CITIES AND URBAN LIFE

SEVENTH EDITON



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John J. Macionis | Vincent N. Parrillo

If you're wondering why you should buy this new seventh edition of **Cities and Urban Life**, here are **seven good reasons!**

1. **Improved readability.** Every word, phrase, and sentence has been diligently edited to ensure clarity of expression and ease of understanding.

2. **Thorough updating.** A thorough updating of the most recent and relevant studies from more than 725 reference sources, about four-fifths from the twenty-first century; the remainder are mostly classic studies. *No competing text even comes close!*

3. **New boxed feature.** *City Snapshots* is a new feature that offers a brief profile of cities to illustrate chapter content. Included are Denver, Singapore, Paris, London, and St. Louis.

4. **New content.** End-of-chapter discussion questions, often relating chapter content to your own locale, make the subject matter more meaningful. Other additions include discussions about nested city theory (how cities fit in the global economy); the HOPE VI program (revitalizing urban poverty areas); and profiles of Cairo, Lagos, Guangzhou, Tokyo, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro.

5. **Expanded coverage of world cities.** Chapter 13 now includes cities outside the developing world, including discussion on the lure and shared commonalities of many European cities.

6. **The future of cities.** Chapter 14 contains new material on urban planning in the past and on twentieth-century large-scale and small-scale development. New also is a section on the future of cities as projected from current trends.

7. **Expanded Internet activities.** Each chapter has at least three links to photos, articles, or interactive exercises relevant to the subject matter.



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Cities and Urban Life

Seventh Edition

John J. Macionis Kenyon College

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William Paterson University

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ISBN 10: 0-13-386980-6 ISBN 13: 978-0-13-386980-4 To the memory of E. Digby Baltzell mentor, friend, and maverick sociologist —John J. Macionis

To the memory of Donald L. Halsted mentor, friend, and inspiration —Vincent N. Parrillo This page intentionally left blank

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Preface

Since the historic landmark year of 2008, a steadily increasing majority of the planet's people are living in cities. Urban living is rapidly becoming a widening *norm* for more and more members of our species. Surely, no more compelling reason exists for us to undertake the study of cities and urban life.

The Basic Approach

This text is not the oldest in the field, but it is the trendsetter, and often imitated by competing texts. Our approach is multidisciplinary but fundamentally sociological. Readers will find here the enduring contributions of the classical European social thinkers, including Max Weber, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Emile Durkheim, as well as those of early pioneers in North America, including Robert Park and Louis Wirth. Of course, many men and women have stood on the shoulders of these giants and extended our understanding. Thus, this text also considers the ideas of a host of contemporary urbanists, including Manuel Castells, Michael Dear, Herbert Gans, Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, Lyn Lofland, John Logan, Kevin Lynch, Harvey Molotch, Allen Scott, Edward Soja, Michael Sorkin, Richard Child Hill, and Kuniko Fujita.

Yet, as this string of well-known names suggests, urban studies rests on research and theory developed within many disciplines. *Cities and Urban Life*, therefore, is truly a multidisciplinary text that draws together the work of historians (Chapter 2: "Evolution of the World's Cities," and Chapter 3: "Development of North American Cities"), sociologists (Chapter 4: "Today's Cities and Suburbs," Chapter 5: "Urban Sociology: Classic and Modern Statements," Chapter 10: "Stratification and Social Class: Urban and Suburban Lifestyles," Chapter 11: "Race, Ethnicity, and Gender: Urban Diversity," and Chapter 12: "Housing, Education, Crime: Confronting Urban Problems"), geographers and urban ecologists (Chapter 6: "Spatial Perspectives: Making Sense of Space"), critical urban theorists working within various disciplines (Chapter 7: "Critical Urban Sociology: The City and Capitalism"), social psychologists (Chapter 8: "The Context of Cities"), anthropologists (Chapter 9: "Comparative Urbanism: The City and Culture," and Chapter 13: "Global Urbanization"), and architects as well as city planners (Chapter 14: "Urban Planning: Past, Present, and Future").

