#### **GOG - USP 125 The American City Spring 2017**

#### **Outline 4**

These outlines are intended to give you a sense of the structure in the material – headings, some short explanations, and spellings of various proper names. They also expand on a few topics not discussed at length in class or in the readings. The outlines will be virtually unintelligible without the context of our classroom discussion. These are emphatically NOT comprehensive lecture notes.

*Syllabus Section 4: Two Modernist Ideals of Order in the City*

We will discuss in class exactly how urbanists use the word “modernism.” Essentially it refers to the period from the late 19th century through the last quarter of the 20th century. During this time manufacturing was centrally important to the economic growth of cities under an economic regime sometimes called “Fordism.” Urban space was to a large extent organized around the spatial relationship between home and workplace, and land value and density gradients tended to peak at the center of a monocentric urban landscape. The sociospatial patterns of the city could be described by fairly simple ring, sector, multiple nuclei, and gradient patterns. We look at some of these models below. In the 1970’s these patterns began to break down under the impact of economic restructuring and major cultural and social changes which urban scholars refer to as the beginning of the “postmodern city.”

Many social and policy disciplines deal with the urban scene. Running through this literature are two contradictory ideas of order. First is the idea of an objective “natural” order at work in the social world, operating through innumerable human actions, but without overall conscious guidance. The notion of natural processes at work ordering the urban landscape without conscious human intervention is supported by free market arguments and biological metaphors. These perspectives tend to limit the political legitimacy and the practical scope of planning, as well as many other policy interventions. Under this heading we will talk about the ecological and neoclassical economic traditions of urban analysis. The second idea of order argues that we can and should intervene rationally to shape the world to our own ends. It sees the city as one of the supreme arenas for conscious, rational, intervention planning which has historically sought goals ranging from the self-aggrandizement of baroque autocrats to the righting of such social wrongs as ethnic segregation. Later on in this section we’ll look at some planning ideas, including settlement houses, parks, and the Garden City and City Beautiful movements.

**A note on how I'm using the word “natural:”** To say that something in the human and social world is natural has to be done very carefully. "Naturalization" of states of affairs that are really human creations can be an *ideological* ploy saying, in effect, “this is the way it has to be,” or “it can be no other way.” In fact one of the primary functions of ideology is to present the cultural and social world a group happens to live in as God-given and unchangeable, concealing its contradictions and inequalities. When I talk about natural processes in the urban landscape I mean things that unfold without overall explicit human oversight and planning. I *do not* mean that these states of affairs are either good (desirable) or logically necessary (inevitable).

**1. The “Natural Order” of Urban Space**

# *A. Urbanism and the Chicago School, the Disorder Thesis (Wirth) and its Critics (Gans, Fischer)*

American urban theory was particularly informed by Chicago, the “shock city” of the early twentieth century.

The fundamental idea of social disorder theory is that there is a connection between the size (scale) of society and its “moral order” (i.e. the degree to which there are clear norms, a sense of community, and people are well integrated and not alienated). Large scale urbanization erodes the bases of this order which was rooted in personal knowing, communal norms, traditional ways of doing things, consensus, etc. The social order changes to one which is more individualistic, more rational, more based on formal controls and instrumental interactions between strangers, with much more potential for social disorganization and deviant individual behavior. Durkheim coined the word “anomie” to describe this condition of normlessness.

Relationship between urban/rural to other dichotomies made in the social sciences, e.g. Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft, folk culture/popular culture. These dichotomies are not exactly equivalent.

*Gemeinschaft* (“community”) – traditional community based on personal knowledge of others and subordination of individual concerns to social relationships and communal life.

