore perhaps resistance

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