The Organization of this Text

Part I of the text, "Understanding the City: Its Evolution," introduces the main concepts and themes that resonate throughout the book; surveys the historical development of cities, noting how urban life has often differed in striking ways from the contemporary patterns we take for granted (Chapters 2 and 3); and examines the current trends of sprawl, edge cities, and gated communities now shaping cities and suburbs (Chapter 4). Part II, "Disciplinary Perspectives," highlights the various disciplinary orientations that, together, have so advanced our understanding of cities (Chapters 5–9). Part III, "The Structure of the City," focuses on the social organization of today's cities in North America, highlighting how urban living reflects the importance of stratification and social class (Chapter 10) and of race, ethnicity, and gender (Chapter 11), as well as forcing us to confront vexing problems such as housing, education, and crime (Chapter 12). Part IV, "Global Urban Developments," offers a look at urbanization in the major world regions: Africa, Asian, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe (Chapter 13). It is in these first four areas of the world that urbanization is now most rapid, with cities reaching unprecedented size. Finally, Chapter 14 examines the architectural, social, and political dimensions of urban planning and discusses approaches to help cities achieve their potential for improving everyone's lives.

Four Key Themes

This attempt to tell the urban story will lead us to consider a wide range of issues and to confront countless questions. Four main themes guide this exploration, however, and it is useful to make these explicit. Whatever else a student entering the field of urban studies might learn, he or she must pay attention to these themes:

- 1. *Cities and urban life vary according to time and place.* Since the idea of the city first came to our ancestors some 10,000 years ago, the urban scene has been re-created time and again, all around the world, in countless ways. The authors—informed by their own travels to some 70 of the world's nations—have labored to portray this remarkable diversity throughout this text.
- 2. *Cities reflect and intensify society and culture.* Although cities vary in striking ways, everywhere, they stand as physical symbols of human civilization. For example, nowhere do we perceive the inward-looking world of the Middle Ages better than in the walled cities of that era. Similarly, modern U.S. cities are powerful statements about the contemporary forces of industrial capitalism.
- **3.** *Cities reveal the best and the worst about the human condition.* Another way to "read" cities is as testimony to the achievements and failings of a way of life. Thus, while New York boasts some spectacular architecture, exciting public parks, vital art galleries,

and vibrant concert halls, it also forces us to confront chronic prejudice and wrenching poverty.

4. *Cities offer the promise—but not always the reality—of a better life.* Since at least the time of the ancient Greeks, people have recognized that the city holds the promise of living "the good life." Yet all urban places fall short of this ideal in some ways, and in many of today's cities, people are struggling valiantly simply to survive. The great promise of urban living, coupled with the daunting problems of actual cities, provokes us to ask how we can intentionally and thoughtfully make urban places better. Although we are realistic about the problems, we remain optimistic about the possibilities.

Special Features of the Text

Two special features warrant the attention of readers.

Boxes Each chapter contains several boxed inserts. These boxes are of four kinds. *Urban Trends* boxes depict a pattern, either past or present, shaping people's way of life. *Urban Living* boxes provide a picture of the city "at street level"—that is, a close-up look at how people really live. *City Snapshot* boxes offer a brief profile of a city as an illustration of a main point in that particular chapter. Finally, *Cityscape* boxes present a literary account or scholarly analysis of some significant dimension of urban life.

Case Studies The text includes eight case studies that offer a broad sociohistorical look at major cities in various regions of the world as they illustrate a chapter's key points. The cities profiled in these case studies are London (Chapter 2); New York (Chapter 3); Portland, Oregon (Chapter 4); Ming Peking (Chapter 9); Hellenic Athens (Chapter 9); Communist–Capitalist Beijing (Chapter 9); Chicago (Chapter 11); and Toronto, Ontario (Chapter 14).

What's New in the Seventh Edition

This new edition reflects a number of changes. If you want to know what the next edition of competing texts will include, most likely it will be from this list of a dozen changes that enhance *Cities and Urban Life*, seventh edition:

- 1. *Thorough updating.* Most important is the continuance of our policy to provide a thorough updating in the text of all data and information and to include the most recent and relevant studies not only in sociology but in many other related fields as well. Of the more than 725 reference sources, about four-fifths are from the twenty-first century; the remainder are mostly classic studies. *No competing text even comes close!*
- 2. The newest data from multiple sources. The latest data from Asian, Canadian, European, and U.S. government agencies and departments, and the United Nations—as well as major organizations such as the Pew Research Center and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development—have been incorporated wherever practical, thus providing new demographic information about changes to cities, suburbs, metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, and the growing presence of minorities in all regions of the country.
- **3.** *New boxed feature. City Snapshots* offers a brief profile of cities to illustrate chapter content. In this edition are Denver (Chapter 4), Singapore (Chapter 7), Paris (Chapter 8), London (Chapter 10), and St. Louis (Chapter 11).
- **4.** *New section on nested city theory.* Added to Chapter 7 on critical urban theory is a section on nested city theory, one of the more recent concepts about the role of cities in the global economy and how they are situated within various systems—local, national, regional, and global.

