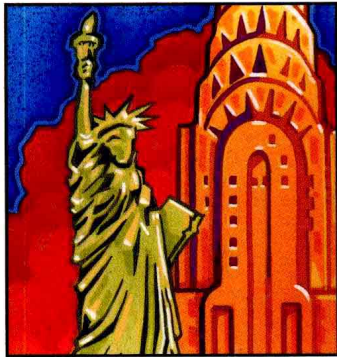
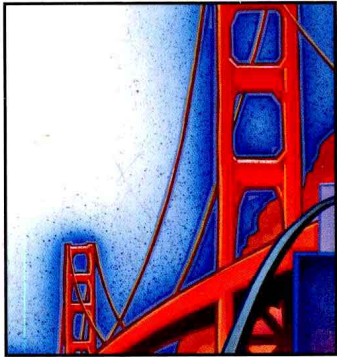


The Urban World



J. John Palen

6th edition

Sixth Edition

THE URBAN WORLD

J. John Palen

Virginia Commonwealth University



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THE URBAN WORLD

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*For Madeleine, Jack, and
Conor who are growing up
in an urban world*

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PREFACE

This is a new urban text for a new urban century. The sixth edition of *The Urban World* is entirely reorganized to reflect new developments and new approaches. There is new enlarged coverage, for example, on diversity with a separate chapter for African Americans and Hispanics, and another for Women, Ethnics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. There is also extensive coverage of new developments such as the explosion of metropolitan sprawl, gated communities, changing crime rates, smart growth policies, and urban HOPE VI projects. The sixth edition brings the whole range of urban changes into the new century. Also, the sixth edition is the first text to include the new 2000 Census data.

The new edition retains *The Urban World's* reputation for being comprehensive, balanced, and up-to-date. The sixth edition also retains its strong student focus with a new four-color photo essay on *Twenty-first Century City-Suburban Changes* that will help students visualize the changes discussed in the text. The new edition provides a twenty-first century look at cities and suburbs around the world presented in a reorganized format and a larger book size. All chapters now open with an Overview and close with a Summary. What hasn't changed is the text's clear writing style, level of current scholarship, and student appeal.

The new edition explores emerging developments. A textbook should reflect contemporary developments rather than simply rehash stale issues of

decades past. Thus, new chapters on, "The Suburban Era," "Cities and Change," "Housing and Sprawl," and "Planning, New Towns, New Urbanism and Smart Growth." The overall result is a volume that has organizational continuity with earlier editions while adding substantial new and updated material.

The sixth edition of *The Urban World* brings students studying the urban world into the twenty-first century. The goal is to convey to students the excitement I feel when studying our changing urban environment, and to give students a coherent overview of the urban scene, while providing the most up-to-date information on urbanization and the nature of urban life.

This sixth edition benefited from the comments of colleagues Victor Agadjaniar of Arizona State University, Jeffrey Kentor of University of Utah, Daniel J. Monti, Jr. of Boston University, Kathleen M. Perez of Wichita State University, Dan Shope of Marshall University and Dale Spady of Northern Michigan University.

It was my good fortune to again work with a set of fine professionals at McGraw-Hill. Very special thanks go to Sally Constable as Sponsoring Editor and Jill Gordon as Developmental Editor. Inge King again was the fine photo editor. Invariably even the most carefully edited work contains errors. Hopefully these are minimal, but in any instance they are solely my responsibility.

J. John Palen

CONTENTS

About the Author iii
List of Special Sections xi
Preface xii

PART I

FOCUS AND DEVELOPMENT 1

CHAPTER 1

The Urban World 2

Introduction 2
The Process of Urbanization 2
Urban Growth 3
Megacities 5
The Urban Explosion 5
Defining Urban Areas 7
Urbanization and Urbanism 9
 Urbanization 9
 Urbanism 9
Organizing the Study of Urban Life 11
Concepts of the City 12
 Urban Change and Confusion 12
 Rural Simplicity Versus Urban Complexity 13
Early Social Theories and Urban Change 13
Summary 17

