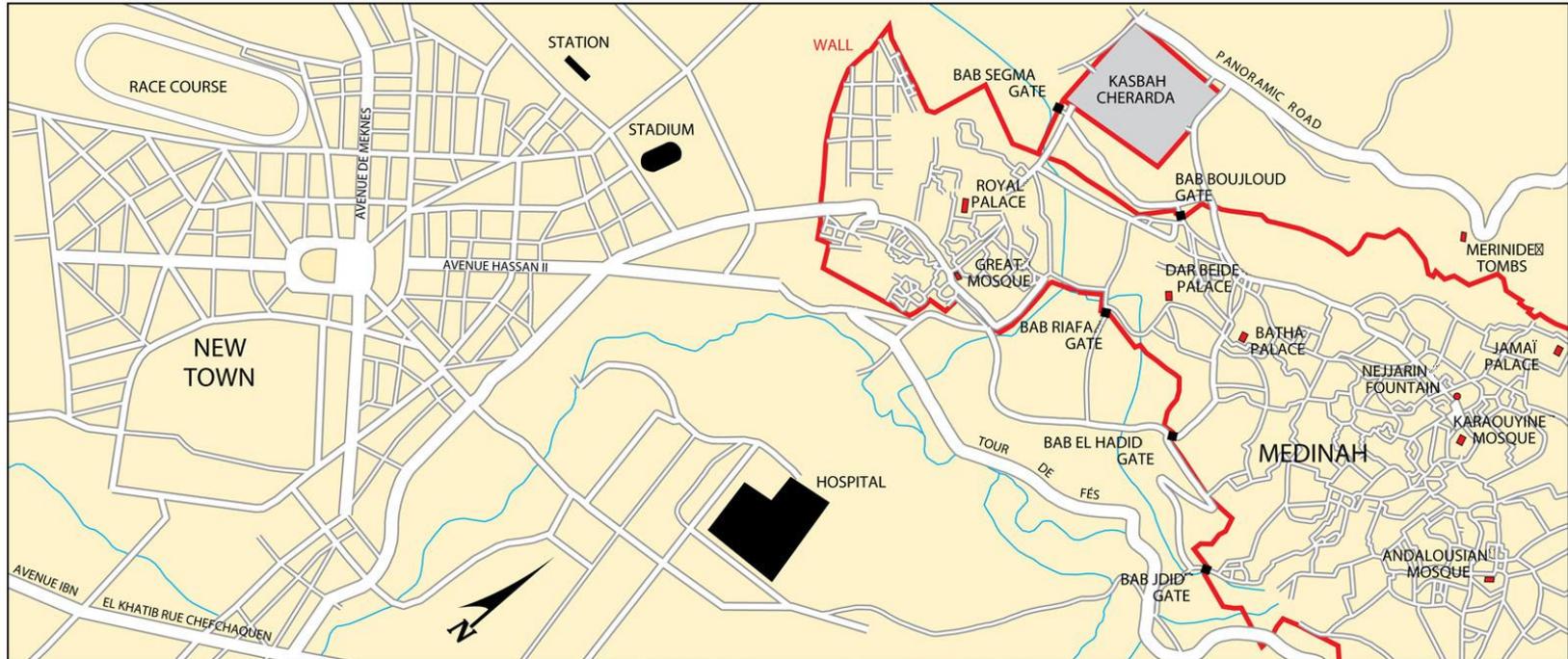


Fès (Fez), Morocco



Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-13: The old city has narrow winding streets and dense population. The French laid out a new district to the west with a geometric street pattern.

Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

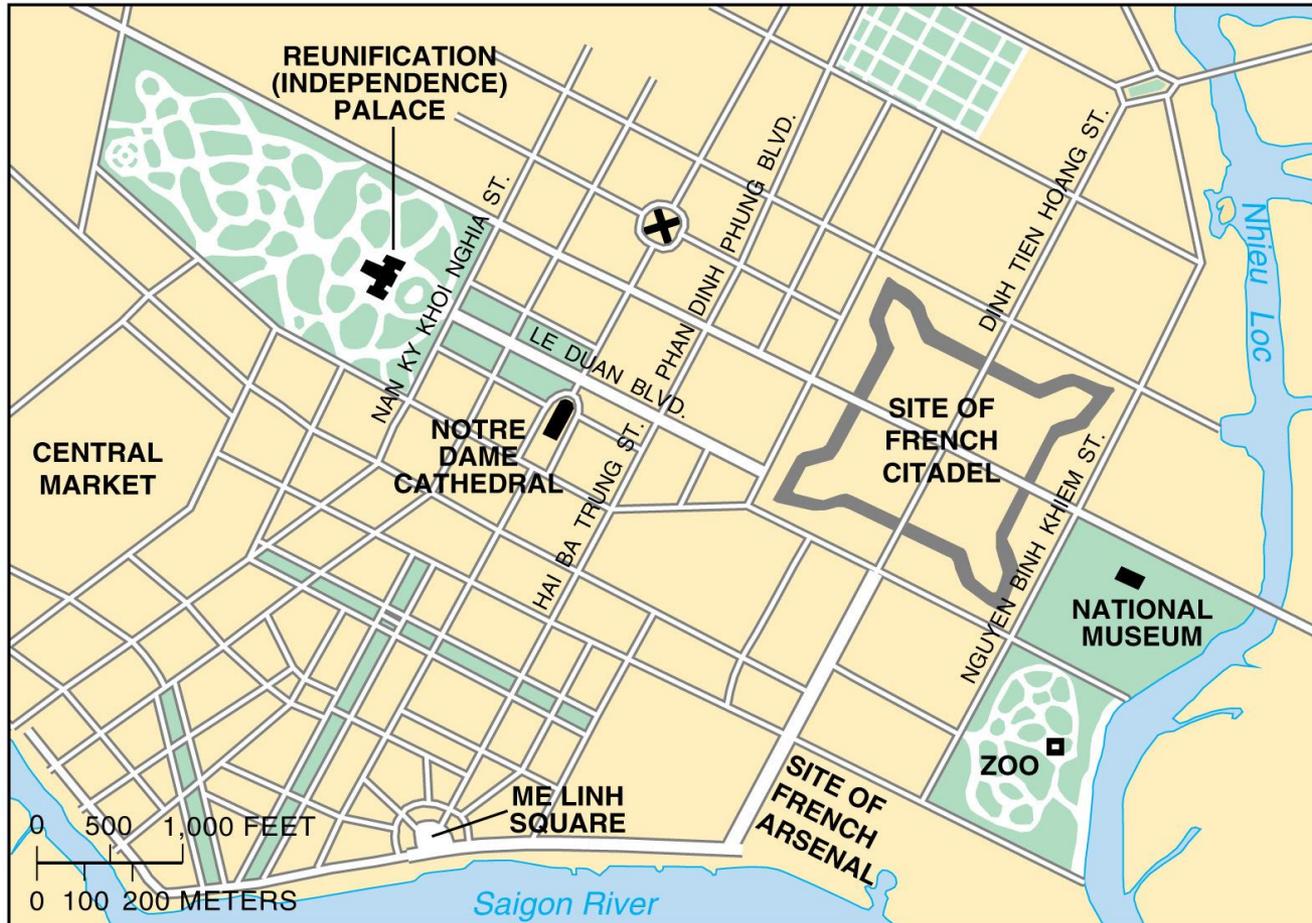
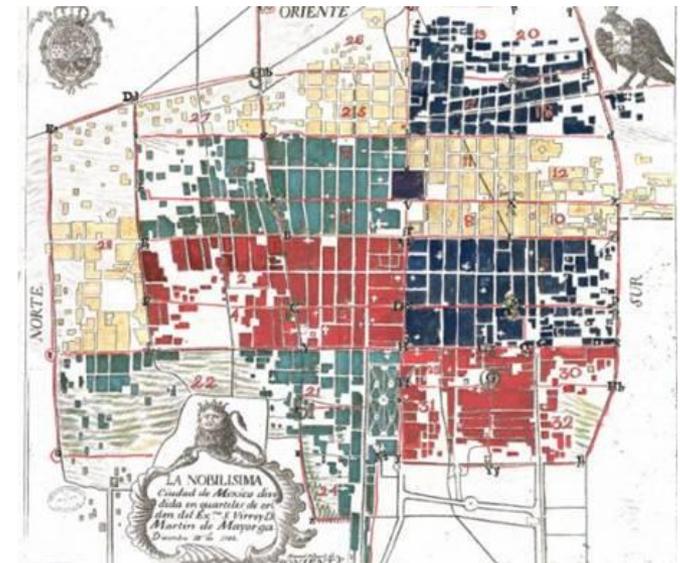


