

THE CITY READER

Sixth Edition

Edited by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout



 Urban Reader Series

THE CITY READER

Sixth edition

The sixth edition of the highly successful *The City Reader* juxtaposes the very best classic and contemporary writings on the city to provide the comprehensive mapping of the terrain of Urban Studies and Planning old and new. The sixth edition is the anchor volume in the Routledge Urban Reader Series and is now integrated with all ten other titles in the series. It has been extensively updated and expanded to reflect the latest thinking in each of the disciplinary areas included and in topical areas such as compact cities, urban history, placemaking, sustainable urban development, globalization, cities and climate change, the world city network, the impact of technology on cities, resilient cities, cities in Africa and the Middle East, and urban theory. This edition places greater emphasis on cities in the developing world, globalization and the global city system of the future. The plate sections have been revised and updated.

Sixty-five generous selections are included: forty-seven from the fifth edition, and eighteen new selections, including three newly written exclusively for *The City Reader*. The sixth edition keeps classic writings by authors such as Ebenezer Howard, Ernest W. Burgess, Le Corbusier, Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, and Louis Wirth, as well as the best contemporary writings of, among others, Peter Hall, Manuel Castells, David Harvey, Saskia Sassen, and Kenneth T. Jackson. In addition to newly commissioned selections by Yasser Elshestawy, Peter J. Taylor, and Lawrence Vale, new selections in the sixth edition include writings by Aristotle, Peter Calthorpe, Albert M. Camarillo, Filip De Boeck, Edward Glaeser, David Owen, Henri Pirenne, the Project for Public Spaces, Jonas Rabinovitch and Josef Leitman, Doug Saunders, and Bishwapriya Sanyal. The anthology features general and section introductions as well as individual introductions to the selected articles introducing the authors, providing context, relating the selection to other selection, and providing a bibliography for further study. The sixth edition includes forty plates in four plate sections, substantially revised from the fifth edition.

Richard T. LeGates is a Professor Emeritus of Urban Studies and Planning at San Francisco State University, USA.

Frederic Stout is a Lecturer in Urban Studies at Stanford University, USA.

THE ROUTLEDGE URBAN READER SERIES

Series editors

Richard T. LeGates

Professor emeritus of Urban Studies and Planning, San Francisco State University

Frederic Stout

Lecturer in Urban Studies, Stanford University

The Routledge Urban Reader Series responds to the need for comprehensive coverage of the classic and essential texts that form the basis of intellectual work in the various academic disciplines and professional fields concerned with cities and city planning.

The readers focus on the key topics encountered by undergraduates, graduates students, and scholars in urban studies, geography, sociology, political science, anthropology, economics, culture studies, and professional fields such as city and regional planning, urban design, architecture, environmental studies, international relations, development studies, and landscape architecture. They discuss the contributions of major theoreticians and practitioners and other individuals, groups, and organizations that study the city or practice in fields that directly affect the city.

As well as drawing together the best of classic and contemporary writings on the city, each reader features extensive introductions to the book, sections, and individual selections prepared by the volume editors to place the selections in context, illustrate relations among topics, provide information on the author, and point readers towards additional related bibliographic material.

Each reader contains:

- Between thirty-five and sixty-five *selections* divided into six to eight sections. Almost all of the selections are previously published works that have appeared as journal articles or book chapters.
- A *general introduction* describing the nature and purpose of the reader.
- *Part introductions* for each part of the reader to place the readings in context.
- *Selection introductions* for each selection describing the author, the intellectual background and context of the selection, competing views of the selection subject matter, bibliographic references to other writings by the same author and other readings related to the topic.
- Illustrations at the beginning of each section.
- One or more plate sections.
- An index.

The series consists of the following titles:

THE CITY READER

The City Reader, sixth edition is the *anchor urban reader*. It is an interdisciplinary urban reader designed for students of urban studies, urban planning, and related programs. Routledge published a first edition of *The City Reader* in 1996, a second edition in 2000, a third edition in 2003, a fourth edition in 2007, and a fifth edition in 2011.

The City Reader has become one of the most widely used English language anthologies in urban studies, urban geography, urban sociology and urban planning courses in the world. A Chinese translation/adaptation of *The City Reader* was published as *The Chinese City Reader* by China Architectural and Building Press in 2013.

URBAN DISCIPLINARY READERS

The series contains *urban disciplinary readers* organized around social science disciplines and professorial fields: urban sociology, urban geography, urban politics, urban and regional planning, and urban design. The urban

disciplinary readers include both classic writings and recent, cutting-edge contributions to the respective disciplines. They are lively, high-quality, competitively priced readers which faculty can adopt as course texts and which also appeal to a wider audience of professionals and citizens. The readers are published in hardback, softback, and e-book formats.

TOPICAL URBAN ANTHOLOGIES

The series includes *topical urban readers* intended both as primary and supplemental course texts and for the trade and professional market. The topical titles include readers related to sustainable urban development, global cities, cities of the global south, cybercities, and city cultures.

INTERDISCIPLINARY ANCHOR TITLE

The City Reader, sixth edition

Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (eds.)

URBAN DISCIPLINARY READERS

The Urban Design Reader, second edition

Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (eds.)

The Urban Sociology Reader, second edition

Jan Lin and Christopher Mele (eds.)

The Urban and Regional Planning Reader

Eugenie Birch (ed.)

The Urban Politics Reader

Elizabeth Strom and John Mollenkopf (eds.)

The Urban Geography Reader

Nick Fyfe and Judith Kenny (eds.)

TOPICAL URBAN READERS

The Global Cities Reader, second edition

Neil Brenner and Roger Keil (eds.)

Cities of the Global South Reader

Faranak Miraftab and Neema Kudva (eds.)

The Sustainable Urban Development Reader, third edition

Stephen M. Wheeler and Timothy Beatley (eds.)

The City Cultures Reader, second edition

Malcolm Miles, Tim Hall with Iain Borden (eds.)

The Cybercities Reader

Stephen Graham (ed.)



For further information on the Routledge Urban Reader Series please visit our website:
www.goographyarena.com/geographyarena/urbanreaderseries
or contact

Andrew Mould
Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park,
Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
England
andrew.mould@routledge.co.uk

Richard T. LeGates
Department of Urban Studies and
Planning
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132
(510) 642-3256
dlegates@sfsu.edu

Frederic Stout
Urban Studies Program
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305-2048
fstout@stanford.edu

This page intentionally left blank

The City Reader

Sixth edition



Edited by
Richard T. LeGates
and
Frederic Stout

First published 1996
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Second edition 2000
Third edition 2003
Fourth edition 2007
Fifth edition 2011
Sixth edition 2016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 1996, 2000, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2016 selection and editorial matter Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout

The right of the editors to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

The city reader / edited by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout.

pages cm.—(The Routledge urban reader series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Urban policy. 2. Cities and towns. 3. City planning. I. LeGates, Richard T.
II. Stout, Frederic, 1943–

HT151.C586 2015

307.76—dc23

2015005107

ISBN: 978-1-138-81290-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-81291-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-74850-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Amasis

by Keystroke, Station Road, Codsall, Wolverhampton

*To Peter Geoffrey Hall,
1932–2014*

This page intentionally left blank



COMMENTS ON *THE CITY READER*

“This is the definitively complete reader on urban problems and policies, spanning urban development from the ancient Greeks to the Internet, ranging across the contributory disciplines and comparing experiences in different continents and countries.”

