CHAPTER 9

Urban Geography

Field Note Straddling the Wall

Figure 9.1
West Berlin, West Germany. The Berlin Wall as it stood when the city was divided. This photo was taken in West Berlin, looking across the wall to East Berlin. © Alexander B. Murphy.

As a child, I stood in West Berlin, facing the Berlin Wall. I looked at the gray wall and gray city of East Berlin (Fig. 9.1) and turned around to see the more vibrant city of West Berlin. Why, I wondered, why is this city divided this way? Why is the East German government working so hard to keep their citizens in East Berlin? My mother interrupted my thought, saying, "Look! Look at the guards. Their guns are pointing EAST!" The East German guards along the wall were watching the East Germans to make sure they did not escape to the West.

In 1989, the people of East Berlin and West Berlin took control of the streets, the guard towers, and the wall itself. Berliners occupied the buffer spaces that had divided East Berlin and West Berlin, and they stood on the wall. The guards stood down. As hundreds of millions of people throughout Europe and the rest of the world watched the events unfold live on television, they knew the people who occupied these previously forbidden spaces were not only crushing the wall, but were fundamentally changing the space and the city, starting it down the path of reunification. No one knew what reunification would feel like or look like, and certainly no one knew with any certainty what problems would manifest themselves as a result of reunification, but everyone knew on that fateful night in December that Berlin had fundamentally changed.

In the summer of 2001, I took my own children to the place in Berlin where I had stood with my parents 40 years earlier. Instead of looking at the guards, my family looked for the wall. We tried to find traces of the old wall. Along the relict boundary (one that no longer functions) between the cities, we could see differences in architecture, differences in streets, and even a few remnants of the wall itself. It was a difficult task, as seemingly everything was under construction. New buildings had sprung up, city planners were changing street patterns, and cars were traveling freely across what used to be a fervently defended boundary.

Walking past Potsdamer Platz, we spotted a remnant of the old order that no one could miss: an old East German guard tower looming over a cultural landscape being remade before our eyes (Fig. 9.2). My son was the first to point out that on the street next to the guard tower was a heavy machine, helping to re-create and recast the cultural landscape of Berlin.

Berlin is no longer a divided city, and the German government is altering the cultural landscape and the urban morphology of the city to prove it. The **urban morphology** of a city is the layout of the city, its physical form and structure.

Figure 9.2
Berlin, Germany. An East German guard tower stands among old buildings torn down to make room for new construction in the Potsdamer Platz area of Berlin. © Alexander B. Murphy.

When Berlin was divided, a study of its urban morphology showed how many roads ended at checkpoints, how buffers of little development traced the outline of the wall, and how each city had its own focal point where the roads led to particular buildings that were larger than others. The urban morphology of Berlin today reveals how street patterns have changed, how new buildings stand astride the old wall, and how the layout of the eastern and western parts of the cities reflects their different histories.

Urban geographers use concepts such as urban morphology to study cities. Urban geographers also study how states build and rebuild cities, and work to understand the interlinkages between political geography and urban geography. When West Germany and East Germany reunified in 1990, Germans debated the choice of a new capital. Many favored Bonn, which served as the capital of West Germany and is located near the country's western border—symbolizing Germany's prominence in western Europe. Many others preferred a return to Berlin, which had served as the capital since Bismarck united the country and formed the first German state in 1870. Still other Germans wanted to put the past and both cities behind them; they argued for a totally new choice, such as Hanover, near the center of the country. In the end, the German government selected Berlin and began a giant construction program to transform Berlin, to symbolize a new era.

In this chapter, we trace the evolution of urbanization in geographic context, identify the factors that influenced the location and growth of cities, investigate the internal structure of cities in various cultural settings, and examine the way cities are organized and how they function. Finally, we study how people make cities and the roles cities play in globalization.

Key Questions For Chapter 9

1. When and why did people start living in cities?
2. Where are cities located and why?
3. How are cities organized, and how do they function?
4. How do people make cities?
5. What role do cities play in globalization?

WHEN AND WHY DID PEOPLE START LIVING IN CITIES?

Cities are centers of political power and industrial might, higher education and technological innovation, artistic achievement and medical advances. They are the great markets, centers of specialization and interaction, sources of news and information, suppliers of services, and providers of sports and entertainment. Cities are the anchors of modern culture; urban systems and their spokes form the structural skeleton of society. A **city** is a conglomeration of people and buildings clustered together to serve as a center of politics, culture, and economics.

Virtually everywhere in the world, people are moving from the countryside to urbanized areas, to towns, cities, and suburbs. Globally, more people live in towns and cities than in rural areas, making the global population

predominantly **urban**, a term we use to describe the buildup of the central city and the suburban realm—the city and the surrounding environs connected to the city. An urban place is distinctively nonrural and nonagricultural. The move of people from rural to urban areas reflects the changing global economy and the increasing ease of movement in our globalized world. Urbanization is happening everywhere; however, the distribution of urbanization across the globe is not even (Fig. 9.3). In western Europe, the United States, Canada, and Japan, four out of five people live in cities or towns. In India and China, the figure is closer to four out of ten.

In the modern world, urbanization can happen quite quickly. A rural area or a small town can be transformed quickly into a major metropolitan area. During the later part of the twentieth century, the Chinese government announced a major economic development project in Guangdong, a province in southern China (Fig. 9.4). The Chinese government established a special economic zone (SEZ) in Guangdong Province, and business and industry mushroomed. The small fishing village of Shenzhen in Guangdong Province is adjacent to Hong Kong. Hundreds of industries moved from Hong Kong to Shenzhen to take advantage of lower labor costs. The small fishing village of Shenzhen experienced extraordinary growth as its population, rushing to the area to find work, swelled from 20,000 to 3.1 million in just three decades. Shenzhen was quickly transformed: skyscrapers now tower where thatch houses, rice paddies, and duck ponds once stood (Fig. 9.5).

The urbanization that can happen so quickly today took thousands of years to develop originally; indeed, the rise of the city is a very recent phenomenon in human history. Human communities have existed for over 100,000 years, but more than 90,000 years passed before people began to cluster in towns. Archaeological evidence indicates that people established the first cities about 8000 years ago. However, only in the last 200 years did cities begin to resemble their modern size and structure.

The Hearths of Urbanization

Before people could live in cities, they had to switch from hunting and gathering to agriculture. After agriculture began between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago, people became more sedentary, staying in one place to tend their fields. People clustered in small agricultural villages and towns, living there year round.

Agricultural villages were relatively small in size and in population. Everyone living in an **agricultural village** was involved in agriculture, and the people lived at near-subsistence levels, producing just enough to get by. The dwellings in ancient agricultural villages were about the same size and contained about the same number of possessions, reflecting the egalitarian nature (sharing of goods in common among the people) of the societies living in these early villages. The populations were permanent, reflected in the dwelling units where people moved rocks in, built permanent structures, and laid out floors made of plaster. Egalitarian societies persisted long after agriculture began.

Scholars are fairly certain that these descriptors accurately depict the agricultural villages in the first agricultural hearth, the area of Southwest Asia called the Fertile Crescent. Additional archaeological evidence portrays agricultural villages in the later hearths of agricultural innovation, the Indus River Valley and Mesoamerica, as also fitting these descriptors. When people establish cities, however, these descriptors become inaccurate. In cities, people generate personal material wealth, trade over long distances, live in stratified classes that are usually reflected in the housing, and engage in a diversity of economic activities—not just agriculture.

Two components enable the formation of cities: **agricultural surplus** and **social stratification**. Archaeologists, anthropologists, and geographers have studied the remains and records of the first cities, creating numerous theories as to how cities came about. Most agree that some series of events led to the formation of an agricultural surplus and a leadership class; which came first varies by theory. The series of events spurring these two components also varies by theory. One theory maintains that advances in technology such as irrigation generated an agricultural surplus, and a leadership class formed to control the surplus and the technology that produced it. Another theory holds that a king or priest-king centralized political power and then demanded more labor to generate an agricultural surplus, which would help the ruler retain political power.

Regardless of how the leadership class was established, we do know that once established, it helped generate the surplus and facilitated that control of its distribution. The link between the surplus and the leadership class is clear in early cities, where the home of the leaders was often positioned close to the grain storage. The **leadership class**, or urban elite, consisted of a group of decision makers and organizers who controlled the resources, and often the lives, of others. The urban elite controlled the food supply, including its production, storage, and distribution. Generating an agricultural surplus enabled some people to devote their efforts to pursuits besides agriculture. The Urban elite, for instance, did not work the fields. Rather, they

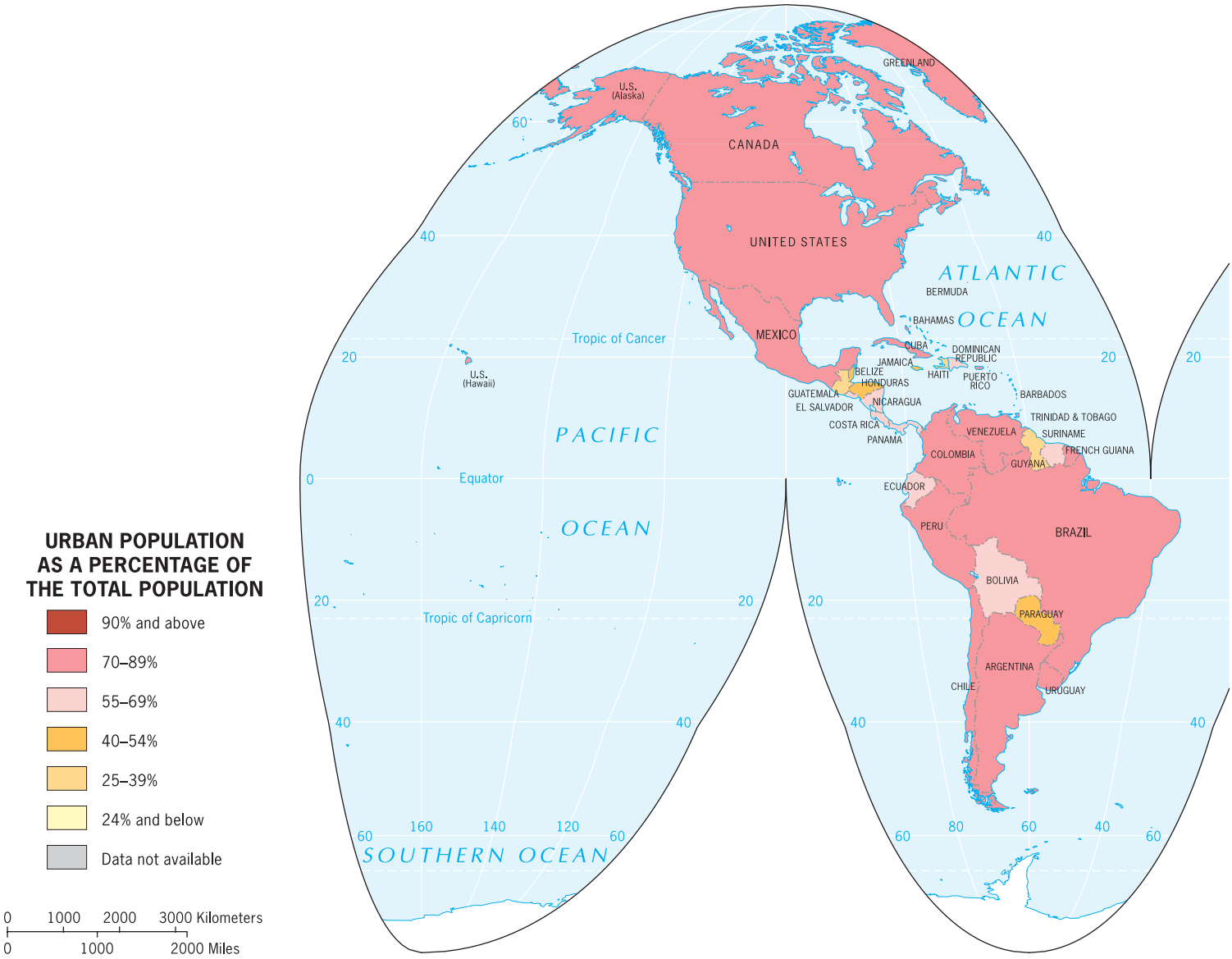
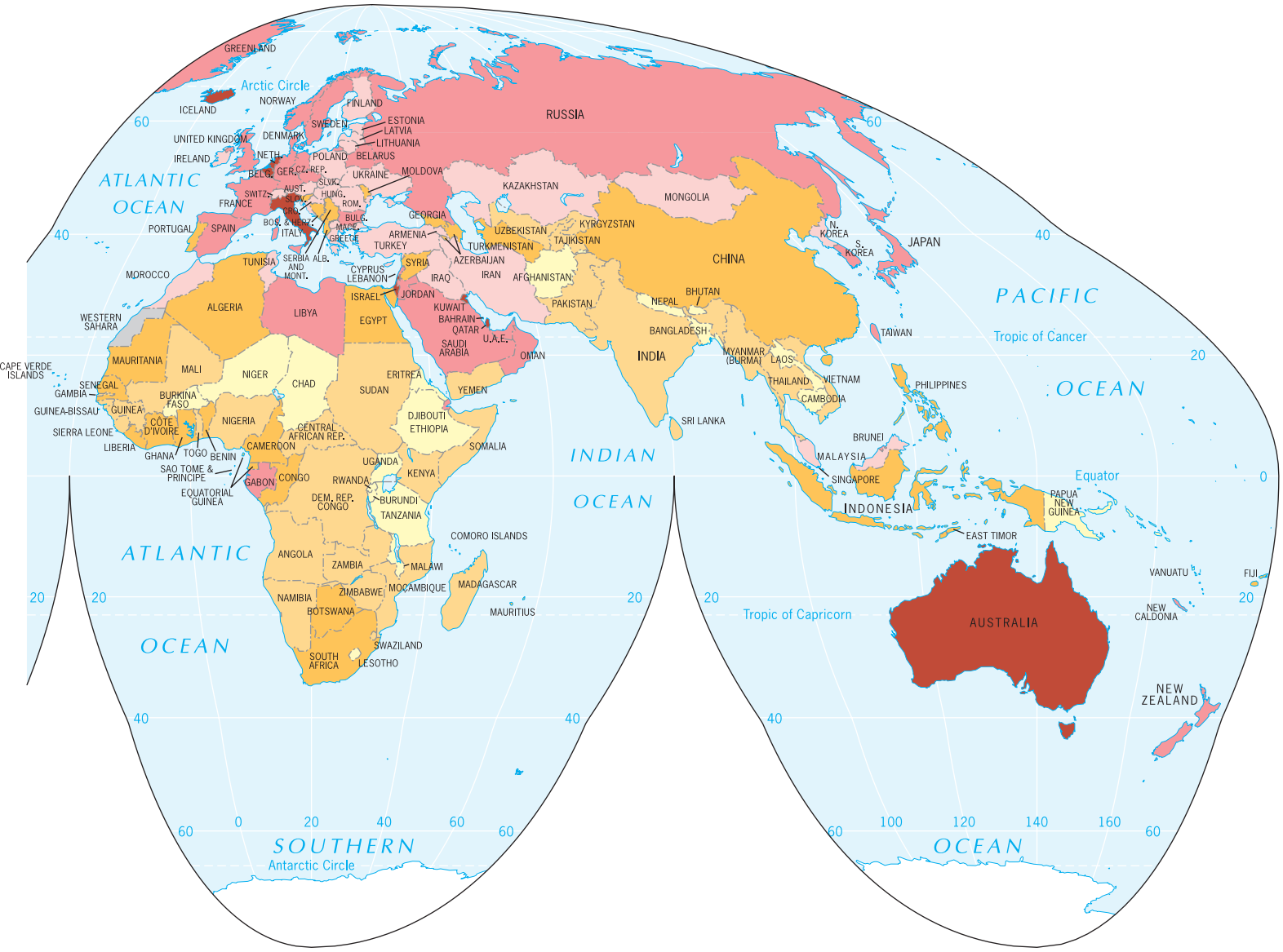


Figure 9.3
Urban Population as a Percentage of the Total Population, by State. *Data from*: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2003.

devoted time to other pursuits such as religion and philosophy. Out of such pursuits came the concepts of writing and recordkeeping. Writing made possible the codification of laws and the preservation of traditions. Urban elites defended themselves by constructing walls on the outskirts of the city. However, the leadership class collected taxes and tribute from people within their control beyond the city walls.

Some cities grew out of agricultural villages, and others grew in places previously unoccupied by sedentary people. The innovation of the city is called the **first urban revolution**, and it occurred independently in five separate hearths, a case of independent invention[1] (Fig. 9.6).

[1]Some scholars argue that there are fewer than five hearths and attribute more urbanization to diffusion.



In each of the urbanization hearths, something triggered the establishment of a leadership class and an agricultural surplus. People became engaged in economic activities beyond agriculture, including specialty crafts, the military, trade, and government.

Not surprisingly, the five urban hearths are tied closely to the hearths of agriculture. The first hearth of agriculture, the Fertile Crescent, is the first place we see cities, in about 3500 BCE. This urban hearth is called **Mesopotamia**, referring to the region of great cities (such as Ur and Babylon) located between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Studies of the cultural landscape and urban morphology of Mesopotamian cities have found signs of social inequality in the varying sizes and ornamentation of houses. Urban elite erected palaces, protected themselves with walls, and employed countless artisans to

Figure 9.4
Hong Kong and Shenzhen, China. © H. J. de Blij, P. O. Muller, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Figure 9.5
Shenzhen, China. Shenzhen changed from a fishing village to a major metropolitan area in just 25 years. Everything you see in this photograph is less than 25 years old; all of this stands where duck ponds and paddies lay less than three decades ago. © H. J. de Blij.

Figure 9.6
Five hearths of Urbanization. © E. H. Fouberg, A. B. Murphy, H. J. de Blij, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

beautify their spaces. They also established a priest-king class and developed a religious-political ideology to support the priest-kings. Rulers in the cities were both priests and kings, and they levied taxes and demanded tribute from the harvest brought by the agricultural laborers.

