

interact with the central realm in order to reach other outlying realms and distant metropolises (Figure 7.7).

Though conceived on the basis of work on the San Francisco Bay area, the model has subsequently been applied to describe the general land-use structure of other US cities.¹⁶

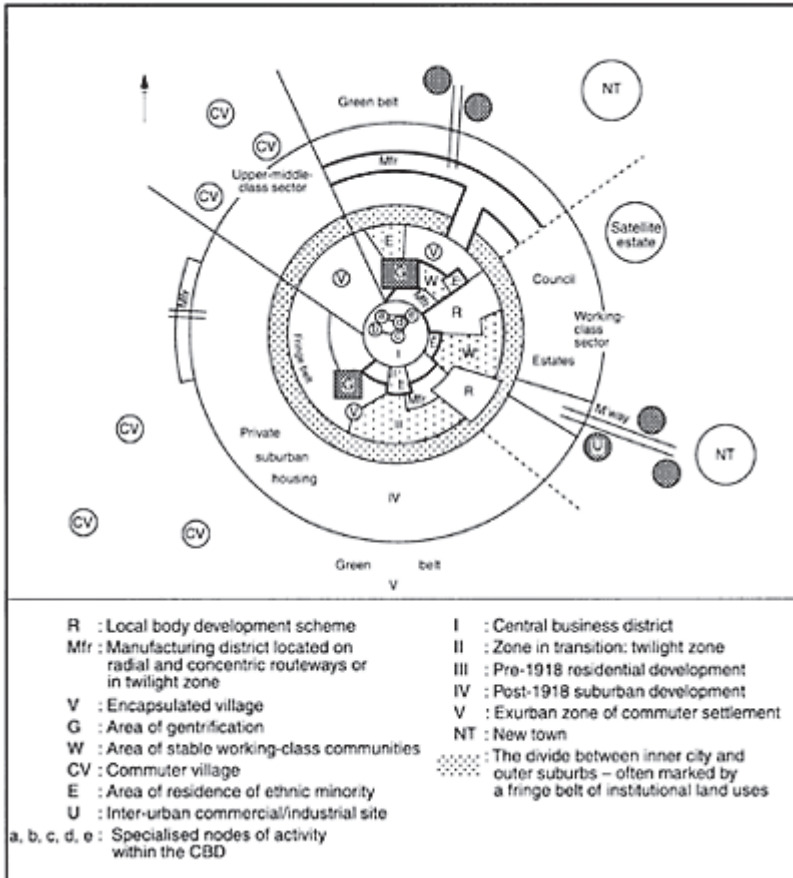


Figure 7.6 Kearsley's modified Burgess model of urban land use

Source: G.Kearsley (1983) Teaching urban geography: the Burgess model *New Zealand Journal of Geography* 12, 10-13

WHITE'S MODEL OF THE TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY CITY

Since publication of the three classical models of urban land use many new forces have come to influence urban growth. These reflect societal changes such as

deindustrialisation of the urban economy, the emergence of a service economy, the dominance of the automobile, a decrease in family size, suburban residential developments, decentralisation of business and industry, and increased intervention by government in the process of urban growth. White (1987) proposed a revision of the Burgess model that incorporates these trends in order to guide our understanding of the twenty-first-century city¹⁷ (Figure 7.8).

The model comprises seven elements:

1. *Core*. The CBD remains the focus of the metropolis. Its functions may have changed over the years but it still houses the major banks and financial institutions, government

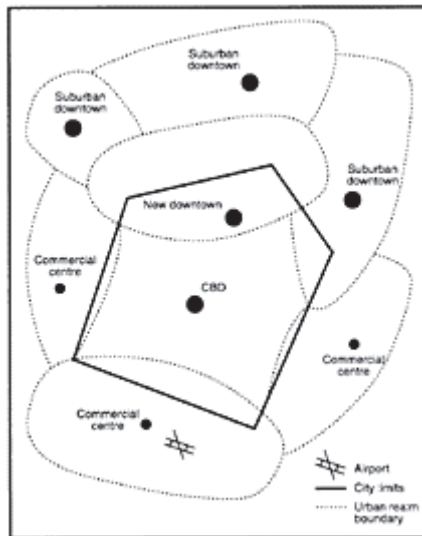


Figure 7.7 Vance's urban realms model

Source: J.Vance (1964) Geography and Urban Evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area Berkeley, CA: Institute of Local Government Studies, University of California

buildings and corporate headquarters as well as the region's main cultural and entertainment facilities. A few large department stores retain flagship establishments downtown, but most retailing has moved with the affluent population to the suburbs, with many remaining outlets being speciality stores catering for daytime commuters.