Peter Hall, Bartlett Professor of Urban Planning and Regeneration, University College London

“Now, for the first time, the most significant works on urbanism are collected in one place. This is a ‘must-read’ book—it’s comprehensive, authoritative and just plain fun.”

Eugenie Birch, Professor of Urban Planning and Design, University of Pennsylvania

“*The City Reader* offers an inclusive introduction that captures the major topics and readings in urban studies.”

Susan S. Fainstein, Senior Research Fellow, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

“*The City Reader* by LeGates and Stout in its sixth edition continues to be the single most authoritative collection of foundational readings in urban studies and planning today. It combines iconic readings on the social and cultural history of cities with the critical writings on the contemporary political and economic problems and the concomitant challenges for urban designers and planners. What makes the Reader particularly unique and valuable is the editors’ introductory notes preceding every selection, embedding the reading in the larger intellectual discourse on the topic.”

Tridib Bannerjee, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Southern California

“*The City Reader*, first published in 1996 and now in its sixth edition, is an indispensable widely read book in the world which provides a collection of classical and contemporary seminal literatures for understanding the multidisciplinary complexities of our cities.”

Anthony G.O. Yeh, Chair Professor, Department of Urban Planning and Design, University of Hong Kong,
Secretary-General, Asian Planning Schools Association

“*The City Reader* has a well-deserved reputation as an indispensable resource across all the fields concerned with the study of city.”

Michael Hibbard, Professor Emeritus, Department of Planning,
Public Policy & Management, University of Oregon

“Through five prior editions, LeGates and Stout’s *The City Reader* has become the best single ‘go-to’ volume for young scholars interested in how cities work, and how they can be made to work better. The sixth edition expands on this record of success to include important new material on global cities, urban design, and planning for resilience. As a one-stop source for historical and contemporary theory and practice, *The City Reader* is still unbeatable.”

John Landis, Professor of Urban Planning and Design, University of Pennsylvania

“At a time when changes in technology are threatening the retention of historically significant scholarship, the need for such excellent anthologies is urgent. A book for all generations of urbanists.”

Margaret Wilder, Executive Director, Urban Affairs Association

"*The City Reader* has established itself as an excellent, international resource for all urbanists. This new edition, as well as highlighting the significance of many classic essays on the city, offers a really useful global overview of contemporary developments in urban studies."

Robin Hambleton Professor of City Leadership, Department of Architecture and the Built Environment,
University of the West of England

"LeGates and Stout have done a magnificent job in pulling together the best key writings on cities that provide you with the key insights for understanding their contemporary form and function. Essential reading as our world turns into one dominated by cities."

Michael Batty, Bartlett Professor, University College London

"*The City Reader* is a continuing invaluable and reliable global resource for urban and regional planners tackling complex issues in an increasingly urbanizing world"

Barbara Norman, Foundation Chair, Urban and Regional Planning Department, University of Canberra

"Comprehensive and deep, this collection embodies the grand tradition, both classical and contemporary, of the urban field. It is a course itself; or a great lode for reference."

Robert J.S. Ross, Professor of Sociology and Director of International Studies Stream, Clark University

"This is the most useful reader on the market for students of cities. LeGates and Stout have refined the selections with each edition. My students tell me that the introductory notes and references make the readings more meaningful."

Ben Kohl, Assistant Professor of Geography and Urban Studies, Temple University

"*The City Reader* brings together key works on the urban experience, problems, and policy alternatives in an engaging, accessibly structured and informative way. It draws together classic works and recent scholarship, capturing the dynamism of cities, urban processes and our interpretations of urban life. This is an impressive, comprehensive resource."

Dr Niall Majury, School of Geography, Queens University Belfast

"*The City Reader* weaves urban studies classics and modern writings in a masterful anthology. Editors' introductions to each section and piece make it an effective and accessible classroom tool."

Verrdie A. Craig, Department of Geography, Rutgers University

"An excellent, wide-ranging, stimulating reader; attractively presented and easy to read."

Brian Whalley, Department of Built Environment, De Montfort University

"An excellent overview, real breadth of coverage. Particularly valuable as a collection of key contributions which give a real flavour for the temporal development of Urban Studies."

David Valler, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield

"This is an essential reader for teaching about the cities and Urban Planning in developing countries."

Hong-Chang Hsieh, Urban Planning Department, Taiwan University

"Provides an international overview of urban design issues and a historical perspective on visionary planners who have shaped thinking about development."

Andrew McCafferty, Department of Built Environment, Northumbria University

Contents



<i>List of plates</i>	xvii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxiii
Introduction	1
PROLOGUE: “HOW TO STUDY CITIES”	5
Richard T. LeGates	
PART 1 THE EVOLUTION OF CITIES	11
Introduction	13
“The Urbanization of the Human Population”	19
Kingsley Davis	
“The Urban Revolution”	30
V. Gordon Childe	
“The Polis”	39
H.D.F. Kitto	
“City Origins” and “Cities and European Civilization”	45
Henri Pirenne	
“The Great Towns”	53
Friedrich Engels	
“Evolution and Transformation: The American Industrial Metropolis, 1840–1940”	63
Sam Bass Warner	
“The Drive-in Culture of Contemporary America”	73
Kenneth T. Jackson	
“Beyond Suburbia: The Rise of the Technoburb”	83
Robert Fishman	

“Global City Network”	92
Peter J. Taylor	

Plate Section 1: The Evolution of Cities

PART 2 URBAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY **103**

Introduction	105
--------------	-----

“What is a City?”	110
Lewis Mumford	

“Urbanism as a Way of Life”	115
Louis Wirth	

“The Negro Problems of Philadelphia,” “The Question of Earning a Living,” and “Color Prejudice”	124
W.E.B. Du Bois	

“The Code of the Street” and “Decent and Street Families”	131
Elijah Anderson	

“Cities of Color: The New Racial Frontier in California’s Minority-Majority Cities”	139
Albert M. Camarillo	

“The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety”	149
Jane Jacobs	

“Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital”	154
Robert D. Putnam	

“The Creative Class”	163
Richard Florida	

PART 3 URBAN SPACE **171**

Introduction	173
--------------	-----

“The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project”	178
Ernest W. Burgess	

“The Los Angeles School of Urbanism: An Intellectual History”	187
Michael Dear	

“What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?”	193
Daphne Spain	

“Social Exclusion and Space”	203
Ali Madanipour	

“Fortress L.A.”	212
Mike Davis	
“The Causes of Sprawl”	218
Robert Bruegmann	
“Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a Theory of Urbanism in the Information Age”	229
Manuel Castells	
Plate Section 2: Social and Symbolic Uses of Urban Space	
PART 4 URBAN POLITICS, GOVERNANCE, AND ECONOMICS	241
Introduction	243
“Politics”	249
Aristotle	
“Broken Windows”	259
James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling	
“The Right to the City”	270
David Harvey	
“A Ladder of Citizen Participation”	279
Sherry Arnstein	
“The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place”	293
Harvey Molotch	
“The City as a Distorted Price System”	305
Wilbur Thompson	
“The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City”	314
Michael Porter	
“The New Arab City”	328
Yasser Elshestawy	
“Metropolitica and Fiscal Equity”	338
Myron Orfield	
PART 5 URBAN PLANNING HISTORY AND VISIONS	357
Introduction	359
“Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns”	364
Frederick Law Olmsted	

