The City Reader Study Guide

The City Reader by Richard T. LeGates

BOOKRAGS

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Plot Summary

The City Reader is a collection of fifty articles and critical writings on city planning and urbanization from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Organized into six sections, each with an introduction, the book examines different aspects of urbanism in different ways, presenting both broad overviews and detailed examinations of problems and proposals related to urban life over the past two centuries.

The first section, "The Evolution of Cities," includes writings from V. Gordon Childe, H.D.F. Kitto, Henri Pirenne, Friedrich Engels, W.E.B. Dubois, Herbert J. Gans, Saskia and Sassen. The second presents a variety of articles and perspectives on different aspects of civilization and how urbanization corresponded to the growth of civilization. The writers in this section present numerous cities and civilizations as case studies, including Mesopotamia, Athens and Ancient Greek, feudal England, and Rome.

In the second section, "Perspectives on Urban Form and Design," authors include John Brickerhoff Jackson, Ernest W. Burgess, Kevin Lynch, Jane Jacobs, William Whyte, Christopher Alexander, Ian McHarg, Dolores Hayden, Mike Davis, and Allan Jacobs/Donald Appelyard. Their writings examine the physical and social structures of cities and how they are constructed through different ways of shaping and structuring. These writings range from Jackson's examination of "The Almost Perfect Town," a functioning (but imaginary) town in the American Southwest to Jacobs' exploration of the use of sidewalks in city life, and how their usage and placement determines a great deal about the city itself.

"Urban Society and Culture," the third section, features articles by Lewis Mumford, Louis Wirth, Paul and Percival Goodman, Michael Young/Peter Willmott, Oscar Lewis, William Julius Wilson, Charles Murray, and Burton Pike. According to the editor's introduction, this section "asks what human culture is in an urban context and how it fragments or evolves in different social contexts." Poverty plays a particularly important role in this section, as dose race: these issues are explored in many writings, including Young and Willmott's "Kinship and Community" / "Keeping to Themselves," Lewis's "The Culture of Poverty," and Wilson's "The Black Underclass."

The fourth section, "Urban Politics, Governance, and Economics," authors John Mollenkopf, Gerry Stoker, Robin Hambleton, Saskia Sassen, John Kasarda, and Mike Savage/Alan Warde explore how cities are run and what driving factors change them. From the local scale to the global economy, this section presents numerous viewpoints and perspectives. Mollenkopf's "How to Study Urban Political Power" describes changes in scholarship over the past few decades, while Sassen and Kasarda's writings explore the effects of outsourcing to third world countries on a global and a local scale, respectively.

In the fifth section, "Urban Planning: Visions, Theory, and Practice," writers include many well-known names, such as Frederick Law Olmstead, Ebenezer Howard, Raymond Unwin, Patrick Geddes, Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Peter Hall, Frank

S. So/Judith Getzels, Leonie Sandercock/Ann Forsyth, Paul Davidoff, and John Forester. These writers present visions of their ideal cities, modern utopias that address numerous problems of contemporary urban life.

Finally, "The Future of the City" presents writings by Paolo Soleri, Constantin Doxiadis, Peter Calthorpe, Maule Castells/Peter Hall, Robert Fishman, Manuel Castells, and Anthony Downs. The section gives an overview of future cities and the critical theories scholars envision will take precedence.

Prologue

Prologue Summary and Analysis

In Kingsley Davis's "The Urbanization of the Human Population" (1965), Davis writes that the history of the world is in fact the history of urbanization. He describes how tiny European settlements grew slowly through the Middle Ages and the early modern period, with urbanization occurring because of rural-urban migration. He writes that the low production levels of this time period, due to the feudal system, favored an agrarian culture. The process became a lot quicker during the 1900s, especially in Great Britain. He makes the distinction of urbanization (the process of a society become more urban-focused) and the growth of cities - that is, the expansion of their boundaries.

Kingsley sees the urbanization process as occurring along an S curve, beginning slow, becoming fast, and then slowing again. Because of this S curve, he foresees an end to urbanization (noting that it is finite and perhaps transitional), though he admits that it may not necessarily be absolute.

Part I: The Evolution of Cities

Part I: The Evolution of Cities Summary and Analysis

V. Gordon Childe's "The Urban Revolution" (1951) redefines the major eras of human development. Rather than using the traditional three ages of Stone, Bronze and Iron, Childe writes that development is better seen as occurring in the Paleolithic, Neolithic, urban, and industrial eras, with three revolutions separating them: the Neolithic, the urban, and the industrial. Childe believes that certain factors motivate this transformation, including the material base of society, the means of production and the available resources. These civilizations transformed with rises in population and various professions. He gives examples of cities and civilizations from each era: first, Egypt, Sumner, and India; then Crete, from 3000-2000 B.C.; later, Spain, Britain, and Germany, around 1500 B.C., and eventually Scandinavia and Siberia around 1,000 B.C.

In H.D.F. Kitto's "The Polis," (1951), the author describes the Greek idea of the polis, taking Athens as an example of its peak. The polis, Kitto writes, is more of a mosaic-state than the current "city," which is sometimes its English translation. The polis stressed public spaces: temples, stadiums, and theaters. However, it was a mainly male space, with women and slaves not participating. Kitto describes the debate around the rise of the police, rejecting geographical and economic answers, writing that the true reason for the development of this concept is the character of the Greek people. For example, they enjoyed spending their leisure time in public spaces, which they made larger. Their economy, similarly, was more geographically centered, and citizens were expected to contribute to the justice system, seeing it as their community duty. Because of this community spirit, Athenians saw the polis as a way of life (as opposed to the Spartans, who lived in a very different way). Thus, for the Athenians, the polis was a manifestation of a living community, expressing their kinship.