Archaeologists, often teaming up with anthropologists and geographers, have learned much about the ways ancient Mesopotamian cities functioned by studying the urban morphology of the cities. The ancient Mesopotamian city was usually protected by a mud wall surrounding the entire community, or sometimes a cluster of temples and shrines at its center. Temples dominated the urban landscape, not only because they were the largest structures in town but also because they were built on artificial mounds often over 100 feet (30 meters) high.

In Mesopotamia, priests and other authorities resided in substantial buildings, many of which might be called palaces. Ordinary citizens lived in mud-walled houses packed closely together and separated only by narrow lanes. Lining the narrow lanes, craftspeople set up their workshops. The poorest inhabitants lived in tiny huts, often with mud-smeared reed walls, on the outskirts of the city. The leadership class held slaves in prison-like accommodations, sometimes outside the city wall.

Lacking waste-disposal or sewage facilities, ancient cities were far from sanitary. Mesopotamians threw their garbage and refuse into the streets and other open spaces, and in some places layers of this waste accumulated to a depth of several yards. As a result, disease kept the populations of ancient cities small. Although many died from the unsanitary conditions, archaeologists have been able to sift through the garbage for clues to life in the ancient city.

The second hearth of urbanization is the **Nile River Valley**, dating back to 3200 BCE. Some scholars contend that this region is not a hearth, but rather a case of diffusion from Mesopotamia. Many argue that agriculture diffused to this region from the Fertile Crescent, but evidence supports the independent invention of urbanization in the Nile River Valley. At the very least, the interrelationship between urbanization and irrigation in this region distinguishes it from other urban hearths. Unlike other early cities, the people of the Nile River Valley did not build walls around their cities. From early on, power along the river was concentrated in the hands of the people who controlled the irrigation systems. The absence of walls around individual cities reflects the singular control of the region. The might of the rulers of the Nile River Valley is reflected in the feats of architecture such as the great pyramids, tombs, and sphinx that were built by thousands of slaves.

The third urban hearth, dating to 2200 BCE, is the **Indus River Valley**, another place where agriculture likely diffused from the Fertile Crescent. Unable to decipher ancient Indus writing, scholars are puzzled by Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, the first cities of the Indus River Valley (Fig. 9.7). The intricate planning of the cities points to the existence of a leadership class, but the houses continued to be equal in size, with no palaces or monuments appearing

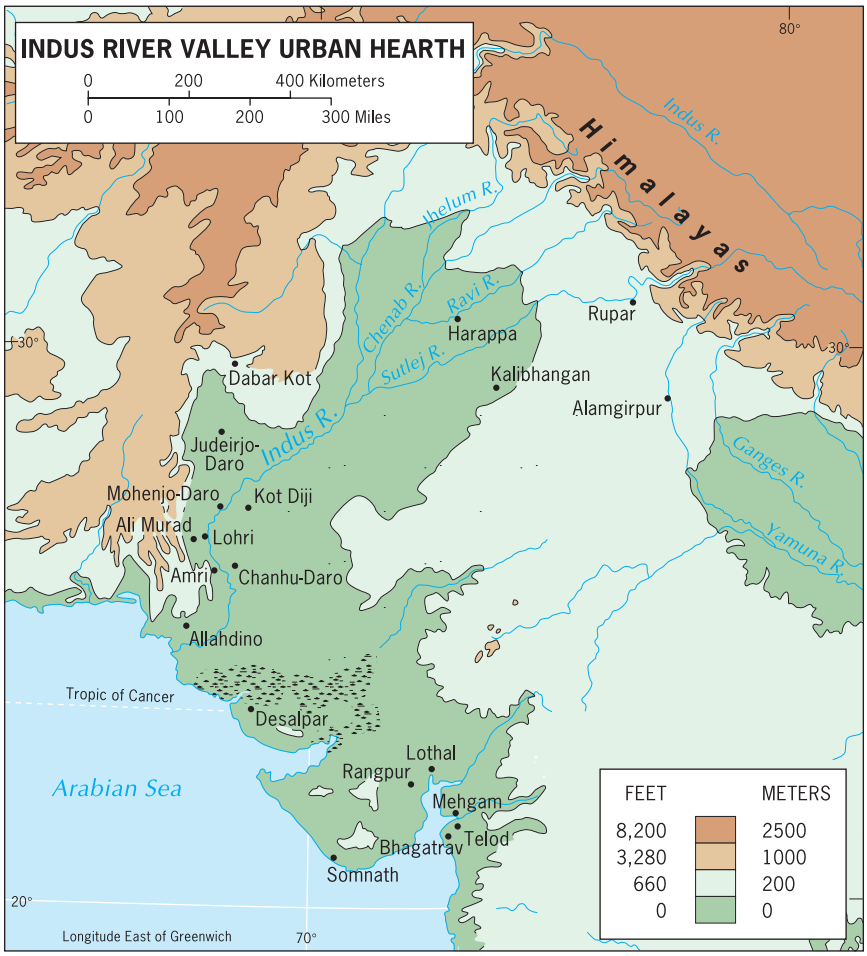


Figure 9.7
Indus River Valley Urban Hearth.
© H. J. de Blij, P. O. Muller, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

in the cities. In addition, all the dwellings in the cities had access to the same infrastructure—including wastewater drains and carefully maintained stonelined wells. The cities had thick walls, and the discovery of coins from as far away as the Mediterranean found at the gateways to these walls points to significant trade over long distances.

The fourth urban hearth arose around the confluence of the **Huang He** (Yellow) and **Wei** (Yangtzi) **River Valleys** of present-day China, dating to 1500 BCE. The Chinese purposefully planned their ancient cities to center on a vertical structure in the middle of the city and then built an inner wall around it. Within the inner wall, the people of this hearth typically placed temples and palaces for the leadership class. The urban elite of the Huang He and Wei region, like the urban elite of the Nile River Valley, demonstrated their power by building enormous, elaborate structures. Around 200 BCE, the Emperor Qin Xi Huang directed the building of the Great Wall of China. Like the Egyptians, he also had an elaborate mausoleum built for himself. An estimated 700,000 slaves worked for over 40 years to craft the intricate faces and weapons, horses, and chariots of an army of over 7000 terracotta warriors who stand guard over his burial place (Fig. 9.8).

Chronologically, the fifth urban hearth is **Mesoamerica**, dating to 200 BCE. The ancient cities of Mesoamerica were religious centers. The urban elite in Mesoamerica augmented their authority with priests, temples, and shrines. Many ancient cities were theocratic centers where rulers were deemed to have divine authority and were, in effect, god-kings. Examples include the great structures of Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras built by the Maya Indians (including Tikal, Chichén-Itzá, Uxmal, and Copán in Fig. 9.9).

The Role of the Ancient City in Society

Ancient cities not only were centers of religion and power, but also served as economic nodes. Cities were the chief marketplaces and bases from which wealthy merchants, land and livestock owners, and traders operated. As educational centers, residents of cities included teachers and philosophers. They also had handicraft industries that attracted the best craftspeople and inventors. In all of these roles, ancient cities were the anchors of culture and society, the focal points of power, authority, and change.

Figure 9.8
Terracotta Warriors guarding the tomb of the Chinese Emperor Qin Xi Huang. An estimated 700,000 slaves worked for over 40 years, around 200 BCE, to craft more than 7000 terracotta warriors who stand guard over the emperor's tomb. © O. Louis Mazzatenta/National Geographic Society/Getty Images.

Figure 9.9
Mayan and Aztec Civilizations. © E. H. Fouberg, A. B. Murphy, H. J. de Blij, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

As the principal centers, crossroads, markets, places of authority, and religious headquarters, the earliest towns drew talent, trade, and travelers from far distances. Where else would metallurgy have developed? Where would a traveler, tradesman, priest, or pilgrim rest before continuing the journey? Towns had to have facilities that would not be found in farm villages: buildings to entertain visitors, package food, process raw materials, provide a place for worship, and house those who defended the town.

How large were the ancient cities? We have only estimates because it is impossible to judge from excavated ruins the dimensions of a city at its height or the number of people who might have occupied each residential unit. By modern standards, the ancient cities were not large. The cities of Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley may have had between 10,000 and 15,000 inhabitants after nearly 2000 years of growth and development. That, scholars conclude, is about the maximum sustainable size based on existing systems of food production, gathering, distribution, and social organization, These urban places were geographical exceptions in an overwhelmingly rural world. The modern city we know today did not emerge until several thousand years later.

Diffusion of Urbanization

Urbanization diffused from Mesopotamia in several directions. Populations in Mesopotamia grew with the steady food supply and a sedentary lifestyle. People migrated out from the hearth, diffusing their knowledge of agriculture and urbanization. Diffusion from Mesopotamia happened early, even before agriculture developed independently in some other hearths. In fact, urbanization diffused to the Mediterranean from Mesopotamia (and perhaps the Nile River Valley) more than 3500 years ago, at about the same time cities were developing in the hearth of the Huang He and long before cities originated in Mesoamerica.

Greek Cities

More than 3500 years ago, the city of Knossos on the island of Crete was the cornerstone of a system of towns in the Minoan civilization. By 500 BCE, Greece had become one of the most highly urbanized areas on Earth. The urbanization of Ancient Greece ushered in a new stage in the evolution of cities. At its height, Ancient Greece encompassed a network of more than 500 cities and towns, not only on the mainland but also on the many Greek islands. Seafarers connected these urban places with trade routes and carried the notion of urban life throughout the Mediterranean region. Athens and Sparta, often vying with each other for power, soon became Greece's leading cities. Athens may have been the largest city in the world at the time, with an estimated 250,000 inhabitants.

With the hilly topography of Greece, the people had no need to build earthen mounds on which to perch temples; these were provided by nature. Every city had its **acropolis** (acro = highpoint, polis = city), on which the people built the most impressive structures—usually religious buildings. The Parthenon of Athens remains the most famous of all, surviving to this day despite nearly 2500 years of war, earth tremors, vandalism, and environmental impact (Fig. 9.10). Building this magnificent columned structure, designed by the Athenian architect-engineer Phidias, began in 447 BCE, and its rows of tapering columns have inspired architects ever since.

Like the older Southwest Asian cities, Greece's cities also had public places. In the Southwest Asian towns these seem to have been rather cramped, crowded, and bustling with activity, but in Ancient Greece they were open, spacious squares, often in a low part of town with steps leading down to them (Fig. 9.11). On these steps the Greeks debated, lectured, judged each other, planned military campaigns, and socialized. As time went on, this public space called the **agora** (meaning market) also became the focus of commercial activity.

Greece's cities also had excellent theaters. The aristocracy attended plays and listened to philosophical discourses, but for many people life in a Greek city was miserable. Housing was no better than it had been in the Mesopotamian cities thousands of years earlier. Sanitation and health conditions were poor. And much of the grandeur designed by Greece's urban planners was the work of hundreds of thousands of slaves.

Figure 9.10

Athens, Greece. The rocky hilltop of Athens is home to the Acropolis (acro means high point). The Athens Acropolis is still crowned by the great Parthenon, standing after nearly 25 centuries. © H. J. de Blij.

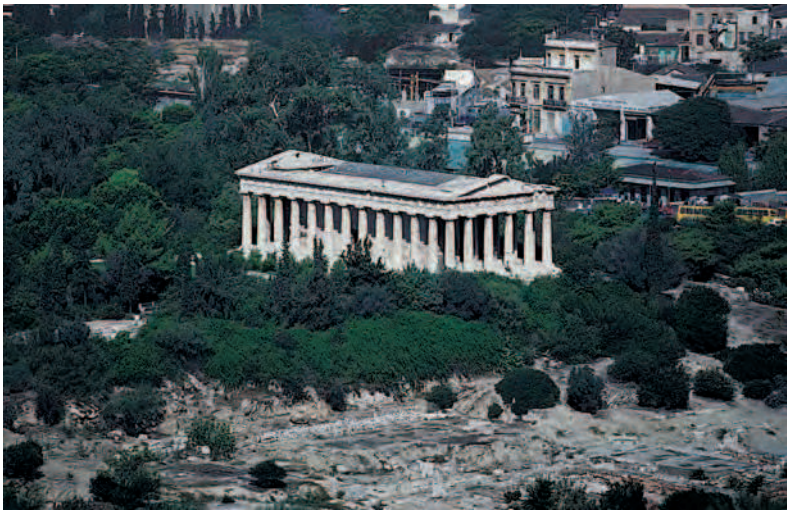


Figure 9.11
Athens, Greece. Looking down from the Acropolis, you can see the agora, the ancient trade and market area, which is surrounded by new urban buildings. © H. J. de Blij.

Although Greece was not a hearth of urbanization, the Greek city had global, rather than regional, impact. Urbanization diffused from Greece to the Roman Empire. Roman urbanization and urban culture diffused through Western Europe. The city declined in Europe for a time after the fall of the Roman Empire, but Europeans eventually carried Western concepts of city life around the world through colonialism and capitalism. From Washington, D.C. to Canberra, Australia, the urban landscape shows the imprints of Greco-Roman urban culture.

Roman Cities

The great majority of Greece's cities and towns were located near the Mediterranean Sea on peninsulas and islands and linked by sea routes. When the Romans succeeded the Greeks (and Etruscans) as rulers of the region, their empire incorporated not only the Mediterranean shores but also a large part of interior Europe and North Africa (Fig. 9.12). The Roman urban system was the

Figure 9.12
Roman Empire c. 117 CE. The Romans established a system of cities linked by a network of land and sea routes. Many of the Roman cities have grown into modern metropolises. © E. H. Fouberg, A. B. Murphy, H. J. de Blij, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Field Note

"There can be few spaces of greater significance to the development of Western civilization than the Roman Forum. This was the nerve center of a vast empire that transformed the face of western Europe, Southwest Asia, and North Africa. It was also the place where the decisions were made that carried forward Greek ideas about governance, art, urban design, and technology. The very organization of space found in the Roman Forum is still with us: rectilinear street patterns; distinct buildings for legislative, executive, and judicial functions; and public spaces adorned with statues and fountains."

Figure 9.13
Rome, Italy. © Alexander B. Murphy.

largest yet—much larger than Greece's domain. The capital, Rome, served as the apex of a hierarchy of settlements ranging from small villages to large cities. The Romans linked these places with an extensive transportation network that included hundreds of miles of roads, well-established sea routes, and trading ports along the roads, sea, and rivers. Roman regional planners displayed a remarkable capacity for choosing the **site** of cities, for identifying suitable locales for settlements. The site of a city is its absolute location, often chosen for its trade location, defensive advantages, or because it was seen as an appropriate religious location.

Romans were greatly influenced by the Greeks, as is evident in Roman mythology and visible in the cultural landscape and urban morphology of Roman cities. Greeks planned their colonial cities in a rectangular grid pattern, and Romans adopted this plan wherever surface conditions made it possible. Romans took the Greek acropolis and agora and combined them into one zone, the **Forum**, the focal point of Roman public life (Fig. 9.13). In Rome, the forum includes the world's first great stadium, the Colosseum, which was a much grander version of the Greek theater. Before crowds of thousands of onlookers, Roman gladiators fought each other or killed wild animals imported from Africa in the Colosseum. After Christianity diffused to Rome, but before the Roman Empire adopted Christianity, Romans even forced Christians into the Colosseum where hungry lions attacked and ate them. All Roman cities of any size had an arena like the Colosseum where competitions, war games, ceremonies, and other public events took place.

Throughout the Roman Empire, cities were places of cultural contrasts. What still stands in ruins in many places around the Mediterranean are monumental buildings, impressive villas, spacious avenues, ingenious aqueducts and baths, and sewage systems built of stone and pipe (Fig. 9.14). What we can no longer see in the ruins of the empire are the thousands of slaves who built these structures (estimates are

Figure 9.14
Nimes, France. Aqueducts outside of Nimes, France were built during the Roman Empire, about 2000 years ago. © Alexander B. Murphy.

between one-third and two-thirds of the population of the empire was enslaved) and the wretchedly poor who were crammed into overcrowded tenements and lived in filth. The city of the Roman Empire, like the city of today, was home to both rich and poor and reflected both the greatest achievements and the worst failings of civilization.

Urban Growth after Greece and Rome

After the Roman Empire fell in 495 CE, Europe entered an era historians called the Middle Ages, which spans from about 500 to 1300 (or later in parts of Europe). During the first two-thirds of this period in Europe, little urban growth occurred, and in some parts of the continent, urbanism went into sharp decline. The urban growth that did take place during this time occurred on sites of oases and resting places along the Silk Route between Europe and Asia. Many of these places grew into towns, and some, such as Bukhara and Samarqand, became major cities. In Asia, Chinese styles of city-building diffused into Korea and Japan, with Seoul becoming a full-fledged city by 1200 and Kyoto, Japan's historic capital, growing rapidly after the turn of the ninth century.

During Europe's Middle Ages, urbanization continued vigorously outside of Europe. In West Africa, trading cities developed along the southern margin of the Sahara. By 1350, Timbuktu (part of Mali today) was a major city—a seat of government, a university town, a market, and a religious center. The Americas also experienced significant urban growth during Europe's Middle Ages, especially within the Mayan and Aztec empires (Fig. 9.15).

Figure 9.15

Altun Ha, Belize. Between 300 and 900 CE, Altun Ha served as a thriving trade and distribution center for the Caribbean merchant canoe traffic. Some of the trails in Altun Ha led all the way to Teotihuacan. © H. J. de Blij.

The largest pre-Columbian city in the Americas was in the Aztec Empire on the Mexican Plateau. The Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán had nearly 100,000 inhabitants when many European cities lay in ruins.

Site and Situation during European Exploration

Early Eurasian urban areas extended in a crescent-shaped zone across Eurasia from England in the west to Japan in the east, including the cities of London, Paris, Venice, Constantinople (Istanbul today), and Tabriz, Samarqand, Kabul, Lahore, Amra, Jaunpur, Xian, Anyang, Kyoto and Osaka. Before European exploration, most cities in the world were sited in the interiors of continents, not just in Eurasia, but also in West Africa and indigenous America. Interior trade routes such as the Silk Route and the caravan routes of West Africa sustained these inland cities and, in many cases, helped them prosper.

The relative importance of the interior trade routes changed, however, when European maritime exploration and overseas colonization ushered in an era of oceanic, worldwide trade. With this shift, the situation of cities like Paris and Xian changed from being crucial in an interior trading route to being left out of an oceanic trade. The **situation** of a city is its relative location, its place in the region and world around it.