- **5.** *New section on HOPE VI program.* This federally funded community revitalization effort seeks to overcome past public housing failures by embracing new urbanism concepts to transform distressed poverty areas (Chapter 12).
- 6. New feature articles. Two new Urban Living features "A Long Walk Through My Neighborhood" (Chapter 1) and "The Subway at Rush Hour" (Chapter 8), and a new Cityscape feature, "Memories of an Old City in the New" (Chapter 8), appear in this edition.
- **7.** *Chapter content reorganization.* For greater cohesiveness, the material on the economics of land use and central place theory has been moved to Chapter 6 on spatial perspectives. This change allows Chapter 7 to have a tighter focus on critical urban theory.
- 8. *Expanded coverage of world cities.* In Chapter 13, the material has been reordered and revised to cover more than just the developing world. New cities have been added (Cairo, Lagos, Guangzhou, Tokyo, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro), as has discussion about the lure and shared commonalities of many European cities.
- **9.** *The Future of Cities.* Chapter 14 contains both a revision of material on urban planning in the past and twentieth-century large-scale and small-scale urban planning and development. A new section on the future of cities explains how current trends give us insight into what will be the future of cities in growth and development.
- **10.** *Updated case studies.* The end-of-chapter city case studies—as well as other in-text city profiles, notably those of Cleveland and Detroit—have been updated to reflect changes in the last few years, the growing Asian and Hispanic presence in cities, and the renaissance of many older cities through gentrification and tourism.

- **11.** *Canadian content.* The first urban text to include the Canadian urban experience, and still the most comprehensive about that country's cities, this edition incorporates new demographics on that country, further encouraging students to think beyond national boundaries.
- **12.** *Discussion questions.* New to this edition are thought-provoking end-of-chapter discussion questions, often pertaining to your area, for in-class or at-home consideration.
- **13.** *Expanded Internet activities.* Each chapter contains at least three links to interesting websites relevant to chapter content, where you'll find photos, articles, or interactive exercises.
- **14.** *Learning objectives.* At the beginning of each chapter, identification of special learning objectives realized in the chapter enables students to focus on themes and key topics.

Supplements

Instructor's Manual and Test Bank (ISBN 9780133882001) The Instructor's Manual and Test Bank has been prepared to assist teachers in their efforts to prepare lectures and evaluate student learning. For each chapter of the text, the Instructor's Manual offers different types of resources, including detailed chapter summaries and outlines, learning objectives, discussion questions, classroom activities, and much more.

Also included in this manual is a test bank offering multiple-choice, true/false, fill-in-theblank, and/or essay questions for each chapter. The Instructor's Manual and Test Bank is available to adopters at www.pearsonhighered.com.

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His publications are wide-ranging, focusing on community life in the United States, interpersonal intimacy in families, effective teaching, humor, new information technology, and the importance of global education. Macionis is the author of Sociology and Society: The Basics, and Social Problems, the most popular text in the field. He collaborates on international editions of his texts, including Sociology: Canadian Edition; Society: The Basics, Canadian Edition; and Sociology: A Global Introduction. These texts are also available in various foreign-language editions. For the latest on all the Macionis textbooks, as well as information about how sociology can encourage social change, visit the author's personal Web site: http://www.macionis.com or http://www.The-SociologyPage.com.

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His publications include two historical novels, *Guardians of the Gate* (2011) and *Defenders of* thirty-five years. In 2002, the American Sociological Association presented Macionis with the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Teaching, citing his innovative use of global material and teaching technology in his textbooks.

Professor Macionis has been active in academic programs in other countries, having traveled to some fifty nations. He writes, "I am an ambitious traveler, eager to learn and, through the texts, to share much of what I discover with students, many of whom know little about the rest of the world. For me, traveling and writing are all dimensions of teaching. First, and foremost, I am a teacher—a passion for teaching animates everything I do."

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Freedom (2016); *Understanding Race and Ethnic Relations*, 5th ed. (2016); *Strangers to These Shores*, 11th ed. (2014); *Diversity in America*, 4th ed. (2012); *Contemporary Social Problems*, 6th ed. (2005); and *Millennium Haze* (2000). He is general editor of the two-volume interdisciplinary *Encyclopedia of Social Problems* (Sage, 2008). Some of his writings have been published in nine languages.

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Professor Parrillo invites and encourages readers to e-mail him (parrillov@wpunj.edu) and promises to reply.

