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ISSUES AFFECTING RURAL COMMUNITIES

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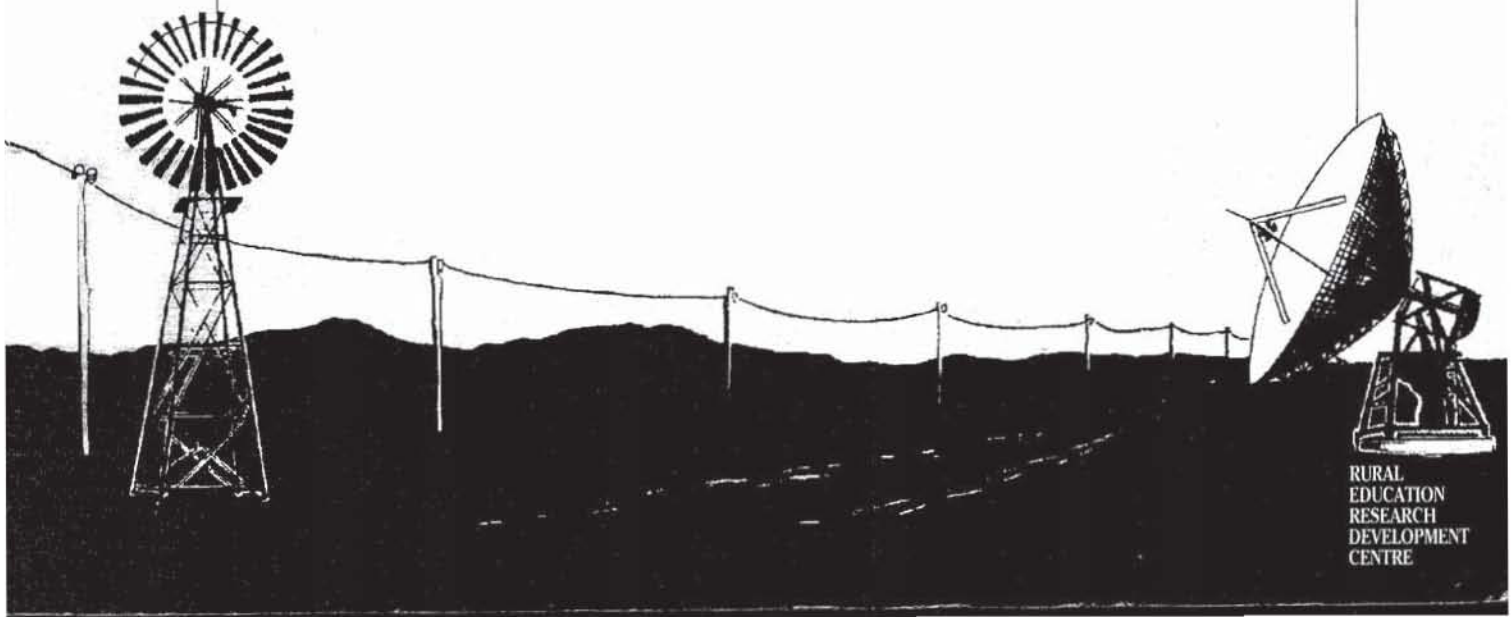

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RURAL SOCIAL PLANNING AND WELFARE SERVICES

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Our purpose is to raise issues for workshop discussion. In doing so we will attempt to map the conceptual terrain of rural social planning and welfare services within the broader frameworks of 'social care', 'rural change', 'social justice' and 'community'. While we cannot be entirely neutral, using broad frameworks which permit international diversity may help to minimise our biases.

National differences are central in a conference such as this. Nations differ greatly in relation to factors such as their place in the international context; availability of resources; economic and political structures; demographic composition; social and cultural processes; level of infrastructure development such as transport and communications; geography; climate; and preferred service models. The nature and extent of 'social planning' and 'welfare services' in any country will depend upon factors such as these.