After European exploration took off during the 1400s, the dominance of interior cities declined. Other cities, sited on coasts, gained prominence as their situations changed. In Asia, coastal cities such as Bombay (now Mumbai, India), Madras (Chennai, India), Malacca (Malaysia), Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia), and Tokyo (Japan) came to the fore. Exploration and oceanic trade refocused the situations of cities in West Africa as well. Before 1500, urbanization in West Africa was concentrated in a belt extending along the southern margin of the Sahara, including such cities as Timbuktu (Mali), Niani (Guinea), Gao (Mali), Zaria (Nigeria), Kano (Nigeria), and Maiduguri (Nigeria). Here, cross-desert caravan traffic met boat traffic on the River Niger (where "camel met canoe"), and people exchanged goods from northern deserts for goods from coastal forests. Maritime trade disrupted this pattern of trade: coastal ports became the leading markets and centers of power, and the African cities of the interior began a long decline.

Coastal cities remained crucial after exploration led to colonialism. During the colonial period key cities in international trade networks included the coastal cities of Cape Town (South Africa), Lima-Callao (Peru), and New York City.

The trade networks European powers commanded (including the slave trade) brought unprecedented riches to Europe's burgeoning medieval cities, such as Amsterdam (the Netherlands), London (England), Lisbon (Portugal),

Field Note

"The contemporary landscape of Genoa stands as a reminder of the city's historic importance. Long before Europe became divided up into states, a number of cities in northern Italy freed themselves from the strictures of feudalism and began to function autonomously. Genoa and Venice were two of these, and they became the foci of significant Mediterranean maritime trading empires. In the process, they also became magnificent, wealthy cities. Although most buildings in Genoa's urban core date from a more recent era, the layout of streets and public squares harkens back to the city's imperial days. Is it a surprise that the city gave birth to one of the most famous explorers of all time: Christopher Columbus?"

Figure 9.16
Genoa, Italy. © Alexander B. Murphy.

Liverpool (England), and Seville (Spain). Successful merchants built ornate mansions, patronized the arts, participated in city governance, and supported the reconstruction of city centers. As a result, cities that thrived during mercantilism took on similar properties whether it was Antwerp (Belgium), Copenhagen (Denmark), Lisbon (Portugal), or Genoa (Italy). A central square became the focus of the city, fronted by royal, religious, public, and private buildings evincing wealth and prosperity, power and influence (Fig. 9.16). Streets leading to these central squares formed arteries of commerce, and the beginnings of "downtowns" emerged.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European mercantile cities became the nodes of a widening network of national, regional, and global commerce. So wealthy and powerful were the merchants that, supported by their rulers, they were able to found and expand settlements in distant lands. Cities such as Dakar (Senegal), Lourenco Marques (now Maputo, Moçambique), and Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam) were endowed with the ornate trappings of the mercantile cities of Europe, including elaborately inlaid sidewalks, tree-lined avenues, and neo-Gothic architecture.

The Second Urban Revolution

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain. None of Europe's cities was prepared for what lay ahead: an avalanche of changes that ripped the fabric of urban life. Around 1800, western Europe was still overwhelmingly rural. As thousands migrated to the cities with industrialization, cities had to adapt to the mushrooming population, the proliferation of factories and supply facilities, the expansion of transport systems, and the construction of tenements for the growing labor force.

Before the second urban revolution could take place, a second revolution in agriculture was necessary. In order for people to move from the fields to the cities to work in manufacturing, food production had to increase. During the late seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, Europeans invented a series of important improvements in agriculture, including the seed drill, hybrid seeds, and improved breeding practices for livestock. Freed from the fields, laborers were able to migrate to cities in hopes of a job. Manufacturers tapped into this labor force for the burgeoning industries (for a further discussion of industrialization, see Chapter 12).

Not all mercantile cities turned into industrial cities. Many industrial cities grew from small villages or along canal and river routes. The primary determinant in the location of early industrial cities was proximity to a power source. For textile manufacturing, industrial cities had to be sited near fresh water sources to power the water loom. In Great Britain, industrial cities involved in textile manufacturing were located in the Pennines, where fresh water flowed down the hillsides. Industrial cities involved in iron manufacturing were located around Birmingham and Coalbrookdale, easily accessible to Britain's coal and iron ore fields.

When industrialization diffused from Great Britain to the European mainland, the places most ready for industrialization had undergone their own second agricultural revolution, had surplus capital from mercantilism and colonialism, and were located near coal fields (Fig. 9.17).

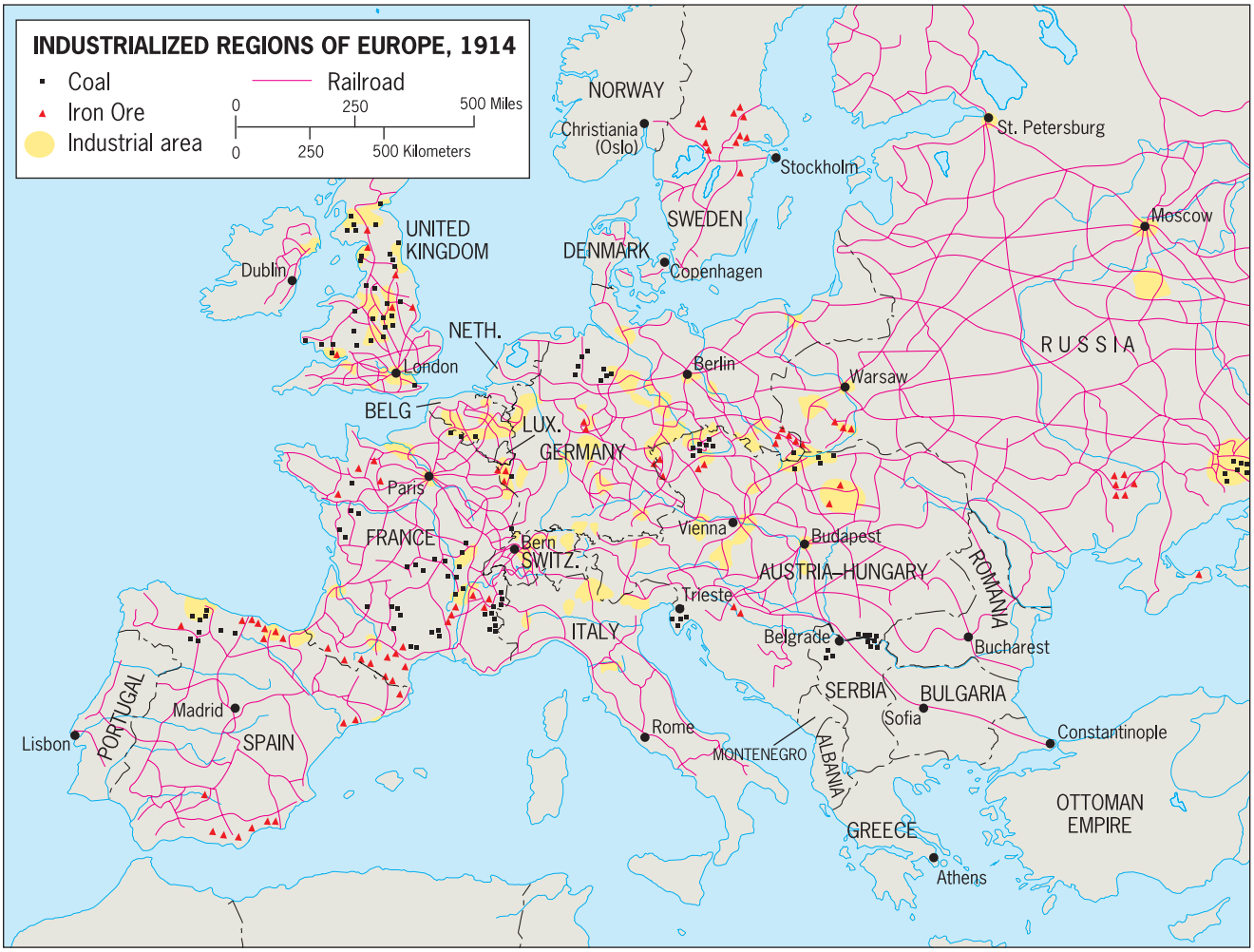
With industrialization, cities became unregulated jumbles of activity. Factories engulfed private homes. Open spaces became garbage dumps. Urban dwellers converted elegant housing into overcrowded slums. Sanitation systems failed, and water supplies were inadequate and often polluted. By the late 1800s, the Industrial Revolution had changed transportation significantly. The steam engine, powered by coal, not only pumped water from mines for coal mining but also powered the railroad and steamship. The diffusion of the railroad gave cities that were not near coal fields the chance to industrialize. The central parts of cities like London, Paris, and Amsterdam retained their preindustrial shape. But with the diffusion of the railroad, railroad tracks knifed through long-stable neighborhoods.

Living conditions were dreadful for workers in cities, and working conditions were shocking. Children worked 12-hour shifts in textile mills, typically six days a week. In industrial cities, health conditions were worse than they had been in medieval times; the air was polluted and the water contaminated. The grimy, soot-covered cities of the British Midlands were appropriately deemed the "black towns." Few if any safety mechanisms protected the laborers, and injuries were common.

In the mid-1800s, as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (writing in Germany, Belgium, and England) encouraged "workers of the world" to unite, conditions in European manufacturing cities gradually improved. Industries began to recognize workers' rights, and governments intervened by legislating workers' rights and introducing city planning and zoning. Many manufacturing cities in North America never suffered as much as their European predecessors, although living and working conditions for factory workers (and "blue-collar" workers generally) were

Figure 9.17

Industrialized Regions of Europe, 1914. *Adapted with permission from*: Geoffrey Barraclough, ed. *The Times Concise Atlas of World History*, 5th edition, Hammond Incorporated, 1998.



Field Note

"The Ruhr Valley long functioned as the incubator of Germany's industrial economy. Largely destroyed during World War II, the Ruhr rose again to help Germany back to recovery. But as declining transportation costs and rising labor costs prompted heavy industries to move their operations to other parts of the world, factories such as this iron and steel mill on the edge of Duisburg fell silent. Unemployment soared, and the area became depressed. In an effort to rebound, local authorities are now trying to turn a few of these relics into tourist destinations. They are unlikely to compete with the great churches or medieval palaces found elsewhere in Germany, but for the geographer they provide fascinating insights into the urban and economic arrangements that made modern Europe what it is today."

Figure 9.18
Duisburg, Germany. © Alexander B. Murphy.

far from satisfactory. American manufacturing cities did not altogether escape the problems of the European industrial cities. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the American manufacturing city grew rapidly, often with inadequate planning and rapid immigration leading to the development of slums and ghettoes.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the nature of manufacturing changed, as did its location: cities repositioned many factories away from congested, overcrowded, expensive urban areas. Companies simply abandoned large manufacturing plants, making "rust belts" out of once-thriving industrial districts. Many of these plants still stand today, overgrown by weeds, with broken windows and cracking walls (Fig. 9.18).

Although factories and factory jobs are not permanent, the urbanization that went along with industrialization is still apparent. Today, western Europe is about 80 percent urban. The statistics on urbanization vary by source, as some define urban areas as being over 2500 people and others over 5000 people; still others use employment (percent nonagricultural) as the major criterion. By whatever definition, urbanization has become a global phenomenon, with the majority of the world's people living in cities today.

thinking geographically

Archaeologists have found that the houses in Indus River cities, such as Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, were a uniform size: each house had access to a sewer system, and palaces were absent from the cultural landscape. Derive a theory as to why these conditions were present in these cities that had both a leadership class and a surplus of agricultural goods.

WHERE ARE CITIES LOCATED AND WHY?

When you look at a map in an atlas of the United States or Canada, or at a road map of a State or province, you see an array of places of different sizes, with varying distances between them. The map looks like a jumble, yet each place is where it is because of some decision, some perception of the site or its situation. Site and situation help explain why certain cities were planned and why cities thrive or fail. To understand why a conglomeration of cities is distributed across space the way it is and why cities are different sizes, it is necessary to examine more than one city at a time and see how those cities fit together, into the region, into the state, and into the globe as a whole.

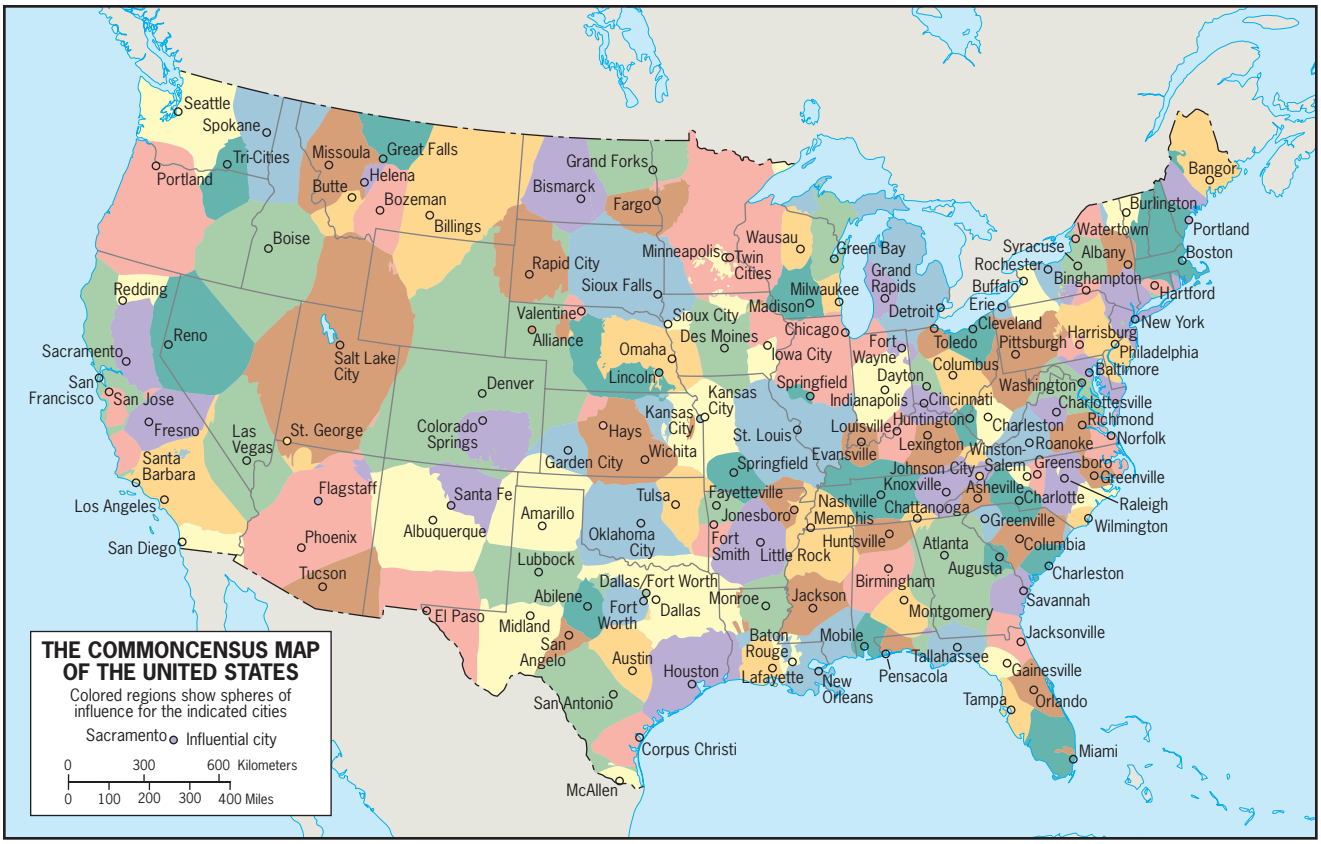


Figure 9.19

Regions of Influence for cities in the contiguous United States. This map is based on survey data from over 45,000 voters on commoncensus.org who answered the question, "On the Level of North America as a whole, what major city do you feel has the most cultural and economic influence on your area overall?" Adapted with permission from: www.commoncensus.org, last accessed August 2008.

Urban geographers studied the distribution of cities in Europe and the Americas during the 1900s, using quantitative techniques to determine how many cities and what size cities are needed within a certain space. In studying the size of cities and distances between them, urban geographers explored the trade areas of different size cities. Every city and town has a **trade area**, an adjacent region within which its influence is dominant. Customers from smaller towns and villages come to the city to shop and to conduct other business. An online survey of approximately 50,000 people helped one armchair geographer create a map of trade areas for the contiguous United States (Fig. 9.19). The city's newspapers are read, and its television stations are watched in the surrounding region (Fig. 9.20).

Across the multitude of quantitative studies in urban geography, three key components arose frequently: population, trade area, and distance. The simplest way to think through the relationship among these three variables is to consider your State or province map. On the map, you will see many villages with unfamiliar names, a number of small towns sited on highways, several medium-sized cities where transportation routes converge, and likely one familiar, dominant city. The largest city has the largest trade area, and as a result fewer places rival it as the major trade area: the several medium-sized cities trade in smaller areas of commerce and are scattered apart from the major city, small towns house the grocery stores and other necessities, and finally villages may still have a café or a gas station. The trade areas and population combine to give us a hierarchy of urban places, following a pattern commonly called the rank-size rule.

The **rank-size rule** holds that in a model urban hierarchy, the population of a city or town will be inversely proportional to its rank in the hierarchy. Thus, if the largest city has 12 million people, the second largest will have about 6 million (that is, half the population of the largest city); the third city will have 4 million (one-third); the fourth city 3 million; and so on. Note that the size differences between city levels become smaller at lower levels of the hierarchy, so that the tenth-largest city would have 1.2 million inhabitants.