2. *Zone of stagnation*. While Burgess expected investors from the CBD to expand into the zone in transition, White depicts the area as a zone of stagnation. He argues that rather than extending outwards spatially, the CBD expands vertically. Lack of investment in the zone was compounded by the effects of slum clearance, highway construction, and the relocation of warehousing and transport activities to suburban areas. Although

some older US industrial cities (such as Cleveland OH) have sought to revitalise the zone through conversion of buildings into entertainment, shopping and residential areas, younger cities (such as Dallas TX) have abandoned the zone altogether.

3. *Pockets of poverty and minorities*. These comprise highly segregated groups living on the fringes of society, including the homeless,

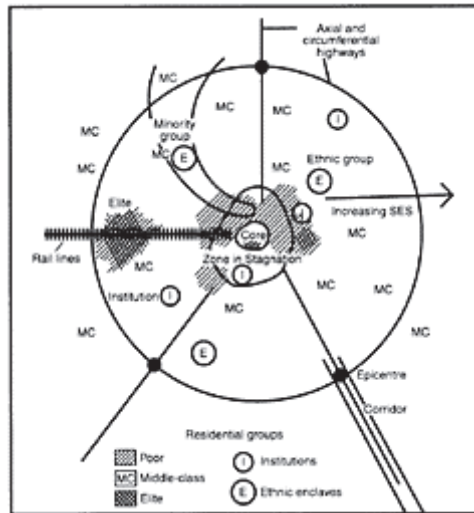


Figure 7.8 White's model of the twenty-first-century city

Source: M. White (1987) *American Neighborhoods and Residential Differentiation* New York: Russell Sage Foundation

addicts, dysfunctional families, the **underclass**, and members of minorities. The surroundings reflect their status, being dominated by deteriorating housing in blighted neighbourhoods. These slum areas are found mostly in the inner city skirting the zone of stagnation, but a few are also located in older suburbs.

4. *Elite enclaves*. The wealthy have the greatest choice of housing environment and are able to insulate themselves from the problems of the metropolis. Most live in neighbourhoods on the urban periphery in expensive houses on spacious lots. 'Gilded' neighbourhoods also remain in the central areas of older large metropolises.
5. *The diffused middle class*. These areas occupy the largest area of the metropolis and are spatially concentrated between the outer edge of the central city and the metropolitan fringe. This suburban zone is characterised by social diversity:
 - In the interior sections are older settled neighbourhoods which are now in transition as the original settlers have raised their families and are moving to other dwellings. Some of these neighbourhoods, often adjacent to the central city, are attracting the black middle class. Although large numbers of African-Americans have moved to the suburbs in recent decades they remain highly segregated.

- Farther out there are the archetypal suburban communities comprising married couples with small children living in single-family detached homes built on spacious lots. The suburbanisation of business and industry means that nucleations of other social groups are also present, with working-class families living in more modest neighbourhoods, the elderly in garden apartments and retirement communities, singles in apartment complexes and ethnic minorities in their own enclaves.
6. *Industrial anchors and public sector control.* Industrial parks, universities, R&D centres, hospitals, business and office centres, corporate headquarters and other large institutional property holders can exert a major influence on patterns of land use and residential development. Institutional actors and other members of a local growth coalition (see below) can pressure city government to modify zoning, lower taxes and construct infrastructure. The location of such activity (e.g. the siting of a large shopping mall) is of considerable importance in shaping the urban structure.
 7. *Epicentres and corridors.* A distinguishing feature of the evolving twenty-first-century metropolis is the emergence of peripheral epicentres located at the convergence of an outer beltway and axial superhighway and providing a range of services to rival those of the CBD. Corridor developments, as along Route 128 near Boston or the Johnson Freeway in Dallas, can also act as a focus for intensive economic activity.

The classical models together with more recent modifications provide a powerful insight into the changing structure of the Western city. A major deficiency, however, is that only limited explicit consideration is given to the processes underlying the revealed patterns of land use. This criticism underlay development of the political economy interpretation of urban change.

A POLITICAL-ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

Despite some success in describing general patterns of urban land use the traditional ecological models, and in particular their positivist basis in neoclassical economics, were criticised in the early 1970s as:

1. *mechanistic*, viewing humans as rational decision-makers operating in an abstract environment;
2. *ideological*, retaining the myth of value-free research while legitimising market capitalism and retention of the socio-economic status quo;
3. *devoid of ethical content*, since questions of equity and fairness of social conditions and resource allocation were excluded.

Energised by the development of a policy-oriented and relevance perspective in human geography, urban geographers sought interpretations of urban change that revealed the structural forces underlying observed land-use patterns. This led researchers such as Harvey (1975) and Castells (1977) to focus explicitly on the place of the city in the capitalist mode of production.¹⁸ This neo-Marxist perspective was based on the premise that: