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Mark Gottdiener dedicates this third edition to the memory of his lifelong friend, Eric Monkkonen. Kind, compassionate, intelligent, understanding to a fault, but possessing a shared intolerance for nonsense, Eric was a rarity among scholars. Mark cherished their conversations and will miss him very much.

THE NEW URBAN SOCIOLOGY

THIRD EDITION

MARK GOTTDIENER
University at Buffalo

RAY HUTCHISON
University of Wisconsin–Green Bay

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CHAPTER
1

THE NEW URBAN SOCIOLOGY

People speak about the city or the suburban town they live in, but rarely about the region. Yet the best way to understand urban growth is that it is regional in scale. Today we work, shop, attend schools, go to churches, synagogues, or mosques, and pursue recreation in an increasing variety of locations, all within an expanding metropolitan area. Urban texts in the past have addressed this issue, but they do not take it to heart as the central organizing principle of the discussion as this text does. In Eric Bogosian's brilliant film *Suburbia*, actress Parker Posey portrays an L.A. record promoter on tour who grew up in the affluent southern California suburbs. When asked by a group of small-town teenagers where she is from, she replies, "I come from an area." Bogosian insightfully understands that the words *city* and *suburb* fail to connect with the more contemporary reality of daily life.

The metropolitan regions of the United States contain an incredible array of people. Circumstances vary according to social class, race, gender, ethnicity, age, family status, and religion, among other factors. These important social variables, which are often treated as the traditional subject matter of sociology, in reality interact with locational, or spatial, factors such as the clustering of homes according to family income, the journey to work or school, the diverse ways people pursue a particular lifestyle, the particular patterning of our social networks, the regional search for cultural experiences, and the daily pattern of commuting. Consequently, this text captures the reality of *contemporary life by studying daily phenomena as embedded within the* urban and suburban settlement spaces that make up the multicentered metropolitan region. These settlement spaces are given special cultural meanings and value by the people living within them. Discovering how these settlement

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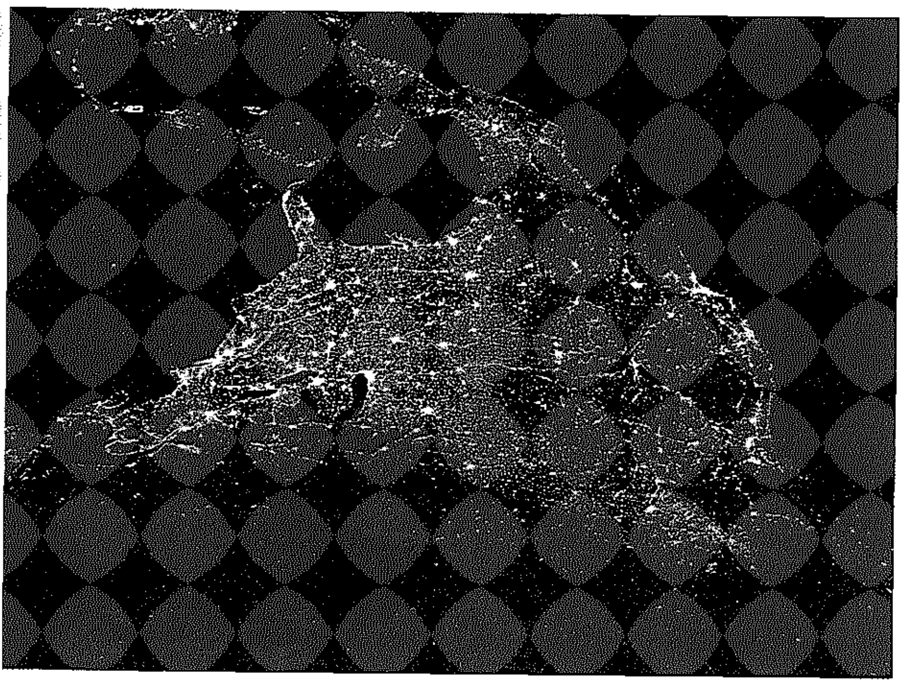

FIGURE 1.1 Satellite image of the United States at night showing metropolitan areas.
Source: NASA.

spaces have come to be, the role that economic, political, and social institutions play in creating and destroying these spaces, and the processes by which these spaces are given meaning by local inhabitants is all part of the *sociospatial perspective* of the new urban sociology.

If we flew over our metropolitan regions, we would be struck most strongly by the immensity of scale. Urbanized development characteristically extends for one hundred miles around our largest cities. The built-up region contains a mix of cities, suburbs, vacant space, industrial parks, intensely farmed agricultural land, shopping malls, and recreational areas—all of which are interconnected and bridged by communication and commuter networks including highways, rail, telecommunications, and satellite- or cellular-based links. The satellite image of the United States at night shown in Figure 1.1 shows the extensive regional development of urban areas across the United States. Along the eastern seacoast of the United States, the Boston-New York-Washington megaopolis described by Jean Gottman is clearly visible. Similar urban agglomerations can be seen in the Buffalo-Toronto area around Lake Ontario, the Detroit-Toledo-Cleveland area around Lake Erie, the Milwaukee-Chicago-Gary area on Lake Michigan, and the San Francisco-San Jose-Oak-

TABLE 1.1 Most Populated Cities in the United States, 1980–2000

	1980	*1990*	*2000*	*1990–2000*	*% change*
New York City	7,077,000	7,323,000	8,008,000	686,000	9.4
Los Angeles	2,967,000	3,485,000	3,695,000	209,000	6.0
Chicago	3,005,000	2,784,000	2,896,000	112,000	4.0
Houston	1,595,000	1,631,000	1,954,000	256,000	15.1
Philadelphia	1,688,000	1,586,000	1,518,000	- 68,000	- 4.3
Phoenix	790,000	989,000	1,321,000	332,000	33.6
San Diego	876,000	1,111,000	1,223,000	112,000	10.1
Dallas	904,000	1,007.000	1,189,000	182,000	18.1
San Antonio	786,000	997,000	1,145,000	147,000	14.8
Detroit	1,203,000	1,028,000	951,000	- 77,000	- 7.5
San Jose	629,000	783,000	895,000	112,000	14.2
Indianapolis	701,000	732,000	782,000	50,000	6.9
San Francisco	679,000	724,000	777,000	53,000	7.3
Jacksonville	541,000	635,000	736,000	101,000	15.8
Columbus	565,000	636,000	712,000	75,000	11.8

SOURCE: Population figures from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for years shown.

land area in California. The population of these areas ranks in the millions. Interestingly, most of the people residing in metropolitan regions live outside the large central cities and in the suburbs. The dominant position of the suburbs relative to the central cities has existed since at least the 1970s, when census figures brought this change to our attention. At present, some 90 percent of all Americans live in metropolitan regions. But this pattern of urban growth, and the dominance of the suburban region, was not characteristic of cities in the past.

Cities used to be highly compact spatial forms with a distinct center that dominated, in both an emotional and economic sense, the urbanized area surrounding it. Once inhabitants went outside the city, they would be traveling in the countryside. As the famous urban historian Lewis Mumford (1961) once observed, cities served as both huge magnets and containers that concentrated people and economic activities or wealth within well-defined, bounded spaces. Table 1.1 lists the 15 most populated cities in the United States. Some of the figures are impressive, such as a total of more than 8 million persons for New York City and more than 3.7 million for Los Angeles, and they demonstrate the great variability in urban growth, with cities like Houston and Phoenix growing by more than 250,000 persons over the past decade, while Philadelphia and Detroit both lost some 70,000 people. But these numbers do not illustrate the massive regional growth of metropolitan areas and their population concentration in the United States. Compare this table with Table 1.2, which shows the metropolitan regions associated with

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TABLE 1.2 Most Populated Metropolitan Regions in the United States, 1970–2000

	1970	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*1980–1990 % change*	*1990–2000 % change*
New York-NJ–Long Island NECMA	18,071,522	17,412,203	17,830,586	21,200,000	3.4	8.4
Los Angeles–Anaheim–Riverside CMSA	9,980,850	11,497,549	14,531,529	16,374,000	26.4	12.7
Chicago–Gary–Hammond CMSA	7,778,948	7,973,290	8,239,820	9,158,000	1.5	11.1
San Francisco–Oakland–San Jose CMSA	4,754,366	5,367,900	6,249,881	7,039,000	16.4	12.6
Philadelphia–Trenton CMSA	5,749,093	5,680,509	5,893,019	6,188,000	4.3	5.0
Detroit–Ann Arbor MSA	4,788,369	4,762,764	5,187,171	5,456,000	- 2.0	5.2
Washington PMSA	3,040,307	3,250,921	4,222,830	4,923,000	21.4	16.6
Dallas–Ft. Worth CMSA	2,351,568	2,930,568	4,037,282	5,222,000	32.5	29.3
Boston–Lawrence–Salem NECMA	3,709,642	3,662,888	5,685,763	5,819,000	6.5	6.7
Houston–Galveston–Barzoria NECMA	2,169,128	3,099,942	3,731,029	4,670,000	19.6	25.2
Miami–Ft. Lauderdale MSA	1,887,892	2,643,766	3,192,725	3,443,501	20.8	21.4
Atlanta MSA	1,684,200	2,138,136	2,959,500	3,431,983	32.5	38.9
Cleveland–Akron–Lorain CMSA	2,999,811	2,834,062	2,859,644	2,903,808	- 2.7	3.0
Seattle–Tacoma CMSA	1,836,949	2,093,285	2,970,300	3,265,139	23.3	19.7
San Diego MSA	1,357,854	1,861,846	2,498,016	2,644,132	34.2	12.6
Minneapolis–St. Paul CMSA	1,981,951	2,137,133	2,538,776	2,723,137	15.4	16.9
St. Louis MSA	2,429,376	2,376,968	2,492,348	2,547,686	3.2	4.5
Baltimore MSA	2,089,438	2,199,497	2,382,172	2,553,000	8.3	7.2
Pittsburgh–Beaver Valley CMSA	2,556,029	2,423,311	2,394,811	2,394,702	- 6.9	- 1.5
Phoenix MSA	971,228	1,509,175	2,238,498	2,563,582	39.9	45.3

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for years shown.
NOTE: MSAs are metropolitan statistical areas; CMSAs are consolidated metropolitan statistical areas; NECMAs are New England county metropolitan areas, which are based on townships and require a separate way of aggregating areas in the metropolitan region.

these large cities. The New York metro region, for example, contains 18 million people, while the area around Los Angeles is home to 16.4 million residents.

Today the city has exploded. There is no one focus or "downtown," as there was in the past. People live and work in widely separated realms. Most of the U.S. population is urban, so most live in or near some city. But progressively fewer people each year live within the large central cities that were the population foci of the past. Instead, we now call home the expanding regions of urbanization that are associated with a mix of cities, towns, suburbs, and exurban areas. This new form of settlement space is called the *multicentered metropolitan region (MCMR)*, and it is the first really new way people have organized their living and working arrangements in 10,000 years. In contrast to the characteristics of the bounded city, the new form of space can be typified by two features: It extends over a large region, and it contains many separate centers, each with its own abilities to draw workers, shoppers, and residents.

Some geographers have also begun to speak of multicentered urban regions. According to Peter Muller (1981), the urban region can be understood best as composed of different *realms*. Realms are differentiated according to four factors: physical terrain, physical size, the level and kinds of physical activity within the realm (most particularly the kinds of minicenters), and the character of the regional transportation network. Commuting flows are particularly critical both for the creation of multinucleated regions and for the connection and interaction of people within the regions. In addition to the physical features of the region, it is important that people living within each realm often have a shared sense that they occupy an urban space that is different from other areas within the metropolitan region.

For example, Los Angeles contains six distinct realms within a region of approximately 50 square miles and a metro population in 2003 of more than 16 million persons. Urban development is sandwiched between several mountain ranges, especially the long escarpment created by the San Gabriel and San Bernardino mountains to the north that runs east more than one hundred miles into the desert. On the West Coast is the Pacific Ocean, another barrier. The six realms are central Los Angeles (the old city center), the San Fernando Valley (the "valley"), the Pacific foothills (Santa Monica to Pasadena), the Pacific lowlands (beach cities—Hermosa, Redondo Beach), eastern Orange County (a separate metropolitan region that is exclusively suburban), and the San Gabriel and Pomona valleys (extending eastward and including Pomona, Ontario, and San Bernardino). See Figure 1.2.

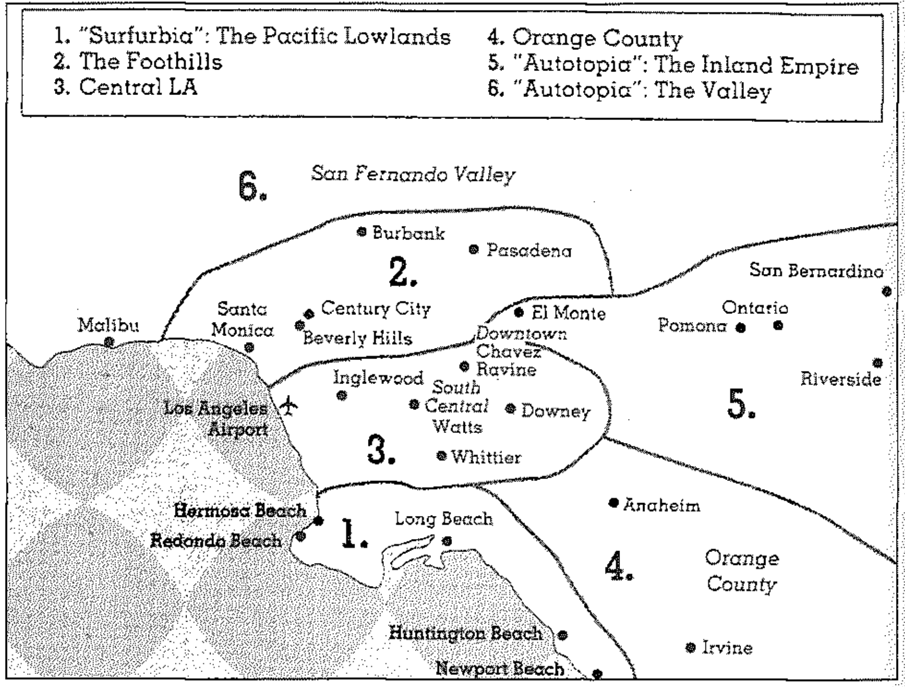

FIGURE 1.2 The Urban Realms of Los Angeles

DEFINING THE METROPOLITAN REGION

For much of U.S. history, it was sufficient to report information about the population of the central city. Most economic and commercial activity was focused in and around the central business district. By the early 1900s suburban and regional growth, including planned suburban communities, satellite cities, and other developments began to challenge the dominant role of the city. As early as the 1940s the U.S. Bureau of the Census sought to capture regional and multicentered growth within metropolitan areas by use of the term *standard metropolitan area (SMA)*. The SMA included a city with a population of at least 50,000 persons and the surrounding suburbs and towns. In 1959 this definition was expanded to better reflect the regional growth patterns that included population in centers in two or more counties. The *standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA)* was defined as a county or counties with a central city of 50,000 or more (or twin cities with a combined population of 50,000 or more) as well as adjacent counties that are linked economically and socially with the central city.

This is determined by measuring the extent to which people in outlying counties travel to work to the designated SMSA. If enough people commute to work from outside city boundaries, the county they reside in becomes part of the SMSA. In 1983 the SMSA was relabeled *metropolitan statistical area (MSA)*. While the number of MSAs in the United States continues to grow (the number increased from 254 to 258 between the 1990 and 2000 censuses), two states, Wyoming and Vermont, still do not contain any. The 73 largest MSAs have been designated *primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs)*. Because county boundaries vary widely across the United States (except in New England where there are no counties), the usefulness of the MSA classification is somewhat questionable. In the 2000 census, for example, New Jersey is the most urbanized state, with 100 percent of its population living in MSAs. But it is followed by Arizona (88 percent) and Nevada (86 percent), states where there are one or two large population centers and most of the state is rural.

The regional growth and the sociospatial integration of cities is even more extensive than the social, economic, and political links suggested by the MSA concept. The U.S. Office of Management and Budget created yet another term, the *standard metropolitan consolidated area (SMCA)* to better capture the expansion of the multinucleated urban regions. The SMCA was used for the first time in the 1980 census. It is defined as having a population of at least 1 million persons in two or more PMSAs *and* represents a higher order of integration for metropolitan areas that contain several adjacent metropolitan areas, such as the Los Angeles/Orange County/Riverside/San Bernardino complex in southern California or the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut complex on the East Coast. Both of these regions contain more people than the entire country of Canada. In the 2000 census there were eighteen consolidated metropolitan statistical areas in the United States. They are prime illustrations of the concept of the multinucleated metropolitan region that is so important for the new urban sociology.

Table 1.2 reveals important aspects of metropolitan growth in the United States. First, the urban system includes a significant number of metropolitan areas that have large populations rather than only one or two as is often found in developing nations (see Chapter 12 on primate cities). Second, the population in the suburban region is often much greater than that of the older central city. Philadelphia had a population just over 1.5 million persons in 2000, but its metropolitan region contained some 6.1 million persons, nearly four times as large. Phoenix had a population of 1.3 million in 2000, but the total metropolitan area included a population of more than 2.6 million, and San Diego had a population of 1.2 million, but its total metropolitan area included

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As part of an evaluability assessment (see Chapter 5), evaluators working under contract to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reviewed the design of family preservation programs (FPPs). FPPs are time-limited, intensive home-based services to families in crisis that are intended to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The evaluators held discussions with the staff of federal and national private sector agencies about the definition of FPPs, reviewed available literature, obtained descriptions of state and local programs, and made site visits to four programs. From this information they developed "models" of how the programs were supposed to operate and then obtained the views of policymakers, program managers, and operating-level staff on four key dimensions: (a) program goals, (b) aspects of the child welfare system that affect the programs, (c) the target population, and (d) the characteristics that distinguish FPPs from other home-based services. Based on their own analysis and discussions with an expert advisory committee, the evaluators concluded that, as currently designed, FPPs could not achieve the policymakers' primary goal of preventing placement in foster care. The major flaw found in the program design was the practical difficulty of identifying children at "imminent risk" of placement; this meant that programs could not consistently target families with children truly at risk of placement.

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BOX 1.1 Census Designations for Metropolitan Areas

Consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA) A geographic entity defined by the Federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for use by Federal statistical agencies. An area becomes a CMSA if it meets the requirements to qualify as a metropolitan statistical area (MSA), has a population of 1,000,000 or more, if component parts are recognized as primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs), and local opinion favors the designation. Whole counties are components of CMSAs outside of New England, where they are composed of cities and towns instead.

Metropolitan area (MA) A collective term, established by the Federal OMB and used for the first time in 1990, to refer to metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), and primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). In addition, there is an alternative set of areas termed NECMAs.

Metropolitan statistical area (MSA) A geographic entity, defined by the Federal OMB for use by Federal statistical agencies, based on the concept of a core area with a large population nucleus, plus adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core. Qualification of an MSA requires the presence of a city with 50,000 or more inhabitants, or the presence of an MA and a total population of at least 100,000 (75,000 in New England). The county or counties containing the largest city and surrounding densely settled territory are central counties of the MSA. Additional outlying counties qualify to be included in the MSA by meeting certain other criteria of metropolitan character, such as a specified minimum population density or percentage of the population that is urban. MSAs in New England are defined in terms of cities and towns, following rules concerning commuting and population density.

New England county metropolitan area (NECMA) County-based areas defined by the Federal OMB to provide an alternative to the city- and town-based MSAs and CMSAs in New England. A NECMA includes the county containing the first-named place in an MSA/CMSA title (this county may include the first-named places of other MSAs or CMSAs), and each additional county having at least half its population in the MSA(s)/CMSA(s) whose first-named place is in the county identified in the previous step. NECMAs were first defined in 1975.

Primary metropolitan statistical area (PMSA) A geographic entity defined by the Federal OMB for use by Federal statistical agencies. If an area meets the requirements to qualify as a metropolitan statistical area (MSA) and has a population of one million or more, two or more PMSAs may be defined within it if statistical criteria are met and local opinion is in favor. A PMSA consists of a large urbanized county, or a cluster of such counties (cities and towns in New England) that have substantial commuting interchange. When one or more PMSAs have been recognized, the balance of the original, larger area becomes an additional PMSA; the larger area of which they are components then is designated a consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA). PMSAs were first defined and effective on June 30, 1983.

(continues)

Standard consolidated area (SCA) The SCA was a forerunner of the CMSA. Two SCAs (for the New York and Chicago areas) existed between 1959 and 1975. These SCAs were combinations of SMSAs, although the New York SCA also included two counties that were not within any SMSA. The SCA was replaced by the SCSA.

Standard consolidated statistical area (SCSA) The SCSA was a forerunner of the CMSA. An SCSA was a combination of two or more SMSAs that had substantial commuting between them and where at least one of the SMSAs had a population of 1,000,000 or greater. SCSAs were first defined in 1975 and used until June 1983.

Standard metropolitan area (SMA) SMA was the first term used for official metropolitan areas as defined by the then Bureau of the Budget. SMAs were first defined in 1949 for the 1950 decennial census, and the term was used until replaced in 1959 with the term SMSA.

Standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) In 1959, the term SMSA replaced SMA for the official metropolitan areas defined by the then Bureau of the Budget. The term SMSA was used until MSAs, CMSAs, and PMSAs were introduced in 1983. See also consolidated metropolitan statistical area, metropolitan area, metropolitan statistical area, primary metropolitan statistical area, standard consolidated area, standard consolidated statistical area, standard metropolitan area.

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

2.6 million persons. Third, while metropolitan areas across the Northeast and Midwest have grown slowly or even lost population since the 1970s, the multinucleated metropolitan regions of the South and Southwest have grown rapidly. This illustrates the Sunbelt shift, discussed in Chapter 6. For example, the Los Angeles, San Francisco, Dallas, Houston, San Diego, and Phoenix metropolitan regions have all seen double-digit population increases in each decade since 1970.

MEGACITIES AROUND THE WORLD

The world's urban population was 1 billion in 1960, 2 billion in 1985, and 3 billion in 2003. It is expected to increase to 5 billion persons by 2030—a 60 percent increase in just 25 years. In 2003 about 48 percent of the world's population lived in urban areas. This number is expected to increase to 61 percent by 2030. For the first time in human history, a majority of the world's population will live in urban areas. At the current rate of growth, the urban

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population will double every 38 years. Almost all of this growth will occur in cities and metropolitan regions in the developing world. Migration from rural areas and the transformation of rural settlements into urban places will account for much of the increase (United Nations, 2003).

Not every country of the world is experiencing the new form of multicentered metropolitan growth found in the United States, but all countries are subject to a process of urban development that produces gigantic cities and regional urbanization. According to Dogan and Kasarda (1988), only 78 cities across the globe had populations of 1 million or more in 1950. In 1975 there were 65 metropolitan areas with 10 million or more persons, and by 2000 this number had increased to 251. The growth of large metropolitan regions is also expected to accelerate. In 2015 it is anticipated that there will be 358 urban agglomerations with populations of at least 10 million persons and that more than a third of the world's urban population will live in slums. Table 1.3 indicates the 15 largest *megacities* in the world with their projected populations to the year 2015.

Urban growth is very unequally distributed across the globe. According to census estimates from the United Nations, the largest urban agglomerations in the United States and other developed nations will lose population or grow slowly, whereas those in other areas of the world will experience explosive growth. Thus, the population estimates for the year 2015 for Tokyo, Osaka, New York, and Los Angeles suggest that these urban agglomerations will experience relatively slow growth. In contrast, Mumbai (Bombay), Calcutta, Dhaka, and Delhi (all in India), and Karachi (in Pakistan) are expected to grow by some 4–8 million persons each, and São Paolo, Mexico City, and Manila are expected to grow by some 2–3 million persons.

Although the potential benefits from urbanization cannot be overlooked, the speed and scale of this second urban revolution presents many challenges. The rapid growth and overwhelming sprawl of cities in the developing nations, particularly in Asia, has been given a new term—*hyperurbanization* (see Chapter 12). New groups of policymakers and organizations are emerging to take up responsibilities of urban governance in developing nations around the globe. As national governments in many such countries have sought to decentralize their functions, or even to cut back their participation, programs in poverty, health, education, and public services are increasingly being deposited in the hands of untested municipal and regional governments. While the acceleration of urban growth in developing countries suggests staggering social costs for many persons around the world, the continuing expansion of multinucleated metropolitan regions in the United

TABLE 1.3 World's Largest Urban Agglomerations, 1975–2015

Agglomeration	*Country*	*Population (millions)*			*Rank*			*Average annual rate of change (percent)*		*Population residing in agglomeration, 2003, as percentage of*	
		1975	2003	2015	1975	2003	2015	2000–2005	2010–2015	Total population	Urban population
Tokyo	Japan	26.6	35.0	36.2	1	1	1	0.5	0.2	27.4	41.9
Mexico City	Mexico	10.7	18.7	20.6	4	2	4	1.0	0.8	18.0	23.9
New York	United States of America	15.9	18.3	19.7	2	3	6	0.7	0.6	6.2	7.7
São Paulo	Brazil	9.6	17.9	20.0	6	4	5	1.4	0.7	10.0	12.0
Mumbai (Bombay)	India	7.3	17.4	22.6	15	5	2	2.6	2.0	1.6	5.8
Delhi	India	4.4	14.1	20.9	25	6	3	4.2	2.8	1.3	4.7
Calcutta	India	7.9	13.8	16.8	11	7	10	1.8	1.7	1.3	4.6
Buenos Aires	Argentina	9.1	13.0	14.6	7	8	12	1.2	0.8	34.0	37.7
Shanghai	China	11.4	12.8	12.7	3	9	15	–0.3	0.3	1.0	2.5
Jakarta	Indonesia	4.8	12.3	17.5	23	10	8	3.6	2.5	5.6	12.3
Los Angeles	United States of America	8.9	12.0	12.9	8	11	14	0.6	0.6	4.1	5.1
Dhaka	Bangladesh	2.2	11.6	17.9	73	12	7	4.2	3.3	7.9	32.5
Osaka–Kobe	Japan	9.8	11.2	11.4	5	13	18	0.2	0.0	8.8	13.5
Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	7.6	11.2	12.4	13	14	17	1.2	0.7	6.3	7.6
Karachi	Pakistan	4.0	11.1	16.2	28	15	11	3.3	3.1	7.2	21.2
Beijing	China	8.5	10.8	11.1	10	16	20	0.0	0.4	0.8	2.2
Cairo	Egypt	6.4	10.8	13.1	19	17	13	1.4	1.7	15.1	35.8
Moscow	Russian Federation	7.6	10.5	10.9	12	18	21	1.1	0.1	7.3	10.0
Metro Manila	Philippines	5.0	10.4	12.6	22	19	16	1.4	1.7	12.9	21.2
Lagos	Nigeria	1.9	10.1	17.0	90	20	9	5.0	3.9	8.1	17.4

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States and other developed nations also presents serious challenges for policymakers, governments, and those of us who live in the urban world.

A NEW APPROACH TO URBAN SOCIOLOGY

How did these changes come about? What is daily life like in the multinucleated metropolitan region? How does life there differ from that in the past? How has the city construction process, or *urbanization*, given way to the regional process of concentrated central city development, dispersed minicentered districts, and sprawling suburbanization? What is metropolitan culture like in the new regional spaces, and how does it differ from city life of the past? The answers to these and other questions are the subject of this book. Our discussion is about urban sociology, but it is not about the city alone. On the pages that follow we take an integrated perspective according to the regional focus of multicentered regional space. We consider both life in the city (urban settlement space) and life in the suburbs (suburban settlement space). But there is much more.

The new urban sociology has three additional dimensions: the shift to a global perspective, attention to the political economy of pull factors in urban and suburban development, and appreciation for the role of culture in metropolitan life and in the construction of the built environment.

GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND THE METROPOLIS

The contemporary metropolis is the consequence of the complicated and continuing interaction of economic, political, and cultural forces. In recent years, urbanists have come to appreciate just how important the link is between cities or suburbs and changes in the economy. Prior to the 1970s, discussions about urban political economy assumed that the most critical influence on urban growth and development was the behavior of local business people. A resident of a town might open up a store or factory. The owner would be known by others in the area. Jobs would be created, and local residents would apply for and fill them. Products of factories might be sold nationally, but locals would take pride in homegrown commodities and support the businesses of neighbors with their patronage, often because there was no place else to go.

This state of affairs no longer exists. Economic activity in metropolitan communities has become increasingly controlled by decisions made at the global level. Businesses are owned and managed by people from distant locations. The local TV repair shop, for example, may represent a manufacturer, such as Sony, whose headquarters are in another country, say Japan. The TV sets themselves may be assembled in Korea or Malaysia. Finally, the selling and repairing of the company's product may be supervised by foreign representatives of the manufacturer living in this country. Reversing this example, many U.S. companies, such as Ford and General Motors, engage in such manufacturing, marketing, and administrative activities overseas. In short, economies today are linked across the globe, and the small, local factory with ties to the adjacent community has given way to the multinational corporation and to the global flow of investment as the dominant economic forces.

The global perspective has important implications for the study of metropolitan regions. Prior to the 1970s, urban sociologists saw changes in the city as emerging from the interaction of many local interests in a shared and common space. According to the sociologist Gerald Suttles (1972:8), this *ecological* approach, as it is called, meant that the organization of the city was not caused by "the planned or artificial contrivance of anyone." Rather, it emerged out of the "many independent personal decisions based on moral, political, ecological, and economic considerations." Today we possess a different understanding of urban organization as being caused by the actions of powerful interests, many of which have their home bases in places far removed from local areas. Their decisions, for example, to open a plant somewhere, close one down someplace else, buy up farms to build houses, or tear down existing housing to create minimalls or apartment buildings are all so important that they affect the well-being of the entire community.

The perspective adopted in this text, however, does not suggest that all important influences on metropolitan development derive from the global level. Important economic and political forces also arise from within community territory that can account for change. In the following chapters, therefore, we will consider the contribution to metropolitan development of all sociospatial levels: the global, the national, and the local. It is the interplay of the forces from the different levels within the local space that is the most interesting.

Since the 1970s, urban scholars have paid increasing attention to the relationship between capitalism and the metropolis (see Chapter 4). Competition among businesses that may not have a direct effect on space has been overshadowed by the competition among different places for their share of global investment (see Chapters 5, 12, and 13). Local populations and community well-being are also affected by changes in job needs, the level of economic activity, and growing lifestyle disparities between low-skilled or semiskilled workers and professionals living in the metropolis (see Chapter 10). All of these aspects constitute a new dimension to the study of urban sociology.

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THE PRODUCTION OF THE MULTICENTERED METRO ENVIRONMENT: PULL FACTORS

Prior to the 1970s, urban scholars looked at city and suburban growth as an expression of individual desires. For example, people moved from the city to the suburbs, it was believed, because they preferred the latter's lifestyle. In another case, investors picked a particular plot of land to develop because they liked its size and location. Individual actions based on individually held beliefs or needs might be termed the *demand-side* or push factor view of market activity, because they express the ways in which people and business act on their own desires. Urban sociology prior to the 1970s viewed growth almost exclusively in this manner.

At present, we are aware of several factors that operate to promote development in specific ways and thereby mold individual desires through incentives. These factors represent the *supply-side* or pull factor view of individual choice. Powerful social forces can create opportunities that persuade people to follow courses of action that they otherwise might not. Two supply-side sources of incentives in the development of metropolitan regions are government and the real estate industry.

The Role of Government in Urban Development

The abstract model of capitalism represents this economic system as involving limited government intervention. This is not the case for modern economies. The United States, like other industrialized nations, has an economy that is influenced greatly not only by government regulations but also by the direct spending of government tax dollars on particular public projects. The combined action of laws or regulations and direct investment provides incentives for both businesses and individual consumers to behave in certain ways.

When city dwellers who are renters announce that they want to move to the suburbs, they are expressing their own personal preference. This decision may be occasioned by push (demand-side) factors such as problems with the public schools and high rents. Movers may also cite that the suburb they have chosen contains single-family homes that are affordable. Furthermore, due to government tax incentives on mortgage payments, it pays to own your home rather than rent. Government programs provide an enticement that pulls people in the direction of homeownership in the suburbs.

So the decision to move to the suburbs is a complex one that is prompted by both demand- and supply-side factors. For years urbanists neglected the latter dimension. Today we have a greater appreciation, in particular, for the way government at the local, state, and federal levels has operated to create opportunities and incentives that channel behavior in specific ways. In subsequent chapters we will see how this "political economy," the linked actions of business and government in the development of metropolitan regions, promotes growth.

Another major and recent change in the population distribution of the United States has been the rise of the Sunbelt. By the 2000 population census, the majority of Americans lived in the Sunbelt and western states. This transformation represents a phenomenal shift of residential location. Historically, the Midwest and the East Coast contained the bulk of the U.S. population, and this remained true until the past few decades.

According to the old urban sociology, the shift to the Sunbelt would have been produced by technological factors, such as inexpensive airline travel and demand-side preferences for a mild climate. To be sure, these factors are part of the equation. However, the pull factors created by the political economy of the United States and its government spending cannot be ignored. They are, in fact, the major reasons for Sunbelt growth because this federal outlay created millions of jobs. The employment, in turn, provided the base for Sunbelt growth and expansion. One aspect alone tells a good part of the story. Beginning with World War II, the United States spent billions of dollars on military installations in locations in the West and in the Sunbelt. California, Florida, Georgia, and New Mexico, among others, were recipients of vast sums of spending. Even Las Vegas, which had been growing as the gambling mecca of the country after the war, benefited from large-scale government spending that created jobs, first, with the construction of Boulder Dam and then with the placement of the gigantic Nellis Air Force base in the region. Later, the Korean and Vietnam wars reinforced this pattern. The states of Texas and Florida benefited greatly from the NASA space program, as we know from the familiar names of "Houston Control" and "Cape Kennedy."

The old urban sociology simply ignored the effects of government spending and tax incentives, that is, the *political economy* of the United States. Our sociospatial perspective considers this factor of central importance.

The Role of the Real Estate Industry in Development

With some notable exceptions (Hoyt, 1933; Hughes, 1928; Form, 1954), early urban sociologists have neglected the critical role the real estate industry plays in metropolitan development. Recall from the discussion above that at one time, urban organization was viewed not as the product of any particular interest but as the interplay of many separate ones (the ecological approach). Presently, we understand that the opposite is often the case. Special

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interests such as global corporations can make or break a town depending on where they decide to invest new capital. But the single most important source of special interests in the development of the metropolis is the real estate industry.

The real estate sector includes all those corporations and banks, as well as land developers and construction companies, that invest in the development of land use and housing, including the land and the built environment themselves. The construction of new spaces proceeds through the actions of all those individuals, financial conduits, and corporations that make money from the change (turnover) in land use. Because a great deal of money often can be made through this type of activity, real estate interests are powerful special actors in the development of the metropolis, and their influence is greatly felt.

At any given time and on any piece of land, real estate forces can converge to turn over the existing use and engage in development that changes the utilization of local space. All of this is done in the pursuit of profit that comes as a consequence of development. Thus, in addition to understanding the political economy of production, it is important to understand the political economy of real estate.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE IN METROPOLITAN LIFE

Many of the discussions of urban issues involve economic and political concerns. As we have seen, some of the more important aspects of the new urban sociology emphasize a greater attention to political economy. But this is not all there is to the new approach. People live in a symbolic world that is meaningful to them. They possess sentiments and ideas and attempt to communicate with others using common concepts.

Much of this interaction is organized through the direct use of spoken or written language. A significant part, however, employs expressive symbols that are used to convey meanings. One of the principal sources of symbolic life involves aspects of the built environment. For example, cities and suburbs are the sites of many subcultures—ethnic, religious, racial, gender specific, and age related. Neighborhoods within the metropolis can readily be identified by objects that are signs of subcultural status. For example, ethnic areas of the city advertise themselves by the signs in front of restaurants, bakeries, specialty shops, and religious institutions (see Chapter 8). Urban subcultures may produce graffiti to show the boundaries of their neighborhood or to make claims over social space within the metropolis (see Figure 1.3). People use such signs to orient themselves in the act of engaging in metropolitan life.

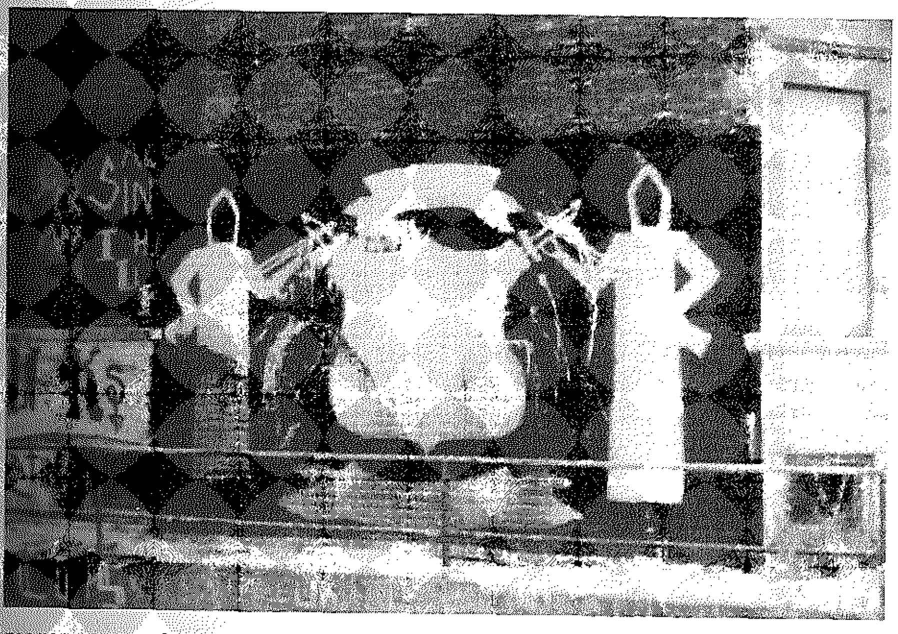

FIGURE 1.3 Urban Semiotics

The study of culture and the role of objects as signs constitutes a significant part of the new urban sociology. Sociologists have studied metropolitan life as culturally meaningful for some time. What is new and different is the way such meanings are associated with objects in addition to words. For example, cities often try to develop an image that boosts attention in order to attract investment and tourists. A variety of images have been used, such as signs of industry ("motor city"), signs of regional growth ("the twin cities"), signs of vision ("the city of tomorrow"), and signs of life's good quality ("the city of leisure"). Slogans such as these are often linked to images or objects, such as a skyline or graphic logo of some kind. In this way, a particular symbolic identity is created for a place that gives the impression that it is special. The study of culture that links symbols to objects is called *semiotics,* and the special subfield that studies the built environment in this manner is called *spatial semiotics.*

In the past, approaches to urban sociology have neglected the symbolic aspect of space, although some interesting early exceptions exist (see Wohl and Strauss, 1958). The perspective we will follow in this book integrates the symbolic nature of environments with more traditional factors that make up social behavior, such as class, race, gender, age, and social status. Space, then, is another compositional factor in human behavior. We call this new perspective on metropolitan life the *sociospatial* approach.

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SUMMARY: THE SOCIOSPATIAL APPROACH

In the past, urbanists have regarded space as only a container of social activities. But this view is limited. Space not only contains actions but also acts as a meaningful object to which we orient our actions. The factor of space constitutes a part of social relations and is intimately involved in our daily lives. It affects the way we feel about what we do. In turn, people alter space and construct new environments to better fit their needs. Hence, a dual relationship exists between people and space. On the one hand, human beings act according to social factors such as gender, class, race, age, and status within and in reaction to a given space. When a city converts a vacant lot into a basketball court, the type of activity and interaction of groups of persons within that space will change. On the other hand, people also create and alter spaces to express their own needs and desires.

The sociospatial perspective connects the dual relationship between people and space with the social factors that are the bases of individual behavior. The most basic concept of this approach is *settlement space,* which refers to the built environment in which people live. Settlement space is both constructed and organized. It is built by people who have followed some meaningful plan for the purpose of containing economic, political, and cultural activities. Within it, people organize their daily actions according to the meaningful aspects of the constructed space. In subsequent chapters we will discuss how sociospatial factors determine the construction and use of settlement space. Over time we will also see how change has occurred and how constructed environments are in turn molded by sociospatial factors.

In summation, the sociospatial perspective consists of attention to the following dimensions of daily life:

1. The urban and suburban settlement spaces that make up the built environment have developed within a larger metropolitan region. We adopt a regional perspective to study the older central cities, suburban communities, and new growth poles that make up the *metropolitan region* of the twenty-first century. We call this new form of social space the multicentered metropolitan region. We ask how and why multicentered metropolitan regions in the United States and across the globe came to be structured the way they are.
2. Settlement spaces are considered not only within their local and national contexts but as linked to the global system of capitalism. We pay special attention to the powerful forces of economics and politics, whose decisions influence the well-being of local areas. These economic and

political decisions may derive from the metropolitan, the national, or even the international level.

3. Settlement spaces are affected by government policies and by the actions of developers, financiers, and other organizations and individuals that make up the real estate industry. These supply-side forces provide incentives and opportunities that pull and mold the behaviors, preferences, and choices of individual consumers and channel metropolitan development in certain specific ways. The real estate market does not simply respond to consumer demand; government policy (or the absence of such policy) at the local, state, and national levels has important consequences for metropolitan development.
4. The urban and suburban settlement spaces that make up the built environment are the products of human thought and action and are always meaningful places. Everyday life is organized according to cultural symbols and material objects that are part of the built environment; these symbols and objects are likely to have different meanings to different individuals or groups. We call the study of these symbols and objects urban semiotics.
5. Sociologists recognize that social class groups are an essential element of industrial and postindustrial societies. Social class groups differ from one another with respect to lifestyle, attitudes, beliefs, and access to political power and influence. As a consequence, these groups have more or less influence on decisions about how social space is allocated and structured within and across the metropolitan region.
6. The sociospatial perspective emphasizes the interaction between society and space. To class, gender, race, and other social characteristics that define difference among groups in contemporary society we add the element of space itself. The spatial arrangements found in urban and suburban settlement space have both manifest and latent consequences: They influence human behavior and interaction in predictable ways, but also in ways the original planner or developer may not have anticipated. But individuals, through their behaviors and interactions with others, constantly alter existing spatial arrangements and construct new spaces to express their needs and desires.

KEY CONCEPTS

multinucleated metropolitan region
geographic realms
standard metropolitan statistical area

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standard metropolitan consolidated area
megacity
global capitalism
demand-side (push) factors
supply-side (pull) factors of development
political economy of real estate
built environment
urban signs and urban semiotics
sociospatial perspective
settlement space

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the concept of the "multinucleated metropolitan region"? How is the multinucleated metropolitan region different from urban development of the past? Why is the metropolitan regional perspective important for understanding urban growth around the globe?

2. The authors suggest that most of the time we do not consciously think about or identify the metropolitan region from which we come. What are some of the characteristics of the metropolitan region in which you grew up?

3. The authors believe that other approaches to urban sociology, which focus upon urban neighborhoods and urban ethnic groups, are no longer useful for understanding metropolitan life in the United States. Why do they hold this point of view?

4. The sociospatial approach to urban sociology emphasizes the links with the global system of capitalism, the actions of the real estate industry, government policies, pull factors of development, the social organization of urban and suburban settlement space, and the importance of culture. Pick two of these factors and explain how they have influenced the development of the multinucleated metropolitan region that you live in.

5. The concept of "space" is important in our understanding of metropolitan life. List two important characteristics of this concept and discuss their significance for our understanding of daily life in urban and suburban settlement spaces of the multinucleated metropolitan region.

CHAPTER
2

THE ORIGINS OF URBAN LIFE

Five thousand years of urban history and perhaps as many of proto-urban history are spread over a few score of only partly exposed sites. The great urban landmarks Ur, Nippur, Uruk, Thebes, Helopolis, Assur, Ninevah, Babylon, cover a span of three thousand years whose vast emptiness we cannot hope to fill with a handful of monuments and a few hundred pages of written records.

LEWIS MUMFORD, *THE CITY IN HISTORY*

The origins of urban life—the period when humankind was transformed from hunters and gatherers to city dwellers—is shrouded in the distant past. Yet we know that cities and urban civilizations appeared in many different areas of the world independent of one another in the relatively recent past. Urbanization, or the building of and living in compact densely populated places, appeared as early as 10,000 years ago. Continuously used, densely populated settlements can be found in the Middle East that date back over 6,000 years and in the Indus Valley in India that date back over 4,000 years. Other centers of ancient urban life include the Minoan civilization of Crete (1800 BC) and the cities of China (circa 2000 BC). The origins of the earliest cities are shown in Table 2.1.

The population of ancient cities tended to be small by present-day standards. Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley had a population at its height of approximately 20,000 inhabitants. At its peak in the fifth century BC, classical Athens, the birthplace of Western art, architecture, and philosophy, had no more than 150,000 inhabitants. Until the late Middle Ages, no city could compare with ancient Rome, which housed over 1 million people in the first century AD.

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CHAPTER
3

THE RISE OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY

A special inquiry devoted to urban phenomena was the premier achievement of early U.S. sociology. The first sociology department in the country was founded by Albion Small at the University of Chicago in 1893. Robert Park joined the department in 1914 and quickly took on a prominent role. Albion Small and Robert Park had something in common. They had both traveled to Germany as graduate students to take courses with Max Weber. In the 1890s only France and Germany had professional sociologists. Emile Durkheim, a sociologist at the Sorbonne in Paris, had developed a growing reputation in France. But Max Weber was acknowledged as the leading social thinker of his day. And another important sociologist, Georg Simmel, had a growing reputation as the most innovative social philosopher on the continent.

The first generation of sociologists was concerned with the impact of urbanization on European society. The political revolutions of the 1800s brought an end to earlier ideas that the social and political order reflected a divine plan—but what exactly would the new social order, created by widespread changes in the economic and social structure, look like? In the wake of the French Revolution, questions about how social order itself could be maintained were not simply a matter of idle speculation. These questions were essential to understanding the very nature of the new industrial society that was transforming European cities.

Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) is one of the early German social philosophers who addressed these questions. In *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (published in 1887 and often translated as "community and society," although "community and association" more accurately reflects the original meaning), Tönnies sketched out an evolutionary view of the development of human society. The great period of industrialization that transformed European societies beginning in the late 1700s signified a change from community to association. His ideas are often used to highlight differences between village life of the preindustrial period and urban life of the industrial period, and between small-town life and that of the large city more generally. Tönnies saw that the transition from community (where individual families have long histories, individuals interact with one another on a personal basis because they often work together or are related to one another, and all jobs are interdependent on one another) to society (where individuals often interact with others whom they do not personally know and work at jobs that are seemingly unrelated to one another) resulted in a weakening of social ties and the loss of a shared sense of belonging to a meaningful community.

Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), who was the first chair of sociology at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1883, also wrote about the changes brought about by industrialization. In *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim discussed many of the same issues presented in Tönnies's earlier essay, this time under the labels of *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity*. In the preindustrial village, individuals were held together by the mechanical bonds of kinship and social interdependence—mechanical because they were predetermined and could not be changed as long as the individual remained within the local village. In the industrial city, individuals were no longer bound by the mechanical bonds of kinship; instead they could work at new types of jobs and have greater opportunities for interaction with a wider range of people. These were organic bonds that flowed naturally from the increased social differentiation brought about by the division of labor. If these terms seem to be counterintuitive (we often think of work in factories as being mechanical), it is important to realize that Durkheim was convinced that the new industrial economy was an improvement over the limited opportunities of feudal society, and he may have deliberately chosen words with a positive connotation to represent the modern city. Durkheim was certain that the new industrial order would replace the earlier ways of life: "with the coming of the industrial economy, village society has disappeared, never to come again."

The perspective of the German sociologist Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) was very different from that of Durkheim. Engels lived in England in the mid-1800s and wrote *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. This seminal work in urban sociology devoted a chapter to "The Great Towns." According to Engels, the evils of industrialization and capitalism

were intensified by the space of the city. This is a perspective to which we will return in the next chapter.

The most influential European thinker in U.S. urban sociology during this early period was Georg Simmel (1858–1918). Simmel viewed the city in cultural terms and wrote about how urban life transformed individual consciousness: Everyday existence within the city altered the way people thought and acted compared to traditional society. Robert Park and Albion Small were familiar with Simmel's work and brought this "interactive" perspective back to the University of Chicago. In the United States, the work of the early Chicago School was less concerned with historical and comparative studies in the manner of Weber and more focused on social behavior and interaction within the urban milieu in the manner of Simmel.

Any thorough discussion of the development of urban sociology in the United States must begin by explaining the important difference between the two organizing topics in the field: urbanization and urbanism. *Urbanization* refers to city formation or city building process. It studies the way social activities locate themselves in space and according to interdependent processes of societal development and change. Its analyses are often historical and comparative. When we study the process of urbanization, we are interested in charting the rise and fall of great cities and urban civilizations. Our discussion of the emergence of cities, the largest cities in the world, and the changing location of large cities in Europe presented in Chapter 2, was about urbanization. *Urbanism*, in contrast, takes the city formation process as given and seeks instead to understand the ways of life that transpire within this container. Urbanism deals with culture, with meanings, symbols, patterns of daily life, and processes of adjustment to the environment of the city, but also with conflicts, with forms of political organization at the street, neighborhood, and city levels.

While both Weber and Engels emphasized the relation between the historical development of the city and its ways of life, Simmel was more concerned with patterns of activity and ways of thinking that were found in the city. The work of the early Chicago School followed Simmel closely and focused on patterns of activity within cities rather than addressing the topic of U.S. urbanization or city formation. Yet for Simmel, the study of life within the city was not meant as an "urban sociology." Simmel was instead concerned with *modernity*, or the transition from a traditional society characterized by social relations based on intimacy or kinship (known as "primary" relations) and by a feudal economy based on barter to an industrial society situated within cities and dominated by impersonal, specialized social relations based on compartmentalized roles (known as "secondary" relations) and by a money

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economy based on rational calculation of profit and loss. For Simmel, the subtle aspects of modernity were displayed most clearly within the large city or metropolis and through consciously directed behaviors. Simmel gives us a social psychology of modernity that Robert Park took to be the sociology of urbanism, or "urban sociology."

SIMMEL ON THE CITY

What was it like to confront modernity and why was Simmel so impressed with the city as the vehicle for change? Consider, if you will, a German farmer from Bavaria. His life was tuned to the daily rhythms of agriculture. Nature and his own physical labor provided the boundaries within which the farming endeavor was framed. The regime of labor on the land was early to bed, because darkness meant little work could be done, and early to rise, because it was necessary to use every second of daylight for work—even dawn and twilight. This farmer was immersed in a social world of primary kinship relations. His principal contacts were members of his family, both immediate and extended. Perhaps several generations and families lived together in the same location and worked the land. Beyond this primary network, the farmer would interact with individuals who aided his enterprise. Most typically he visited a local service center, perhaps a small town. There he was surely involved in a network of people who knew him well. In this kind of traditional society, it was entirely possible that no money changed hands while farm produce and needed commodities were exchanged. Barter, credit, and informal agreements among known persons characterized the social relations of this world.

As Simmel might suggest, suppose this individual—call him Hans—lost the farm and his family in some personal tragedy. With a small amount of money, he now traveled to Berlin to begin a new life. He went to this modern city precisely because it offered him an alternative to the traditional rural existence of farming. Karl Marx, writing in the nineteenth century, would have focused on Hans's conversion to an industrial worker. He would have taken us into the factory with Hans and described his encounter with abstract capital (the machine), with the relations of production (the factory building, the assembly line, and the daily schedule of work), and with class relations (interaction with the workers and the boss). Simmel, writing in the early twentieth century, virtually ignored this entire domain of the factory, which could be termed the immediate environment of capitalism, and focused instead on the larger context of daily life, the extended environment—namely, the city.

Hans stands on the corner of a large boulevard in Berlin teeming with daytime auto traffic. He has to dodge the steady stream of pedestrians just to

stand still and watch, since everything else is in constant motion. At first shock, Hans would be paralyzed by the "excess of nervous stimulation," according to Simmel. Haven't we all had a similar experience upon visiting a large city? Loud noises from traffic, people in the crowds calling after one another, strangers touching him as they passed without an acknowledgment, and more—noise, noise, and noise. Hans would find himself in a totally new environment that demanded an adjustment and a response.

According to Simmel, small-town life required Hans to develop strong, intimate ties to those with whom he interacted. Here in the city, the excess of stimulation requires a defensive response. These are the characteristics of urbanism noted by Simmel. Hans would (1) develop what Simmel called a "blasé" attitude—a blurring of the senses, a filtering out of all that was loud and impinging but also irrelevant to Hans's own personal needs. Emotional reserve and indifference replace acute attention to the details of the environment.

Hans would require the satisfaction of his needs. Yes, he would encounter capitalism and, no doubt, sell his labor for a wage, as Marx had observed. Simmel agreed with Marx about the necessity of that transaction. It would (2) reduce the quality of Hans's capabilities simply to the quantity of his labor time—the time he spent at work, for a wage. It would make his work equivalent to a sum of money, no more, no less. That sum of money exchanged for Hans's labor time would be all the employing capitalist would provide. Hans would quickly see that absolutely no concern for his health-related, spiritual, communal, sexual, or any other type of human need would be involved in his relationship with his employer. In short, the world of capitalism was (3) an impersonal world of pure monetary exchange.

Simmel, unlike Marx, showed how the impersonal money economy extended outside the factory to characterize all other transactions in the city. Hans would use his paycheck to buy the needs of life, but in these transactions, too, impersonal or secondary social relations prevailed. Unless he went to a small store and frequented it every day, he would simply be viewed as (4) an anonymous customer being provided with mass-produced items for purchase. As a city dweller, he might find himself more frequently going to a department store where (5) a mass spectacle of consumption would be on display.

In all these transactions, Hans would have to be very careful. His weekly paycheck could go only so far. He would have to count how much each item cost and then budget himself accordingly. This (6) rational calculation would be at the heart of his daily life. Everything would be measured by him, just as costs were carefully measured at the factory. Rational calculation of money

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would require knowledge and technique. If Hans mastered it successfully along with gaining mastery over the consumer world of the city, he could look down at his country-bumpkin cousins. City life, for Simmel, was a life of the intellect, and everywhere the relation between the money economy and the rational calculation needed to survive in the world of capitalism prevailed. Those in the city who could not master the technique of money management would surely be lost.

We are not finished with the example of Hans. In the traditional society of the country, the rhythm of life was provided by nature. The city environment required (7) adjustment to a second nature—the orchestration of daily activities as governed by clock time and as played out within a constructed space. All life in the city followed the schedule of capitalist industrialization or modernity. If Hans didn't own a watch before coming to the city, he now needed one. Time and money constituted the two types of calculation necessary for survival in the second nature of the urban milieu—the built environment of concrete, steel, and glass that is the city.

Finally, Simmel also commented on the qualitative value of an experience like Hans's. He did not see the transformation as something that was necessarily bad. Hans would be cast in a calculating and impersonal world, but he would also be (8) freed from the restrictions of traditional society and its time-bound dictates. Hans would be free to discriminate about the types of friends he chose, about the job he took (within strong constraints, of course), and about where he lived. To Simmel, modernity meant the possibility of immense individual freedom in addition to constraint.

For Simmel, the freedom of the city meant, above all else, that Hans would be free to pursue and even create his own individuality. Provided he had the money, of course—an actuality that Marx would doubt—Hans could cultivate himself. He could dress according to some distinct fashion, develop hobbies he could share with others, perhaps take up the violin and join a neighborhood string quartet; he could enjoy a certain brand of cigar or shoes or attend night classes at the university—even Simmel's own lectures. Could Hans and Simmel have eventually met? The city allowed the possibility of attaining such cultural freedom, and the signs of individual cultivation—the clothes, cigars, friends, lovers, discussion groups, opera, art, novels—were collectively the signs of modernity that we may also call urbanism.

LOUIS WIRTH AND URBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE

As we have seen, Georg Simmel had an important impact on the development of urban sociology in the United States. Albion Small and Robert Park had attended lectures by Simmel while they were studying in Germany, and Park included some of the first English translations of Simmel's work in the sociology textbook (titled *The Science of Society*) used at the University of Chicago. Louis Wirth was born in Germany but was sent to live with relatives in Chicago, where he attended high school and then the University of Chicago. Wirth's doctoral research reflected his knowledge of the development of Chicago's Jewish community. Published in 1926 with the title *The Ghetto*, Wirth's work describes the Maxwell Street neighborhood where recently arrived Russian immigrants had settled (the ghetto) and the area of second settlement where the older German immigrants had moved (Deutschland). Wirth became a faculty member in the sociology department at the University of Chicago and was one of the important figures in the later development of the Chicago School.

Louis Wirth was inspired by the work of Simmel. The Chicago sociologists came to view *spatial patterns in the city as the result of powerful social factors*, such as competition and the struggle for survival among individuals and groups within the city. Thus, Robert Park and his associates viewed urban space as a container, a built environment that encloses the action. Wirth's idea was different. He emphasized the way the city, as a spatial environment, influenced individual behavior. Wirth wanted to know what it was about the city itself that produced unique behaviors that might be called an "urban way of life." Given his study emphasis, Wirth naturally returned to Simmel. However, while Simmel (and Weber and Marx) attributed much of the city way of life to the influence of larger systemic forces, especially capitalism and its money economy, Wirth aimed for a general theory that ignored forces having origins outside the city. He studied the characteristics of people in the city and how life there might produce a distinct "urban" culture. Hence, "urbanism," or an urban way of life, became the dependent variable to be explained.

In his important essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1948), Wirth focused on three factors. Urbanism was produced in relatively large and densely populated settlements containing groups of persons of different backgrounds; that is, urbanism was a product of large *population size, density,* and *heterogeneity*. Wirth's approach was an important advance because he provided a set of factors that could be analyzed statistically according to their effects. It was a theory with true predictive power. Given a sample of cities, the higher each one scored on the three factors of size, density, and heterogeneity, the more one could expect it to house a true urban culture.

Wirth's theory was impressive for the time because of its predictive potential. Problems arose when he tried to define what precisely an urban culture would be like. Recall the example of Hans. Simmel gave us a detailed picture

BOX 3.1 Wirth's Urbanism as a Way of Life: *The Effects of Size, Density, and Heterogeneity*

The effect of size:

1. The larger the population, the greater the chances for diversity and individualization.
2. Competition and formal mechanisms of social control would replace primary relations of kinship as a means of organizing society.
3. The larger the population, the greater the specialization and functional diversity of social roles.
4. Anonymity and fragmentation of social interaction increase with size.

The effect of density:

1. Greater density intensifies the effects of large population size.
2. Greater density creates the blasé attitude and the need to tune out excessive stimulation.
3. Greater density produces greater tolerance for living closely with strangers, but also greater stress.
4. Escape from density produces development of the fringe and greater land value in suburbia.
5. Density increases competition, compounding the effects of size.

The effect of heterogeneity:

1. The greater the heterogeneity, the more tolerance among groups.
2. Heterogeneity allows ethnic and class barriers to be broken down.
3. Individual roles and contacts become compartmentalized according to different circles of contacts. Anonymity and depersonalization in public life increase.

that contained both negative and positive aspects. Essentially, Simmel viewed the city as simply different. In his formulation, Wirth stressed the dark side of Simmel's vision: Urbanism as a culture would be characterized by aspects of social disorganization. Most central to Wirth's view was the shift from primary to secondary social relations. Wirth tended to see urban anonymity as debilitating. More specifically, the effects of the three factors on social life can be expressed as a series of propositions, as indicated in Box 3.1.

Wirth's work has been exhaustively tested, mainly because it was so clearly stated (Fischer, 1975). Unfortunately, the core assertion that size, density, and heterogeneity cause behaviors considered urban has not been borne out. If we look at the propositions presented in Box 3.1, many of the assertions appear to be accurate descriptions of social interaction in the large city, and they help to provide a more detailed picture of what *urbanism as a culture is like.*

However, while the theory contains some truth, we cannot be certain that these factors produce specific results. Cities merely concentrate the effects of societal forces producing urban culture. Surely we know that small towns are affected by many of the same social forces as the central city, although the types of behaviors that we observe in these environments may differ in type and intensity.

Finally, Louis Wirth held strongly to the view that the true effects of urbanism would occur as a matter of evolution as cities operated on immigrant groups to break down traditional ways of interacting over time. He did not see the larger city acting as an environment to bring about immediately the change he predicted. These things would take time, perhaps a generation. "Urbanism as a Way of Life" would inspire other urban sociologists to analyze the development of new suburban lifestyles ("Suburbanism as a Way of Life"; see Fava, 1980) and to compare urban and suburban lifestyles ("Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life"; Gans, 1968). We will return to the topic of urbanism and continue discussing the refinement of Wirth's ideas up to the present in Chapter 9. Wirth's work also inspired a subsequent generation to plow through census data and derive the statistical regularities of urban living. Much urban research is similarly conducted today.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Robert Park and Human Ecology

Robert Park (1865–1944) attended the University of Michigan and began his career as a newspaper reporter, first for the *Minneapolis Journal* and later for the *New York Journal.* He was assigned to the "police beat" where he would have to pound the streets of the city to develop leads and check facts for his newspaper articles. He later became city editor for the *Detroit Tribune* and drama critic and reporter for the *Chicago Journal.*

Park returned to graduate school. He studied first at Harvard University and then at Heidelberg University in Germany, where he attended lectures by Georg Simmel. He returned to the United States in 1903 and met Booker T. Washington, the most influential African American leader of the day and the founder of the Tuskegee Institute. For the next decade Park served as Washington's personal secretary, revising papers and speeches. Park used his spare time to investigate lynching in the American South and to write about race relations in the United States. In 1912 Park organized a conference on race relations at Tuskegee. He was approached by W. I. Thomas, who had recently completed his graduate work and now was teaching at the University of Chicago. Thomas wanted to know if Park would come to the university and

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join other scholars in the newly formed department of sociology (Blumer, 1984; Mathews, 1977).

In 1914, at age forty-nine, Park joined the faculty of the University of Chicago on a part-time basis. Park's approach to the sociological study of the urban environment was clear: He urged his students to "get the seat of their pants dirty" by getting out into the neighborhoods of the city, studying the many different groups of people who had come there. While Park worked on his own study of the development of the immigrant press in the United States, he and Ernest Burgess conducted undergraduate classes and graduate seminars that required students to go into the community, collect data from businesspeople, interview area residents, and report back with their information.

From the very first, the Chicago School sociologists adopted a conceptual position that we know as human ecology—the study of the process of human group adjustment to the environment. Whereas European thinkers such as Weber, Marx, and Simmel viewed the city as an environment where larger social forces of capitalism played themselves out in a human drama, Chicago School sociologists avoided the study of capitalism per se, preferring instead a biologically based way of conceptualizing urban life. For them urban analysis was a branch of human ecology. Their ideas brought them closest to the work of the philosopher Herbert Spencer, who also viewed society as dominated by biological rather than economic laws of development. Economic competition, in this view, was a special case of the struggle for survival. All individuals in the city were caught up in this struggle and adjusted to it in various ways.

According to Park, the social organization of the city resulted from the struggle for survival that then produced a distinct and highly complex division of labor, because people tried to do what they were best at in order to compete. Urban life was organized on two distinct levels: the biotic and the cultural. The *biotic level* refers to the forms of organization produced by species' competition over scarce environmental resources. The *cultural level* refers to the symbolic and psychological adjustment processes and to the organization of urban life according to shared sentiments, much like the qualities Simmel also studied.

In Park's work, the biotic level stressed the importance of biological factors for understanding social organization and the urban effects of economic competition. In contrast, the cultural component of urban life operated in neighborhoods that were held together by cooperative ties involving shared cultural values among people with similar backgrounds. Hence, local community life was organized around what Park called a "moral order" of cooperative, symbolic ties, whereas the larger city composed of separate communities was organized through competition and functional differentiation. In Park's later work, however, the complex notion of urbanism as combining competition and cooperation, or the biotic and the cultural levels, was dropped in favor of an emphasis on the biotic level alone as the basic premise of urban ecology. This led to some of the earliest critiques of the ecological perspective, faulting it for ignoring the role of culture in the city, or what Simmel would call the important influence of modernity, and for neglecting the basis of community (Alihan, 1938), which was social and not biological.

Other members of the early Chicago School translated the social Darwinism implicit in this model into a spatially attuned analysis. For Roderick McKenzie, the fundamental quality of the struggle for existence was position, or location, for the individual, the group, or institutions such as business firms. Spatial position would be determined by economic competition and the struggle for survival. Groups or individuals that were successful took over the better positions in the city, such as the choicest business locations, or the preferred neighborhoods. Those less successful would have to make do with less desirable positions. In this way the urban population, under pressure of economic competition, sorted itself out within the city space. McKenzie explained land-use patterns as the product of competition and an economic division of labor, which deployed objects and activities in space according to the roles they played in society. Thus, if a firm needed a particular location to perform its function, it competed with others for that location. The study of urban patterns resulting from that process would be studied by a new group of sociologists known as ecologists.

Burgess's Model of Urban Growth

Ernest W. Burgess developed a theory of city growth and differentiation based on the social Darwinist or biologically derived principles that were common in the work of Park and McKenzie. According to Burgess, the city constantly grew because of population pressures. This, in turn, triggered a dual process of central agglomeration and commercial decentralization; that is, spatial competition attracted new activities to the center of the city but also repelled other activities to the fringe area. As activities themselves located on the fringe, the fringe itself was pushed farther out from the city, and so on.

The city continually grew outward as activities that lost out in the competition for space in the central city were relocated to peripheral areas. This sorting led, in turn, to further spatial and functional differentiation as activities were deployed according to competitive advantages. In Burgess's theory, the city would eventually take on the form of a highly concentrated central

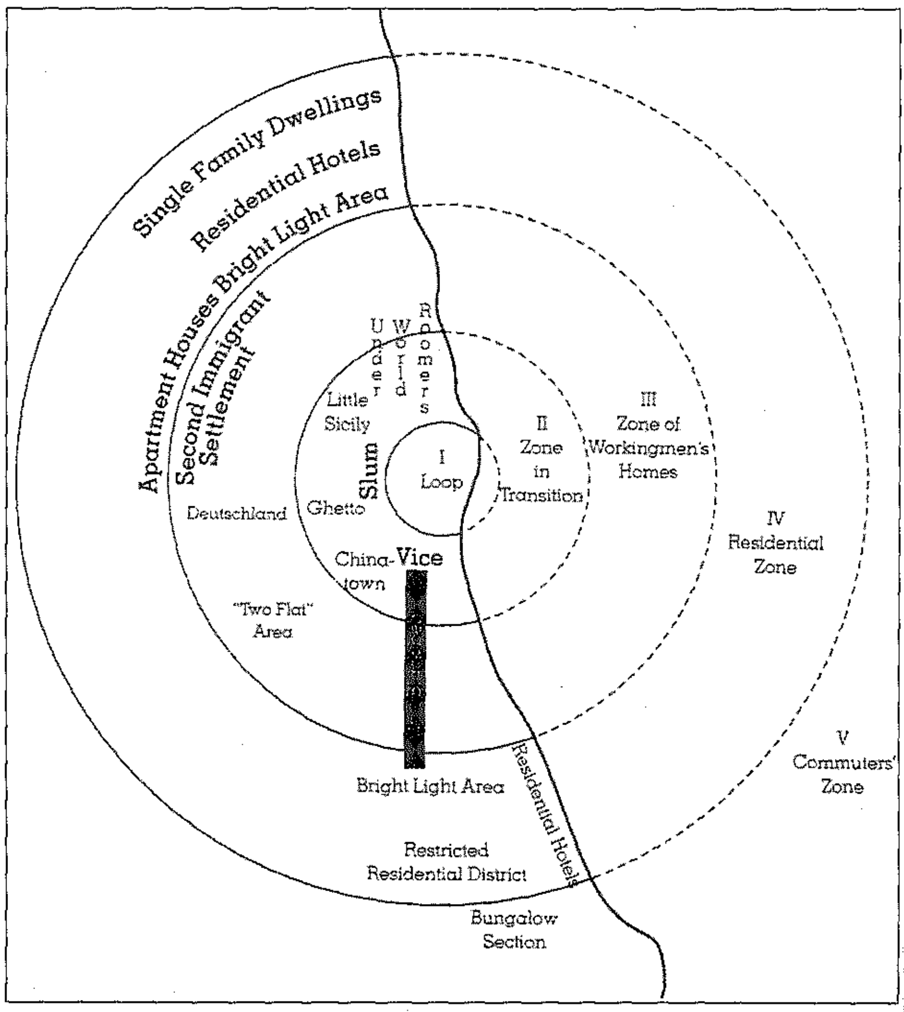

FIGURE 3.1 Ernest Burgess's Model of Concentric Zones

business district that would dominate the region and be the site for the highest competitive land prices, while the surrounding area would comprise four distinct concentric rings (see Figure 3.1).

The importance of Burgess's model cannot be overemphasized. First, he explained the pattern of homes, neighborhoods, and industrial and commercial locations in terms of the ecological theory of competition over "position," or location. In short, competition produced a certain space and a certain social organization in space. Both of these dimensions were pictured in the concentric zone model. Those who could afford it lived near the center; those who could not arranged themselves in concentric zones around the city center.

Second, Burgess's model explained the shifting of population and activities within the space of the city according to two distinct but related processes: centralization and decentralization. His theory explicitly related social processes to spatial patterns—a most important link for all theorizing about the city that was to follow and a view that is quite compatible with the aims of the new urban sociology.

Finally, Burgess revealed that the characteristics of the social organization of the urban population were spatially deployed. A gradient running from the center to the periphery characterized the attributes of the urban population. Individual traits such as mental illness, gang membership, criminal behavior, and racial background were found to be clustered along the center/periphery gradient of the city. Cutting across the urban form from the central business district (known as the CBD) to the outskirts, Chicago School researchers, using census data, found that the incidence of social pathology decreased, while homeownership and the number of nuclear families increased. The inner zones, therefore, were discovered to be the sites of crime, illness, gang warfare, broken homes, and many other indicators of social disorganization or problems.

In practice, however, research on the internal structure of cities contradicted Burgess's view of concentric zones. Other models of the city argued that cities had multiple centers rather than a single urban core. The first critique of Burgess's model was proposed by Homer Hoyt (1933) and was called "sector theory." Hoyt suggested that cities were carved up not by concentric zones but by unevenly shaped sectors within which different economic activities tended to congregate together, that is, agglomerate. Hoyt suggested that all activities, but especially manufacturing and retailing, had the tendency to spin off away from the center and agglomerate in sectors that expanded outward. Thus, the city grew in irregular blobs rather than in Burgess's neat circles.

The idea of multiple nuclei as the shape of the city further developed Hoyt's break with Burgess and is similar to the current multicentered approach used in this book (see Chapter 1). It was introduced in a classic paper by Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman (1945). They suggested that within any city, separate functions and their particular needs require concentration within specific and specialized districts. Thus, within cities, similar activities often locate in the same area, forming agglomerations, or minicenters. Cities often grow asymmetrically around these multiple nuclei.

A common assumption of all of these models is that the city remains the central place that dominates all other areas. In recent years this way of thinking about urbanized areas has declined, and a focus on the individual city has given way to the regional perspective, which stresses the relative independence of

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goals of the program, whether services are delivered to appropriate recipients, how well service delivery is organized, the effectiveness of program management, the use of program resources, and other such matters (Exhibit 2-L provides an example).

EXHIBIT 2-L
Failure on the Front Lines: Implementing Welfare Reform

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Process evaluation is the most frequent form of program evaluation. It is used both as a freestanding evaluation and in conjunction with impact assessment (discussed below) as part of a more comprehensive evaluation. As a freestanding evaluation, it yields quality assurance information, assessing the extent to which a program is implemented as intended and operating up to the standards established for it. When the program model employed is one of established effectiveness, a demonstration that the program is well implemented can be presumptive evidence that the expected outcomes are produced as well. When the program is new, a process evaluation provides valuable feedback to administrators and other stakeholders about the progress that has been made implementing the program plan. From a management perspective, process evaluation provides the feedback that allows a program to be

multiple centers within the larger metropolitan region. While ecologists were concerned with location and with thinking of social activities as located in space, their biologically based explanation for perceived activities and spatial patterns has been rejected in recent years in favor of the new urban sociology (see Gottdiener and Feagin, 1988).

The Chicago School Studies

The work of the early Chicago School dominated urban sociology in the prewar years. For about a decade, beginning in 1925, a veritable flood of work poured out of the sociology department. Surveying just the books alone (that is, ignoring master's and Ph.D. theses produced at that time), the following list samples their accomplishments. All of these books were published by the University of Chicago Press: F. Thrasher, *The Gang* (1927); Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (1928); Ruth S. Cavan, *Suicide* (1928); Clifford S. Shaw, *The Jackroller* (1930); Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1929); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932); Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-dance Hall* (1932); Walter C. Reckless, *Vice in Chicago* (1933); Norman Hayner, *Hotel Life* (1936); and then later, St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (1945). Regarding this list, it can also be said that although gender issues were not well articulated at that time, women were involved in the Chicago School.

This marvelous output was produced with a similar stamp. It took an important social phenomenon, such as suicide, and located the distribution of its incidence in the space of the city. Chicago researchers then analyzed it in terms of the relation between the individual and the larger social forces of integration/disintegration. Most often this meant that phenomena were explained as products of social disorganization, particularly the breaking up of primary social relations through city living, as Wirth's theory suggested. As a result, the Chicago School was eventually criticized for reinforcing a negative view of city life.

Despite their limitations, we can appreciate the positive aspects of these early efforts. First, Chicago School researchers explicitly connected social phenomena with spatial patterns; that is, they thought in sociospatial terms. Second, they took an interactionist perspective. Individuals were studied in interaction with others, and the emergent forms of sociation coming out of that interaction were observed closely. Finally, they tried to show the patterns of adjustment to sociospatial location and developed a rudimentary way of speaking about the role of individual attributes in explaining urban phenomena. It was true that they focused almost exclusively on social disorganization and pathology; the breakup of family integration, for example, was given much more attention than questions of race or class.