The rank-size rule does not apply in all countries, especially countries with one supremely dominant city

Guest Field Note

Broken Arrow, Oklahoma

Figure 9.20

Many trade areas in the United States are named, and their names typically coincide with the vernacular region, the region people perceive themselves as living in. In promoting a trade area, companies often adopt, name, or shape the name of the vernacular region. In Oklahoma, the label Green Country refers to the northeastern quarter of the state, the trade area served by Tulsa. Tourism promoters derived the label in the 1970s, and the Tulsa media have used the name since. Promoters see the label as positive, implying Green Country is a landscape of forests, lakes, rivers, hills, and wealth—a perception that challenges popular notions of Dust Bowl Oklahoma as a treeless, dry, flat, windy, and impoverished region of the 1930s. Green Country's popularity is confirmed by the hundreds of businesses, organizations, and agencies that have adopted the name. In turn, the presence of the trade area name throughout the cultural landscape reinforces the vernacular region, strengthening the importance of the region in the minds of the people.

Credit: Brad Bays, Oklahoma State University

(often called a primate city because it is much larger than all other cities within a country), such as Paris (France) or Mexico City (Mexico), but it does seem to apply in a number of countries with a multitude of large cities, such as the United States (see final section of this chapter). The rank-size rule is an impressive trick when it works. However, it does not explain where cities will be located or distributed across the hierarchy.

Central Place Theory

Walter Christaller wrote the classic urban geography study to explain where cities, towns, and villages are likely to be located. In his book, *The Central Places in Southern Germany* (1933), Christaller laid the groundwork for **central place theory**. He attempted to develop a model to predict how and where central places in the urban hierarchy (hamlets, villages, towns, and cities) would be functionally and spatially distributed. Christaller began his theory development with a set of assumptions: first, the surface of the ideal region would be flat and have no physical barriers; second, soil fertility would be the same everywhere; third, population and purchasing power would be evenly distributed; next, the region would have a uniform transportation network to permit direct travel from each settlement to the other; and, finally, from any given place, a good or service could be sold in all directions out to a certain distance.

Through his studies, Christaller calculated the ideal central place system and then compared his model to real-world situations and tried to explain the variations and exceptions. In the urban hierarchy, the central places would be nested, so the largest central place provides the greatest number of functions to most of the region. Within the trade area of the largest central place, a series of larger towns would provide functions to several smaller places. The smaller places would then provide fewer central functions to a smaller-yet service area.

To determine the locations of each central place, Christaller needed to define the goods and services provided. He studied the sale of goods and services and calculated the distance people would willingly travel to acquire them. Cities, he postulated, would be regularly spaced, with central places where the same product was sold at the same price located a standard distance apart. He reasoned that a person would not be expected to travel 11 miles to one place to buy an item if it were possible to go only 9 miles to purchase it at another place. Central place theory maintains that each central place has a surrounding complementary region, an exclusive trade area within which the town has a monopoly on the sale of certain goods, because it alone can provide such goods at a given price and within a certain range of travel.

Hexagonal Hinterlands

Based on this description of Christaller's theory, you may expect the shape of each central place's trade area to be circular (bullseye shapes surrounding each place). But circles either have to overlap or leave certain areas unserved.

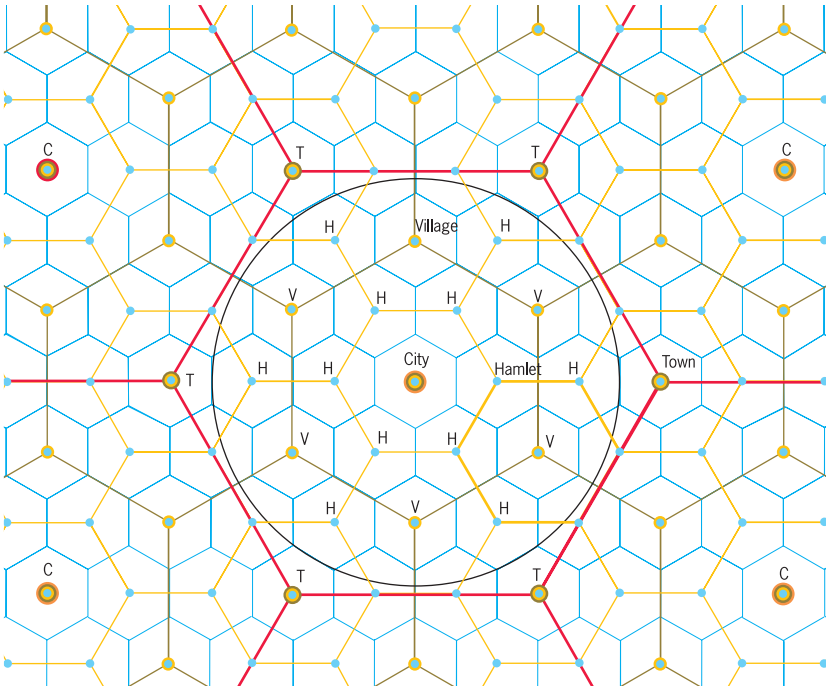


Figure 9.21
Christaller's Hierarchy of Settlements and Their Service Areas. Christaller's interlocking model of a hierarchy of settlements and their service areas include: C = city, T = town, V = village, H = hamlet.

Hence, Christaller chose perfectly fitted hexagonal regions as the shape of each trade area (Fig. 9.21).

Urban geographers were divided on the relevance of his model. Some saw hexagonal systems everywhere; others saw none at all. Christaller received support from geographers, who applied his ideas to regions in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. In China, both the North China Plain and the Sichuan Basin display the seemingly uninterrupted flatness assumed by Christaller's model. When G. William Skinner examined the distribution of villages, towns, and cities there in 1964, he found a spatial pattern closely resembling the one predicted by Christaller's model. Studies in the U.S. Midwest suggested that while the square layout of the township-and-range system imposed a different kind of regularity on the landscape, the economic forces at work there tended to confirm Christaller's theory.

Christaller recognized that not all his assumptions would be met in reality; physical barriers, uneven resource distributions, and other factors all modify Christaller's hexagons. Nonetheless, his model yielded a number of practical insights. His studies pointed to a hierarchy of urban places that are spatially balanced and also established that larger cities would be spaced farther from each other than smaller towns or villages. Although Christaller's model of perfectly fit hexagons is not often realized, his studies confirm that the distribution of cities, towns, and villages in a region is not an accident but is tied to trade areas, population size, and distance.

Central Places Today

When Christaller worked on his spatial model and projected central place theory to help explain the distribution of urban areas, the world was a simpler and much less populated place than it is today. As many urban geographers have pointed out during the debate that followed Christaller's publications, new factors, forces, and conditions not anticipated by his models and theories (including the Internet and the interstate system) make them less relevant today.

Geographer Larry Ford stresses that central place notions still have a role in explaining current developments. Take, for example, the **Sunbelt phenomenon** of the past four decades—the movement of millions of Americans from northern and northeastern States to the South and Southwest. This is not just an internal, voluntary migration made possible by social security funds and retirement plans; it also results from deliberate governmental economic and social polices that favor "Sunbelt" cities through federal spending on military, space, and research facilities. And even as Northerners moved southward, millions of Middle and South American migrants moved northward—into the same urban centers already growing for domestic reasons.

The overall effect of all this movement was to create a changed urban hierarchy in the Sunbelt region. Central place theory would predict that some existing cities would respond by increasing their production of higher-order (technological) goods and services, increasing their

economic reach and bypassing others. And this is what happened: Atlanta, Dallas, and Phoenix became headquarters cities for large regions, moving up in the urban hierarchy. Charlotte, Tampa, San Antonio, and Tucson also rose, but took secondary status. Other centers participated less in the new spatial economy and remained where they were in the urban hierarchy.

As Ford emphasized, central place theory can still add "analytical power to the understanding of patterns of urban growth, even in this era of fast and long-distance transportation, suburbanization, and multiple urban functions."

thinking geographically

Sketch a map of your city or town and the cities or towns nearby. Make a list of the kinds of goods and services available in each of these towns. Do the ideas about central places presented in this section of the chapter apply to your region?

HOW ARE CITIES ORGANIZED, AND HOW DO THEY FUNCTION?

For a number of years, urban geographers have studied, charted, and mapped cities to create models that describe how different parts of cities come together in different regions of the world. In this section of the chapter, we discuss a number of models that urban geographers have drawn for North American, South American, and other cities. In the next section of this chapter, we discuss the people and institutions that organize and create cities.

Across cities, you can see certain spaces defined for certain functions. The various parts of a city may be designated residential, industrial, or parkland. Or a group of people may take over an area of a city and redefine it to function for them. Cities are not simply random collections of buildings and people. Cities exhibit functional structure: they are spatially organized to perform their functions as places of commerce, production, education, and much more.

Models of the City

Each model of the city, regardless of the region, is a study in **functional zonation**—the division of the city into certain regions (zones) for certain purposes (functions). For example, cities typically have residential zones that are separate from industrial zones, which are separate from garbage dumps. By studying the kinds of zones cities have and by examining where the zones are located with respect to one another, urban geographers draw models of cities.

Before examining the models of urban spaces, we must define some terms commonly used in referring to parts of the city (especially cities in North America). The term **zone** is typically preceded by a descriptor that conveys the purpose of that area of the city. The models describe zones as areas with a relatively uniform land use, for example, an industrial zone or a residential zone. Most models define the key economic zone of the city (if there is such) as the **central business district** (CBD). The CBD is a concentration of business and commerce in the city's downtown. The American CBD typically has high land values, tall buildings, busy traffic, converging highways, and mass transit systems.

The term **central city** describes the urban area that is not suburban. In effect, central city refers to the older city as opposed to the newer suburbs. A **suburb** is an outlying, functionally uniform part of an urban area, and is often (but not always) adjacent to the central city. Most suburbs are residential, but some have other land uses, including schools, shopping malls, and office parks.

Suburbanization is the process by which lands that were previously outside of the urban environment become urbanized, as people and businesses from the city move to these spaces. The process of suburbanization holds special interest for human geographers because it involves the transformation of large areas of land from rural to urban uses and affects large numbers of people who can afford to move to larger and more expensive suburban homes. The aesthetic of the suburb reveals the occupants' idealized living patterns because their layout can be planned in response to choice and demand. Elsewhere in the metropolis, constraints imposed by preexisting land-use arrangements make it difficult to build now houses with large lawns, multiple garages, and fenced-in yards.

In *Contemporary Suburban America* (1981), urban geographer P. O. Muller offers a thorough analysis of suburbanization, describing how suburbia "evolved into a self-sufficient urban entity, containing its own major economic and cultural activities, that is no longer an appendage to the central city." Muller found suburban cities ready to compete with the central city for leading urban economic activities such as telecommunications, high-technology industries, and corporate headquarters. In addition to expanding of residential zones, the process of suburbanization rapidly creates distinct urban regions complete with industrial, commercial, and educational components.

The overall importance of suburban life in the United States is underscored by the results of the 2000 census, which indicated that no less than 50 percent of the entire American population resided in the suburbs (up from 37 percent in 1970); the remaining 50 percent were divided between the central cities (30.3 percent) and nonmetropolitan or rural areas (19.7 percent). Of the population living in metropolitan areas, 62.2 percent resided in the suburbs, which in 2000 had 141 million residents. Thus, the suburbs have become the essence of the modern American city.

Just by using such terms as *residential area* and *central business district*, people acknowledge the existence of a regional structure within cities. When you refer to downtown, or to the airport, or to the city zoo, you are in fact referring to urban regions where certain functions prevail (business activity, transportation, and recreation, in the three just mentioned). All of these urban regions or zones lie near or adjacent to each other and together make up the metropolis. But how are they arranged? Is there any regularity or recurrent pattern in the location of the various zones, perhaps reflecting certain prevailing growth processes? In other words, can we create a model of the zones of a city that can then be recognized in every city, perhaps with modifications related to a city's particular site, size, shape, and relief?

Modeling the North American City

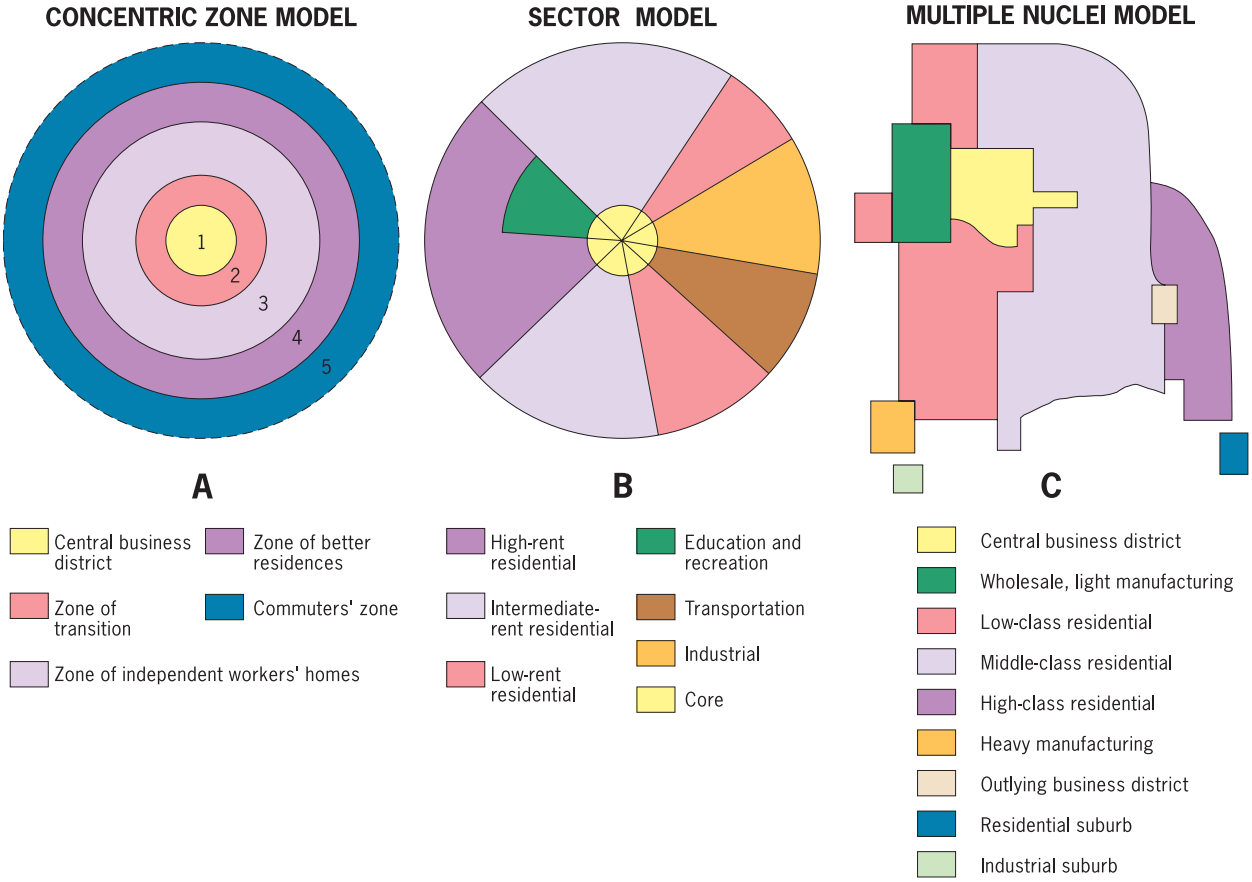
Urban geographers have constructed a succession of models, which reflect change and growth in the geographic layout of North American cities. The first model, the **concentric zone model** (Fig. 9.22 A), resulted from sociologist Ernest Burgess's study of Chicago in the 1920s. Burgess's model divides the city into five concentric zones, defined by their function. As the city grew, land was converted in zones around the outside of the city, and the concentric zone model emerged. At the center is the CBD (1), itself subdivided into several subdistricts (financial, retail, theater).

The zone of transition (2) is characterized by residential deterioration and encroachment by business and light manufacturing. Zone 3 is a ring of closely spaced but adequate homes occupied by the blue-collar labor force. Zone 4 consists of middle-class residences, and zone 5 is the suburban ring. Burgess described his model as dynamic: as the city grew, inner zones encroached on outer ones, so that CBD functions invaded zone 2 and the problems of zone 2 affected the inner margins of zone 3.

In the late 1930s, Homer Hoyt published his sector model (Fig. 9.22B), partly as an answer to the limitations of the Burgess model. Hoyt focused on residential patterns explaining where the wealthy in a city chose to live. Hoyt argued that the city grows outward from the center, so a low-rent area could extend all the way from the CBD

Figure 9.22

The Three Classical Models of Urban Structure. The three classical models of urban structure are the concentric zone model, the sector model, and the multiple nuclei model. © E. H. Fouberg, A. B. Murphy, H. J. de Blij, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.



to the city's outer edge, creating zones that are shaped like a piece of pie. Hoyt found that the pie-shaped pieces describe the high-rent residential, intermediate rent residential, low-rent residential, education and recreation, transportation, and industrial sectors.

Researchers studied both theories, and Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman argued that neither the concentric rings nor the sector model adequately reflected city structure by the mid-twentieth century. In the 1940s, Harris and Ullman proposed the multiple nuclei model (Fig. 9.22 C). Their model recognizes that the CBD is losing its dominant position as the single nucleus of the urban area. Several of the urban regions shown in the figure have their own nuclei.

Most urban geographers think these models are too simplistic to describe the modern city. With the availability of personal automobiles and the construction of ring roads and other arteries around cities in the 1970s and 1980s, suburbanization exploded around the new transportation corridors. The outer city grew rapidly and became more functionally independent of the central city, and new suburban downtowns emerged to serve their new local economies. Often located near key freeway intersections, these suburban downtowns developed mainly around big regional shopping centers and attracted industrial parks, office complexes, hotels, restaurants, entertainment facilities, and even sports stadiums. They became **edge cities**. Edge cities such as Tysons Corner, Virginia (outside Washington, D.C.) and Irvine, California (outside Los Angeles) flourished. They attracted tens of thousands of nearby suburbanites—offering workplaces, shopping, leisure activities, and all the other elements of a complete urban environment—thereby loosening remaining ties not only to the central city but to other suburban areas as well (Fig. 9.23). As early as 1973, American suburbs surpassed the central cities in total employment. By the mid-1980s, in some metropolises in the Sunbelt, the majority of jobs in the metropolis were in the suburbs.

Geographers use the term **urban realm** to describe the spatial components of the modern metropolis, where each realm is a separate economic, social, and political entity that is linked together to form the larger metropolitan framework (Fig. 9.24). The urban realms model takes the latest step forward in interpreting the American urban structure. It clearly demonstrates that today's outer cities are not satellites of the central city; they too are shaping the metropolis.

Modeling the Cities of the Global Periphery and Semiperiphery

The number of cities in the world with millions of inhabitants can now be counted in the hundreds; it therefore becomes increasingly difficult to model, classify, or typify urban centers. In the 1960s, researchers classified "colonial" cities as urban areas where European transplants dominated the form of the city, laying it out with Western styles. They also drew models of "indigenous" cities that remained remote from globalizing influences and various forms of the Western city. Today, the "colonial" cities that served as the colonial headquarters (and have since

Figure 9.23
Tysons Corner, Virginia. In the suburbs of Washington, D.C., on Interstate 495 (the beltway), Tysons Corner has developed as a major edge city, with offices, retail, and commercial services. © Rob Crandall/The Image Works.

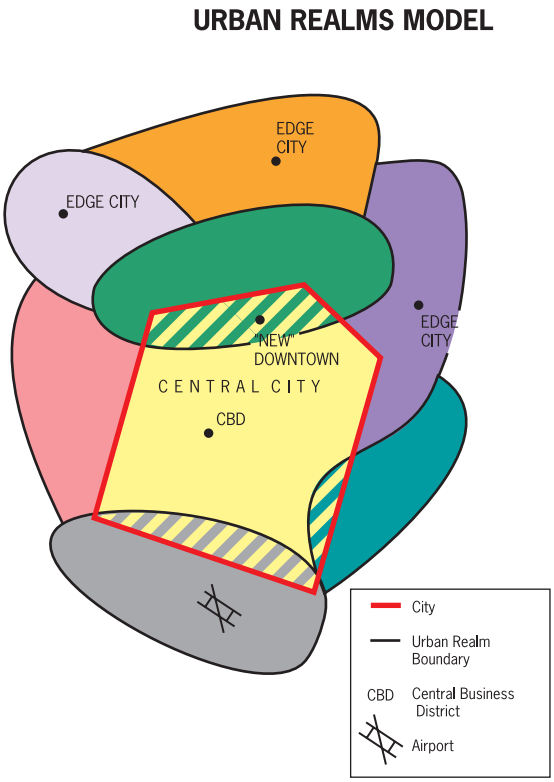


Figure 9.24
Urban Realms Model. The Urban Realms Model includes a central business district, central city, new downtown, and suburban downtown. *Adapted with permission from*: T. Hartshorn and P. O. Muller, "Suburban Downtowns and the Transformation of Metropolitan Atlanta's Business Landscape," *Urban Geography* 10 (1989); p. 375.

grown through massive migration) defy generalization. Even indigenous cities deep in continental interiors (such as those in West Africa's Sahel and in Central Asia) have been swept by the forces of globalization and immigration, and in the process they have been transformed.

In Middle and South America, Mexico City (Mexico) and São Paulo (Brazil) are now the kinds of megacities that make analysis difficult. But South American cities have been endowed with strong Iberian cultural imprints that define a certain common social-spatial geography. In Subsaharan Africa, some former colonial cities have retained the spatial components lost in enormous cities like Lagos (Nigeria) and Kinshasa (The Congo). And in Southeast Asia some middle-sized cities continue to exhibit a fairly consistent pattern.

The Latin American City

In 1980, geographers Ernst Griffin and Larry Ford studied Latin American cities and derived a model of the Latin American city referred to as the **Griffin-Ford model**. Griffin and Ford found that Latin American cities blend traditional elements of Latin American culture with the forces of globalization that are reshaping the urban scene, combining radial sectors and concentric zones.

Anchoring the model is the thriving CBD, which remains the city's primary business, employment, and entertainment focus. The CBD is divided into a traditional market sector and a more modern high-rise sector. Adequate public transit systems and nearby affluent residential areas assure the dominance of the CBD. Emanating outward from the urban core along the city's most prestigious axis is the commercial spine, which is surrounded by the elite residential sector. This widening corridor is essentially an extension of the CBD. It features offices, shopping, high-quality housing for the upper and upper-middle classes, restaurants, theaters, and such amenities as parks, zoos, and golf courses. At the end of the elite spine sector lies an incipient edge city shown as "mall" on the model and flanked by high-priced residences. This reflects the emergence of suburban nodes from the North American model in South America's cities.

In the Griffin-Ford model, the remaining concentric zones are home to less well-off residents, who compose the great majority of the urban population. Socioeconomic levels and housing quality decrease markedly with greater distance from the city center (Fig. 9.25). The zone of maturity in the inner city contains the best housing outside the spine sector, attracting the middle classes, who invest sufficiently to keep their solidly built but aging dwellings from deteriorating. The adjacent zone is one of much more modest housing. Interspersed with the more modest areas are densely populated unkempt areas, which represent a transition from inner-ring affluence to outer-ring poverty. The outermost zone

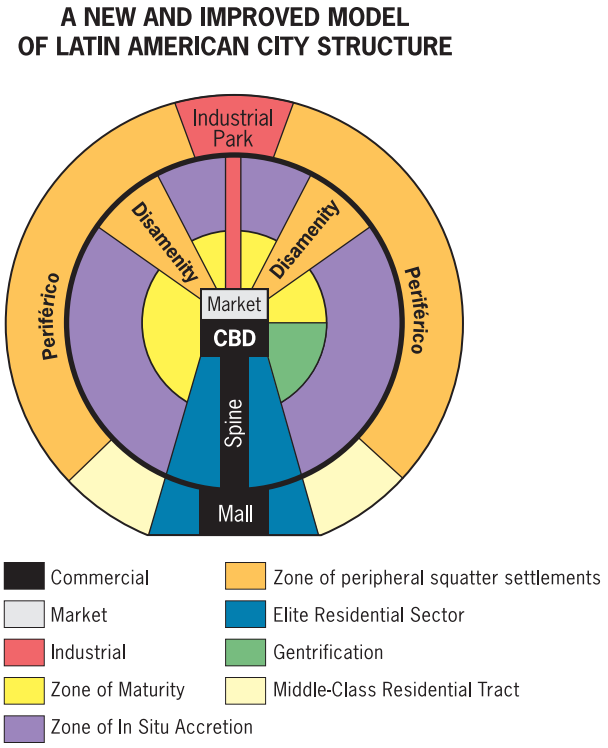


Figure 9.25

A New and Improved Model of the Latin American City Structure. This model includes both the zones created in the original Griffin-Ford model and the new Ford model of the Latin American city. *Adapted with permission from*: L. Ford, "A New and Improved Model of Latin American City Structure," *The Geographical Review* 86 (1996), p. 438.

of peripheral squatter settlements is home to the impoverished and recent migrants. Although this ring consists mainly of teeming, high-density shantytowns, residents here are surprisingly optimistic about finding work and improving their living conditions.

A structural element of many Latin American cities is the **disamenity sector**, the very poorest parts of cities that in extreme cases are not connected to regular city services and are controlled by gangs and drug lords. The disamenity sectors in Latin American cities contain relatively unchanging slums known as *barrios* or *favelas*. The worst of these poverty-stricken areas often include large numbers of people who are so poor that they are forced to live in the streets (Fig. 9.26). There is little in the way of regular law enforcement within such communities, and drug lords often run the show—or battle with other drug lords for dominance. Such conditions also prevail in places beyond the ring highway or *periférico*, which is now a feature of most South American cities.

Finally, the Griffin-Ford model displays two smaller sectors: an industrial park, reflecting the ongoing concentration of industrial activity in the city, and a gentrification zone, where historic buildings are preserved. Gentrification remains much less common in South American cities than in North America, but it is an emerging phenomenon.

To what extent is the Griffin-Ford model a realistic portrayal of the Latin American city? The model reflects the enormous differences between the spaces of privilege and the spaces of abject poverty within the Latin American city. The model also describes elements of sector development evident in many large South American cities, but the concentricity suggested by the model seems to be breaking down. Figure 9.25 incorporates both the original zones of the Griffin-Ford model and the updates Larry Ford added in a 1996 article. Larry Ford's updated Griffin-Ford model adds a ring highway (*periférico*) around the outskirts of the city, divides the downtown business district into a CBD and a market, adds a mall near the elite space, and leaves space for suburban industrial parks.

The African City

At the beginning of this century, Subsaharan Africa included countries with some of the world's lowest levels of urbanization. In the tropical region of Africa, the majority of the people are farmers, and most countries in the tropics remain under 40 percent urbanized. Outside the tropics, the region is about 57 percent urban. Despite the region's lower levels of overall urbanization than much of the rest of the world, Africa now has the world's fastest growing cities, followed by those in South Asia and mainland East Asia and South and Middle America. In contrast, the cities of North America, southern South America, and Australia are growing more slowly, and those of western Europe are barely growing at all.

The imprint of European colonialism can be seen in many African cities. During colonialism, Europeans laid out prominent urban centers such as Kinshasa (The Congo), Nairobi (Kenya), and Harare (Zimbabwe) in the interior, and Dakar (Senegal), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Luanda (Angola), Maputo (Mozambique), and other ports along the coast. Africa even has cities that are neither traditional nor colonial. South Africa's major urban centers (Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban) are essentially Western, with elements of European as well as American models, including high-rise CBDs and sprawling suburbs.

As a result of this diversity, it is difficult to formulate a model African city. Studies of African cities indicate that the central city often consists of not one but three CBDs (Fig. 9.27): a remnant of the colonial CBD, an informal and sometimes periodic market zone, and a transitional business center where commerce is conducted from curbside, stalls, or storefronts. Vertical development occurs mainly in the former colonial CBD; the traditional business center is usually a zone of single-story buildings with

Field Note

Figure 9.26
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. © H. J. de Blij.

"February 1, 2003. A long-held hope came true today: thanks to a Brazilian intermediary I was allowed to enter and spend a day in two of Rio de Janeiro's hillslope *favelas*, an eight-hour walk through one into the other. Here live millions of the city's poor, in areas often ruled by drug lords and their gangs, with minimal or no public services, amid squalor and stench, in discomfort and danger. And yet life in the older *favelas* has become more comfortable as shacks are replaced by more permanent structures, electricity is sometimes available, water supply, however haphazard, is improved, and an informal economy brings goods and services to the residents. I stood in the doorway of a resident's single-room dwelling for this overview of an urban landscape in transition: satellite-television disks symbolize the change going on here. The often blue cisterns catch rainwater; walls are made of rough brick and roofs of corrugated iron or asbestos sheeting. No roads or automobile access, so people walk to the nearest road at the bottom of the hill. Locals told me of their hope that they will some day have legal rights to the space they occupy. During his campaign for president of Brazil, Lula de Silva suggested that long-term inhabitants should be awarded title, and in 2003 his government approved the notion. It will be complicated: as the photo shows, people live quite literally on top of one another, and mapping the chaos will not be simple (but will be made possible with geographic information systems). This would allow the government to tax residents, but it would also allow residents to obtain loans based on the value of their *favela* properties, and bring millions of Brazilians into the formal economy. The hardships I saw on this excursion were often dreadful, but you could sense the hope for and anticipation of a better future. In 2007, President de Silva's government pledged $3.6 billion to bring water, sewage, roads, and improved housing to the 20 percent of the city of Rio de Janeiro who live in the favelas."

some traditional architecture; and the market zone tends to be open-air, informal, yet still important. Sector development marks the encircling zone of ethnic and mixed neighborhoods (often characterized by strong ethnic identities); manufacturing or mining operations are found next to some parts of this zone. Finally, many African cities are ringed by satellite townships that are squatter settlements.

The Southeast Asian City

Some of the most populated cities in the world are in Southeast Asia. The city of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, is a complex of high-rise development, including the 1483-foot-tall Petronas Towers, which until recently was the world's tallest building. The city of Jakarta, Indonesia, called Jabotabek by the locals, is an enormous conurbation of Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi.

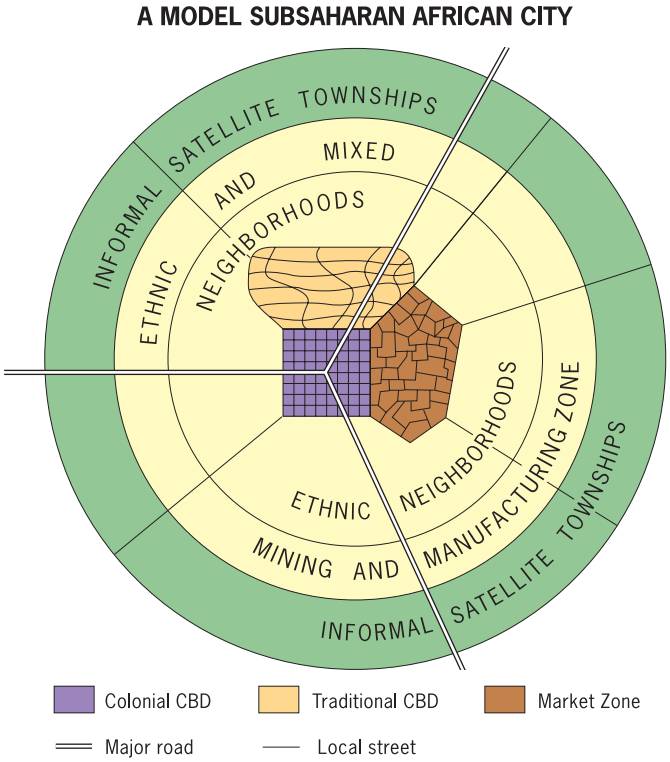


Figure 9.27
Model of the Subsaharan African City. One model of the African city includes a colonial CBD, traditional CBD, and market zone. © E. H. Fouberg, A. B. Murphy, H. J. de Blij, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

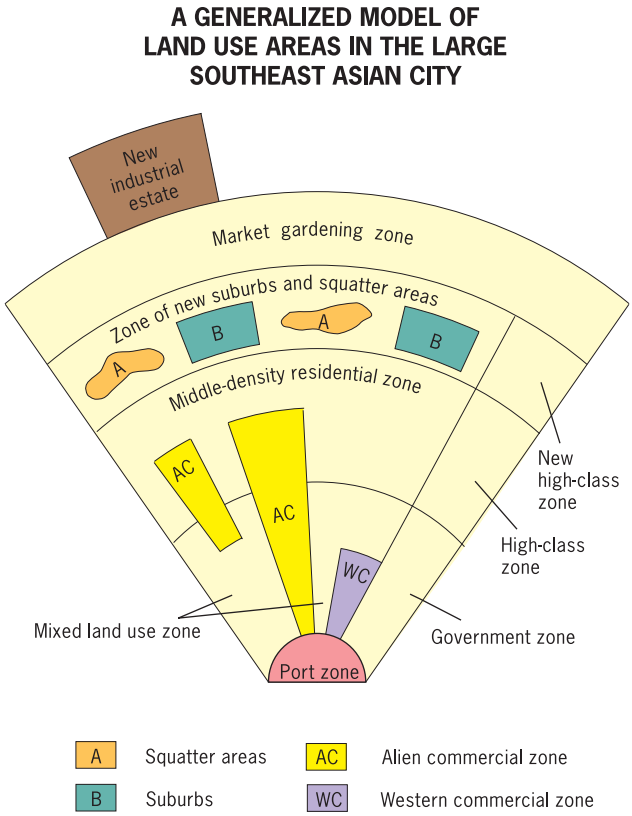


Figure 9.28
Model of the Large Southeast Asian City. A model of land use in the medium-sized Southeast Asian city includes sectors and zones within each sector. *Adapted with permission from*: T. G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, London: Bell, 1967, p. 128.

In 1967, urban geographer T. G. McGee studied the medium-sized cities of Southeast Asia and found that they exhibit similar land-use patterns, creating a model referred to as the **McGee model** (Fig. 9.28). The focal point of the city is the old colonial port zone combined with the largely commercial district that surrounds it. McGee found no formal central business district; rather, he found the elements of the CBD present as separate clusters surrounding the old colonial port zone: the government zone; the Western commercial zone (practically a CBD by itself); the alien commercial zone, dominated by Chinese merchants whose residences are attached to their places of business; and the mixed land-use zone that contains miscellaneous economic activities, including light industry. The other nonresidential areas are the market-gardening zone at the outskirts of the urban area and, still farther from the city, a recently built industrial park or "estate."

The residential zones in McGee's model are similar to those in the Griffin-Ford model of the Latin American city. Other similarities between the McGee and Griffin-Ford model are the hybrid structure of sectors and zones, an elite residential sector that includes new suburbs, an inner-city zone of middle-income housing, and peripheral low-income squatter settlements. One main difference is that the McGee model includes middle-income housing in a suburban zone, reflecting the larger middle class in these cities of the global semiperiphery and the small middle class in Latin American cities.

Regardless of the region or city, we recognize that models do not explain how or why cities are organized the way they are. A model of a city shows us an end product, whether planned or not and suggests the forces that created that end product.

thinking geographically

Employing the concepts defined in this section of the chapter, draw a model of the city with which you are most familiar. Label each section of the city accordingly. After reading through the models described in this section, determine which model best corresponds to the model you drew and hypothesize as to why it is so.

HOW DO PEOPLE MAKE CITIES?

People and institutions make places, and the city is no exception to this rule. The roles individual people, governments, corporations, developers, financial lenders, and realtors play in making places varies across the world. For example, in some parts of the world, governments pass strict laws on urban structures and enforce them, and in other parts of the world governments either do not pass laws or do not enforce them.

Powerful social and cultural preferences shape the character of particular parts of the city and influence who lives where. Wander through the residential neighborhoods of any city, keep your eyes open, and study the cultural landscape. You will find yourself surrounded by landscape indicators of social and cultural preferences. You can see differences in the existence of single-family or multifamily homes, in particular styles of construction and building materials, in the distance between houses, in the nature and style of vegetation around houses, in the distance between the houses and the streets, and even in the amount of space devoted to automobile movement and storage.