Henri Pirenne's "City Origins" and "Cities and European Civilization" (1925) each discuss cities in slightly different ways. In the first article, Pirenne describes the growth of cities in Western Europe, noting that they were historically bound by two elements: a middle class, and community organization. These cities, for their military needs, often were defined by protective walls and moats, later adding temples and other elements to their community. He takes the example of Rome, describing how the Church was initially a factor in its boundaries, though later Charlemagne grew the empire and later princes became the determining factors in the city's growth. In the second article, Pirenne continues to discuss Rome, which had one million people but changed its function in the eleventh century to reemerge with the role of trade more important in the culture. Later, after the invaders, there was a lack of trade, but then a trade renaissance. The birth of cities, he writes, is born when the rural population is enfranchised into an urban environment, when profit can be made from more than land. Landed capital became less important, and it was possible to obtain mercantile wealth, measurable in goods and money.

In Friedrich Engles' "The Great Towns," (1945), the author describes the working class role in various industrial towns, taking a rather Socialist approach. He shows the horrors, for example, of the Manchester working-class districts and the public health consequences of these horrors. The author describes the dirty mills and irregular, cramped dwellings of the inhabitants, on the South Bank, where people live in filth. They live near water, which is covered by slime; over the bridge, their are tanneries and gas works draining into the river. The city is full of broken buildings and gutters with standing pools of water. On the other side of the river, the city is in better order, with better planning, but residences still have poor ventilation and clogged gutters. Engles writes that it is the industrial epoch that has crammed them in, and ends his article by deploring the quality of the residents' clothes, sleeping quarters, and residences.

W.E.B. Dubois's work is represented by excerpts from three articles: "The Negro Problems of Philadelphia," "The Question of Earning a Living," and "Color Prejudice" (all 1899). In these articles, he writes about the Seventh Ward in Philadelphia and its physical and social structure. In this unassimilated geographical area, he writes, the population lives in uncared-for houses, with numerous riots and criminals. As he continues on his journey through the streets, he sees good-natured loafers on the street corners, gamblers, prostitutes, and other unthreatening characters (to him) before the area turns nicer and he sees good-sized and pleasant living quarters. He moves on to the question of employment and the prejudices African-American men and women found in finding and keeping a job, writing that they have numerous problems: getting work; keeping work; finding and beginning new work; expenditure (as they paid more in rent than any white person would have to in similar circumstances); raising children; social intercourse; and generally being prevented from working to their highest capacities. He ends his series of articles by giving some cases and examples of the kinds of prejudices these residents experience.

Herbert J. Gans's article, "Levittown and America," (1967) is an analysis of suburban life. While Gans does show some of the problems inherent in the modern conception of suburban life, he does not totally condone it (as others of his epoch would do) as a lost zone, but rather presents a more balanced view. He writes that while the suburb of Levittown permits personal choice, it also encourages isolation and thus problems come from three sources. The first is the difficulty of coping with conflict, be it class, gender, or from other sources. Secondly, Gans writes, residents have a great deal of difficulty dealing with pluralism, or diversity. He writes that the society is divided strongly along the lines of the have and the have nots, with class groups seeking power. Finally, Gans writes, there is no meaningful relationship between home and community. Residents have a tendency to view the government as parasitic. He ends by saying that, in this suburb, homes are the center of life, as they are in rural areas, and that certain changes come along with growing affluence that may have brought about these conditions.

Saskia Sassen's "A New Geography of Centers and Margins: Summary and Implications" (1994) is a study of the influences of change in the world economy to the evolution of cities. She writes that new global cities have become strategic sites of the world economy. These "rich" cities are more dense and growing faster than other cities. The author describes three developments that have led to the growth of this new

geography: first of all, globalization's contribution to centralization; secondly, he writes, central control is not inevitable, but a choice that has been made; and thirdly, globalization contributed to a new order of centrality. The rich countries and cities now see a development of "inner cities" and peripheral urban perimeters, while the cities, the sites of concrete operations, are strategic and relevant. However, Sassen writes, the devalued areas actually have functions that are vital to the functioning of the global cities.

Part II: Perspectives on Urban Form and Design

Part II: Perspectives on Urban Form and Design Summary and Analysis

In "The Almost Perfect Town" (1952), John Brinckerhoff Jackson describes Optimo City, an imaginary American town. The editors describe his view of this Southwestern city as "semimythical." Jackson talks about the town's history, how it once was the site of a fort and an encounter with Indians. In the 1870s, the city was surveyed and laid out, with the courthouse at the center and a gridiron built up around it. Downtown Optimo City has both slums and factories on South Main Street, while on North Main Street there is wealth and fashionable residences. East and west, there are stores, frame houses, and little sidewalks. Jackson describes a typical Saturday night, with residents hanging out at drugstores, cafés, and the movies. He describes the courthouse and the government offices as central and the reason why no chain stores have come up in the center of the city. However, Jackson writes that, were Optimo City to be given a different purpose (as a tourist destination, for example), it would vanish and no longer continue to function as perfectly as it does.

Ernest W. Burgess's "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project" (1925) describes the author's view of the social growth and physical growth of a city as interrelated, and his definitions of the five zones of the city. He discusses the urban zone, which he claims is very American and possessing certain characteristics. He notes that expansion is always thought of as a physical process - for example, the studies that had been done on New York and England at this point all focused on this aspect of development. However, Burgess writes that the process of expansion through successive zones has actually been unstudied. He sees these zones as the loop, the transitional zone, the working zone, the residential zone, and the commuter's zone. This decentralization is central to the expansion of cities: not just their physical expansion, but also their social expansion. He writes that cities grow in different ways - that slums may deteriorate and disappear, that factories may change, and that diverse groups create their own social world. Burgess ends by writing about mobility, and the change that happens in dangerous areas serving as the "pulse" of a city.

In "The City Image and Its Elements," (1960), Kevin Lynch writes about concepts that are common to cities and necessary for these areas to be "psychologically satisfying."

These five elements are paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. Paths are the major ways of getting around - for example, the Holland Tunnel. This element makes people think in terms of origin and destination. The edges are the boundaries of a city; for example, Lake Michigan in Chicago. Districts are the city areas or "parts" of a city; Lynch gives the example of Manhattan, which has the West Village, Chelsea, and other districts. Nodes are entry points or points of transportation. Finally, landmarks are

reference points that have a clear form, contrast with their background, and have prominent locations.