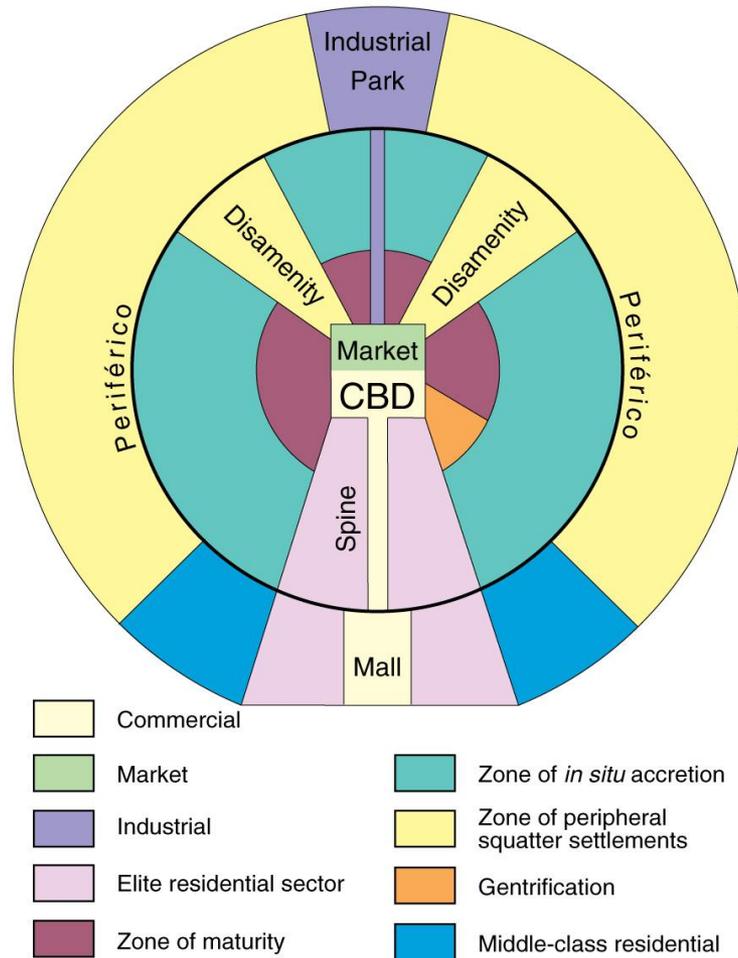
Fig. 13-14: In Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), the French demolished the previous city and replaced it with a colonial design with boulevards and public squares.

Latin America

- Colonial cities followed standardized plans.
- All Spanish cities in Latin America, for example, were built according to the Laws of the Indies, drafted in 1573.
- Cities were to be constructed (on) a gridiron street plan centered on a church and central plaza, and neighborhoods centered around smaller plazas with parish churches or monasteries.
- After the Spanish conquered Tenochtitlán they destroyed the city, and dispersed or killed most of the inhabitants.
- The city renamed Mexico City, was rebuilt around a main square, called the Zócalo, in the center of the island, on the site of the Aztecs' sacred precinct.
- The Spanish reconstructed the streets in a grid pattern extending from the Zócalo.