BOX 3.2 Case Study: Gangland Chicago, 1927

The population of gangs in the 1920s was composed principally of recent immigrants to this country. Of the total gang census taken by Thrasher amounting to 25,000 members in a city of 2 million, roughly 17 percent were known as Polish gangs, 11 percent were known as Italian, 8.5 percent were Irish, 7 percent were black, another 3 percent were mixed white and black, 2 percent were Jewish, and so on, with the largest percentage of *all* gangs composed of "mixed nationalities" known exclusively for their territory, not for their ethnicity (1927:130). According to Thrasher, roughly 87 percent of all gang members were of foreign extraction! The gang phenomenon was explained in part by the lack of adjustment opportunities for immigrants, in part by the carryover of Old World antagonisms, and also by the need to defend territory against "outsiders."

Thrasher's study demonstrates sociospatial thinking. As Robert Park (Thrasher, 1927:vii) comments in his introduction: "The title of this book does not describe it. It is a study of the gang, to be sure, but it is at the same time a study of "gangland," that is to say, a study of the gang and its habitat, and in this case the habitat is a city slum."

Note Parks's grounding of the study in a biological metaphor by his use of the word habitat. Today we would adopt the sociospatial perspective and say territory or space. Gangland is the city space where gangs lived. Their influence was felt all over. What Thrasher did was locate gangs in their space. In fact, he found "three great domains" of gangdom—the "northside jungles," the "southside badlands," and the "westside wilderness." Using Ernest W. Burgess's map of Chicago (see Figure 3.1), Thrasher provided details for each of these areas and the gangs they contained. Within gangland, "the street educates with fatal precision" (1927:101). The northside covered an area directly north of the downtown, or the "loop" on the Burgess map, and behind the wealthy neighborhoods that lined the shore of Lake Michigan. It was home to the "Gloriannas," the site of "Death Corner" and "Bughouse Square," and a gang so threatening that Thrasher disguised its real name.

The westside was the most extensive slum area producing gangs, and it encompassed the area west of downtown, spreading out both northward and southward. The westside was home to the "Blackspots," the "Sparkplugs," the "Beaners," and the "hard-boiled 'Buckets-of-Blood'" (1927:9). On the southside of Chicago are located the stockyards and miles of railroad yards. Most of the blacks settled there, but the area remained dominated by Poles and Italians. The latter gangs were known as the "Torpedoes" or the "So-So's." Black gangs of the time were the "Wailing Shebas" or the "Wolves."

(continues)

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Process evaluation is the most frequent form of program evaluation. It is used both as a freestanding evaluation and in conjunction with impact assessment (discussed below) as part of a more comprehensive evaluation. As a freestanding evaluation, it yields quality assurance information, assessing the extent to which a program is implemented as intended and operating up to the standards established for it. When the program model employed is one of established effectiveness, a demonstration that the program is well implemented can be presumptive evidence that the expected outcomes are produced as well. When the program is new, a process evaluation provides valuable feedback to administrators and other stakeholders about the progress that has been made implementing the program plan. From a management perspective, *process evaluation provides the feedback that allows a program to be*

> As a territorially divided area, the city of Chicago and its environs pulsed with the give-and-take confrontations among the various gangs. Only the relative scarcity of killing weapons such as handguns kept the constant confrontations from erupting into the type of carnage characteristic of many cities today. For students of contemporary urban sociology, there can be no better example of spatially sensitive research than Thrasher's original study. It is doubtful, too, that in today's urban environment anyone could carry out the kind of exhaustive census on street gangs that Thrasher did. Certainly his study is now outdated. But like the pyramids, it remains an inspiration across time.

Another way to appreciate their achievements is by returning to the original case studies. A particularly vivid ethnography is Frederick M. Thrasher's 1927 study of *The Gang*. Thrasher spent eight years tracking down the youth gangs of Chicago and in the end was able to identify 1,313 of them. Today media coverage tends to associate street gangs with black or Hispanic teenagers in the inner city and lament their violent ways, as exemplified by such films as *Boyz N The Hood* and *Colors*. Thrasher's work takes us back to the city of some seventy years ago when gangs were as much of a problem, but they were almost all white. Thrasher's study is described in more detail in Box 3.2.

McKenzie and the Metropolitan Community

Roderick McKenzie, a student of Park and Burgess, sought to apply the principles of human ecology to a regional metropolitan approach. He viewed the development of the metropolitan region as a function of changes in transportation and communication that produced new forms of social organization. These stages of development were the pre-railway era (before 1850), the railway era (1850–1900), and the motor transportation area (1900 to present). McKenzie considered technological change to be the key variable in producing spatial patterns in urban society, as he states in his introduction to *The Metropolitan Community:*

> Formerly independent towns and villages and also rural territory have become part of this enlargened city complex. This new type of super community, organized around a dominant focal point and comprising a multitude of differentiated centers of activity, differs from the metropolitanism established by rail transportation in the complexity of its institutional division of labor and the mobility of its population. Its territorial scope is defined in terms of motor transportation and competition with other regions. (1933:6–7)

McKenzie's ideas were recognized as a significant contribution to the field at the time. In some respects, his approach may be viewed as a precursor to the general concept of the multicentered metropolitan region emphasized by the sociospatial approach. But McKenzie did not have a great influence on later sociologists, and he is sometimes overlooked even by contemporary human ecologists. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for this oversight. In the 1950s a new field of study, regional science, began investigating metropolitan regions from the perspective of economic geography, an approach with less appeal to urban sociologists. McKenzie's focus on the metropolitan region conflicted with the more general tendency of urban sociologists to focus their research and writing, as well as fieldwork, on the central city. A serious consideration of his regional perspective would have led urban sociology out of the city and into the suburban region, something that would not happen for several decades but is a central focus of this text.

FROM HUMAN ECOLOGY TO URBAN ECOLOGY

In 1945, Walter Firey published a study of land use in Boston titled "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables." He noted that large areas of land in downtown Boston were reserved for noneconomic uses. Parks and cemeteries, as well as a 48-acre area in the center of the city that had formed the original "commons" of the community, had never been developed. In addition, an upper-class residential neighborhood known as Beacon Hill retained its privileged position as a home to wealthy and established Boston families despite its location near the downtown area. Each of these observations ran counter to the concentric zone model. Firey suggested that "sentiment" and "symbolism" were important ecological factors that influenced spatial patterns of development in urban space (Firey, 1945). Although other sociologists offered little systematic elaboration of the ideas Firey presented in this important piece of research, his work is often referred to as the "sociocultural school" of human ecology.

After World War II, the ecological approach enjoyed something of a renaissance because ecologists paid careful attention to the census of population and how demographic locational patterns had changed. By 1950, it was found that the U.S. population had matured and spread out across metropolitan regions. In addition to altering population dispersal, the war years had changed the locational patterns of U.S. industry. Many industrial plants dispersed to the countryside during the 1940s. As a result of the war effort against Japan, heavy industry was also decentralized and relocated to the

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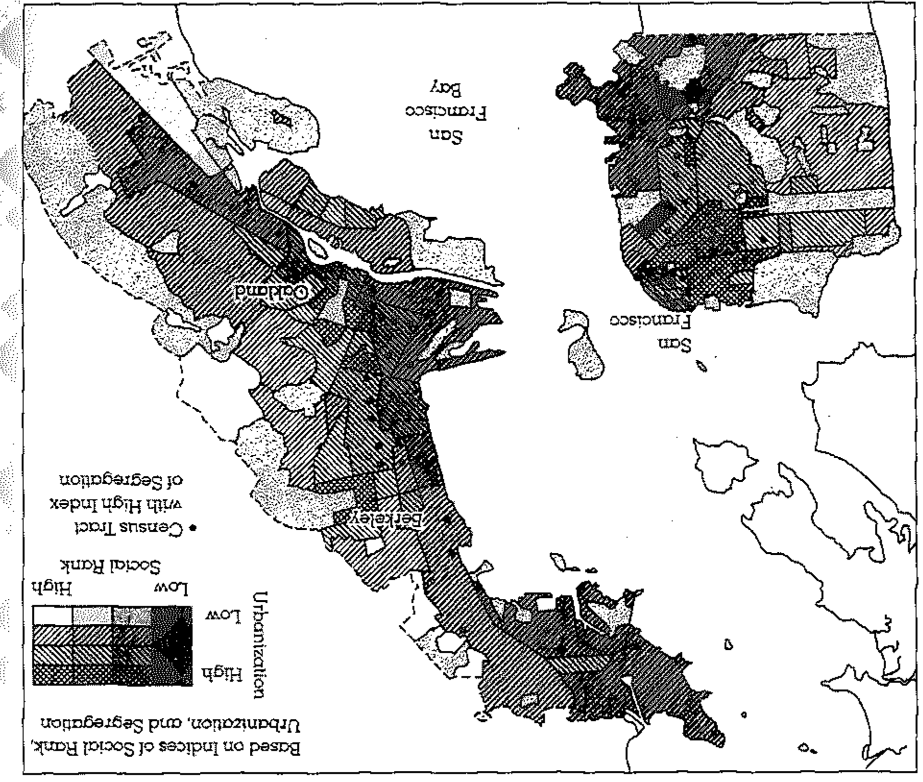

FIGURE 3.2 Shevky and Bell's social area analysis of the San Francisco Bay region

West. Los Angeles in particular became both a focal point for the burgeoning aerospace industry and an important port for trade with the Pacific Rim markets. All of this restructuring and change called for new research that would chart the emergent patterns.

Social Area Analysis

Social area analysis is associated with the work of Eshrev Shevky and Wendell Bell (1955). This method of urban analysis ranked areas within a city or metropolitan area on the basis of the social characteristics of the population, including social status (education, occupation, and income) and family status (number of children, whether the mother worked, and type of dwelling unit). Areas that scored high on social status and family status (typically suburban communities) could be compared with areas that scored low on the same measures. Social area analysis produced detailed maps showing the location of class and ethnic groups in the San Francisco Bay area, as shown in Figure 3.2; especially noticeable in this mapping are the minority neighborhoods in Richmond, Oakland, and San Francisco, as well as the upper-class suburban neighborhoods in the foothills of the East Bay. But as a more general contribution to human ecology and urban sociology, social area analysis was found to be lacking. It was a descriptive methodology, this time with a visual application, but it did not provide an analytical model that could explain why particular groupings of sociological variables (ethnicity, social class, and family status) might be mapped in one area of the metropolitan region and not in another.

Factorial Ecology

The development of new computer technologies brought sweeping changes to the field of human ecology. Urban sociologists no longer had to limit their research to field studies of urban communities; now they could assemble data for entire cities and look for associations among, for example, the educational levels, incomes, and employment status of urban and suburban residents. Factorial ecology made use of these techniques and, through the 1950s and 1960s, produced a large number of studies that greatly increased our knowledge of the structure of cities, not just in the United States but across the world.

In the usual model, data concerning the social, economic, and family status of urban residents are examined for commonalities among households living in different areas of the city. Each census tract or community area has specific information as to the educational levels, incomes, and employment status of area residents (economic status); the age, marital status, and presence of children (family status); and racial and ethnic characteristics (urbanism). A computer-generated analysis of this information then reveals the structure of urban areas. The factorial analysis of data for American cities and their suburbs indicated that economic status is the most important determinant of residential location, followed by family status and then social status. Because of their increasing focus on these variables and an associated decrease in the field research and community studies, which employed a very different sort of research methodology, urban sociologists working in this tradition became known as urban ecologists rather than human ecologists.

Having examined the ecological structure of urban areas in the United States, it was only a matter of time before urban ecologists turned their attention to the structure of cities in other areas of the world (see Schwirian, 1974). In a sense, they were out to prove a very important point: Urban ecology was in fact a research paradigm that could be applied to human settlement spaces across time and across space. They believed this model could explain not only the structure of cities in Europe (which had evolved out of a feudal mode of production and with a physical structure very different from that of American cities) but also that of cities in developing nations. According to this theory, residential dissimilarity and segregation among groups (based on religion, ethnicity, caste, or occupation) is universal, and modernization or industrialization will have no effect on this pattern (Mehta, 1969).

Although the evidence from studies of cities in India, Finland, and Egypt was sometimes inconsistent, urban ecologists still believed they had discovered a universal model of urban structure. In "The Factorial Ecology of Calcutta," Brian Berry and Albert Rees (1969) presented an "integrated model of land use" that combined the concentric zone, sector, and multinuclei models of the past and stated their belief that once the additional effects of local geography or history had been taken into account, their model could be applied to any city to explain where any group or business activity is located.

CONCLUSION

All theoretical paradigms are beset with potential problems and contradictions. Theoretical models borrow concepts and models from other fields of study; they are creatures of the concerns and beliefs of sociological scholars at a particular historical moment. Robert Park borrowed from models of plant ecology to formulate a model of human ecology. He incorporated the idea of conflict among competing land uses and competition among population groups, although it is unlikely that he envisioned the particular forms of conflict among class, ethnic, and racial groups that beset American society at the present time. Later ecologists incorporated new methods of analysis and answered new and even more challenging questions concerning urban life than the early Chicago sociologists could have imagined. But human ecology and its offspring, social ecology and urban ecology, confront numerous obstacles when studying the complexities of the multicentered *metropolitan regions* that now characterize urban society in the United States and across the globe.

The human ecology paradigm gives undue prominence to one factor—technological innovation—in explanations of urban growth and change. As noted earlier, Roderick McKenzie viewed changes in the metropolitan region as the product of shifts in transportation technology. This approach created problems for other human ecologists who followed McKenzie. Amos Hawley, for example, was interested in explaining two aspects of change in the postwar period: the massive growth of suburbanization and the restructuring of central city areas away from manufacturing and toward administration. In explaining these changes, he dropped the early ecologists' concern for space itself. He viewed social organization as fundamentally produced by the technologies of communication and transportation. As the technology of these means of interaction changed, so did the patterns of social organization.

The ecological perspective remains active in urban sociology. The core biological metaphor has been retained, as well as the central view that social organization should be understood as a process of adaptation to the environment. As we have seen, ecologists avoid any mention of social groupings such as classes or ethnic, racial, and gender differences. Urban ecologists see life as a process of adaptation rather than competition over scarce resources that often brings conflict. They have a limited conception of the economy, which still is viewed as simply the social organization of functions and division of labor—a conception that neglects the dynamics of capitalism and the global system. Although they emphasize ecological location, they ignore aspects of the real estate industry and its role in developing space. Finally, urban ecologists often ignore the important political institutions that administer and regulate society and affect everyday life through the institutional channeling of resources. Their emphasis is on the push factors or the demand-side view, which neglects the powerful supply-side causes of growth and change in the metropolis. We will examine the factors responsible for the development of the multicentered metropolitan region in the next chapter as we explore the new urban sociology.

KEY CONCEPTS

gemeinschaft / gesellschaft
mechanical solidarity / organic solidarity
modernity
urbanism
rational calculation
blasé attitude
human ecology
concentric zones
sector theory
multiple nuclei
size / density / heterogeneity
Chicago School of urban sociology
social area analysis
factorial ecology
urban ecology

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Early sociologists shared a common vision of the consequences of industrialization and urbanization for social organization. What did Georg Simmel, Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim, and others see as the consequences of the shift from village life to the modern city?
2. Georg Simmel ultimately felt that urban life would result in greater individual freedom. Why is this likely to be the case?
3. In the text you have examined several competing models of urban structure: concentric zones, sector theory, and multiple nuclei. Explain how each of these models could be used to explain the development of the city that you live in. Which of these models gives the best explanation for the development of your city?
4. Roderick McKenzie wrote about the development and importance of metropolitan regions. Why was this important work overlooked by other human ecologists? How is McKenzie's work similar to the discussion of the multinucleated metropolitan region emphasized in this textbook?
5. In the 1960s and 1970s human ecologists sought to apply new computer technologies to the study of urbanization. What are some of the results of this research? What did human ecologists see as the limitations of their theoretical model and of its application for studying urbanization in other parts of the world?

CHAPTER 4

CONTEMPORARY URBAN SOCIOLOGY

At the beginning of this text, we discussed several conceptual changes that are the hallmark of the new urban sociology. These include a shift to a global perspective on capitalism and the metropolis; the inclusion of factors such as class exploitation, racism, gender, and space in the analysis of metropolitan development; an attempt, when possible, to integrate economic, political, and cultural factors of analysis; special attention to the pull factors of real estate investment and government intervention; and the shift to a multicentered, regional approach to cities and suburbs. These concepts constitute the *sociospatial* approach.

Since the 1970s, a great deal of creative work has been accomplished by numerous writers who have challenged orthodox ideas of city development. One of the most interesting observations about this effort is that much of it has been carried out by people in other fields and even in other countries. Only recently has U.S. urban sociology been influenced by new theories. Second, regardless of the international scope and intellectual diversity, most of the new theories have their origin in the ideas of Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels and their analyses of capitalism. This chapter examines this "political economic" approach. Although this perspective represents a considerable advance over those discussed in the previous chapter, mainly because the latter simply ignore the important role of economic and political factors, it also has its limitations. Sociologists have tried to tailor the approach of political economy to the needs of their discipline. In the concluding sections of this chapter, we discuss those attempts and our perspective, the sociospatial approach of this text.

As part of an evaluability assessment (see Chapter 5), evaluators working under contract to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reviewed the design of family preservation programs (FPPs). FPPs are time-limited, intensive home-based services to families in crisis that are intended to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The evaluators held discussions with the staff of federal and national private sector agencies about the definition of FPPs, reviewed available literature, obtained descriptions of state and local programs, and made site visits to four programs. From this information they developed "models" of how the programs were supposed to operate and then obtained the views of policymakers, program managers, and operating-level staff on four key dimensions: (a) program goals, (b) aspects of the child welfare system that affect the programs, (c) the target population, and (d) the characteristics that distinguish FPPs from other home-based services. Based on their own analysis and discussions with an expert advisory committee, the evaluators concluded that, as currently designed, FPPs could not achieve the policymakers' primary goal of preventing placement in foster care. The major flaw found in the program design was the practical difficulty of identifying children at "imminent risk" of placement; this meant that programs could not consistently target families with children truly at risk of placement.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE CITY

Marx, Weber, and Engels

The classical sociologists Karl Marx and Max Weber turned to historical analysis in exploring their ideas regarding the general laws of social development. Both understood that societies were organized around integrated systems of economics, politics, and culture. Marx emphasized the dominance of economic considerations in analysis, whereas Weber explored the way cultural and political factors affected individual behavior and social history along with economic activity. The two approaches served to complement each other.

Marx also recognized that the interests of capital and labor are not the same. Because profit results from the difference between the costs of production (raw material, machinery, and labor) and the price for which a commodity can be sold in the market, capitalist producers look for any way possible to reduce the costs of production (Marx, 1967). Marx's analysis is as relevant for the monopoly capitalism of the present day as it was for the industrial capitalism of his time. In the past several decades, we have seen the displacement of workers by automation, a dramatic increase in immigration, and the movement of manufacturing to Third World countries—all of which are consequences of corporations seeking to lower their labor costs, and all of which dramatically impact the people and the built environment of urban and suburban settlement space across the world.

Marx wrote very little about the city in his classic *Capital* (1967; originally published in 1867), whereas Weber included some passages about the nature of the city in a much larger text, *Economy and Society* (1968; originally published as separate pieces beginning in the 1880s). For Marx, the early history of capitalism was a struggle between social relations located within urban areas and those situated in the countryside within feudal manors. For Weber, the city developed because of its political power—in particular, the independence of city residents and their local government from feudal authority. In both cases, Marx and Weber showed how modes of social organization, such as feudalism or capitalism, work through a form of space—the city—and the social relations situated within that spatial form. It is this perspective that informs the approach of political economy to settlement space.

For example, Weber argued that during the feudal period in the European Middle Ages, traders and craftspeople set up towns and bargained for protection from the king against the activities of local feudal lords. In these towns, capitalism began to thrive through trade in goods and eventually overtook the feudal economy. Thus, as capitalism became a dominating force in Europe, it also created the modern city. The political economy perspective studies social processes within urban space and links them to processes occurring at the general level of society.

Whereas Marx and Weber had comparatively little to say about the industrial city of capitalism, Friedrich Engels devoted extensive attention to the topic. We already mentioned his study of the conditions of the working class in nineteenth-century England and his field observations of the "great towns," Manchester in particular. For Engels, the industrial city was the best place to study the general aspects of capitalism as a social system, just as the factory was the best place to study the specific details of the relationship between capital and labor. Engels picked the city of Manchester because it was built up as capitalism developed in England, as opposed to other cities, such as London, which had a long-established history.

Engels observed several aspects of capitalism at work within the urban space. First, he noted that capitalism had a "double tendency" of concentration: It concentrated capital investment, or money, as well as workers. This centralizing process made industrial production easier because of the large scale and close proximity of money and people. Second, Engels observed that as Manchester developed, investment moved away from the old center and extended farther out to the periphery. Unlike Burgess, but very much like Harris and Ullman and the sociospatial approach, Engels pictured growth as a multiplication of centers. For him this followed no particular pattern, and he observed that capitalism unregulated by government planning produced a spatial chaos of multiplying minicenters.

Third, among other important observations, Engels focused on the social problems created by the breakdown of traditional society and the operation of capitalism. In Manchester, he noticed examples of extreme poverty and deprivation: homelessness, orphan beggars, prostitution, alcoholism, and violence. For him this misery was the result of exploitation at the place of work, which went largely unseen in the factory itself, along with the failure of capitalism to provide adequate housing for everyone. Engels connected conditions in the workplace with those in the living space, or what Marxists call the *extended conditions* of capital accumulation, which involve the reproduction of social relations that ensure the continued use of the working class across the generations. For example, if problems such as poverty and homelessness become too severe, they can threaten the ability of working-class families to produce new generations of workers. This would then threaten the future of the capitalist system. Hence, neighborhood or living-space relations and the quality of daily life

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are just as important to the survival of capitalism as are relations at the place of work.

In addition to the problems of poverty, Engels observed that the city of Manchester was a segregated space. Rich and poor lived in separate neighborhoods. Engels concluded that capitalism produces this spatial isolation of the classes. The sum total of all these social problems is described by the term uneven development, which conveys both the disparity between rich and poor and their segregation in space. We use this concept frequently in subsequent chapters.

Uneven Development

Urban and suburban settlement spaces grow and develop because of capital investment. The ebb and flow of money determines community well-being. It is not simply the fact that jobs are created; the resulting economic activity generates tax revenue that is used partly by local government to fund public projects that improve the quality of community life. But spending, both public and private, is not uniformly distributed across metropolitan space. Some places receive much more investment than others. Even within cities there are great differences between those sections that are beehives of economic activity and those that seem scarcely touched by commerce and industry.

Within any given business, there are also great disparities between workers who are well paid and those who get the minimum salary. Wages are carried home to neighborhoods, and a significant portion is spent in the local area. Hence, the well-being of a place depends not only on the amount of investment it can attract but also on the wealth of its residents.

In the metropolitan region, the variation in the affluence of particular places is called *uneven development.* It is a characteristic of our type of society with its economic system of capitalism, but, as we will see in Chapters 12 and 13, it is also characteristic of other societies, some of which have communist rather than capitalist economies. People with money seek to invest in places and enterprises that will bring them the highest rate of return. Profit drives the capitalist system. But this profit making is usually expected to occur in a short time period and with the largest return possible. Consequently, investors look carefully at opportunities and always try to invest their money where it will achieve its greatest return. This process causes uneven development. Impacts on quality of life increase as capital becomes increasingly mobile. At present, capital is more mobile than ever before in history. The ability to move capital investments from one country or region to another in search of the lowest costs and highest profit margins has immense consequences for individual places.

The changes that have occurred since the late 1960s in Silicon Valley, the high-tech showcase of California, illustrate this pattern. In the 1960s, when the printed-circuit industry was first expanding, all operations, including manufacturing, research and development, and marketing, were located within Silicon Valley. By the late 1960s, one of the leading manufacturers, Fairchild, transferred its manufacturing operations to plants in Mexico, leaving thousands of U.S. workers jobless. Soon, other electronic assembly plants followed the Fairchild lead, and by the 1970s most of the manufacturing operations of Silicon Valley had been transferred to other countries with cheaper labor. By that time, too, Western owners of corporations had discovered that operating in Mexico was not as cheap as production in Asia. Hence, many plants were shut down and work was transferred to Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore, then to Malaysia and Indonesia, and more recently to Sri Lanka. Silicon Valley residents lament the speed with which the boom and bust cycle played itself out in that region. Recently, the region has rebounded with a new boom that has been reflected in high housing prices.

As a result of the disincentive to invest in places that offer little in the way of economic returns, uneven development usually becomes more acute over time. This pattern increases the polarization between those places that are poor and those that are thriving. These spatial disparities result in different life chances for metropolitan residents. As Engels observed in Manchester, inequities create a problem of social justice as the less affluent members of the working class find it difficult to raise families that will acquire a reasonable, productive status in society.

Because of uneven development, society tends to degenerate into a two-tiered structure in which a small group of affluent people is surrounded by a sea of poverty. In the United States, however, government has intervened and provided a safety net of programs that attempts to prop up the bottom stratum. Unemployment insurance, aid to families, subsidized housing, and job training are a few of the ways government agencies use tax revenues to fight the inherent tendency of capitalist activities to produce uneven development. Over the years, however, despite periods of prosperity, the problems of the poor have been little ameliorated by government programs (Jencks, 1992). Thus, new techniques of public policy are sorely needed.

Metropolitan areas today are besieged by the uneven nature of capitalist development. Job security and planning for the future are jeopardized for people in communities across the nation. Extremes of poverty and wealth characterize metropolitan life. This clash between rich and poor in the city was also observed more than one hundred years ago by writers in the industrial

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towns of England. What is new and different today is the global extent of uneven development and the way the cyclical nature of growth affects people and places across the world.

THE REVIVAL OF URBAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: HENRI LEFEBVRE

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Marxian tradition was revived in social science. Urban analysis was initially affected minimally in this country but was greatly affected in France by the philosopher Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre is without question the seminal source of new thinking on the city from a critical and Marxian perspective (Lefebvre, 1991). His accomplishments can be viewed as encompassing major four ideas:

1. He went back to the work of Marx and Engels on the city and extracted from their writing an urban political economy. That is, Lefebvre showed how it was possible to use economic categories such as capital investment, profit, rent, wages, class exploitation, and uneven development in the analysis of cities. In effect, he argued that the city development process was as much a product of the capitalist system as anything else—the production of shoes, for example. The same operation of the economy applies in both cases.

2. Lefebvre showed how Karl Marx's work on the city was limited. He introduced the idea of the circuits of capital, particularly the notion that real estate is a separate circuit of capital. For example, we often think of economic activity as involving the use of money by an investor of capital, the hiring of workers, their production of products in a factory, and the selling of the goods in a market for a profit, which can then be used for more investment. Automobile production would be a good example of this circuit. Lefebvre called all such industrial activity the "primary circuit of capital."

Much of the wealth created in a capitalist society is of this type. But for Lefebvre there was a "second circuit of capital," real estate investment. For example, the investor in land chooses a piece of property and buys it; the land either is simply held onto or is developed into some other use; it is then sold in a special market for land, the real estate market, or developed as housing for a profit. The circuit is completed when the investor takes that profit and reinvests it in more land-based projects. Lefebvre argued that the second circuit of capital is almost always attractive as investment because there usually is money to be made in real estate. As we have seen in the development of the United States, investment in land was an important means for the acquisition of wealth. But in addition, investment in real estate pushed the growth of cities in specific ways.

3. Lefebvre introduced the idea that real estate is a special case of the dynamics of settlement space. For Lefebvre, social activities are not only about interaction among individuals but about space as well. Social activities take place in space. They also produce a space by creating objects. The city-building process, for example, creates a certain space. When we visit a city, we experience particular attributes of the space that was created in that area. Other city spaces may be different, although places produced by similar social systems tend to resemble each other, such as the close resemblance of suburbia in California and Virginia or the similarities between the United States and Australia.

Lefebvre therefore introduced the idea of space as a component of social organization, as we discussed in Chapter 1. When people discuss social interaction, they are implicitly talking about behavior in space as well. Space is involved in a dual sense: as an influence on behavior and, in turn, as the end result of construction behavior, as people alter space to suit their own needs.

4. Finally, Lefebvre discussed the role of government in space. The state uses space for social control. Government places fire stations and police departments in various locations across the metropolis in order to respond quickly to distress. The state controls a large amount of land and utilizes it in its administration of government. It dispenses resources and collects taxes according to spatial units such as cities, counties, individual states, and regions. Government also makes decisions and relays them to individuals across the network of administrative units, that is, from the national level back down to the separate regions, individual states, counties, cities, and ultimately neighborhoods.

Lefebvre argued that the way capital investors, or businesspeople, and the state think about space is according to its abstract qualities of dimension—size, width, area, location—and profit. This he called "abstract space." In addition, however, individuals use the space of their environment as a place to live. Lefebvre called this interactively used space of everyday life "social space." For him the uses proposed by government and business for abstract space, such as in the planning of a large city or suburban development of new houses, may conflict with the existing social space, the way residents currently use space. Lefebvre said that the conflict between abstract and social space is a basic one in society and that it ranks with the separate conflict among classes, though it is often different. With this view, he departed from the Marxian perspective, which holds that class conflict is the basic force in the history of capitalism.

Lefebvre is responsible for many of the ideas that inform the sociospatial perspective. He also influenced the thinking of other urbanists and

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EXHIBIT 2-L
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encouraged them to develop ideas of their own. In the following sections, we survey some contemporary urban approaches and describe how the ideas of Lefebvre, in some cases, and those of the classical thinkers Marx, Engels, and Weber, in other cases, have influenced new theories of urban development.

CLASS CONFLICT THEORIES: GORDON, STORPER AND WALKER, AND CASTELLS

A class conflict approach to urban development was introduced by the economist David Gordon (1977, 1984). He suggested that the locations chosen by capitalists for factories were affected not only by economic needs but also by the desire to remove their workers from areas of union organizing. According to Gordon, owners of businesses prefer to locate in places where workers are not as militant as they are in cities with a long labor tradition.

To prove his point, he studied a period in U.S. history when workers were especially militant: the late 1800s through the early 1900s. He calculated the number of workers engaged in strikes during those years and matched it with the number of times owners of factories decided to relocate to the suburbs or to more isolated satellite cities. The matchup was significant for the years between 1880 and 1910. Hence, the need to control labor conflict by relocating to the outlying areas of large cities was a very early reason that urban development assumed a regional, multicentered form, because it led to the suburbanization of factories (see Chapter 6).

Two geographers, Michael Storper and David Walker, have expanded Gordon's approach (Storper, 1984; Storper and Walker, 1983). They view labor-force considerations as the principal locational variable. By doing so they argue against the received wisdom of traditional location theory, which asserts that businesses choose to locate in a specific place because of marketing and production costs (including transportation), a view that is similar to that of urban ecologists (see Chapter 3).

For example, studies of the shift in manufacturing to Asia note that it is caused predominantly by labor-force considerations (Peet, 1987). These include not only the presence of cheap labor but also the particular qualities of the workers. In the case of the electronics and garment industries in Asia, the workforce is overwhelmingly female, young, and unmarried. These laborers are advertised by development officials as providing a docile, easily controlled workforce (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1987).

According to the class conflict approach, then, any given nation has regions that vary with regard to the quality of labor. In part, the quality of schools and training facilities is responsible for this. However, the presence of a union tradition in the local area is also considered. Finally, particular cultural conditions, such as extreme patriarchy that subjugates women workers, are also important for creating a docile labor force.

An interesting variation on the conflict perspective was devised by the European sociologist Manuel Castells (1977, 1983). He was familiar with the early work of Lefebvre since they both lived in Paris, but Castells broke with him and followed the ideas of more orthodox Marxists. Castells suggested, however, that traditional Marxian analysis was limited when dealing with social movements in cities. In particular, advanced countries had highly developed welfare states; that is, the national government supported a variety of social programs for all workers, such as unemployment insurance and subsidized housing, that sustained people's quality of life. Most often welfare programs were administered by local, that is, city governments. Struggles for resources by residents of the city therefore often took the form of conflicts aimed at local government rather than the capitalist class.

For Castells, the unique aspects of urban sociology as a special field of inquiry were defined by the issues arising from city government's administration of worker subsidies, such as housing, mass transportation, education, health, and welfare. This created the conditions for a special kind of conflict that did not fall into the traditional Marxian category of disputes between labor and capital. Yet state-supported resources were necessary for the reproduction of the working class; that is, state intervention provided for the "extended conditions" of capitalism, as we discussed in the case of Engels. Thus, urban struggles were a new form of conflict (Castells, 1983) produced by the modern form of capitalist social organization—namely, welfare capitalism. Such social movements are highly significant for the study of urban sociology.

CAPITAL ACCUMULATION THEORY: DAVID HARVEY

When sociologists discuss economics, they usually think in general terms and focus on individuals such as wealthy businesspeople who own companies. Class conflict theory goes beyond individuals to discuss group behavior—particularly, the structural clash between the capitalist class of owners or investors and the class of workers who sell their labor for a wage.

David Harvey applied this structural Marxian economic analysis to the condition of the cities. He was especially influenced by the earlier writings of Lefebvre on the urban analysis of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

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In his case study of urban development in Baltimore, Harvey asks how returns to the ownership of land or property can be understood when "the distinction between capitalist and landlord has blurred concomitantly with the blurring of the distinctions between land and capital and rent and profit" (1985:65). Harvey defines a specific category called "class-monopoly rent" as the return on property owned in cities. He suggests that the ability to earn this money is contingent on a combination of factors involving both a variety of financial institutions and government subsidies. Hence, the process of earning money from real estate is quite complex and varies from location to location. Thus, the structural or institutional aspects of the real estate market and the quest for a profit explain differences in population location.

To demonstrate this point, Harvey divided Baltimore City into eight real estate submarkets. Each of these submarkets had its own dynamic of investing and selling. Harvey used data for 1970 and obtained the following results.

First, urban development is not some monolithic process of growth (as the growth machine perspective suggests; see next section). The second circuit of capital is composed of a variety of arrangements, each with its own set of social factors, conflicts, and possibilities in determining the level and quality of investment in real estate.

Second, the second circuit of capital consists of a combination of private financial institutions, community banks, and assorted government programs that support housing in different ways. Real estate is not a pure case of private enterprise but involves the government in direct ways. Speculators, developers, homeowners, and renters react differently in these separate environments, and while some people are simply interested in owning a home, others are out to make money any way they can.

Third, the housing market in the United States discriminates against African Americans and the poor. Inner-city African Americans have it the worst. They must finance most of their transactions by cash payment. Banks will not lend to them. Poor white ethnics also have trouble obtaining bank support, but they have managed to establish community savings and loans to help them out. Only the middle and upper classes have free access to loans, with fully 75 percent of such households obtaining bank financing.

Finally, the discrimination against poor and/or African Americans people is also revealed in the data on government-sponsored insurance. Inner-city and ethnic areas cannot obtain such support. However, more affluent sections have no trouble getting FHA or VA insurance. In short, the real estate market not only works through a complex assortment of combined public and private resources but also reinforces the inequities and uneven development of the society.

Harvey took a detailed look at the capitalist class and how it made money within the space of the city. He borrowed the concept of circuits of capital from Lefebvre and elaborated on his ideas. In particular, Harvey argued that capitalists involved in the first industrial circuit (that is, manufacturing and commerce) are principally interested in location within the urban environment and in reducing their costs of manufacturing. Capitalists in the second circuit hold a different set of priorities relating to the flow of investment and the realization of interest on money loaned or rent on property owned. These differences are reflected in the different ways capital investment circulates within the two circuits.

Whereas investment in factories is often located in places with cheap housing, capitalists in the second circuit often refuse to invest in poorer areas and seek out only the higher-rent districts of the city. As a consequence, areas of the city can become run-down and abandoned not because of the actions of industrial capital, the faction that we usually think of as determining city fortunes, but because of actions taken by investors in real estate, as the sociospatial perspective suggests. In the Baltimore study, both suburbanization of the population and central city decay were linked to the priorities of the second circuit of capital as assisted by government programs. Harvey's work bears out the importance of Lefebvre's ideas concerning the real estate industry and of Engels's central insight into the production of uneven development under capitalism.

In sum, both the class conflict and capital accumulation approaches of the new urban sociology provide impressive improvements over more traditional perspectives. The world today is a volatile one where the predictable accommodations of work, shopping, and residential living characteristic of the industrial city have been shattered. Economic factors such as the ebb and flow of real estate investment and the changing structure of manufacturing in a global system affect the sociospatial features of daily life. So do the activities of workers involved in the struggle lying at the heart of the capital/labor relationship, and the residents of communities who are concerned about maintaining their quality of life. Each of these aspects helps determine the pattern of sociospatial organization.