In "The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety," (1961), Jane Jacobs writes an attack on the planning establishment who, she believes, have created instant slums. She claims that they must study what makes a community and what makes a safe, livable area. In this article, Jacobs studies streets and the way that sidewalk borders make a city, determining that city's safety. She writes that cities must be seen as very different from towns, as they are inhabited by strangers. When city residents start to fear these strangers who are their neighbors, they use the city sidewalks even less. She also states that it is not the police that make a sidewalk safe, but various controls that have to do with the community.

William Whyte's "The Design of Spaces" (1988) is a result of a study requested by the New York Planning Commission, where Whyte studied park and plaza use with a team. He formed certain hypotheses, which he then tested by filming and analyzing those who used parks and plazas. Some of these were validated, while others were not. Whyte found that women were more discriminating than men and that public areas with a higher number of women tended to be of higher quality. At lunchtime, he writes, these spaces were used at almost eighty percent of their capacity. Men like to sit in the front row. It is not the shape of the plazas and parks that determine their use, Whyte found, but rather the amount of sittable space that they offer. If there are not enough benches, people will not use the area. Moveable chairs were very popular, especially as fixed chairs may be unavailable. Finally, Whyte writes about the relationship of parks and plazas to the streets, saying that a good space must beckon people in from the street to the interior.

In Christopher Alexander's "A City Is Not a Tree," (1965), the author describes the deeper structures that determine the form and growth of a city. He writes that cities do not grow through branching or dividing functions (like trees) but are actually more complex. He has no clear answer for how they do grow, but uses metaphors and analogies. Alexander writes that the development of cities is an interactive process, organically grown out of seeming chaos to order and rationality. He gives the example of a news rack and a traffic light, which are interdependent to fulfill their roles successfully. On the other hand, Alexander writes, a military encampment is the perfect example of a tree, as it is made to encourage discipline and rigidity. However, in modern society, where social structures are more open and less traditional and closed, a semi-lattice structure is the best way to describe the growth of cities. Alexander questions the use of the tree metaphor in the first place, noting that it does make groups easier to visualize, though it is a faulty image.

In "Nature in the Metropolis" (1969), Ian McHarg writes about the best way to construct a city in harmony with nature. He describes several goals (like saving the best soil for agriculture, or building factories in areas where they will not pollute the water and air used by the general population) that most cities do not comply with, no matter how straightforward these goals may seem. In this case, he contests, humans need to live in harmony with the natural environment and need environmental planning as well as city

planning. He gives examples of natural processes, in order of their non-suitability for city life, as an example: surface water, marshes, floodplains, aquifer recharge areas, aquifers [water-bearing areas of rock], steep slopes, forests and woodlands, and flatland.

"What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," (1981) is Dolores Hayden's exploration of the problems of contemporary life for gender, and especially the problems that current structures pose for women. Hayden calls for a better definition of gender roles and cities that are more respectful of women, especially working mothers. She writes that the history of women is tied up with the economy, and that the growth of the suburbs in the 1950s removed women from the community, putting them in houses that had spaces made for single purposes in high-maintenance houses. Thus, they have to divide their energies between their house, employment, and child care. She gives other examples of countries and regions that successfully blend these aspects of a woman's life, including Cuba and Europe, and proposes her own plan for a non-sexist city: HOMES. With HOMES, men and woman would have an equal basis in childcare and housework. The labor force would be equal, with no residential segregation and no laws reinforcing the role of the homemaker. Thus, these cities would minimize domestic labor and maximize social recreation. Hayden proposes grouping houses forty at a time, not into two-class society but into an equal society where everyone could be considered of equal worth. The author realizes the large scale of change that would be required for this plan, and proposes changing existing structures into more collective spaces, starting small and changing existing zoning laws to create multi-purpose living areas.

Mike Davis's "Fortress L.A." (1990) explores the underclass and hidden aspects of Los Angeles that the middle-class commuters do not normally see. Because of the extensive freeway systems in the city, he writes, the middle class can navigate the entire city without seeing the inner city. Davis claims that Los Angeles is a city of signs; public spaces, for example, warn off the "other." Thus, the underclass becomes a very emotional issue. Davis views Los Angeles as the death of a dream in which public spaces act as an area for mixing classes in peace and a diverse society is celebrated.

In "Toward an Urban Design Manifesto" (1987), Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard propose ideas for recreating cities. Angry about anonymous areas, pollution, and windowless facades, they propose not a vast clearance project but a reasonable city that contains no excessive noise or large street widths. They see the problems of contemporary cities as poor living environments brought on by giant buildings, leading to a loss of control and large-scale privatization with a loss of public life. They see this leading to a destruction of value for place, placelessness, even "rootless professionalism." The goals of a city, they writes should be livability, providing identity and control with access to opportunity, imagination, and joy, while providing a community and environment that is pleasant and livable for all.

Part III: Urban Society and Culture

Part III: Urban Society and Culture Summary and Analysis

Lewis Mumord's "What is a City?" (1937) discusses the urban experience as central to human life. Concerning development, Mumford presents a variety of ideas about the planning of cities. He presents the city as a collection of primary groups assembled together, with their physical organization determining levels of "drama," or conflict, that arises. The city is the framework for these interactions. Within the city, social needs are most important to Mumford, and dictate limits on the size of buildings, the density of population, the area of developments, and so on. He writes of the current trend of dissociation and decentralization of the urban life, discussing the "postnucleated city." Mumford states that finding the appropriate structures that align with sociological understanding will be the task of the next generation.

In "Urbanism as a Way of Life," (1938), Louis Wirth presents three possible city plans. The first is planned for security, the second to eliminate the difference between producers and consumers. The third, that which he favors, is the city of efficient consumption, like a department store. This city would minimize distances between necessities, and put goods on display. The center of the city is concerned with industry and business administration, while "lower floors" would have the floors where the population goes and lives. The outer city, then would have hotels, restaurants, and other peripheral establishments. The university would be contained around the center, with theaters and other cultural institutions. The advantage of this city is that it provides the right atmosphere. Neighborhoods would be smallish and self-contained, and have a place for older people and an aging population.