By *'social care'* we mean the arrangements within a society which have the primary function of directly providing for the material, physical, social, emotional, intellectual and informational well-being and development of its members (see, also, Seebohm, 1968; Barclay, 1982; Bulmer, 1987; Cheers, 1992b, pp.568-583, 1993). 'Provisions' include items such as money, food, housing, health care, education, social support, information, and positive affirmation of one's personal worth and social value. 'Structures' include formal government and non-government service organisations such as hospitals, schools and welfare agencies which exist primarily to provide care or to develop social policies and social plans. They also include 'informal' organisations such as social clubs which have other primary aims but which provide care because they are involved in people's lives, and 'natural' supports such as friends, relatives and neighbours (Hanton, 1980). The extent and shape of social care in any nation is dependent upon an array of local, national and international factors.

Social care in rural areas has been under siege from a number of forces since the early 1970s. Rapid social, economic and political changes have left their mark and there has been a continuing succession of major global issues. For example, the changing balance of international trade relations has impacted heavily upon primary industries in small and vulnerable economies such as Australia. In 1992-93 the average Australian broadacre farmer involved in wheat/sheep/beef production had a net farm income of minus $(Aus)11,300 (Lawrence and Share, 1993, p.4). Lawrence (1991) further estimates that during most of the 1980s between 20% and 50% of farmers were receiving negative incomes. The

shifting balance of world politics has become linked with major upheavals in places such as Somalia, Sarajevo, and Rwanda which have had devastating consequence for millions of human beings. In many nations, population growth has reached such critical levels that starvation is common place and previously productive lands have been devastated. Industry restructuring and technological change in many economically developed countries have resulted in high levels of unemployment and social dislocation. Continuing urban centralisation of power and capital has meant that many rural peoples have grown progressively poorer and more marginalised and disempowered. Overall, the more urban countries are wealthier than those which are more rural (Smith, 1984). Within nations, rural regions are disadvantaged relative to cities (Cheers, 1990). Increased mobility of capital has led to control over rural industries being held by fewer multinational 'agribusinesses' (Lawrence, 1987, 1991), the demise of 'family farms' (Lawrence and Share, 1993), high levels of rural unemployment (Cheers, 1990), reduced rural incomes (Cheers, 1990; Lawrence and Share, 1993) and far-reaching population shifts (Hudson and Jensen, 1991; Salt, 1992).

A run of international recessions, the political influence of urban based capital, and the stubborn refusal of mainstream economics to acknowledge the importance of other disciplines in solving human problems (Burgenmeier, 1992) have contributed to people being viewed as pawns in some economic game. People have been objectified and commodified as 'factors of production', 'units of labour power', 'markets', 'consumers' or as things which are 'impacted' upon (Cheers, 1994). Human needs have been defined in economic terms so that the only social issues rating a mention are those which interfere with market needs for a healthy, literate, numerate and productive workforce and for contented consumers (Cheers, 1994).

Forces such as these can be devastating for human lives, even in relatively wealthy places. For instance, a recent analysis in Australia concluded that population shifts in response to national and international forces have left some ugly sights.

> *"[O]f people, many of them aged, stranded in poverty in towns and on properties without much in the way of public infrastructure or social support; of farmers turning their backs on lifetimes of hard work and inter-generational hopes to sink into the faceless mass of urban poverty; of school leavers being forced to leave their homes to vanish into unemployed obscurity in the city; of hopeful low income families leaving their (urban) friends and supports to go to unfamiliar rural environments in search of cheap accommodation and a bearable, though still poor, lifestyle to live amongst strangers many of whom question whether they should be there; of older people retiring to locations which do not have the support services they need; of country towns, where existing services are stretched beyond sanity by sudden population explosions; and of these same towns losing the cohesion which for so long had kept social problems such as crime and domestic violence in check." (Cheers, 1994, pp.7-8).*

If social planning and welfare services are about identifying and meeting unmet human needs, if needs arise in and are defined by their context, and if the contexts of rural human lives are changing rapidly, then social planning and welfare services must respond to changing contexts. Consequently, *'rural change'* provides our second framework.

Many changes are occurring in rural areas. In Australia, the relative importance of primary industries has decreased steadily over recent decades (Sorensen and Epps, 1992). Settlement patterns are changing as many larger regional centres expand and some of the smaller towns in their hinterland are all but deserted (Salt, 1992). The demographic composition of some areas is changing with many young people leaving their rural homes in search of further education or employment (Bone, Cheers and Hil, 1993; Cheers and Yip, 1993). A recent comprehensive review concluded that crime rates increase at six to seven times the rate of population growth in rapidly expanding 'boom towns' (Freudenberg and Jones, 1991). Rural Australians are well acquainted with rapid environmental and climatic changes where severe prolonged droughts can quickly turn to raging floods, and where cyclones and bush fires can devastate whole regions overnight.

In some countries, technological advances quickly create new rural industries such as telecottages in Australia and the newer cottage industries in the United States. Satellite technology has recently linked even the remote Australian outback with mainstream urban society through television and modern telephone systems (Holmes, 1984). We only need to pause for an instant to realise how the advent of the automobile has diluted the exclusiveness, security and social solidarity of many rural communities. There have been changes in methods of agriculture which are threatening the culture of the family farm in places like Australia (Lawrence and Share, 1993). Domestic and international markets have become more volatile in response to such influences as the oil crisis in the early 1970s, the changing nature of international markets and the ebbs and flows of tariff protection and trade agreements.

Finally, international and domestic recessions have changed the extent and nature of infrastructure support available to rural areas. As economic times get tough governments are increasingly prepared to support only those regions which are viewed as currently or potentially contributing substantially to the national economy. As Graham Blight, President of Australia's National Farmers Federation, said recently.

> *"I'm concerned about the infrastructure that needs to be there - education, medical, communications, transport - all those things that are important to make a vital community and vital people. ..... There's a very big question coming up in how you maintain the vitality of rural communities when a lot of those services are starting to decline. If you want agriculture to develop and be a vital part of the Australian economy, this issue has to be addressed." (Blight, 1994, p.24).*

If it were ever true, the time is long gone when rural communities were immune to the social, economic and other changes affecting the urban world. Social planning which ignores such changes runs the risk of being at their mercy rather than correctives for them, or of being irrelevant to the everyday lives of people who are most in need.

It is fashionable in Australia, as it probably is elsewhere, to place social planning and welfare services within the context of regional development (Taskforce on Regional Development, 1993; Committee on Employment Opportunities, 1994). While this may be a useful action framework for governments it has limited utility as an analytic tool because it does not allow for stagnation or decline and because it is too often used in the narrow sense of 'economic development'. Conceptually, regional development is usually taken to mean regionally driven identification of economic and social needs, and integrated development and implementation of social and economic regional plans through a collective process involving the participation of a number of sectors. However, despite the rhetoric the concept is often operationalised in Australia and other western countries in terms of a more or less exclusively economic framework which not only pays lip service to social issues but ignores the fundamental interdependence of economic and social development (Taskforce on Regional Development, 1993; Committee on Employment Opportunities, 1994; Department of Housing and Regional Development, 1994). In the words of the Office of Rural Affairs in Victoria, Australia:

> *"[Economic well-being] should provide a springboard for overcoming social service difficulties and a well developed community encourages economic growth." (Office of Rural Affairs, 1991, p.61)*

More negatively, ignoring social development often delays and raises the cost of economic development. Conversely, economic stagnation or decline has often seriously affected social cohesion and provision for human needs. And the social impacts of economic development have been well documented. (Hudson, 1991, 1992; Hudson and Jensen, 1991; Cheers, 1994).

The other danger of an exclusively economic focus is that unemployment, perhaps the most obviously market generated social problem, can become the only social issue rating a mention in discussions about development (Task Force on Regional Development, 1993; Cheers, 1994; Garran and Megalogenis, 1994). To quote from the Australian context:

> *"In Australia, creating jobs for the unemployed is undoubtedly a major social issue of our times. However, reducing social development to job creation further commodifies people and ignores the needs of marginalised groups such as those with disabilities, the aged, disempowered and abused women and children, and indigenous and other people living in areas which lack significant growth potential." (Cheers, 1994, p.2)*

The third conceptual framework is 'social justice', which reminds us that the ultimate aim of social planning is improved well-being of people.