THE GROWTH MACHINE

The approach that views cities as "growth machines" is most closely associated with the work of Harvey Molotch and his collaboration with John Logan (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Molotch was dissatisfied with the traditional ecological approach to urban development and was highly influenced by new

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work carried out among French urbanists inspired by Lefebvre and Castells (Pickvance, 1976). Molotch was especially taken with the studies by Lamarche (1976) on the role of property development in the city. The focus of urban change involves the activities of a select group of real estate developers who represent a separate class that Marx once called the "rentiers." This concept is at direct odds with Harvey's view of the capitalist class, because under capitalism anyone can invest in real estate simply by purchasing land or buying a house.

For Molotch, the interests of the rentier class mesh well with the needs of local government, because government is in constant need of new tax revenue sources. As increasing numbers of people enter an urban area, their demand for services strains fiscal budgets. Without new sources of revenue, city governments cannot maintain the quality of life, and the region is threatened with a decrease in prosperity. Property development is a major source of new tax revenue. New people also bring new demands for city goods and services, which aids the business community and, in turn, increases revenues to local government. In short, according to Molotch, cities are "growth machines" because they have to be. Pushed from behind by demands for community quality and pulled from the front by the aggressive activities of the rentiers, city governments respond by making growth and development their principal concerns.

Molotch's approach might be considered the exact opposite of the one advocated by David Harvey. For Harvey, spatial development is explained by the structural drive for capital accumulation in real estate. For Molotch, structural factors have little to do with urban change. Both perspectives focus on only one aspect of the more complex development process.

THE SOCIOSPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

How can we make sense of the various ideas offered by new urban theories? This text adopts the sociospatial perspective (SSP), which takes what is best from the new ideas while avoiding the endemic reductionism characteristic of both traditional ecology and recent Marxian political economy. It does not seek explanation by emphasizing a principal cause such as transportation technology (Hawley), capital circulation (Harvey), or production processes (Scott). Rather, it takes an integrated view of growth as the linked outcome of economic, political, and cultural factors. At one time, it might have been suggested that such an integrated view derives from the tradition of Weber. However, since the 1950s, even Marxists have looked for ways to advance an

integrated perspective (see Althusser, 1971), and this is especially important for the understanding of space (see Lefebvre, 1991).

Real Estate and Government Intervention

The sociospatial perspective (SSP) is inspired by the work of Lefebvre as applied to the needs of urban sociology by Feagin (1983, 1988) and Gottdiener (1977, 1985) and their collaboration (1988). The SSP can be distinguished from other approaches by the following characteristics. First, it considers real estate development as the leading edge of changes in the metropolitan region. Whereas other approaches tend to focus only on economic changes in industry, commerce, and services, the SSP adds to these important dimensions an interest in the way real estate molds metropolitan growth. Second, the sociospatial perspective considers government intervention and the interests of politicians in growth as a principal factor in metropolitan change. Traditional urban ecology and the newer approaches of urban political economy either ignore completely the role of government in channeling growth or treat the state as simply derivative of economic interests. The SSP considers the state to be relatively autonomous—that is, with officials having interests of their own—and, more specifically, considers politics to be highly linked to the concerns of property development (Gottdiener, 1986).

Third, the sociospatial perspective considers the role of cultural orientations as critical for an understanding of metropolitan life. Because of the importance of this subject, the role of urban cultures is considered in more detail in Chapters 8 and 9.

Finally, the SSP takes a global view of metropolitan development. Most local areas today are tied to the activities of multinational corporations and banks. Changes in the way they invest affect every resident. By emphasizing global economic changes, however, the sociospatial perspective also seeks to understand how local and national factors interrelate with international links. All spatial levels of organization are important in understanding metropolitan development. In the following section, let us review some of these features while keeping in mind the differences between the SSP and other sociological perspectives discussed in this and previous chapters. In particular, we will see how the sociospatial perspective is much more sophisticated and useful than either the growth machine approach or the traditional ecology paradigm.

Real Estate Investment as the Leading Edge of Growth

From the earlier chapters on urbanization in the United States, we have seen that interest in real estate profits played a central part in urban development.

George Washington not only was the first president of the country but also participated in the innovative scheme to develop the swampland that became the site of the nation's capital. During the 1800s, great profits were made by businesses as the country industrialized, but they were also made through investment in land. Cyrus McCormick earned millions from the manufacture of his famous reaper, but millions more from his activities in real estate. Railroad tycoons competed with one another by building the infrastructure that opened up the great landmass of the United States to development, but they also established towns and developed real estate as they went along. Finally, over the past several decades, we have seen that the shifts to suburbia and the Sunbelt were fueled in part by the phenomenal expansion of the single-family home industry and the development of lands outside the large central cities of the Northeast and Midwest.

The sociospatial perspective argues that other perspectives have neglected the important role played by investment in real estate in the process of regional development. Traditional urban sociology or ecology, for example, overemphasizes the push factor of technology as an agent of change. Marxian political economy pays special attention to the activities of capitalists and the way changes in industrial investment patterns affect local spaces. The SSP acknowledges push factors, such as changes in economic production and transportation innovations, but also highlights the role of pull factors, such as government intervention and the action of real estate—the second circuit of capital—as crucial explanations of metropolitan growth. Both demand-side and supply-side dynamics are studied in detail.

The sociospatial perspective stresses the human dimension along with structural arrangements. The model identifies who the actors are and how they behave, not just the facts or figures about aggregate levels of growth and change. Activities involve people acting as part of socioeconomic class factions, or of gender, racial, and ethnic interests. How people come together in the struggles that sometimes emerge over the impact of urban development is an important question for anyone interested in the study of urban sociology (see our discussion of community movements in the United States and in developing nations in Chapters 11 and 15) But the sociospatial perspective does not view these movements simply as the result of a single political movement or machine.

Feagin (1983), for example, discusses specifically the variety of ways real estate developers and speculators create development projects and channel money to real estate investment. Agents of growth include financial conduits such as commercial banks and trust or pension funds, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, mortgage companies, and real estate investment

trusts; real estate brokers and chamber of commerce members; and public utilities and other relatively immobile public service agencies that must work to maintain the attractiveness of specific places. Real estate, therefore, is composed of both individual actors and a structure of financial conduits that channel investment into land.

Gottdiener (1977) has also shown how both structure and agency are important for an understanding of real estate activities. His case study of suburban Long Island, New York, identifies the following types of social roles assumed by investors in the built environment:

1. Land speculators who purchase land or buildings simply to be sold at a later date for a profit.
2. Land developers who purchase land with or without housing and then develop it by constructing housing or other built structures such as factories or malls. To this type can be added developers who restructure the uses of land and buildings, such as those who convert rental units into condominiums, single-family housing into multifamily dwellings, and residential housing into office space.
3. Homeowners and individuals who invest in property as part of an overall scheme for the protection of income and not just to acquire shelter.
4. Local politicians who are dependent on campaign funds from the real estate industry. and lawyers or other professionals who make money from government-mandated requirements that necessitate legal services.
5. Individual companies or corporations that do not specialize in real estate but develop choice locations for their respective businesses, such as office towers or industrial plants, and a host of financial institutions, such as savings and loans, that channel investment into land.

The preceding list of institutional and private interests involved in the development of the metropolitan region reveals that growth is not simply determined by economic "push" factors of production, as both the class conflict and capital accumulation perspectives maintain, or by a special class of people called *rentiers*, as the growth machine approach emphasizes. Development is caused by the pull factor of people's activities involved in the second circuit of capital, real estate. This sector is not simply a select group of investors, as adherents tö the growth machine model assert, but is composed of both *actors* interested in acquiring wealth from real estate and a *structure* that channels money into the built environment. The latter consists of a host of financial intermediaries such as banks, mortgage companies, and

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real estate investment trusts, which allow a large variety of people to put their money in land.

Because the second circuit of capital enables anyone, even individual homeowners, to invest money in real estate for profit, it is erroneous to divide society into the select few who seek to make money in real estate (exploiting its exchange value) and the great majority who seek only to enjoy the built environment as a staging ground for everyday life (the exploitation of space's use value). Instead, space can be enjoyed for its uses and for its investment potential by both business and local residents. In fact, that's what makes the relationship of society to space so complicated. Space is *simultaneously* a medium of use and a source of wealth under capitalist commodity arrangements.

Because developing the built environment involves so many different interests, growth or change is always a contentious affair. These inherently conflicting interests have vital theoretical and empirical implications for the study of urban sociology, especially the role of the state, which we discuss next.

Government Intervention and Political Agency

The sociospatial perspective suggests that metropolitan growth is the outcome of negotiations and contending interests, rather than the product of some well-oiled machine without conflict. Developers, for example, must negotiate with government planners and politicians, citizen groups voice their concerns in public forums, and special interests such as utility companies or religious organizations also interject their stakes and culturally defined symbolic visions in metropolitan growth. The end result of these negotiations is a built environment that is *socially constructed,* involving many diverse interests.

The absence of a separate class of growth mongers means that the conceptualization of local politics by the growth machine perspective is limited. Feagin (1988) shows how powerful economic interests use the state to subsidize growth; hence development often reflects the direct interests of industrial and financial capital rather than some select, separate class of rentiers. Gottdiener (1977, 1985) indicates how local politicians are intimately involved with development interests. The purpose of this alliance is not growth and increased public revenues per se, as it is viewed by the growth machine, but *profit.* In this sense, those with an interest in growth comprise two groups: factions of capital involved in the accumulation process, and community interests concerned about growth's impact on quality of life. It is this melding of profit taking and environmental concerns that is most characteristic of settlement space development, and it involves a second source of complexity in the society/space relationship.

The interests aligned around issues of change in the built environment should be seen as *growth networks* rather than as the monolithic entities suggested by the concept of a "machine" (Gottdiener, 1985). The idea of networks captures the way alliances can form around a host of issues associated with development, often splitting classes into factions. The concept of network captures the diversity of people who may join, often only temporarily, to pursue particular growth paths. What counts is not necessarily the push for growth but the way different community factions perceive the form growth will take and how they evaluate their own environmental needs. There is a rich complexity of people and interests involved in metropolitan growth and change that is captured neither by the ecological or political economy perspectives—because they ignore particular agents—nor by the growth machine approach, which reduces conflict to a simple dichotomy of pro- and anti-growth factions.

The Global Economy

Finally, the sociospatial approach agrees with all other perspectives in acknowledging the important role of the global economy, the new mobile or "flexible" arrangements in production, and their effects on the restructuring of settlement space. Often perspectives identified with the "new" urban sociology stress the effect of the global system as the key determinant of metropolitan change (see Smith and Feagin, 1987; Palen, 1991). But the push factors of capital mobility and the considerations regarding the international division of labor, discussed earlier, are not the only determinants of growth. The pull factors of state policies and the second circuit of capital are also important, particularly as manifested at the local, regional, and national levels.

The sociospatial approach gives us a more integrated view of push and pull factors associated with growth. The influence of the global system does have a profound effect on the fortunes of place, but unlike other approaches (see Logan and Molotch, 1987; Sassen, 1991; Smith and Feagin, 1987), the sociospatial perspective does not assert that it has a sole determining effect. This can be seen in the development of the Sunbelt. Although the U.S. economy had become integrated into the world system in the postwar period, development patterns of deconcentration to suburbs and Sunbelt regions had been going on for many years, even prior to the 1960s when the restructuring of the global system began to be felt. The shifts to the suburbs and the Sunbelt are the two most important sociospatial changes in recent U.S. history, but neither can be said to have been produced by the power of the global economy. These shifts have their roots in growth trends that have been going on for

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years and that involve important aspects of both government intervention and the phenomenal draw of real estate investment.

Changes in the global economy have had a profound effect on the built environment. The decline of manufacturing in the United States and the transfer of many production activities abroad have wiped out the traditional relation between central city working-class communities and their capitalist employers. The economy of our largest cities has restructured away from manufacturing and toward specialization in advanced services and information processing, particularly those business services required by the finance capital faction that coordinates investment activity for the global economy (Sassen, 1991). The record high of the stock market and record low in unemployment through the 1990s did not alter this longer-term trend of restructuring of the urban economy and increasing economic polarization of urban space. All these changes have affected the nature of the local labor force and altered living and working arrangements. We discuss some of these effects on the people of the metropolis in Chapters 8 and 9. Other effects of the restructuring initiated within the context of a global economy are considered in Chapters 10 and 11 when we look at metropolitan problems and policies, respectively. Finally, in Chapters 12 and 13, we discuss the effects of global restructuring on Third World cities and settlement spaces in European countries and Japan.

SUMMARY: THE SOCIOSPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

The sociospatial perspective involves ideas that distinguish it from previous sociological approaches.

First, it incorporates a number of different factors, instead of emphasizing one or two, that can account for development and change. It particularly seeks to provide a balanced account of both *push* and *pull* factors in metropolitan and regional growth.

Second, it considers the role of real estate in development as the combined activities of both agency and structure. Investment in land is a sector of capital accumulation with its own factions and cycles of boom and bust. The categories of political economy, such as profit, rent, interest, and value, are just as applicable to metropolitan development as to any other part of the economy.

Third, the sociospatial perspective strives for a detailed view of politics that emphasizes the activities of individuals and groups in the development process. The SSP focuses on the activities of certain *growth networks* that form coalitions interested in choices that must be made concerning the direction and impacts of change.

The sociospatial perspective considers cultural factors, such as race, gender, and the symbolic context of space, to be just as important as economic and political concerns. It also deals specifically with the special qualities of spatial forms and their role in the organization of society. At present, metropolitan life is played out within the context of an ever-expanding multicentered region. We have discussed the historical significance of this form of settlement space in previous chapters and discuss its significance for contemporary daily life in chapters to come.

Finally, the sociospatial perspective, along with other approaches, adopts a global view of development but does not claim that the world economy alone is responsible for the restructuring of settlement space. Global changes are particularly relevant for an understanding of how cities, suburbs, and regions have been affected by the economy in recent years. New spaces of industry, commerce, and services have helped redefine settlement patterns as multicentered regional development. Historically, however, the pull factors of government intervention and investment in real estate have also played an essential part in the restructuring of space.

KEY CONCEPTS

political economy
international division of labor
capital accumulation
flexible production
uneven development
second circuit of capital
abstract space
social space
labor theory of location
growth machine
use value / exchange value
financial conduits
urban growth networks
sociospatial perspective

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The new urban sociology has developed in part from earlier theoretical work in what is known as political economy. Who are some of the earlier sociologists identified

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with this theoretical perspective? What did they write about? How were their ideas incorporated into urban sociology and into sociological thinking more generally?

2. What is meant by *uneven development*? What causes uneven development to occur within a metropolitan region? What are the effects of uneven development on metropolitan growth? What are some examples of uneven development that you can see within the metropolitan region where you live?

3. Henri Lefebvre stands as the major theoretical figure in the development of urban political economy. What was his contribution to recent work in the new urban sociology? Identify three ideas that Henri Lefebvre wrote about and explain how they are used in urban sociology.

4. There are important differences between the class conflict and capital accumulation approaches of the new urban sociology. Discuss the work of one theorist from each of these approaches and explain the differences in their approaches to studying metropolitan regions.

5. John Logan and Harvey Molotch have suggested that urban development is driven forward by a *growth machine* that emphasizes the "exchange value" of urban property against the "use value" that local residents assign to their property. What are some of the limitations of this approach? How is the idea of the growth machine different from the sociospatial approach more generally?

6. What is meant by the *sociospatial approach* to urban sociology? Pick three features of this perspective and discuss how these are used to study metropolitan regions.

CHAPTER 5

URBANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Then the Lord rained down burning sulfur on Sodom and Gomorrah—from the Lord out of the heavens. Thus he overthrew those cities and the entire plain, including all those living in the cities—and also the vegetation in the land.

GENESIS 19

Americans have a long-standing distrust of cities and of city life. Thomas Jefferson (1977) suggested that cities were the source of evil and corruption that would threaten the young democracy's political system. Despite such sentiments, the growth of urban centers in the United States has been prolific and, as we already have seen in Chapter 1, has increased in recent decades. For much of our history, the everyday life of Americans has been defined in urban terms.

In many respects, development in the United States mirrors the same trends and effects of social forces unleashed in Western Europe. We experienced, for example, the same Industrial Revolution that swept through European countries in the late 1700s and 1800s and even contributed significantly to its technological breakthroughs. Everyone has probably heard of McCormick's reaper or Thomas A. Edison's light bulb. Such inventions helped the United States compete with industrial giants like England in the nineteenth century.

Yet, for all its close links to the Old World, the city-building process in the United States has exhibited several features that are different from urbanization found elsewhere. These include (1) the lack of walls or fortifications around cities; (2) real estate development as a major component in the economy of capitalism; (3) the ideology of privatism, which limits the role of the

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CHAPTER
7

PEOPLE AND LIFESTYLES IN THE METROPOLIS

In previous chapters, we studied the growth and development of metropolitan regions in the United States. This chapter and the one that follows concern the people of the metropolis and explore the relationship between everyday life and local territory. The *sociospatial approach to metropolitan life* asserts that diversity in lifestyles and subcultures exists not just within the city but throughout the metropolitan region. This is especially the case since 1980 as suburban settlement spaces have matured. In this chapter we consider the interplay between the social factors of income, gender, age, and race and the spatial patterns of population concentration or dispersal across the metropolitan region.

A *basic tenet of the sociospatial approach* is that social factors determining the patterns of population dispersal are also linked to particular spaces. Class or gender relations, for example, are conducted through spatial as well as social means. Lifestyle differences are externalized in a specific environment: the ghetto, the street corner, the mall, the golf course. Furthermore, these places are always meaningful. Interaction is shaped through the signs and symbols of sociospatial context. In this chapter we consider the effect of class standing on lifestyles, gender differences and everyday life, racial and minority distinctions, and new patterns of ethnic formation and immigration. The effects of class, gender, and race are so powerful in our society that we will also consider them in Chapter 10 when we discuss social problems. We will see how differences in sociospatial factors affect the way people live, their interactions with others, and their use of space.

CLASS STRATIFICATION AND SPATIAL LOCATION

Max Weber believed that an individual's class position is important because it helps determine the possible opportunities or constraints for future achievement open to any individual. Weber also suggested that economic factors of class status, such as the type of occupation or monetary resources that an individual possesses, are not the only determining factors of overall social status. One's social standing in the society's hierarchy also depends on particular cultural attributes, such as religion, ethnicity, or symbolic differences, and on the possession of political power. Thus, life chances differ according to economic, political, and cultural factors, but material wealth, as Karl Marx maintained, clearly is the most important of all social variables.

The United States is a stratified society. This means that individuals and households are located within a social hierarchy that determines their access to resources. Stratification is often pictured as a pyramid of social standing. Those at the very top control most of society's resources; they also enjoy the most symbolic prestige and political influence. Those below are the most numerous and have the least power. The United States, despite an active ideology that preaches equality, has the most unequal distribution of wealth of any industrialized nation (Philips, 1990). The top 1 percent of the population controls more than 70 percent of the wealth, and the top 5 percent controls more than 90 percent. Status considerations such as driving an expensive car, living in a large home, taking fabulous vacations, and wearing expensive clothing are greatly influenced by the media images of affluence and what life is supposed to be like at the top of the stratification diamond.

American culture and the lifestyles it supports connect the financial resources of individuals and families, expressed in our hierarchy of social stratification, to patterns of consumption. For this reason, sociologists often study how class differences in our society are expressed by different styles of consumption. Consumption patterns are also supported by credit card debt, housing loans, car loans, educational loans, buying through financing, and other arrangements that enable people to spend more than they earn. As we move through different local spaces within the metropolitan environment, we encounter a tremendous diversity in lifestyles. These differences are a function of relative class standing and, in turn, are expressed through the activity of consumption. While many persons in our society consume at a high level by incurring debt, they do so in distinct ways, thereby enabling us to observe lifestyle differences in the metropolitan region.

Research on the American class structure divides our society into a number of different groups based on what social scientists call *socioeconomic status*, or SES, which is a particular combination of wealth, occupation, education, gender, and race, among other factors (see Robertson, 1987). Many studies divide the population into five groups: the lower class, the working class, the lower middle class, the upper middle class, and the ruling class. Only the ruling class controls enough wealth to be considered independent from economic needs; many persons in the lower class do not have access to regular sources of income because of a lack of jobs in the inner city, while many working-class households have discovered that it is necessary for both husband and wife to work to support their families, and middle-class families find it increasingly difficult to maintain their standard of living due to stagnant wages and the declining dollar in the world economy.

Socioeconomic standing also involves the ability of the household to establish residence in a particular place. Thus, a significant component of socioeconomic status is determined by one's address and the symbolic reputation of particular neighborhoods within the metropolitan neighborhoods. It means something very different to live in the North Shore suburb or oceanfront town than it does to be from the "'hood" or to have grown up in the projects. In our society, due to stratification differences, the choice of residential location is not always voluntary. Restrictions of wealth, race, and gender are particularly potent sifters of population across the metropolitan regions. Socioeconomic difference and the system of social stratification therefore manifest themselves both as differences in individual lifestyles and as differences in residential neighborhood or local space. Let us consider some of the distinct ways stratification is reflected in this interaction between social relations and territorial practice, as the sociospatial perspective suggests.

The Wealthy

Members of the upper classes often have the advantage of owning several homes because they are able to afford them. Former President George Herbert Walker Bush, for example, for many years maintained residences in Houston, Texas; Washington, D.C.; and Kennebunkport, Maine. Many wealthy people alternate among townhouse, suburban estate, and rural recreational home. Obviously, at any given time the family can occupy just one of these residences, so multiple home ownership is a symbol of wealth and power that has some meaning and prestige in our society. In the city, the wealthy are associated with the more fashionable urban districts such as Nob Hill in San Francisco, Beverly Hills in Los Angeles, the Gold Coast near Lake Michigan in Chicago, Beacon Hill in Boston, and Park Avenue in New York City. Their activities take place within certain spaces that are allocated to the particular mix of restaurants, boutiques, and social clubs reserved for the upper class.

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One important way the wealthy manifest their power and status is by isolating themselves as much as possible from the rest of the population. This type of segregation is voluntary. In the city, voluntary segregation may be accomplished by living in ultra-expensive housing with security guards and controlled entrances. Even though public transportation and taxis are available, the wealthy often utilize private, door-to-door limousine services. Shopping and recreation are all located in heavily policed areas. Maintaining this level of isolation remains somewhat of a constant chore that taxes the resources of surveillance and control, requiring private security guards, apartment buildings with 24-hour doormen, and private schools or academies for children. In the suburbs or at country homes, however, the benefits of isolation are more readily enjoyed in gated communities and exclusive country clubs.

The upper class is not confined to city residence. One of the earliest studies of the affluent in suburbia was Thorsten Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). Although their wealth was evident in their behavior, the most important characteristics of the lifestyle were symbolic or cultural. Veblen coined the term conspicuous consumption to refer to this particular aspect of the affluent style of suburban life. This concept refers to an outward display of consumption that demonstrates wealth and power through the wasting of resources and the symbols of upper-class membership. The suburban homes of the wealthy, for example, were endowed with excess. Houses were huge, over 5,000 square feet or more, with many more rooms than were necessary to service the immediate family. Estates had large front and rear lawns that were landscaped and maintained by a staff of gardeners. Conspicuous consumption was symbolized by the landscaping of yards precisely because the land was allowed to lie uncultivated as a resource—the lawn was just for show.

The suburban lifestyle of the wealthy is focused on leisure activity as a sign of conspicuous consumption. This is particularly significant because symbols of leisure mean that people do not have to work. The suburban country club, costly to belong to and restrictive in its membership, is an essential component for the exclusive set. The fees usually run into the tens of thousands of dollars, thereby automatically keeping the working class out. In many parts of the country, clubs such as the Everglades Country Club in Florida prevented African Americans and Jews from belonging even if they could afford membership fees. The leisure activity of choice for the affluent is golf, and in recent years this game has come to symbolize suburban wealth and leisure itself, because golf is most often played at country clubs, and they require immense amounts of water and daily care. For the most affluent families in the largest cities and most exclusive suburbs, membership in the local polo club may be the most significant indication that the family has reached the top of the stratification pyramid.

Wealthy suburbanites maintain their isolation through mechanisms similar to those utilized in the city, such as the high price of homes, surveillance and control by private security forces, gate-guarded and enclosed communities, and the separation that comes from spatial dispersal itself. Whether we are dealing with the city or the suburbs, the wealthy tend to use topography to their advantage. Their homes are located at the greatest heights. In the suburbs, this often means that estates are built on the high ground, on hillsides or escarpments. In the city, this "God's eye view" is acquired with an apartment at the top of a luxury high-rise, and there is intense competition for the condominium that has the best view of the city.

In short, the wealthy possess a distinct lifestyle founded on class privilege and symbols of high social status. Their daily life manifests itself in space through unique molding of the environment to create isolation and exclusion. The wealthy also overcome the limitations of space by owning several residences, each with its own locational advantages. Whether living in the city or the country, their lifestyle, like any other, is sociospatial; that is, it is organized around expressive symbols (Fussell, 1983) and particular spaces.

Yuppies, Buppies, Dinks, and the Suburban Middle Class

A large proportion of central city residents are not members of the upper class but do have significant discretionary income because of monetary rewards associated with their chosen field of work. Since the 1970s, as manufacturing has declined in the city, there has been a phenomenal increase in service-related jobs (see Chapters 6 and 10). Many of these are professional positions created by the information-processing economy of the city, such as the financial and legal institutions associated with corporate headquarters. In previous chapters, we discussed how certain kinds of economic activity create or help reinforce lifestyles, community relations, and expressive symbols. The shift to information-processing professional services has also affected metropolitan settlement space by reinforcing certain upper-middle-class patterns of behavior. As with all other lifestyles in our society, socioeconomic standing and the financial resources of these groups are expressed through particular consumption patterns.

The term yuppy, or *young urban professional,* has acquired a derogatory connotation, but it is a very useful way to describe relatively young (late 20s to early 40s) middle-class professionals who live in the city. The same can be said for the term dink—double income, no kids—which describes yuppie couples without children. We should note that yuppies and dinks represent

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urban subpopulations characterized by their income, occupation, and lifestyle; they are not identified by ethnicity or race. As large numbers of African American college graduates entered the labor force in the 1980s, the term buppy was used to identify the *black urban professional.* Only recently have such components of the middle class achieved the kind of numbers that have attracted attention. According to Zukin (1991), yuppies were responsible for gentrification and the upgraded housing and renovation of older loft buildings in New York and other cities; their culinary demands spurred the opening of many new and often exotic restaurants; and their more specialized everyday needs, such as last-minute food shopping, health and fitness requirements, and reading and cinema tastes, have opened up new sectors of employment for a host of immigrant groups and working-class urban residents looking for entry-level service positions.

In the early 1980s, the leaders of many cities believed that the two-pronged explosion of jobs and spending related to the expansion of the business service sector would replace manufacturing as the key growth industry of urban areas. Indeed, places such as Pittsburgh (Jezierski, 1988) managed to change from centers of industry to focal points for global banking and investment. Restructuring of the financial and corporate business sectors with a consequent decline in the growth of jobs, however, occurred in the mid-1980s, cutting short this expansion. Especially significant were the changes occurring after the October 1987 "crash" of the New York stock market, which led to greater computerization of financial transactions, the reining in of risky ventures such as junk bonds, and the failure of several investment firms (Minsky, 1989). Throughout the 1990s, corporate downsizing led to the loss of tens of thousands of white-collar jobs in cities across the country. Hence, despite what was once believed, the place of yuppies in the revitalization of central cities may be overrated.

Most households that we would identify as part of the middle class do not live in the city. Decades of white flight for those who could afford to move to the ever-expanding suburbs have emptied the central city of much of the middle class (Egan, 2005). The majority of middle-class Americans have spread out and prospered across the vast expanses of developed housing tracts located in suburban settlement space throughout the metropolitan region. Middle-class suburban living might be thought of as the upper-class lifestyle within a more modest budget. Symbols of status abound in this kind of environment as well. The typical suburban home is a scaled-down replica of the upper-class estate. It consists of a front yard that is strictly ornamental and a backyard reserved for leisure. In the warmer parts of the country, the desirable backyard may contain a built-in swimming pool, which usually is no more than thirty feet long. The 1990s may be known as the decade of the backyard deck; most new middle-class homes have decks in the backyard where children play and adults cook on the gas barbecue, and home improvement chain stores have spread across the suburban landscape. While the upper-class estate requires a team of gardening and maintenance people to take care of the yard, the middle-class homeowner is a "do-it-yourselfer." Indeed, the stereotyped activities of the suburban male invariably involve fighting crabgrass in the lawn, repairing the roof, and maintaining home appliances. Women in suburbia also have a unique lifestyle, as we discuss more fully when we consider the relationship between gender and space.

For suburbanites, leisure activities are confined to the weekend, when there is some free time from work—at least for those households where parents do

BOX 7.1 The Middle-Class Suburban Lifestyle

A picture of middle-class suburban life was drawn by the geographer Peter Muller:

> The needs and preferences of the nuclear family unit shape modes of social interaction in middle-income residential areas. The management of children is a central group-level concern, and most local social contact occurs through such family-oriented formal organizations as the school PTA, Little League, and the Scouts. However, despite the closer spacing of homes and these integrating activities, middle-class suburbanites . . . are not communally cohesive to any great degree. Emphasis on family privacy and freedom to aggressively pursue its own upwardly mobile aspirations does not encourage the development of extensive local social ties. Neighboring (mostly child-related) is limited and selective, and even socializing with relatives is infrequent. Most social interaction revolves around a nonlocal network of self-selected friends widely distributed in suburban space (1981:72).

This relative isolation of individuals in suburbia and the exclusive auto dependency of the spatial arrangements are particularly hard on teenagers. Ralph Larkin makes these observations about suburban teenagers in a place he calls Utopia:

> The most serious complaint among Utopia High School students is boredom. They are restless. Many complain of having nothing to do. They are forced to compete with each other for grades, sexual attractiveness, hipness, and all the other minutiae that are involved in the status race. Since everyone else is struggling for the same, somehow scarcer rewards, friendship has a hollow quality to it. It is a gloss on a relationship in which vulnerabilities are hidden so they won't be capitalized on by others. (1979:60)

not have to work overtime or stagger their work schedules during the week so that one parent can stay home with the kids. In many municipalities, tax monies have been used to acquire the kind of public facilities that the affluent enjoy in private. These include public golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts, and parks. In areas close to the ocean or a lake, suburban municipalities often build and service public marinas for boating and other water sports. Suburban life is family life.

The Working Class and the Working Poor

In the nineteenth century, life in the city was dominated by factories. Modest working-class housing was constructed in grid-pattern rows nearby. Weekly routines were centered in this space, which included the few amenities available to the working class—the pub, the association football park (soccer) or the local baseball diamond, and the streets themselves, which served as playgrounds for children (Hareven, 1982). In the period immediately after World War II, U.S. cities contained a prodigious density of such working-class districts. Since the 1960s, however, this pattern has been in decline. One reason is that many factory workers attained middle-class status with the ability to purchase single-family homes in the suburbs (Berger, 1960), often with liberal government-sponsored veterans' benefits. A second, more direct cause was the decline in manufacturing itself. When the factories closed, working-class life became all the more precarious.

Although working-class families have suburbanized in large numbers since the 1960s, many still remain residents of large cities. They are often referred to as the "working poor" because their standard of living is declining as cities themselves have become expensive places in which to reside. The decline of the minimum wage and of household incomes (in real dollars over time) has made it difficult to maintain a standard of living comparable to that of working-class families just a generation ago. The quality of life of the working class is dependent on the public services provided by local government. They require mass transportation, for example, which is becoming increasingly expensive. The level of medical care for this less affluent group is precarious and dependent on city-supported hospitals because they work at jobs that do not provide adequate, if any, health insurance. In fact, the Health and Hospitals Administration of New York City, which runs that city's medical facilities, has a yearly budget of about $1.5 billion, as much as the entire budget of several small countries.

Because so much of their standard of living depends on city services, the working poor are often at odds with public administrators. City politics involves clashes between this public and the municipal administration over the quality of services. Since the latter 1970s, the declining fiscal health of cities has made this political conflict worse because of budget crises and cutbacks (as we will see in Chapter 10). The working poor and their advocates in the city fight a running battle with the mayor over the declines in education, fire and police protection, sanitation, highway maintenance, health care, and recreational amenities.

The Underclass

The *underclass* consists of the most isolated elements of the poor who have little prospect of employment and are residents of husbandless households, and whose lives are besieged by crime and drugs. This segment of the population was first called to our attention by Ken Auletta's (1983) journalistic account and later analyzed by William J. Wilson (1987). In recent years, the term underclass has become tainted, as it was appropriated by conservative pundits who fault the victims of racial and economic deprivation. The term was originally introduced within the context of identifying the causes of extreme poverty and isolation. To avoid the negative connotations of this term, we will use the term ghettoized poor when referring to lower-income groups in the inner city (see Chapter 9 for further discussion of these issues).

The plight of the ghettoized urban poor arises from the loss of jobs in the inner city. They have become so isolated and concentrated in specific areas of the city that their needs fundamentally outstrip the available municipal resources aimed at alleviating the condition of poverty. As a result, they are doomed to raise children with few prospects for a better life unless they turn to criminal activity. Box 7.2 details aspects of life in the central city in those neighborhoods of extreme poverty and isolation studied by Wilson. The so-called "underclass" phenomenon is really caused by a combination of sociospatial factors—such as poverty and racial exclusion—and by the spatial concentration of large numbers of poor people within specific areas of cities and suburbs, rather than by individual failings (see Chapter 10).

Living in the worst areas of the central city means that the ghettoized poor are subjected to an almost unending list of pathological consequences of city living, including public health crises such as AIDS, child abuse, tuberculosis, substandard schools, juvenile crime, drug addiction and the bearing of addicted babies, juvenile motherhood, murder, rape, and robbery. The crime and pathology associated with poverty-stricken ghettos make city living difficult for everyone and are largely responsible for the continuing levels of violence associated with the inner city.

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BOX 7.2 The Ghettoized Poor

Sociologists Terry Williams and William Kornblum studied poor inner-city areas in four cities: Cleveland, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; Meridian, Mississippi; and New York City, New York. A common stereotype is that all members of the underclass are poor. Although many are, others have made fortunes in the drug-centered economy within ghetto areas. Williams and Kornblum contrast two individuals living in the same place. Much of daily life revolves around a particular space, the local "candy store" and the street corner on which it is situated. As they observed:

> The neighborhood once was flooded with junkies, but it is changing slowly. The candy store is one of the last institutions in the area to serve this particular consumer group. In fact, the store operates on several levels. It's a hangout for kids, number runners, drug dealers, and winos. The kids can buy reefer; adults can buy wine under the counter; boosters (sellers of stolen goods) sell their wares to customers and managers alike. . . . Seventh was the avenue of the big-time hustlers. There they sported their fine cars and pretty women. . . . The names of infamous street hustlers who made it into big time are given legendary status. (1985:48–49)

WOMEN, GENDER ROLES, AND SPACE

The issue of gender and urban space is a topic on which urban sociologists have largely been silent. As recently as the 1970s, one well-known geographer wrote a book titled *This Scene of Man* (Vance, 1977) and, not to be outdone, more than a decade later an equally famous urban sociologist published a study of Chicago titled *The Man Made City* (Suttles, 1990). Feminist scholars would indeed agree that the city is man-made because women had little to do with its planning, less to do with its construction, and received few benefits from being confined within a man-made environment. The built environment reflects men's activities, men's values, and men's attitudes toward settlement space. Yet the lives of women are a critical component of urban and suburban activities. Increasingly, with the prodding of feminist observers, urban sociology is gaining greater insight into the role of women, and their needs, in everyday metropolitan life (Hayden, 1981).

Women and the Urban Political Economy

During the nineteenth century, in the early stages of industrial manufacturing, home life was second to the needs of the factory, and even children were pressed into the service of wage labor in textile mills and other industries (Hareven, 1982). It was not uncommon for entire families to work in the factory; a six-day work week of ten- to twelve-hour days was the norm. Over the years, conditions in these "Satanic mills," as Karl Marx (1967) called them, changed. Child labor laws were passed at the turn of the century in the United States prohibiting school-age youth from full-time employment. Many women continued to work, but as more families joined the ranks of the middle-class during the economic boom of the 1920s, people began to copy the upper-class lifestyle, and more married women chose not to work. As a result of this class mobility, which occurred because of sustained economic growth during the early part of the twentieth century, the middle-class woman's role was redefined as housewife (Spain, 1992).

Over the years, other changes would alter the relationship of women to both the family and the larger society. Status differences were the result of not only male social dominance, which dictated women's roles, but also the economy. For example, during the prosperous 1920s, middle-class women were expected to be housewives. During World War II, however, many women assumed the full-time jobs of men sent overseas as soldiers. The critical role of women in the wartime economy was symbolized by the image of "Rosie the Riveter." After the war, and especially during the suburbanization of the 1950s, middle-class women were expected to resume their role as housewives. By the 1970s, however, as real wages in the United States began to decline and participation in the middle-class lifestyle grew increasingly expensive, many women returned to the workplace. Today, buying a home in the suburbs typically requires more than one income, and it is common for both spouses to pursue full-time employment. A majority of all adult women now work outside the home, whether single or married.