CHAPTER 2

The Emergence of Cities 18

Introduction 18
The Ecological Complex 19
Political Economy Models 21

First Settlements 21
 Agricultural Revolution 22
 Population Expansion 23
Interactions of Population, Organization, Environment,
 and Technology 25
City Populations 26
Evolution in Social Organization 27
 Division of Labor 27
 Kingship and Social Class 28
Technological and Social Evolution 29
Urban Revolution 30
Survival of the City 30
The Hellenic City 31
 Social Invention 31
 Physical Design and Planning 32
 Population 32
 Diffusion of People and Ideas 33
Rome 33
 Size and Number of Cities 34
 Housing and Planning 34
 Transportation 35
 Life and Leisure 35
European Urbanization Until the Industrial
 Revolution 36
 The Medieval Feudal System 36
 Town Revival 37
 Characteristics of Towns 38
 Plague 40
 Renaissance Cities 41
Industrial Cities 45
 Technological Improvements and the Industrial
 Revolution 45
 The Second Urban Revolution 46
Summary 48

PART II

AMERICAN URBANIZATION 49

CHAPTER 3

The Rise of Urban America 50

- Introduction 50
- Colonists as Town Builders 50
- Major Settlements 52
 - New England 52
 - The Middle Colonies 53
 - The South 53
 - Canada 54
- Colonial Urban Influence 54
- Cities of the New Nation 55
 - Rapid Growth 56
 - Marketplace Centers 57
- The Industrial City: 1860–1950 58
 - Technological Developments 59
 - Spatial Concentration 59
 - Twentieth-Century Dispersion 61
- Political Life 62
 - Corruption and Urban Services 62
 - Immigrants' Problems 65
 - Reform Movements 67
- Urban Imagery 68
 - Ambivalence 68
 - Myth of Rural Virtue 70
- Summary 72

CHAPTER 4

Ecology and Political Economy Perspectives 73

- Introduction 73
- Development of Urban Ecology 74
 - Invasion and Succession 75
 - Criticisms of Ecology 76
- Burgess's Growth Hypothesis 76
 - Concentric Zones 77
 - Limitations 80
- Sector and Multi-Nuclei Models 80
- Urban Growth Outside North America 82
- Political Economy Models 84
- Political Economy Assumptions 85

Examples of the Political Economy Approach 87

- The Baltimore Study 87
- Urban Growth Machines 87
- World Systems Theory 88
- Challenges 88
- Summary 89

CHAPTER 5

Edge City Growth 90

- Introduction 90
- Metropolitan Growth 91
 - In-Movement: 1900 to 1950 93
 - Out-Movement: 1950 into the Twenty-First Century 93
- Commuting and Communication 95
- Postindustrial Central Cities 96
- Edge Cities 98
 - Edgeless and Private Edge Cities 99
 - Suburban Business Growth 99
 - Malling of the Land 101
 - Malls and "Street Safety" 104
- Non-Metropolitan Growth 104
 - Diffuse Growth 104
 - National Society? 105
- The Rise of the Sunbelt 106
 - Population and Economic Shifts 106
 - Regional Consequences 108
 - Sunbelt Problems 109
- Movement to the Coast 111
- Summary 112

PART III

URBAN AND SUBURBAN LIFE 113

CHAPTER 6

Urban Life-Styles 114

- Introduction 114
- Social Psychology of Urban Life 115
 - Early Formulations 115
 - The Chicago School 116
 - "Urbanism as a Way of Life" 117
- Reevaluations of Urbanism and Social Disorganization 118

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Compositional Theory | 119 |
| Subcultural Theory | 120 |
| Characteristics of Urban Populations | 120 |
| Age | 120 |
| Gender | 121 |
| Race, Ethnicity, and Religion | 121 |
| Socioeconomic Status | 122 |
| Urban Life-Styles | 122 |
| Cosmopolites | 124 |
| Unmarried or Childless | 124 |
| Ethnic Villager | 124 |
| Deprived or Trapped | 128 |
| A Note of Caution | 130 |
| Summary | 130 |

CHAPTER 7

The Social Environment of Metro Areas: Stangers, Crowding, Homelessness, and Crime 132

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Introduction | 132 |
| Dealing with Strangers | 133 |
| Codes of Urban Behavior | 134 |
| Neighboring | 135 |
| Neighbors and Just Neighbors | 135 |
| Defining Community | 136 |
| Categories of Local Communities | 137 |
| Density and Crowding | 138 |
| Crowding Research | 138 |
| Practical Implications | 140 |
| Homelessness | 141 |
| Characteristics of the Homeless | 141 |
| Social Problems | 142 |
| Disappearing SRO Housing | 143 |
| Urban Crime | 144 |
| Crime and Perceptions of Crime | 144 |
| Crime and City Size | 146 |
| Crime and Male Youth | 146 |
| Crime and Race | 146 |
| Crime Variations within Cities | 147 |
| Crime in the Suburbs | 149 |
| Summary | 149 |