> *"(T)rue development is concerned with raising levels of life sustenance, human dignity and freedom. ... Development can be properly assessed only in terms of the total human needs, values and standards of the good life and the good society perceived by the very societies undergoing change. Thus, although development implies economic, political and cultural transformation, these are not ends in themselves but indispensable means for enriching the quality of human life." (Lea and Wolfe, 1993, p.6)*

Social justice has two components - ensuring the rights of citizenship and reducing relative material and social disadvantage as far as can be tolerated socially, culturally and economically in a given society at a particular time in its history. Rights of citizenship include physical well-being; shelter; emotional security and access to emotional support; social belongingness; receipt of an adequate social or market wage; access to affordable health, education and welfare provisions; access to information; political participation and representation; legal, social and territorial justice; and the right of appeal regardless of culture, ethnicity, religion, personal characteristics and regardless of where people live (Hall, 1993). To quote Riches (1994, p.9), *"social citizenship rejects the idea that a person's worth is only to be measured by economic productivity"*. Relative disadvantage refers to an individual's or group's deprivation of goods, services and rights relative to other individuals and groups in that society.

Despite its conceptual difficulties (Green, 1991), social justice is an important concept because social planning and welfare services focus especially on people who are most marginalised, disadvantaged and disempowered; because rural areas generally are deprived relative to urban areas within nations (Cheers, 1990); and because, on the whole, more rural nations are deprived compared with less rural nations (Smith, 1984).

The key to rural social planning and welfare services lies in framing them within all those social and cultural processes which occur because people live in a shared locality which has a social history (Martinez-Brawley, 1990). Rural people have a sense of *'community'*; they share a common local history; they are committed to the well-being of their community as a whole; and they have an immediate concrete experience of the social, cultural and historical reality of their community. What this means is that social planning and welfare services developed outside of this context are experienced as 'foreign'. Because they are foreign, they are viewed cautiously and as not being entirely relevant to the lives of most people. They are often under-utilised or even actively sabotaged.

Observations such as these have led authors and residents alike to suggest that rural social planning and welfare services should be products of a community rather than external intrusions into it (Collier, 1984; Martinez-Brawley, 1990; Schindeler, 1993; Office of Northern Development, 1994). This is the antithesis of the traditional 'service provision' approach which so heavily dominates western societies such as Australia. This model is turned on its head. Now social planning and welfare services are locally driven rather than imposed by distant centralised administrations. They are more likely to be socially and culturally syntonic. Because people experience local conditions holistically, their planning and action tend to be more integrated in contrast to the highly standardised and compartmentalized approach of centralised planning. As one senior public administrator in Queensland commented recently, her Department's 'service provision' approach to social planning and human services has left it ill prepared to respond to the Australian Government's sudden switch to a regional development approach which seeks regionally driven and regionally owned responses to human need.

Effective rural *social planning* is a product of human interaction. It is based on accurate information, rational thought, and negotiation between parties with equal power. It has a number of components (Cheers, 1994):

- Assessing and anticipating current and projected needs of residents with respect to material, physical, social, emotional, intellectual and informational well-being and development;
- Assessing current and projected provision for rights of citizenship;
- Devising policies, plans, organisations, services, facilities and social processes to provide for these rights;
- Attracting resources to establish these; and
- Actually establishing them.

This involves:

- Participation and negotiation by relevant sectors with equal power including the state, government and non-government service organisations, and local groups, individuals and disempowered populations;
- Within a changing political, social, cultural, economic and environmental context.

Community development is the interactive component of social planning. It includes all the interactional processes through which people devise, implement and revise plans.

Our discussion of rural social planning will draw on our own experiences which will be socially, culturally and, perhaps, politically biased. But having given the apology, a review of the international literature reveals fundamental agreement on principles, with differences being more a matter of emphasis rather than about the principles themselves.

The literature suggests that rural social planning should be a collective responsibility shared by all sectors of society - the state, government and non-government human service organisations, industry, community groups and organisations, and private citizens (Cheers, 1984; Watkins and Watkins, 1984). It is not the sole responsibility of governments to decide what is good for everyone. Nor should it be left entirely to each citizen to fend for themselves and provide for their neighbours. However, it would be naive to believe that all sectors will have access to all information which is necessary for sound decision making or will always agree. Consequently, the concept of collective responsibility may best be operationalised in terms of inter-sector *negotiation*. (Coombs, 1993).

If plans are to be effective local people must 'own' them. For, otherwise, they will not be implemented and may even be actively sabotaged, and services and resources will remain under-utilised (Cheers, 1985). This is so important in rural areas where locality based identification and social solidarity are usually much stronger than in urban areas (Martinez-Brawley with Buck, 1990).