"Kinship and Community" and "Keeping Themselves to Themselves," (1957) by Michael Young and Peter Willmott describe the relationships of the working class in the British area of Bethnal Green. The authors explored how strong the bonds between residents are and how moving the population affects the patterns. In the first place, they found a community based on kinship, where people were friendly and there were few barriers between the home and the street. In interviews, the authors found that people existed happily with their relatives and their friends, though they were relatively poor. After relocating, they lived among strangers and became unfriendly themselves. The absence of "kinships" of the kind they had previously known made them feel like foreigners. One of the main reasons for the failure of this relocation, the authors contest, is that the inhabitants moved into an un-established community, where nobody knew each other. Because of this, nobody made friends, not even over great periods of time.

Oscar Lewis's "The Culture of Poverty" (1966) is an exploration of lower-class cultures. While the groups he studies may be geographically and racially distinct, Lewis believes they are united by their common poverty. While these members claim middle class values (such as an appreciation for marriage and jobs), they don't necessarily live by

them. Lewis also presents negative traits that the culture of poverty inspires, such as battery, problems with authority, immaturity, unreliability, hopelessness and helplessness. He also states that within these cultures, children get stuck in the same cycle very early on, as these traits are transmitted quite early in life and hard to break away from.

In "The Black Underclass," (1984), William Julius Wilson writes about poor black communities, critiquing liberals, who are scared to confront these issues. He writes that these issues need objective, honest research, not conservative or theoretical studies. In his article, Wilson discusses the "urban underclass" and the network of problems like crime that result from their situation. He claims that the problems are far worse than they were even a century ago, due to the structure of the U.S. economy, which has eliminated manual jobs. Thus, few uneducated black men have been able to find jobs. At the same time, upwardly mobile men have moved out of poor black communities, depriving these communities of possible leaders. Wilson writes that what is needed is not affirmative action but education and employment.

"Choosing a Future," (1984) by conservative icon Charles Murray, claims that more federal spending leads to worsening conditions for poor blacks. Murray believes that these programs are harmful and that welfare keeps citizens from becoming self-reliant. Murray examines education as a possible solution, noting that many barriers to a fair education had already been eliminated by the early 1980s, but adding that a voucher system, which would allow children to attend whichever schools, public or private, they were qualified for, would be an additional solution. The welfare system, he writes, must be eliminated, as it creates situations which only worsen the community's issues. Murray contests that poor black communities need to find status through work and redefine their conceptions of freedom.

In "The City as Image," (1981), Burton Pike presents a view of the city as image - that is, an artistic and literary conception of the city. He draws on such authors as Nathaniel Hawthorn, Henry James, and Sigmund Freud, to discuss how the city is presented in various mediums - as corrupting, as perfection, as a conflicting paradox. He writes that the literary city is an image of a city and thus a completely different thing than the reality of the city itself. Drawing on the eighteenth century novel, Pike describes how literature has often presented an image of the lone individual fighting against the urban community (such as in the works of Balzac or Dickens). Later, Freud described the city as the mind. Overall, Pike examines the city as an archetypal metaphor for solitude.

Part IV: Urban Politics, Governance, and Economics

Part IV: Urban Politics, Governance, and Economics Summary and Analysis

John Mollenkopf's "How to Study Urban Political Power" (1992) is an analysis of urban politics. Mollenkopf questions whether they are determined by the economic and social context, or by other factors. He writes that there have been two groups of researchers studying city politics: the pluralists, and the structuralists, who have always struggled between one another. The author looks at both sides and proposes a synthesis. The structuralists, for example, concede that economic forces come into play, but that urban political theory also needs to draw on theories of the state, or "polity-centered" theories. Pluralists, on the other hand, reject economic and social controls and see politics as the study of systematic power, where a marketplace becomes a competition for residents.

In "Regime Theory and Urban Politics" (1995), Gerry Stoker summarizes and analyzes regime theories of politics, extending theories to his views for the future. He looks at regime theory as the relationship and interaction between governmental and non-governmental bodies, seeing how they interact and get results. Private businesses are important in this, but not the overriding factor. Stoker also addresses questions from the "neo-pluralists," who discuss the implications of social complexities and question what the advantage of interests implies. In this case, the interests form areas of power, dominating modern systems for urban government. He also responds to the question of the role of disadvantaged groups in this system, writing that no group has complete control and that there is no formal hierarchy; thus, group mediation becomes important. He gives several case studies, and brings up four kinds of power: systematic, command/social, coalition, or preemptive, all of which help put regimes in context. He also explains the process of going from continuity to change, as the establish regime is questioned, a conflict is presented, and the new regime comes into power.

Robin Hambleton's "Future Directions for Urban Government in Britain and America" (1990) questions how the urban government will evolve in the twenty-first century. He discusses the last fifteen years of developments in the U.S. and U.K., with a rise in the importance of local governments (he does distinguish between the two governments, writing that the U.K. is more central, and the U.S. is more plural). The two countries have had to respond to changes in the structure of capital, new technologies, and decentralization. He writes that in the future, it is possible that market pluralism will dominate in the private sector, helping the local authorities to operate better, or that local government will reform itself around questions of the public. He presents several responses to developments of local governments: cutting public spending; reforming public services through management strategies, or reform of public services through political means. He writes that it will be important to empower citizens, not merely as

consumers, and ends with a note that social divisions have grown in the past decade, which must be addressed.

In "Place and Production in the Global Economy" (1994), Saskia Sassen writes in response to the integrated global economy, describing its implications and effects on cities. She claims that third world cities benefit from the new order of production. Managers, as well, working in money-related fields, are usually benefiting in world capitals. However, as in the Industrial Revolution, problems exist, creating huge inequalities within cities and a lack of manual service jobs. Finally, many people are slipping through safety nets, avoiding taxes, social services available to them, and so on.