*Gesellschaft* (“society”) – individual self interests and goals, along with rationality and efficiency come to predominate over social and community ties

(Ferdinand Tönnies, 1887)

Mary Ryan on “Civic Wars” *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American CityDuring the Nineteenth Century,* 1997. “A world of manageable differences” begins to come undone:

immigration - burgeoning difference of ethnicity, race, and culture

industrialization - new organization of space-time; a new working class

social changes - new classes, beginning of horizontal segregation,

“refinement” and middle class identity

political changes – wider franchise, political parties with

socioeconomic identities, political machines

incendiary issues around the time of the Civil War:

immigration – nativist backlash

labor relations, economic crises

temperance; diffusion down the social scale

emancipation

Iconic case of Kitty Genovese.

L. Wirth *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, 1938. For Wirth the essence of urban living is found *in size, density, heterogeneity* of urban settings; reduction of personal knowing; transitory and segmented social relationships; individual gains: emancipation, freedom of choice, alternative styles of life; individual loses: norms, cohesion, support, sense of participation; life becomes anomic; moral deregulation leads to formal rather then informal supports and controls; individual alienation net effect of urban living: corrosion of social structure.

“Personal disorganization, mental breakdown, suicide, delinquency, crime, corruption, and disorder might be expected under these circumstances to be more prevalent in the urban than in the rural community.” Louis Wirth

Louis Worth (1938)- german guy, socilaization theroy how size density, heterogenity leads to bad things

you can expect, crime , sadness

in size density, heterogenity

size - leaads to fewer friends, specialization, sterotype

same for density and heterogenity

Examples of Wirth’s logic:

Size – leads to specialization, differentiation, segmentalization, more acquaintances, but less personal knowledge; city life characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts; interactions are superficial, transitory, utilitarian and segmental; impossible to know everyone – stereotyping; more formal rules and controls substitute for the bonds which hold a folk society together

Density – reinforces effects of size; close physical contact with varied others leads to psychological distancing, stereotyping, indifference, mutual exploitation; density requires predictable routine; clocks and traffic signals; close physical proximity with greater social distance leads to loneliness; also increases friction, irritation, and nervous stress.

Heterogeneity – breaks down “rigidity of caste lines,” people have different standing in different groups which heightens acceptance of insecurity and instability as a norm; also promotes “sophistication” and “cosmopolitanism.” No single group has one’s undivided allegiance; people are physically and socially footloose and mobile.

Individual level result: alienation; aggregate (structural) level result: anomie unaware of social standards

Density-Crowding Research and Urban Disorder

* crowding is bad for human health,

Calhoun animal experiments in the 1960’s; questionable extension to humans.

* in mice there were stress hormones,
* social status broken down

Milgram: concept of stimulus overload; Barker’s overpeopling theory (ecological psychology, behavior settings and roles)

* stimulus overload starts to give way to avoidance behavior
* people start treating people negativitely
* barker said it not about amount of people, its about the amount of parts in the room

Compositionalist critique of Wirth e.g. Gans, with his idea of “urbanism as a way of life.”

* a major sociologist who opposed Calhoun
* said that crime is high in cities, well its high in young men
* the rich who aren’t married, go there for fun can leave if they have to
* ethnic villages- italians acted as if they lived in a village, even though they lived in a city
* the discriminated and poor are those most exposed to urban problems

Compositionalists stress the importance of class, family stage, and lifestyle, and note that many urbanites are insulated from the “socially corrosive” effects described by disorder theorists.

Claude Fischer *Subcultural Theory of Urbanism.* Fischer criticizes aspects of both disorder and composition theory. He agrees that there are structural effects of urbanism (size is one of his key variables). But for him, size leads to greater subcultural variety and hence to more “unconventionality,” which may be good as well as bad. Socially corrosive effects of urbanism limited mainly to some public rather than private domains; unconventionality supported in subcultures and geographic neighborhoods by direct and indirect effects of size through critical mass, diffusion, culture clash, socialization etc. He notes the continuing emergence of urban subcultures, as well as the mixing of traits among them.

* the chicago school, emphasizes crime ,disorder …
* cities are more complicated than that
* cities promote artistic creativity, artisitics ethnic diversity
* it was unconventionality
* size leads to intensification - people express their culture more, instead fall into mainstream

size leads to critical mass - there is everything for your culture

do not need to assimilate

* the bigger the city the more of subcultural variety

*B. The Ecological Metaphor, Human Ecology, and Spatial Models*

The basic idea here is ecological ordering, as communities and neighborhood systems evolve and adapt to their optimal (cheapest, most profitable, most efficient) forms. This idea is ultimately traceable to the Darwinism revolution into the social sciences. Urban ecology was developed primarily by the Chicago School in the 1920's and 30's. Leaders included Park, McKenzie, Burgess; their ideas were later reworked by Amos Hawley. Today human ecology has been modified almost beyond recognition. Fundamental object of study - the *community*; fundamental theoretical notion - *adaptation* of human populations to their environment; fundamental construct - *natural area.* Concepts of mutual interdependence of individuals in communities, pervasiveness of competition for space and resources (“niches”), sequences of *invasion /succession/ dominance* followed by equilibrium. This let to the notorious *tipping point* theory of mid-twentieth century housing thought. Functional outcomes of ecological change were supposed to include:

“... regulation of numbers, distributions of vocations, putting every individual and every race (sic) into the particular niche where it will meet the least competition and contribute most to the life of the community” (Park, 1952).

“Park and McKenzie argued that the biotic forces of competition always tend to produce a natural equilibrium at the point where the population is optimally adjusted to its environment. At this climax stage, the community is functionally and spatially differentiated such that different functional groups are located in different areas according to their relative suitability. As this unstable biotic equilibrium develops, so too do distinctive cultural forms corresponding to the different areas ... These different areas within the city, fashioned by competition and characterized by both functional and cultural differentiation, are termed natural areas.” (P. Saunders *Social Theory and the Urban Question*, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986, p. 64).

This school of thought produced the *Burgess ring model* of urban form that we have already encountered in discussing the assimilationist perspectives on immigration.

Neighborhood filtering provides an example of ecological change. There are innumerable questions you could ask here, beginning with “how do you define a neighborhood?” There is a large literature on that question. Filtering is defined as changing socioeconomic status of the occupants of the same physical housing stock.

* relationship between social houses and houses theirselves
* houses have a very long shelf life

*Downward filtering*: occupation of aging housing by successively lower status groups, punctuated by such transitions as purchase and family-rearing by original owner; sale to new owner(s); transition from owner occupancy to rental occupancy; subdivision into apartments; vacancy; rehabilitation or demolition (this is the trajectory followed by the traditional inner-city brownstone). e.g. the Arbor Hill neighborhood of Albany.

* housing stock ages occupied by lower income groups
* turns to a rental unit
* landlord does keep up, annual to monthly lease

*Upward filtering*: occupation of older units by higher status households, often accompanied by reversion from rental to owner occupancy, with extensive rehabilitation and/or historic preservation. This is the classic *gentrification* scenario, prompted by tax reform laws of the 1970's and 80's, which made it profitable to reinvest in older housing stock. e.g. the Center Square neighborhood of Albany.

* rehab the houses
* higher income people come in

*Simple Geographic Models of Urban Patterns*

3 basic models of urban form

concentric ring (Burgess)

sector (Hoyt)

multiple nuclei (Harris and Ullman)

*Social Area Analysis*

A descendant of human ecology, developed by Shevsky, Bell, and many others including geographers Brian Berry and Peter Rees: the basic argument is that communities in urban space differentiate themselves, as economic development and urban growth proceed, along the three dimensions of:

* pg 56(macino & perillo reading)
* 1960 computers are collected about who collected computers
* make sense of all variables
* uses factor analysis neighborhoods are divided into the three below

*social rank* (measured by criteria such as income, occupation, housing values)

*urbanization* (sometimes called *familism*) measured by the prevalence or otherwise of traditional households in the family formation and child-bearing years

*segregation* (measured by various indices of ethnic and racial separation)

It is also claimed by some authors that a distinct geographic pattern can be detected in the spatial expression of each dimension. Social rank tends to be organized *sectorally*; familism, *radially*; and neighborhoods scoring high on segregation tend to be *localized* the city center. The technique of factor analysis is used to detect underlying “latent” variables or dimensions, such as the three above. It is a statistical technique that searches for underlying structure in large data sets.