Rural social planning should be rational, systematic and empirically based. It should be based on demographic information; profiles of services and policies; and information about current and projected social needs obtained from surveys with a number of different sectors. Other information should be sought relating to regional history, settlement patterns, transportation systems, existing communication technology, economic base and projected economic developments, politics, social structure, geography and climate. Policies, plans and services should be rationally developed from this foundation.

Social planning should also be syntonic with the realities of the region, including local demography, social structures, cultures, physical environment, geography and climate, as well as residents' lifestyles, resources, knowledge and skills. For example, in a recent study (Cheers, 1992b) I found that it is of no use in remote towns in Far North Queensland to train one or two 'key' local people to provide counselling to a cross-section of their neighbours when residents will talk about intimate problems only with their closest friends and relatives. Planning should also respond to economic realities. For instance, where opening a mine is about to increase

the local population, planning should provide for increased staffing of schools, hospitals and other services. Social planning should also take account of existing service structures. For example, there is no point in providing a specialist therapeutic service when essential resources such as housing are inadequate.

For a number of reasons rural social planning should integrate with economic planning (Cheers, 1994; Johnson, 1994). Both contribute to the total well-being of people. Economic development can have potentially negative social impacts which can be anticipated with services and resources. It can also have positive impacts by providing resources for social development. Moreover, good social planning will support economic development by engaging community support while poor social planning can seriously retard economic development and increase costs. And as I recently pointed out (Cheers, 1994, pp.8-9), commonly espoused principles of effective economic and social planning are virtually identical.

Rural social planning has to be cost efficient and innovative (Cheers, 1992a). Given the high per capita costs involved in providing rural compared with urban services, especially in more remote areas, services have to be highly cost efficient to be funded. Innovation is important because standard urban service models where, for instance, clients go to a central office, are often inappropriate to rural needs. New service models are required which respond to local realities and which are cost efficient compared with urban models.

In two senses rural social planning should have a consolidated revenue base. First, integrated service structures require consolidated funds for otherwise each service will be protective of its revenue base and develop in isolation from or in competition with others. Second, if social and economic development plans operate from a single fund then regions are more likely to be clear about priorities and to consider the relationships between social and economic development.

Finally, because rural populations the world over are disadvantaged relative to urban (Smith, 1984) it is incumbent upon all who seek to serve them to raise their consciousness about their disadvantaged position, empower them to assert their rights, and advocate for them when appropriate (Martinez-Brawley, 1982, 1986, 1989; Cheers, 1991; 1992a). This responsibility falls to all who are involved in planning and providing services.

Welfare services contribute to the material, social and emotional well-being of people and are made available by organisations established to do so. They are only one component of total social care processes as these were defined earlier. Martinez-Brawley (1982, 1986) has encapsulated the essence of rural welfare principles in her 'tenets' of 'indigenisation', 'conscientisation' and 'politicisation'. By 'indigenisation' she means that welfare services should be provided within the framework of local needs, values, cultures and lifestyles, controlled locally, and be unique to local circumstances rather than standardised. Where the service fits into the community is crucial. Generalist rather than specialist services are called for which do not recognise boundaries between fields of service such as child welfare and disability services or between methods such as casework and community development. The process of 'conscientisation' develops:

> *"a conscious awareness of oppression among ruralites, but also a pride and acceptance of the rural inheritance and the rural condition ..... leading to the revitalisation of a culture ..... (it is) a positive, identity-enhancing force as well as a critical and action oriented drive" (Martinez-Brawley, 1982, p.72).*

'Conscientisation' involves forming coalitions within and between communities and regions to seek a better deal. Decades of neglect by national and state governments as well as urbo-centric social and economic policies, prolonged recessions, poor commodity prices, ever-increasing production costs, and years of drought have resulted in many Australian rural communities such as Tumby Bay in South Australia (Tumby Bay District Community Support and Action Group, 1993) and Julia Creek in North-west Queensland spontaneously 'conscientising'.

Finally, through the tenet of 'politicisation' Martinez-Brawley argues that rural welfare services and, for that matter, social planning are part of wider political processes. There can be no middle ground - either the rural professional is on the side of the disempowered and marginalised or they have been coopted by the forces that keep disadvantaged groups powerless. Their function demands that they choose the former (Cheers, 1991).