Chapter 1 Exploring the City

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- **1.1** Recognize how most people are captivated by cities
- **1.2** Examine the four criteria for defining an urban area
- **1.3a** Investigate the factors that lead to urban growth and development
- **1.3b** Evaluate the characteristics of the urban way of life
- **1.4** Describe the ecological process of invasion–succession as seen in emerging cities

Let us go then, you and I,

When the evening is spread out against the sky

Like a patient etherised upon a table;

Let us go, through certain half-deserted streets, The muttering retreats

Of restless nights in one-night cheap hotels And sawdust restaurants with oyster-shells:

Streets that follow like a tedious argument

Of insidious intent

To lead you to an overwhelming question \ldots

Oh, do not ask, "What is it?"

Let us go and make our visit.

T. S. Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock"

- **1.5** Enumerate the population percentage change of the 30 largest U.S. cities
- **1.6** Explain how the urban situation is desperate in most cities of the developing world
- **1.7** Express the role played by cities in the progress of human civilization

1.1: Why Study the City?

1.1 Recognize how most people are captivated by cities

Cities! Most of us share poet T. S. Eliot's fascination with urban places—settings of intense excitement, great mystery, and striking human diversity. Like the poet, most of us probably agree that cities (London was the object of Eliot's interest) are places we would love to visit—but many of us wouldn't want to live there! Even so, little compares with the excitement of visiting major cities, whether they are near or far away. When we go into the city, we often find block after block of shops selling all kinds of things we never find at home. On the streets we pass by every imaginable sort of person—the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the up and coming as well as the down and out. People say that virtually anything can and does happen in big cities—and it doesn't take long to realize that they're right!

Across North America, more than four out of five of us live in urban places, and even more of us build our lives around cities. We are born in cities (or near them), grow up in or near one (probably in a suburb), go to a college in or near a city (maybe one some distance away from our hometowns), and eventually settle down in or near a city that becomes "home." For most of us, no matter where we live, much of our favorite entertainment—including clubs, musical or sports events, and theater—is city based. We might as well admit it: We are a nation of city folks, and the urban way of life is our norm. To study the city, therefore, is to study ourselves.

Yet the city is more than what our personal experiences reveal. A dynamic entity unto itself, the city is the most powerful drawing card in human history. The share of the world's population living in cities rose from just 9 percent in 1900 to 30 percent in 1950 and then climbed to 52 percent in 2011. If present trends continue, by 2050 cities will be home to 66 percent of all humans on the planet (United Nations Population Division 2014).

The city is thus the setting for all aspects of the human drama: the highest learning colliding with the grossest ignorance, unimaginable wealth contrasted with the most abject poverty. Historically, most people drawn to the city sought to realize their hopes of a higher standard of living and often succeeded—but will this continue to be true in the new megacities, such as Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, New Delhi, and Tokyo? (See the world map preceding this chapter to locate these and other prominent cities.) Such places are adding millions of new residents so rapidly that they cannot provide basic services (water, housing, and electricity) to many of their people. Unless checked soon, such growth may intensify poverty and suffering for billions, not to mention ecological disasters unparalleled in history. To study the city, therefore, is also to study a uniquely powerful form of human settlement: a physical and social environment with the potential for both satisfying and frustrating the entire spectrum of human needs.

An important theme of this book is that cities do not exist entirely by themselves. They are an inseparable part of their larger societies. For centuries, the city has been the heart, the lifeblood, of various civilizations-the center of economic, political, and artistic events. In cities, we find both the triumphs and the tragedies of the human story. For example, we associate Hellenic Athens, Renaissance Florence, and Elizabethan London with great achievements of the human spirit, while we link classical Rome and Nazi Berlin with savage human degradation. In each case, a cultural setting helped shape the city's character: During the fourth century B.C.E.,¹ the Greeks raised Athens to a pinnacle of human accomplishment, while the rise of Nazism in Germany after World War I led to Berlin's infamous decadence.

The connection between the city and a broader culture is no less evident today. In its cities exists much of what is great about the United States: intellectual excellence, political freedom,

¹ The authors use the designation B.C.E. ("before the common era") in place of B.C. ("before Christ") in recognition of the religious pluralism of most societies today. Similarly, we use C.E. ("common era") in place of A.D. (*Anno Domini*, "in the year of our lord").

and artistic vitality. Of course, these same cities also exhibit this country's greatest failings, including grinding poverty and sometimes savage crimes. To study the city, then, is also to examine the society in which it exists. The impact of economics can be as significant as that of culture, particularly in today's global economy, so we must also examine closely the forces of globalization in shaping a city's structure and well-being.

