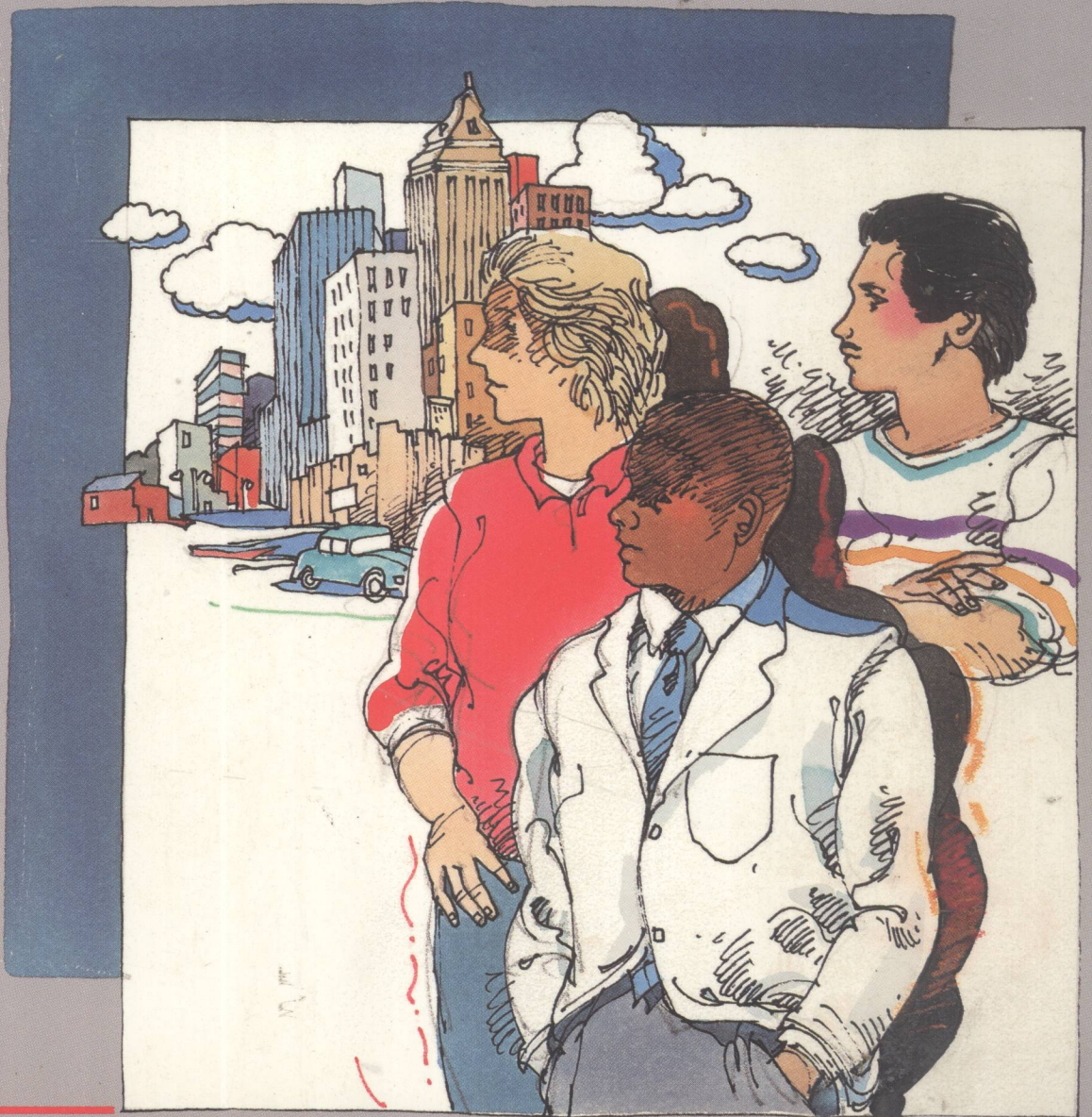


Annual Editions

# URBAN SOCIETY



Sixth Edition



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# URBAN SOCIETY

Sixth Edition

Editor

**Fred Siegel**  
The Cooper Union

Fred Siegel is professor of history and humanities at The Cooper Union, and he earned a Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Siegel has taught at the Sorbonne in France, and he has been a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study. He is the senior editor of the *City Journal*, a magazine of New York and urban affairs.



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Cover illustration by Mike Eagle

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# To the Reader

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In publishing *ANNUAL EDITIONS* we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by *Annual Editions*.

Under the direction of each volume's Editor, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an Advisory Board, we seek each year to provide in each *ANNUAL EDITION* a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.

This sixth edition of *Annual Editions: Urban Society* is much more than an updated version of the fifth edition. With 29 new articles out of a total of 39, it represents both an updating and a reorientation of the volume. The last volume was issued in the afterglow of the minirevival the cities enjoyed in the late 1970s; the new volume reflects the return of the urban crisis.