The consensus appears to be that more integrated and coordinated rural welfare services are more effective than categorical services and are more likely to avoid service duplications and gaps (Martinez-Brawley and Delevan, 1991). Integration can take many forms ranging from loose informal arrangements between organisations to genuinely generic workers or generic teams (Martinez-Brawley and Delevan, 1991). To achieve this we need some degree of funding integration. In Australia, which is typified by highly specialised human services, we have been experimenting with variants of cross-programme funding (Office of Northern Development, 1994, pp.95-98). Essentially, this involves creating a single fund by relocating money from a number of specialised funding programmes and pooling them for rural services.

Access is another key issue for rural welfare (Cheers, 1992a), and service designs must be devised which increase access for potential clients. Models such as mobile generic teams, visiting specialists and tele- and video-conferencing have all been tried with varying degrees of success.

Staff selection is crucial to ensure low turnover and local credibility. Staff must be carefully selected, thoroughly trained, and comprehensively supported so that they stay and provide a quality continuing service. (Zapf, 1989; Lonne, 1990)

Finally, there should be substantial local control over services because residents understand local conditions and acceptable service designs, and because this increases their motivation to contribute (see, for example, Martinez-Brawley, 1982; Watkins and Watkins, 1984; Cheers, 1992a; Office of Northern Development, 1994). Local ownership or, at the very least, local participation can take a number of forms. Genuine local ownership occurs where services are provided by locally based organisations controlled by local people. Written service agreements between large non-local organisations responsible for services and smaller local community based organisations actually providing them are another way for local people to maintain substantial control. These are stronger where they are produced by negotiation between equal partners. Weaker ways of involving local people include representation on management committees, local reference groups or, weaker still (but all too common in Australia), seeking the advice and 'consultation' of local groups and individuals.

A number of rural welfare service models have been identified (Smith, 1989; Cheers, 1992b, pp.42-46). The fundamental distinction is between community based models where services link with spontaneous caring efforts of people and provision based models where the service is provided directly.

Of course, people spontaneously help each other in lots of ways without formal service organisations ever knowing about it or getting involved. Community based models of service provision involve agencies deliberately relating with these natural support processes in some way. This can happen, for example, where an organisation brings people in need into contact with helpful neighbours or where people in key positions, such as a postmistress, are trained to provide informal counselling in the course of their daily work (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981; Cheers, 1987). Other community based models involve service organisations providing resources to facilitate spontaneous helping interaction between people (Cheers, 1992b, pp.576-577, 1993). This occurs, for example, where an organisation helps residents to travel to supports, where lengthy telephone calls are subsidised by government, where an agency initiates and resources mutual aid groups..

Provision based models, on the other hand, can be classified as either 'point-specific' or 'network' services (Holmes, 1981). Whereas users go to point-specific services, network services go to users.

Point-specific services provide either a single specialised service or a range of services. Users can access these through physical

attendance or through some other means such as a telephone, two-way radio, television, video tapes or audio tapes. Access can be facilitated by public subsidisation through low cost transportation, tax deductions or direct payments. Multi-service centres provide an array of services in a more or less integrated fashion. These are suited to towns with populations between 8,000 and 20,000 (Johnson, 1980, pp.49-50) and also have the potential to fill a vital role in planning, developing and coordinating services on a regional basis (Smith, 1984).

Network services can operate according to satellite or mobile models, either of which can provide a specialised or multifunction service. In the specialised satellite service the regional office of an organisation establishes and supports a remote office. It is also possible to provide a multiservice facility through a satellite model, although this is rarely mentioned in the literature apart from references to multi-skilled agents (Cheers, 1992c). Mobile network services can also be specialised or multifunction. The former involves one or more specialists regularly 'doing the rounds' of settlements in a given region or visiting them when required. Poole and Daley (1985, p.338) noted that the success of specialised mobile network services depends on how closely *"their services are attached to a local agency or someone who can officially represent the team during its long periods of absence from the community"*. This, they suggested, *"helps reduce the problem of long-term absence as well as of follow-up and service continuity"*.