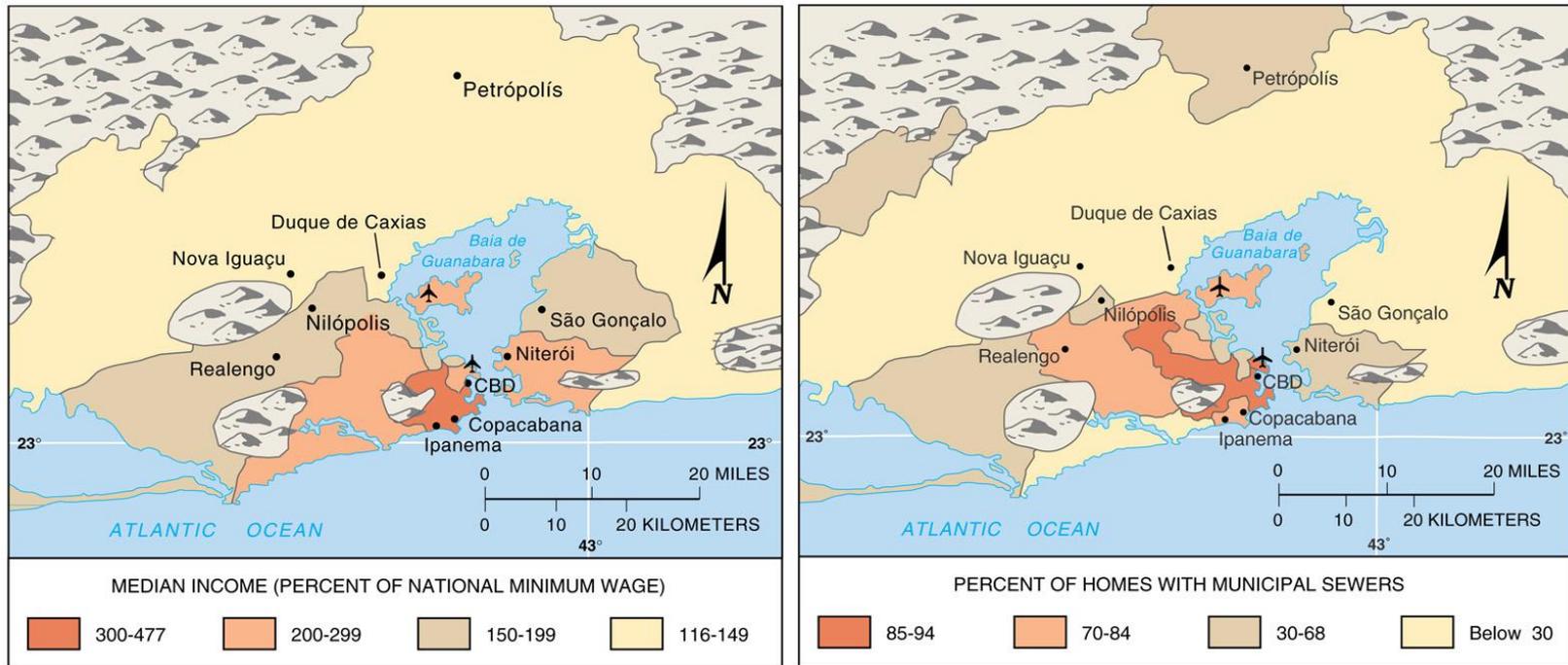
Latin American City Model



Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-15: In many Latin American cities, the wealthy live in the inner city and in a sector extending along a commercial spine.

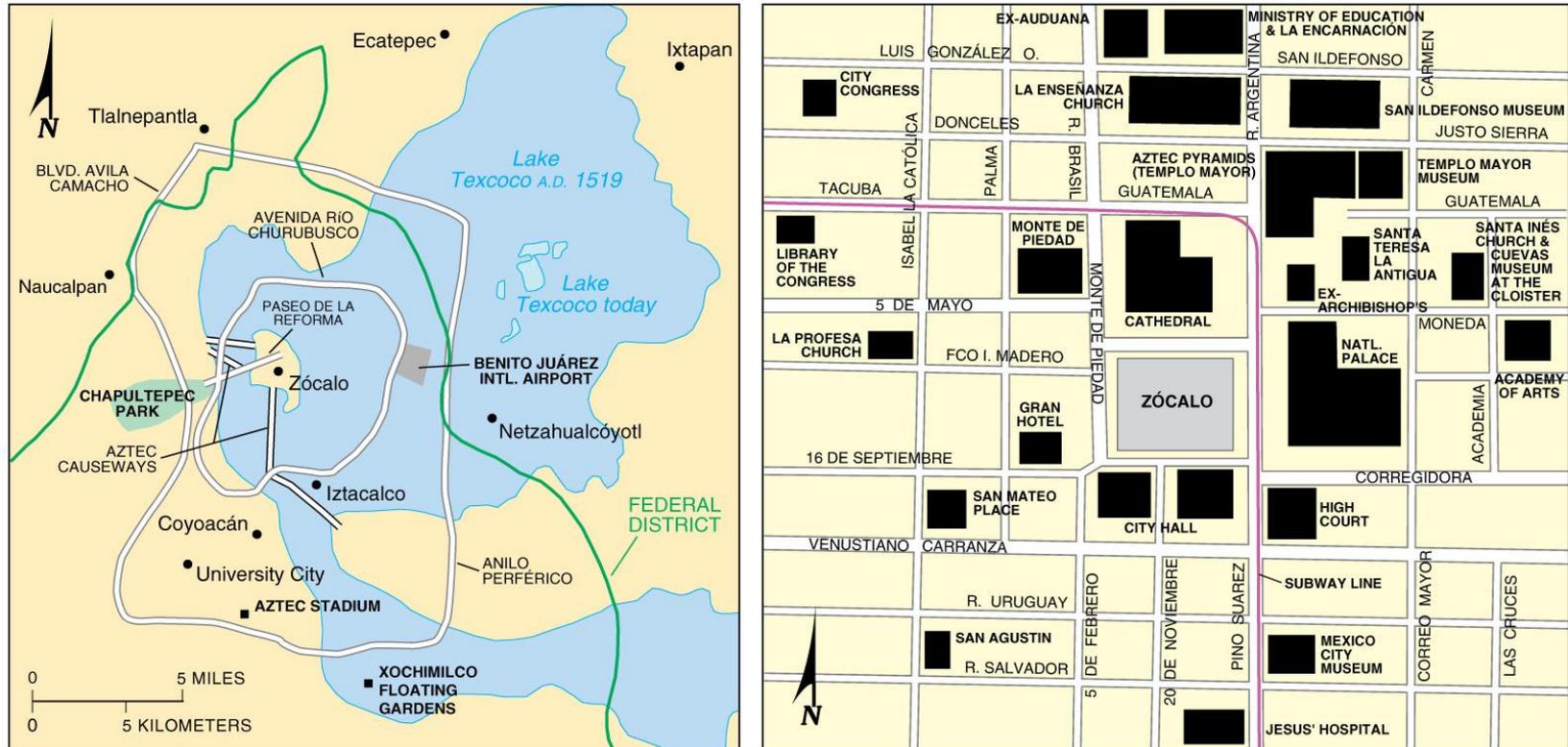
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-16: High income households in Rio de Janeiro live in the CBD and in a spine along the ocean. Low-income households often live in peripheral areas.