Comparing and contrasting the urban cultural landscapes of two cities helps us understand the different social and cultural forces at play. Compare Figure 9.29 with Figure 9.30. Analyze each picture and guess which city is located in a wealthy country in the world and which is located in a poor country. What factors can

Figure 9.29
Luanda, Angola. The city's landscape reflects a clear dichotomy between the "haves" and "have-nots." © Sarah Errington/Hutchinson Picture Library.

you consider? You may look at the presence or absence of high-rise buildings, the aesthetics of the buildings, the transportation, and the distance between houses, and after doing so, you may guess that Figure 9.29 is in the wealthy country. Look again. This time, look for whether the cars are operable, the presence of telephone and electrical wires, and the building materials. Figure 9.29 is actually in a poorer country; it is the city of Luanda, Angola, in Subsaharan Africa. Figure 9.30 is part of a suburb of Tokyo, Japan. Japanese houses in this middle-class neighborhood are on top of each other because the city is so densely populated that land is at a premium. In Luanda, the high rises are part of the central business district, and they and the houses immediately surrounding

Figure 9.30
Tokyo, Japan. The city's landscape reflects the presence of a large middle class in a densely populated city. © iStockphoto.

Guest Field Note

Manila, the Philippines

I passed through cargo shipping piers in Manila, the Philippines, and encountered row after row of hand-built squatter houses. I was struck by the scale of the settlements and the sheer number of people who inhabit them. I was shocked at the level of squalor in people's living conditions. The garbage scavengers in this picture wore cotton gloves and held prods to dig through the trash for items they can use, trade, or sell. The city of Manila is hoping to clear the city of squatters by 2010 and create more permanent structures (such as the buildings in the background of this photo). The task will not be easy to accomplish -- the poor and destitute live throughout the city because housing stocks are inadequate, underlying poverty persists, and still thousands flock to Manila daily recognizing that petty services and even trash picking often offer more opportunity than life in the rural provinces.

Figure 9.31

Credit: Johnathan Walker, James Madison University

them are where the wealthy live. The houses in the foreground are where the poor live. Here the roofs are tin or cardboard, the houses are makeshift, many of the cars do not run, and the one utility pole is connected to nothing. Notice that in this picture of Luanda, we see no evidence of a middle class; this is common in cities of the periphery where there are the "haves" and the "have-nots" and little in between.

Making Cities in the Global Periphery and Semiperiphery

Many of the world's most populous cities are located in the less prosperous parts of the world, including São Paulo (Brazil), Mexico City (Mexico), Mumbai (India), Dhaka (Bangladesh), and Delhi (India). Across the world, people continue to migrate to cities in response to "pull" factors that are often more imaginary than real; their expectations of a better life mostly fail to materialize.

Particularly in the economic periphery, new arrivals (and many long-term residents, too) are crowded together in overpopulated apartment buildings, dismal tenements, and teeming slums (Fig. 9.31). New arrivals come from other cities and towns and from the rural countryside, often as large families; they add to the cities' rate of natural growth. Housing cannot keep up with this massive inflow. Almost overnight huge **shantytowns**, unplanned developments of crude dwellings and shelters made mostly of scrap wood, iron, and pieces of cardboard, develop around these cities. The overcrowding and dismal conditions do not deter additional urban migration, and as a result millions of people spend their entire lives in urban housing of wretched quality.

Cities in poorer parts of the world generally lack enforceable **zoning laws**, which, over the last century, most city governments in North America drew up to ensure use of space in ways that the society at large would deem culturally and environmentally acceptable. Under a city's zoning laws, a fast-food franchise could not occupy a corner lot in a residential American suburb if the city zoned all the lots in that suburban block exclusively for single-family homes. Zoning laws do not exist, nor are they equally enforced everywhere in the core. In Europe, for example, few cities have zoning laws, but most have looser land-use plans. In the United States, Houston, Texas is the only large city that does not have zoning laws on the books, with citizens in the city voting against the creation of zoning laws three different times (as recently as 1993).

Without zoning laws, cities in the periphery will have mixed land use throughout the city. For example, in cities such as Madras, India (and in other cities in India), open space between high-rise buildings is often occupied by squatter settlements (Fig. 9.32). In Bangkok, Thailand, elementary schools and noisy, polluting factories stand side by side. In Nairobi, Kenya, hillside villas overlook some of Africa's worst slums. Over time, such incongruities may disappear, as is happening in many cities in East Asia. Rising land values and greater demand for enforced zoning regulations are transforming the central cities of East Asia. But in South Asia, Subsaharan Africa, Southwest Asia, North Africa, and Middle and South America, unregulated, helter-skelter growth continues.

Across the global periphery, the one trait all major cities display is the stark contrast between the wealthy and poor. Sharp contrasts between wealthy and poor areas can be found in major cities all over the world—for example, homeless people sleeping on heating grates half a block from the White House in Washington, D.C. Yet the intensity and scale of the contrast are greater in cities of the periphery. If you stand in the central area of Cairo, Egypt, you see what appears to be a modern, Mediterranean metropolis (Fig. 9.33). But if you get on a bus and ride it toward the city's outskirts, that impression fades almost immediately as paved streets give way to dusty alleys, apartment buildings to harsh tenements, and sidewalk coffee shops to broken doors and windows (Fig. 9.34). Traffic-choked, garbage-strewn, polluted Cairo is home to an estimated 12.5 million people, more than one-fifth of Egypt's population; the city is bursting at the seams. And still people continue to arrive, seeking the better life that pulls countless migrants from the countryside year after year.

Figure 9.32
Hyderabad, India. Temporary shelters, built to withstand the summer monsoon, protect the migrants who work to build the new construction in the background. © Enn H. Fouberg

Field Note

"Central Cairo is full of the multistory buildings, transportation arteries, and commercial signs that characterize most contemporary big cities. Outside of a number of mosques, few remnants of the old medieval city remain. The first blow came in the nineteenth century, when a French-educated ruler was determined to recast Cairo as a world-class city. Inspired by the planning ideas of Paris's Baron von Hausman, he transformed the urban core into a zone of broad, straight streets. In more recent years the forces of modern international capitalism have had the upper hand. There is little sense of an overall vision for central Cairo. Instead, it seems to be a hodge-podge of buildings and streets devoted to commerce, administration, and a variety of producer and consumer services."

Figure 9.33
Cairo, Egypt. © Alexander B. Murphy.

Field Note

"Moving out from central Cairo, evidence of the city's rapid growth is all around you. These hastily built housing units are part of the (often losing) effort to keep up with the city's exploding growth. From a city of just one million people in 1930, Cairo's population expanded to six million by 1986. And then high growth rates really kicked in. Although no one knows the exact size of the contemporary city, most estimates suggest that Cairo's population has doubled in the last 20 years. This growth has placed a tremendous strain on city services. Housing has been a particularly critical problem—leading to a landscape outside the urban core dominated by hastily built, minimally functional, and aesthetically non-descript housing projects."

Figure 9.34
Cairo, Egypt. © Alexander B. Murphy.

Making Cities in the Global Core

The goals people have in making cities have changed over time. One way people make cities is by remaking them, reinventing neighborhoods, or changing layouts to reflect current goals and aesthetics. During the segregation era in the United States, realtors, financial lenders, and city governments defined and segregated spaces in urban environments. For example, before the civil rights movement of the 1960s, financial institutions in the business of lending money could engage in a practice known as **redlining**. They would identify what they considered to be risky neighborhoods in cities–often predominately Black neighborhoods–and refuse to offer loans to those in the districts (marked by red lines on a map). This practice, which is now illegal, worked against those living in poorer neighborhoods and helped to precipitate a downward spiral in which poor neighborhoods became increasingly rundown because funds were not available for upkeep.

Before the civil rights movement, realtors could purposefully sell a house in a white neighborhood at a very low price to a member of the African American community. In a practice called **blockbusting**, the realtors would solicit other white residents of the neighborhood to sell their homes under the guise that the neighborhood was going downhill because an African American person or family had moved in. This produced what urban geographers and sociologists call *white flight*—movement of whites from the city and adjacent neighborhoods to the outlying suburbs. Blockbusting led to significant turnover in housing, which of course benefited real estate agents through the commissions they earned. Blockbusting also prompted landowners to sell their properties at low prices (to get out of the neighborhood quickly), which in turn allowed developers to subdivide lots and build tenements. Typically, the developers did not maintain the tenements well, dropping the property values even further.

Developers and governments are also important actors in the making of cities. In cities of the global core that have experienced high levels of suburbanization, people have left the central city for the suburbs for a number of reasons, among them single-family homes, yards, better schools, and safety. With suburbanization, city governments lose tax revenue, as middle- and upper-class taxpayers leave the central city and pay taxes in the suburbs instead. In order to counter the suburbanization trend, city governments are encouraging commercialization of the central city and gentrification of the central city's neighborhoods.

The plans that city governments draft to revive central cities usually involve cleaning streets, sidewalks, and buildings; tearing down old, abandoned buildings; and building up commercial offerings and residences. In the downtowns, city governments have often created programs to encourage **commercialization**, which entails transforming the central city into an area attractive to residents and tourists alike. Several cities, including Miami, New York, and Baltimore, have created waterfront "theme" areas to attract visitors. These areas include festival marketplaces, parks with exotic sculptures and play

Field Note

"In 2008, downtown Fort Worth, Texas looked quite different than it did when I first visited in 1997. In that eleven year period, business leaders in the City of Fort Worth gentrified the downtown. The Bass family, who has a great deal of wealth from oil holdings and who now owns about 40 blocks of downtown Fort Worth, was instrumental in the city's gentrification. In the 1970s and 1980s, members of the Bass family looked at the empty, stark, downtown Fort Worth, and sought a way to revitalize the downtown. They worked with the Tandy family to build and revitalize the spaces of the city, which took off in the late 1990s and into the present century. The crown jewel in the gentrified Fort Worth is the beautiful cultural center called the Bass Performance Hall, named for Nancy Lee and Perry R. Bass (Fig. 9.24), which opened in 1998."

Figure 9.35
Fort Worth, Texas. © Erin H. Fouberg.

areas, and amusement zones occupying former industrial sites. Such ventures have been successful in attracting tourists and in generating business, but they alone cannot revive downtowns because they cannot attract what the core of the city needs most: permanent residents with a stake in its future. The newly commercialized downtowns often stand apart from the rest of the central city.

Since the 1960s, some people have moved back into central cities—often in conjunction with a process known as **gentrification**. Gentrification occurs when individuals buy up and rehabilitate the houses, raising the housing value in the neighborhood and changing the neighborhood itself.

Gentrification began in cities with a tight housing market and defined central city neighborhoods, such as San Francisco, Portland, and Chicago. Gentrification slowed in the 1990s but is growing again, as governments are encouraging gentrification through beautification programs and significant tax breaks to people who buy up abandoned or dilapidated housing. The growing interest in central city housing has resulted in part from the changing character of American society: the proportion of childless couples (heterosexual and homosexual) and single people in the population is growing, and for these urbanites, the suburbs do not look so attractive. Living within walking distance of the workplace, and very near the cultural and recreational amenities (Fig. 9.35) the central city still attracts more residents every year. For them, the gentrified neighborhood is a good choice. In many cities, gentrification has displaced lower income residents, however, and for those displaced by gentrification, the consequences can be serious. Rising housing costs associated with gentrification have played a key role in the growing problem of homelessness.

The suburb is not immune to gentrification. Rampant in many American suburbs (especially those close to the city) are **tear-downs**, houses that new owners bought with the intention of tearing them down and building a much larger home. The new homes, sometimes referred to as **McMansions** (because of their super size and their similar look), often stretch to the outer limits of the lot (Fig. 9.36). Like gentrification in the city, the tear-down phenomenon changes the landscape and increases average housing values, tax revenue for the city, and the average household income of the neighborhood. Unlike gentrification, with tear-downs, the original houses are

Figure 9.36
Hinsdale, Illinois. In this upscale suburb of Chicago, a new McMansion stands in the place where a smaller house (similar in size to the one still standing in the left of the photo) used to stand. In the last 20 years, about 25 percent of Hinsdale's houses have been torn down to make room for much larger houses. © Dennis Light/Light Photographic.

destroyed instead of preserved. Also unlike gentrification, teardowns often occur in wealthy suburbs, such as Greenwich, Connecticut, and Hinsdale, Illinois. In Greenwich (just outside of New York City), the city issued 138 permits for tear-downs in 2004 (56 more than it did the year before). In Hinsdale (just outside Chicago), in the last 20 years, about one-quarter of the suburb's 1100 house have been torn down. Those in favor of tear-downs argue that the phenomenon slows urban sprawl by replacing existing homes with new homes, rather than converting farmland to residential lots. Those opposed to tear-downs see the houses as too large for their lots, dwarfing the neighboring houses, and destroying the character of the place by demolishing the older homes.

Urban Sprawl and New Urbanism

As populations have grown in certain areas of the United States, such as the Sunbelt and the West, urban areas have experienced **urban sprawl**, unrestricted growth of housing, commercial developments, and roads over large expanses of land, with little concern for urban planning. Urban sprawl is easy to spot as you drive down major roadways in any urbanized part of the country. You will see strip malls, big box stores, chain restaurants, huge intersections, and numerous housing developments, all spread out over many acres (Fig. 9.36). Sprawl is a phenomenon of the automobile era. Cities that grew before the automobile typically grew "up" instead of "out." For instance, Boston

Figure 9.37
Henderson, Nevada. Henderson is the largest suburb of Las Vegas, and it was also the fastest-growing urban settlement in the United States between 1990 and 2000. © Mike Yamashita/Woodfin Camp & Associates.

grew around the marketplace and port, but it grew before the automobile, resulting in development over smaller areas. If you walk through the central city of Boston today, you can walk where you need to go or take the T (metro). Places are built up vertically, and curving, narrow streets and commercial developments with a flavor of the old city (Quincy Market) give the city a cozy, intimate feel.

Does population growth explain which cities experience the most urban sprawl? In a study of sprawl from 1960 through the 1990s, Leon Kolankiewicz and Roy Beck (two antisprawl writers) used United States Census data on urbanized areas and found that urban sprawl happened even in urban areas without significant population growth. In the United States, urban sprawl is more rampant in the Sunbelt of the South (Atlanta) and in the West (Houston) in urban areas whose population is rapidly growing (Table 9.1). Yet, even in cities such as Detroit and Pittsburgh, where urban populations fell during the study period—by 7 percent in Detroit and 9 percent in Pittsburgh—urban sprawl increased the urbanized areas of the cities by 28 percent and 30 percent, respectively. For urban sprawl to happen, farmlands and old industrial sites are razed, and roads are built or widened, strip malls are erected, and housing developments monopolize the horizon.

To counter urban sprawl, a group of architects, urban planners, and developers (now numbering over 2000 in more than 20 countries) outlined an urban design vision they call new urbanism. Forming the Congress for the New Urbanism in 1993, the group defines **new urbanism** as development, urban revitalization, and suburban reforms that create walkable neighborhoods with a diversity of housing and jobs. On their website, the Congress for the New Urbanism explains that "New Urbanists support regional planning for open space, appropriate architecture and planning, and the balanced development of jobs and housing. They believe these strategies are the best way to reduce how long people spend in traffic, to increase the supply of affordable housing, and to rein in urban sprawl." New urbanists want to create neighborhoods that promote a sense of community and a sense of place.

The most famous new urbanist projects are cities that new urbanists designed from the ground up, including Seaside, Florida (featured in the movie *The Truman Show*), West Laguna, California, and Kentlands, Maryland.

TABLE 9.1

Top 20 Urban Sprawl Cities in the United States. Several different ways to measure sprawl exist. This index measures residential density, neighborhood mixture of homes, jobs and services, strength of downtowns, and accessibility to the street network.

TOP 20 URBAN SPRAWL CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Metropolitan Area	State
1. Riverside–San Bernardino	CA
2. Greensboro–Winston Salem–High Point	NC
3. Raleigh–Durham	NC
4. Atlanta	GA
5. Greenville–Spartanburg	SC
6. West Palm Beach–Boca Raton–Delray Beach	FL
7. Bridgeport–Stamford–Norwalk–Danbury	CT
8. Knoxville	TN
9. Oxnard–Ventura	CA
10. Fort Worth–Arlington	TX
11. Gary–Hammond	IN
12. Rochester	NY
13. Dallas	TX
14. Vallejo–Fairfield–Napa	CA
15. Detroit	MI
16. Syracuse	NY
17. Newark	NJ
18. Little Rock–North Little Rock	AR
19. Albany–Schenectady–Troy	NY
20. Hartford–New Britain–Middletown–Bristol	CT

Source: Smart Growth.org, http://www.smartgrowthamerica.org/sprawlindex/measuringsprawl.pdf last accessed July 2005.

When new urbanists build a town, the design is reminiscent of Christaller over a much smaller area. The planners choose the central shopping areas and open spaces and develop the neighborhoods around them, with housing clustered around the central space, so that people can walk to the shopping area within five minutes. One goal of new urbanist designs is to build housing more densely, to take up less space. Along with that, making shopping and other amenities walkable decreases dependency on the automobile, in the process helping the environment.

Although some see new urbanist designs as manufactured communities and feel disconnected in a new urbanist space, others see new urbanist designs as superior to sprawl. Celebration, Florida, is a remarkable new urbanist space: it is adjacent to Walt Disney's theme parks, was envisioned by Walt Disney himself, and is owned by the Disney Company (Fig. 9.38). Built in 1994, Celebration is centered on Market Street, a shopping district with restaurants (including a 1950s-style diner and a pizza place), a town hall, banks, a post office, and a movie theater with a nostalgic marquee (Fig. 9.39). The town includes schools, a health center, a fitness center, and a church. The Disney Company chose certain architectural styles for the houses in Celebration, and builders offer homes and townhouses in a price range from $300,000 to over $1 million. To meet the new urbanist goal of incorporating diverse people in a community, Celebration includes apartments for rent and condominiums for sale.

For geographers, new urbanism is seen as a redefinition of space in the city. Public spaces become privatized for the enjoyment of the few (the residents of the neighborhood). Geographers Stuart Aitken, Don Mitchell, and Lynn Staeheli note that as new urbanism strives to turn neighborhoods back in time, "spaces and social functions historically deemed public (such as parks, neighborhood centers, shopping districts)" are privatized. The houses with porches that encourage neighbors to talk and the parks that are within walking distance for the residents create "mythic landscapes that are ingratiating for those who can afford them and exclusionary for those who cannot."