CHAPTER 8

The Suburban Era 151

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Introduction | 151 |
| Suburban Dominance | 152 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Emergence of Suburbs | 152 |
| The Nineteenth Century | 153 |
| Electric Streetcar Era: 1890–1920 | 154 |
| Annexation | 154 |
| Automobile Suburbs: 1920–1950 | 155 |
| Mass Suburbanization: 1950–1990 | 156 |
| Metro Sprawl: 1990–2000s | 157 |
| Causes of Suburban Growth | 158 |
| Post-War Exodus | 158 |
| Non-Reasons | 161 |
| Contemporary Suburbia | 162 |
| Categories of Suburbs | 163 |
| Persistence of Characteristics? | 163 |
| Ethnic and Religious Variation | 164 |
| High-Income Suburbs | 164 |
| Gated Communities | 166 |
| Common-Interest Developments | 166 |
| Working-Class Suburbs | 167 |
| Commercial Definitions | 168 |
| Exurbs | 169 |
| Rurban Areas | 169 |
| Characteristics of Suburbanites | 170 |
| The Myth of Suburbia | 170 |
| African-American Suburbanization | 173 |
| Moving Up | 174 |
| Black Flight | 175 |
| Integration or Re-Segregation? | 175 |
| Hispanic Suburbanization | 176 |
| Asian Suburbanites | 177 |
| Summary | 177 |

CHAPTER 9

Diversity: African-Americans and Hispanics 181

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Introduction | 181 |
| African-Americans | 182 |
| Historical Patterns | 182 |
| Population Changes | 182 |
| Slavery in Cities | 183 |
| “Free Persons of Color” | 183 |
| Jim Crow Laws | 184 |
| “The Great Migration” | 184 |
| Moving South | 184 |
| Urban Segregation Patterns | 185 |
| Extent of Segregation | 185 |
| Housing Patterns | 186 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Twenty-First-Century Diversity | 187 |
| The Economically Successful | 187 |
| The Disadvantaged | 188 |
| Latino or Hispanic Population | 190 |
| Growth | 190 |
| Socioeconomic Diversity | 192 |
| Mexican-Americans | 192 |
| Internal Diversity | 192 |
| Education | 194 |
| Urbanization | 194 |
| Housing and Other Patterns | 195 |
| Political Involvement | 195 |
| Puerto Ricans | 196 |
| Summary | 196 |

CHAPTER 10

| | |
|--|-----|
| Diversity: Women, Ethnic, Asians, and Native Americans | 198 |
| Introduction | 198 |
| Women in Metropolitan Life | 199 |
| Female Domesticity | 199 |
| Gendered Organization of Residential Space | 201 |
| Feminist Housing Preferences | 202 |
| Cohousing | 202 |
| Current Housing Choices | 202 |
| Gendered Public Spaces | 203 |
| Workplace Changes | 203 |
| White Ethnic Groups | 204 |
| Immigration | 204 |
| Time of Arrival | 205 |
| First-Wave Immigrants | 206 |
| Second-Wave Immigrants | 206 |
| “Racial Inferiority” and Immigration | 208 |
| Third-Wave Immigrants | 209 |
| Recent Immigrant Impact on Cities | 210 |
| Melting Pot or Cultural Pluralism | 210 |
| Asian-Americans | 211 |
| A “Model Minority”? | 212 |
| Asian Residential Segregation | 213 |
| The Case of Japanese-Americans | 213 |
| The Internment Camps | 214 |
| Japanese-Americans Today | 215 |
| Native Americans | 216 |
| Non-Urban Orientation | 216 |
| Movement to Cities | 217 |
| Summary | 218 |

PART IV PROBLEMS, HOUSING AND PLANNING 221

CHAPTER 11

| | |
|--|-----|
| Cities and Change | 222 |
| Introduction | 222 |
| The Urban Crisis: Thesis | 222 |
| Urban Revival: Antithesis | 223 |
| A Political Economy Look at the Urban Crisis | 224 |
| Current City Developments | 225 |
| Central Business Districts | 225 |
| Mismatch Hypothesis | 227 |
| Fiscal Health | 227 |
| Crumbling Infrastructure | 228 |
| Twenty-first Century Patterns | 228 |
| Empowerment Zones | 229 |
| Neighborhood Revival | 229 |
| Government and Revitalization | 232 |
| Who Is Gentrifying? | 232 |
| Why Is Gentrification Taking Place? | 232 |
| Displacement of the Poor | 234 |
| An Example of Working Class Revitalization | 234 |
| Summary | 235 |