John Kasarda's "The Jobs-Skills Mismatch" (1990) is a study of the effects of changes to the global economy on jobs in the United States. At this point, he writes, the skills of the urban minorities and inner-city inhabitants have not kept up to the development of networks and outsourcing of jobs to the third world. These communities need more mobility and skills, or their social distress will worsen. The second part of the article is a question/answer section between Kasarda and the journal where he published his article, in which they discuss technological skills and the burden of them on U.S. society. The consequences, Kasard says, are that the U.S. can't compete with the third world on wages, and so must compete on quality, which will be too hard with an unskilled work force.

"Cities and Uneven Economic Development" (1993), by Mike Savage and Alan Warde, is concerned with the economic functions of a city - the trade and manufacturing of midland England, for example, versus the financial functions of New York and London. Taking the former example, the authors question how these different functions develop and come up with five types of classifications for cities: third world countries, global cities, older industrial cities, new industrial districts, and cities in socialist countries (though they note that this is not a complete classification and subsets exist due to the vast diversity of economies). The authors write that the functions of a city are evolutionary, taking the example of Chicago, which used to be industrial but since the 1930s has de-industrialized. Cities, they claim, go through various stages. They provide several theories as to why cities have these separate functions: the international division of labor, the second circuit of capital and urbanization, industrial restructuring as representative of class struggle, and regulatory Marxism/the California school as cities transform from a Ford to post-Ford economy.

Part V: Visions, Theory, and Practice

Part V: Visions, Theory, and Practice Summary and Analysis

Frederick Law Olmsted's "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns" (1870) gives planning tips and guidelines for park creation. Furthermore, he provides tips for political changes as he describes the political and ideological rationale for green spaces within cities. The first of these is public health. Parks, he writes, disinfect, countering pollution and helping the city's inhabitants to lead cleaner lives. In the second place, they combat vice and social degeneration, giving citizens a much-needed change of seen and mixing place, almost as a center of the town. Finally, green space advance a democratic society, taking pressure off of different classes by giving them an area that they can all enjoy on the same terms.

Ebenezer Howard's "Author's Introduction" and "The Town-Country Magnet" (1898) present Howard's plan to convince the public of the worth of garden cities. He discusses many aspects of these cities, such as decentralization, zoning, nature, and greenbelting. He presents these cities as a protest against overcrowding, and writes of the possibility of constructing a community based on the "town-country magnet," where a town could be created combining the best of both the city and the country (high quality of life at low prices, like the country, with employment for all, as in cities). Howard sees these garden cities as centered around a green space with a "Crystal Palace," with six boulevards shooting off, so that all citizens are close to this park area.

In "Of Cooperation in Site Planning, and How Common Enjoyment Benefits the Individual" (1909), Raymond Unwin writes an article based on his own experiences of creating a garden city. He describes how narrow, curved streets have reduced overcrowding (less than cities experience but more than suburbs) and of the importance of green open space and courtyards, which can be adapted to children. Like medieval communities, these towns have, through their comprehensive planning, all the essential elements. There is a common enjoyment of garden space, which does not have the same problems as other common areas as it is a cooperative space. Nothing is wasted. However, to truly achieve this community, Unwin writes, various laws will have to be changed, and the community will have to make a large effort.

Patrick Geddes's " City Survey for Town Planning Purposes, of Municipalities and Government" (1915) is a large-view study of the evolution of the village. The author describes different conditions that should be taken into account when city boards are making plans: physical conditions, cultural conditions, and historical conditions. Geddes stresses the importance of citizen participation and recommendation by committee, citing the dangers of Edinburgh, which have lead to "mistakes, disasters, even vandalisms." Planners must examine the method and uses of aspects of cities, and eventually have the scheme approved by a board. In this scheme, they should examine

the city's situation, community, industries, population, town conditions, and town planning.

Le Corbusier's "A Contemporary City" (1929) presents his planning principles for a centralized, contemporary city. Le Corbusier envisions a city where central congestion is eliminated. Approximately three million inhabitants live in the city, with density and open spaces serving as the "lungs" of the city. The streets will live as a live organism, being the workshop of the community, rather than just corridors. Traffic would be classified as belowground, ground-level, or arterial, to help clear the city of congestion. The contemporary city would have one central, well-run train station. This plan would decongest a city by making it more dense, increasing transport while increasing parks and open spaces. It would be, writes Le Corbusier, a "city for speed."

Frank Lloyd Wright's "Broadacre City: A New Community Plan" (1935) is the architect's plan for his own utopia, along, as the editors state, Emersonian or Jeffersonian ideals. This city would give one acre to each family, making the homestead the basis of civilization, vastly reducing the government to the architect who would give out the land. Two inventions would make this kind of community possible: the telephone and the automobile, the same inventions which have made traditional cities outdated. The communities Wright envisions would have a general park down by a stream with a music garden, and fixed transport in the form of a monorail. It is a highly decentralized plan, where individuality is key and would be nourished.

"The City of Theory" (1988), by Peter Hall, describes the evolution of planning theory. Prior to World War II, Hall writes, planning was almost exclusively physical, done by architects and professors, who produced self-contained plans (like architectural plans). Today, planning is much more about systems than it was in this period. In the 1960s, analysts, economists, scientists, and engineers tried to make a science of the city, quantifying it through math models. However, they did not take class conflict into consideration. In the 1970s, planners were headed on the right rack with Marxist theories about class and race. However, Hall writes, there has always been a separation between theory and practice; he calls for a reciprocal relationship between the two.

Frank S. So and Judith Getzel's "Introduction" (1988, to The Practice of Local Government Planning) discusses the need for a community influence on city planning. They describe older cities, Sun Belt Cities, Inner Ring suburbs, residential areas, high-growth suburban centers, and rural areas, mentioning the problems that arise for each area. They stress the importance of a rational planning model, with goals, study and analysis, plan and preparation before implementation, monitoring and feedback. They note that city planning is rarely textbook and must rely on different types of plans. For example, in older central cities, like Cleveland, the main issue is inexpensive housing and jobs; in Sun Belt cities, the issue is rapid growth without pollution; in inner-ring suburbs, the issues are renewal and rehabilitation; residential areas are concerned with zoning; high-growth suburban centers with traffic, and rural areas with the economy and public workers. Thus, each area must be studied according to its own specialized needs.