Understanding the city, therefore, is crucial in comprehending modern existence. But how we choose to study the city is also important. The city is a complex reality that yields few easy answers. If we look only at the facts of urban life, we will surely miss its dynamic soul. The city will appear dull and lifeless—a collection of concrete buildings, bureaucracies, and unemployment rates. But if we also ask the "how" questions, which link these factual elements to human lives, the city springs to life as a set of vital, dynamic forces.

In studying the city, then, we must not ask merely "What is it?" We must, as Eliot suggests in his poem, "go and make our visit." We must probe beyond the descriptions and the statistics to the broader and deeper reality of urban life. This book will help you do just that.

1.2: Deciding What is "Urban"

1.2 Examine the four criteria for defining an urban area

Urban seems like a simple enough concept to grasp, but it actually has many interpretations. Derived from the Latin word *urbanus*—meaning characteristic of, or pertaining to, the city—*urban* essentially holds that same association to most people.

Complicating that understanding, however, are the varying criteria for defining an urban area

that exist among the nearly 200 countries with urban populations. These criteria include administrative function (a national or regional capital), economic characteristics (more than half the residents in nonagricultural occupations), functional nature (existence of paved streets, water supply, sewerage, and electrical systems), and population size or population density (the number of people living within a square mile or kilometer). Both administrative function and population size or density-alone or in combination with other criteria—are the two most common defining elements for urban designation. Small countries or territories (Tokelau and Wallis and Futuna Islands) do not use an urban definition at all, while others (Anguilla, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Macao, Monaco, Nauru, Singapore, Sint Maarten, and the Vatican) identify their entire populations as urban.

Canada and the United States use population density to identify an urban area, without regard to local boundaries. In Canada, an urban area must contain more than 400 people per square kilometer, with a total population exceeding 1,000 people. The United States defines an urban area as adjoining census blocks with a population density of 1,000 persons per square mile, which is equivalent to the Canadian standard. Urban cluster is the U.S. Census Bureau term for adjacent urban areas with populations ranging from 2,500 to 49,999 that extend across city, county, or state boundaries. Sometimes social scientists use the term conurbation to refer to these interconnected areas of continuous built-up development. (The Census Bureau defines places of less than 2,500 persons as rural.)

Such differences worldwide make crossnational comparisons difficult. For example, the lower-range limit for population of an urban area ranges from 200 in Iceland to 10,000 in Spain (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2013:103). A universal standard say, a midpoint from these two extremes of 5,000 inhabitants—would be inappropriate in populous countries such as China or India, where rural settlements—with no urban attributes at all—could easily contain such large numbers. Using each country's own criteria, the United Nations Population Division (2014) reported that 55 percent of the world's population was urban. Significant variations in the percentage of urban populations by area: Africa, 40 percent; Asia, 47.5 percent; Europe, 73.4 percent; Latin America and the Caribbean, 79.5 percent; and North America, 81.5 percent. The lowest urban population (9.5 percent) was in Trinidad and Tobago, while the highest (100 percent) were in the 11 countries identified a few paragraphs earlier.

Worldwide projections show the percentage of urban population increasing everywhere (see Table 1–1). In fact, the world's cities are growing by about 360,000 people each year. This dramatic pattern means that, as stated earlier, by 2050 two-thirds of the planet's people will be urban dwellers.

Distinct regional patterns, however, occur within that urban growth. If we examine Table 1–1 for the percentages of growth between 1980 and 2014, we see that in the more industrialized areas of the world—North America and Europe urban growth slowed considerably in recent years. The area of greatest urban growth is now in the developing world—Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (see Figure 1–1). In fact, when we consult the figures on urban growth rates by country, we find that the 10 countries with the highest urban growth rates are all in these four regions. Those with the lowest rates with the notable exceptions of Cuba, a few small island nations, and Uruguay—are all in Europe, North America, and Japan. Moreover, when we scan a list of all the world's nations ranked in order of their urban growth rates, we must look down through 87 countries before we encounter a developed country—Ireland (UN Population Division 2014).