CHAPTER 12

| | |
|---|-----|
| Housing and Sprawl | 237 |
| Introduction | 237 |
| Housing as of the 2000s | 237 |
| Housing Costs | 238 |
| Changing Households | 239 |
| Changing Federal Role | 240 |
| Federal Housing Administration (FHA) | |
| Programs | 240 |
| Subsidizing Segregation | 241 |
| Upper- and Middle-Class Housing Subsidies | 241 |
| Urban Redevelopment Policies | 242 |
| Relocation and New Housing | 242 |
| Critique of Urban Renewal | 243 |
| Phasing Out Public Housing | 243 |
| Urban Homesteading | 245 |
| Tax Credits | 246 |
| Rent Vouchers: Section 8 | 246 |
| HOPE VI Projects | 246 |
| The Meaning of Space | 248 |

- Growth Control 249
- Suburban Sprawl 249
 - Amount of Sprawl 250
 - Costs and Consequences 250
- Summary 252

CHAPTER 13

Planning, New Towns, New Urbanism, and Smart Growth 254

- Introduction 255
 - Ancient Greece and Rome 255
 - Renaissance and Later Developments 255
- American Planning 257
 - Nation's Capital 257
 - Nineteenth-Century Towns 257
 - Early Planned Communities 259
 - Parks 259
 - The City Beautiful Movement 259
 - Tenement Reform 261
- Twentieth-Century Patterns 262
 - The City Efficient 262
 - Zoning and Beyond 262
 - Master Plans to Equity Planning 264
 - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design 265
- European Planning 266
 - Planning and Control of Land 266
 - Housing Priorities 267
 - Transportation 267
 - Urban Growth Policies 268
 - The Dutch Approach 268
- New Towns 269
 - British New Towns 269
 - New Towns in Europe 272
- American New Towns 273
 - Government-Built New Towns 273
 - Support for New Towns 273
 - Private New Towns: Reston, Columbia, and Irving 274
 - Research Parks 275
- New Urbanism 275
 - Creating Community 276
 - Limitations 277
- Smart Growth 278
 - Advantages 278
 - Legislation 279
- Summary 279

PART V

WORLDWIDE URBANIZATION 281

CHAPTER 14

Developing Countries 282

- Introduction: The Urban Explosion 282
 - Plan of Organization 283
 - Common or Divergent Paths? 283
- Developing Country Increases 285
- Rich Countries and Poor Countries 286
- Characteristics of Third World Cities 287
 - Youthful Age Structure 287
 - Multinationals 288
 - The Informal Economy 289
 - Squatter Settlements 289
 - Primate Cities 290
 - Overurbanization? 292
- The First Decade of the Twenty-First Century 293
- Summary 294

CHAPTER 15

Asian Urban Patterns 296

- Introduction: Asian Cities 296
 - Indigenous Cities 298
 - Colonial Background Cities 298
- India 298
 - Mumbai (Bombay) 299
 - Calcutta 301
 - Prognosis 303
- China 304
 - Background 305
 - Urbanization Policies 305
 - Forced Movement to Country 305
 - Displaced Workers 306
 - Special Economic Zones 306
 - Shanghai 306
 - Beijing 308
 - Hong Kong 309
- Japan 311
 - Extent of Urbanization 311
 - Current Patterns 311
 - Tokyo 311
 - Planning 313

Planned New Towns 313
Suburbanization 313
Southeast Asia 314
 General Patterns 314
 Singapore 314
 Other Cities 315
Summary 316

CHAPTER 16

African, Middle Eastern, and Latin American Urbanization 318

Introduction 318
Africa 319
 Challenges 320
 Responses 320
 Regional Variations 321
Urban Development 321
 Early Cities 321
 Colonial Period 322
 Indigenous African Cities 323
 Contemporary Patterns 324
 Social Composition of African Cities 326
 Tribal and Ethnic Bonds 326
 Status of Women 328
 Differences from the Western Pattern 329
The Middle East 329
 Traditional Islamic Cities 331
 Contemporary Urban Trends 332
 Comparisons 333
Latin America: An Urban Continent 333
Spanish Colonial Cities 335
 Social Structure 335
 Physical Structure 336

Recent Developments 337
 Urban Growth 338
 Economic Change 338
 Characteristics of Urban Inhabitants 339
 Shantytowns 339
 Maquiladoras 341
 Future of Shantytowns 341
 Myth of Marginality 342
 A Success Story 343
Summary 344

CHAPTER 17

Toward the Urban Future 346

Recapitulation 346
 Urban Concentration 346
 Deconcentration 347
Issues and Challenges 348
 Urban Funding 348
 People Versus Places 349
 Changing Population Distribution 349
 Suburban Development 350
Social Planning Approaches 351
Planning for the Future City 352
 Planned Utopias 352
 Las Vegas 355
 Planning for City Dwellers 356
 Planning Metropolitan Political Systems 357
 A Working City 359
Toward a Metropolitan Future 360
Summary 361

Subject Index 365
Name Index 379



LIST OF SPECIAL SECTIONS

The Spanish on First Viewing Mexico
City 24

Preindustrial and Industrial Cities: A
Comparison 42

Engels on Industrial Slums 47

A Note on Urban Pollution 61

Carl Sandburg's Chicago 71

Ecology of the City: The Barbary Coast of
San Francisco 79

A Note on Urbanization and
Environment 83

Defining Metropolitan Areas 94

The Ultimate Malls 103

Montreal and the "Quiet Revolution" 123

Street Etiquette 148

Case Study: Levittown 172

Managed Integration: Oak Park 179

Harlem Uneasily Confronts
Gentrification 230

Sprawl Versus a Suburban Mother 251

Jane Jacobs: A Prophet in Her Time 263

Density and Economic Development 310

A Case Study of One Indigenous City 325

The World's Largest City 340

Planned Capitals 354

PART

I

FOCUS AND DEVELOPMENT

1

CHAPTER

THE URBAN WORLD

A city is a collective body of persons sufficient in themselves for all purposes of life.

Aristotle, Politics

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- The Process of Urbanization
- Urban Growth
- Megacities
- The Urban Explosion
- Defining Urban Areas
- Urbanization and Urbanism
 - Urbanization
 - Urbanism
- Organizing the Study of Urban Life
- Concepts of the City
 - Urban Change and Confusion
 - Rural Simplicity Versus Urban Complexity
- Early Social Theories and Urban Change
- Summary

INTRODUCTION

As you open this book the globe is changing from a predominantly rural world to one where the majority of us live in urban places. For the first time in history we now live in an urban world. This text seeks to explore and explain the patterns of urban life in the twenty-first century. Its goal is to help us better understand the cities and suburbs where most of us live and to give us some awareness of the major urban changes taking place elsewhere on the globe. To do this we begin at the beginning since without knowing how we got here it is difficult to make sense of what is happening, both in North America and in the developing world where the great bulk of urban growth is now taking place. Metropolitan areas are not museums but are constantly undergoing physical and social change.

THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

Cities, it turns out, are a relatively new idea. Archaeologists tell us that the human species have been on the globe several million years. However, for the overwhelming number of these millennia our ancestors lived in a world without cities. Cities and urban places, in spite of our acceptance of them as an inevitable consequence of human life, are in the eyes of history hardly even a blink. Cities are a comparatively recent social invention, having existed a

TABLE 1-1 Percent of Urbanization by World Regions

| Region | 1920 | 1950 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>World</i> | 19.4 | 28.4 | 41.3 | 45.9 | 51.3 |
| <i>More Developed Countries</i> | 38.7 | 51.8 | 70.7 | 75.9 | 80.3 |
| <i>Less Developed Countries</i> | 8.4 | 16.2 | 30.5 | 36.3 | 42.5 |
| <i>Africa</i> | 7.0 | 14.4 | 28.9 | 35.7 | 42.5 |
| <i>Latin America</i> | 22.4 | 40.6 | 64.8 | 70.7 | 75.2 |
| <i>North America</i> | 51.9 | 63.8 | 73.7 | 77.2 | 80.8 |
| <i>Asia</i> | 8.8 | 15.7 | 27.4 | 32.3 | 38.9 |
| <i>East Asia</i> | 9.0 | 16.0 | 33.1 | 38.6 | 45.4 |
| <i>South Asia</i> | 8.5 | 15.5 | 23.1 | 28.1 | 34.9 |
| <i>Europe</i> | 46.2 | 55.2 | 75.9 | 82.4 | 88.4 |
| <i>Oceania</i> | 47.1 | 60.6 | 75.7 | 80.4 | 82.9 |
| <i>Australia–New Zealand</i> | 60.6 | 74.3 | 81.5 | 82.8 | 83.7 |
| <i>Russia</i> | 16.1 | 39.3 | 64.8 | 71.3 | 76.1 |

Source: United Nation, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

scant 7,000 to 9,000 years. This period of social, economic, and cultural dominance is even shorter.

Nonetheless, the era of cities encompasses the totality of the period we label “civilization.” The story of human social and cultural development—and regression—is in major part the tale of the cities that have been built and the lives that have been lived within them. The saga of wars, architecture, and art—almost the whole of what we know of human triumphs and tragedies—is encompassed within the period of cities. The very terms “civilization” and “civilized” come from the Latin *civis*, which refers to a citizen living in a city. The city was civilization; those outside were barbarians. Among the ancient Greeks the greatest punishment was to be ostracized (banned) from the city. In Roman times *civitas* referred to the political and moral nature of community, while the term *urbs*, from which we get the term “urban,” referred more to the built form of the city.

The vital and occasionally magnificent cities of the past, however, existed as small islands in an overwhelmingly rural sea. Just over 200 years ago, in the year 1800, the population of the world was

still 97 percent rural.¹ In 1900 the world was still 86 percent rural. A hundred years ago the proportion of the world’s population living in cities of 100,000 or more was only 5.5 percent, and only 13.6 percent lived in places of 5,000 or more. While cities were growing very rapidly, most people still lived in the countryside or small villages. Today we live in a world that for the first time numbers more urban residents than rural. Demographically, the twenty-first century is the first urban century (Table 1-1).²

URBAN GROWTH

The rapidity of the change from rural to urban life is at least as important as the amount of urbanization. A hundred and twenty-five years ago not a single nation was as urban as the world is today.

¹As of 1800, only 1.7 percent of the world’s population resided in places of 100,000 people or more, 2.4 percent in places of 20,000 or more, and 3 percent in communities of 5,000 or more. Philip Hauser and Leo Schnore (eds.), *The Study of Urbanization*, New York, 1965, p. 7.

²2001 *World Population Data Sheet*, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., 2001.

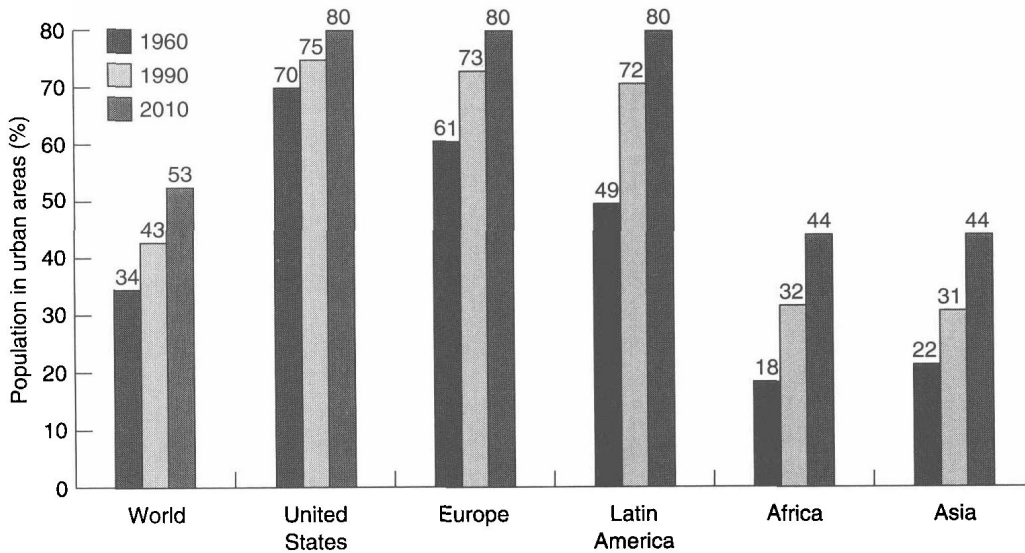


Figure 1-1 Patterns of urbanization, 1900–2020

Source: United Nations Population Division

During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the most rapid urban growth took place in European countries and in countries largely settled by Europeans, such as the United States. These were the places that first developed modern agricultural, transportation, and industrial technologies. England, the first country to enter the industrial age, was also the first country to undergo the urban transformation. A century ago England became the world's only predominantly urban country.³ Not until 1920 did the United States have half its population residing in urban places, and not until 1931 was that true of Canada. Figure 1-1 dramatically indicates how the urban population of the world has increased over the last century and will continue to expand until 2020. This rapid growth of cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is sometimes referred to as the *urban revolution*.