America's large cities have been battered from all directions over the past decade. The cities, said a public official ruefully, "represent everything that the rest of the country is trying to flee from." Inner city poverty has intensified—overflowing long-decayed neighborhoods to threaten the viability of larger and larger sections of the older cities—and urban clout in Washington has been dramatically diminished by the shift of population into the suburbs. Manufacturing has continued to abandon the cities for either rural or foreign locations. And to make matters more difficult, in the new global economy, American cities are forced to compete not only with their own suburbs and each other but with foreign rivals as well.

Forced to face both new competition and declining influence in Washington, the cities are starting to turn to their respective states for help while looking inward to see how they can reorganize themselves. In the 1970s and the 1980s, first the American military and then American manufacturing corporations underwent fundamental and largely successful restructuring. The one great area untouched by restructuring was government, but the 1990s promises a period in which government too is forced to reorder and restructure itself.

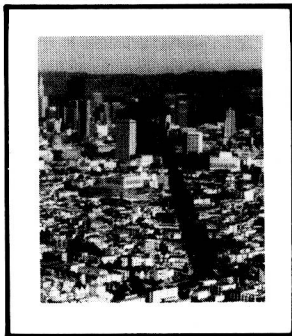
Like the earlier edition, this *Annual Editions: Urban Society* is divided into five units. But in view of the reorientation, some of the units have been renamed. Unit 2 "Urban Experiences" has been renamed "Urban Experiences, Urban Economies." And unit 4 that had been "Urban Policies" has been renamed "Urban Policies and Urban Politics."

For each section, I have tried to select those well-written articles that capture the depth and diversity of the current debates. Whenever possible, articles that have been invoked in the national controversies surrounding urban issues have been selected. The articles on poverty, for instance, have been frequently cited in the debates on the urban underclass, debates that were only intensified by the Los Angeles riots in 1992.

Those of us who are involved in producing *Annual Editions: Urban Society* wish to make the next edition as useful and effective as possible. Your criticism and advice are welcomed. Please offer your opinion by filling out the article rating form on the last page of this book. Any anthology can be improved. This one will continue to be, and your comments are important in this process.



Fred Siegel  
Editor



## Unit 1

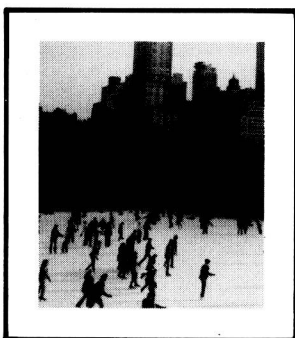
### Urbanization

Five selections review the urbanization process, the development of new patterns of living, and the dynamics of the urban "explosion."

#### To the Reader Topic Guide Overview

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|  | 2  |
|  | 4  |
| 1. <b>Fear of the City, 1783 to 1983</b> , Alfred Kazin, <i>American Heritage</i> , February/March 1983.   | 6  |
| Alfred Kazin examines the age-old threats of the <b>city</b> from a personal and historical perspective. He argues that despite its excesses and aggressiveness, the city possesses an indescribable allure and magic.   |    |
| 2. <b>Are Cities Obsolete?</b> Peter O. Muller, <i>The Sciences</i> , March/April 1986.  | 12 |
| The author analyzes the new forces that have changed the cultural mosaic of cities and suburbs, culminating in the creation of fully developed " <b>outer cities</b> ," which best reflect the promise and opportunity of <b>modern urban life</b> .   |    |
| 3. <b>America's New City: Megalopolis Unbound</b> , Robert Fishman, <i>Current</i> , October 1990.   | 16 |
| According to Robert Fishman, the American landscape has given rise to a <b>new type of city</b> . This "new city," which has been referred to by a variety of names—spread city, slurb, exurb, edge city, sprawl—may, if its opportunities are recognized, succeed in combining the advantages of modern technology with the pleasures of natural surroundings. If they fail, the landscape will be destroyed for decades to come. |    |
| 4. <b>America's Boom Towns</b> , <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> , November 13, 1989.  | 25 |
| While the giant cities of the Northeast and the Midwest creak under the weight of economic and social decline, <b>smaller cities</b> like Wilmington, Charlotte, and Omaha are booming. Drawing on new technologies and small, often privately held, start-up companies attracted by the life-style advantages, these small cities have become the entrepreneurial engines of national economic growth.                            |    |
| 5. <b>The Pace of Life</b> , Robert Levine, <i>Psychology Today</i> , October 1989.  | 30 |
| In this article, Robert Levine examines the relationship between a <b>city's pace of life and its residents' physical health</b> —specifically, the incidence of coronary heart disease. He concludes that the speed of a person's environment seems to predict the likelihood of heart disease.   |    |



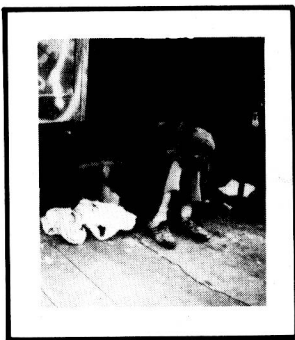


## Unit 2

### Urban Experiences, Urban Economies

Eight selections explore the social interactions that, in large measure, direct the urban experience and urban economics.