* invented in 1920-1930
* several students, give up SAT, GRE scores
* make a graph, would dots be random
* relation between quantitative and verbal ability, a decreasing line
* neighborhoods - social status, familism and racial differences

*C. The Neoclassical Economic Metaphor*

This approach is comparable to human ecology in its stress on competition for urban land. It, too, in its simplest form, predicts a concentric ring model of urban land use. But it uses economic vocabulary and concepts. Using the idea of free market mechanisms the perspective assumes that urban space is a market not fundamentally different from others studied in economics, and that supply, demand, and the self-interested choices of rational economic actors bring about order, allocate resources efficiently, price inputs fairly, and generally act as an "invisible hand" bringing order to the urban landscape. It has been developed and enhanced by scholars such as William Alonso, Richard Muth, and Harry Richardson. The principal assumptions of the approach are:

* monocentric city
* flat, featureless land
* transportation costs proportional to distance
* competitive bidding for land
* rational, knowledgeable, profit- and/or utility-maximizing economic actors

Under these assumptions, the uses of urban land are governed by bid-rent curves (see our diagrams in class) and a concentric ring model of land use results.

* before zoning, basically what happened what happens on one plot of land affects what happens on adjacent lands

This model has been refined far beyond this simple form. It has also been subject to various criticisms ranging from commentary within the frame of reference of microeconomics (e.g. there are problems with the supply function for urban land, since the amount of land in a city is fixed), to discussions of urban land as a public good, to full-blown Marxist critiques aimed at the fundamental institutions of markets and property on which the model rests.

Some of the principal criticisms of the model in its simplest form focus on market imperfections, variations in urban form and transport cost, and imperfectly informed or non-individualistic actions by actors:

* multicentric cities
* anisotropic transportation costs

(transportation is not equally easy at all places and in all directions)

* inertia

(the built environment lasts a long time)

* externality effects

(the use of one lot affects the utility/profitability of neighboring lots)

* non-individualistic action

(growth coalitions, orchestration of the landmarket by developers, etc.)

* government interventions in many forms

(e.g. planning, zoning, building codes, rent controls)

If you look at the big picture, it is arguably the problem of externalities in land use that has led to the political legitimation of urban planning -- above all, land use zoning -- in the United States during the twentieth century.

Many more sophisticated models in economics address these problems. A newer perspective, critical of the neoclassical model, centers on the concept of “growth machines” – local coalitions of business and political leaders, in competition with other cities for jobs and growth.

Recent criticisms of “naturalistic” approaches focus on their political, ideological, and gendered presuppositions. The simple gradient-based spatial structures of these classical models have also come in for much criticism. As we'll see, things are more complicated spatially and socially in the postmodern city than envisioned in the heroic simplifications of these models.

# **2. “Planned Order” in the Urban Landscape**

i. Rural Cemeteries

overcrowding, demand for urban land

health concerns, “miasmas”

romantic discovery of nature and

moral and health effects attributed to scenery

educational and memorial worth of monuments

demand for recreational space for “refined” middle class

* positive, people hanged out there
* romantic relationships out there

Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, MA, 1831

“The situation of Mount Auburn, near Boston, is one of great natural fitness for the objects to which it has been devoted.... In a few years, when the hand of taste shall have scattered among the trees, as it has already begun to do, enduring memorials of marble and granite, a landscape of the most picturesque character will be created. No place in the environs of our city will possess stronger attractions to the visitor.... [T]he human heart...seeks consolation in rearing emblems and monuments.... This can be fitly done, not in the tumultuous and harassing din of cities,...but amidst the quiet verdure of the field, under the broad and cheerful light of heaven,…” From “A Discourse on the Burial of the Dead,” a speech delivered by Jacob Bigelow to the Boston Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge in 1831.