1.3: The Urban Transformation

1.3a Investigate the factors that lead to urban growth and development

1.3b Evaluate the characteristics of the urban way of life

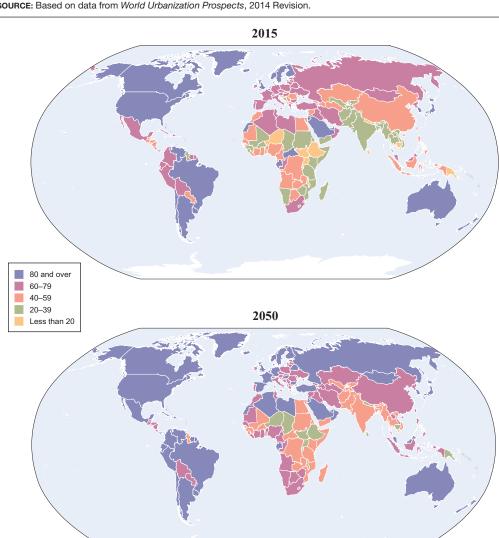
If any one thing should astound us, it is how popular cities have become throughout the world. As a human invention, cities are scarcely

	5 1	,	
Area	1980	2015	2040
Africa	26.7	40.4	51.5
Asia	27.1	44.4	60.0
Europe	67.3	72.7	79.9
Latin America and Caribbean	64.3	78.8	85.1
North America	73.9	82.0	87.3
Oceania	71.3	70.7	72.0
World	39.3	54.0	63.2
More-developed regions	70.2	78.3	83.5
Less-developed regions	29.4	49.0	59.8

Table 1–1	Percentage of Urban Population in Major Areas of the W	/orld

SOURCE: From World Urbanization Prospects, 2014 Revision. Copyright © 2014 by the United Nations, Population Division. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 1–1 Percentage of Population in Urban Areas, 2014 and 2050



SOURCE: Based on data from World Urbanization Prospects, 2014 Revision.

10,000 years old, but as the centuries have passed, they have become much larger and far more numerous. For example, in 1950 there were 75 cities with 1 million or more residents, but by 2025 there may be 546, seven times the number three generations earlier (UN Population Division 2014). The increase in world

population alone cannot explain this phenomenon. Once people become aware of the advantages of cities-protection, increased material standard of living, a more stimulating mental and social life-they don't want to live anywhere else. Because this urban growth and development can occur in different ways and on

several levels, however, we need to know some basic concepts about these processes and their consequences if we are to understand fully what is happening.

1.3.1: Urbanization as a Process

The changes resulting from people moving into cities and other densely populated areas are what we mean by urbanization. This process of increased population concentration can be deliberate and planned, such as in Brazil's capital, Brasilia, which came into existence in 1960. It can also be spontaneous and unplanned, as the rapid urban growth occurring in many developing countries. However it occurs, urbanization transforms land use from rural to urban economic activities-and often the land itself, from a porous surface absorbing rainfall, to a nonporous one of asphalt and concrete. In addition, this progression in greater population density transforms many patterns of social life, altering the social structure and social organization of that area. As we will discuss shortly, these changes include a more complex division of labor and social stratification, the growth of subcultures, and more formal social controls.

An example of urbanization is the massive changes that San Francisco experienced. Today, it is a thoroughly modern U.S. city, famed for its hills, cable cars, fog, and natural beauty. Visitors often note its relaxed lifestyle and easygoing, pleasant atmosphere. Except during rush hour, people typically stroll along the streets, unlike midtown Manhattan or central London, where a fast-paced, push-and-shove walking style is more common.

Such was not always the case, however. The changes to San Francisco since its early existence have been profound, as historical documents attest. One such document is Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (2013, originally published in 1862), one of the greatest of nineteenth-century seagoing journals, a part of which you can read in the *Cityscape* box.²

What happened to San Francisco between Dana's two visits was gold, discovered in 1849. Almost overnight, the sleepy little village of Yerba Buena, the nearest port for outfitting the Sierra Nevada mines, was transformed into a feverish city. Not for another 70 years would what others would call a sophisticated, "laid-back" San Francisco begin to appear.

1.3.2: Levels of Urbanization

Ever-expanding urbanization necessitates the use of other terms and concepts to understand fully the complexity and scale of human organization and interaction. Although we will explore these topics more fully in subsequent chapters, here is a brief introduction to them:

METROPOLITAN AREA A large population center and adjacent communities, with a high degree of economic and social integration, constitute a **metropolitan area**. Also known as an *urban agglomeration*, such a region typically has a large city (100,000 residents or more) as a hub extending its sphere of influence into the surrounding communities. These communities may not be urban in character themselves, but they link closely with that city through transportation (roads and public transit), employment (commuters), media (city newspapers and radio and TV stations), and leisure activities (clubbing, dining, entertainment, and professional sports).

MICROPOLITAN AREA Another geographic entity is a **micropolitan area**, which has an urban core of at least 10,000 residents but less than 50,000. Like a metropolitan area, it consists of the county containing the core urban area and any adjacent counties with a high degree of social

² Various kinds of boxes are included in each chapter to illustrate key points and themes. When you encounter a reference to a particular box, take a minute or two to read it before going on with the chapter.

and economic integration with that urban core, as measured by commuting there to work.

