

A N N U A L E D I T I O N S

URBAN SOCIETY

7th
Edition



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Seventh Edition

Printed in the United States of America.

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To the Reader

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 seventh edition of *Annual Editions: Urban Society* carries articles on a broad range of topics. But it particularly reflects the substantial changes in urban policy on both the national and local level since the election of President Bill Clinton and the arrival of a "new wave" of innovative mayors. To keep up with these changes, as well as the growing impact of immigration and crime, 28 of the 39 articles are new.

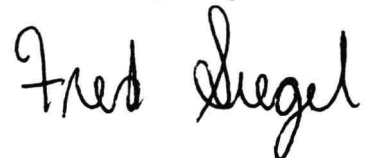
The first year of President Clinton's administration marked the end of an era in urban politics and policy that had begun with the New Deal (in the 1930s). There was the hope, particularly on the part of many big city mayors, that the 12 years of Republican rule were a mere interregnum. The return of the Democrats, it was assumed, meant the resumption of large-scale urban aid as well. They were to be disappointed. President Clinton, elected with only 43 percent of the vote, proposed substantial new subventions for the cities in his first budget. But Clinton's plans to increase community development block grant money to the cities was soundly defeated. This made manifest how the demographic shift to suburbia and exurbia, already visible in the Jimmy Carter years, had fundamentally reshaped the political landscape.

With only limited funds to allocate, Clinton has turned to an updated version of an old Republican idea, enterprise zones, as a cornerstone of his urban policy. Empowerment zones, as the Democrats have redubbed them, are likely to be important to both policy and debate about the cities. Other new policy initiatives merit articles include the plan by HUD secretary Henry Cisneros, inspired by Vincent Lane of the Chicago Housing Authority, to disperse the intense concentrations of minority poverty in the inner city, and Clinton's at times impassioned response to inner-city crime.

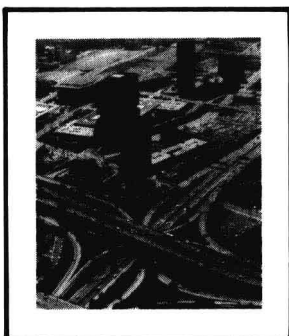
While Washington's initiatives have been limited by the size of the federal deficit, the action, so to speak, has shifted to the cities. First, a so-called "new wave" of mayors won election between 1991 and 1993. These "new paradigm" innovators, who include both Democrats and Republicans, have taken the lead in tackling city problems without waiting for Washington's money or advice. This new edition adds several profiles of these innovators and an article on one of their favorites causes, mandate relief. Secondly, the concepts connected with the slogan of "reinventing government" popularized by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler have become the common currency of policy discussions in cities big and small. Osborne and Gaebler's summary of their own principles is reprinted in this new edition and it is followed with Louis Winnick's critique, "Is Reinventing Government Enough?"

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. This issue devotes increased attention to two issues, immigration and crime. The role of immigrant entrepreneurs and the growing role of immigrant voters is particularly noted.

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

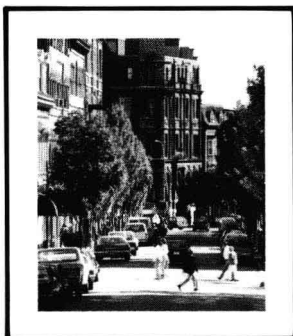


Unit 1

Urbanization

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

To the Reader	iv
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Overview	4
1. Fear of the City, 1783 to 1983 , Alfred Kazin, <i>American Heritage</i> , February/March 1983.	6
Alfred Kazin examines the age-old threats of the city from a personal and historical perspective. He argues that despite its excesses and aggressiveness, the city possesses an indescribable allure and magic.	
2. The Mystery of Cities , Witold Rybczynski, <i>The New York Review of Books</i> , July 15, 1993.	12
What is a city? The author places contemporary American cities in the context of early debates that tried to find a single, simple definition of a city . He discusses the design and experience of cities from London to Las Vegas and concludes by discussing David Rusk's proposal to merge contemporary American cities and their suburbs.	
3. Citizen Jane Jacobs , Francis Morrone, <i>The New Criterion</i> , May 1994.	17
Francis Morrone, an architectural historian, assesses the career of North America's most influential writer about cities. Jane Jacobs's first book, <i>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</i> , has set the terms of debate ever since. Jacobs feared that cities that were seen primarily as engines of economic innovation would be imperiled if politics triumphed over economics.	
4. America's New City: Megalopolis Unbound , Robert Fishman, <i>Current</i> , October 1990.	22
According to Robert Fishman, the American landscape has given rise to a new type of city . 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.	
5. Sky's the Limit , Jordan Bonfante, <i>Time</i> , September 6, 1993.	31
While older cities are struggling under the weight of seemingly insuperable social problems, thanks to high-tech innovations like the fax and the modem, cities like Boise and Rio Rancho are thriving. They offer both the safety of a simpler, more rooted life and the lure of economic opportunity.	