“Author’s Introduction” and “The Town–Country Magnet”	371
Ebenezer Howard	
“A Contemporary City”	379
Le Corbusier	
“Broadacre City: A New Community Plan”	388
Frank Lloyd Wright	
“Spectral Kinshasa: Building the City through an Architecture of Words”	394
Filip De Boeck	
“Towards Sustainable Development”	404
World Commission on Environment and Development	
“Charter of the New Urbanism”	410
Congress for the New Urbanism	
“Green Manhattan: Everywhere Should Be More Like New York”	414
David Owen	
PART 6 URBAN PLANNING THEORY AND PRACTICE	423
Introduction	425
“The City of Theory”	431
Peter Hall	
“Twentieth-Century Land Use Planning: A Stalwart Family Tree”	445
Edward J. Kaiser and David R. Godschalk	
“Planning in the Face of Conflict”	467
John Forester	
“Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning”	481
Paul Davidoff	
“Planning for Sustainability in European Cities: A Review of Practice in Leading Cities”	492
Timothy Beatley	
“Urban Planning in Curitiba”	504
Jonas Rabinovitch and Josef Leitman	
“Urbanism in the Age of Climate Change”	511
Peter Calthorpe	
“Hybrid Planning Cultures: The Search for the Global Cultural Commons”	525
Bishwapriya Sanyal	

“Making Room for a Planet of Cities”	537
Shlomo Angel	
PART 7 URBAN DESIGN AND PLACEMAKING	551
Introduction	553
“What is Placemaking?”	558
Project for Public Spaces	
“The Neighborhood Unit”	563
Clarence Perry	
“The City Image and its Elements”	576
Kevin Lynch	
“The Design of Spaces”	587
William H. Whyte	
“Toward an Urban Design Manifesto”	596
Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard	
“Three Types of Outdoor Activities,” “Life Between Buildings,” and “Outdoor Activities and the Quality of Outdoor Space”	608
Jan Gehl	
“Resilient Cities: Clarifying Concept or Catch-all Cliché?”	618
Lawrence Vale	
“Placemaking and the Future of Cities”	629
Project for Public Spaces	
Plate Section 3: Urban Planning and Urban Design	
PART 8 CITIES IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY	641
Introduction	643
“The Impact of the New Technologies and Globalization on Cities”	650
Saskia Sassen	
“Key Findings and Messages”	659
United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT)	
“From Global Cities to Globalized Urbanization”	666
Neil Brenner and Roger Keil	
“The Place Where Everything Changes”	677
Doug Saunders	

“Chinese Cities in a Global Society”	687
Tingwei Zhang	
“The Automobile, the City, and the New Urban Mobilities”	696
Frederic Stout	
“Our Urban Species”	707
Edward Glaeser	
Plate Section 4: Cities in a Global Society	
<i>Illustration credits</i>	717
<i>Copyright information</i>	719
<i>Index</i>	724

Plates



THE EVOLUTION OF CITIES (BETWEEN PAGES 102 AND 103)

- 1 Kingsley Davis's S-curve of urbanization
- 2 A view of Ancient Babylon
- 3 The Athens of Socrates
- 4 A walled medieval city: Carcassonne, France
- 5 The nineteenth-century industrial city
- 6 A modern downtown of the 1920s
- 7 Levittown, New York, 1947
- 8 The auto-centered metropolis, 1922
- 9 Urban densities
- 10 Sprawl suburbia
- 11 The global urban network

SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC USES OF URBAN SPACE (BETWEEN PAGES 240 AND 241)

- 12 Street in Seaside, Florida
- 13 The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain
- 14 The mall has it all: Mall of America, Minneapolis
- 15 The persistence of tradition: Fez, Morocco
- 16 The persistence of poverty and decay: Los Angeles
- 17 The streets belong to the kids: skateboarders, San Francisco
- 18 The streets belong to the people: street protest, Frans Masereel's *The City*, 1925
- 19 The power of minority unity
- 20 Urban pride: architecture as symbolic power – Dubai's Burj Khalifa
- 21 Urban terror: the World Trade Center, New York, September 11, 2001

URBAN PLANNING AND URBAN DESIGN (BETWEEN PAGES 640 AND 641)

- 22 Central Park, New York, 1863
- 23 Arturo Soria y Mata's plan for a linear city around Madrid, 1894
- 24 Ebenezer Howard's plan for a Garden City, 1898
- 25 Plan for Welwyn Garden City, 1909
- 26 Le Corbusier's "Plan Voisin" for a city of three million people, 1925
- 27 Plan for Radburn, New Jersey, 1929
- 28 Frank Lloyd Wright with his Broadacre City model, 1935

- 29 Paseo del Rio, San Antonio, Texas
- 30 Quincy Market, Boston, Massachusetts
- 31 Peter Calthorpe's plan for a transit-oriented development: "The Crossings," Mountain View, California
- 32 Strøget pedestrian-only street, Copenhagen, Denmark

CITIES IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY (BETWEEN PAGES 716 AND 717)

- 33 Megacity: Shanghai, China
- 34 Work in a Chinese factory
- 35 Work at Google's Googleplex, Mountain View, California
- 36 Visualizing the digital interconnections of the global cities network
- 37 Model-T Ford meets Smartcar
- 38 Camels in front of the Musheireb Project, Doha, Qatar
- 39 Cairo's minarets overlook the city's sprawling slums
- 40 Market street, Mumbai, India

Contributors



Elijah Anderson is the William K. Lanman, Jr. Professor of Sociology at Yale University and an authority on low income black neighborhoods.

Shlomo Angel is an adjunct professor at New York University and senior research scholar at the NYU Stern Urbanization Project, where he leads the Urban Expansion initiative. Angel is an expert on urban development policy whose work focuses on documenting and planning for urban expansion in the developing world.

Donald Appleyard (1928–1982) was a professor of urban design in the department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) was the Greek philosopher whose empiricist methodology became the foundation of Western science. He wrote about logic, metaphysics, the natural sciences, art, language, and politics.

Sherry Arnstein (1930–1997) was the chief adviser on citizen participation in the US Model Cities Program in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Timothy Beatley is Teresa Heinz Professor of Sustainable Communities in the Department of Urban and Environmental Planning at the University of Virginia. He is the co-editor (with Steven Wheeler) of *The Sustainable Urban Development Reader*, third edition, in the Routledge Urban Reader Series.

Neil Brenner is a professor of urban theory and director of the Urban Theory Lab at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design. He is the co-editor (along with Roger Keil) of *The Global Cities Reader* in the Routledge Urban Reader Series.