MEGAREGION When two or more metropolitan areas expand so that they intermingle with one another to form a continuous (or almost continuous) urban complex, we have a **megaregion**, the preferred term for what social scientists previously called a **megalopolis**.

CITYSCAPE San Francisco's Massive Changes

Shipping from New York, Richard Henry Dana first visited San Francisco, then called Yerba Buena ("good herbs"), in 1835. Here is what he saw:

[Near the] mouth of the bay . . . is a high point on which the [Presidio Mexican military outpost] is built. Behind this point is the little harbor, or bight, called Yerba Buena, in which trading vessels anchor, and, near it, the Mission of Delores. There was no other habitation on this side of the Bay, except a shanty of rough boards put up by a man named Richardson, who was doing a little trading between the vessels and the Indians. . . . We came to anchor near the mouth of the bay, under a high and beautifully sloping hill, upon which herds of hundreds and hundreds of red deer, and the stag, with his high branching of antlers, were bounding about, looking at us for a moment, and then starting off, affrighted at the noises we made at seeing the variety of their beautiful attitudes and motion.

That was not the San Francisco of the next century nor does it much resemble this description of Dana's, written in 1859 after a second visit:

We bore round the point toward the old anchoring ground of hide ships, and there, covering the sand hills and the valleys, stretching from the water's edge to the base of the great hills, and from the old Presidio to the Mission, flickering all over with lamps of its streets and houses, lay a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants. . . . The dock into which we drew, and the streets about it, were densely crowded with express wagons and hand-carts to take luggage, coaches and cabs for passengers, and with men. . . . Through this crowd I made my way, along the well-built and well-lighted streets, as alive as by day, where boys in high keyed voices were already crying the latest New York papers; and between one and two o'clock in the morning found myself comfortably abed in a commodious room, in the Oriental Hotel, which stood, as well as I could learn, on the filled-up cove, and not far from the spot where we used to beach our boats from the Alert.

When I awoke in the morning, and looked from my windows over the city of San Francisco, with its townhouses, towers, and steeples; its courthouses, theaters, and hospitals; its daily journals; its well-filled learned professions; its fortresses and light houses; its wharves and harbor, with their thousand-ton clipper ships, more in number than London or Liverpool sheltered that day . . . when I looked across the bay to the eastward, and beheld a beautiful town on the fertile wooded Shores of the Contra Costa [the area of today's Oakland and Berkeley] and steamers, large and small, the ferryboats of the Contra Costa, and capacious freighters and passenger-carriers to all parts of the great bay and its horizon-when I saw all these things, and reflected on what I once was and saw here, and what now surrounded me, I could scarcely keep my hold on reality at all, or the genuineness of anything, and seemed to myself like one who had moved in "worlds not realized."

SOURCE: Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (Lanham, MD: Sheridan House, 2013), pp. 102, 105, 173–176.

	2015			2030		
Rank	Urban Agglomeration	Population	Rank	Urban Agglomeration	Population	
1	Tokyo, Japan	38.0	1	Tokyo, Japan	37.2	
2	Delhi, India	25.7	2	Delhi, India	36.1	
3	Shanghai, China	23.7	3	Shanghai, China	30.8	
4	São Paolo, Brazil	21.1	4	Mumbai, India	27.8	
5	Mumbai, India	21.0	5	Beijing, China	27.7	
6	Mexico City, Mexico	21.0	6	Dhaka, Bangladesh	27.4	
7	Beijing, China	20.4	7	Karachi, Pakistan	24.8	
8	Osaka, Japan	20.2	8	Cairo, Egypt	24.5	
9	Cairo, Egypt	18.8	9	Lagos, Nigeria	24.2	
10	New York–Newark, USA	18.6	10	Mexico City, Mexico	23.9	
11	Dhaka, Bangladesh	17.6	11	São Paolo, Brazil	23.4	
12	Karachi, Pakistan	16.6	12	Kinshasa, DR Congo	20.0	
13	Buenos Aires, Argentina	15.2	13	Osaka, Japan	20.0	
14	Kolkata, India	14.9	14	New York-Newark, USA	19.9	
15	Istanbul, Turkey	14.2	15	Kolkata, India	19.1	
16	Chongqing, China	13.3	16	Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	17.8	
17	Lagos, Nigeria	13.1	17	Chongqing, China	17.4	
18	Manila, Philippines	13.0	18	Buenos Aires, Argentina	17.0	
19	Rio de Janeiro, Argentina	12.9	19	Manila, Philippines	16.8	
20	Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	12.5	20	Istanbul, Turkey	16.7	
21	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana, USA	12.3	21	Bangalore, India	14.8	
22	Moscow, Russia	12.2	22	Tianjin, China	14.7	
23	Kinshasa, DR Congo	11.6	23	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	14.2	
24	Tianjin, China	11.2	24	Chennai, India	13.9	
25	Paris, France	10.8	25	Jakarta, Indonesia	13.8	
26	Shenzhen, China	10.8	26	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana, USA	13.3	
27	Jakarta, Indonesia	10.3	27	Lahore, Pakistan	13.0	
28	London, England	10.3	28	Hyderabad, India	12.8	
29	Bangalore, India	10.1	29	Shenzhen, China	12.7	
			30	Lima, Peru	12.2	