Unit 2

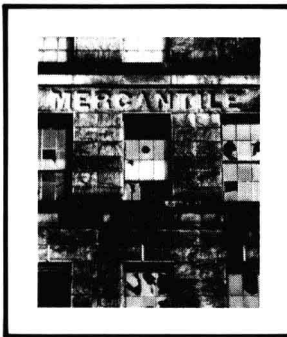
Urban Experiences, Urban Economies

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

Overview

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6. **Wild About Convention Centers**, Lawrence Tabak, *The Atlantic Monthly*, April 1994. 38
Many cities have staked the future of their downtowns on building convention centers. But as more and more cities build them, often without taxpayer approval, most operate at a loss. Convention centers, the author concludes, **are no panacea for dying downtowns** because the economic benefits they promise have been wildly oversold.
7. **The New Downtowns**, Witold Rybczynski, *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1993. 42
Witold Rybczynski, a social and architectural historian, shows that **malls are taking on civic functions**. As city offices move in, they are becoming more like downtowns. The major malls, he argues, are popular because they have incorporated the diversity of activities that urbanites love without the dirt and dangers.
8. **The Strange Career of Enterprise Zones**, William Fulton and Morris Newman, *Governing*, March 1994. 48
Enterprise zones, areas freed of federal taxes and regulations, were originally conceived of as the Republican version of an urban policy. But after the 1992 Los Angeles riots, the idea was revived and modified, by Democrats in general and Bill Clinton in particular, as the key to **reviving the economy of the inner city**.
9. **Why Enterprise Zones Will Not Work**, Philip Kasinitz and Jan Rosenberg, *City Journal*, Autumn 1993. 51
Enterprise zones are highly promoted by politicians in both parties, but they have rarely been subjected to systematic scrutiny. Two researchers carefully interviewed both employers and potential employees in an impoverished Brooklyn neighborhood. They concluded that **the whole enterprise zone concept is confused** because it mistakes social for geographic isolation.
10. **L.A.'s Engine of Growth**, Joel Kotkin, *City Journal*, Winter 1993. 57
In the wake of the riot, fires, and an earthquake, not to mention the sharp decline of the post-cold war defense industry, Los Angeles has been given up by some, particularly in the East, for dead. They are wrong, says Joel Kotkin, who insists that a new and **vibrant immigrant small business economy** is revitalizing the region.
11. **Lowering the Urban Boom**, Michael Abramowitz, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, May 18–24, 1992. 63
In many cities, organizations like the Los Angeles County Community Redevelopment Agency focused all their efforts on **“priming the pump downtown.”** 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.



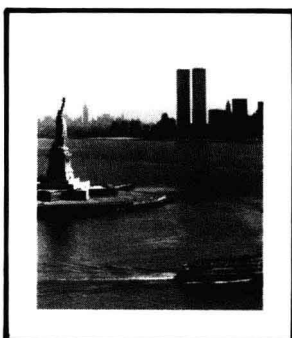
Unit 3

Urban Problems

Nine selections examine the inherent problems of urban growth. Topics include urban crime, neighborhood police officers, public housing, homelessness, and immigration.