Robert Bruegmann is a professor of architecture and art history at the University of Illinois, Chicago. He defends urban sprawl as a market response that reflects consumer preferences in affluent societies.

Ernest W. Burgess (1886–1966) was a sociology professor at the University of Chicago, and a core member of the first generation of Chicago School sociologists.

Peter Calthorpe is a California-based architect, urban designer, author, and co-founder of the New Urbanist movement.

Albert M. Camarillo is a professor of history at Stanford University and the founding director of both the Center for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity and the Center for Chicano Research.

Manuel Castells holds the Wallis Annenberg Chair in Communication Technology and Society at the University of Southern California and is a research professor at the Open University of Catalonia in Barcelona and a professor emeritus of city and regional planning and sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

V. Gordon Childe (1892–1957) was a professor of archaeology at the University of Edinburgh and director of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London.

Congress for the New Urbanism is the Chicago-based non-profit organization that is the official voice of the New Urbanism movement.

Paul Davidoff (1930–1984) was a lawyer, urban planner, professor, and civil rights activist. As the director of the Suburban Action Institute he worked to racially integrate suburban housing. Davidoff proposed the advocacy planning model of urban planning.

Kingsley Davis (1908–1996) was a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California, Ford Professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, and a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Davis pioneered the field of historical urban demography.

Mike Davis is a distinguished professor of creative writing at the University of California, Riverside. He was the recipient of a MacArthur fellowship.

Filip De Boeck is a professor of anthropology at the University of Leuven, Belgium, and Coordinator of the Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa.

Michael Dear is a professor of city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a leading theorist in the Los Angeles school of urbanism and an authority on US/Mexico border issues.

W.E.B. (William Edward Burghardt) Du Bois (1868–1963) was a professor, editor, novelist, playwright, and political activist. He was the first African-American to receive the PhD degree from Harvard and one of the preeminent intellectuals of his generation.

Yasser Elshestawy is a professor of architecture at the United Arab Emirates University. Elshestawy is an authority on Arab cities—particularly in Egypt, where he was born, and in the United Arab Emirates where he currently lives and teaches.

Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) was a friend, partner, and financial supporter of Karl Marx and one of the founders of the international communist movement.

Robert Fishman is a historian and professor of architecture and urban planning at the University of Michigan.

Richard Florida is the Heinz Professor of Economic Development at Carnegie Mellon University, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and the founder of the Creativity Group and Catalytix consulting firms.

John Forester is a professor of city and regional planning at Cornell University.

Jan Gehl is a Danish architect and urban planner who specializes in how to design streets, public spaces, and private outdoor space to increase social interaction.

Edward Glaeser is a professor of economics at Harvard University and Director of both the Taubman Center for State and Local Government and the Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

David R. Godschalk is an emeritus professor of urban and regional planning at the University of North Carolina.

Peter Hall (1932–2014) was a professor of planning and urban regeneration at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College, London, and city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley.

David Harvey is a professor of geography and environmental engineering at Johns Hopkins University.

Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928) was a British social reformer and the founder of the Garden City movement.

Kenneth T. Jackson is the Jacques Barzun Professor of History and the Social Sciences at Columbia University.

Allan Jacobs is an emeritus professor of city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley. He served as San Francisco's city planning director from 1976 to 1984.

Jane Jacobs (1916–2006) was a community activist, social critic, and bestselling author whose books on city planning and urban economics influenced a generation of urban scholars.

Edward J. Kaiser is an emeritus professor of urban and regional planning at the University of North Carolina.

Roger Keil is a professor of environmental studies at York University in Toronto and the director of the Canadian Centre for European Studies. He is the co-editor (along with Neil Brenner) of *The Global Cities Reader* in the Routledge Urban Reader Series.

George L. Kelling is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a professor of criminal justice at Rutgers University.

H.D.F. Kitto (1897–1982) was a professor of classics at the University of Bristol, England.

Le Corbusier (Charles-Éduard Jeanneret-Gris) (1887–1965) was an architect, urban visionary, and leader of the modernist movement in architecture and urban planning.

Josef Leitman is a program manager at the World Bank where he manages the Haiti Reconstruction Fund. In the 1960s Leitman was an advisor to Jamie Lerner, the visionary mayor of Curitiba, Brazil.

Richard T. LeGates is a professor emeritus of urban studies and planning at San Francisco State University.

Kevin Lynch (1918–1994) was a professor of urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Lynch developed the modern fields of urban design and site planning.

Ali Madanipour is a professor of urban design at the University of Newcastle, England.

Harvey Molotch is a professor of sociology and metropolitan studies at New York University.

Lewis Mumford (1895–1990) was a distinguished urbanist, cultural historian, biographer, architectural critic, occasional academic, and public intellectual.

Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) was a social reformer, landscape architect, and founder of the parks movement in the United States.

Myron Orfield is a law professor at the University of Minnesota, former Minnesota State congressman and senator, and GIS expert. He invented the subfield of metropolitics.

David Owen is the author of several books, a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, and a contributor to *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Magazine*.

Clarence Perry (1872–1944) was an architect and education expert. His work with the Russell Sage Foundation and the 1929 Plan for the New York Region on residential neighborhood design has had a large influence on neighborhood planning worldwide.

Henri Pirenne (1862–1935) was Professor of History at the University of Ghent, Belgium, and was widely regarded as the premier medievalist of the twentieth century.

Michael Porter is the Bishop William Lawrence University Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School and director of Harvard's Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness.

Project for Public Spaces is a nonprofit organization in New York City that promotes creative use of public spaces.

Robert D. Putnam is the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University and a former dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Jonas Rabinovitch is a senior urban policy adviser for urban development and rural-urban relations at the United Nations Development Programme headquarters in New York. Early in his career he was an urban planner in Curitiba, Brazil.

Bishwapriya Sanyal is Ford International Professor of Urban Development and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Director of MIT's Special Program in Urban and Regional Studies (SPURS)/Humphrey Fellow Program.

Saskia Sassen is the Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology and a member of the Committee on Global Thought at Columbia University and centennial visiting professor at the London School of Economics.

Doug Saunders is the international affairs columnist and foreign correspondent for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*. He has won the Canadian National Newspaper Award five times.

Daphne Spain is a professor of urban and environmental planning in the School of Architecture at the University of Virginia.

Frederic Stout is a lecturer at Stanford University's Program on Urban Studies. He has also taught at the University of California, Davis, San Francisco State University, and New College of California.

Peter J. Taylor is a professor of human geography at Northumbria University in England and the director of the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Network.

Wilbur Thompson was a professor of economics at Wayne State University. His 1968 book, *A Preface to Urban Economics*, essentially invented the field of urban economics.

UN Habitat, initially established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1975, the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Program addresses issues of world urbanization, sustainable urban development, and global poverty.

Lawrence Vale is Ford Professor of Urban Planning and Design at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the director of MIT's Resilient Cities Housing Initiative (RCHI).

William H. Whyte (1918–1999) was a sociologist whose studies of the way in which people use parks, plazas, and other public space in cities have influenced urban design practice. The Project for Public Spaces grew out of Whyte's work and continues to perpetuate his ideas.

James Q. Wilson (1931–2012) was a distinguished political scientist and criminologist who taught at Harvard University, the University of Southern California and Pepperdine University. He developed the "broken windows" theory of community policing along with George Kelling.

Louis Wirth (1897–1952) was a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and a leading figure in the first generation of Chicago School sociologists.

Sam Bass Warner is an urban historian who has taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Pennsylvania.

World Commission on Environment and Development, commonly known as the Brundtland Commission after its chairman, Gro Brundtland of Norway, was established in 1983 by the United Nations Secretary General to address global issues of sustainable urban development.

Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) is widely regarded as the greatest American architect of his time.

Tingwei Zhang is professor of urban planning and policy and the University of Illinois, Chicago, and director of UIC's Great Cities Institute's Center for Southeast Asian Studies.



Acknowledgments

Our students at San Francisco State University, Stanford, and the University of California Berkeley inspired us to edit the first edition of *The City Reader*, which was published in 1996 and successive editions have benefitted from their reactions, comments, and suggestions. Students from Tongji and Renmin Universities in China, the American University of Sharjah, UAE, Charles University in Prague, and the Technical Institute of Bandung added their ideas and suggestions for content that speaks to an international audience.

We received constant encouragement and many valuable suggestions from our colleagues, both for selections to include and approaches to critical commentary. We wish particularly to thank Andrew Mould, our editor at Routledge, for his support, encouragement, and helpful suggestions. Andrew's assistant, Sarah Gilkes, provided helpful assistance at every stage. Casey Mein provided invaluable help in securing permissions, Cathy Hurren ably managed the production process, Victoria Chow did a first-rate job of copy-editing the manuscript, and Katharine Kasle provided invaluable assistance with marketing.

Editors of the Routledge Urban Reader Series provided inspiration, advice, and assistance in selecting and commenting on selections within their domains of expertise: Timothy Beatley (University of Virginia), Eugenie Birch (University of Pennsylvania), Iain Borden (University College London), Neil Brenner (Harvard University), Nicholas Fyfe (University of Dundee), Stephen Graham (Newcastle University), Tim Hall (University of Winchester), Roger Keil (York University), Judith Kenny (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Michael Larice (University of Utah), Jan Lin (Occidental College), Elizabeth Macdonald (University of California, Berkeley), Chris Mele (University of Buffalo), Malcolm Miles (University College London), John Mollenkopf (City University of New York), Elizabeth Strom (University of South Florida), Stephen Wheeler (University of California, Davis).

Ayşe Pamuk, Raquel Pinderhughes, Jasper Rubin, Peter Calgero, and Tony Sparks at San Francisco State University; Paul Turner, Leonard Ortolano, Joseph Kott, Dehan Glanz, Doug McAdam, and Gerry Gast at Stanford University; Guiqing Yang, Li Tian, Min Zhao, and Li Zhang, at Tongji University; Qin Bo and Yumin Ye at Renmin University; and Dan Lewis of Northwestern University—all gave us many valuable suggestions. Alexander Garvin of Yale University, Yasser Elshestawy of the UAE University, and Peter Calthorpe of Calthorpe Associates were generous in sharing their insights about what visual images to include and contributed their own copies of images they had assembled over the years. Priti Patel of the Project for Public Spaces helped identify images from PPS's extensive image library. Lisa Ryan contributed her artistic talents to creating visual images that appear at the beginning of the Prologue, and other sections of the reader. Many others, too numerous to mention, made helpful suggestions. All errors and infelicities are, of course, ours.

We particularly thank the three authors who contributed commissioned selections to this edition of *The City Reader* – Peter J. Taylor (North Umbria University), Lawrence Vale (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and Yasser Elshestawy (United Arab Emirates University) for taking time from their busy schedules to write first rate selections tailored to the book.

This page intentionally left blank



INTRODUCTION

The sixth edition of *The City Reader* comes as the twentieth anniversary of our proposal to Routledge to prepare the first edition of what was to become *The City Reader* and the Routledge Urban Reader Series. Although each of us has officially retired from a combined total of eighty years teaching students about cities, we have both remained actively involved in teaching and research about cities and city planning: Fred as a lecturer at Stanford University and Richard as a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, Tongji and Renmin Universities in China, the American University of Sharjah (AUS) in the United Arab Emirates, and the Technical Institute of Bandung (ITB), Indonesia.

During the first half of our teaching careers our students in urban studies and city and regional planning courses at San Francisco State University, Stanford University, and the University of California, Berkeley, often asked us what is the best writing on a given topic or what one single new writing captures current thinking about an important topic in urban studies or urban planning right now. Since there was no one source to which we could refer them, each of us accumulated photocopies of what we considered to be essential writings and bibliographic references to many more. As time passed, our colleagues began to come to us for suggested course readings, and we in turn added other selections they have found most useful to our list. We realized that a systematic organization of the best writings we use to meet both requests would make a good anthology to introduce students of urban studies, city and regional planning, urban design, architecture, geography, sociology, and other academic disciplines and professional fields to the literature and to supplement course texts used in these and other courses concerned with cities. Accordingly we set to work in 1991 to produce *The City Reader*. The contents of the first five editions of *The City Reader* were further enriched by our expanding network of colleagues, professors, and students using *The City Reader* and suggestions from members of distinguished review panels who added their own recommendations to our own list of selections to include. The first edition of *The City Reader*, published by Routledge in 1995, contained fifty selections of both kinds of essential readings—enduring writings and the exciting new writings that we, our students, colleagues, and expert reviewers considered to best introduce students to cities.

The first edition was well received and we learned a great deal more about what readings students and faculty find most useful from using the first edition in our own courses and receiving feedback from faculty colleagues about what selections their students found most useful. Our only regret was that space limitations made it impossible to include as many of the writings we had accumulated and that reviewers suggested as we would have liked.

In 2000 Routledge published an expanded and improved second edition of *The City Reader* that quickly established itself as required reading in courses in urban studies, urban and regional planning, urban geography, urban sociology, and related disciplines and professional fields worldwide. Based on the success of the second edition, Routledge suggested that we act as general editors for a series of urban readers modeled on *The City Reader*. We saw this as a way to draw on the expertise of scholars that went far beyond our own and to make many of the excellent selections we could not fit in *The City Reader* accessible to students worldwide. We enthusiastically agreed to oversee a series of urban readers organized around disciplinary perspectives (such as *The Urban Sociology Reader* and *The Urban Geography Reader*),

applied fields (such as *The Urban and Regional Planning Reader* and *The Urban Design Reader*) and important substantive themes (such as *The Sustainable Urban Development Reader* and *The Global Cities Reader*). Beginning in 2004, ten volumes were published in the Routledge Urban Reader Series. *The Sustainable Urban Development Reader* is now in its third edition. *The Urban Design Reader*, *The Urban Sociology Reader* and *The City Cultures Reader* are now in their second editions. A second edition of *The Global Cities Reader* will be published in 2015. The newest volume in the series is *The Global South Reader* edited by Neema Kudva and Faranak Miraftab, which was published in 2014.