We take large cities for granted. Almost everyone reading this book has spent at least part of their

lives living in a central city or suburb, so it is difficult for us to conceive of a world without large cities. The rapidity and extent of the urban revolution can perhaps be understood if one reflects that if San Antonio, with a year 2000 population of 1.2 million, had the same population two centuries ago, it would have been the largest urban agglomeration that had ever existed in the world at any time.⁴ By contrast, the World Bank estimates that there are 391 cities of over a million inhabitants. More than a third of these cities first reached the million mark in the 1990s. We now live in an urban world of mega-metropolises; Tokyo–Yokohama and greater Mexico City have populations over 20 million. Within the United States the 2000 census reports the New York–New Jersey–Long Island metro area at 20.1 million residents and Los Angeles–Riverside–Orange County (California) at 15.8 million. Chicago–Gary (Indiana)–Kenosha (Wisconsin) was third largest at 6.9 million.

³Adna Ferrin Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1899, Table 3.

⁴The best source of data for cities in earlier eras is Tertius Chandler and Gerald Fox, *3,000 Years of Urban Growth*, Academic Press, New York, 1974.

MEGACITIES

Today, almost all urban growth is taking place in rapidly growing cities of the developing world. Most people are not aware that the overwhelming majority of the urban growth in the world today (over 95 percent) is taking place in developing countries, also referred to as *less developed countries* (LDCs). Since 1950 there has been over a fifteenfold increase in the population living in developing world cities. Twenty-first century world urbanization patterns will be quite different from those of the twentieth century. Developed western nations are experiencing little urban growth. Of the 391 previously noted cities of over a million inhabitants, some 284 are in developing countries. Few of us could name more than a few dozen of such million-plus developing world cities. The United Nations uses the term *megacities* to designate places of over 10 million inhabitants. The World Bank estimates that there are 26 megacities. Of these 26 megacities, 21 are found in developing countries. Bombay (now designated Mumbai), India, for example, even with falling growth rates is still adding half a million new city residents each year. It is difficult for us to keep up either intellectually or emotionally with these changes.

The United Nations estimates that 15 new megacities will be added to the globe between 2000 and 2015, all of them in the developing world. As of 2000, the United Nations estimated a population of 26.3 million for the megacity of Mexico City; 24 million for metropolitan Sao Paulo, Brazil; 16.6 million for Calcutta; and 16.3 million for greater Cairo. Some demographers such as this author think these estimates are high by several millions, but by any measure these megacities dwarf anything the world has ever experienced.

Some of our difficulty in understanding or coping with urban patterns and problems can be attributed to the recency of the emergence of this urban world with its huge megacities. Living as we do in urban-oriented places, it is easy for us to forget two important facts: (1) Almost half the world's population is still rural-based, and (2) even in the industrialized West, massive urbanization is a very recent

phenomenon. This rapid transformation from a basically rural to a heavily urbanized world and the development of urbanism as a way of life have been far more dramatic and spectacular than the much better known population explosion. The bulk of the world's population growth is now occurring in cities of the developing world. The population explosion is, in reality, overwhelmingly a third world urban explosion. Today, the number of people living in developing world cities outnumbers the entire population of the world only 100 years ago.

THE URBAN EXPLOSION

Urban growth accelerated cumulatively during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By 1800, London, the largest city on earth, reached almost 1 million, Paris exceeded 500,000, and Vienna and St. Petersburg had each reached 200,000. A century later as the twentieth century began, ten cities had reached or exceeded 1 million: London, Paris, Vienna, Moscow, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Calcutta, Tokyo, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. This urban explosion, which will be discussed in greater detail later, began over 200 hundred years ago in the more developed nations of Europe. Among the more important reasons for this spurt in European population were (1) declining death rates, (2) the beginning of scientific management of agriculture, (3) improved transportation and communication systems, (4) stable political governments, and (5) the development of the industrial revolution. While details differ from country to country, the pattern for western nations is similar. Improvements in agriculture raised the surplus above previous subsistence levels. Then, in rather short order, this extra margin was transferred by entrepreneurs, and later by governments, into the manufacturing sector. The result was urban expansion and growth fed by a demand from the burgeoning manufacturing, commercial, and service sectors for a concentrated labor force. Today the developed world is three-quarters urban.