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|--|-----------|
| <b>Overview</b>  | <b>34</b> |
| <b>6. The Downtown Job Puzzle, Bernard J. Frieden, <i>The Public Interest</i>, Fall 1989.</b>  | <b>36</b> |
| The transition to a service economy was accompanied by a downtown building boom that revived business districts once given up for dead. Critics have complained that the new <b>service sector jobs</b> freeze out less-educated minorities. But Bernard Frieden argues that minorities have done better in service sector employment than has been generally recognized.      |           |
| <b>7. Lowering the Urban Boom, Michael Abramowitz, <i>The Washington Post National Weekly Edition</i>, May 18–24, 1992.</b>  | <b>43</b> |
| In many cities, organizations like the Los Angeles County Community Redevelopment Agency focused all their efforts on " <b>priming the pump downtown</b> ." But despite a spectacular growth, very few new jobs were created. Worse yet, tenants often abandoned older marginal buildings for newer offices built with city subsidies.   |           |
| <b>8. The New Suburbia: A Different Entity, Nicholas Lemann, <i>Current</i>, February 1990.</b>  | <b>46</b> |
| Nicholas Lemann evaluates the <b>changing nature of America's suburbs</b> , noting that, in the 1950s, the suburbs were exclusively residential, whereas second-generation suburbia has acquired an employment base. These "urban villages," which are rapidly becoming the fastest-growing kind of town in the country, differ markedly from earlier conceptions of suburbia. |           |
| <b>9. The Other Suburbia, John McCormick and Peter McKillop, <i>Newsweek</i>, June 26, 1989.</b>   | <b>52</b> |
| In this article, John McCormick and Peter McKillop focus on the plight of the <b>suburban poor</b> , arguing that their numbers have doubled in the last two decades, a fact that has been obscured by the prosperity that surrounds them. They are often caught between the ugly squalor of the inner city and the dreary isolation of the rural poor.                        |           |
| <b>10. The Rule of the Absentocracy, Rob Gurwitt, <i>Governing</i>, September 1991.</b>  | <b>55</b> |
| Locally owned business has traditionally played a crucial role in civic life. But the wave of corporate mergers and buy-outs of the 1980s replaced <b>local ownership</b> with branch managers who lacked the old-time commitments. In some cities, however, the decline of the old elites has allowed working class and minority citizens a greater role in political life.   |           |
| <b>11. The Competitiveness Debate: How New York Stacks Up Against Tokyo and Parsippany, Thierry Noyelle, <i>The City Journal</i>, Spring 1992.</b>   | <b>60</b> |
| New York City, Thierry Noyelle argues, has declined as a headquarters city for nationally oriented companies. But it has maintained its place as the nation's economic capital by attracting firms that do business in the <b>global economy</b> . New York's problem is that its high taxes and extensive regulations drives out firms that began within its boroughs.        |           |



## Unit 3

### Urban Problems

Eleven selections examine the inherent problems of urban growth. Topics include urban transportation, drug abuse, poverty, homelessness, and urban health care.

12. **Commercial Property in America: Boom Comes to Bust, With a Vengeance**, *The Economist*, June 15, 1991. 70  
**Boom and bust cycles** are nothing new. What sets the current cycle apart is its scale. The gigantic commercial property boom of the 1980s that was set off by tax breaks for investment has produced a bust of equal proportions. It will be well into the 1990s before the demand for downtown office and store space catches up with the excess of supply.
13. **Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing?** Jon Bowermaster, *The New York Times Magazine*, January 6, 1991. 73  
 Seattle has gotten the reputation of being a "livable" city, and in recent years it has drawn waves of migration from all corners of the country. Because of the resultant increase in population, however, Seattle is beginning to suffer the **problems incumbent in rapid urban growth**.
- Overview 78
14. **Out of the Car, Into the Future**, Marcia D. Lowe, *World • Watch*, November/December 1990. 80  
 The automobile dream has turned into a nightmare of congestion and pollution, and municipal governments are searching for **transportation alternatives**. Public modes of transport—buses, subways, streetcars, trolleys, trains, and even car pools—differ in the fuel they use, the pollution they create, and the space they require. However, when transporting sufficient numbers of passengers, they all outperform the private car on each of these counts.
15. **Nobody Home: The Housing Crisis Meets the Nineties**, Peter Dreier and Richard Appelbaum, *Tikkun*, September/October 1990. 85  
 The authors blame the homeless crisis on the loss of federal support for **low income housing**. Only one-quarter of poor households receive any kind of housing subsidy. The same absence of subsidy, they suggest, is putting home ownership out of the reach of an increasing percentage of the middle class.
16. **Twins of the Streets: Homelessness and Addiction**, Gina Kolata, *The New York Times*, May 22, 1989. 90  
 Advocates for the homeless have long insisted that their clients are victims of inadequate public spending on housing. But recent research has made it clear that **drug and alcohol abuse** "is the nasty little secret of the homeless," complicating the search for solution.
17. **Dream Houses for the Poor**, Rita McWilliams, *Governing*, July 1991. 93  
 Inspired by Margaret Thatcher's British initiatives, Jack Kemp, secretary of HUD, is pushing **tenant ownership of public housing units**. Ownership, argues Kemp, gives poor individuals a stake in society. Critics complain that with a million people waiting for housing assistance nationwide, the government cannot be allowed to sell off any of its housing units.
18. **Can Democracy Save Chicago's Schools?** David Moberg, *The American Prospect*, Winter 1992. 97  
 Chicago's dramatic school decentralization was set in motion after the ninth teachers' strike in twenty years by a coalition of business and black parents. In contrast with market-oriented school reform that centers on giving parents choices, Chicago's school reform emphasizes voting for local school authorities—the **democratic "voice" as the route to effective schools**.



19. **Letting Schools Work**, John Chubb and Terry Moe, *The City Journal*, Autumn 1990. 107  

There is widespread consensus that over the past twenty years American schools have ceased to perform effectively. The authors argue that declining school performance is directly linked to the vast growth of an educational bureaucracy, both within individual schools and in central boards of education. They suggest that the monopoly power of the educational bureaucracy can only be broken by *market-oriented reforms* that give parents a choice in where they send their children to school.
20. **The Other Underclass**, Nicholas Lemann, *The Atlantic*, December 1991. 120  

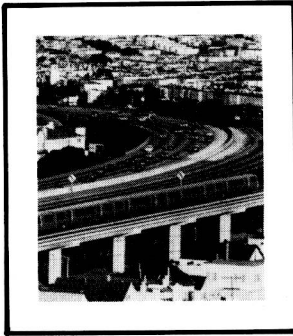
*Puerto Ricans are the worst-off ethnic group* in the United States. Puerto Ricans in New York, who had neither a true immigrant mentality nor a strong sense of victimization, were devastated during the 1970s by both a family breakdown and a declining labor force. Those who are successful tend to return to Puerto Rico, leaving behind a large dependent population.
21. **Fractured City**, Harold Meyerson, *The New Republic*, May 25, 1992. 129  

In this article, Harold Meyerson compares the 1965 and 1992 Los Angeles riots. With a new black-Jewish coalition waiting in the wings, the 1965 riots signaled the end of the old conservative coalition that governed the city. But in the wake of the more nihilistic 1992 riot, there is no new order on deck for a city in which ethnic separatism has made it harder and *harder to form ethnic coalitions*.
22. **How the Great Society "Destroyed the American Family,"** Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Public Interest*, Summer 1992. 132  

The Bush administration blamed *the 1992 Los Angeles riot* on the way Great Society programs undermined the black family. But Senator Daniel Moynihan notes that the beginning of the breakdown was evident in the data before the Great Society. The Los Angeles riot, argues Moynihan, followed the pattern first described in Harold Orlansky's classic report on the Harlem riot of 1943.
23. **Fighting Poverty the Old-Fashioned Way**, Howard Husock, *The Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 1990. 137  

At the turn of the century the tenements that housed new immigrants were described as "nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts." But thirty years later, thanks in part to the *settlement houses*, like Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago, which unabashedly promoted both bourgeois values and the value of the immigrants' own cultures, the newcomers were on their way to joining the mainstream of American life.
24. **Measuring What Matters: A New Way of Thinking About Crime and Public Order**, George Kelling, *The City Journal*, Spring 1992. 148  

The author, who is the father of the community policing movement, argues that crime statistics are of limited use because *there is no such thing as a criminal system*. Instead of focusing on catching the criminal, George Kelling argues that the police should concentrate on preventing crime by reestablishing a sense of public trust and order in our city neighborhoods.



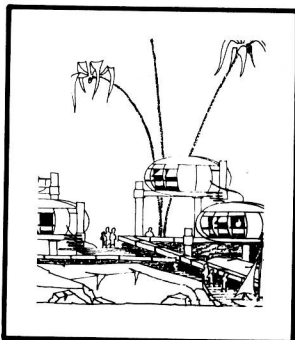
# Unit 4

## Urban Policies and Politics

Ten selections discuss the effects of the current social policy process by which an urban center addresses its problems. Because of the complexity of these problems, many careful reassessments of urban planning and growth must be undertaken.