The sixth edition of *The City Reader* continues and expands the tradition established in the earlier editions. Since the first edition, the structure of the book and choice of selections has evolved, the number of selections has grown to sixty-five, and we have added plate sections. But the underlying philosophy of the series and the type of material included in the book, section, and selection introductions has remained constant.

Faculty and students familiar with earlier editions will find the classic and contemporary selections that have proven most useful in the past as well as exciting new material on urban history, compact cities, placemaking, sustainable urban development, globalization, cities and climate change, the world city network, the impact of technology on cities, resilient cities, cities in Africa and the Middle East, and urban theory. The sixth edition places greater emphasis on cities in the developing world, globalization, and the global city system of the future. The plate sections have been revised and updated.

The sixth edition contains sixty-five selections: fifty-one from the fifth edition, and fourteen new selections, including three newly written exclusively for *The City Reader* by Yasser Elshehawey, Peter J. Taylor, and Lawrence Vale. New selections in the sixth edition also include writings by Aristotle, Peter Calthorpe, Albert M. Camarillo, Filip De Boeck, Edward Glaeser, David Owen, Henri Pirenne, the Project for Public Spaces, Jonas Rabinovitch and Josef Leitman, Doug Saunders, and Bishwapriya Sanyal.

It is a great satisfaction that the reader series provides space to include many more selections, covering topics introduced in *The City Reader* in much greater depth, and selections covering many additional topics beyond our subject matter expertise. Our talented team of nineteen editors has vastly leveraged our original concept and created a comprehensive compendium for understanding cities. The Urban Reader Series now includes almost 500 selections in ten volumes.

Completion of the other readers in the series made it possible both to draw upon the accumulated expertise of our colleagues and to use *The City Reader* to anchor the entire series. We called upon the expertise of the editors of other volumes in the series in deciding which selections to include in this edition. As we revised the book, section, and selection introductions we referred constantly to material in the other ten volumes. Readers will see many references to material in the entire series in this edition of *The City Reader*.

While most of the audience for *The City Reader* is in North America and Europe, *The City Reader* and the Routledge Urban Reader series are now widely used in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The sixth edition expands coverage of cities in other parts of the world and places greater emphasis on globalization and the world city network.

The City Reader and the other readings in the series focus on essential writings. We and the other editors picked enduring issues in urban studies and planning across different cultures and times. In our courses, we have found that H.D.F. Kitto's "The Polis" raises fundamental questions about individuals' relations to their communities which are as relevant today as they were 2,400 years ago; that Louis Wirth's seventy-seven-year-old essay on "Urbanism as a Way of Life" speaks to our students trying to understand contemporary urban migration, segregation, ethnic communities, and anomie. *The City Reader* and other volumes in the series also include the best contemporary writing on cities. We find that our students are excited by Robert Putnam's ideas about declining social capital from "Bowling Alone," David Harvey's writings about "The Right to the City" and Manuel Castells's reflections on the "space of flows." Most writings in this edition of *The City Reader* were written in the late twentieth century and twenty-first century and more than half were written very recently.

This is an international anthology. In an increasingly global world, students must learn from writers beyond the borders of their country of origin. In addition to writers from the United States, the sixth edition now

contains writings by scholars from Austria, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, England, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Iran, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Arab Emirates. Many of the writers included teach or work in a country different from their country of origin and some are truly world citizens.

The City Reader is an interdisciplinary anthology. The disciplines and professional fields represented in *The City Reader* include anthropology, architecture, archaeology, city planning, classics, creative writing, culture studies, demography, development studies, economics, environmental studies, ethnic studies, geography, history, journalism, landscape architecture, law, Middle Eastern studies, photography, political science, public policy, sociology, and urban design. Many of the writings blend insights from more than one discipline. Some of the best writing in *The City Reader* doesn't fit in conventional disciplinary boxes at all.

Cities can be studied to good advantage from both interdisciplinary and disciplinary perspectives. The disciplinary Routledge urban readers contain writings by scholars from academic disciplines—geography, sociology, and political science—that bring to bear their disciplinary expertise and provide depth in the literature of the specific discipline beyond what is possible in *The City Reader*. Pairing *The City Reader* and one of the Routledge urban disciplinary readers will provide students in courses in urban geography, urban sociology, or urban politics both the broad interdisciplinary perspective of *The City Reader* and the disciplinary perspective of the disciplinary reader. Thus, for example, using both *The City Reader* and *The Urban Sociology Reader, second edition* will give students in urban sociology courses both an interdisciplinary understanding of cities and in depth coverage of urban sociology topics written primarily by urban sociologists.

The City Reader emphasizes the connection between the built environment of cities and the natural environment. As the world's population soars and urbanization continues, the imperative to design sustainable, carbon-neutral cities becomes ever more important. Readings by the World Commission on Environment and Development, Timothy Beatley, Peter Calthorpe, and the Congress for the New Urbanism introduce students to sustainable urban development, green urbanism, ecological design, low-carbon cities, and the New Urbanism. Courses in environmental studies, environmental planning, sustainable urban development, and other disciplines and professional fields may benefit from pairing *The City Reader* with *The Sustainable Urban Development Reader, third edition*. Similarly, pairing *The City Reader* with other of the readers organized around applied fields and special topics will provide a balance between broad interdisciplinary understanding and more focused knowledge.

An anthology of essential writings on cities should have a flexible organization. There is no one best way to organize material on cities. The content of urban studies and city planning courses vary widely and courses are organized in as many different ways as there are courses. This dictates a flexible structure for *The City Reader*. Readings are grouped into eight parts: The Evolution of Cities; Urban Culture and Society; Urban Space; Urban Politics, Governance, and Economics; Urban Planning History and Visions; Urban Planning Theory and Practice; Urban Design and Placemaking; and Cities in a Global Society.

Two other goals in picking the selections were to expose students to models of great thinking and excellent writing. H.D.F. Kitto, Jane Jacobs, Robert Putnam, Mike Davis, Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, and William H. Whyte are fine stylists as well as seminal thinkers. Reading their work is a lesson in how to communicate in a clear and engaging style. They are excellent models for how to write. Similarly, intellectual sparks fly from virtually everything that Manuel Castells, Lewis Mumford, David Harvey, Kevin Lynch, Peter Hall, and other great thinkers represented in *The City Reader* write. Beyond the rich substantive content of the selections, we picked selections that will stimulate readers to think and write.

In the sixth edition of *The City Reader*, we have said a good deal about the role of visions in urban studies and planning. We close with our own vision of how this anthology will be used. *The City Reader* is aimed primarily at students who will encounter many of the writers and writings for the first time. It will lay the groundwork for additional coursework for students taking additional urban-related courses. It will also work well for students in general education courses who do not pursue urban studies or planning further. This sixth edition of *The City Reader* provides many references to material in other of the Routledge Urban

Reader Series volumes so that readers can pursue material they find interesting in greater depth. As a reference work, *The City Reader* and some or all of the other readers will provide a lifelong resource.

We hope the writings touch responsive chords and will inspire all the students who use *The City Reader* to think more deeply and read more widely about cities. To that end, for each selection we point the way to other related writings by the same authors and other writers on the same subject matter.