* founded rural cemetery, victorian middle class bury people in beautiful middle class surroundings

We looked at Albany Rural Cemetery and Oakwood Cemetery, Troy.

Rural cemeteries as a “symbolic city”

property and the franchise

the family

social geography and hypergeography

private (=family=proprietary) lots and

public (= smaller, poorer, single burial) lots

emblems, symbols, and “good taste”

“right distancing”

ii. The Park Movement

Central Park NYC, Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903)

* granary burial ground 1600, people lost track of where the graves were
* in NYC ban church graveyards becuase of health issues

Olmsted’s fundamental concerns for moral and physical health, for disease, “disorders and treasonable tumults.“ Immigration adds “to the number of its idle, thriftless, criminal and dangerous classes.” Conscious reference to divergence of home and work: Parks as “middle ground” between the “two great classifications of commercial and domestic.” Parks for non-coercive social control.

Artistic vocabulary and aspirations.

English trilogy:

pastoral (turf, streams, open groves; indistinct boundary)

picturesque (wilder, rougher, complexity of light, shadow, and plant life)

sublime (cataracts, mountains; a surge of emotions).

Olmsted favored pastoral

“A park is a work of art, designed to produce certain effects upon the minds of men. There should be nothing in it, absolutely nothing – not a foot of surface or a spear of grass – which does not represent study, design, a sagacious consideration and application of known laws of cause and effect with reference to that end” (F. L. Olmsted).

Washington Park Albany, Thurlow Weed and David Murray’s competing visions.

Thurlow Weed: The elevating and educational work of the park, in Weed’s opinion, will be done by memorial statuary, as “other statues of our heroes would be honored with additional sanctity and power for the education and improvement of the people …” so that “beauties of nature and the virtues of the dead might vie with each other ... in instructing and elevating all classes of our citizens”

David Murray: He is unusually specific about causal effects of park landscapes, which apparently were thought to act partly through a physiological effect (as the “feverish, restless brain is cooled and soothed”), and partly through a social one, as “slovenliness and filth, which sometimes unnecessarily disgrace the tenements of the poor in cities” and “put to shame by the sight of the beauty and freshness of nature.” The evident class tendency of this claim is reinforced with a temperance message. Greenery is a refreshing as beer, it seems: “When the laborer gets half holiday, how much more vigorously and contentedly will he recommence his work, if instead of wasting its hours in steaming bar rooms, he can find the accessible and attractive walks of a park in which to find refreshment.”

iii. Department Stores

We looked at the development of department stores, their construction of a new kind of safe public space for middle class women, and their role in producing new ideologies of consumption.

iv. Model Industrial Communities

George Pullman (1831-1897) Cabinet maker. Moved to Chicago in 1855. Restored old railroad cars. Mission to “civilize” long-distance rail travel with dining and sleeping facilities. First sleeping car in 1865. Started Pullman Palace Car Company in 1867. Founded a “model” factory town, Pullman, IL, near Chicago. Living, working, shopping, education, cultural events. He was progressive on many social issues but was strongly anti-union.

A comment from the right:

“Alas, socialist agitators and unionists inevitably complained about "coercion" and exorbitant prices, ignoring the fact that the housing and schools were the best in the city and that those who chose could find employment elsewhere. While Pullman had a generally good reputation as an employer, he fought potential unionizers at every opportunity. That earned him the enmity of "progressive" activists”. http://www.dailyobjectivist.com/Heroes/GeorgePullman.asp

A comment from the left:

“[In the] industrial town of Pullman, Illinois, as a constitutive rhetoric aimed at developing a tractable employee who would resist labor-organizing efforts. Two primary constitutive strategies examined are: (1) an absence of genuine public space which curtailed public gatherings and community involvement, and (2) tapping into existing societal beliefs and middle-class aspirations about the ideal home environment, the town's appearance operated as a "fantasy bribe" through which residents came to identify (at some level) with its underlying ideology.” Cynthia Duquette Smith

v. Moral reform

Women’s Christian Temperance Union

Washington Gladden and the Social Gospel

Lincoln Steffens criticizes political corruption in

*The Shame of the Cities*, 1904

vi. Settlement House Movement

Jane Addams (1860-1935) American social worker; leader in movement for women's suffrage; founded Hull House in Chicago to care for poor and as center for social reform. Pacifist, moralist, temperance proponent. Nobel Peace Prize, 1931. Paternalistic agenda – to save immigrants from themselves and integrate them into city life. Hull house was located in an area of immigrant communities and staffed by idealistic, well educated people, mostly women, and mostly very religious. Sinclair Lewis called it a “cultural comfort station ... upholding a standard of tight-smiling prissiness.” Clientele mainly female. Men stopped by for showers and to eat. Hull House ran day care, summer camps, many kinds of clubs, a boarding club for girls, an employment bureau, an art gallery, libraries, and music and art classes. By 1900 had founded the Jane Club (cooperative residence for working women). Conducted much social research, which played a key role in the critique and investigation of tenement housing, as Jacob Riis had done in NYC.

New York City settlements: Mary Simkhovitch (Greenwich House) and Lilian Wald “The House on Henry Street”

vii. Housing criticism and reform

1879 law: every room required to have a window, resulted in small lightwells and the characteristic shape of the “dumbbell”

Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 1891, photojournalism

1901 law: courtyards for more light and air

what should shape urban cities

city should be planned,

hard to appeal zoning laws even today

city has its own internal order,

european enlightment- let market sell itself, a recent invention

in cities people do not care about people even if someone is killing them

bystandard effect - too many ppl to feel a personal responbility to call the police

civic war- book before civik war- world of manageable differnces- sterotype others and figure out how to behave

1850's italian political machine, prohibition(alcohol), slavery irish politcal machine, industrialzation - social order began to break down

bowery theatre - low income ppl

ASTOR place- wear white gloves to be let into high end theatre

people who go to bowery said, lets go to ASTOR and throw stuff at the actor on stage, a riot occured and that the first time America called the militia

Draft riots 1863, NYC threatened to secede from NYS, massive bloodshed Irish American beated on African americans because they thought African Americans from the south would come and take jobs

disorder hypothesis- Jacob Riis (how the other half lives 1890)- how poor ppl lived in NYC - Riis took police photographers to see the crime in NYC

(Slides 46,47 GET)

Two elements of Chicago School of Thought

-is it true cities are bad

--urbanism eats away family

-ecological perspective

--geoloigcal struture of urban society

Ferdinand Turneys

-community (gemeinschaft)

--small world were everyone knew everyone

-society(gesellschaft)

--a larger society of strangers w/ functional connections to each other

Emile Durkheim

-Mechanical Solidarity

--likeness

--kinship

--tradition

- Organic

--difference

--interdependence

--regulated by law

--weakening kinship

custom replaced by legal control

now money, you dont know the other person

then you know the person who you exchanged values with

disorder (“social disorganization”) theory

Tonnies, Simmel, Wirth

compositionalism

Gans

subcultural theoryFischer

Key ideas in Becological approach: community; natural area; invasion, succession, dominance; filtering (upward and downward)three models: Burgess, Hoyt, Harris and Ullmansynthesis: social area analysis and factorial ecologysocial rank (class and status); familism (age, marital status, children); ethnicity and race47Ferdinand TönniesGemeinschaft“community”Gesellschaft“society”http://www.uni-kiel.de/aktuell/pm/2005/2005-076-toennies.shtml48

basic models of urban form

concentric ring (Burgess)

sector (Hoyt)

multiple nuclei (Harris and Ullman)MP pp. 50-567172