"A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory" (1992), by Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth, describes how male planners' cities don't work well for women to live in. Women end up isolated in suburban homes, at an economic disadvantage, with bad public transit and public spaces made for men. However, it is very common nowadays for women to work as planners - so why don't they have influence in theory? The authors discuss two components that are needed in contemporary theory for it to discuss women's' needs - "connected knowing" and a kind of female ethics, and a gender agenda for planning, researching, and theory-building.

In "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" (1965), Paul Davidoff critiques the system of urban planning that existed during his time, in which a single government agency made unitary decisions. Therefore, different groups did not have a voice, including the poor and powerless. Davidoff suggests having planners and advocates to serve as lobbies for these populations, with the planning committees evaluating their arguments. This kind of interplay would allow for grassroots change, as plural planning through interest groups created more inclusive communities. Of course, planners and advocates in this new system would have to be education and trained to deal with a variety of social objectives.

John Forester's "Planning in the Face of Conflict" (1987) examines the practice of city planning in areas of conflict, where the planning becomes "developers versus residents." He discusses the importance of timing, and of allowing certain conflicts to die out. He tells that politicians and citizens will protest, and planners should expect opposition but not give up on the process, as they take on different roles: enforcers, negotiators, resources, and diplomats. In addition, Forester provides a variety of strategies for dealing with conflict. In the first place, planners can emphasize facts and rules; the second strategy is to premeditate and negotiate with interest groups The third strategy is to act as a resource and provide a variety of information; the fourth is to advise both sides on how to best work through the process. The fifth strategy is active mediation, with the last strategy as split between mediation and negotiation.

Part VI: The Future of The City

Part VI: The Future of The City Summary and Analysis

In "Arcology: The City in the Image of Man" and "The Characteristics of Arcology," (1969), author Paolo Soleri describes his conception of archologies - combinations between architecture and ecology. These are megastructures, made to house and provide for millions, organized into multicell units. Archologies would be multi-level, carrying all city elements and act as a vessel for the flow of people and the institutional patterns, serving as the focal point for city life. Thus, the author believes, they would be an expression of man both as maker and as creator. In addition, arcologyies would also work vertically; as man alone craves horizontal space, Soleri believes that vertical organization is the best way to organize social structures.

Constantin Doxiadis's "Ecumenopolis, World City of Tomorrow" (1969), presents a new distribution of human settlements in the "city of tomorrow." These cities would emerge from five different factors: nature, man, society, shells (public structures) and networks. Today's negative social conditions would fall away like diseases that had been cured. Doxiadis presents an entirely new universal system of life, centered around the coasts with some central inhabitants. The population will be between 15 and 25 billion people, made up of cells of 30,000 to 50,000 people to give inhabitants a sense of community. The author believes that this enormous population is inevitable over the next few centuries, and that several forces will determine the settlements: economic forces, biology, and demographics. In his future society, size is not a problem, and neither is traffic.

In "The Pedestrian Pocket" (1989), Peter Calthorpe discusses the mismatch of suburban patterns and a post-industrial culture. The problems of suburbia today include congestion, home ownership, and pollution, all of which he believe could be addressed by a "pedestrian pocket." Today, suburbs are not walkable, but his ideal pedestrian pockets would be balanced, walkable, and within reach of transit. Each would be between 500 and 100 acres, providing a variety of transportation options, including light rails. There would be a diversity of housing, including rental options for singles. Calthorpe envisions a mixture of jobs, and retail spaces with offices above. Pedestrian pockets would form networks, connecting their assets. This way, they would be practical, while highlighting the social aspects of suburban life.

Manuel Castells and Peter Hall's "Technopoles: Mine and Foundries of the Informational Economy" (1994) describes new technological centers, which the authors call technopoles. When these communities succeed, they are wonderful, but when they don't, they can be dangerous. Attracting the affluent elite, technolopes are not like Manchester, as they don't make anything. They emerge through three processes: technical revolutions, globalization of economies, and new forms of production, all of which are interlinked. Creators of technopoles must learn by doing, creating a social division of labor: there is no innovation in the social fabric of these settlements. They

describe an emergence of a new industrial space. They end the article by outlining the chapters of the book that follows, giving definitions to terms they use and providing case studies.

In "Beyond Suburbia: The Rise of the Techoburb" (1987), Robert Fishman examines the huge growth of the suburbs, which are becoming decentralized into "technoburbs," with peripheral zones called "techno-cities." They trace these ideas back to authors such as H.G. Wells and architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright. They find structure in this suburban sprawl, and write about the history of structural features (such as the postwar building of the 1950s and 1960s, the growth of importance of trucking, driving industry away from train lines). They end the article with points both for and against technoburbs. In the first case, they write, there's no center, no public space, and so on; however, these are new cities, and all new cities take time to develop. In any case, they see a case for civic architecture and public land.

Manuel Castells' "The Reconstruction of Social Meaning in the Space of Flows" (1989) is an exploration of the "space of flows" and relationships between technology and the networks that are created when institutions are not tied to places. Castells contests that the future of the informational city is unpredictable, but certainly not Orwellian. He stresses the need for places to preserve their identity while simultaneously building communities with other places, in which they have their own special role.

In "Alternative Futures for the American Ghetto" (1968), Anthony Downs discusses "triage strategies" for the worst ghettos in the United States. He presents alternatives for improving these areas: concentration, segregation, and enrichment, noting that various mixtures of each can be used for a successful strategy. He describes various approaches, including the present, in which aid is provided but unsuccessful, an enrichment only strategy, which would improve the quality of life in ghettos, and an integrated strategy, which would renew areas and restore racial balance. Downs also presents a dispersal strategy, to stop the growth of ghettos and move residents to the suburbs, and the benefits and disadvantages of segregated versus integrated dispersal. He writes that the de facto segregation of the suburbs would be less damaging to residents than the current segregation of the ghettos.