The participation of middle-class women in the formal economy has been cyclical but has increased significantly in recent decades. Since the 1970s, women have entered the paid labor force in record numbers. As a result of economic restructuring—that is, with the decline in manufacturing and the rise of service industries (see Chapter 6)—new opportunities have been created for women. Women have responded by returning to college and moving into the professional service sector. One consequence of this shift has been a change in the way both men and women view household tasks, with a greater willingness among middle-class men to share in domestic labor, especially a growing percentage of men who "parent" (Lamb, 1986; Grief, 1985). Another consequence has been the multiplication of service-related jobs created by working mothers. Many of the pressing household tasks have been farmed out to specialized service workers for a fee. Child care, housecleaning, shopping assistance, and lawn care are but some of the services that have taken the place of unpaid domestic labor. In addition, fast-foods, restaurants, and

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evaluation investigates how well the program is operating. It might examine how consistent the services actually delivered are with the goals of the program, whether services are delivered to appropriate recipients, how well service delivery is organized, the effectiveness of program management, the use of program resources, and other such matters (Exhibit 2-L provides an example).

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take-out shops have expanded their operations greatly over the past twenty-five years. All of these new economic activities have changed the texture of space in both cities and suburbs. Specialty shops and services spring up everywhere to cater to those families with double incomes. Supermarket and giant merchandising stores such as Wal-Mart make shopping more efficient for the consumer although they have negative consequences for local business. In the process of providing these services, retailers have redefined metropolitan space through the construction of malls and minicenters across the region.

The sociospatial relations of the modern, global economy have much to do with gender roles and patriarchy, but they also are a consequence of economic and political factors. When women stayed at home and engaged in full-time but unpaid labor, they were responsible for keeping up the appearance of the neighborhood. When middle-class women in the United States began to enter the workforce in great numbers, many were still expected to do a "double shift." As a result, service industries that catered to domestic needs surged, and neighborhoods changed to accommodate fast-food restaurants and take-out places, laundries and dry cleaners, and supermarkets and malls (see Box 7.3).

Houses in the suburbs required at least two-car garages because both spouses commuted to work, and teenagers required their own vehicles for work, school, and leisure activities. In both urban and suburban settlement spaces, day care and extended child-care programs changed the place where children went to play—from city streets supervised by mothers to indoor group play areas supervised by paid day-care specialists. Elsewhere in the global economy, young girls make up the bulk of the manufacturing labor force in electronics and garment industries because patriarchal relations make them docile and low-paid workers. The control of women's bodies is as essential to the sustenance of Third World countries as it is to the "First World" patriarchal societies. Everywhere, then, the nature of gender roles has a direct effect on sociospatial relations.

Women and the Environment

The relation between settlement space and gender extends from the home to the community to the larger metropolitan region. The home, for example, is the one space in the environment where people can be themselves. It is the most private and intimate space. Due to the family division of labor, women have been assigned the main task of decorating the home. Through this activity they express their own individuality (Matrix Collective, 1984). Of course, housing has several meanings, as we will see, and it is a signifier of class status. But for women, their control over the environmental space of the home

BOX 7.3 Gendered Space in the Built Environment

The sociospatial approach asserts that urban and suburban settlement spaces influence individual behavior; however, this influence is mediated by gender, class, and other individual characteristics. In this way, the meaning of space and the built environment may differ for men and women. Consider the ways in which the structure of settlement space in Sweden and that in the United States have very different consequences for the daily activity and well-being of women.

Suburban developments in the United States usually consist of single-family homes located some distance from the urban center. Local zoning restrictions require that suburban settlement space be low-density (not simply single-family homes instead of apartments, but also lot sizes of between one and three acres). Land-use plans also require physical separation of residential areas from business and commercial development. The federal government has spent billions of dollars constructing a highway system for private automobiles, and public transportation is limited.

In Sweden, suburban developments are of moderate density, usually garden-type apartments located in mixed-use districts where stores and businesses are located within walking distance. Extensive public transportation connects suburban settlement space to the city core, and child care and other services (provided through the public sector) are available within the local community (Popenoe, 1977).

The effects of these two very different built environments on women's lives could not be more dramatic.. In the United States, women who live in suburban housing developments are comparatively isolated from friends, relatives, their place of employment, and health and other public services. A second family automobile is needed for women to take their children to day care, go grocery shopping, or travel to their jobs. Then there is the cost of travel time to and from each of these destinations (separated from one another by zoning). In Sweden and other Scandinavian countries with similar welfare state structures and urban planning, women in suburban developments are more likely to live near friends, relatives, and their place of employment. If they do not, public transportation is available, eliminating the need for a second automobile. Because day care and other family services are funded by the state and located in the new planned suburban communities, they are readily available. And because friends and even relatives may live within walking distance, it is easier to pool resources to arrange for other family needs (Popenoe, 1980).

The arrangement of suburban settlement space in Scandinavian countries encourages women to become fully integrated into the metropolitan community and to build strong social networks with others in the community. In contrast, the structure of suburban settlement space in the United States—where homes, workplaces, schools, and shopping areas are separated from one another in everyday life and imagination—places a significant burden on the time needs of suburban women and isolates them from employment opportunities and social interaction with others within the metropolitan region.

As part of an evaluability assessment (see Chapter 5), evaluators working under contract to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reviewed the design of family preservation programs (FPPs). FPPs are time-limited, intensive home-based services to families in crisis that are intended to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The evaluators held discussions with the staff of federal and national private sector agencies about the definition of FPPs, reviewed available literature, obtained descriptions of state and local programs, and made site visits to four programs. From this information they developed "models" of how the programs were supposed to operate and then obtained the views of policymakers, program managers, and operating-level staff on four key dimensions: (a) program goals, (b) aspects of the child welfare system that affect the programs, (c) the target population, and (d) the characteristics that distinguish FPPs from other home-based services. Based on their own analysis and discussions with an expert advisory committee, the evaluators concluded that, as currently designed, FPPs could not achieve the policymakers' primary goal of preventing placement in foster care. The major flaw found in the program design was the practical difficulty of identifying children at "imminent risk" of placement; this meant that programs could not consistently target families with children truly at risk of placement.

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has meant an opportunity for self-expression. For the middle class, it also has developed into a restricted domain within which women are allowed to influence their environment.

If the home space can be viewed in this way, it is partly because women have been socialized to take on responsibility for shelter maintenance. Spatial relations therefore play a great role in the perpetuation of female socialized roles in our society. However, if the female gender role assigns a certain power to women through control of the home environment, the opposite is the case for the larger physical environment of the city and metropolis. Once out in public space, women have to beware. They are subject to harassment and, quite often, danger. Women living in large cities must acquire "street smarts" early if they are to successfully negotiate public space. As one commentary noted:

> Whether you wear a slit skirt or are covered from head to foot in a black chador, the message is not that you are attractive enough to make a man lose his self-control, but that the public realm belongs to him and you are there by his permission as long as you follow his rules and as long as you remember your place. (Benard and Schlaffer, 1993:390)

In contrast to men, women are situated in a constrained space and do not enjoy the same freedom of movement. For example, women are cautioned not to go out alone at night, and with good reason. If they walk or jog around the neighborhood, they usually do so only in secure places. The women's movement has been particularly attentive to the needs of females for safe places; witness such events as "Take Back the Night" rallies. The constricted and confined safe places for women in our society are another form of oppression. By patterning what activities are allowed, what are isolated, what are considered safe or dangerous, and what are connected to other activities, such as the combination of child care and shopping found in the mall or the gender segregation of children in elementary schools (Thorne, 1993), space plays a role in gender socialization.

The secondary status of women is reinforced through spatial design. Community planning invariably assigns the major portion of open space to traditionally male-dominated activities, such as sports. Places for mothering are rarely considered at all and often are restricted to playgrounds. Creating safe environments for children and mothers requires some planning. In Columbia, Maryland, one of the totally planned New Towns in the United States, pedestrian and automobile traffic are separated by space. This feature of Columbia makes it easier for mothers to protect children at play. It is not so easy

to suggest ways the home and community environments can be improved by taking the needs of women into account, although some progress through feminist activism has been made in sensitizing planners and architects to the specific needs of women (see Matrix Collective, 1984). Change in the accepted gender roles and the new demands placed upon family life may affect our environment in the years to come (see Chapter 14 for an extended discussion on environmental and planning concerns).

KEY CONCEPTS

class stratification
socioeconomic status
conspicuous consumption
working poor
underclass
ghettoized poor
double shift
social reproduction
gendered space

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between the terms underclass and ghettoized poor? Which term do the authors suggest be used by urban sociologists? Why?
2. The sociospatial approach emphasizes the relationship between class differences and spatial location. What areas of the region where you live can be identified as being upper class, middle class, etc.? What differences in lifestyle can you identify among these residential spaces?
3. What is meant by the phenomenon of gendered space? What are some examples of gendered spaces within your community? How does the physical structure of the built environment within your community influence the everyday life of women? Is this different from the way in which the physical structure of the built environment influences the everyday life of men within your community?

Economic and political forces influence sociospatial patterns by planning and regulating the built environment. But so do cultural features. Class, racial, gender, and ethnic differences are expressed as symbols that imply difference. Images of a large home, an expensive car, certain styles of clothing—all patterns of everyday consumption—are potent signs of status. Racial interaction operates largely through the regulation of appearance and of segregated social space. This semiotic dimension of the sociospatial perspective will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. The diversity of metropolitan life has been studied in great detail. In fact, such explorations of the everyday texture of urban and suburban life have formed a central focus for the work of urban sociologists since the early days of the Chicago School. A variety of methodological perspectives are employed in the study of everyday life in urban and suburban settlement spaces, including participant observation, interviews, network analysis, and semiotics. We discuss each of these approaches in the next chapter.

KEY CONCEPTS

race relations cycle
new immigration
ethnic enclaves

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the term immigrant gateway city? Is your city included in this list? If so, what are some of the new immigrant groups in your community? If not, among what kind of immigrant gateway would your city be classified?
2. Immigration to the United States has increased substantially over the past four decades and now is at the highest level in nearly one hundred years. Why has this occurred? What groups are likely to favor this high level of immigration? What groups are likely to oppose it? How do you think immigration will change in the next decade?
3. What are the major ethnic populations in the community that you grew up in? In the metropolitan region where you grew up? Do these groups represent the older waves of immigration or the more recent third wave of immigration to the United States?
4. The chapter describes very different settlement patterns for various ethnic and racial groups in the United States. How does the process of segregation influence the spatial location of different ethnic and racial groups? How do the different theories of immigrant adjustment account for the spatial location of different groups?
5. Compare the advantages and disadvantages of ethnic enclaves for recent immigrants. Do you think that the government should provide home-ownership subsidies to encourage persons living in ethnic enclaves to purchase homes in other areas of a metropolitan region? Do you think that the government should provide small-business loans to entrepreneurs who wish to open or expand their businesses within ethnic enclaves?

CHAPTER

9

NEIGHBORHOODS, THE PUBLIC ENVIRONMENT, AND THEORIES OF URBAN LIFE

Film directors usually establish a Manhattan location by filming a long shot of some busy street in midtown or the financial district. In it we see a crowd of people pressed together—a sea of bobbing heads hurrying on their way to and from business. To establish the location of Los Angeles, in contrast, filmmakers often take to the air and provide a helicopter shot of clogged freeways, or at other times, shoot from a car moving slowly on palm tree–lined streets.

Every place possesses some distinguishing feature that can be enjoyed, whether it is the picturesque quality and friendly people of the small town, the quiet and spaciousness of the suburbs, or the hustle and bustle of the large city. A resident of the metropolitan region has a choice on any given day of whether to experience the cultural amenities of urban or suburban life. These opportunities are a function of the activities or features found in particular places, such as cities or suburbs, rather than arising from the particular environment of a city or suburb itself. But many urban sociologists insist that the nature of space does produce differences in behavior on its own so that the city—any city—would influence behavior in specific ways.

The arguments, both pro and con, regarding whether urban and suburban settlement spaces have the ability to change behavior constitute the focus for the study of metropolitan culture. Investigations of urban and suburban ways of life constitute a large part of research by urban sociologists. In Chapter 3 we studied the early contributions of sociologists to the study of urbanism,

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particularly those associated with the Chicago School, which focused exclusively on the city. In this chapter we consider more contemporary studies exploring the relationship between spatial location and social interaction for all communities in the metropolitan region, including suburbs and cities.

DOES SPACE AFFECT BEHAVIOR? THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY

Early urban sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s were preoccupied with whether urban settlement space produced differences in behavior, specifically when contrasted with the rural way of life. Hundreds of thousands of people left the farms and small towns of America and moved to the large industrial cities looking for work. At that time, sociologists worked with an idealized image of small-town life and were suspicious of the city. They believed that small towns offered people a sense of community resulting from primary or intimate ties in social relationships. In contrast, early researchers viewed cities as destroyers of intimacy, forcing secondary or anonymous relations on individuals, with a consequent loss of community feeling. In contrast to the "friendly" rural town, city people were believed to be unfriendly, rushed, uncaring, suspicious, and hard to get to know.

As we also saw in Chapter 3, Louis Wirth, of the Chicago School, believed that living in large cities resulted in forms of social disorganization such as increased crime, divorce, and mental illness because of the decline of close community ties. For Wirth it was the city itself, operating through demographic factors such as size and density of population, that produced urban behavior. When we go to a store in a city, we do not have, nor do we seek, a close relationship with the salesperson. We simply want service and wish to make our purchases as quickly as possible. Rural area residents, in contrast, are likely to already have established primary relationships with the employees and even the owners of local businesses. The same contrast applies to relations with neighbors in the city and rural areas. The domination of secondary relations in the city, Wirth believed, would result in negative effects such as crime and other problems. This assertion is known as the social disorganization thesis of urban life.

Field Research on Community

Following World War II, a number of sociologists decided to challenge Wirth's theory. Studying local neighborhoods within the larger cities, these sociologists discovered communities with strong primary relations among the residents (Whyte, 1955; Gans, 1962). In the 1960s and 1970s, a series of community studies contradicted the social disorganization thesis of the early Chicago School. Researchers discovered evidence of vital, healthy primary relations and an active community life in urban neighborhoods. Ulf Hannerz's (1969) remarkable study of an inner-city ghetto area in Washington, D.C., exemplifies the case study approach to community. This fine-grained analysis depicts ghetto residents as multidimensional human beings, trapped in the ghetto by racism and poverty. Hannerz could not find a single "characteristic" ghetto resident. Rather, he discovered a typology of behavioral patterns reflecting differences in individual character and family organization as each person dealt with racial and economic adversity in his or her own way. These results have been replicated in Elijah Anderson's (1978) ethnographic account of a black neighborhood on Chicago's South Side titled *A Place on the Corner.*

To the outside observer, densely populated inner-city neighborhoods seem chaotic. One sterling accomplishment of field research has been to document the order created out of urban chaos by city residents. Herbert Gans's (1962) classic field study of Boston's East End challenged the view that the area was a "slum" and discovered that life in this working-class community was highly organized around peer groups. Adult males spent leisure time with other males, adult females with their female friends, and so on. Once the form of social organization of the community was understood, it became a familiar place.

Field research carried out in the 1950s and 1960s showed that primary relations and an intimate community life could be found in suburban settlement space. One of the earliest studies of suburban communities was William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956). Whyte studied the development of Park Forest South, a new planned suburban community located some twenty-five miles south of the Chicago Loop. His research depicts the classic suburb of the early post-war period as a place where nuclear families were housed in single-family, detached homes, where women did not work but spent their time in housekeeping chores and chats over coffee with neighbors, and where men commuted into the city to corporate, professional jobs. For more recent examples, see Baumgartner (1988), Jackson (1985), and Fishman (1987).

While city-based analyses tended to focus on the working classes or "ethnics" with extended familial ties to kin and neighbors who lived in close proximity, suburban studies concentrated on the middle-class nuclear family and its communal relations among friends. This division of labor, which follows from Burgess's model of urban growth as well as Wirth's description of urban life, gave the false impression that social classes had become stratified within urban and suburban settlement spaces. Bennett Berger's (1960) study of working-class households in suburban Richmond, California, was an important milestone, arguing that working-class individuals who moved to the suburbs did not automatically change their behavior and attitudes and become middle class; instead, they preserved their working-class way of life in this new environment. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, urban ecologists were busy discovering the diversity of social classes and ethnic groups in the suburbs. They concluded that while individual suburbs were internally homogeneous, the suburban region was heterogeneous. We know now that the entire metropolitan region is in fact quite diverse, and this is true not just of urban settlement space but also within and between suburban settlement spaces, as discussed in Chapter 6.

The sociospatial perspective suggests that there are no unique differences in social life between urban and suburban settlement spaces. After several decades of comparative field work, it is clear that cities and suburbs are home to a variety of lifestyles, which are more a function of the complex interplay among class, ethnicity, race, and gender than a result of living in a particular environment. Does this conclusion mean that location has no effect whatsoever on personal behavior? Field research tended to debunk the social disorganization thesis of urban life, but another method, network analysis, discovered conditions under which location did play a specific role in people's lives. Let us consider this research tradition next.

Network Analysis: Does Location Matter?

In the 1970s, Claude Fischer (1975) claimed that while most of the differences among individuals in the metropolis were caused by background factors such as class and race, certain attributes of behavior differed among people according to their location. Because of the size of urban populations, residents of the large city had the opportunity to act in ways that rural residents would ordinarily find more difficult. According to this subcultural perspective on urban life, city dwellers have a greater opportunity to establish relations with a greater variety of people than do persons in places with smaller populations. It is these relationships, or networks, that sustain differences in lifestyles observed between city and rural dwellers. Hence, according to Fischer, the subcultural diversity of cities created by large population size does produce differences between urban and rural behaviors.

Following the subcultural perspective, Fischer (1982) documented the effect of location on the quality and structure of personal networks. He found that individuals in the city differed from rural counterparts in that they had fewer kin or more unrelated intimates in their personal networks. However, Fischer also discovered that the effect of place alone, when controlling for all other factors, was quite small. The single most important predictor of nonkin networks was education: the more years of education, the more nonrelatives in an individual's personal network. A second important factor was income, which also contributed to independence from relatives. Thus, although location within urban and suburban settlement space does influence behavior, it is not as powerful as the compositional factors related to education, income, and other social considerations that we discussed in Chapter 7. Box 9.1 examines the network methodology used by Fischer and others to show the differences location makes in lifestyle patterns.

BOX 9.1 Social Network Analysis

The study of social networks in urban sociology originates in the work of two British social anthropologists. J. A. Barnes described social networks as groups of persons interconnected by friendship and kinship relations (Barnes, 1954). Elizabeth Bott's (1957) study of working-class and middle-class households in London was the first study to apply the ideas presented in Barnes's work. She found that the working-class households had overlapping and densely connected family and social networks, whereas the middle-class households had less dense networks. Network analysis uses personal interviews to discover the links among people—whom they interact with on a daily or weekly basis, how many people an individual knows, and so on.

Barry Wellman, a sociologist at the University of Toronto, interviewed urban and suburban residents of the Toronto metropolitan area to determine where their friends and relatives lived and how frequently they visited with each of them. This information allowed Wellman and his colleagues to discover systematic differences in the social networks of urban and suburban residents, and of male and female respondents in both settlement spaces. Wellman (1988) noted that social networks need not be confined to the local neighborhood. In fact, for many urbanites, social networks reach far beyond local settlement space to include friends and coworkers from across the metropolitan area—evidence of the existence of "community without propinquity." With the advent of Internet mail lists and the ubiquitous use of cell phones, social network analysts have expanded upon this earlier work to examine how neighborhood and social networks are constructed across cyberspace.

Network analysis has uncovered a second important aspect of urban community relations. As the metropolitan environment of cities and suburbs has matured, people now organize their lives across a greater spatial distance than in the past. Among other things, this means that one's intimate relations may involve people at some distance. Network researchers who have studied this more mature phenomenon of U.S. settlement spaces therefore have redefined our understanding of community, because in the past, people assumed that an individual was most friendly with those who lived nearby as neighbors.

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EXHIBIT 2-L

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According to Wellman (1979, 1988), the concept of community must be rethought to emphasize the *non*-neighborhood basis of personal ties. People's communities consist of networks that are not spatially distinct but are dispersed across the metropolis and the country.

In the urban literature, this phenomenon is referred to as "community without locality." Among other things, it has been cell phones, Blackberries, and e-mail, that is, new modes of electronic telecommunication, that have contributed to the ability of people to form networks of intimates without regard for spatial location. As discussed in a separate section below, the classical concepts of both "community" and "neighborhood" must be redefined because people today form primary relations through networking at a distance, rather than through intimate contact with local neighbors.

Current research using network analysis on community relations suggests that although spatial location matters, its effects are not large. Other factors, such as class, education, gender, and race, are more important when explaining urban behavior, as we saw in Chapter 6. Because network researchers look at the role of space in only a very specific way, they miss important influences of the built environment. The sociospatial perspective conceives of the influence of space in a broader, more general way while acknowledging the central role played by social factors. In the following section, we consider the role of space in social interaction to highlight how urban and suburban settlement spaces interact with compositional factors. We discuss the new theory of urbanism and look at several issues in which spatial or contextual factors count heavily in our understanding of urban and suburban behavior.

DOES SPACE AFFECT BEHAVIOR? A NEW THEORY OF URBANISM

The Sociospatial Approach to Metropolitan Culture

Today all areas of the metropolitan region exhibit tremendous diversity. Instead of discussing lifestyle differences as a function of urbanism, it makes increasingly more sense to adopt a metropolitan perspective and relate social differences to locational differences in the region. We suggest that lifestyles within the metropolitan region are explained best by a combination of compositional or social factors and the action of the environment. Although population size and density of the city do play a role in producing distinctive lifestyles, these factors affect settlement space as well as demographic characteristics. The quality of the environment conditions the opportunities available for distinctive lifestyles.

For example, Manhattan in New York City is known for its active street culture. Over 1 million inhabitants are squeezed onto an island that is less than 20 square miles in area. One aspect of Manhattan street behavior involves a strong emphasis on fashion and appearance as a way of judging other people (we will discuss the phenomenon of fashion later). Consequently, New York subcultures possess a highly developed sense of clothing differences. In contrast, Los Angeles dress is notoriously casual. It is not uncommon to see people appearing at fancy restaurants in the least formal attire. Los Angelenos stress the importance of cars in everyday life, and several subcultures have developed around the use of the automobile as an expressive symbol, such as the Chicano low-rider clubs. The city of Los Angeles encompasses almost 1,000 square miles, and public transportation is limited. Consequently, it is understandable to find cars playing so important a role in daily life. Manhattan is a pedestrian town, whereas Los Angeles is notorious for its reliance on the automobile, and this helps to explain some of the cultural differences between the two places, although there are also other reasons, such as historical and demographic differences.

Second, in addition to the influence of the spatial environment on behavior, people's actions are organized according to how they view particular places. Urban and suburban settlement spaces, like other objects in society, possess a social meaning; that is, place or location has a symbolic value that helps to determine behavior. For example, Hummon's (1986) comparative study of big-city, suburban, and small-town residents, using a questionnaire and interview method, found that individuals in each location possessed different imagery by which they reinforced their own positive feelings about where they lived and negative feelings about alternative locations. For the most part, residents of big cities, suburbs, and small towns each participated in the construction of positive images of place rather than all subscribing to some anti-urban bias or some universal desire to escape the city for either the suburbs or a small town.

Third, while all individuals possess a distinctive lifestyle that is based in part on their collectively held symbolic values, they are also constrained by material factors, such as income, in choosing where to live or locate economic activity. People in cities and suburbs selectively locate in different areas of the metropolitan region according to both their symbolic and material needs. Although some portion of their decision is voluntary, where they choose to live may be determined by where they can afford to live or even where they are allowed to live. As we saw in Chapter 6, residential location may also be the consequence of involuntary choice dictated by ethnic or racial factors.

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In Chapter 7, we demonstrated the importance of symbolic factors to the patterns of metropolitan life. Let us analyze in more detail how symbolic processes and the sense of place are related to people's behavior in cities and suburbs. In the following section, we examine three aspects of the semiotics of place: mental maps, the spatial context and behavior in public, and the sense of community.

Mental Maps

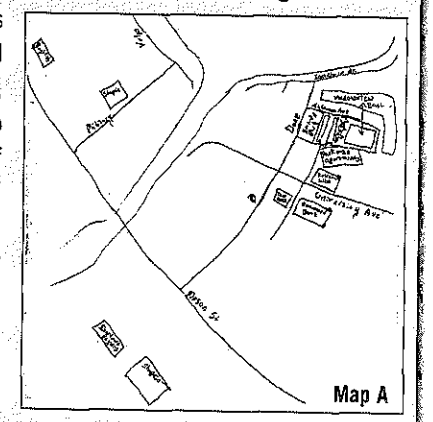
Cities and suburbs are not simply spaces where people organize their lives; they are also physical environments that are meaningful in different ways to different persons. People assign distinct meanings and associate specific emotions with places. Often a single space, such as the New York City skyline, can invoke an incredible variety of such meaningful associations from individuals. The signifier home, for example, is attached to your place of residence, but it can also signify the block where you live, your neighborhood, or a section of the metropolitan region where your particular living space is located. The feelings of comfort, security, and familiarity associated with your house or apartment may be experienced by returning from a trip outside the neighborhood and glimpsing the familiar objects of the local environment. Sociologists and other urbanists who study the role of meaning and cognition in space often use the method of mental mapping to determine how individuals perceive their physical environment. Box 9.2 provides an example of mental mapping.

People negotiate a metropolitan space of familiar neighborhoods, known workplaces, leisure and consumption places, and unfamiliar areas of little specific meaning. Known places are pictured in great detail by the mind's eye; in between them are areas that are not distinctly detailed. These gray areas are negotiated by direct travel routes so that residents pass through them in the least amount of time possible. Consequently, these zones remain undistinguished. All people, in short, carry with them a "mental map" of their daily routines that varies in its detailed knowledge of space. We use these maps to negotiate space and to assign meanings to different places. Often these maps are a function of power and class differences, or social stratification.

The study of mental maps augments our understanding of how individuals relate to metropolitan environments containing large numbers of people and differentiated activities. Kevin Lynch (1964), an urban planner, discovered not only that variation exists among individuals regarding how they depict a space but also that places themselves vary in their ability to invoke detailed mental images. Thus, a city with an impressive skyline or distinguishing statues and buildings produces an image that is remembered by visitors and residents

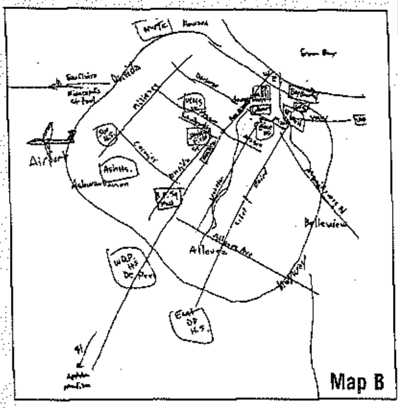
BOX 9.2 Mental Mapping

The technique of mental mapping is used to discover how residents of any given place conceive of their environment. They are asked to draw their own local neighborhoods and fill the picture in with as many details as possible. Studies are done by obtaining mental maps from a sample of residents. In all cases, the conception of place will vary from person to person. Researchers then study the causes of such variation by comparing individuals and groups with one another. We know, for example, that the way children draw mental maps of their environment differs from adult maps.



Map A

One of the more common results from mental map research is the discovery that differences in both the conception and meaning of a local place are correlated with differences in class status (Golledge and Rushton, 1976). In general, differences in the conception of space reflect social stratification or the perceived differences regarding power and class in society. Researchers have uncovered racial differences in the way people conceive their local settlement space. One study of the Mission Hill area of Boston, which contains a housing project inhabited primarily by low-income African Americans surrounded by a white community, discovered that the black residents' view of their environment was greatly restricted, while comparable white residents held a much more expansive image of their surroundings (LaGory and Pipkin, 1981:119).



Map B

College students attending the University of Wisconsin–Green Bay drew the two maps shown here. A student who had attended the university for several years but lived in a dorm on campus drew Map A. A student who grew up in the city and commuted to campus to attend class drew Map B. The maps suggest that for the on-campus student, activity was largely centered on shopping areas close to the university, and there was little knowledge of the larger city. The student who lived off campus included a wider range of locations and activities spread across many different neighborhoods in the city. Urban sociologists are interested in the ways in which different groups in the metropolis interact with their environment, and mental mapping gives us some important insights into this question.

As part of an evaluability assessment (see Chapter 5), evaluators working under contract to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reviewed the design of family preservation programs (FPPs). FPPs are time-limited, intensive home-based services to families in crisis that are intended to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The evaluators held discussions with the staff of federal and national private sector agencies about the definition of FPPs, reviewed available literature, obtained descriptions of state and local programs, and made site visits to four programs. From this information they developed "models" of how the programs were supposed to operate and then obtained the views of policymakers, program managers, and operating-level staff on four key dimensions: (a) program goals, (b) aspects of the child welfare system that affect the programs, (c) the target population, and (d) the characteristics that distinguish FPPs from other home-based services. Based on their own analysis and discussions with an expert advisory committee, the evaluators concluded that, as currently designed, FPPs could not achieve the policymakers' primary goal of preventing placement in foster care. The major flaw found in the program design was the practical difficulty of identifying children at "imminent risk" of placement; this meant that programs could not consistently target families with children truly at risk of placement.

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alike. In contrast, many places seem so ordinary that their physical appearance is hard to recall even after repeated visits.

Lynch's discovery of the importance of imageability implied that some spaces were better designed than others because they were more legible; that is, they were easier to understand as built environments. Imageability therefore facilitated movement or use. For example, Lynch contrasted the mental maps of residents in two cities—Jersey City, New Jersey; and Boston, Massachusetts. He found that residents of Jersey City had a much less detailed mental image of their space. It was more difficult for them to visualize the features of places they often passed through or went to during the week's routines. Lynch's discovery has important consequences for city planners, architects, and landscapers, as we will see in Chapter 14.

The Semiotics of Place

Mental maps assign meaning to space. But the meanings of objects also come from the various ways we use them as symbols. Material forms, such as particular buildings and constructed spaces like plazas and freeways, all possess meanings that are ascribed to them by social use. They are known to us by their functions, as the study of spatial semiotics suggests (Barthes, 1986). Hence, the phenomenon of the mental map is but a special case of the more general semiotics of settlement space. Malls, theme parks, architectural forms, and neighborhood places all work to orient our behavior and provide us with a sense of place by conveying certain meanings through objects that act as signs of their function as places of business, recreation, amusement, shopping, and the like. Instead of strangeness and disorientation, the signs of space create order and familiarity, which is helpful both in reducing the stress of daily living within giant, metropolitan regions and in enabling residents to use the built environment effectively.

For example, the suburban shopping mall is a successful adaptation of architectural form to the needs of commercial interests. Malls are the counterpart in low-density suburbia of the higher-density city center shopping district. The mall works because of its skillful use of symbols and signs coupled with environmental forms. Malls are designed with large parking lots and blank external façades that make customers respond to the overarching meaning: "For shopping-related activities, enter here." This technique, known as introversion, is meant to discourage prospective customers from dawdling in the mall parking lot. Additional semiotic devices control shoppers once they are inside. Shopping malls feature atriums, "food courts," and even amusement rides for children. Often they are designed with images that invoke city living—avenues with artificial street lamps and small, neatly spaced

trees and benches. And because all shoppers are on foot, they provide shoppers with a taste of the typical urban street crowd.

Corporate product signs, or "logos," are also important in the mall. Each store has its own symbolic and functional associations that are the consequence of advertising and of what customers know about its price range. Product signs, or brand-name logos, also take advantage of the fact that people have already been conditioned by advertising to associate certain products with store signs. These internalized associations are then used to advantage in the mall by directing people's attention to specific stores or products. They hold such power only because consumers have already become familiar with them in their daily lives, so they respond to their stimulus and are oriented in their journey through the mall. Customers are able to "read" the space of the mall and make their way through it with ease so that shopping is as stressless as possible. But shopping malls are not public spaces, and they may not be open to all persons.

Behavior in Public Space

For many years, urban sociologists have been aware that the large city with its dense crowds offers special challenges to residents. They have studied the way people negotiate this particular environment and have found that the techniques of accommodation that are used constitute much of what we might identify as uniquely urban behavior. Yet this interaction, which takes place in public space where strangers as pedestrians encounter others in places such as malls, department stores, and bars, also occurs in suburbia. For this reason, the study of behavior in public space can take place throughout the metropolitan region and can involve the interaction of people as pedestrians or as drivers or passengers in cars.

Behavior in public depends on the proper expression, interpretation, and negotiation of signs between people interacting with one another and with the built environment. This semiotic aspect of city and suburban living is quite essential to daily life, as the sociospatial perspective suggests. Elijah Anderson is the author of two classic works in urban sociology, *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community* (1990) and *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (1999). In *Streetwise*, he describes how social interaction in the public space of a large city requires "street smarts":

> One gains street wisdom through a long and sometimes arduous process that begins with a certain "uptightness" about the urban environment, with decisions based on stereotypes and simple rules of public etiquette. Given time

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and experience, the nervousness and fear give way to a recognition that street life involves situations that require selective and individualized responses—in this complicated environment, applying broad stereotypes simply will not do. (1990:6)

Social psychologists who have studied this interaction in public insist that all behavior is interpreted according to the particular spatial context; that is, we interpret someone's action based on the space where it occurred (Karp, Stone, and Yoels, 1977). Hence, behavior is a combination of social and spatial factors. If we saw two men fighting each other in a park, we would be concerned and might call the police. The very same action placed inside a boxing arena would be considered entertainment. Thus, we decide how to interpret the behavior of others, which is essential to determining our own behavior, in part by interpreting space as a context for action. In short, spatial context has a very powerful role in the patterning of behavior in public.

Spatial context also determines how individuals behave toward one another. In a classic study, the sociologist Erving Goffman (1963:36) observed that when ordinary situations become extraordinary, interaction rules among complete strangers in the city change, and they might begin to act intimately. Thus, if a subway train gets stalled, the normally silent passengers might suddenly talk to those strangers sitting next to them about the incident. A study on bystanders (Darley and Latane, 1970) discovered that urbanites are not by nature blasé about other people's troubles on the street. But when an incident occurs, the more bystanders who witness it, the less the likelihood that any single one will intervene. Because of the density of city crowds, social responsibility is spread so thin that bystanders may choose not to get involved even when they witness a serious breach of behavior. This phenomenon sometimes makes us wonder about the perceived weakness of social links among people living in large cities. It also suggests that the social disorganization perceived by Chicago School researchers may have been a temporary or short-term product of spatial context rather than an innate or permanent change in people's behavior produced by the move to the city.

The most distinctive aspect of city life involves interaction with large numbers of strangers. Whom to trust and whom not to trust, how to act in a crowd, how to react to people you do not know, and how to interact with strangers in shops, restaurants, museums, and on the street constitute a major aspect of the metropolitan resident's set of behaviors, whether living in the city or the suburbs. As in other cases, signs and meaningful clues make a difference in the way people feel about and act in public space. Some researchers, for example, have studied interaction with strangers as a problem that can bring unattractive consequences from poor judgment in "reading" the sociospatial context. For example, J. Henslin (1972) studied cab drivers in a big city and discovered that their lives might depend on the way they size up a prospective fare. They do not stop for everyone. As a result of this behavior, many African Americans find it difficult to get cabs at night regardless of how wealthy they may be. Also, because many taxi drivers will not travel to ghetto areas or accept fares that do not possess the proper appearance, unlicensed or "gypsy" cabs have appeared as an alternative industry that has become the ghetto resident's taxi of last resort. Gypsy cabs are part of the informal economy of the city (see Chapter 10), and they involve some risks because they usually have no insurance and do not comply with industry regulations.

Appearance and fashion have always figured prominently in the types of judgments people make when dealing with strangers, especially in public space. Goffman (1963) regards the way we look as providing the most concise and meaningful cues to guide the interaction of others in the city (but we can add the suburbs, too). In dealing with strangers, fashion provides us with a way to "read" such things as class standing, lifestyle interests, and even whether or not an individual poses a threat to us. As discussed earlier, in large cities with dense pedestrian environments, people are more attuned to fashion than in places where automobiles dominate, such as Los Angeles, although there may be several reasons why this is true.

The spatial context is just as important in the organization of life within suburban settlement space as it is in the city. Instead of subways or buses, suburbanites contend with cars and carpools, which involve people who are acquaintances who share driving to work, shopping, school, and recreational activities. Unlike individuals riding in city mass transportation, people in carpools feel compelled to be friendly. It is the sociospatial context and not the proximity of one commuter to another that makes the difference. Yet for carpoolers, being friendly at 6:00 A.M. with little sleep and a full day of work ahead may be a difficult chore. Consequently, carpools have never been as popular as they could be. A novelist described the hell suburban mothers go through while chauffeuring children around town to and from schools, doctors, shopping, and friends: "With three children in three different schools, she [the heroine of the novel] lives most of her life now in her Honda hatchback. There is no one to talk to but her slobbering dog, which resides in the back seat, and she longs for a drive-in window at the local psychiatric hospital" (Lawson, 1991:C-1).