Noted geographer David Harvey offers one of the strongest critiques of new urbanism, explaining first that most new urbanist designs are "greenfield" projects designed for the affluent to make the suburbs more livable. This fact is evidence, Harvey argues, that the new urbanism movement is a kind of "spatial determinism" that does not recognize that "the fundamental difficulty with modernism was its persistent habit of privileging spatial forms over social processes." Harvey, and others who critique new urbanism, claim that new urbanism does nothing to break down the social conditions that privilege some white disadvantaging others; that new urbanist projects take away much of the grittiness and character of the city; and that the "communities" that new urbanists form through their projects are exclusionary communities that further the racial segregation of cities.

Despite the critiques against new urbanism, developments in the new urbanist tradition are attracting a growing number of people, and when they are situated within cities, they can work against urban sprawl.

Gated Communities

As you drive through urban spaces, suburban and central city alike, you will note more and more neighborhoods being developed or redesigned to align with new urbanist principles. In your inventory of landscapes, even more overwhelming will be the proliferation of gated communities. **Gated communities** are fenced-in neighborhoods with controlled access gates for people and automobiles. Often, gated communities have security cameras and security forces (privatized police) keeping watch over the community, as the main objective of a gated community is to create a space of safety within the uncertain urban world. A secondary objective is to maintain or increase housing values in the neighborhood through enforcement of the neighborhood association's bylaws that control everything from the color of a house to the character and size of additions.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, developers in the United States began building gated communities in urban areas around the country. In a 2001 census of housing, the United States government reported that 16 million people, or about 6 percent of Americans, live in gated communities. The urban design of gating communities has diffused around the globe at record speed, with gated communities in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In poorer countries, where cities are divided between wealthy and poor, gated communities provide another layer of comfort for the city's wealthy. In the large cities of Latin America and Africa, you commonly see walls around individual houses, walling in yards and pools and keeping out crime. During the last ten years, many neighborhoods in these cities have added gates around the neighborhoods in addition to the walls. Walled houses and gated communities in the wealthy northern suburbs of Johannesburg, South Africa are threatening the desegregation of the post-Apartheid city. White, wealthy residents fear crime in the city with a murder rate, along with neighboring Pretoria, of 5000 per year (in an area with about 5 million people). In response to their fear of crime, people in the suburbs of Johannesburg blocked off over 2500 streets and posted guards to control access to these streets by 2004. Many fear that the gated communities are a new form of segregation. Since the vast majority of the crimes in the city occur in poor black townships or in the central city, the concern is that these developments only worsen the plight of less well-off segments of society.

In China, gated communities have taken off, now crossing socioeconomic classes and creating a ubiquitous feature

Field Note

"When I visited Celebration, Florida in 1997, I felt like I was walking onto a movie or television set. The architecture in the Walt Disney-designed new urbanist development looked like the quintessential New England town. Each house has a porch, but on the day I was there, the porches sat empty—waiting to welcome the arrival of their owners at the end of the work day. We walked through town, past the 50s-style movie marquee, and ate lunch at a 50s-style diner. At that point, Celebration was still growing. Across the street from the 'Bank of Celebration' stood a sign marking the future home of the 'Church in Celebration.'"

Figure 9.38
Celebration, Florida. © Erin H. Fouberg.

Figure 9.39
Celebration, Florida. © Erin H. Fouberg.

Figure 9.40
Gated Housing Community in Beijing, China. © Liu Liqun/China Stock Photo Library.

on the urban landscape (Fig. 9.40). Like the gated communities in Europe and North America, the gated communities of China privatize spaces and exclude outsiders with gates, security cameras, and restricted access. However, the gated communities in China are five to ten times more densely populated than gated communities in Europe and North America. Geographer Youqin Huang has found other differences between gated communities in China and those in North America and Europe. China has a long history of gated communities, dating back to the first Chinese cities and persisting since. Huang argues that the "collectivism-oriented culture and tight political control" in China explain why the Chinese government built gated communities during the socialist period and why a proliferation of gated communities has occurred by private developers since China's housing reform in 1998 promoted individual home ownership.

In Europe and North America, gated communities are not only for the wealthy and privileged. Especially since September 11, people have a growing desire to feel safe at home, and this is just as true of middle and lower classes as it is of the rich. Some urban planners have encouraged governments to recast low-income housing as small communities, gated from each other, in order to reduce the flowthrough traffic and crime associated with it. Cities have torn down the enormous high rises, typically ridden with crime and referred to as "the projects" such as Cabrini Green in Chicago and Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, in effort to remake the spaces of the poor into "defensible" spaces (Fig. 9.41).

Urban planners want to gate middle-income and low-income neighborhoods in order to create a sense of community and to make the spaces "defensible" from undesired activities such as drug dealing and prostitution. One of the best-documented cases of gating a middle-income community is the Five Oaks district of Dayton, Ohio, a neighborhood that is about 50 percent African American and 50 percent white and has a high rate of rentals. Urban planner Oscar Newman encouraged planners in Dayton to divide the 2000 households in the Five Oaks district into ten smaller, gated communities with restricted access. The city turned most of the residential streets in each of these mini-neighborhoods into cul-de-sacs. They have experienced a serious reduction in crime, along with an increase in housing sales and housing values.

Ethnic Neighborhoods in the European City

Ethnic neighborhoods in European cities are typically affiliated with migrants from former colonies. For example, Algeria was a colony of France, and now Paris and other French cities have distinct Algerian neighborhoods. Similarly, London (the United Kingdom) has a Jamaican neighborhood, and Madrid (Spain) has a distinct Moroccan neighborhood, reflecting their colonial ties with these now sovereign countries. Other European countries cultivated relationships with countries outside of Europe after the colonial era. For example, after World War II, Germany

Figure 9.41
St. Louis, Missouri. This photo taken in 1971 captured a view of the massive Pruitt-Igoe housing project, before it was demolished in 1972. Pruitt-Igoe was designed in 1951, and by 1972 the rampant crime in the project's 33 apartment buildings solidified the image of this public housing project as a failure. © Corbis-Bettmann.

invited young men from Turkey to migrate to Germany as guest workers (see Chapter 3). Cities in Germany, such as Frankfurt, have distinct Turkish neighborhoods. Current immigration to countries in Europe typically focuses on the cities. And most of the migrants to European cities come from the global periphery or from eastern Europe, not from other countries in western Europe.

Migration to Europe is constrained by government policies and laws. Many western European cities have public housing zones that were built after World War II following the devastation of the war years. Governments in Europe are typically much more involved in the social rights of people, such as health care and housing than the United States government. European cities are also much older than American cities, and when the cities were laid out they were designed for foot and horse traffic, not automobiles. Thus, European cities are typically more compact, densely populated, and walkable than American cities. European cities also have historic city centers where much of the city's history took place and is preserved and to which tourists are attracted today. Rather than the skyscrapers that are typically the focal point of downtown in American cities, a historic city center is the focal point of downtown in European cities and skyscrapers are reserved for developments on the outskirts of town. Housing in the European city is often combined with places of work, with work spaces on the bottom floors of buildings and housing above. Large zones of housing in Europe typically begin in a ring around the outside of the city center, in what Ernest Burgess called the zone of transition. After the war, many European governments built public housing structures in the spaces leveled by bombing *around* the city center.

Immigration is changing the spatial-cultural geography of European cities. As immigrants have settled in large numbers in the zone of transition, locals have moved out. Walking from the city center of Paris out through immigrant neighborhoods, one can see the cultural landscape change to reflect the significant number of immigrants from the "Maghreb" of Africa, the region of North Africa around Algeria and Morocco. Maghrebis are by far the most numerous inhabitants in the tough, hardscrabble immigrant neighborhoods around Paris, where unemployment is high, crime is widespread, resentment festers. Many Maghrebis provides solace in Islam. Walk along the tenement-lined, littered streets here, and the elegant avenues of historic Paris seem remote indeed—but they are not. A short subway ride takes you from one world to another.

Whether a public housing zone is divided into ethnic neighborhoods in a European city depends in large part on government policy. Urban geographers Christian Kesteloot and Cees Cortie studied housing policies and zones in Brussels, Belgium, and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. They found that Brussels has very little public housing and that immigrants live in privately owned rentals throughout the city. Kesteloot and Cortie also found that immigrant groups in Brussels who came from a distinct region of their home country (especially rural regions), such as the Turks in Brussels, tend to cluster in ethnic neighborhoods. In contrast, the researchers reported that immigrant groups who came from cities, such as the Moroccans in Brussels, chose rental units scattered throughout the city and therefore did not establish ethnic neighborhoods in Brussels.

Amsterdam is quite different from Brussels: Amsterdam has a great deal of public housing and few ethnic neighborhoods within the public housing units. When immigration to Amsterdam from former colonies (Indonesia, Surinam) and noncolonies (Morocco and Turkey) increased in the 1960s, Amsterdammers moved from the transition zone of

public housing to neighboring towns such as Almere. The Dutch government then implemented a policy in the public housing zone that slowed the creation of ethnic neighborhoods. The Dutch government allots public housing to legal immigrants by assigning homes on a sequential basis in the city's zone of transition, where some 80 percent of the housing stock is public housing. As a result of government assignment of housing, if you walk through the public housing zone of Amsterdam, you will find a family from Suriname living next to an Indonesian family and a Moroccan family, not just other Surinamese. The housing and neighborhoods are multicultural. The ethnic groups maintain their local cultures through religious and cultural organizations rather than through residential segregation. In Amsterdam, the call to Friday prayer for Muslims rings out all over the immigrant areas, as Muslims from various countries are spread throughout the city.

Ethnic Neighborhoods in the Global Periphery and Semiperiphery City

In cities of the periphery and semiperiphery, a sea of slum development typically begins where the permanent buildings end, in some cases engulfing and dwarfing the central city. If you stand on a hill outside Lima (Peru) or overlooking the Cape Flats near Cape Town (South Africa), you see an unchanging panorama of makeshift shacks built of every conceivable material, vying for every foot of space, extending to the horizon. You will notice few, if any, trees, and you will see narrow footpaths leading to a few unpaved streets that go into the central city.

Millions of migrants travel to such ominous environments every year. The total number of people living in these types of slum developments is uncertain because government control is impossible and enumeration impractical. In Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), the migrants build their dwellings on dangerous, landslide-prone slopes; in Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea), the migrants sink stilts in the mud and build out over the water, risking wind and waves. In Calcutta (India), thousands of migrants do not even try to erect shelters: there and in many other cities they live in the streets, under bridges, even in storm drains. City governments do not have the resources to adequately educate, medicate, or police the burgeoning populations, let alone to provide even minimal housing for most.

Even the people living in the squalid conditions of shanty settlements are not really squatters—they pay rent. When the settlements expand outward from the central city, they occupy land owned by previous residents, families who farmed what were once the rural areas beyond the city's edge. Some of the farming families were favored by the former colonial administration; they moved into the cities but continued to own the lands their farms were on. As shanty developments encroached on their lands, the landowners began to charge people rent for living on the dilapidated housing the new residents built on the land. After establishing an owner-tenant relationship, the landowners steadily raise rents, threatening to destroy the flimsy shacks if residents fail to pay. In this way, powerful long-term inhabitants of the city exploit the weaker, more recent arrivals.

The vast slums of cities in poorer parts of the world are typically ethnically delineated, with new arrivals precariously accommodated. For example, Nairobi, Kenya, has a large slum area, one of the worst in Subsaharan Africa in terms of amenities, called Kibera. Much of the land where Kibera is located is owned by Nubians, who are of Sudanese descent. The Sudanese Nubians settled in the area of Kibera during the colonial era. Many of the Nubians have become businesspeople in the city of Nairobi. The modern tenants of the shanty settlements in Kibera are largely Luo from western Kenya and Luhya from northwestern Kenya. During the fall of 2001, some of the Kiberian tenants were unable to pay the latest increase in rents. The Nubian landowners came to evict them, and in the fighting that followed, a number of people were killed. Groups of Luo, Luhya, and others even took to fighting among themselves. The government intervened to stabilize the situation. The latest rent increases were withdrawn, but the fundamental problems—crowding, unemployment, unsanitary conditions, hunger, and lack of education—remain, and the ethnic groups living in the neighborhoods of Kibera will likely experience fighting again.

Geography plays a major role in the relationships among ethnic components of a former colonial city. The settlement patterns of cities developed during the colonial period often persist long after. In a study of the city of Mombasa, Kenya, during the 1960s, H. J. de Blij found that the central city, in effect the island on which Mombasa was built, was informally partitioned among major ethnic groups. Apart from the Swahili who occupied the Old Town and adjacent historic portions of the built-up area, the spatial pattern of occupance by ethnic groups in the city of Mombasa mirrored the status of the ethnic groups in the country of Kenya as a whole. The port of Mombasa, the country's largest, was the city's major employer. The Kikuyu, whose historic homeland lies far away from Mombasa to the north of Nairobi, were privileged by the British during colonial times. Because of their important position during colonialism, Kikuyu workers and their families living in Mombasa resided closest to the port and to the center of economic power. Although the most powerful workers lived closest to the central commercial district, the Asians (often from India and thus referred to as Indians in Mombasa) who controlled the city's commerce were concentrated on the opposite side of the island, away from the port. Another powerful ethnic group, the Kamba, occupied a zone farther outward from the port. The Mijikenda, a less powerful African ethnic group, migrated from off-island villages to work in Mombasa and lived farther from the commercial center.

In recent times, as the city's population has grown seven times larger than it was in the 1960s, the spatial pattern of Mombasa still reflects the power of ethnic groups. The most

recent immigrants, desperate for jobs, crowd the outer zone of the city, off of the island, and in the shanty settlements.

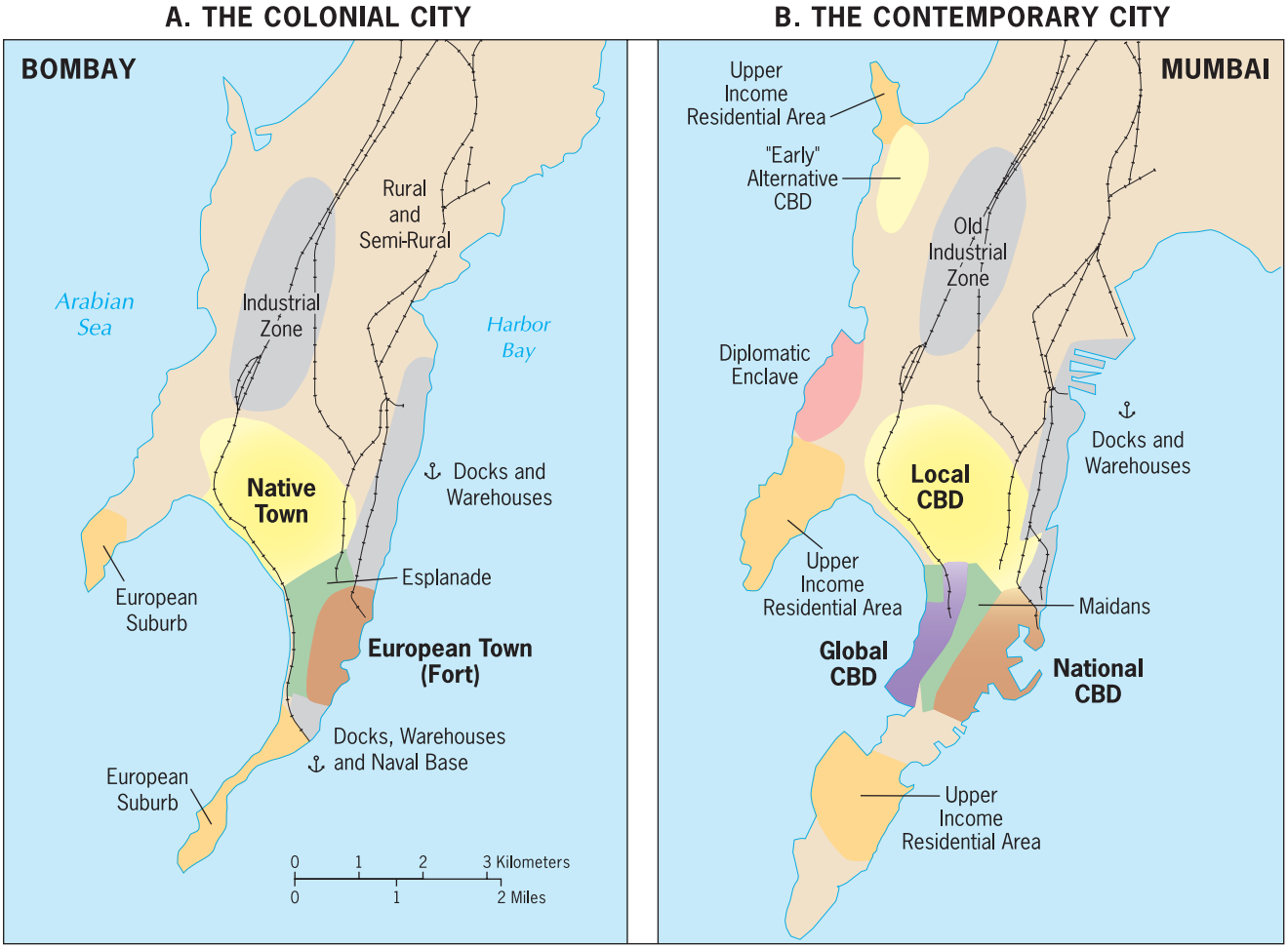
How do the many millions of urban immigrants living in the slum-ridden rings and pockets of the cities of the global periphery and semiperiphery survive? Extended families share and stretch every dollar they manage to earn; when one member of the family has a salaried job, his or her income saves the day for a dozen or more relatives. When a member of the family (or several members of a larger community) manages to emigrate to a core country or an island of development and makes good money there, part of that income is sent back home and becomes the mainstay for those left behind. Hundreds of millions of dollars are transferred this way every year; *remittances* make a critical difference in the poorer countries of the world (see Chapter 3).