By contrast, heavy urbanization in the developing world is largely a post-World War II phenomenon (see Chapter 14, Developing Countries). The

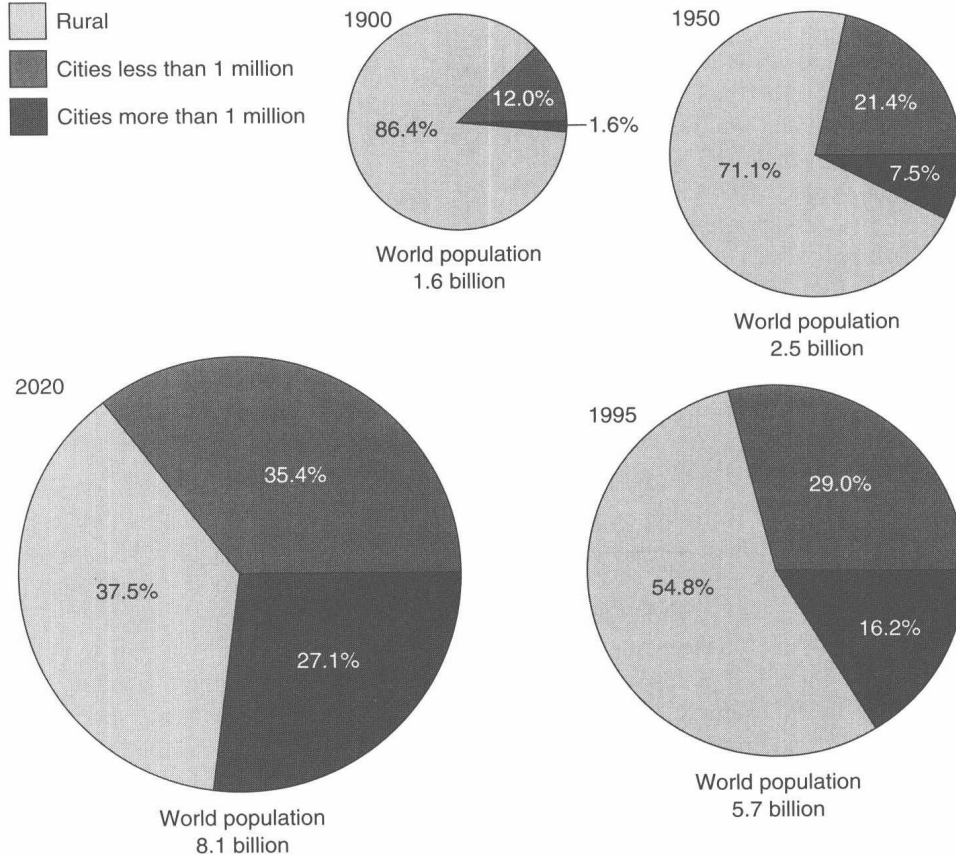


Figure 1-2 Population growth by region, 1995-2050

Source: United Nations Population Division

pace of urbanization in developing countries has been far more rapid than that found during the nineteenth century in Europe or North America. The level of urbanization was only 18 percent in less developed countries in 1950, but it is 40 percent today.⁵ The urban population living in developing countries is expected to explode from just under 2 billion today to 3.5 billion in 2005. Note in Figure 1-2 the dramatic projection of African, and especially Asian, urban growth over the next half cen-

tury. At the same time the United Nations anticipates a declining population in Europe.

Whether we are delighted by the variety and excitement of urban life or horrified by the cities' anonymity and occasional brutality, population concentration—that is, urbanization—is becoming the way of life in developing as well as developed nations. Attempts to return to a supposedly simpler rural past must be viewed as futile escapism. Longings for a pastoral utopia where all exist in rural bliss have no chance of becoming reality. We live in an urban world; and for all our complaints about it, few would reverse the clock.

⁵United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 1999 Revisions*, United Nations, New York, 2000.