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NEIGHBORING AND COMMUNITY

Neighboring is often said to be the most characteristic behavior of suburbia. Yet this is a phenomenon of the city as well. Only when we speak in generalities can we say that dwellers in large cities know fewer of their neighbors than do residents of smaller places. Neighboring and community involvement are strongly related to life cycle—whether individuals are single or married, childless or with children. Most neighboring tends to be done by people raising families. The stereotypical image of suburbia as a place of neighboring may be the result of the fact that families with small children prefer to live there. But the spatial separation of families in suburban housing developments may be less conducive to visiting with neighbors, whereas medium-density city neighborhoods with local businesses may facilitate social interaction among community residents. When we look more closely at the city, we can find instances of intense neighboring, such as in the ethnic communities studied by Herbert Gans (1962) and others.

Neighboring/The Neighborhood

Neighboring studies are related to the issue of community and territory. There is a conception of everyday life that places individuals within a nurturing neighborhood of friends and relatives. This conjunction of a certain space with an intimate circle of primary relations became the classic image of the community. Yet the terms "neighborhood" and "community" refer to different concepts. A neighborhood can be defined as any sociospatial environment where primary relations among residents prevail. Generally, suburban areas populated with families raising children conform best to this definition. In contrast, large, densely populated tracts of the inner city, where people live in apartment high-rises and barely know their neighbors, but have their own individual social networks, can hardly be called "neighborhoods." On the other hand, the concept of community can best be defined as a sociospatial environment that possesses an organized social institution that deals specifically with local matters (see below).

In a previous section, we saw that network researchers such as Wellman (1988) and Fischer discovered the important role of social contacts that are spread out across space. As we discussed, there is variation in the extent to which local or dispersed networks exist for residents of cities, and this is best explained by socioeconomic status, or class. The approach of network analysts, like Fischer and Wellman, pinpoints how choice of location affects individual network ties, but it is also remarkable for the way it de-emphasizes the effects of class, age, and gender as they are deployed in space—a relationship

that is important to the sociospatial perspective. For example, elderly people living in the city are not physically capable of traveling long distances for companionship or help. They are dependent on their local community, but they may also prefer things that way. Not everyone assertively seeks the most compatible network of people across the metropolitan region. In other cases, people may have an extensive network but may also need a local neighborhood circle of friends. For example, single career women living in a large city may possess a robust network of friends living throughout the metropolis, but they find it uncomfortable to travel or dine alone. They, along with others, may need a close-at-hand network of neighbors.

In reevaluating neighboring studies according to the sociospatial perspective, it is clear that middle-class males are more likely than others to be involved in social networks that are not grounded in settlement space—the "community without locality." In contrast, the poor, the elderly, some women, and most certainly segregated minorities have closer ties to their immediate neighbors. These groups rely more on community and the local territory of friendship relations.

Other neighborhood researchers have remarked on the factors neglected by the network perspective. Susanne Keller (1968) indicated that community relations can be a function of class. She found that middle-class people have more casual acquaintances, whereas working-class individuals are more dependent on their neighbors. Another observer, Ida Susser (1982), carried out an important field study that clearly indicates the differential roles of class, race, and gender in fostering neighborhood ties. As the sociospatial perspective suggests, these factors operate symbolically and within a specific territory to make behavior meaningful. Furthermore, Susser's study also indicated the important role that communities play in inner-city life. That is, when a local area possesses an organized social presence, such as a block association, homeowner association, political ward, or similar organization, residents are better able to deal with the issues and problems of metropolitan living. This organized presence is the basis for what we call "community." Without it, a sense of place beyond the local neighborhood simply does not exist, and residents of such areas are left to fend for themselves when faced with environmental problems.

The Difference Between Neighborhood and Community

It is important to note that although the terms neighborhood and community are often used interchangeably, the concepts are really not the same. As we have already seen, you do not have to be neighborly to belong to a neighborhood. Research on neighborhoods may describe local residential life but neglect connections to community organizations. In contrast, community

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studies provide evidence of specific links to sociospatial organizations in the area, an approach very much in keeping with the perspective of this text. For example, because of the importance of child rearing in suburban developments, most people living there belong to neighborhoods that they themselves can identify, and they engage in frequent visits to neighbors. On the other hand, very few suburbanites can identify the "community" within which they live. Instead, they usually mention either their immediate housing development name or the section of the metropolitan area as designated by the county. In contrast, people living in the inner city possess a different connection to their location. On the one hand, they may rely on a spatially dispersed network of intimates and probably do not know their neighbors on an intimate basis. On the other hand, areas of the inner city are invariably provided with a community structure by urban planners and government officials. These parts of the city contain block associations, local planning agencies, political districts, and strong religious institutions. All of these elements contribute to the creation of a community with a name and political influence that local residents acknowledge.

SUMMARY

Space affects behavior in many ways. We orient ourselves in particular places by assigning meaning to space. Objects in our environment are meaningful to us. The meanings of space and the objects of the built environment help us organize our everyday lives. This sociospatial process utilizes particular mechanisms in ordering public interaction. We recognize the cues of behavior and acquire street wisdom by repeated use of public space. Our interpretations of behavior require an understanding of spatial context. Spatial context, in short, is a principal component of meaning.

Finally, we have discussed how the metropolitan region is diversified not only with regard to the individuals who live there but also with regard to the types of neighborhood ties and commitments to community found in particular settings. Sociologists have produced a long list of studies that document the diversity of neighborhood types and community relations in both urban and suburban settlement spaces. An understanding of such differences helps us overcome stereotypical thinking about the people of cities and suburbs.

In the last two chapters, the richness of social life across the multicentered metropolitan region was examined in some detail, but metropolitan life also has its problems and challenges. The next chapter considers how metropolitan problems result from the intersection of social, cultural, and spatial factors both within and beyond the metropolis.

KEY CONCEPTS

research methodology
field research
social networks
network analysis
questionnaire and interview method
subcultural perspective
mental maps
neighborhood interaction

IMPORTANT NAMES

Elijah Anderson
Herbert Gans
Claude Fischer
Barry Wellman

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the important differences among the Wirthian perspective, the compositional view, and the subcultural approach toward understanding urban life? How does the sociospatial approach differ from these approaches?
2. Compare and contrast the method of field research and network analysis. What are the respective advantages of each method?
3. What is the relationship between neighboring and community? What does research on this topic tell us about how changing spatial structures in American cities might affect neighboring and community?
4. If you wanted to conduct a research project on your community, what method (field analysis, network analysis, or mental mapping) would you use? What are the reasons for your choice? Describe how you would conduct your study.

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3. Urban problems are often associated with an "underclass" population. What is meant by this term, and why is it controversial? How does the spatial concentration of the urban poor relate to the underclass thesis?

4. What are the spatial implications of crime rates reported for urban and suburban settlement spaces? What differences (if any) are there between crime in cities and crime in suburbs? What are the social consequences of high crime rates in urban neighborhoods?

5. How does the sociospatial perspective help explain the nature of street gang activity in American cities?

6. Metropolitan regions in the United States will confront a number of important problems in the twenty-first century, including the infrastructure crisis, the fiscal crisis, housing problems, and the crisis in education. Select one of these problem areas and explain how changes in American society and developments within metropolitan regions in the era after World War II have affected the problem.

CHAPTER
11

LOCAL POLITICS

City and Suburban Government

Until the 1950s, urban governments in the United States were quite powerful. This is somewhat remarkable because when the political structure of the country was carved out in the eighteenth century, no provision was made for the autonomy of local government. Power under our federal republic is shared between the states and the federal government. City governments exist only by permission of the state in which they are located.

In the 1800s, cities were granted specific powers that enabled them to prosper. It was considered beneficial for the entire society if local government could take care of environmental needs and provide services that supported the quality of daily life. As cities began to grow, they needed infrastructure, that is, paved streets, sewer lines, utilities, bridges, and harbors. Cities also needed to provide public services such as garbage collection, police protection, and education.

Through a mutual understanding among the different levels of government, the task of providing for infrastructure improvement fell to the locality. As a result, in the 1800s, states sanctioned the notion of the municipal corporation, which provided for city government and its services. In return, those same governments were given limited powers of taxation and, most significantly, control over the regulation of land. Hence, the responsibility for the quality of the local environment fell mainly on municipal shoulders.

From its earliest days, the powers of city government were viewed as a prize, even though their scope was limited. It was understood over one hundred years ago that in addition to control over capital and land, control of the bureaucracies and of the decision-making power of government was a separate means of acquiring wealth. The power to tax or regulate both land use and public services gave local government officials significant control over other people's money. Municipalities could, for example, tax the local economy and reap the benefits of growth in the value of land. In addition, city services expanded their domains through various departments or bureaucracies, thereby making the city a major employer. It was this power that made urban administrations central players in the generation and accumulation of wealth throughout the metropolitan period. But the ability of municipalities to influence factors that might affect the accumulation of wealth has largely disappeared with the increased mobility of capital in the era of global capitalism.

In previous chapters we have seen how capital investment operates to produce a built environment. Due to the uneven nature of development, growth brings with it problems of equity and social justice. The struggles involving these issues are carried out in the municipal arena. The government must also intervene to keep capitalists from destroying one another's opportunities in the mad rush for profits. As a result, local government becomes the forum within which issues of growth and change, of the local quality of life, of the demands of citizens for relief from inequities, and of the well-being of local neighborhoods are all addressed. Both conflict and accommodation mark the tenor of community public affairs.

Over the past century, the nature of local government changed dramatically. Unprincipled exploitation of municipal decision-making powers was opposed by a series of reform cycles, some of which were more equitable and enlightened than others. But always, individual city residents and interest groups sought over the years to make local government in the United States function better. Out of that struggle the ethos of self-rule has been fashioned, however imperfect the results may be. The following sections discuss the evolution of these changes and then deal with several important issues surrounding the exercise of municipal authority today—in particular, the decline of democracy in local decision making and the growing power of corporate and banking interests to define the local agenda.

MACHINE POLITICS

In the early days of municipal government, political groups that controlled city hall and utilized it to acquire wealth were called political machines. One of the most notorious machines was the New York–based Tweed Ring, run by Boss Tweed. His reign made city government synonymous with corruption. A more typical political machine, however, was the one founded by Boss Pendergast in Kansas City (Dorsett, 1968). Jim Pendergast came to that town in the 1880s and opened a popular saloon. It was located in West Bottoms, a typical poor section of the city—typical for any city at that time—with large numbers of low-income working people from a variety of backgrounds, including foreign countries. He entered politics by creating a local Democrats club and quickly extended his influence to adjoining wards within the city. Soon his organization was able to mobilize the majority of votes, and he took control of local government. Boss Pendergast's regime apparently was not corrupt and derived its income from the regulation of saloons, gambling, and prostitution. Its support came from the successful mobilization of the large working class and other lower-income groups in the city.

After 1910, Jim Pendergast died and his brother Tom took over. In the years that followed, Tom Pendergast remained in control of the city but increasingly followed the lead of corrupt bosses elsewhere by engaging in fraudulent voting practices and influence peddling; that is, when business needed some public decision for its own interests, the local political leaders would ask for money in return. Eventually, charges of corruption destroyed this machine as they did so many others.

The principal characteristic of the political machine was that it functioned as a mode of administration rather than one of social change or political ideology; that is, machines did not stand for anything in particular, although most of them ran on the Democratic Party line because that party represented new immigrant and working-class groups that had moved to the industrial cities. They worked as organizations that acquired and deployed citizen votes. As Lineberry and Sharkansky (1978:119) note, "Machines are almost never ideological. They are rather broad umbrellas that are large enough to cover every shade of opinion and interest." The members of machines aggressively sought the loyalty of voters, often by promising employment or other favors, a process that has become known as patronage. In return, those individuals behind the machine used their political influence to acquire wealth for themselves and their associates in the private sector.

Political machines often were organized efforts of corruption (Scott, 1972). Their power derived from their ability to mobilize large numbers of voters and thereby win elections. Once in power, they had control over the city resources. They helped redistribute wealth to those who really needed it—for example, by employing hundreds of thousands of recent immigrants in search of work. They institutionalized and enlarged city bureaucracies such as health departments. These became useful during times of crisis, such as when epidemics occurred, and they brought order to everyday city life.

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PROGRESSIVE REFORM

The corruption of machine politics was attacked at a variety of levels at the turn of the twentieth century. Businesses that had been growing in strength and scope throughout the nineteenth century no longer sought to associate with corrupt regimes. Much of the city infrastructure was also in place across the country by 1900, and there was less for government to do aside from providing services. One remedy used to combat the machine was the movement to change the structure of local government known as progressivism. Progressivism attracted large numbers of voters, many of whom had recently attained middle-class status because of economic growth. Eventually the political machines whose base remained within working-class districts were thrown out of office. The control of urban governments was transferred to reformers, many of whom were from citizen and business associations known as "good government" coalitions. Some of the reforms that were enacted involved changing the way local leaders were elected and reorganizing city bureaucracies.

Changes in the Political Apparatus

Under the machines, most cities were carved up into local wards, with each sector able to vote for a councilperson who would sit in the government chamber. Most bosses, such as Pendergast in Kansas City and Tweed in New York, started by capturing a single ward. Machines could use their influence on the voters at the local levels to mobilize support for candidates. One characteristic reform of the progressives involved a switch from precinct to at-large elections in which candidates had to acquire an overall majority of votes across the city in order to win. It was felt that the open glare of publicity and the need to acquire support from all the citizens of the city would act to curb the insider trading and deal making that were characteristic of the ward system.

In short, this progressive reform changed the structure of the municipal government apparatus of citizen representation. To this day, the degree to which various individuals and parties influence city elections depends to a significant extent on the structure of local government. Specifically, it depends on how citizens are represented, in addition to other factors such as their desire for change. For example, at-large elections require consensus building that cuts across particular interests, whereas the ward system favors champions of local constituencies with their specific concerns. We will return to this point when we discuss power structure studies.

Reforming the City Bureaucracy

The reform discussed above refers to changes in the apparatus of representation. A second important progressive reform involved bringing apolitical, professional expertise into local government; that is, the progressives also changed the apparatus of administration. Because mayors often represented special interests, and because city bureaucracies were often staffed by cronies of the machine holding patronage positions, progressives sought to eliminate such abuse. They instituted "civil service" structures in bureaucracies, which then hired people according to their professional qualifications and ensured job security, especially immunity from being fired after a change in political leadership. Work in city agencies became a career as a result.

In place of an elected mayor, many cities turned to a *councilmanic* structure of government with elected officials serving on a council and the head of government appointed as a "city manager." This manager was chosen on the basis of professional background and experience, thereby bringing technical expertise into city government. To this day, the extent to which professional careerists and city managers are involved in local government or the apparatus of administration constitutes a second independent source of political effects in the running of the city in addition to the structure of representation discussed above; that is, the relationship between elected and appointed career officials represents an important source of variation in the relative success of local government.

For example, city managers are usually career civil servants and have considerable control over the day-to-day budget. When their level of expertise is low, they may be responsible for severe fiscal problems through the mismanagement of finances. Unsound fiscal management has contributed to many of the problems cities now face. Over the past two decades, professional managers have responded to the fiscal problems of cities by improving their ability to aid local government (Matzer, 1986). Several management techniques have been developed, including (1) trend monitoring systems, which enable financial forecasting and trend analysis; (2) fiscal impact analysis, which predicts how future changes will affect people; and (3) creative capital financing, such as floating capital improvement plans for public investment. In short, professional city managers can make a positive difference in the fight against fiscal distress and budget problems.

To summarize, whereas the machine embodied a vote-for-favor ethic, progressive reforms restructured the representative and administrative apparatuses of government so that influence operated according to general interests

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expressed in terms of overarching values that were often ideologies. We cannot say unequivocally whether one system was better than the other, although the serious excesses of machine politics were cleaned up by the progressives. The machine, while flawed, did champion the needs of the masses, whereas the progressives tended to represent the middle-class business community. What is clear is that explorations into the nature of political power and influence at the local level must consider the independent effects of structures of representation on the one hand and the role of city bureaucrats on the other, in addition to factors related to competition over votes.

The above discussion has demonstrated the importance of structure for understanding the role of local government. Much of politics, however, is high drama and involves constant interactions among various individuals and groups over the satisfaction of respective needs. Politics involves the way these actors utilize power to get what they want. In the following section, we examine a number of theories of politics that address this important issue of the nature of power.

THEORIES OF LOCAL POLITICS

Whether we consider city or suburban governments, the central feature of the local state—its ability to acquire wealth and channel social resources—has meant that organized interests must compete with one another for control. This struggle for control over urban and suburban settlement space provides the drama of local politics. Urban sociologists have made use of three competing theories to explain how the political process in metropolitan regions operates: elite theory, pluralist theory, and state managerialism.

Elite Theory

The elite theory of urban politics asserts that there is always a select group of influentials, or a "community power structure," that possesses the controlling interest in a town. The elite structure of power was discovered by Floyd Hunter (1953) in his study of Atlanta. The power structure in a community can be identified by using a reputational analysis approach to identify the most influential people in a town and those with whom they associate. While not actively involved in all government deliberations, this "elite" group monitors them and intervenes through personal influence when it appears that an impending decision or project may interfere with their interests. Hunter's conclusion that Atlanta was run by a group of powerful individuals, most of whom were not part of elected government, was confirmed some thirty years later by Clarence Stone (1989).

Community power structure case studies are very convincing because they capture the way government and the private sector combine to push development toward specific directions, often in spite of community opposition, in ways that usually avoid public scrutiny. One characteristic of elites is that they get together relatively often to establish and reaffirm their common interests.

Houston has been touted for years as a "free enterprise city." Joe R. Feagin (1988) discovered that despite the label, there was a select group in control that used the local state to improve its private interests. Members were called the "Suite 8F crowd" because they met regularly at a room in a local hotel. The Houston group was very effective in persuading government to enhance its own business interests by pushing for development projects that it preferred. In fact, this group had so much influence that it even got the federal government to fund the dredging of Houston harbor, turning it into a port that made many local elites wealthy.

Pluralist Theory

Pluralism represents the dominant theoretical paradigm within contemporary political science. According to the pluralist theory, political influence is exercised by interest groups that are widely dispersed across the political spectrum. These interest groups all compete more or less equally within the political system to influence political decisions. While large corporations might influence decisions by contributing to political candidates, for example, labor unions also contribute to their candidates, and over the long run these interest groups share equally in the decisions made by elected officials. Control of government by any one interest over the long term is not possible.

Robert Dahl (1961) used a decision analysis approach to study how the mayor and city council of New Haven, Connecticut, made decisions on important political issues, including public education and urban renewal. He found that specific groups of leaders emerged to argue for (or against) particular issues, based largely on their specialized knowledge of each issue. There was little overlap among these groups from one issue to the next. Following the classic pluralist model, Dahl concluded that all groups of people in the community were represented by the local leadership and that no single group had special power or influence in local decision making.

Several other case studies of community decision making have been carried out by other scholars subscribing to this theoretical model. But their results have likely been influenced by their methodology, which focuses only on those decisions decided by elected officials in the public arena. Much of what influences government policy takes place behind the scenes and is never brought up for public deliberation (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). As we will

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see later in this chapter, many cities have created redevelopment authorities that have the power to condemn land and use public funds without any public oversight.

State Managerialism

Whenever the day-to-day workings of city hall are examined, it is sometimes difficult to discern whether pluralist or elitist powers are in operation. On the one hand, it often appears that many groups are seeking to be heard and that the mayor must spend a great deal of time with constituents. On the other hand, when big decisions are made, the private sector seems to prevail. Recently a third perspective on local government has been proposed that fills in the gaps, so to speak, of these two theories: the state autonomy or state managerialism thesis.

According to this view, local government itself possesses some autonomy from both community and business interests. The local state also has interests of its own. For example, since government agencies represent a principal sector of employment, the local state seeks to enlarge its power over the private sector just to generate jobs and justify expanding budgets. Leaders of local government are also aware that they must satisfy the majority of the population to remain in power. Hence, they find highly visible ways of catering to the populace that may on occasion offend individually powerful groups, such as demanding that developers make small but significant concessions to community interests before project plans can be approved.

Several studies (Lipsky, 1976; Hero and Durand, 1985) have confirmed the presence of "relative" government autonomy. In particular, it was found that bureaucrats in city agencies have considerable leeway in responding to the needs of clients. Public satisfaction with government varies greatly depending on personal experiences. Pluralist theory asserts that elected officials function by integrating conflicting demands. While that may be one response, bureaucrats may also choose to lead according to what they perceive is their own expert opinion. As studies of local government have noted, it is very difficult to hold public officials strictly accountable for their actions. We often discover their abuses of power only when scandalous incidents of corruption are brought to light. But the ability of city bureaucrats to act on their own has positive advantages as well. We already discussed in a previous section how greater expertise by city managers in handling fiscal problems has made local governments more efficient and sound. The relative autonomy thesis suggests that public bureaucrats' ability to pursue their independent interests is always present.

WHICH VIEW IS CORRECT?

Years of community power studies have given us a relatively clear picture of the functions of local government. We might say that the state and its officials act in a variety of ways depending on how they are viewed by researchers and on the methodology used to study the government decision-making process. However, it is clear that most cities are dominated by an elite, even if they are not "controlled" by this select group. What we are suggesting is that there are enough degrees of freedom in the activities of local government for observers to note both pluralist and state managerialist outcomes of local decision making. However, such results generally involve decisions that are not *critical* to the development of the area. When truly important decisions have to be made, generally involving large sums of money and local political subsidies to the private sector, elites usually have their way. Often, such decisions are made with limited public input, while lesser issues are given substantial coverage by town meetings and the like. In short, local government, like state and national government, subsidizes the private sector through the use of public resources.

As Gregory Squires noted, the public-private partnerships that developed in the 1980s and 1990s to link civic and economic interests have had negative impacts on American cities and metropolitan regions:

> Contemporary partnerships take many forms. Coalitions of business leaders have been organized, sometimes including prominent public officials, to generate local economic growth. Redevelopment authorities have been created to give selected private developers rights and responsibilities traditionally vested in the public sector, such as land clearance, administration of government grants, and approval of public subsidies. In the name of public-private partnership, public officials have provided an array of subsidies in efforts to stimulate private business development . . .
>
> What has frequently been overlooked, however, is the inherently unequal nature of most partnerships. Frequently they exclude altogether the neighborhood residents most affected by development decisions. Public goals often go unmet, and democratic processes are undermined. Public support for public goals can dissipate if it is perceived (incorrectly) that the private sector is picking up the slack. The principal beneficiaries are often large corporations, developers, and institutions because the tax burden and other costs are shifted to consumers. And perhaps the important public benefits—jobs—either are temporary and low paying, or in the case of good jobs, go to suburbanites or other out-of-towners recruited by local businesses. (Squires, 1989:3)

THE DRAMA OF LOCAL POLITICS

Empowerment: Ethnic and Racial Changes

The succession of economic elites is just one way to look at changes in local government, although it is perhaps the most important way. Politics is also a dramatic enterprise. It involves struggle, conciliation, coalition building, and conflict. For many years, our cities have been ruled by broadly based coalitions representing local neighborhoods as well as economic interests. The backgrounds of local politicians reflected immigrant origins in the early waves that arrived in this country. The late 1700s and 1800s witnessed the domination of WASPs such as Boss Tweed in New York. Later on, the Irish became adept at political control, as we have seen in the case of Boss Pendergast. For much of the twentieth century, cities were run by coalitions of Irish, Eastern Europeans, Italians, and Jews.

In recent decades, the populations of metropolitan regions have changed greatly (see Chapter 6). In some cities and suburbs, minority groups have become numerical majorities. More than three hundred American cities have elected minority mayors, including many communities where a coalition of ethnic and racial groups have joined together to defeat the incumbent. Many are African American, but others are Hispanic and Asian. In 2005, Los Angeles City Councilman Antonio Villaraigosa defeated Mayor James Hahn to become the city's first Hispanic mayor since 1872 (when the city had some 5,000 residents). The changeover from the ruling coalitions of Irish, Italians, Jews, and Eastern Europeans beginning with the industrial period to minority leadership reflects today's multicultural city, but the change has not gone necessarily smoothly. Logan and Mollenkopf's (2003) study of the transition of political power in American cities found that there is about a twenty-year lag in the time from population majority to the election of a minority candidate, and suggested that mayoral elections are visible reminders of ethnic and racial cleavages in American society—including new divisions among ethnic populations and new immigrant communities.

Asians, for example, have been considered a "model minority" because many of the third-wave immigrants have done well economically (see Chapter 8). Yet many Asian Americans have incomes below the poverty line and have needs that are being neglected by the existing power structure in local areas. In one such case, the Cambodians of Long Beach, California, decided to organize for empowerment rather than continue to be represented by other ethnic groups. Cambodians represent 10 percent of the Long Beach population. Previous ethnic groups relied on churches, ward machines, and even local taverns as the places where voting blocs could be organized. The Cambodians had no such power bases. Under continual pressure to become active in politics because their needs were being neglected, they began to organize themselves through the only institutional channel at their disposal, the Cambodian refugee agencies. According to Riposa (1992:16), these organizations blended social services for immigrants and cultural support in the transition to U.S. society. As a result of the struggle for empowerment, they were assigned a third task of political advocacy as the voice of the Cambodian community. Today these refugee organizations are one of many organized interests in Long Beach competing within the political arena. Another such organization is TWO–The Woodlawn Organization, described in Box 11.1.

Urban Social Movements

The previous section depicts one aspect of the drama of local politics, namely, the quest for power and control by organized ruling coalitions. There is another aspect, however, based on the concerns of citizens regarding their everyday life. Individuals and community associations often organize to influence local government. Despite the old saying "You can't fight city hall," many people do just that. When there are large enough numbers and defined demands, mobilized constituencies may even aggregate to the level of an urban social movement, that is, an organized mass of citizens making demands on local government for structural change (Castells, 1983). The concept of *local social movement* is an important one in urban research. However, it must be noted at the outset that the concerns behind so-called urban social movements differ substantially from those in the suburbs. All areas of the multicentered metropolitan region possess their own, unique agendas when local social movements arise.

In many cases, local social movements are ad hoc and relate to a specific issue. There may be some persisting irritant that afflicts a community, such as inadequate police protection or garbage removal. Residents belonging to a city-based social movement mobilize their local community to appeal for more resources and the mayor's attention to their needs. Often these protests are resolved when the mayor's office negotiates with local citizens. These incidents constitute the very backbone of democratic freedom, even if the system itself cannot respond adequately to every demand. As might be expected, neighborhoods that are wealthier or better organized in the city may receive more immediate attention. There is, therefore, an incentive for communities to keep a standing association that represents an organized voice for their needs. Many localities in both cities and suburbs have such neighborhood associations, and there is even a national network of block associations representing the voice of local communities (Boyte, 1980; Logan and Rabrenovic,

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Process evaluation is the most frequent form of program evaluation. It is used both as a freestanding evaluation and in conjunction with impact assessment (discussed below) as part of a more comprehensive evaluation. As a freestanding evaluation, it yields quality assurance information, assessing the extent to which a program is implemented as intended and operating up to the standards established for it. When the program model employed is one of established effectiveness, a demonstration that the program is well implemented can be presumptive evidence that the expected outcomes are produced as well. When the program is new, a process evaluation provides valuable feedback to administrators and other stakeholders about the progress that has been made implementing the program plan. From a management perspective, process evaluation provides the feedback that allows a program to be

BOX 11.1 The Woodlawn Organization and Community Redevelopment

Between 1960 and 1970, the Woodlawn community on Chicago's South Side lost half of its population to white flight to the suburbs. Economic institutions were the next to leave; in 1971, the last bank in the community closed its doors. By the end of the 1970s, the once-thriving business district along 63rd Street had been replaced by boarded-up storefronts, and residential areas had become vacant lots. The City of Chicago shut down the elevated train that ran above 63rd Street for repairs and later announced plans to dismantle the line.

A coalition of more than one hundred neighborhood organizations, led by religious and block club leaders and with the assistance of Saul Alinsky, the famous community organizer, formed the Temporary Woodlawn Organization (TWO), later to be known as The Woodlawn Organization. TWO organized community residents to picket and threaten boycotts against merchants, landlords, and city bureaucrats responsible for the decline of the community, including demonstrations in front of the suburban homes of absentee landlords. When the University of Chicago sought to use urban renewal funds to clear the land between 60th and 63rd Streets and construct a park and upper-income housing to establish a buffer zone against the low-income neighborhood, TWO used the community participation requirement of the urban renewal program to prevent the displacement of low-income families.

In the 1970s, TWO began a wide range of social service programs, including prenatal and infant health care, Head Start programs for early child development, and programs for substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, and mental health care. By 1997, the organization was operating a social service network with a total budget of $4.2 million serving more than 7,000 people each day. Recognizing that middle- and upper-class black families were following whites out into the suburbs, the Woodlawn Community Development Commission was created to attract middle-class black families back to the neighborhood and create a viable mixed-income community. Since 1968, TWO has rehabilitated or constructed more than 1,500 apartments and homes for low- and moderate-income families, senior citizens, and others.

TWO was the first organization in the country to sponsor a mixed-income homeownership project in which moderate- and low-income families would live next to one another. A small-business support program for local businesses gave way to large-scale commercial real estate development, including a shopping plaza to focus economic growth and create jobs within the community. Along 63rd Street and Stony Island Boulevard, vacant lots and abandoned hotels have been transformed into garden apartments for middle- and working-class families. In cities around the country, neighborhood organizations such as TWO have demonstrated that development strategies planned at the community level often produce results far superior to those of federal officials and city planners.

1990). Previously, we have made the distinction between a neighborhood and a community on the basis of the existence of standing, area-wide associations. These are characteristic of communities and are most often found in cities.

According to Castells (1983), typically, *urban* social movements are directed against city hall. They make demands for better services and may call for structural changes in local government, such as the representation of neighborhoods or districts. Other concerns involve the community quality of life that is dependent on public services, such as police protection, public school quality, sanitation, park management, traffic conditions, street repair, air pollution, and environmental quality. What characterizes these activities as urban social movements is not so much their content as their target—local government and bureaucrats. However, as mentioned above, the content of city-based concerns can differ considerably from suburban counterparts. This difference in content of local social movements constitutes an interesting research area.

Suburban Social Movements

Cities are not the only places where social movements occur. Suburbs also have their share. As with the city, organized efforts at influencing local government in suburbia can range from specific and temporary incidents to full-fledged movements that unite several communities. However, one common example of a typical *suburban* social movement that differs from urban social movements is neighborhood organization for greater traffic controls on streets, while others involve movements to control residential development or the tax revolts of home owners. In general, suburban social movements involve issues emerging from the developing character of suburbs. This is in contrast to city life, which takes place in an environment that was developed decades ago.

Growth Control Movements. Another social movement that is typically suburban is the call for growth controls among home owners who have already moved into an area in order to limit the kind of housing of future inhabitants. To a great extent, suburban politics is home-owner politics, because most of the issues that mobilize citizens concern their interest as owners of single-family homes in regions that are becoming densely populated and, at times, sited with new housing that is cheaper than that previously built. The issue that represents the variety of concerns dealing with the desire to limit future private-sector construction is called "growth control." In such cases, we can say that organized efforts to control growth qualify as a suburban social movement. Simply put, when suburban areas grow, the increase in residents brings

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Assessment of Program Process

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EXHIBIT 2-L

Failure on the Front Lines: Implementing Welfare Reform

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problems that have an impact on the quality of life for those people who settled there earlier. Increased traffic, pollution, taxes, crowding in schools, and overburdening of public facilities, such as recreational areas, are but some of the problems that result when a region experiences sustained development. Often original inhabitants of a suburb will try to prevent future growth by passing a growth control measure or amendment to the town's zoning code.

For example, in the medium-size city of Riverside, a rapidly growing suburban area in southern California, a movement arose to limit the development of hillsides and wild arroyos in the town. A growth control initiative was placed on the ballot for the 1980 election. Opposition to the measure was expressed by real estate interests and retailers who wanted to maintain the pace of growth. The initiative to block growth was passed by a majority of voters coming from a variety of backgrounds. In a statistical study of the election, class differences among voters were not found to be a significant factor (Gottdiener and Neiman, 1981). Rather, all social groups in the community expressed a concern for maintaining the quality of life, and this interest dominated local suburban politics. A principal function of local government is preserving or enhancing the quality of life, and support for this effort comes from all segments of the community. The non-class-based nature of suburban social movements has commonalities with those of the central city in the United States and other countries that are also concerned with government's role in maintaining the quality of life.

Growth control measures often result in "up-zoning," that is, the restructuring of land use by local planning departments to allow only larger plots for homes. Such measures prevent the construction of high-density development, thereby reducing growth pressures. But they also push the value of new homes sky-high. For this reason, many communities that are in the path of development often opt for local growth controls. This strategy places them at odds with state legislatures concerned about *equal access* to housing and developers who seek to build as many houses as they can, and often with landowners who want to sell their land to developers. The result is a potent brew for local political conflict. Consequently, growth control is a contentious issue that is often perceived as violating the civil rights of new home buyers in pursuit of affordable housing, on the one hand, and of violating the private property rights of landowners and home developers, on the other.

Tax Revolts and the Crisis of Suburban Social Services. Another issue that is typically suburban concerns the way local residents perceive the need to support local government services with home-owner property taxes. Despite the fact that in almost all areas of the country, property taxes go to support public education, policing, and the like, area residents may oppose the costs for such services. When a sufficient number of home owners object to local tax rates, they may form a social movement, typically suburban, called a "tax revolt." In several states, the demand of home owners for tax relief not only cut across local suburban jurisdictions but struck a responsive chord in the majority of residents who were not newcomers. California voters, for example, passed the Jarvis-Gann initiative—Proposition 13—in 1979. This measure restricted the property tax that could be charged to existing owners while allowing tax increases when property was bought by those just moving into the region. In effect, Proposition 13 made new buyers of property the bearers of increased taxes while providing considerable relief to residents who had lived in the state for some time. Despite the obvious civil rights issue this proposition posed, in June 1992, the United States Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality. The initiative was so successful that it sparked tax revolts in other states, such as Massachusetts. Proposition 13 affects all the residents of California because it places limits on the ability of local government to raise tax revenue, necessitating cuts in social spending. At the same time, it has benefited longtime residents because it has kept their property taxes from rising, although it has greatly exacerbated social problems in the larger cities (see Chapter 10). Among other things, the quality of elementary school education plummeted after the passage of the measure. Moreover, chronic fiscal crises and deteriorating public services have continued to plague California since that time.

THE CONTRADICTORY NATURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local politics in both cities and suburbs is directed at concerns regarding the quality of life, whether that quality is measured in services or in tax relief. City government is expected to provide services, maintain law and order, and promote economic development while not adding to the tax burdens of local residents. This highlights the great contradiction of local politics in the United States: On the one hand, people want government to improve their quality of life; on the other, they are not willing to pay for it in taxes even though taxes in the United States are by far the lowest of any developed nation.

Social movements that seek reforms and change are motivated by the same concerns that form the basis of local politics, namely, the role of local government in promoting the quality of life and in limiting taxation. One important outcome of research on urban and suburban social movements is that they are usually not class based; that is, their constituencies often cut across class lines. Hence, they constitute a second source of politics in society alongside worker-led

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industrial conflict. In addition, these social movements expose the contradictory nature of local government in our society. People expect the public sector to do much, but they are unwilling to pay for it. This contradiction leads everywhere and at every level of government to fiscal crisis. The fact that our society has been burdened by problems associated with deficit spending since the Great Depression is not an accident. Capitalism exploits workers, but, as residents, these same workers demand a minimum quality of life from their local government. When the private sector exploits tax relief rather than paying its fair share, the result is fiscal crisis and attendant cuts in public services, which in turn lead to a decline in the community quality of life.

The cross-class basis of local social movements is most apparent in the suburban case of home-owner politics. As we have seen, in suburbia, concerns over rising property taxes and the rate of growth and development are shared by a variety of social groups. Threats to the quality of life cut across class lines in the city as well. This is clearest in urban areas when diverse communities unite to block proposed projects that would overdevelop local areas or when traffic, crime, and other urban ills threaten neighborhood tranquillity. Urban and suburban social movements are a form of politics that differs from traditional economic conflict. Whereas the latter involves workers clashing with capitalists over wages and benefits, the former unites people of diverse backgrounds and confronts the state over concerns about taxation or the quality of life. Americans perceive the function of local government to be the maintenance of a reasonably high quality of life. People pressure their local governments to gain concessions from business interests, such as real estate developers or corporations, so that development benefits the public good. Whenever this occurs and the negative effects of uneven development can be avoided or mitigated, democratic politics functions as it was intended. For the most part, however, corporations and other business interests are given considerable latitude and often win tax breaks. The fiscal burden of sustaining the quality of life then falls on the shoulders of local residents, who cannot bear the full weight of supporting society's needs.