12. **Commercial Property in America: Boom Comes to Bust, with a Vengeance**, *The Economist*, June 15, 1991. 66
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. **The Rule of the Absentocracy**, Rob Gurwitt, *Governing*, September 1991. 69
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 *local ownership* 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.
- Overview 74
14. **Defining Deviancy Down**, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The American Scholar*, Winter 1993. 76
The very phrase "defining deviancy down" has entered the country's social and political vocabulary as a shorthand for the *social breakdown* plaguing the cities. In this article, Senator Daniel Moynihan shows how behavior, which would have once produced an outcry, is now passively accepted as routine. An historically unprecedented crime level has now been "normalized."
15. **Urban Studies: Clinton Discovers Crime**, Eric Pooley, *New York*, November 29, 1993. 83
In the wake of exit polls showing that the key issue in the 1993 elections was crime, President Bill Clinton gave a *major speech on crime*. He insisted, in the name of Martin Luther King Jr., that the country had to confront the pathologies propelling inner-city crime. The solution, said Clinton, to *urban disorder* is putting more people to work, because "work organizes life."
16. **Neighborhood Cops: Making Community Policing Work**, George L. Kelling, *City Journal*, Winter 1994. 85
George Kelling, father of community policing, argues that it cannot succeed unless it is accompanied by a fundamental *restructuring of police departments*. The authority to make decisions on how, when, and where to patrol, he says, has to be decentralized. It has to be pushed down to the precinct level in the big cities.

17. **Public-Housing Perversity: A View from the Trenches**, Paul H. Messenger, *The Public Interest*, Summer 1992. 93
Public housing is a repository of the **unintended consequences of well-meaning policies**. Paul Messenger explores the impact of the Brooke Amendment, which was aimed at limiting the percentage of their income that tenants would pay in rent. However, it had the effect of pushing working families out of public housing.
18. **New Hope for Old Projects: Vince Lane and the Revival of Public Housing**, Robert F. Wagner Jr. and Julia Vitullo-Martin, *City Journal*, Spring 1994. 98
Robert Wagner Jr., grandson of Senator Robert Wagner, the founding father of American public housing, and Julia Vitullo-Martin lament the rapid decline of most public housing. They think the success of Vincent Lane in upgrading Chicago's public housing has lessons for the entire country. Lane wants to **encourage local innovation** by cutting back heavy-handed control from Washington.
19. **The Homeless**, Christopher Jencks, *The New York Review of Books*, April 21, 1994. 106
When homelessness emerged as a major social problem in the early 1980s, it was defined solely as a housing problem. Christopher Jencks shows that **homelessness is far more than a housing problem**. Through deft statistical analysis, he shows how the excesses of deinstitutionalization and the declining value of the welfare grant, as well as drug and alcohol dependence, produced the crisis.
20. **Immigration: The Symbolic Crackdown**, Charles Mahtesian, *Governing*, May 1994. 115
Two-thirds of the mothers who gave birth in the Los Angeles County hospitals (in the 1990–1991 fiscal year) were illegal immigrants. Cities as different as Miami and Milwaukee are groaning under the burden of paying for the **medical services for illegal immigrants**. But short of major changes in federal policy or federal reimbursement, financial relief seems unlikely.
21. **A Human Capital Policy for the Cities**, Nathan Glazer, *The Public Interest*, Summer 1993. 118
Nathan Glazer, one of America's most eminent sociologists, describes how cities' intertwined job-training and antipoverty efforts have become integrated into patronage networks. **Job training has had little success** in gaining jobs for the **hard-core unemployed**. Instead, training programs represent an attempt to make up for the failure of the high schools to impart even basic skills.
22. **The Other Underclass**, Nicholas Lemann, *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1991. 127
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.



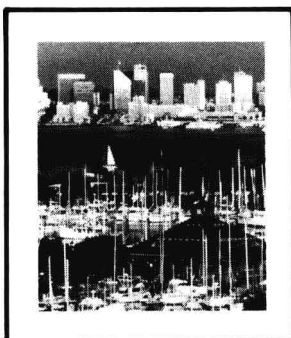
Unit 4

Urban Policies and Politics

Twelve 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 considered.