We hope *The City Reader* will continue to be a book that students, professors, and practitioners will keep and periodically reread. One test to which we put each of the essential writing included is that it should still be relevant to reread and enjoy for many years to come.

Richard LeGates
Frederic Stout
San Francisco, January, 2015



Prologue

“How to Study Cities”

Richard T. LeGates



Studying cities is a vast and never-ending enterprise. There is too much material for any one individual to master and always more to learn. Fortunately many fine scholars, past and present, have focused their attention on cities. We now know a great deal about how cities evolved, their social structures, urban culture, their internal spatial organization and relationships to other cities in systems or networks of cities, what economic functions they perform, how they are governed, how they are planned, how to design them, urban placemaking, the impact of globalization and information technology on cities and the probable future of cities and city regions. In addition to descriptive analyses about what cities *are* like there is a great deal of good normative writing expressing authors' opinions of what they *should* be like. We pay special attention to both the role of utopian thought about cities and predictions and normative theory about what city planners and policy makers might do to make cities better. One premise of *The City Reader* is that much of the classic writing about cities over the past hundred years remains remarkably relevant today. Another is that we are living now in a period of enormous change in the world city network that demands attention to entirely new patterns in urban society, culture, economics, governance, and policy.

DISCIPLINARY AND INTERDISCIPLINARY TEACHING ABOUT CITIES

While academic teaching about cities occurs in courses as different as English literature and civil engineering, most urban scholarship can be grouped under the heading of “urban studies,” as an urban specialization within one of the social science disciplines such as “urban geography,” “urban sociology,” “urban politics,” “urban economics,” or “urban anthropology,” or in applied professional courses in urban planning, architecture, and landscape architecture. A description of these fields and disciplines and how they fit into universities is helpful to students encountering this material for the first time. Almost all modern universities organize teaching and research into academic units called schools or colleges such as a college of social science or a school of architecture and urban planning. Schools and colleges in turn are generally organized into academic departments around a single discipline such as a department of geography. Many universities also offer interdisciplinary programs related to cities, such as an urban studies program that requires students to take courses in a variety of different academic disciplines and fields. Professors educated in different academic disciplines are located within the departments and programs: historians in the history department, economists in the economic department, and sociologists in the sociology department. City and regional planning and urban studies departments are generally interdisciplinary and have faculty trained in a variety of academic disciplines and professional fields. The ten-person faculty of a mid-sized US city and regional planning department, for example, might have a core faculty of ten professors: three who

received PhDs in city and regional planning, two with degrees in architecture or urban design, one with a law degree, and one each with a PhD in economics, geography, statistics, and political science.

Regardless of whether or not they have interdisciplinary major or minors, most universities encourage research and teaching that crosses disciplinary boundaries. For example, a university may encourage a historian to teach a course that serves students in an urban studies department or the urban studies department may include the economics department's urban economics course as a required or elective course for the urban studies major.

While professors from many different academic disciplines as well as interdisciplinary scholars study cities, most of the academic literature about cities—and most of the readings in *The City Reader* and the Routledge Urban Reader Series—has been written by social scientists: faculty trained to systematically study different aspects of human society from the perspective of an established social science discipline. Some writing in *The City Reader*, and many of the selections in *The Urban and Regional Planning Reader* and the *Urban Design Reader* in the Routledge Urban Reader Series were written by scholars in applied fields related to urban planning and design—city and regional planning, architecture, urban design, and landscape architecture.

Most universities have a school or college of social science. Schools of social science contain social science departments where professors trained in the social science disciplines of geography, sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology teach. History departments are sometimes located within schools of social science, sometimes within schools of humanities. Within these social science departments, professors interested in cities teach urban courses from the point of view of their disciplines: courses on urban geography, urban sociology, urban politics, etc. Professors in these discipline-based courses may include material written by scholars from other academic disciplines in their courses. For example a geography professor may use content and methods developed by economists and sociologists in her urban geography course.

Departments of city and regional planning (often called town and country planning in the UK) are often located within professional colleges that group architecture, planning, landscape architecture, and sometimes other departments related to the built environment.

Distinctions may be drawn between substantive content, methods, and theory in the different academic disciplines and professional fields related to the study of cities. While social science has an established body of methods that academics from all social science disciplines use, each discipline has its own preference and variations. Urban economists tend to use quantitative methods such as statistical analysis of data to show the relationship between poverty and crime, and urban sociologists tend to use qualitative methods such as direct field observation of majority-minority communities. But some urban economists use qualitative methods and some urban sociologists are very quantitative. Social scientists usually draw more heavily on work by members of their own discipline than other disciplines. But most also use material from other disciplines and professional fields. Most of the academic literature about urban politics is by political scientists based on theory and methods political scientists use. But law professor Myron Orfield (p. 338) mapped metropolitan areas using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software to develop his theory of metropolitics, which has become influential among political scientists. Sociologist Saskia Sassen's writings on the global system of cities (p. 650) are widely read by planners, economists, and political scientists.

Disciplines have the advantage that they are based on more or less agreed-upon methods for acquiring knowledge and a more or less agreed-upon body of knowledge shared by the discipline. All history professors, for example, in order to get their history PhD must study the methods of historical research that historians use. All history professors will have taken enough different history courses that they have a good overall knowledge of history in addition to their specialties in one or more specific time periods, issue areas, or methods of historical inquiry.

A disadvantage of disciplines is that they encourage rigid thinking within the four corners of the discipline itself. There is a danger that professors who are rigorously trained in economics, for example, will see only economic factors as important when they study or teach about an issue such as urban sprawl. Because they have been trained in the importance of economics they may neglect political, social, and spatial aspects

of sprawl. Of course understanding urban sprawl as an economic problem related to differential land costs, changing job locations, infrastructure finance, the cost of gas, and other important economic factors is important. But understanding the sociology of suburbanites, the relationship of single-family suburban home design to sprawl, spatial aspects of ethnic clustering in suburbs, and a host of other issues that bear only indirectly on economics will further enrich understanding of suburbs. In sum, the strength of interdisciplinary approaches is that, done properly, an interdisciplinary approach provides for a richer, more holistic, more varied understanding of multiple dimensions of the phenomena being studied than a study from a single disciplinary perspective.

The weakness of interdisciplinary approaches is that they may become so loose and standardless that they lack intellectual rigor. Well-trained and specialized disciplinary scholars are often justifiably critical of colleagues who do wide but shallow interdisciplinary teaching, research, and writing.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Academic writing about cities is guided by theory—logically coherent bodies of principles advanced to explain phenomena. Theory in the social sciences is intended to provide a framework for understanding. Manuel Castells’s theory about the “space of flows” (p. 229), for example, provides rich insights that help explain how digital information flows affect the global system of cities.

Some professors value only basic research and theory-building and look down on applied research and writing intended to produce solutions to actual urban problems. They see applied research as derivative and inferior—a kind of vocational education that is not worthy of true scholars. This is silly. Cities lend themselves well to applied research.