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>Overview</b>   | <b>158</b> |
| <b>25. Cities on Their Own, Jonathan Walters, <i>Governing</i>, April 1991.</b>   | <b>160</b> |
| Unlike the urban cities of the 1960s that existed when the government was flush with money and social science antipoverty research was full of promise, the cities of the 1990s are increasingly on their own. Worse yet, city political clout has declined, while poverty is increasingly concentrated in inner city ghettos as the <i>cities have become symbols of government policy and society gone awry.</i>                                  |            |
| <b>26. The Suburban Century Begins, William Schneider, <i>The Atlantic</i>, July 1992.</b>  | <b>165</b> |
| In 1960 the country was one-third suburban, one-third rural, one-third urban. But by 1992 half the nation's voters lived in the suburbs and power has shifted accordingly. <i>Suburbanization means the privatization of life and government.</i> Culturally tolerant and economically conservative suburban voters are unsympathetic to the style of both government and politics they associate with the dependent populations of the big cities. |            |
| <b>27. The Rise and Decline of Cities and Dems, Fred Siegel, <i>Newsday</i>, July 12, 1992.</b>   | <b>175</b> |
| Urban America's claim on both the national imagination and the national treasury derived from the economic and cultural <i>dynamism that incorporated immigrants</i> into American life. But today's cities, burdened by large dependent populations, overgrown governments, and declining political influence, have been reduced to supplicants for federally funded social services.  |            |
| <b>28. The Shrink-Proof Bureaucracy, Jonathan Walters, <i>Governing</i>, March 1992.</b>  | <b>178</b> |
| The number of <i>managers in government</i> has grown twice as fast as frontline employees, so that while there were more than two teachers for every administrator in 1960 there is now one administrator for every teacher. The current budget crunch, however, is forcing cities and towns to reconsider their staffing priorities.  |            |
| <b>29. Reinventing Government, David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, <i>The New Democrat</i>, March 1992.</b>  | <b>184</b> |
| The authors of this article are part of what is called "the new paradigm" approach to government. Rejecting both traditional laissez-faire and the bureaucratic models of government action devised during the New Deal, they propose <i>a new, more flexible, postindustrial model of government.</i> They want government to "steer" public services, that is, to set policy without "rowing" (directly providing those services).                |            |
| <b>30. Reinventing Da Mayor, <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i>, March 23, 1992.</b>   | <b>191</b> |
| Chicago's famed Mayor Richard Daley's name was synonymous with machine politics. But now his son, Richard Daley, Jr., reigns as mayor of Chicago and he has discovered that, with the court-ordered end of political patronage, <i>bureaucratic reform and even privatization makes for good politics.</i>  |            |
| <b>31. Does Privatization Serve the Public Interest? John B. Goodman and Gary W. Loveman, <i>Harvard Business Review</i>, November-December 1991.</b>   | <b>194</b> |
| John Goodman and Gary Loveman compare the current interest in reinventing government to the mergers and acquisitions movement that restructured business in the 1980s. They worry that privatization can produce long-term contracts that shield vendors doing business for the city from competition. They argue that <i>the real issue is managerial accountability</i> and not the form of ownership.  |            |





# Unit 5

## Urban Futures

Five selections examine the implications of a rapidly rising urban population. What effects these changes will have on the entire world population must be taken into consideration and effective planning must be seriously instituted.

32. **Operation 'Domestic Order': Devising a 'Fair Federalism,'** Raymond L. Flynn, *Commonweal*, April 19, 1991. 201  
Raymond Flynn, president of U.S. Conference of Mayors, insists that the declining fortunes of America's large cities can be reversed only by the kind of massive and decisive public commitment that allowed the United States to force Iraq out of Kuwait. He blames the plight of the cities on *the misguided priorities of the federal government*.
33. **Patron Saints,** Lois Forer, *The Washington Monthly*, July/August 1991. 206  
Philadelphia Judge Lois Forer calls for a *return to patronage* and the old machine politics on the grounds that civil service reforms have made city government unresponsive. The machine, she argues, produced a rough accountability and an incentive to get the job done, since if your official lost, you could be out of a job.
34. **Neighborhood Politics: A Changing World,** Jeffrey L. Katz, *Governing*, November 1990. 210  
Jeffrey Katz explores the world of *neighborhood politics*, examining the transformation of community activists from practitioners of conflict and confrontation to development specialists, who seek to persuade governments to join with them. In the past, many neighborhood groups sought to intimidate and embarrass public officials, often with very mixed results; today, they are experiencing success by cutting deals with them—and even, when necessary, substituting for them.
- Overview 214
35. **Lobbying for the Good Old Days,** Jonathan Walters, *Governing*, June 1991. 216  
In 1932 the U.S. Conference of Mayors was established in Washington. In the years since, city governments have concentrated on lobbying Washington. But under *the new federalism* implemented by Ronald Reagan, federal subsidies declined dramatically while the cities came to be increasingly dependent on state support.
36. **How Foreign Cities Cope,** Peter Hall, *The World & I*, June 1991. 221  
The United States, argues Peter Hall, may not have a great deal to learn from *foreign cities*, because their policies reflect distinct differences in national culture. Further, European cities are just learning to cope with a growing underclass that threatens to undermine the urbanity that visiting Americans prize.
37. **Reclaiming Our Public Spaces,** Fred Siegel, *The City Journal*, Spring 1992. 226  
The progressive accomplishment of creating more civil and sociable cities has come undone as cities in general, and New York City in particular, have suffered from a decline in public civility over the past twenty-five years. Now, however, new public-private efforts like BIDs (Business Improvement Districts), which supplement city street cleaning and policing efforts, are improving the quality of life in New York. BIDs may represent *the future of city services*.