The mobile multiservice centre usually operates on a circuit basis. With the addition of a staffed home base and two-way radio, the service can respond to specific requests for assistance as they arise. Moseley and Packman (undated, pp.207-9) noted that mobile services have the advantage of being able to service small pockets of demand. They are also inherently flexible with respect to location, time, type of services delivered and the clientele they serve. However, they are costly and slow to respond to immediate need. They also accrue large amounts of 'deadtime' while, for instance, personnel are driving long distances.

As we said at the outset, our aim has been to raise issues for workshop discussion. To facilitate cross-national analysis and comparison we have viewed social planning and welfare services from the broad frameworks of 'social care', 'rural change', 'social justice' and 'community'. We have suggested that they are only part of the total social care processes within society, and that they should pursue social justice ideals, respond to on-going rural change and be products of, rather than intrusions into rural communities.

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RURAL RESTRUCTURING: SOCIOLOGICAL MEANING, SOCIAL IMPACTS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Major economic as well as socio-political changes are taking place in the rural regions of the advanced societies. Global forces have begun to undermine traditional means available to rural-based producers profitably to grow and market agricultural commodities, international finance is influencing investment decisions in primary, secondary and tertiary industries in rural regions, 'green consumerism' is helping to dictate the move to a less chemically-dependent agriculture and the environmental lobby is becoming increasingly involved in determining land and water use in rural regions. Older, productionist strategies for farming which encouraged the application of new agrotechnologies as the key to enhanced output and profit are, in many areas of the world, being challenged by new approaches based on the flexible production and niche marketing of value added, rather than bulk, commodities.

Through the growth of tourism, leisure and recreation, rural regions are becoming places of consumption as much as places of production. This, in conjunction with the impact of new technologies in the areas of transport, communications and the food industry, is changing the meaning of 'rural' and helping to alter the forms and extent of government intervention in rural regions.

The 'rural restructuring thesis' – as presented in this paper – is an attempt to grasp and explain the changes which are occurring in the rural regions of the advanced societies. After an assessment of the previous attempts to theorise agrarian – and wider rural – change, the paper examines the work of more recent writers who seek to explain restructuring in terms of the Fordist/post Fordist dichotomy and via regulation theory. In raising questions about the form and extent of rural restructuring, the paper also provides an assessment of the likely impacts of changes which are occurring in regional Australia.

RURAL SOCIAL CHANGE: THE EARLY DEBATES

It is tempting to review the work of theorists such as Spencer, Durkheim, Tonnies and Weber as those who contributed most to an understanding of the processes of change from an older rural, to an emerging industrial, society. Yet, it was really only the latter two who provided a macro-sociological explanation for changes which were occurring in rural society – and neither was able convincingly to link the changes in *rural* society to the changes occurring in agriculture.

It is therefore useful to turn to the work of Marx and other theorists who conceived of

social transition in terms of structural changes to the economic base of nations entering the realm of capitalism. For Marx, class struggle was the key to understanding social movement and, based on an historical materialist approach in which he periodised so-called modes of production, he posited the existence of two major classes for each mode. The two predominant classes in the capitalist mode were the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Marx identified several other groups whose relationship with capitalism was tenuous. One group was the peasantry and the other the petty bourgeoisie – both vestiges, he believed, of an earlier time. The peasantry was a lumpen class which was neither progressive nor capable of mobilising political support to ensure its continued survival. It was for Marx (1968) a class fraction which was 'non existent historically speaking' – a remnant of a feudal past and incapable of full incorporation into the dominant capitalist mode.

While able to articulate with capitalism through the sale of commodities in the marketplace and through the purchase of manufactured goods for use in the production process, the petty bourgeoisie was similarly vulnerable. It had limited capital and limited labour and would find it increasingly difficult to compete with firms within the capitalist mode. The extraction of surplus value within the latter mode ensured that profit levels would, despite the expected fluctuations within an essentially unplanned system, always be higher than in among the petty bourgeoisie. In terms of agriculture, there was a place for a commercially-based agriculture in which farmers (or owners of landed property) could extract surplus via ground rent. But, as with the peasantry, the conditions of the capitalist marketplace would ensure that agriculture, like manufacturing, would move from a cottage industry style of production to factory-like production.

These was not, as some have suggested, the pronouncements of a technological determinist. Marx in fact argued in the third volume of Capital that in situations where so called circulation capital was predominant there was the possibility that the capitalist mode