Good scholarship directed at problem-solving can be just as theoretically subtle and methodologically sophisticated as pure academic research. William H. Whyte’s thoughtful prescriptions for park and plaza design based on his observations of New York City parks and plazas (p. 587), James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling’s “broken windows” theory of community policing based on their observations of police work in Newark, New Jersey (p. 259), and John Forester’s theories about mediating urban planning conflicts (p. 467) based on dozens of interviews with practicing planners are as intellectually rigorous as any of the more academic selections in *The City Reader*.

Peter Hall (p. 431) and others deplore the lack of connection between urban theory and urban practice. We agree. Theory and practice should be linked in studying cities. Theory can inform practice and practice can inform theory. John Forester’s approach is a good example of how to do this. Forester (p. 467) developed his theories about how urban planners manage conflict by talking to practitioners. The theory he developed is in turn helpful to practitioners.

METHODS FOR STUDYING CITIES

Scholars who study cities use both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Both approaches can contribute to understanding cities. The best urban research designs often combine both quantitative and qualitative research and triangulate on problems using multiple methods.

Quantitative methods involve analyzing data using statistical methods. Today virtually all quantitative analysis is done with computer software. A professor of urban politics doing statistical analysis of city voting data to see if recent immigrants feel differently about immigration than longer-term non-immigrant residents would be doing quantitative urban research. At the undergraduate level, applied statistics is a regular part of most urban studies and urban planning curricula and sometimes required in other social science disciplines. Students learn to use computerized statistical packages such as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to do quantitative analysis. At the graduate level, virtually all students take required courses in quantitative methods.

Time is an important dimension in much urban research. Researchers may choose to look at an issue at one specific point in time. Imagine scientists studying a hundred-foot-long cylindrical sample of polar ice that had built up over a thousand years to determine the amount of carbon from the atmosphere that settled on the ice at different times in the past in order to understand global climate change. Cutting a small slice of the cylinder where carbon froze into the cylinder in the year 1682 and analyzing it for carbon content would be an example of what is called cross-sectional research. Friedrich Engels's study of the deplorable living and working conditions of factory workers in Manchester, England, in 1844 (p. 53) is another good example of cross-sectional urban research. The conditions Engels described in 1844 were different from what they were in earlier years and they would change in the future. But his snapshot of what conditions were like in Manchester during that one year provides a devastating cross-sectional picture of what Manchester was like in 1844.

A research design that chooses to look at how conditions change over time is called a longitudinal research design. Kingsley Davis's study of the urbanization of the human population from the early Middle Ages through the latter part of the twentieth century (p. 19) is an example of longitudinal research. By looking at population data for European cities over a thousand-year period, Davis was able to describe changes that would not have been possible from a cross-sectional study. The line chart and table in Tingwei Zhang's description the trajectory of China's urbanization (p. 687) is another good example of cross-sectional analysis.

Geographical space is an important aspect in much urban research. Most statistical analysis of urban phenomena is aspatial (does not include geographical space as a variable). But because many urban phenomena have a spatial dimension, Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software that permits users to map and analyze data is very important in studying cities and preparing city and regional plans. GIS is taught in geography, urban planning, and other departments. Myron Orfield's use of GIS to map attributes of cities in metropolitan regions to identify common needs and political interests (p. 338) is an excellent example of urban spatial analysis.

Qualitative research usually does not involve numbers or statistical analysis. William H. Whyte's use of observation (including time lapse photography) to find out how people use urban parks and plazas (p. 587) is a good example of effective use of one qualitative urban research method. Urban sociologist Elijah Anderson conducted exhaustive qualitative field research in black ghetto areas of Chicago and New York (p. 131). Anderson's descriptions of what residents told him paints a complex and subtle portrait that would be impossible to capture with quantitative methods. Urban designer Kevin Lynch and his students' interviews with Boston residents to understand how they perceived the city image (p. 576) is another excellent example of effective qualitative research that Lynch combined with spatial analysis of residents' mental maps, survey research, and other methods to derive his theory of how people perceive the image of the city.

There is never only one "right" way to do urban research. Multiple methods help researchers triangulate on a problem. Thus, a researcher might choose to do both cross-sectional and longitudinal, qualitative and quantitative research on urban sprawl. The quantitative research might involve both aspatial analysis using a computerized statistical package and mapping and spatial statistical analysis using GIS. Within this broad research design the researcher could choose a variety of methods depending on his or her skills, the time available, and costs. Literature searches, observation, interviewing, depth interviews, web-based research, phone or mail surveys, focus groups, analysis of big data from a secondary source, case studies, and many other methods are widely used in urban research.

While this is not a book about urban research methods, some of the selection introductions comment on the research methods used in the selection. For all the other selections it is always important to pay attention to the research methods used as well as the substance.

ORGANIZATIONS AND JOURNALS DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF CITIES

A number of academic associations organize conferences, set standards, publish academic journals, and work to advance scholarship related to understanding cities.

In North America the academic association most directly concerned with urban studies is the Urban Affairs Association (UAA). The European counterpart organization is the European Urban Research Association (EURA). Both UAA and EURA include faculty and students from a variety of social sciences, urban planning, and other backgrounds among their members. In addition to organizing annual conference both UAA and EURA publish leading scholarly journals. The UAA publishes *The Journal of Urban Affairs* and EURA publishes *Urban Research & Practice*.

In North America, the organization of urban planning schools is the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP); in Europe, the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). Members of ACSP who are interested in international planning education have formed the Global Planning Educators Interest Group (GPEIG), which maintains a lively and informative website with a worldwide urban planning focus.

In addition to their annual meetings in North America and Europe, every five years ACSP and AESOP hold a joint congress alternating between a site in North America and a site in Europe. There are organizations of planning schools for Asia, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand, Canada, Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries, and France and other francophone countries.

The Global Planning Educators Association Network (GPEAN) maintains a website with links to all of the above associations of planning schools. Each of the member associations' sites has links to their members' sites. Every five years GPEAN holds an international conference for planning educators somewhere in the world.

World congresses of planning schools are held every five years. The first world congress of planning schools occurred in Shanghai in 2001; the second in Mexico City in 2006; the third in Perth, Australia in 2011. A fourth GPEAN world congress will take place in 2016.

Disciplinary academic organizations—such as the American Sociological Association (ASA), American Political Science Association (APSA), American Economic Association (AEA), and the Association of American Geographers (AAG)—have specialized member groups dealing with urban concerns. Urban “tracks” at these conferences bring urbanists with similar interests together to present and discuss scholarly papers and otherwise share information.

The main professional association of practicing city planners in the United States is the American Planning Association (APA). In the United Kingdom an equivalent organization is the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI). Practicing planners in these organizations meet to discuss their professional interests at national and subnational meetings.

Journals such as *Urban Studies* (published by Sage Publications), *The Journal of Urban Affairs* (published by UAA), *Urban Studies*, and *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* specialize in publishing scholarly articles related to cities. *The Journal of Planning Education and Research* (published by ACSP) is North America's leading academic urban planning journal. *The American Planning Association Journal* (published by APA) is an excellent scholarly journal with a somewhat more applied focus. The *Town Planning Review* (published by RTPI) is the leading UK scholarly urban planning journal. *Urban Planning Forum* (published in Chinese by Tongji University) and *City Planning Review* (published in English) are China's leading urban planning journals.