Characters

Frank Lloyd Wright

1867-1959. Considered by many the greatest American architect of the twentieth century, Frank Lloyd Wright is the author of "Broadacre City: A New Community Plan," among other works. He was famous for his prairie houses, which integrated organic architecture with respect for the nature of materials, as well as several commissioned works, including the Guggenheim Museum in New York, Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. A proponent of the "American spirit," Wright was plain-spoken but hated the uneducated, philistine aesthetics that had become popular in the United States in the twentieth century. He worked for social change, which is evident in his writings about Broadacre city, the model for which he showed at Rockefeller Center in 1935. The editors of The City Reader compare Broadacre cities to other models, including Garden Cities, or Le Corbusier's Contemporary Cities. For further reading on Wright, the editors recommend Robert Fishman's Urban Utopias of the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982).

Le Corbusier

1887-1969. Born Charles-Edouard Jeanneret in a Swiss town known for its watches, the renowned architect and planner changed his name to "Le Corbusier" during his studies in Paris. One of the founders of the Modernist movement, Le Corbusier favored rationality in all things and an international style of architecture for the machine age. He gained some acclaim with his first modern houses, which he dubbed "machines for living." Later, when he published this writing on "A Contemporary City," he gained even wider recognition, as he proposed to demolish the Right Bank of Paris to make room for his plans. The editors of the anthology recommend other works by Le Corbusier for further reading, including The City of To-morrow and Its Planning (London: John Rodher, 1947), Concerning Town Planning (London: Architectural Press), and L'Urbanisme des trois établissements humaines (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1959).

Lewis Mumford

The author of "What is a City?" Mumford was also a public intellectual who wrote more than 25 volumes on social philosophy, literary and cultural history in the U.S., technology history, and the history of urban planning.

Frederick Law Olmstead

The author of "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns," Olmstead was a renowned landscape architect who planned Central Park, Riverdale, IL, the Boston parks, the Capitol grounds in D.C., and Stanford University.

Dolores Hayden

Description

Friedrich Engels

Author of" The Great Towns," Engels was also a friend of Marx. He wrote The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1845.

W.E.B. Dubois

Author of "The Negro Problems of Philadelphia," Dubois was the first African-American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard University, after which he worked as an intellectual, novelist, professor, playwright, and politician.

Kingsley Davis

The author of the prologue to the book, Davis was a pioneer in the study of "historical urban demography."

Charles Murray

The author of "Choosing a Future," Murray is a controversial conservative figure who also wrote "The Bell Curve."

Manuel Castells

A Spaniard educated in France, Castells currently teaches at Berkeley and works with the Spanish government. Two of his articles appear in this anthology: "The Reconstruction of Social Meaning in the Space of Flows," and "Technopoles," which he co-wrote with Peter Hall.

Peter Hall

An English geographer and planner, who teaches at University College, London. The co-author of "Technopoles," his article "City of Theory" also appears in The City Reader.

Saskia Sassen

The author of "A New Geography of Centers and Margins: Summary and Implications" and "Place and Production in the Global Economy," Sassen is also a professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University.

Objects/Places

Garden Cities

A city with plenty of green public space (among other qualities) first proposed by Ebenezer Howard.

Broadacre Cities

The loose-knit communities of self-sufficient families proposed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

Contemporary City

A dense and strategically planned urban environment, proposed by Le Corbusier.

Technoburb

The name given to suburbs that have been changed through the rise of technology, initially given this name by Robert Fishman.

Ecumenopolis

The plan for the new world city model that will be necessary once the population explodes; proposed by Constantin Doxiadis.

Sexism

An issue that pervades urban planning; several authors write of how women experience cities and especially suburbs differently than men.

Open Spaces

An important element that many authors cite as a lack in poor and derelict areas throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chicago

A city that changed from industrial to post-industrial and is often cited as an example in urban planning articles.

Los Angeles

A city planned around highways; Mike Davis's "Fortress L.A." critiques its plan.

Levittown

One of the first American suburbs.

Themes

Utopia/The Perfect City

The perfect city appears as an ideal repeatedly throughout The City Planner. Urban planners and architects throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have proposed ideas for what would, in their minds, provide inhabitants with the perfect way of life and eliminate all contemporary evils of the urban environment. The Garden City, proposed by Ebenezer Howard, is one example of this. These cities center on a large, common green space with six boulevards coming from the center so that each citizen is within a short distance of these common areas. Similarly, Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacres gives each family one acre of land, reduces government to the extreme, and envisions a countryside united with other parts of the country by high-speed transportation. John B. Jackson describes his "Almost Perfect Town" as an imaginary town in the American Southwest, where each part of the city plays its role so that the whole fits together perfectly. On the other hand, Le Corbusier's Contemporary City is extremely dense and urban, with high-rise buildings, carefully planned highways, and jobs. Constantin Doxiadis explores future possibilities for urbanism with his Ecumenopolis, where cities are enormous (but divided into smaller communities), concentrated on the coasts of each continent, with far less dense populations in the middle.

Contemporary Urban Planning Issues

Authors who do not create a vision of their perfect city may take the opposite tact and describe what is wrong with present cities or theories. The former is particularly true of nineteenth-century writers, the latter of twentieth-century writers. These problems vary vastly from author to author, but usually include some lack of green space, lack of public space, traffic, pollution, and other problems that contemporary society considers inherent in urban life. Mike Davis criticizes Los Angeles in "Fortress L.A.," writing that the city is indeed a series of signs designed to divide the middle and upper classes from the working class and poor - an aim that is helped by the many highways that divide the city, so that the upper classes never have to see the "other." Similarly, W.E.B. Dubois describes problem of housing for African Americans in Philadelphia, while Friedrich Engels explores the terrible squalor of Manchester in the industrial era. Critics are themselves critiqued: Charles Murray finds many contemporary urban theorists far too liberal, while John Mollenkopf gives a broader overview of "How to Study Urban Political Power," describing two schools of thought and calling for a synthesis.