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| 23. The Suburban Century Begins, William Schneider, <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> , July 1992. | 138 |
| 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. Suburbanization means the privatization of life and government. 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. | |
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| 24. Not a Local Hero Anymore, Jonathan Walters, <i>Governing</i> , September 1993. | 148 |
| Many mayors, hoping for an increase in federal aid, initially welcomed the Clinton presidency . But the combination of an activist president and the federal budget deficit promises to place additional burdens on the cities . | |
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| 25. HUD-dled Masses, Dante Ramos, <i>The New Republic</i> , March 14, 1994. | 152 |
| President Clinton's secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) wants to both develop and disperse the ghetto . He would like to bring about desegregation through programs that either directly or through vouchers allow inner-city residents to move into the suburbs. | |
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| 26. Cities Aim to Stop Federal Buck-passing, William Tucker, <i>Insight</i> , September 6, 1993. | 154 |
| Mayors of all political and ideological stripes are increasingly objecting to federal mandates that require the cities to spend money on programs that the federal government is not willing to fund. The mayors note that, as federal financial subventions have declined, the number of demands imposed on the cities by Washington have increased. | |
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| 27. Reinventing Government, David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, <i>The New Democrat</i> , March 1992. | 158 |
| 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 a new, more flexible, postindustrial model of government . They want government to "steer" public services, that is, to set policy without "rowing" (directly providing those services). | |
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| 28. Is Reinventing Government Enough? Louis Winnick, <i>City Journal</i> , Summer 1993. | 165 |
| The ideas associated with "reinventing government" have won widespread acceptance, but Louis Winnick of the Ford Foundation, and an old hand at urban innovation, argues that many of the proposals have already been tried and found wanting. He says "reinventing government" confuses process problems with policy problems . | |

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29. **The Shrink-proof Bureaucracy**, Jonathan Walters, 176
Governing, March 1992.
The number of ***managers in government*** 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.
30. **The End of the Rainbow**, Jim Sleeper, *The New Republic*, 182
November 1, 1993.
Jim Sleeper argues that as the new immigration makes cities ever more diverse, the alliance between black and white liberal voters, which has dominated many cities since the 1960s, breaks down. ***Latinos have become the key swing vote*** in many cities. A new breed of mayors like Edward Rendell in Philadelphia and Michael White in Cleveland have had success in government by transcending racial divisions.
31. **America's Cities: Can We Save Them?** Edward G. Rendell, *City Journal*, Winter 1994. 187
In a 1993 speech, Edward Rendell, mayor of Philadelphia, describes how he pulled Philadelphia back from the brink of bankruptcy. But, he warns, ***the problems of the big cities*** are so severe that not even improved management ensures their future viability.
32. **Indianapolis and the Republican Future**, Rob Gurwitt, 193
Governing, February 1994.
Stephen Goldsmith is the most cerebral and to date the most successful mayor representing a new brand of urban Republicanism. Goldsmith has tried to introduce market forces into Indianapolis government through what he calls ***"municipal federalism."*** Unlike the traditional downtown-oriented Republican, he wants to give neighborhoods the power to choose what kind of services they want for themselves.
33. **Rudy in Disguise**, Fred Siegel, *The New Democrat*, April/May 1994. 197
The mayor of New York is de facto ***a major voice in urban policy***. But newly elected mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who won with a "fusion" campaign ***appealing across party lines***, may find his ability to innovate limited by the racial aftermath of an election where he defeated an African American incumbent. So far, Giuliani has made his mark with criticism of New York's underperforming bureaucracies drawn straight from the "new Democratic" playbook.
34. **The New Boss**, L. J. Davis, *The New Republic*, November 1, 1993. 201
Republican Richard Riordan won election in overwhelmingly Democratic Los Angeles in part by ***creating a bridge between the old elites and entrepreneurial Latino immigrants***. Despite the limited powers of L.A.'s mayor, Riordan is trying to reshape post-riot Los Angeles into a more economically competitive city.



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.

Overview	204
35. America Works: A Venture to End Dependency , Jan Rosenberg and Sol Stern, <i>City Journal</i> , Summer 1993.	206
America Works is a private, for-profit company that offers hope for the inner cities by successfully placing long-term welfare clients in jobs with benefits. The company succeeds by emphasizing not job training but job readiness, that is, basic work skills and contacts with potential employers.	
36. The Seeds of Urban Revival , Mitchell Sviridoff, <i>The Public Interest</i> , Winter 1994.	211
Mitchell Sviridoff argues that it is not the enterprise zone but the nonprofit community development corporation that represents the best hope for the inner city . Community development corporations, he argues, already have a proven record of reviving housing in areas like the South Bronx. Now he says, they are ready to take on wider tasks.	
37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces , Fred Siegel, <i>City Journal</i> , Spring 1992.	220
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 25 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. A Future History of Privatisation, 1992–2022 , <i>The Economist</i> , December 21, 1991–January 3, 1992.	230
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 governments are displaced by companies working on performance contracts.	
39. Downtown 2040: Making Cities Fun! John Fondersmith, <i>The Futurist</i> , March/April 1988.	234
The author claims that the “city of the future” will bear little resemblance to past or current images. In many respects, tomorrow’s cities already exist; they are reflected in the revival of America’s downtown areas, which are striving to develop their own design, urbanity, and special character. In doing so, planners have eschewed technological innovations in favor of relatively simple ideas.	
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URBAN SOCIETY

Seventh 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.