38. States Explore the Enterprise Zone, Isaiah J. Poole, <i>Insight</i> , September 21, 1987.	235
This selection examines the strengths and limitations of the <b>enterprise zone concept</b> , a program that has now expanded to 26 states and boasts considerable success. The enterprise zone program was designed to encourage businesses to locate in depressed areas and help revitalize them.	
39. A Future History of Privatisation, 1992–2022, <i>The Economist</i> , December 21, 1991–January 3, 1992.	237
The former editor of <i>The Economist</i> , the journal that has been at the forefront of the push for privatization, forecasts a future in which <b>governments are displaced by companies</b> working on performance contracts.	
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# Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of urban society. It is useful for locating articles that relate to each other for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>City History/ Future</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fear of the City</li> <li>37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces</li> <li>39. Future History of Privatisation</li> </ul>	<b>Economic Issues</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. America's Boom Towns</li> <li>6. Downtown Job Puzzle</li> <li>7. Lowering the Urban Boom</li> <li>10. Rule of the Absentocracy</li> <li>11. Competitiveness Debate</li> <li>12. Commercial Property</li> <li>13. Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing?</li> </ul>
<b>Civic Leaders</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Lowering the Urban Boom</li> <li>10. Rule of the Absentocracy</li> <li>13. Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing?</li> <li>21. Fractured City</li> <li>23. Fighting Poverty the Old-Fashioned Way</li> <li>27. Rise and Decline of Cities and Dems</li> <li>29. Reinventing Da Mayor</li> <li>34. Neighborhood Politics</li> </ul>	<b>Government and Politics: Local</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. Fractured City</li> <li>25. Cities on Their Own</li> <li>27. Rise and Decline of Cities and Dems</li> <li>28. Shrink-Proof Bureaucracy</li> <li>29. Reinventing Government</li> <li>30. Reinventing Da Mayor</li> <li>32. Operation 'Domestic Order'</li> <li>33. Patron Saints</li> <li>34. Neighborhood Politics</li> <li>37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces</li> </ul>
<b>Congestion/ Transportation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Pace of Life</li> <li>14. Out of the Car</li> </ul>		
<b>Crime and Disorder</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. Fractured City</li> <li>22. How the Great Society "Destroyed the American Family"</li> <li>23. Fighting Poverty the Old-Fashioned Way</li> <li>24. Measuring What Matters</li> <li>25. Cities on Their Own</li> <li>37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces</li> </ul>	<b>Government and Politics: National</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>25. Cities on Their Own</li> <li>26. Suburban Century Begins</li> <li>27. Rise and Decline of Cities and Dems</li> <li>29. Reinventing Government</li> <li>32. Operation 'Domestic Order'</li> </ul>
<b>Downtown</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Downtown Job Puzzle</li> <li>7. Lowering the Urban Boom</li> <li>11. Competitiveness Debate</li> <li>12. Commercial Property</li> <li>13. Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing?</li> </ul>	<b>Government and Politics: State</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>25. Cities on Their Own</li> <li>35. Lobbying for the Good Old Days</li> <li>38. States Explore the Enterprise Zone</li> </ul>
		<b>Housing and Hopelessness</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Nobody Home</li> <li>16. Twins of the Streets</li> <li>17. Dream Houses for the Poor</li> </ul>

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>Poverty</b>	6. Downtown Job Puzzle 9. Other Suburbia 16. Twins of the Streets 20. Other Underclass 22. How the Great Society "Destroyed the American Family" 23. Fighting Poverty the Old- Fashioned Way	<b>Schools</b>	18. Can Democracy Save Chicago's Schools? 19. Letting Schools Work
		<b>Small Cities</b>	4. America's Boom Towns
		<b>Social Issues</b>	5. Pace of Life 16. Twins of the Streets
<b>Prevarication</b>	17. Dream Houses for the Poor 19. Letting Schools Work 23. Fighting Poverty the Old- Fashioned Way 26. Suburban Century Begins 29. Reinventing Government 30. Reinventing Da Mayor 31. Does Privatization Serve the Public Interest? 37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces 39. Future History of Privatisation	<b>Suburbia</b>	2. Are Cities Obsolete? 3. America's New City 8. New Suburbia 9. Other Suburbia 11. Competitiveness Debate 26. Suburban Century Begins
		<b>Urban Planning and Design</b>	3. America's New City 13. Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing? 36. How Foreign Cities Cope 37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces
<b>Satellite Cities</b>	2. Are Cities Obsolete? 3. America's New City 8. New Suburbia		

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# Urbanization

Historically, the rapid growth of cities was largely a consequence of the developments of agricultural surpluses and factory systems. When farms produced surpluses, they needed a center for exchange. When factories were developed, the need for a concentrated labor supply and services was apparent. Thus, the city came into existence and became the center of both economic and cultural activity. While scholars agree that cities have existed for many centuries and in most parts of the world, only about 3 percent of the world's population lived in towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants before 1800. Even today, less than 30 percent of the world's population live in cities larger than 20,000 people. Nevertheless, urbanization has profoundly influenced the course of global development.