Race, Class, and Gender

These three issues become of huge import for many of the writers included in The City Reader. The African-American community is particularly examined, as is the impact of

modern cities (and suburbs) upon women. Several authors explore race, and particularly the problems of African-American ghettos within cities, proposing different solutions: W.E.B. Dubois, William Julius Wilson, Charles Murray, and Anthony Downs, among others. The inner city is particularly a problem, writes Saskia Sassen, given that many manual labor jobs have been outsourced to third world countries, and Americans in inner cities have not been re-educated to perform the more highly specialized tasks that are now required of the new jobs that have been created.

Gender is also a problem for some of the writers in The City Reader, particularly Dolores Hayden (author of "What Would a Non-sexist City Be Like?") and Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth (authors of "A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory.") In these articles, the authors contest that the contemporary city is set up in a way that reinforces existing gender roles. This is particularly true of the suburban house, with its single-use areas. The two articles propose different ways of viewing and overcoming the issue of gender discrimination of urban planning, though both realize that it is not a small undertaking.

Style

Perspective

The City Reader provides a balanced perspective on every issue that the editors choose to include in the book. From liberal (William J. Wilson) to conservative (Charles Murray), the authors here run the spectrum. In addition, the editors are careful to include articles and essays on race and gender in urban planning, including works by W.E.B. Dubois, William Julius Wilson, Charles Murray, and Anthony Downs on race and Dolores Hayden, Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth on gender. The editors frame their selection with the prologue, by Kingsley Davis, on "The Urbanization of the Human Population," which situates the following works in a broad historical context. Finally, the editors also include works from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as writings by authors of many nationalities: the majority are American or English, but there are Spanish, French, and Greek authors among others included in the anthology.

Tone

The tone of The City Reader varies, as the selection of fifty essays is written by a variety of different authors on many different topics. Overall, the uniting tone is academic: writers present their points and arguments in the context of the other works that are presented here. Together, they construct a body of criticism that is relatively coherent. For example, the editors compare Frank Lloyd Wright's plans for Broadacre cities to Le Corbusier's plans for a Contemporary City. This academic tone and connections can help readers to understand the major debates around which this field of study currently centers.

Structure

The City Reader consists of fifty essays by different theoreticians of urban planning. There is some overlap in the essays; two are by Saskia Sassen, while Peter Hall and Manuel Castells both have individual essays as well as a collaborative piece included in the anthology. The editors, Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, provide a thoughtful introduction to each piece, helping to situate it within the context of the other essays provided. These introductions tend to follow a similar format: first, they give a brief biographical sketch of each author. Secondly, they give a short summary of the work that follows, putting it in dialogue with other works in the collection. Finally, they give further recommended reading for readers who would like more information. The editors also give an introduction to each section, showing how the works from each section interrelate to one another. These six sections focus on different aspects of urban planning, from the history of the city to gender and class issues to the future of the city.

Quotes

"Urbanized societies, in which a majority of the people live crowded together in towns and cities, represent a new and fundamental step in man's social evolution." (Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanization of the Human Population," page 2.)

" . . . there is no hole so bad but that some poor creature must take it who can pay for nothing better." (Friedrich Engels, "The Great Towns," page 53.)

"What seems to have happened is that improvements and innovations are added to old culture patterns, giving affluent Americans a foot in several worlds." (Herbert J. Gans, "Levittown and America," page 68.)

"As we said to begin with, there is another Optimo City fifty miles farther on. The country is covered with them." (John B. Jackson, ""The Almost Perfect Town," page 89.)

"A good space beckons people in, and the progression from street to interior is critical in this respect." (William Whyte, "The Design of Spaces," page 117.)

"I believe that attacking the conventional division between public and private space should become a socialist and feminist priority in the 1980s." (Dolores Hayden, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?" page 153)

"The contemporary Downtown 'renaissance' is designed to make such heterogeneity virtually impossible." (Mike Davis, "Fortress L.A.", page 163)

". . . social facts are primary, and the physical organization of a city, its industries and its markets, its lines of communication and traffic, must be subservient to its social needs." (Lewis Mumford, "What is a City?", page 185.)

"The family in the culture of poverty does not cherish childhood as a specially prolonged and protected stage in the life cycle." (Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," page 221)

"Clashing contradictions: perhaps the central fascination of the city, both real and fictional, is that it embodies man's contradictory feelings - pride, love, anxiety, and hatred - toward the civilization he has created and the culture to which he belongs." (Burton Pike, "The City as Image," page 249)

"So different are the skills used and the education required in these growing, as opposed to declining, urban industrial sectors that adaptation by the poorly educated is exceedingly difficult." (John Kasarda, "The Jobs-Skills Mismatch," page 308.)

"A city made for speed is made for success." (Le Corbusier, "A Contemporary City," page 375.)

"The urban community is a system comprised of interrelated elements, but little is known about how the elements do, will, or should relate." (Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," page 432.)

"There is a profound mismatch between the old suburban patterns of settlement we have evolved since World War II and the post-industrial culture in which we now find ourselves." (Peter Calthorpe, "The Pedestrian Pocket," page 469.)

Topics for Discussion

The editors of the anthology include works from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How did the concerns of these writers shift throughout the two centuries?

Different authors present their views of the perfect, or idea, city. Compare and contrast three of these conceptions, being sure to include concepts like the use of open spaces, the concentration of inhabitants, and public transportation.

How do the feminist authors in this anthology view the contemporary city? What are the causes and effects they focus on as indicative of women's experiences of the city?

Articles on the African-American experience of cities from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are included in the reader. How has this experience changed in the past century?

How has the development of technology changed the contemporary experience of cities? Compare the opinions of Saskia Sassen and John Kasarda regarding the changes that have recently occurred.

Articles in The City Reader discuss both ancient and contemporary cities. Compare and contrast H.D.F. Kitto's description of "The Polis" with Herbert J. Gans's "Levittown and America" and John B. Jackson's "The Almost Perfect Town."

Several specific cities are mentioned throughout the anthology. How is Los Angeles ("Fortress L.A.") comparable to Manchester ("The Great Towns")? Do the authors view these cities in positive or negative lights?