Table 1–2 Population of the World's Largest Megacities in Millions

SOURCE: Based on data from World Urbanization Prospects, 2014 Revision.

This merged conglomeration typically contains a population in the tens of millions, such as that along the Eastern Seaboard, although the cities therein retain their individual names (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C.). China currently has 150 infrastructure projects underway to merge nine cities by the Pearl River Delta into the world's largest megaregion with 42 million residents (Moore and Foster 2011).

MEGACITY A metropolitan area can constitute its own megalopolis if the population within its municipal boundary numbers at least 10 million people. In the past 35 years, the number of megacities has rocketed from 10 in 1990 to 29 in 2014, with an expected increase to 41 by 2030 (see Table 1–2). Today, 1 in 8 people worldwide live in a **megacity** (UN Population Division 2014:13).

GLOBAL CITY Also called a *world city*, a **global city** occupies an influential position in the global economic system, attracting worldwide investments and exercising considerable economic power worldwide. London, New York, Paris, and Tokyo are at the top of the hierarchy of cities because of their role in the world system of finance and trade (Abrahamson 2004; Sassen 2005). **World-systems analysis**, an approach we will examine more closely in Chapter 7 on critical urban theory, suggests that the economic well-being of most cities heavily depends on their placement within this world hierarchy.

1.3.3: Urbanism as a Way of Life

As implied earlier, the companion concept to urbanization (population growth and concentration) is **urbanism**, the culture or way of life of city dwellers. Besides changes in values, attitudes, norms, and customs, we also include lifestyle patterns and behavioral adaptations influenced by one's residential and/or work environment. Often, these lifestyles coincide with different geographical districts of the city. In downtown areas, for example, we are likely to see well-dressed businesspeople-many of whom live in apartments. Older residential neighborhoods may provide the sights, sounds, and even aromas of exotic cultural diversity. Still other neighborhoods contain the city's poor, who struggle every day to survive. In many suburban areas, single-family homes-replete with children and the everpresent automobile-dominate.

Lifestyles are, of course, much more than matters of individual choice. They reflect social class differences, often taking the form of social inequality. Like most societies, the United States and Canada contain marked **social stratification**, the hierarchical ranking of people in terms of valued resources. Wealth is certainly one important dimension of social stratification, and North American cities often provide striking contrasts between well-heeled urbanites who have lives of material comfort and others who must persevere just to survive.

Such differences are typically related to other dimensions of social differences: race, ethnicity, and gender. Once ignored in the urban public sphere, women are now more likely to hold public office, at least in cities with populations of 25,000 or more (Wolbrecht, Beckwith, and Baldez 2008). From both historical and contemporary viewpoints, however, women's city experiences have reflected the realities of gender, interwoven with those of social class, race, and ethnicity. In a still-continuing historical pattern, North American cities attract immigrants of different races and ethnicities. On arrival, many find themselves at or near the bottom of the urban hierarchy, but, with time, many improve their situation. Others, however, continue to suffer from a wide range of problems associated with poverty and/or prejudice.

Social power—the ability to achieve one's goals and to shape events—is yet another important dimension of inequality. For those with considerable wealth, urban living is often the experience of shaping their own lives (and, indeed, the lives of others). By contrast, poorer urbanites, often members of racial and ethnic minorities, find that life in the city is a grim matter of trying to cope with seemingly overwhelming forces.

Of course, none of these structural patterns exists exclusively in cities. Social stratification is as important in small towns in North Carolina as it is in Raleigh, the state capital; people perceive racial distinctions as keenly in rural Ohio as they do in Columbus; and "power politics"