Urbanization is a complex and continuous process. It involves the movement of people from rural to urban areas, the creation of new patterns of living, and the communication of these new patterns to both urban and rural populations. In the Western world, the emergence of cities as a dominant force in the lives of people has been so rapid, it has been characterized as an "explosion."

Social scientists have been fascinated with the process of urbanization. For the historian, the dynamics of urban growth illustrated the ways in which entire cultures and nations change over time. For the sociologist, the nature of urbanization became a way of explaining social arrangements and transforming social structures. The psychologist saw urbanization as a force in the ways individuals learned to cope with new threats to survival. Through the process of urbanization, the economist came to recognize cities, and more recently suburbs, as important units for generating wealth and for allocating resources. The political scientists, too, studied urbanization in order to gain a better understanding of the ways in which order and change were maintained in these dynamic units. The change was more gradual for the anthropologist but, nevertheless, urbanization proved to be a

rich resource for observing and understanding the nature and importance of subcultural groups within the larger urban culture.

It is clear that urbanization has become a dominant force in the lives of people throughout the world—both those who live in cities and those who remain in rural areas. This examination of urbanization begins with Alfred Kazin's elegant essay on why Americans have traditionally feared cities as a threat to personal and political virtue. The article by Robert Fishman on "America's New City: Megalopolis Unbound" discusses an important new phenomena, the diffusion of the cities' functions over a vast geographic landscape, creating entities that are barely recognizable as cities. Robert Levine concludes the section by assessing the relationship between a city's pace of life and its residents' physical health.

## Looking Ahead: Challenge Questions

What historical factors have contributed to humankind's fear of cities? Are these fears well-founded?

What are the main social features of the city? How does the process of urbanization affect social life today?

Has urbanization added to or detracted from the quality of human life? Is suburban life an answer to the problems of urban society?

What are the principal challenges facing the world's great cities? Is it likely that they will meet these challenges?

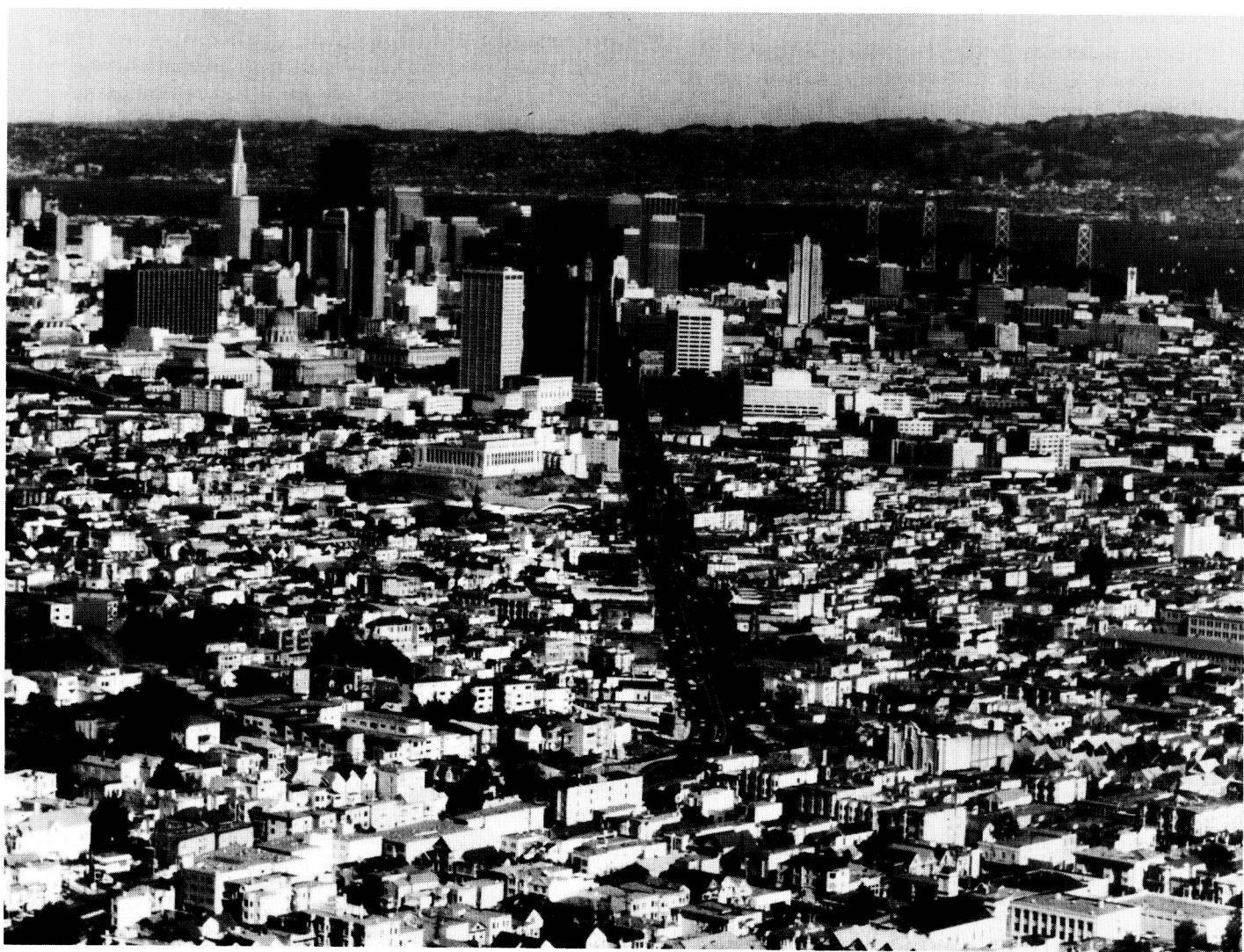
Why and how have many urban dwellers sought to revitalize urban America and exploit its diversity? How well have they succeeded?

In what ways, if any, does population affect urban life? Do current trends portend well for the future?

Does the combination of hard work and a fast pace have to be lethal? In what ways, if any, can the two be life-threatening?



# Unit 1





# FEAR of the CITY

## 1783 to 1983

*The city has been a lure for millions, but most of the great American minds have been appalled by its excesses. Here an eminent observer, who knows firsthand the city's threat, surveys the subject.*

### Alfred Kazin

*Alfred Kazin is Distinguished Professor of English at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He is completing An American Procession, a book about American writers from Emerson to T. S. Eliot.*

EVERY THURSDAY, when I leave my apartment in a vast housing complex on Columbus Avenue to conduct a university seminar on the American city, I reflect on a double life—mine. Most of the people I pass on my way to the subway look as imprisoned by the city as my parents and relatives used to look in the Brooklyn ghetto where I spent my first twenty years. Yet no matter where else I have traveled and taught, I always seem to return to streets and scenes like those on New York's Upper West Side.

Two blocks away on Broadway there is daily carnage. Drunks outside the single-room-occupancy hotel dazedly eye me, a professor laden with books and notes trudging past mounds of broken glass, hills of garbage. Even at eight in the morning a craps game is going on in front of the hydrant that now gives off only a trickle. It has been left open for so many weeks that even the cover has vanished. On the benches lining that poor polluted sliver of green that runs down the center of Broadway, each drunk has his and her bottle in the regulation brown paper bag. A woman on crutches, so battered looking that I can't understand how she stands up, is whooping it up—totally ignored by the cars, trucks, and bicycles impatiently waiting at the red light. None of the proper people absorbed in their schedules has time to give the vagrants more than a glance. Anyway, it's too dangerous. No eye contact is the current rule of the game.

I left all this many times, but the city has never left me. At many universities abroad—there was even one improbable

afternoon lecturing in Moscow—I have found myself explaining the American city, tracing its history, reviewing its literature—and with a heavy heart, more and more having to defend it. The American city has a bad reputation now, though there was a time, as the violinist Yehudi Menuhin said during World War II, when one of the great war aims was to get to New York.

There is now general fear of the city. While sharing it, I resent it, for I have never ceased feeling myself to be one of the city's people, even as I have labored in libraries to seize the full background to my life in the city. But when in American history has there not been fear of the city—and especially on the part of those who did not have to live in it?

BEFORE THERE WERE American cities of any significance, the best American minds were either uninterested in cities or were suspicious of them. The Puritans thought of Boston as another Jerusalem, "a city upon a hill," but even their first and deepest impression was of the forest around it. This sense of unlimited space was bewitching until the end of the nineteenth century. In his first inaugural address in 1801, Thomas Jefferson pronounced, as if in a dream, that Americans possessed "a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation." What was "chosen" was not just an endless frontier but the right people to go with it. This, as a matter of course to a great country squire like Jefferson, surveying the future from his mountaintop at Monticello, meant excluding the mobs he associated with European cities. Jefferson's attitude may have been influenced by the European Philosophes whom Louis XVI blamed for the French Revolution. Jefferson was a Philosophe himself; he would have agreed with a leader of the revolution, Saint-Just, that oppressed people "are a power on the earth." But he did not want to see any oppressed people here at all—they usually