In the vast slums, barrios, and favelas, those who are jobless or unsalaried are not idle. Everywhere you look people are at work, inside or in front of their modest habitats, fixing things, repairing broken items for sale, sorting through small piles of waste for salvageable items, trading and selling goods from makeshift stands. What prevails here is referred to as the **informal economy**—the economy that is not taxed and is not counted toward a country's gross national income. What is generated in the informal economy can add up to a huge total in unrecorded monetary value. The informal economy worries governments because it is essentially a recordless economy and no taxes are paid. Remittances are usually delivered in cash, not via Western Union or a bank. Typically, a trusted community member (who might pay a comparatively small bribe at the airport when passing through immigration) carries remittances to family members.

Even as the informal economy thrives among the millions in the shantytowns, the new era of globalization is making a major impact in the major cities founded or fostered by the colonial powers. In 2002, geographers Richard Grant and Jan Nijman documented this transformation in former colonial port cities, including Mumbai, India. In this city, formerly called Bombay, colonial rule produced an urban landscape marked by strong segregation of foreign and local activities, commercial as well as residential (Fig. 9.42), and

Figure 9.42

The Changing Character of Mumbai, India. *Adapted with permission from*: Richard Grant and Jan Nijman, "Globalization and the Corporate Geography of Cities in the Less-Developed World," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92, 2 (2002).



high levels of functional specialization and concentration. Adjacent to the port area was a well-demarcated European business district containing foreign (mostly British) companies. Most economic activities in this European commercial area involved trade, transport, banking, distribution, and insurance. Zoning and building codes were strictly enforced. Physically separated from this European district were the traditional markets and bazaars of the so-called Native Town, a densely populated mix of commercial and residential land uses.

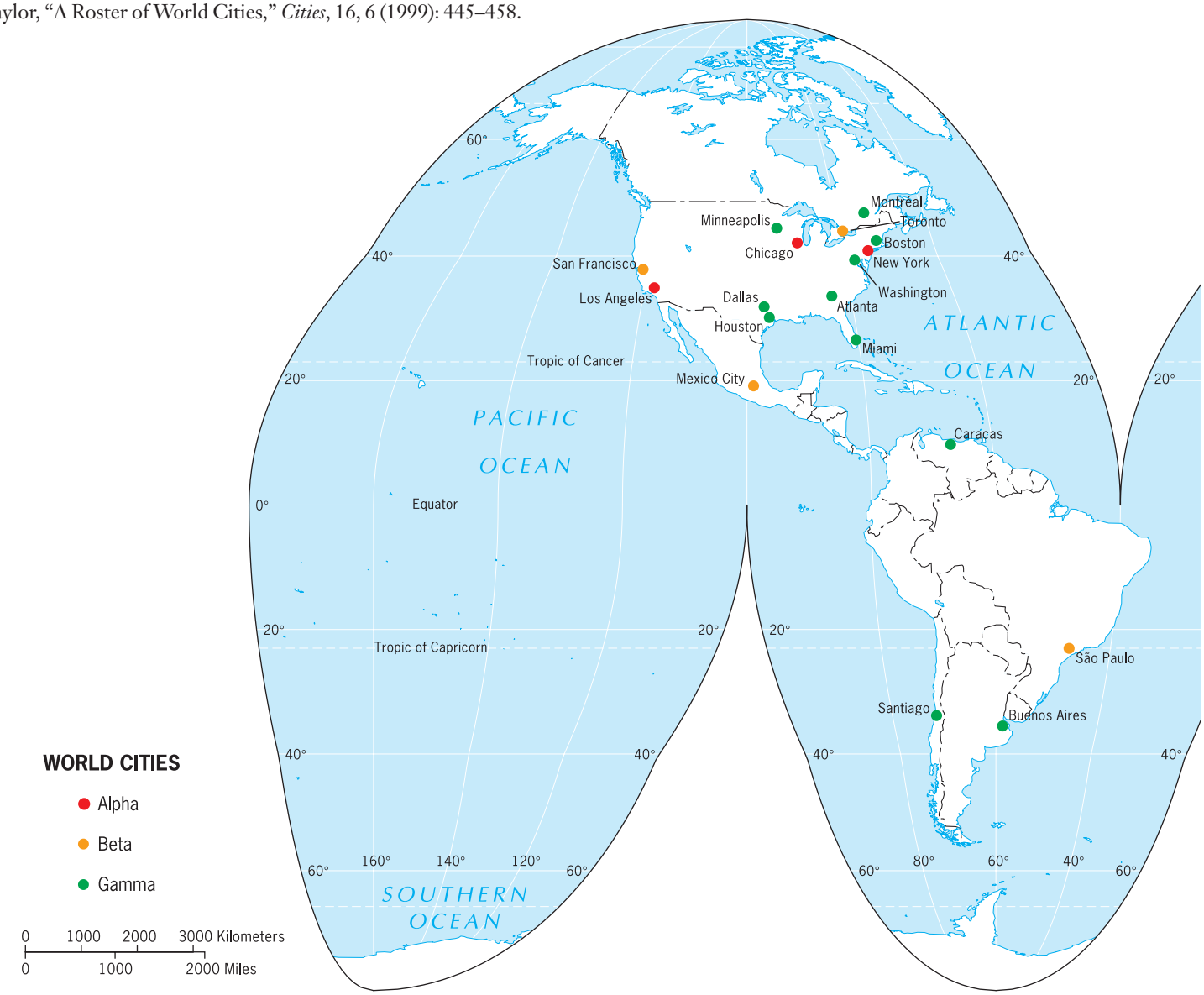
In this era of globalization, a new spatially demarcated foreign presence has arisen. The city now has a global CBD at the heart of the original colonial city, housing mostly foreign corporations and multinational companies and linked mainly to the global economy. The former European Town has a large presence of big domestic companies and a pronounced orientation to the national (Indian) economy. And the Native Town now has a high concentration of small domestic company headquarters and the strongest orientation to the immediate urban area.

thinking geographically

Using the city you sketched in the last "Thinking Geographically" question, consider the concepts and processes introduced in this section of the chapter and explain how people and institutions created this city and the model you sketched.

Figure 9.43

World Cities: Alpha, Beta, and Gamma. *Data from*: J. V. Beaverstock, R. G. Smith, and P. J. Taylor, "A Roster of World Cities," *Cities*, 16, 6 (1999): 445–458.

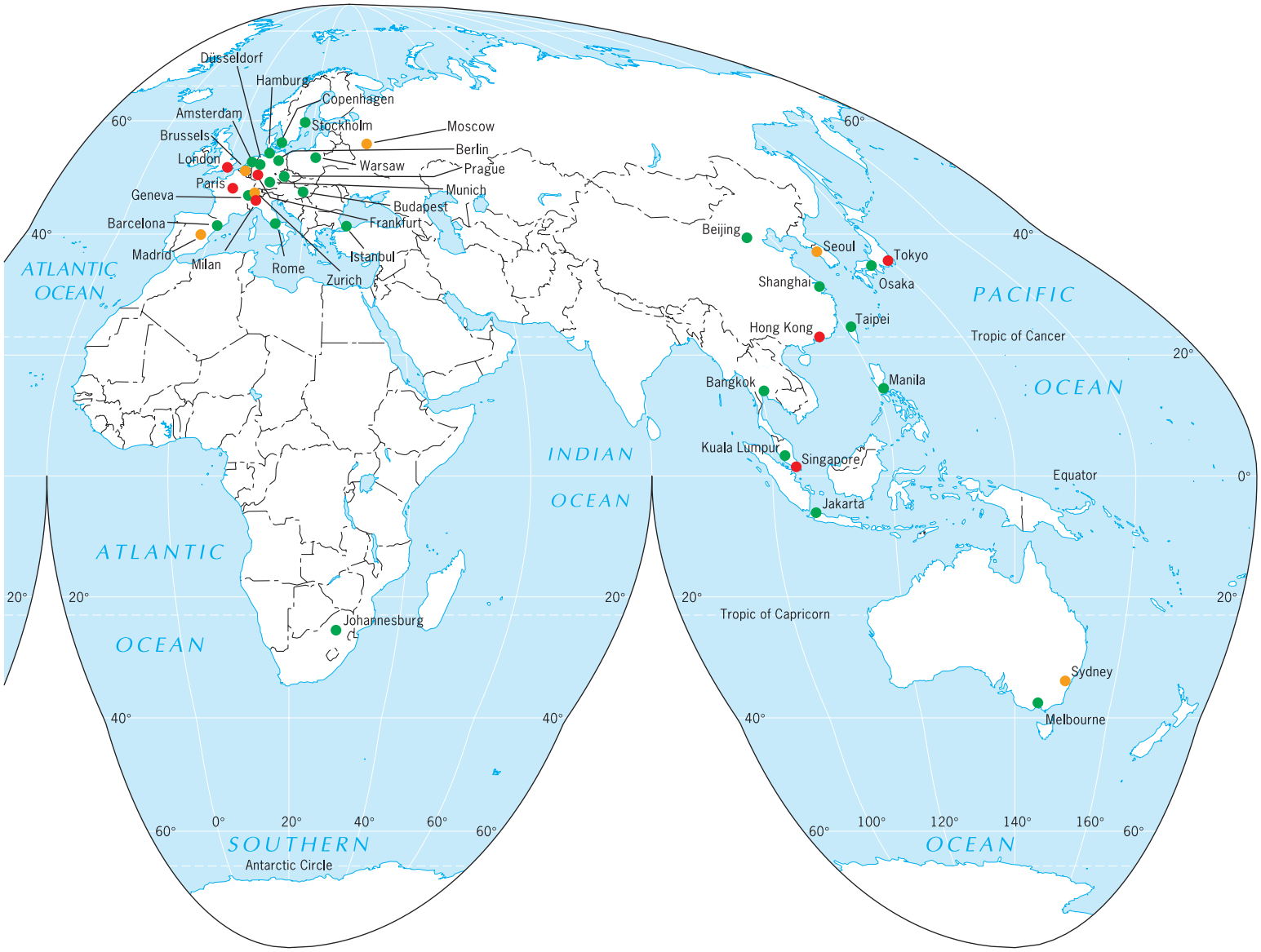


WHAT ROLE DO CITIES PLAY IN GLOBALIZATION?

Globalization, as we defined the term in the first chapter, is a set of processes and outcomes that occur on the global scale, circumventing and leaping over state boundaries to affect the world. In the processes of globalization, cities are taking over in ways we barely understand. Most statistics about economic activity at the global scale are gathered and disseminated by states. Nonetheless, many of the most important processes occur among and between cities, not states as a whole, masking the integral role world cities play in globalization. **World cities** function at the global scale, beyond the reach of the state borders, functioning as the service centers of the world economy.

Contending that models of cities and hierarchies of cities within states (such as Christaller) no longer represent what is happening with the city, Taylor and Lang maintain that the city has become "something else" than a simple CBD tied into a hierarchy of other cities within the state. The world city is a node in globalization, reflecting processes that have "redrawn the limits on spatial interaction," according to Felsenstein, Schamp, and Shachar. A node is a place through which action and interaction occur. As a node, a world city is connected to other cities, and the forces shaping globalization pulse across these connections and through the cities.

Most lists of world cities provide a hierarchy of the most important nodes, the most important world cities, then



the next most important, and so forth. Virtually all agree that New York, London, and Tokyo are the most important world cities, but beyond that point, the definition of what makes a world city and the list of world cities changes depending on the perspective of the researcher. Geographers Jon Beaverstock and Peter J. Taylor and their Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network have produced nearly 200 research papers, chapters, and books on the geography of world cities over the past few years. By studying which cities provide producer services (integral to the processes of globalization) in the areas of banking, law, advertising, and accounting, these geographers have produced an inventory of world cities mapped in Figure 9.43. They delineate 10 Alpha, 10 Beta, and 35 Gamma world cities. The Alpha cities (London, Paris, New York, Tokyo, Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milan, and Singapore) have a global capacity to provide services in the world-economy.

World cities do not exist merely to service players in the global economy. Major world cities such as London and Paris are also capital cities. States concentrate development and encourage interconnectedness between certain cities and the rest of the world. Even though London and Paris are a short distance apart, both function as world cities in part because of the role they play within their respective states: each became a magnet for economic and political activity within its state, and then the globe. States often focus development in one particular city, such as the capital city, thereby bolstering that city above the rest of the cities in the state. In 1939, geographer Mark Jefferson defined a **primate city** as "a country's leading city, always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling." He saw the primate city as the largest and most economically influential within the state, with the next largest city in the state being much smaller and much less influential.

Many former colonies have primate cities, as the colonial powers often ruled from a single dominant city, where economic and political activities were concentrated. In the noncolonial context, London and Paris each serve as examples of primate cities and world cities today, but some countries such as the United States and Germany have two or more world cities within their state borders. They thus do not have a single, distinct primate city. To understand the role of cities in globalization, the services cities provide to places and peoples around the world and the interconnectedness among cities must also be considered. Geographers are now working to uncover the globalized flows and processes occurring across world cities, bringing them closer together.

Cities as Spaces of Consumption

In addition to being nodes in globalization, cities are also products of globalization. Major changes in cities, such as the redevelopment of New York's Times Square and the remaking of Berlin's Potsdamer Platz, are the result of global processes. Frank Roost has found that "the global media industry is becoming the driving force in the reshaping of cities" such as New York and Berlin, turning city centers into **spaces of consumption**. Global media giants such as Time Warner, Viacom, and Walt Disney use cross promotion to encourage the consumption of their products. It is no accident that characters on television sit-coms produced and aired on ABC (a television channel owned by Walt Disney) visit Disney theme parks or host Disney Princess-themed birthday parties on a given episode. These same media companies are investing heavily in urban centers in order to create entertainment spaces, places where tourists can go to consume their products. Media corporations are helping transform urban centers into major entertainment districts ("variations on a theme park") where items are *consumed*.

For example, in New York City, government entities began to try to redevelop Times Square in the early 1980s. At that time, this area of the city was known for its neon lights, pornography movie houses, prostitution, and other illicit economic activities. The city sought to push these businesses out of Times Square and return the business district to a conglomeration of restaurants, hotels, bars, and entertainment spaces (as it had been before World War II). Over the decade of the 1980s, the city closed hundreds of small businesses in Times Square. In 1995, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani reached a deal with Michael Eisner, CEO of Walt Disney. The mayor promised to remove the remaining sex shops, and Eisner committed to renovating the New Amsterdam Theater, a focal point in Times Square (Fig. 9.44 left and right). Secured with a $26 million low-interest loan from the State of New York, Disney set the new course for a family-friendly entertainment district in New York. The restored New Amsterdam Theater hosts Disney musicals such as *The Lion King* and *Beauty and the Beast* (both based on Disney movies). The Times Square area is assuredly a space of consumption and a variation on a theme park: themed restaurants (Hard Rock Café, ESPN Zone), cross-promoting themed stores (Warner Brothers Store, Disney Store), and retail stores that cater to families (an enormous Toys R Us with a ferris wheel inside).

Potsdamer Platz in Berlin is also becoming a new space of consumption in the city center. Prior to the bombing of Berlin during World War II, Potsdamer Platz was a center of entertainment for Berlin's middle class. After the war, little was left of the area. Soon, a 500-yard border zone and the Berlin Wall occupied the formerly vibrant area of the city. After reunification, the city divided Potsdamer Platz and sold the land. The two largest owners are the German company Daimler-Benz and the Japanese company Sony. Sony built a huge entertainment structure called the Sony Center for cross promotion. According to Roost, much of the Daimler-Benz structure, Daimler

Figure 9.44, left and right

New York, New York. (left) The New Amsterdam Theater in Times Square as it stood in 1947. Note the signs around the building, advertising arcade games and a flea circus. (right) During the 1980s and 1990s, Times Square was "cleaned up" and reinvigorated. The Walt Disney Company renovated the New Amsterdam Theater and now shows productions of musicals such as *Beauty and the Beast* and *The Lion King*. © Corbis-Bettmann.

City, is a space of consumption, with entertainment venues, restaurants, bars, and hotels.

Although the tourist will be focused on the theme park atmosphere of these spaces of consumption, the renovations of the districts in both of these cities have also brought spaces of media production to the cities. Sony has placed its European headquarters in Berlin, Warner Brothers moved its offices to Times Square, and new office towers around Times Square house many other media companies.

thinking geographically

Thinking through the challenges to the state presented in Chapter 8, predict whether and under what circumstances world cities could replace states as the basic and most powerful form of political organization in the world.

Summary

The city is an ever changing cultural landscape, its layers reflecting grand plans by governments, impassioned pursuits by individuals, economic decisions by corporations, and processes of globalization. Geographers who study cities have a multitude of topics to examine. From gentrification to tear-downs, from favelas to McMansions, from spaces of production to spaces of consumption, from ancient walls to gated communities, cities have so much in common and yet each has its own pulse, its own feel, its own spatial structure, its own set of realities. The pulse of the city is undoubtedly created by the peoples and cultures who live there. For it is the people, whether working independently or as part of global institutions, who continuously create and re-create the city and its geography.

Geographic Concepts

urban morphology
city
urban
agricultural village
agricultural surplus
social stratification
leadership class
first urban revolution
Mesopotamia
Nile River Valley
Indus River Valley
Huang He and Wei River Valleys
Mesoamerica
acropolis
agora
site
Forum
situation
trade area
rank-size rule
central place theory
Sunbelt phenomenon
functional zonation
zone
central business district
central city
suburb
suburbanization
concentric zone model
edge cities
urban realm
Griffin-Ford model
disamenity sector
McGee model
shantytowns
zoning laws
redlining
blockbusting
commercialization
gentrification
tear-downs
McMansions
urban sprawl
new urbanism
gated communities
informal economy
world city
primate city
spaces of consumption

Learn More Online

About Celebration, Florida
http://www.celebration.fl.us/

About the Congress for the New Urbanism
http://www.cnu.org/

About Globalization and World Cities
http://www.lut.ac.uk/gawc/index.html

About Opposition to Urban Sprawl
http://www.sierraclub.org/sprawl/

About Seaside, Florida
http://www.seasidefl.com/

Watch It Online

About Berlin
http://www.learner.org/resources/series180.html#program_descriptions

Click on Video On Demand for "Berlin: United We Stand"
http://www.learner.org/resources/series85.html#program_descriptions"

Click on Video On Demand for "Berlin: Changing Center of a Changing Europe"

About Sprawl in Chicago
http://www.learner.org/resources/series180.html

Click on Video On Demand for "Chicago: Farming on the Edge"