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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:
City History/ Future	1. Fear of the City 2. Mystery of Cities 3. Citizen Jane Jacobs 38. Future History of Privatisation 39. Downtown 2040	Economic Issues	5. Sky's the Limit 6. Wild About Convention Centers 7. New Downtowns 8. Strange Career of Enterprise Zones 9. Why Enterprise Zones Will Not Work 10. L.A.'s Engine of Growth 11. Lowering the Urban Boom 12. Commercial Property in America 13. Rule of the Absentocracy 21. Human Capital Policy for the Cities 35. America Works
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Immigration	10. L.A.'s Engine of Growth 20. Immigration 30. End of the Rainbow 34. New Boss		
Policy Innovations	8. Strange Career of Enterprise Zones 9. Why Enterprise Zones Will Not Work 16. Neighborhood Cops 18. New Hope for Old Projects 25. HUD-dled Masses 27. Reinventing Government 28. Is Reinventing Government Enough? 35. America Works 36. Seeds of Urban Revival 37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces 38. Future History of Privatisation 39. Downtown 2040	Schools	21. Human Capital Policy for the Cities
		Social Issues	14. Defining Deviancy Down 19. Homeless 20. Immigration 37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces
		Suburbia	2. Mystery of Cities 23. Suburban Century Begins 25. HUD-dled Masses
		Suburbs and Smaller Cities	2. Mystery of Cities 4. America's New City 5. Sky's the Limit 6. Wild About Convention Centers 7. New Downtowns 13. Rule of the Absentocracy 25. HUD-dled Masses
Politics	3. Citizen Jane Jacobs 15. Urban Studies: Clinton Discovers Crime 23. Suburban Century Begins 24. Not a Local Hero Anymore 30. End of the Rainbow 33. Rudy in Disguise	Urban Planning and Design	2. Mystery of Cities 3. Citizen Jane Jacobs 7. New Downtowns 36. Seeds of Urban Revival 37. Reclaiming Our Public Spaces
Poverty	14. Defining Deviancy Down 17. Public-Housing Perversity 19. Homeless 21. Human Capital Policy for the Cities 22. Other Underclass 25. HUD-dled Masses 30. End of the Rainbow 35. America Works 36. Seeds of Urban Revival		

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 that 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 dy-

namic 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.

The relative decline of the giant cities, which have dominated American political and economic life, opens up a new chapter in American urban history. As many big cities have lost the economic dynamism that, as Jane Jacobs (see "Citizen Jane Jacobs") has shown, drove them to dominance, a new type of small and exurban city has effloresced. In effect, the functions of the big cities are now being diffused over a far wider landscape. Through modern technology the edge cities and rapidly growing small cities are able to combine the ordered life lost to crime in the big cities and a connection to the world economy.

Looking Ahead: Challenge Questions

Why have Americans traditionally feared big cities? Are these fears well-founded?

Why is it so hard to define just what a city is?

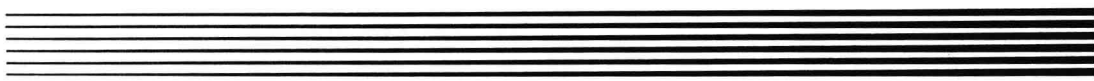
How can we think about the city as an artifact? What are the best designed public spaces in your city or town?

How is technology reshaping the urban landscape?

Could we solve America's big city social problems if those cities were merged with their surrounding suburbs?

How did Jane Jacobs (see "Citizen Jane Jacobs") think that the dynamism of city life could be reconciled with the need for stable neighborhoods? Has her solution worked? Why did she fear that political forces could undermine the economic vitality of cities?

Are America's boomtowns confined to the Rocky Mountains (as projected in "Sky's the Limit")?



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 the author of several books, including 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