THE DECLINING POWER OF LOCAL POLITICS

The strength of local government in our society is not only severely limited by the paradoxical attitudes of the urban and suburban citizenry, it is also considerably weakened by the decline in our political culture in general. This is manifested in the incredible power of private business interests in our society that seem to go unchecked by the public sector. Control of city and suburban government brings certain benefits from control over public-sector

decisions. The quality of life can be either enhanced or frustrated by the acts of those holding public office. This offers an incentive for citizens to become involved in local politics, even when the apparatus of government discourages direct participation. Involvement in politics may also be a means of acquiring wealth. Lawyers and politicians, along with their friends in real estate, construction, public services such as medicine, and banking and commercial interests, may benefit greatly from influence in or control of city government. There is an incentive to fight for the right to manage city hall. In recent decades, local governments have clearly been dominated by powerful economic interests to the detriment of citizen control. This is not simply a matter of such interests actively being involved in local decision making. Rather it is a phenomenon of the general decline in the power of local government to do anything, given the new realities of a globally connected, information economy. Increasingly, states have also been sidestepped in their political abilities to control the private sector. Now, it is mainly the federal government that is the last line of public interest in this evolution of a world capitalist system.

The power of local government declined after World War II. Both city and suburban governments were hemmed in by powerful economic constraints, making local politics weak. And over the past several decades, the drama of politics has been replaced by fighting over dwindling public resources, which often heightens racial and ethnic divisions. There are three major reasons for this decline of city politics.

First, participation in local elections is limited. Voter turnout is consistently less than half of all those eligible to participate. Community life once was characterized by high levels of citizen involvement, but if we consider voting, participation in the community has declined drastically. Although some analysts do not consider this phenomenon as cause for alarm, it does suggest that a significant number of people have become alienated from the institution of politics and have limited faith in political leaders.

A *second* limitation of local politics is that, if we consider metropolitan regions as a whole, we discover they are excessively fragmented by multiple municipal jurisdictions and overlapped with special service districts. The Chicago region possesses a chaotic array of more than 1,000 separate public service districts. This makes metropolitan coordination of service delivery very difficult and regional planning almost impossible. In addition, central city governments are being overshadowed by their outlying suburban counties, which have matured and developed a strong array of services that rival those of the large city. In 1966, the city of Atlanta outspent its suburban counties by two to one in services. By 1987, however, Atlanta accounted for only

10 percent of spending on services among all places located within the metropolitan area. A single suburban county, Fulton, spent almost as much ($409.5 million) as the city of Atlanta itself ($586.7 million) (Fleischmann, 1991). Such differences in public-sector spending abilities are a direct consequence of the growth of multicentered metropolitan regions.

The *third* limitation of local politics is the ideology of privatism. According to Gregory Squires (1991:197), "the central tenet of privatism is the belief in the supremacy of the private sector and market forces in nurturing development, with the public sector as a junior partner whose principal obligation is to facilitate private capital accumulation."

Little connection is made between the need to promote the general quality of life and the desire of businesses to locate in areas that are attractive places to live as well as work. The ideology of privatism, therefore, is a very limited way of conceptualizing the guiding vision of local politics (see Chapter 15 for a more detailed discussion of privatism and public policy). It implies not simply the domination of business interests but a political leadership that has only a limited vision in addressing the social issues of growth.

Public subsidies to business have had only limited success in revitalizing cities. Redevelopment usually is centered on the downtown area and the construction of hotels, luxury housing, sports stadiums, and tourist attractions such as convention centers. These areas seem to function effectively by day but are devoid of life during other times. They provide only limited employment, usually in service industries and at minimum wage. They are places besieged by crime, the homeless, and deteriorating public facilities. Elsewhere in the city, neighborhoods and infrastructure deteriorate, and education declines for lack of funds. In short, downtown business may have been improved by the policy of privatism, but the rest of the city has deteriorated.

Even more important with respect to our democratic institutions, privatism removes the goals and operations of government from both the political process and public accountability. Government decisions become merely a technical matter of choosing which economic policy to pursue. Public-private partnerships ensure that an increasing number of decisions previously open for public discussion are decided instead in political backrooms or, more likely, corporate corridors.

Redevelopment has created nonelective super-agencies such as the Boston Redevelopment Authority and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which carry out massive projects, such as the construction of the "Big Dig" tunnels under Boston, with only minimal public input. Consequently, the quality of local politics has declined, and residents' participation in urban policy making is diminished. In short, at present there is a crisis of political process and leadership at the local level and an alarming deterioration in the community quality of life for most residents of cities and suburbs.

SUMMARY

Since the 1950s, the power of city government has progressively declined. At the same time, the demands made on it to ensure the quality of life have increased. As suburbanization drained the tax-paying middle class away from the city, first the federal government and then state governments cut aid to the cities. Now urban governments are being asked to do more and more with less and less to help the neediest groups in our society: the poor, minorities, and the aged.

Suburban governments have not fared much better. Although residents tend to be more affluent than those in the city, political jurisdictions are relatively small and their economic base is weak. Competition among suburban areas for new investment is always keen and usually results in a zero-sum game. As a consequence, suburban government also possesses a limited scope. Only the wealthiest communities are able to provide the kind of extensive services that rival those of the central city.

Some people assert that limited government is a good thing and that only liberals seek an extended political sphere, which usually does no more than tax excessively and fritter away public money. However, the kind of decline highlighted in this chapter is not about the limitations of government intervention but about the diminished quality of local democracy. At the local level, the declining power of government has meant constraints on the political process and on the democratic participation of all citizens in making effective decisions about the future of their own communities.

The history of municipal politics in the United States involves a struggle over the form that the representative and administrative apparatuses of local government within urban and suburban settlement spaces will take. Each of these is important for an understanding of the daily operation of government. But local politics also encapsulates dramatic struggles and themes. Because of the power of political decision making, both the business and the local residential communities strive to make their respective needs known. Municipal government can be the forum within which the desires of ordinary citizens are expressed and the injustices of uneven economic development are remedied. That is a democratic ideal. However, local politics is often controlled by business interests and poor political leadership. Too often municipal policy merely helps subsidize capital accumulation for the wealthiest groups in our society. This crisis of democracy may be measured not only by the extent to

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which business dominates local decisions but also by the failure of citizen participation and political leadership.

Local politics within urban and suburban settlement spaces has some important commonalities but also differences. In both, local governments must provide for education and other public services such as libraries and police and fire protection. In many large cities, government has reflected the popular interests of immigrant groups. In some communities, leadership and power have shifted into the hands of minorities that have become empowered after a long political struggle. But corporate, banking, and real estate interests are likely to set the agenda for urban and suburban governments. And the increased participation of minorities in city government has not resulted in a stronger commitment to alleviate social problems affecting these groups.

In the suburbs, concerns about the community quality of life dominate. Metropolitan growth itself has been perceived as a threat to the quality of life, and suburban politics has shifted to ways of managing growth. Political concerns in the suburbs also hold in common with the large city the need to overcome the injustices of uneven development. In both cases, these concerns are based not on class alone but on a cross-section of community interests.

In the 1800s, municipal boundaries enclosed the significant economic resources of manufacturing and banking activities, so that local government and its bureaucrats had the capacity to enrich themselves as the economy prospered. This is not so today. At present, capital investing and manufacturing are dispersed not only across the metropolitan region but across world space. Attachment of capital to place is quite limited, although some businesses, such as public utilities, newspapers, and banks, have a permanent stake in neighborhood prosperity and growth. Consequently, local government lacks the same ability to raise revenue from the private sector that it once had.

Other factors add to the limitations of local politics. These include the continuing fiscal crisis at the state and local levels, the growing power of quasi-public agencies that push for economic development without community involvement; and the ideology of privatism, which restricts the redistributive role of local government and identifies private-sector interests as public subsidization of development.

The limitations on local government discussed in this chapter require reforms that address the nature of the local political process. Programs to address the social problems discussed in Chapter 10 will be effective only if we understand how government might work better in the future, rather than by endorsing wholesale spending programs such as the urban renewal of the 1960s. Our discussion of urban problems and politics over the past several chapters requires an examination of the nature of metropolitan policy. But first, let us survey the patterns of metropolitan growth in other countries of the world to obtain a comparative perspective on the issues raised in the preceding chapters.

KEY CONCEPTS

municipal corporation
political machine
city manager
elite theory
pluralist theory
growth control movements
privatism
unequal partnerships

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do the elite theory, the pluralist theory, and the state managerialist theory of urban political structure differ from one another? Which is most accurate in explaining the political structure in your city?
2. What is the role of the city manager? Why did many urban governments adopt the city manager position?
3. What is meant by the ideology of privatism? How do you see this ideology working within local political structures in the United States?
4. What is meant by unequal partnerships? What are some of the recent redevelopment projects in your community? What type of partnerships were used for these projects?
5. How do the concerns of suburban politics differ from the political concerns of the large city? In what ways are the political concerns of both urban and suburban residents similar to one another?

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One last source of reform remains unexamined so far: the activities surrounding the drafting and execution of public policy and state intervention. We will consider this topic in the next chapter.

KEY CONCEPTS

planning paradox
physical determinism
New Urbanism
gated communities
sustainable development

IMPORTANT NAMES

Ebenezer Howard
Frank Lloyd Wright
Jane Jacobs
Leon Krier
Andres Duany

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Environmental problems must be considered as a sociospatial issue. What are some examples of sociospatial inequalities and environmental problems that you are aware of in your community?
2. The textbook suggests that physical determinism and the elitist-populist dilemma are major shortcomings with urban planning. What do these terms mean? What can be done to overcome these limitations?
3. We have discussed three utopian planners—Howard, Le Corbusier, and Wright. How did these planners differ in their ideas for improving urban life? Which has had the most influence on urban development in the United States?
4. What is meant by New Urbanism? Why are some observers critical of this movement? Do you think that New Urbanism can solve the social problems confronting metropolitan regions discussed in Chapter 10?
5. Are there gated communities in the area where you grew up? Do these communities match the description given by Blakely and Snyder? If not, in what ways are they different?

CHAPTER
15

METROPOLITAN SOCIAL POLICY

In the previous chapter, we considered one form of intervention: planning. We have examined both its prospects and its limitations. Attempts by society to fashion a living environment that is beneficial to all citizens do not end by exhausting planning options. A separate approach, one that is often initiated in conjunction with planning, involves government intervention guided by policy. The state has the authority to allocate money from tax revenues for social programs and to authorize deficit spending to address social needs. Government actions not only can direct behavior by prohibition, that is, by passing laws that prohibit certain acts, but also can provide incentives and opportunities to channel resources in specific ways. This push-versus-pull feature of policy is an important one to keep in mind when examining the issue of political intervention. Although this chapter is devoted to the role of government in improving metropolitan life, it is worthwhile noting that intervention, such as the publicly directed dumping of toxic waste in poor communities, can also create problems. Just "how much" intervention is needed and in "what forms" remain critical issues for any discussion of government policy.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

The United States possesses a civic culture that is averse to government intervention in the market. We have identified this perspective as *privatism*, the belief that government should restrict its role to supporting the business

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community and should seek market solutions to social problems. However, this reliance on the market can lead to problems. In the previous chapter, we saw that the desire to plan the development of metropolitan regions arose because the private market is not capable of providing the infrastructure required in our modern metropolis. There are other problems with the market as a mechanism for allocating resources. These include the difficulty of maintaining the quality of life when public resources are involved and the problem of uneven development in a capitalist society.

The Tragedy of the Commons

There is an old fable in academic circles that economists use to show why individual choice can lead to socially undesirable effects. The fable has many variations. Here is ours: Consider a village of farmers, each with a herd of cows and an open field adjacent to the village that is held in common. Each farmer seeks to use the public resource of the field to private advantage. Therefore, they all attempt to graze their cows as often and as long as possible on the common green. Pretty soon the grass is all eaten, and the common field is reduced to a muddy, barren plot of land.

If the farmers are interested in improving their situation, they have few alternatives. They could each buy a farm that would be owned privately with sufficient grazing land—an expensive move. Or they could band together and create a community scheduling agreement that would recognize the need of each farmer and the need of the field to regenerate itself. Because the users of this public resource might have disputes, the individuals involved would also have to arrange for arbitration in the event of disagreements or abuse. In short, this tragedy of the commons points to the need for the social institution of public authority or local government, which safeguards the benefits to the many from the abuses of the few.

Settlement spaces in modern society contain many public resources such as air, water, and recreational areas. Safeguarding these common environmental resources becomes increasingly difficult as the population and frequency of use rise (see Chapter 14). As a consequence, government must develop active public policies to deal with the many problems arising from large populations living in the same settlement space. Often these policies involve laws or regulations that restrict individual rights but are considered necessary to preserve public resources.

Consider one brief example: In New York City, partly as a consequence of a rising crime rate, apartment dwellers purchased dogs in great numbers. By the 1970s, piles of dog excrement made walking the city streets a hazardous affair. The city was compelled to pass a "pooper scooper" rule mandating that

owners clean up after their dogs in public. This regulation made it a crime not to comply. To this day, any tourist can observe dog owners from all social backgrounds scooping up after their animals to keep the streets clean. The rule is an infringement on individual rights, but it is sanctioned by our society because it leads to a greater good: public enjoyment of a common resource, public space. Most environmental policy is of this type, and support for such measures requires a public culture that is committed to protecting environmental resources.

In the United States, many laws limit the free market for the public good. Some of the most restrictive are the southern California anti-air-pollution statutes, which are regulated by an independent state agency and affect everything from automobile exhaust systems to emissions from industrial activity, to the burning of trash and the use of outdoor barbecue grills. The air-quality control board has the authority to limit daily activities when air pollution reaches hazardous levels in the Los Angeles metropolitan region. Over the years, southern California has lost many businesses because they preferred to relocate rather than pay the extra cost of compliance. But that has not diminished public support for air-quality regulation. Rather, in such an environment, where pollution is an ever present danger, intervention is the only solution until the causes of air pollution are eliminated by other means. Hence, although we dislike government intervention, we find it useful. Sustaining the quality of life in metropolitan regions is an especially difficult task without the aid of government policy and regulation because the free market is incapable of doing so on its own.

Uneven Development and Policy: Redistributive Programs

In capitalist society, resources tend to flow to those who are most powerful. There are many reasons for this, and not all of them imply wrongdoing on anyone's part. Under pure market conditions, when individuals compete in business with one another, one's prosperity is supposed to spur the others to copy success. Thus, the market serves to discipline businesspeople to adopt the best and most efficient means of pursuing a profit. What holds for business, however, does not necessarily apply to individual people. Issues of inequality plague our society (as we saw in Chapter 10) and those of other countries (see Chapters 12 and 13). They also undermine the social order and lead to conflict.

Although our nation embraces the political philosophy of privatism, we also have a right, guaranteed by the Constitution, to equality of opportunity. This presents a dilemma for Americans, however, because powerful special interests lead to patterns of uneven development and hence inequalities. For

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example, all children have a right to a quality education. What do we do when we find that schools in more affluent neighborhoods have more resources than schools in poorer ones? Can we all afford to move to the best districts? Should we do so, even if we could? Should only the affluent have access to a quality education, including college, when education is supported by everyone's taxes?

Consider another example: Doctors in the United States are capitalists; they charge what the market will bear. Those people who have the most money can get the best medical care. But what happens to people who are too poor to pay? Why do some people have adequate insurance while others do not? Shouldn't all Americans, as a right of citizenship, have equal access to adequate health care? Or should quality of care depend on ability to pay?

Finally, the housing industry in our society is also a capitalist enterprise. Those individuals who can afford a private home can get one. The more you can afford to spend, the better your home will be. But what about those individuals who cannot afford the price? What happens to the truly poor who cannot even afford rent? Should we sanction poverty, homelessness, premature death, or the ruination of elderly persons who must pay for health and housing expenses they cannot afford?

Over the years, all capitalist societies have had to face the social costs of uneven development. In the United States, government has enacted legislation at all levels supporting social programs that address social ills. Social welfare programs are designed to pool resources so that all persons may have access to them (as is the case with Medicare programs for the elderly) or to redistribute them (in the case of rent vouchers for low-income households). Using certain criteria of inclusion, government officials decide what is needed and who should be eligible to receive assistance. These programs are supported by taxing the more affluent or by special government borrowing; hence, they redistribute the wealth from the relatively well-off to the poor, although, as we will discuss shortly, such schemes are not without their abuses or critics (Jencks, 1992).

In its most basic form, then, the issue of uneven development and public policy involves a question of money, because sustaining the quality of life has private and social costs. Government programs may address the issue of inequitable wealth, but as Christopher Jencks (1992) has argued, only income redistribution can directly address the problem of poverty. Hence, many social programs are destined to fail because they do not consider the fundamental cause of the problems they seek to address.

Public policy is created by government representatives in conjunction with research staffs and various academic aides. Some policies find the government directly intervening in the production of new resources such as the building of dams, highways, housing, and nuclear energy facilities. These directly aid private-sector business interests as well as the general welfare. In other cases, incentives are created to channel individual behavior in certain directions, such as the tax subsidy provided to people who purchase single-family homes. The enactment of programs often requires new staff and administrators. Government at all levels is a major employer in the United States, accounting for more than 25 percent of the entire workforce. Social programs run by government also support immense bureaucracies, such as the welfare departments in each state. Hence, not only the less affluent but also state workers benefit from public intervention.

There are many ways that government policy redistributes wealth and channels resources toward the public good. The welfare program and Medicaid are meant to protect the quality of life among those individuals who are less affluent or whose incomes are restricted because they are single parents or elderly. State boards of education try to equalize school resources among different public districts, regardless of neighborhood family incomes. Public health crises such as the AIDS epidemic are also addressed by government policy. Finally, housing programs exist in a variety of forms; there are even public programs to deal with homelessness.

In addition, government policies aid the business community directly and subsidize its activities, as the discussion of privatism suggests (see below). Public programs aimed at aiding individuals in need may be co-opted by private-sector involvement toward the pursuit of profit by business. This co-optation of government intervention is a serious limitation of public policy in the United States, and it alone causes programs to fail, as the experience with low-income housing programs run by HUD shows. Other limitations include the failure of individual programs themselves because they cannot attain desired goals as in the case of welfare aid or because intervention actually makes problems worse (Jencks, 1992).

Most of the examples discussed so far concern the general problems of inequity in our society rather than issues specifically relevant to metropolitan areas, although issues of inequity certainly have major impacts on the quality of life of urban spaces. Let us look more closely at some of the programs aimed particularly at the needs of both cities and suburbs, and the various political, economic, and social ramifications of government policy in metropolitan areas. In the previous chapter, we discussed how the desire for planning is associated with the modernist belief that increased rationality of land use and architectural design can improve our lives and lead to progress for all. Some countries, such as the welfare capitalist societies of Scandinavia, hold a

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modernist belief in government policy as also aiding progress through rational state intervention. The United States is characterized by a different public ideology called privatism, which requires government to aid business interests through the market. While our approach has had some success, it also leaves public programs vulnerable to co-optation by powerful interests. As we will see next, due to the characteristics of public policy, the pursuit of social justice often fails even when government intervenes with the best intentions.

URBAN AND METROPOLITAN POLICY

There is no escaping the fact that public policy is shaped by fundamental philosophical positions and ideologically held beliefs regarding government intervention. As we have seen, the dominant belief in the United States is that government should always play a limited role in the economy and that market solutions are usually best; however, it is not inappropriate for the government to subsidize private business. This attitude contrasts with those of industrialized countries in Western Europe, for example, which have more active public policy and more publicly supported benefits such as national health care schemes (although, as we discussed in Chapter 12, some of these countries, including the United Kingdom, have lately limited their public welfare programs).

The United States, therefore, is ambivalent regarding government intervention. Different political positions support various points of view in regard to state programs. On the one hand, many liberals lament the takeover of public programs by powerful business interests. On the other, many conservatives point to the inefficient and deleterious effects of government intervention. In addition to the philosophy of privatism, a second obstacle to intervention is that under the federalist arrangements between the national government and the states, the condition of cities is the responsibility of the states, despite the fact that many urban problems, such as crime and inadequate health care, are national in scope. Over the years, the respective roles of the federal government and the state government have become an issue of political debate (see the concluding section).

The urban renewal program of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s provides an illustrative case of the relationship between business and government as well as the limitations of policy. Urban renewal grew out of the Roosevelt administration's commitment to rescue the housing and banking industry from the Great Depression, a serious economic crisis indeed. The Housing Act of 1934, for example, established the Federal Housing Authority, which guaranteed home loans. The 1937 Housing Act mandated the government to provide funds for the support of low-income house construction and slum clearance. These powers were amplified in the Housing Act of 1949 under Title I assistance and in subsequent acts passed in 1954, 1961, 1968, and 1970. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grew into a massive bureaucracy that oversaw the many programs associated with urban renewal.

It is important to note that housing intervention was aimed primarily at aiding the real estate industry, one of the three largest industries in the U.S. economy, rather than a showcase of modernist ideas mixing planning with policy, as in the Scandinavian countries. Providing homes for people and caring for their community needs was only a secondary goal of the U.S. program. As a result of this contradiction, metropolitan housing policy has had only mixed results. It proved to be a great boon to business but was less effective in attaining its social goals.

During the period from 1950 to 1990, government intervention aimed at aiding cities went through three separate phases, each of which reflected the dominant role of business in defining the interventionist agenda. Initially, funds targeted slum removal and construction of affordable housing. Then social goals were dropped, and the focus turned to the support of economic development for local business. Finally, government funds were used to subsidize economic development for global competition. In all three phases, local government operated less as a vehicle for social justice than as an aid to businesses experiencing declining profits.

Support for Slum Removal

Beginning with the late 1950s, the amount of federal money allocated for central city slum clearance and renewal increased greatly each year. Combined expenditures were $706 million in 1960, $1.8 billion in 1966, and $3.8 billion by 1970, or an increase of over 500 percent in 10 years (Mollenkopf, 1975).

There were many reasons for HUD's spending spree. By the 1950s, central cities were being devastated by the immense outflow of people to the suburbs. This shift, as we already discussed, was made possible by government highway and housing programs. As a result, downtown retailers and their department stores were in danger of being shut down because of the success of suburban shopping malls, while entire residential sections of the city gave way to blight and decline as middle-class people moved out. City politicians appealed to the federal government for help in rescuing downtown areas. A second cause involved the national response to the ghetto riots of the 1960s, which also highlighted the deterioration of inner-city areas. Funding for HUD projects more than doubled after 1966, the year of the worst rioting.

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supposed to replace cleared land with affordable housing and income-earning civic projects. According to some estimates, over 5 million low- to moderate-income housing units in U.S. cities were candidates for destruction and replacement (Flanagan, 1990:292). By the end of 1961, renewal programs had eliminated over 126,000 substandard housing units, but only 28,000 new dwellings were built (Robertson and Judd, 1989:307). The net result was a decline in the number of dwelling units for low-income households and an increase in housing costs in poor neighborhoods.

At that time, observers noted that the policy seemed to be more effective in the removal of black and/or poor residents than at replacing slums with affordable housing. In fact, during the 1960s, urban renewal was dubbed "Negro removal." Over 75 percent of all people displaced by renewal projects were black (Robertson and Judd, 1989:307).

While some low-income residents were helped by the ambitious redevelopment schemes subsidized by the federal government, much of urban renewal involved the clearing away of slums to allow private real estate interests to use downtown land for profit making, including the building of middle- and upper-middle-income housing projects and the regeneration of central city commerce through the construction of plazas, civic centers, and pedestrian malls.

Paradoxically, at the same time HUD programs were intervening in renewal, another federal housing policy in the form of tax subsidies to homeowners was destroying city neighborhoods by promoting suburbanization. These subsidies, which amounted to billions of dollars each year, were responsible for the massive shift to the suburbs, or white flight. By the 1970s, it was already clear that the United States had become segregated by race and class, with middle-class whites dominating the suburbs while the inner cities were increasingly populated by minorities and those whites who either could not afford to move to suburbia or preferred to live in the city in newly built or renovated upper-middle-income housing. Thus, government intervention not only was less interested in social justice than in subsidizing business but was also not rational, and it worked against itself in the fight to save the city.

Support for Economic Development

By the late 1960s, the goals of urban policy had changed as a result of political pressures. Commitment to the revitalization of slums was abandoned in favor of using government programs to bolster private business interests in the city. It was now apparent that urban economies, which had been dependent on manufacturing, were in decline. Deindustrialization had taken over the country, and cities needed to retool themselves to compete with other communities within their metropolitan region for new employment. Downtown business interests, along with local politicians, regrouped and worked together to use federal funds for revitalization projects. The focus of renewal shifted from slum clearance to support for economic development, such as the construction of sports stadiums, hotel and tourist complexes, and high-rise service centers. For example, in the 1960s the city of Los Angeles used urban renewal funds to bulldoze the blighted section of Bunker Hill near the downtown. But instead of replacing the structures with affordable housing and preserving the community, the city and its partners in the business sector constructed a music center, high-rise banking offices, and expensive high-rise apartment complexes. Slightly east of this redevelopment, the city eradicated another blighted residential neighborhood and replaced it with a sports facility, Dodger Stadium, instead of low-income housing (Davis, 1990).

Such projects, backed by powerful political and business interests, were responsible for the eradication of inner-city neighborhoods and small businesses, while the signs of progress greeted all residents with visible advertising for the joint government/business ventures. In many cases, city neighborhoods that did not represent high-yield profit making for business were bulldozed despite the objections of local residents. Gregory Squires (1989) illustrates this trend by presenting a dozen cases studies drawn from cities around the country in *Unequal Partnerships: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment in Postwar America,* and other researchers have studied unequal partnerships in individual cities (Robertson and Judd, 1989; Stone, 1989; Davis, 1990).

In the 1960s and 1970s, economic development as an urban policy meant that privatism had taken over not just through co-optation as it had in previous periods but overtly as part of city revival schemes. As the argument went, business concerns come first in a period of recession because when business prospers, the tax coffers of the city are also enriched. Housing programs and community redevelopment had to take a back seat, as did the fight against the problems of uneven development and for social justice. As in other periods, while some federal programs directly aided business, others also helped the middle class. City government could not stem the tide of middle-class white flight during this period because the pull of subsidized suburbanization was too powerful (see Chapter 6). Government could try to make the city a better place to do business, but it could not make it a better place to live.

Support for Global Competition

The shift to a financial and service economy for the downtown had now turned into global competition. Each place was in competition for limited

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investment that was attuned to worldwide opportunities within the marketplace of global capitalism. National programs that supported private enterprise would bypass local bureaucracies and downsize the role of government planning. Issues of social justice were ignored. This restructuring of the federal/city government relationship reached its zenith during the eight years of the Reagan administration and resulted in the cutback of urban policy until there was little left of renewal funding.

Several reasons have been advanced for the federal abandonment of HUD city renewal programs, most of which are political. The Republican administration in the 1980s ran on a platform that de-emphasized the needs of cities. The plurality of active voters lived in the suburbs, and they were attracted by President Reagan's call to get government "off the backs" of people. This meant that under the Reagan and Bush administrations, there were severe cuts in public welfare programs but not in military spending. The new regime followed a conservative philosophy that favored market solutions to social problems. It also reaffirmed the political principle of federalism (mentioned at the beginning of this chapter), which made the condition of cities a responsibility of the states. This principle suggests that local and state governments were better able to deal with local problems and that urban revitalization should be market driven rather than pulled along by federally financed and planned projects. Such sentiments were supported by a majority of voters, who backed President Reagan's conservative agenda and later elected George Bush. The cuts to federal programs were unprecedented. Robertson and Judd (1989:314) made these observations about national aid to cities:

> Overall spending dropped from $6.1 billion in fiscal year 1981 to $5.2 billion in fiscal year 1984. The $5.2 billion spent for the fiscal year 1984–1985 amounted to a decline of almost 20 percent when corrected for inflation. By the 1989 budget year, money for urban programs was cut $4.4 billion, a further reduction of about 40 percent when the effects of inflation are considered. Nearly all subsidies for the construction of public housing were ended. Urban mass transit grants were reduced 28 percent from 1981–1983 and were cut another 20 percent by 1986. CETA [Comprehensive Employment and Training Act] funds were eliminated after 1983.

The Clinton administration in the 1990s brought little in the way of new ideas or new aid to urban areas. Cities and states have had to fend for themselves in supporting metropolitan programs. As discussed in Chapter 10, the fiscal crisis that set in during the 1970s severely restricted the ability of local areas to finance policy aimed at social goals, even when good ideas had public support. As the fiscal crisis spread to the states in the 1980s and 1990s, both cities and states had to scrap many social projects and have since concentrated on economic development.

The situation for cities, counties, towns, and metropolitan areas is now much worse under the Bush administration. Although the Clinton administration managed to achieve a budget surplus by the end of the second term, which might have been used to shore up local governments in the throes of fiscal crisis, no such outcome is remotely possible now under President Bush. His administration has turned a sizable surplus into a deficit of historical proportions. Much of the spending has gone to support the U.S. military presence in Iraq, although highly respected reports claim that billions of dollars of this effort remain unaccounted for and are probably lost forever. A deficit of such magnitude may not bother ordinary citizens, but they forget that such a situation has its most deleterious effects on local government. When cities and towns are in fiscal crisis and cannot support services or the community quality of life or repair needed infrastructure, they will not be able to turn to the federal government for relief. This might have been possible when the federal government had a surplus, that is, in the latter years of the Clinton presidency. However, all hope for such relief now is gone. This means that the immense and quite incomprehensible level of federal deficit spending has a very damaging, critically injuring effect on local government. Furthermore, current projections state that our foreign entanglements will lead to astronomical deficit spending for many years to come. To be sure, this is terrible news for cities, towns, counties, and even state governments in the United States.

Local politicians now work directly with business to revive ailing urban economies as their only way out of fiscal distress. Such a strategy only works when the business community has the resources to help. Public/private partnerships in the face of fiscal crisis also represent an extreme example of privatism, because the reduction or elimination of policies aimed at improving social well-being has occurred at every government level since the 1980s. This trend continued through the 1990s as the Clinton administration issued waivers to states that sought to eliminate welfare programs and replace them with a variety of "work incentive" programs. The result has been a substantial reduction in the number of welfare recipients, but this does not mean that former welfare recipients now participate in the paid labor force. Fewer than half of the persons removed from welfare rolls over the last decade have found permanent employment, and the number of families seeking assistance from food pantries and other private-sector charities has increased substantially.

Abandonment of public policy in support of the quality of life continues today under President Bush, who has offered no support for local government,

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despite touting "enlightened" social programs, such as those associated with education. The rhetoric is there, but the money isn't. It is one thing for the federal government to claim that the local quality of life is a matter for local jurisdictions, but it is quite another matter when no level of government addresses this need due to fiscal crisis and the subsidization by taxpayers of wasteful, irresponsible federal government spending in support of foreign adventures that have not been defended with sound, irrefutable arguments.

According to Desmond King (1990), local policy has been reduced completely to the subsidization of the private sector through either supply- or demand-side incentives to business. The former consists of packaging incentives such as tax breaks, rent-free land, and local bond financing designed to attract capital to the area. The latter consists of city development activities that attempt to create new industries with the aid of the private sector by underwriting development costs, such as in the creation of high-tech industrial parks. In both cases, the policies of the 1990s stand in stark contrast to those of thirty years ago, because the emphasis is on economic recovery without the rhetoric that once obscured the emphasis on privatism by, at least, acknowledging issues of social equity and injustice.

PRIVATISM AND ISSUES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Has the support of private enterprise and abandonment of active intervention in cities been successful? Our analysis of metropolitan problems (Chapter 10) shows just the opposite. What are the limitations of the ideology of privatism and the present constraints on pursuing social justice? The limitations of privatism and government subsidy for economic development include the failure to realize benefits from development, especially by low-income residents; the proliferation of beggar-thy-neighbor competition among different cities, which does not benefit local areas; the subsidization of capital investment that is not reinvested locally; and the destruction of public resources without benefit from the public subsidization of private-sector growth (Barnekov and Rich, 1989).

Lack of Community Benefits from Public Investment

Oakland, California, obtained a package of loans and tax subsidies to support the private development of airport improvements and an industrial park. The rationale for the public subsidy of the project was that it would help provide steady work for the city's hard-core unemployed. But only an estimated sixty-five jobs out of many hundreds that were created went to hard-core unemployed workers (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973). Other studies indicate that publicly supported growth does not bring the kind of benefits purported by boosters of public/private partnerships. In Houston, which claims to be a city based on private enterprise, business has used government funds in many ways to develop infrastructure, subsidize industry, and grease the wheels of profit making. During the city's growth, the costs of development were passed along to residents. By maintaining a low tax rate on business, the city failed to plan adequately for highways, sewage systems, garbage collection, water quality, and road maintenance. Houston's traffic jams are legendary. And future residents will be saddled with the immense public bill to finance the missing infrastructure and the costs of growth (Feagin, 1988). The experience of Houston has been duplicated in other U.S. cities, which now face immense infrastructure problems of their own while continuing to spend millions in taxpayer money on "development" projects such as sports stadiums, convention centers, and luxury housing. The alleged "crisis" of the infrastructure and of public support for the quality of life is not, as some political leaders maintain, a crisis of funding alone, but represents some skewed priorities when all available money is spent on civic development projects of dubious value.

Other case studies reveal that privatism twists the intent of public/private partnerships to the full benefit of business. As Barnekov and Rich observe, "local economic development programs designed to use public funds to leverage private investment frequently result in reverse leverage; that is, private enterprise often leverages public funds to accomplish its own development objectives and, in the process, may hold local governments hostage if they do not come forth with generous subsidies" (1989:216).

Case studies have shown how the competition for investment dollars simply forces local jurisdictions to make excessive sacrifices. This is especially the case as capital has become increasingly mobile in the global economy. In the past decade, we have seen cities and states offering incredible tax breaks and other incentives to attract new or relocating industrial plants, another use of public funds to support private business. Some observers have called this ruthless competition among places for investment the "new arms race." In the chase after global dollars, social equity programs are cut or abandoned. As a result, cities have a diminished capacity to support socially beneficial programs and to sustain the community quality of life (Kanter, 1987:510–511). The problems of uneven development within and between metropolitan regions are of deep concern (see Chapter 6).

The Decline of Democracy in Local Politics

The new public/private partnerships in pursuit of economic development usually work outside the democratic process of government decision making.

As part of an evaluability assessment (see Chapter 5), evaluators working under contract to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reviewed the design of family preservation programs (FPPs). FPPs are time-limited, intensive home-based services to families in crisis that are intended to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The evaluators held discussions with the staff of federal and national private sector agencies about the definition of FPPs, reviewed available literature, obtained descriptions of state and local programs, and made site visits to four programs. From this information they developed "models" of how the programs were supposed to operate and then obtained the views of policymakers, program managers, and operating-level staff on four key dimensions: (a) program goals, (b) aspects of the child welfare system that affect the programs, (c) the target population, and (d) the characteristics that distinguish FPPs from other home-based services. Based on their own analysis and discussions with an expert advisory committee, the evaluators concluded that, as currently designed, FPPs could not achieve the policymakers' primary goal of preventing placement in foster care. The major flaw found in the program design was the practical difficulty of identifying children at "imminent risk" of placement; this meant that programs could not consistently target families with children truly at risk of placement.

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Non-elective super-agencies such as the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and similar ad hoc development agencies are not monitored by the voters. This means that public investment and oversight through the democratic process is itself diminished in the pursuit of policies of continued growth (see Chapter 11).

Government policy involves an often unproductive struggle between the dominant priority to support business and the lesser goal, often passionately pursued by social movements, of social justice. Spatial competition among places for limited public and private investment also affects the success of policy, because the United States has no overarching national program for metropolitan revitalization. In the 1950s, competition was between central cities and their suburbs; in the 1960s, it was between regions of the country, especially between areas that were not experiencing a decline in manufacturing (such as the Sunbelt) and those that were (for example, the Snowbelt). By the 1980s and 1990s, however, all places were involved in a universal global competition for scarce resources. These policies pitted place against place to the advantage of capital and at the expense of local taxpayers. Only recently have government policy experts been willing to reexamine this one-sided relation between people and increasingly mobile capital, because in many areas the benefits of business decisions to locate have been stripped away by the costs of incentive packages.

As homelessness, housing deterioration, and other urban problems intensify, renewed pressure is being placed on the federal government to intervene once more to stem the decline in the quality of community life. If such a turnaround does occur, it will come only with a renewed debate on the philosophy of intervention. This is unlikely to occur under the Bush administration.

URBAN POLICY: THE POLITICAL DEBATE

Over the past two decades, debate has raged regarding whether traditional liberal or conservative solutions to the urban crisis should be applied. Most analysts of urban problems discuss solutions in terms of precisely this clash of ideologies. In this section, we discuss policy recommendations along ideological lines. In a later section, we will point to a course of action that offers the possibility of rising above this clash of perspectives by addressing the limitations of present public policy arrangements.

Liberal Positions on Urban Problems

Liberals tend to focus on the limitations of existing social institutions and to seek remedies that equalize the ability of all citizens to overcome those limitations. They support government intervention and spending as a means of combating social ills. Most urban problems are caused, in this view, by the inequities of the resource distribution system in our society. Poverty and associated problems of uneven development are the inevitable consequence of the fact that economic rewards and social opportunities are not equally available to all citizens.

The liberal agenda uses government intervention as a tool to overcome uneven development. It supports active involvement of policy to identify, address, and help resolve serious urban problems of the less affluent. Economic deprivation and persistent racial segregation are contributing factors in the rise of crime and drug use rates. Programs could be designed, as they were in the 1960s, for job training, long-term unemployment assistance, and even government-subsidized corporate internships that might provide job possibilities for the most disadvantaged city residents. In addition, government-subsidized medical care, family assistance, and aid for the homeless, such as TANF, or Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, could provide a social safety net below which U.S. citizens would not fall. This would improve the life chances of the less affluent and remove from the city streets some of the worst cases of need that threaten the quality of life for everyone.

Conservative Approaches to Urban Problems

Conservatives, in contrast, believe in limited government intervention and severely restricted government spending. They accuse liberals of squandering society's wealth through excessive public spending. Consequently, they are opposed to the kinds of programs sponsored by liberals precisely because they cost money and must be supported by taxes on private income or corporate profits. Conservatives also address the issue of uneven development. In their view, less advantaged people and places must make themselves more competitive so that they will be in the contest for capital investment. It's up to people and places themselves to become more attractive.

Conservatives believe that many of the problems of the poor reside in their own personalities and family traits. Many suggest that poor people are not motivated to find legitimate jobs and that they prefer welfare programs because they have been encouraged to do so by liberals seeking to exercise their agenda and support the growth of government bureaucracy (see Banfield, 1974; Jencks, 1992). James Murray's influential book, *Losing Ground* (1984), argued that welfare and other government programs actually increased poverty and caused the increase in the number of unwed mothers. This book was referred to (by conservatives) as the Bible of the Reagan administration and continues to influence government policy in the Bush administration.

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Recently a variant of the conservative position has been taken up by black critics of liberalism such as Shelby Steele (1990). They argue that urban liberals and their programs, such as affirmative action, have ruined the moral character of blacks while the latter have languished in the ghettos of northern cities. Blacks have been made dependent and are losing the ability to cultivate their own inner resources due to city bureaucracies and their liberal programs of aid. Consequently, the immense problems of the ghettoized poor (formerly called the "underclass") are really the outcome of decades of liberal policies that forced blacks to become wards of the state.

It must be pointed out that even if people favor government intervention for the pursuit of social justice, our study of the record of government metropolitan policy over the past fifty years shows that expensive public programs have continually been co-opted by the business community. Hence, there is considerable evidence against returning to the blind faith of liberals and active public spending to combat social ills, even if we could do so.

Overcoming the Liberal–Conservative Impasse

What hope exists for the urban future? The lessons of history teach us that either/or choices are unfair. We must look beyond the clash of liberal and conservative ideology and beyond all ideological means of understanding urban problems. What possible solutions might overcome the liberal–conservative ideological impasse?

An important but neglected dimension to the debate on urban problems involves recognizing the fact that local governments have only limited ability to plan adequately for social change. The ideological debate between liberals and conservatives misses an important dimension, namely, the limitations of local government as administrative structures. It also fails to address the particular relationships among the federal, state, and local levels that have always worked against adequate planning and public policy in the United States.

Within metropolitan areas, there are so many levels of government, each with its own limited administration, that power is both highly fragmented and weakly applied. Social programs initiated by cities are ineffective because they must tackle problems that are regional in scope. So cities simply control too small a piece of the regional pie to fight the immense problems of uneven development, such as the need for affordable housing. In fact, it can be argued that the city is not the place to initiate programs aimed at social problems of broad scope or at alleviating the inequities of uneven development. Suburbs and cities share similar problems, and the growth patterns of one are linked to those of the other. Hence, a metropolitan perspective on improving the quality of life becomes imperative for adequate public policy. Problems

that are national in scope, such as crime or the crisis of health care, must be returned to the responsibility of the national and state levels of government, where they belong. By understanding the relationship between spatial and social levels in the study of policy, we can sort out what should and should not be the responsibility of local government. And by adopting a metropolitan, regional perspective, we can design better ways of attacking the problems of social justice and uneven development.

There is strong evidence that the political fragmentation of metropolitan regions in the United States contributes to and may be responsible for uneven sociospatial development. For example, Detroit and Toronto are industrial cities located just some 230 miles apart. Detroit, like many other American cities, has long been in the throes of economic crisis. While the metropolitan region contains more than 4.5 million people (and many wealthy suburbs), the city of Detroit itself lost half of its population between 1950 and 1990. The murder rate increased ten times during this same period, from 6 per 100,000 persons in 1950 to 60 per 100,000 in 1989. From 1990 to 2000 population for the Detroit metropolitan region remained at 4.5 million, while the city population declined by some 75,000 persons—from 1,028,000 to 951,000 persons—the first time that the population of Detroit has been below 1,000,000 persons since before World War II.

Most of us are familiar with the Detroit of popular culture—from the vibrant Motown sound of the 1960s to troubled rap music of Eminem and the film *Eight Mile* of the 2000s. The comparison is of some interest. Detroit of the 1960s was still a booming industrial city. Now entire city blocks are vacant, the housing long since abandoned due to white flight to the suburbs and destroyed by arson. Some of these neighborhoods have actually been reclaimed by "urban forests," and deer have returned to the city. Today the city is overwhelmingly black and poor, with apparently few opportunities for economic revival due to the restructuring of the auto industry that brought the city to greatness in the 1950s.

In contrast, Toronto has doubled its population since 1950, going from slightly more than 1 million to 2.5 million persons in 2000. The metropolitan region has also grown rapidly, from 3.9 million in 1990 to 4.7 million persons in 2000. Compared to Detroit, Toronto is relatively crime free, with a murder rate of less than 5 per 100,000 people, lower than any U.S. city of 1 million or more population. Yet Toronto has a diversity of people with a mix of racial, ethnic, and class groups that is comparable to any major American city. According to one report:

> One thing does much to explain Toronto's success: the enactment in 1953 of a federal form of government for the 13 previously independent municipalities

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in the area. The original 13 have consolidated into six. They are responsible for local affairs, while the Metro council handles area affairs, including Metro-wide planning. (*The Economist*, May 1990:17)

The Metro-wide government consolidates resources in the entire region and coordinates the growth of both the central city and its suburbs. As a result, many of the problems brought about by uneven sociospatial development that have plagued Detroit have been avoided by the Toronto region. For example:

> Metro-wide co-ordination of the education system has given Toronto civilized schools. Detroit has some civilized and well financed schools too, but they are in the suburbs; the city schools are mainly deprived, like their pupils. (*The Economist*, May 1990:18)

Regional government has worked in Toronto. In contrast, Detroit cannot possibly find the resources to address its problems because it is cut off from the affluent suburbs. Should this society tolerate the extreme forms of deprivation and affluence that can be readily seen in this region, even if all metropolitan Detroit residents suffer from the continued downsizing and outsourcing of the auto industry?

Due to the autonomous home rule of local communities that discourages regional forms of government, suburban settlement spaces have effectively insulated themselves from the need to address the problems of uneven sociospatial development. But the contrast is not only one of spatial organization. Canada has a system of health care that is run by the national government; the United States does not. The two federal governments differ regarding what they have chosen to bear as national responsibilities, and this also affects the quality of life for metropolitan residents. The issue of national concern for social justice cannot be separated from that of local policy.

In sum, we may not know all the answers to the present case of urban decline, but one very good try at finding a solution that avoids ideological debates focuses on the structural limitations of city government and the excessive fragmentation of local jurisdictions. Along with these sociospatial concerns are jurisdictional dilemmas among local, state, and national levels that must be faced to determine who shares the burden of responsibility for the quality of life in the United States—the individual alone (as conservative policy dictates), the city, the state, or the federal government.

Without metropolitan coordination, and lacking support from higher levels of government, cities simply do not possess the resources they need to address commanding problems of everyday life. At some point in the future, national leaders must provide the vision necessary to share the responsibility for social concerns at the federal and state levels, where it belongs. Until then, the quality of life not only in central cities but across metropolitan regions as a whole will be dependent on the well-being of local business concerns within an increasingly competitive global economy.

KEY CONCEPTS

tragedy of the commons
uneven development
redistributive policies
urban renewal
public housing
public subsidy
liberal / conservative approaches to urban problems
metropolitan government

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why is the market system unable to adequately determine the allocation of resources across the metropolitan region? What is the rationale for public intervention in urban planning and metropolitan development?
2. The United States has a federal system of government. What does federalism mean, and what are the consequences of federalism for urban planning and government programs in metropolitan areas in the United States?
3. What is the ideology of privatism? Where did it originate, and what effect does it have on urban policy? What are two of the limitations of privatism? What are some of the consequences of these limitations?
4. What are some of the important differences between liberal and conservative positions as to the causes of urban social problems? How can we overcome the liberal/conservative impasse? What are some of the changes that have occurred recently in federal urban policy as a consequence of the Reagan, Clinton, and Bush presidencies?

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CHAPTER
16

THE FUTURE OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY

The beginning of the twenty-first century marks a new era in human history. The world's urban population is some 3 billion persons. For the first time, more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas. As we have noted earlier, in the next twenty-five years the number of persons living in urban areas will increase by some 2 billion persons—an amazing 60 percent increase—to some 5 billion persons. In 2030, it is expected that some 70 percent of the total world population will live in urban areas (United Nations, 2003).

We know that these urban areas are linked in exciting and new ways that would have been unimaginable just a short time ago. We are connected by a global economy where the life opportunities of persons in one country may be dependent upon capital flows of new investments from a nation on the other side of the world. The mass media brings us world music from Africa and the Middle East. We use the Internet to keep in touch with old friends who move to other countries, and to make new friends in places we have never even heard of. It is a global world, to be sure, but more than that, it is, for the very first time, an *urban world*.

The people living in this new urban world, the urban world of the twenty-first century, will confront many new and important issues. We know that more than a third of the world's urban population now lives in shantytowns, many with inadequate drinking water or sanitation, substandard housing, and few economic opportunities. The number of persons living in urban slums will increase to more than half of the world's urban population by 2030—some 2.5 billion persons. Problems of pollution will increase as the less developed nations industrialize and create new urban infrastructures that require the same resources for development that we find in the developed nations. This is already happening in China and India. A changing global climate may lead to major changes in crop production and weather patterns around the world, creating new scarcities of food and water that we have barely begun to consider.

Global society is urban society. And no field of study is more important for understanding these changes than Urban Sociology. Will urban sociology step up to this challenge?

UNDERSTANDING THE NEW URBAN WORLD

Urban studies is a comparatively new field of study. Perhaps because of the exciting changes—and important challenges—that the new urban world of the twenty-first century presents, urban studies and its related disciplines—urban sociology, urban geography, architecture—have emerged as something of a growth industry in academic publishing for the past decade or more. This work is built around both new and old perspectives in the field and offers some insight as to where urban research will lead in the future. In this final chapter, we explore several topics that are important to our understanding of the new urban world. These topics include globalization, world cities, theming of the urban environment, racialization of urban space, and cyberspace and the end of the city.

Globalization

First, there is an extensive literature on globalization and world cities. We have discussed some of the important characteristics of globalization and the impact of globalization on urban development in the industrialized countries (Chapter 12) and in the developing world (Chapter 13). It is important to remember that globalization is not a new phenomenon, nor is it a new area of study in sociology. Although globalization is sometimes presented as having begun with the European discovery of the Americas and the development of European colonial empires, there are earlier precedents. The great Chinese empires of an even earlier period linked trading centers across Southeast Asia with the great Chinese urban centers, then the largest cities in the world. Even earlier, Rome, the first truly urban civilization, depended upon wheat grown in Egypt to sustain its growing urban population, and Roman cities across Europe and the Middle East were linked with an extensive road system.

The European colonial system connected cities across the world in a new and more systematic fashion. During this period of mercantile capitalism, raw materials (silver from the Americas, spices from the Far East) were brought back to the European trading cities. The neocolonial empires of the twentieth century reestablished and intensified this system of economic dominance (as we saw in Chapter 13, the majority of export crops produced in the Philippines is under the control of just one American corporation). This system of globalization and colonial dependence is described by the world systems theory of the 1970s and 1980s, in which the industrialized countries and the former European colonial powers are seen as part of the core, and countries in the developing world are seen as part of the periphery (Wallerstein, 1976). The current literature on globalization builds upon these earlier models to describe an increasingly complex system of economic competition and urban growth.

Many of the significant issues of economic and social justice associated with globalization have been contested on college campuses across the United States and in protests against the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in cities across the world. We know something about the costs of globalization in terms of job loss and economic restructuring in metropolitan regions across the United States (Chapter 6) and in other industrialized countries. Perhaps less well understood is the impact of globalization on urbanization and urban systems in the developing nations. The growth of urban centers in China—the number of metropolitan areas with populations of more than 2.5 million persons will increase from a dozen in 2000 to eighteen or more by 2030—is largely a consequence of the concentration of industrial production in the urban clusters identified in Chapter 13. In many other countries in the developing world, the growth of urban centers is a consequence of continuing migration from rural areas as individuals and households are unable to support themselves from simple agricultural work and come to the cities looking for work. Most of the growth of urban populations in the developing nations in the coming decades will be of this type (United Nations, 2003). These urban centers will not be part of the world urban system in the ways currently described in the literature; instead, they are likely to become part of what has been called the Fourth World—areas that are left behind in the globalization process (Giddens, 2000).

Globalization remains a topic that is studied closely among urbanists in all countries. One key area of globalization research involves the study of how it affects local labor markets. Changes in the demand for high- and low-tech labor, retail workers, or financial service workers, for example, can directly affect the economic well-being of cities. Commercial growth and housing development are all tied to the ebb and flow of local jobs, including the quality of wages.

American metropolitan regions have been adversely affected by the flight of industry and people from the urban core. Industrial decline has been attributed to the power of multinational corporations and their acquisition of local

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businesses. Some transnational corporations have purchased American companies just to shut them down or downsize them in order to increase corporate profits and strengthen market position. These actions have contributed to urban decline. Other places have benefited by new investment, much of it also involving multinationals. Sustained growth in places like Los Angeles, San Diego, and New York owes a considerable amount to the continuing viability of those cities as sites of global investment. Future research on globalization needs to examine the many contradictory impacts of this international business activity and determine how they affect different parts of the metropolitan region.

World Cities

Peter Hall's work on *The World City* highlighted seven world cities (London, Paris, Moscow, New York, Tokyo, Rhine-Ruhr, and Randstadt-Holland) and brought attention to cities as places of political and economic power (Hall, 1966). But the study of global cities emerged more directly from world systems theory and political economy models of urban growth (Chapter 4). Friedman and Wolff (1982) introduced the concept of a global network of cities where urbanization was linked to the internationalization of capital, and a later article by Friedman (1986) suggested that the way in which cities are connected to the world economy is the key to their growth and development. Cities connected to the world economy in similar ways would be alike regardless of differences in history, national policies, and cultural influences. The global city is the site of the concentration and accumulation of world capital and has a characteristic division of labor, with a large number of professionals in specialized control functions such as lawyers, computer programmers, and accountants.

Saskia Sassen's study of global cities argues that the presence of global cities has important consequences for the nation and for the global economy (1994; 1999; 2001). Sassen's work is different from the earlier world system theory in that Sassen asserts that the leading global cities, not the nations themselves, have emerged as the key structures in the world economy. The global city is characterized by specific forms of urban development, including the redevelopment of the urban core and displacement of the poor, construction of high-rise office towers, and an increasing social and spatial polarization. The transformation of cities into high-tech international business centers privileges global corporations at the expense of other groups in the city, particularly minorities, immigrants, and women. Sassen presents the corporate office building as a metaphor for the polarization that characterizes the global city: During the day, the building is occupied by highly educated, well-paid executives making global transactions; at night it is cleaned by female immigrant workers paid minimum wage. The influence of global firms on urban development raises important moral claims: Whose city is it? (Sassen, 2001).

While this literature has focused on major world cities, more recent work has emphasized that many cities compete to become global cities. The decline of manufacturing means that cities must find new ways to link to the global economy; they compete with one another to attract corporate headquarters, sports facilities, and new businesses in response to globalization and to achieve world-city status (Short, 2004). Abrahamson (2004) suggests that almost all cities are likely to have some features that make them global and that the focus on a small group of cities—such as Sassen's work on New York, London, and Tokyo—underestimates how widely the global city construct may be generalized. Chicago and Frankfurt, for example, are significant global cities when concentration of economic activity is used as a measure, but not cultural activity; Los Angeles figures prominently in cultural activity but is less important in economic activity.

In his study of global cities, Abrahamson ranks thirty cities on a composite economic index (including the number of stock exchanges, banks and financial institutions, multinational corporations and services) and cultural industries index (recorded music, movies, and television). The resulting global economic hierarchy puts New York at the top of both indexes, with London, Paris, and Tokyo grouped in a second tier with similar economic and cultural profiles. Abrahamson (2004:164) notes that "everyone else lags substantially far behind them." He finds evidence of regional economic centers—Chicago and Frankfurt—as well as regional cultural centers—Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro, Manila—cities that could move to world-city position by increasing their cultural activities (something that both Chicago and Frankfurt have sought to do) or by increasing their economic potential. These sorts of development activities are the focus of Short's (2005) work on global cities. He notes that the discourse on globalization leads cities to seek development that will better connect them to the new world economy: the construction of international airports, the establishment of international business centers, the building of world-class sports facilities, and the successful competition for events such as the World's Fair, the Olympics, and the World Cup.

Although current research gives considerable attention to world cities, from our perspective, the concept is misguided. At times these urban spaces act as cities, because some of their global functions are concentrated in their cores. At other times, however, these spaces function as multicentered regions, not cities, and it is necessary to study them in this larger configuration in order to understand them. When speaking of stock and bond trading, for example, the spaces corresponding with these activities would be lower Manhattan, the City

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of London, and downtown Tokyo, respectively. Market trading is generally a centralized city phenomenon, although stock markets like NASDAQ have no physical space at all and are, instead inscribed in telephone and computerized telecommunication links worldwide. To be sure, such activities are considered "command and control functions," but they are not the only kind. Multinational corporate headquarters are the other major component of the global economy, and these are increasingly located outside the cores of large cities in separate centers. When urbanists like Sassen speak of "world cities" as if this regional array did not exist, they overlook the very significant fact that the "world city" is embedded in a larger metropolitan region.

Employment in financial services within the City of London, for example, has significantly declined in recent years (Buck and Gordon, 2003). Increasingly, nationally tied business services have moved into the area. Furthermore, since the late 1960s a large number of corporate headquarters have left Manhattan for areas in the multicentered region of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, or for places in other parts of the country. And if we return to Sassen's metaphor of office buildings in the global city, it should be clear that the maintenance staff and service workers who make these buildings work on a day-to-day basis live their daily lives in a very different area of the metropolitan region than the office staff and executives who occupy the buildings during the 9–5 workday. The deconcentration and reconcentration of "command and control" centers across regions, the increasing divide—both spatially and socioeconomically among those who occupy these centers, and similar sociospatial factors make it imperative for future research to take the multicentered metropolitan region as the focal urban form.

Theming of the Urban Environment

Most of us have visited theme parks (Disneyland, Disney World, Busch Gardens), eaten at themed restaurants (Hard Rock Café, Rain Forest Café) and even visited themed nightclubs (House of Blues). Research on the role of theming in American culture and, more exactly, the way theming is used to sell products and places that, on their own, may not be markedly different, is a relatively undeveloped area (for an exception, see Gottdiener, 1995; 2001). In Las Vegas, for example, every casino sells the identical product, gambling, although they might vary slightly according to their house odds. However, on the outside, every casino is different, and each offers a thematic fantasy as an attraction. According to Gottdiener (2001), many of the themes can be bunched together: the Wild West, the romanticized desert, famous cities of the world, and exotic tropical locales. These motifs work because they have already been well established as familiar symbolic forms by Hollywood cinema and by television.

The success of places like Las Vegas over the decades as a gambling mecca, in contrast to the decline of American cities with industrial/manufacturing traditions, pinpoints both the prospects and problems facing places as they attempt to attract new investment and residents, because not every location can depend on casino gambling for economic stability (Gottdiener, 1994). Tourism, on the other hand, which is a more abstract way of looking at the success of Las Vegas, can be successfully promoted in most places. What we can all learn from Las Vegas is precisely the way architectural *theming* can be used to attract people to locations. In Las Vegas, theming is the major weapon in the competition of casinos for customers. In fact, they go to previously unheard of lengths in the creation of spectacular environments that provide fantasy stimulation and entertainment. When theming is used by other American metropolitan regions in order to attract tourists, however, popular Las Vegas motifs may not work. Consequently, the promotion of local tourism as a new growth industry requires places to research precisely what themes make sense within the local context. Future research should pay attention to these efforts and their variation among urban places.

Racialization of Urban Space

The racialization of urban space refers to the process by which social space becomes associated with various population groups. The racialization of space affects the activities of groups and individuals both within and beyond particular urban spaces: For persons living within racialized spaces, there is a stigma attached to the address they include on applications for employment; for persons living outside the racialized space, the neighborhood (and its residents) are to be avoided. The racialization of space is a clear example of how the sociospatial perspective takes us beyond human ecology to analyze the meanings that are given to urban spaces. As we saw in Chapter 1, urban spaces are meaningful spaces—they have specific meanings (sometimes contradictory) to persons within and outside of the local community. They often are contested spaces, and groups within the community may struggle to define these spaces in particular ways.

The concept of racialized space is also important for understanding particular patterns of development in cities. American cities by and large are not designed with public space, particularly in the city center. In the United States, housing projects have become associated with minority populations and with violent crime. Gotham (2004) describes how racialization was a fundamental part of the debate over urban renewal and the future development of black and white space in Kansas City. When the downtown areas of cities become racialized space, there is a decline in business of all kinds. The redevelopment

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of the Chicago Loop required the elimination of downtown movie theaters that featured black films and the removal of other institutions that served this population. This was followed by the development of a new arts district that brings in a very different clientele, such as new Borders and Barnes and Noble bookstores. The project has been viewed as a success as the area has become deracialized.

Although the racialization of space most directly brings to mind the image of inner-city neighborhoods, the concept has been used by scholars in Europe to study ethnic populations in the multicultural city and by scholars in the United States to study ethnic neighborhoods and populations. One of the most visible and long-lasting of these neighborhoods is the ubiquitous Chinatown; other areas such as Italian or Irish neighborhoods are also prominent features of the American urban environment. In many cases, these neighborhoods were defensive—the Chinese, Italian, and Irish immigrants experienced prejudice and discrimination when they first arrived in the United States, and the ethnic neighborhood provided a safe haven and opportunity for members of the ethnic group (Chapter 9).

Although much of the research on the racialization of space focuses on negative labels that are given to these communities by members of the dominant group living outside of these spaces, it should be recognized that there are forces that create racialized spaces from within the neighborhood or group, and there also are racialized spaces that have positive images as well. Street gang graffiti advertises the presence of groups competing for control of urban space and creates racialized spaces that may appear dangerous and mysterious to the outsider (Chapter 10). In many ethnic neighborhoods one finds murals that have been painted to create a racialized space that becomes a source of pride and identity for the group. Tourist bureaus in major cities supply maps that show the location of ethnic neighborhoods, such as Chinatown in New York and San Francisco, along with lists of ethnic restaurants and stores. The example of Chinatown is very interesting in this respect; it is an example of how a racialized space that long held negative meanings (opium dens and prostitution) in the popular imagination has been given a positive meaning (an important tourist destination) that has now become part of the city's advertising campaign (Hutchison, 2005).

Cyberspace and the End of the City

Finally, there is a literature that emphasizes the growth of new technologies and the new information society, resulting in a declining importance of geography and space and, ultimately, of the physical structures of the metropolis. This discussion is connected in some interesting ways to the decline of the public realm (Chapter 9): the more time that persons spend on-line, whether talking with friends, shopping in cyber malls, or trolling Web sites, the less time they spend participating with fellow citizens in their local community. Manuel Castells (1998) describes contemporary society as an informational global economy, where the global structure of the world system is based upon a logic of flow, connectivity, networks, and nodes. The core activities of the global economy are linked in real time, and the daily work schedule is now on a planetary scale. While your credit card company may have service lines open from 8 AM to 8 PM, this means that the call operators in India on the other end of the line are working from 8 PM to 8 AM. Capital flows in the emerging markets—the urban clusters in Japan and China discussed in Chapters 12 and 13—bypass the corporate headquarters of the West. Global cities are no longer defined by the presence of the corporate headquarters, but by a space of flows.

Castells's view is unsettling. If the new global economy is in fact a system of flows as he describes, there is no longer a geography of spatial location, and urban sociology will have no grounding in the study of cities, suburbs, and metropolitan regions. What of the people left behind by the new global economy—those persons in inner-city neighborhoods, in older industrial towns, in the growing megacities of the developing world, no longer connected to the world system and now bypassed by the new information technologies? A new term has been used to describe the spaces left behind in the new global economy: the *Fourth World*, but this is clearly no compensation to the millions of people ignored by the "information economy."

Interestingly, it was Karl Marx who wrote that capitalism would destroy space and time. This brings us back to work of Henri Lefebvre, the social production of space, the emergence of metropolitan regions, and the origins of the new urban sociology discussed in Chapter 4. It seems clear that Marx was correct: Modern capitalism has created new technologies that have collapsed time and space; our very casual references to the powerful idea of cyberspace indicate how quickly and pervasively this transformation has taken place. Yet the core of the global economy remains manufacturing, as Marx also asserted. The important question for urban sociology, of course, is whether the information economy makes the city and the metropolitan region irrelevant.

There is already a growing body of literature arguing that these physical spaces are still important—that even if we order goods produced in a country in a different part of the world on-line through Internet stores, the places where the goods are manufactured are grounded in time and space, as are the locations where the goods are stored and shipped. This suggests that we need to base our understanding of the spaces of flows within those areas where productive activity and social reproduction occur; in other words, we are still interested in specific spatial locations and in the everyday lives of persons who live in multinucleated metropolitan regions of developed as well as developing nations. But it also seems clear that the city, as a physical entity, is less and less relevant as the metropolitan region expands and the new information technologies link nodes of activity across these metropolitan spaces. Louis Wirth would likely struggle to reconceptualize how size, density, and heterogeneity would inform our analysis of the urban world of the twenty-first century.

URBAN STRUCTURE AND URBAN CULTURE

In *Urban Sociology: Images and Structure,* William Flanagan (2001) divides the field of urban sociology into what he labels the culturalist approach and the structuralist approach. In general terms, what Flanagan means by the culturalist approach is the human ecology of the Chicago School and the later development of urban ecology by Amos Hawley, John Kasarda, and others. We have referred to this as the mainstream urban sociology of the present. Under the structuralist approach, Flanagan includes urban political economy, world systems theory, and the related areas of study that began with the revolt against mainstream urban sociology in the 1970s. These theoretical models are structural because they emphasize the importance of social structure (and in some cases, the role of the state) in determining urban development and social interaction within the urban environment. As we have presented these ideas in earlier chapters, the structuralist approach would view urbanization as a result of factors outside of the metropolitan region, whereas the culturalist approach would study urbanization by focusing on factors within the metropolitan region.

As we saw in Chapter 3, the Chicago School of urban sociology was very diverse in subject matter and research methodology, and we drew a sharp distinction between the work of Robert Park and his students (which reflected the ideas of human ecology) and the later work of Amos Hawley and others (which we refer to as urban ecology). Flanagan also includes the tradition of community studies, including the work of the Lynds *(Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition),* Herbert Gans *(The Urban Villagers* and *The Levittowners),* and others under the culturalist approach.

In Chapter 4, we described the emergence of a new urban sociology, in the work of Henri Lefebvre and others in the 1960s. This also is a diverse area of study, including the Marxist urban sociology of David Harvey and others, the urban growth model of Logan and Molotch, and the like. This work has now merged in what we refer to as the sociospatial model of urban development.

In the final chapter of *Urban Sociology: Images and Structure,* Flanagan suggests that the field is developing a unified perspective for urban sociology. The competing models of the past may not have merged into a single model, according to this view, but it seems clear that neither the culturalist approach nor the structuralist approach can adequately explain recent developments in the urban world. The culturalist perspective focuses on events within neighborhoods (community studies) or the city (urban ecology), but it does not place the everyday lives of individuals within the new global society. The research methodology and theoretical models that are used by urban sociologists following the culturalist approach do not make the necessary link between daily life in the metropolis and the larger urban structures that connect persons around the world in the twenty-first century.

The structuralist approach, on the other hand, focuses attention on the global system of capitalism and on the political economy of urban life at the national and sometimes metropolitan level. This approach is necessary for understanding the development of the world urban system, and it helps to explain patterns of economic development and urban change within and across nation states. The importance of this perspective is obvious if we want to understand how environmental policies in the developed nations have led to the movement of industrial jobs to developing nations, or how the new global economy has created the "dual city" pattern of high technology coupled with a growing service sector in cities in the developed nations. What the structuralist approach does not do, according to Flanagan, is help us understand the impact of these changes on the daily lives of persons in cities and metropolitan regions across the world.

Flanagan suggests that a unified perspective for urban sociology will result in a better understanding of both the structural forces that have created our new urban world and the impact of these changes on the lives of individuals living in the growing urban agglomerations that now account for more than half of the world's population. The structuralist approach is essential for understanding the powerful forces of global capitalism that have swept across the globe, creating a new urban world in its image. In this new world of growing social inequality and troubling exploitation of the world's diminishing resources, future generations will most likely live in larger and larger urban agglomerations, in a built environment that is far removed from the urban-rural world that our grandparents knew. To understand the new modalities of urban life—whether it be in older metropolises of Europe with urban histories stretching back hundreds of years or the newer and larger megacities of the developing world—we will need the ethnographic accounts and community studies of the culturalist approach.

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Process evaluation is the most frequent form of program evaluation. It is used both as a freestanding evaluation and in conjunction with impact assessment (discussed below) as part of a more comprehensive evaluation. As a freestanding evaluation, it yields quality assurance information, assessing the extent to which a program is implemented as intended and operating up to the standards established for it. When the program model employed is one of established effectiveness, a demonstration that the program is well implemented can be presumptive evidence that the expected outcomes are produced as well. When the program is new, a process evaluation provides valuable feedback to administrators and other stakeholders about the progress that has been made implementing the program plan. From a management perspective, *process evaluation* provides the feedback that allows a program to be

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Assessment of Program Process

Given a plausible theory about how to intervene in an accurately diagnosed social problem, a program must still be implemented well to have a reasonable chance of actually improving the situation. It is not unusual to find that programs are not implemented and executed according to their intended design. A program may be poorly managed, compromised by political interference, or designed in ways that are impossible to carry out. Sometimes appropriate personnel are not available, facilities are inadequate, or program staff lack motivation, expertise, or training. Possibly the intended program participants do not exist in the numbers required, cannot be identified precisely, or are not cooperative.

A basic and widely used form of evaluation, **assessment of program process**, assesses the fidelity and effectiveness of a program's implementation. Such process assessments evaluate the activities and operations of the program and are commonly referred to as **process evaluation** or, when the evaluation is an ongoing

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is operating. It might examine how consistent the services actually delivered are with the goals of the program, whether services are delivered to appropriate recipients, how well service delivery is organized, the effectiveness of program management, the use of program resources, and other such matters (Exhibit 2-L provides an example).

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Flanagan's argument concerning the need of a unified perspective for urban sociology is reasonable, and it follows from recent trends in a field that has become increasingly eclectic. Recent work in what is known as cultural studies offers us glimpses into the lives of persons around the world and emphasizes the ways in which global urban cultures have developed as our world shrinks and our lives become more dependent on other groups and other cultures. At the same time, we know that although there are differences from one area of the world to another and that there are distinctive urban cultures because of historical traditions, religion, and the like, the emerging urban metropolis of the twenty-first century shares some important characteristics regardless of country or region. It is not simply that they are linked with one another in the ever-expanding system of global capitalism. Most importantly, these urban agglomerations increasingly look like the multicentered urban region studied by the sociospatial perspective.

THE FUTURE OF THE URBAN INQUIRY

For many urbanists, analyzing metropolitan phenomena involves a choice between the competing paradigms of human ecology and political economy. While human ecology has been useful because it appreciates the role location plays in social interaction, it under-theorizes this role and adopts one-dimensional, technologically deterministic explanations for sociospatial processes. In contrast, the political economy approach deals with a host of important concepts and issues that ecology neglects, such as the role of capital and class in the urban drama. It, too, is limited, however, because it neglects aspects of culture and politics that cannot be reduced to class phenomena. Unfortunately, it also ignores the important features of spatial relations by considering location merely as a container for economic processes.

By adopting the sociospatial perspective, we pass beyond the limitations of political economy to explain how the built environment changes and develops. Political economy's focus on the restructuring of global capitalism cannot alone explain the changes experienced by metropolitan development. The missing element is supplied by a focus on real estate interests as the leading edge of change that channels growth in specific directions. Once spatial patterns are altered in one region of the metropolis, this alteration affects all other parts. Hence, social space operates as both a product and a producer of changes in the metropolitan environment.

Both ecological and political economy perspectives assume that the state has only a weak role as an agent of change. Ecology simply ignores government intervention. Political economy often treats the state as simply the direct agent of capitalist interests. But the involvement of the state in sociospatial development is both critical and complex. First, government policies help provide the "pull" factors of growth. Second, they are the focus of urban and suburban social movements that aim for a redistribution of both wealth and social costs. Third, government officials are relatively autonomous agents who do not simply follow the needs of capital alone but pursue interests of their own to bring about social change. Finally, national policies of taxation and spending can transfer wealth from one region of the country to another; hence, programs such as military spending are critical causes of regional growth or decline, in addition to private-sector investment patterns. As we have seen demonstrated in a variety of contexts, private- and public-sector efforts often work hand in hand.

The sociospatial perspective utilizes a semiotic approach to understand how culture and ideology define sociospatial processes, such as the appeals to progress and modernism in urban renewal or the use of religious belief to structure the ancient cities of the past. The sociospatial approach considers all built environments as meaningful social spaces. Behavior occurs within these social spaces, but our own behaviors may change the actual meaning and use of that space. The sociospatial approach further captures the special articulation between territory and culture that produces lifestyle networks and variation in daily community life within the metropolis. Ethnic, gender-oriented, or racially defined lifestyles enact themselves within the built environment. The street corner, the mall, the game arcade, the local bar, the school cafeteria, and the commuter train, car, or bus are all special venues where social networks interact.

Finally, the sociospatial perspective takes an integrated view of the multicentered metropolitan region. We have considered both urban and suburban settlement space. The traditional field of urban sociology possessed too narrow a focus on the central city. Urban texts invariably treat suburbs only in a special chapter devoted to that purpose, while the remainder of the text specializes in the study of the large, central city, even though a majority of population, employment, and business activity is located within expanding metropolitan environments. Urban or suburban concerns are largely metropolitan concerns, and any governmental efforts should begin from a regional rather than a local perspective.

The future of the metropolitan inquiry will require important conceptual changes. In place of the traditional urban sociology, we should have a field called the "sociology of settlement space" that would deal with all forms of

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human settlement—towns, cities, suburbs, metropolises, the multicentered region, and megalopolises, so that we no longer privilege the city as the sole urban form of space. In place of a contentious and often confusing clash of different paradigms (ecology for aggregate data analysis, political economy for economic issues, and the culturalist approach for ethnography), we can look forward to integrated discussions at all levels (micro, macro, and meso) following the synthesis of the sociospatial approach. Finally, by critically evaluating the planning efforts of the present and requiring them to recognize the importance of space, we have a means by which we can construct and live in more humane and enjoyable environments that confront, rather than hide from, the seemingly intractable issues of environmental, representational, and social justice.

KEY CONCEPTS

cyberspace
globalization
world system theory
world city
racialization of urban space
theming
information society
space of flows
multicentered metropolitan region

IMPORTANT NAMES

Manuel Castells
Saskia Sassen
Immanuel Wallerstein

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the relationship between world systems theory, neocolonialization, and globalization? How did these concepts develop? Have you encountered them in other courses or books that you have read? How is the use of these terms in urban sociology different from their presentation in other courses?

2. What is the relationship between world cities and global cities? What are some of the factors that might be used to determine whether a city might be included in a list of global cities? Why do the authors critique the recent emphasis on the global city in urban sociology?

3. What is meant by the racialization of space? How is this concept linked to some of the basic propositions of the sociospatial perspective presented in Chapter 1? Can you think of examples of the racialization of space in the community where you grew up?

4. What is meant by "theming" of the urban environment? What examples are given in the chapter? Can you think of other examples of theming in commercial development in your community? In new residential development or in the redevelopment of older neighborhoods of your community?

5. Manuel Castells's work on the new information society and the space of flows might lead some to suggest that cities are no longer important. What do you think of this argument? How would you critique Castells's argument using the concept of the multinuclear metropolitan region and sociospatial theory more generally?