Mexico City

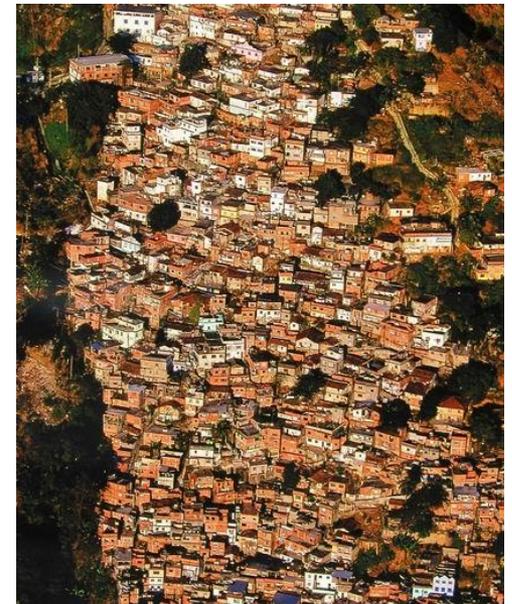
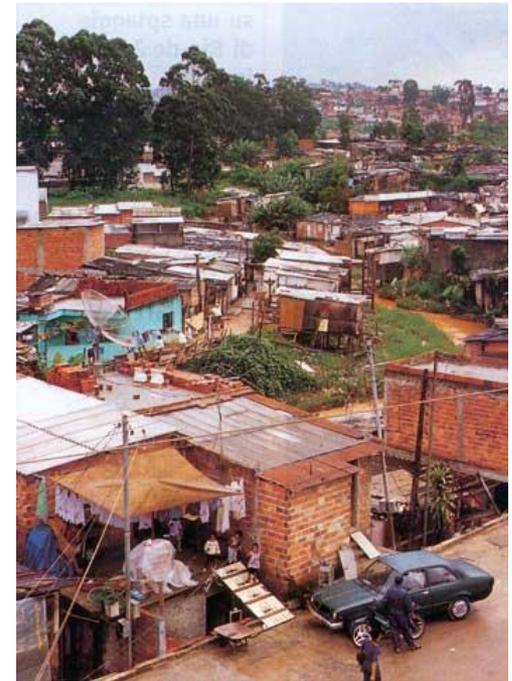


Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-12: The Aztec city of Tenochtitlán was built on an island in Lake Texcoco. Today poorer people live on a landfill in the former lakebed, and the elite live to the west.

Squatter Settlements

- The LDCs are unable to house the rapidly growing number of poor.
- A large percentage of poor immigrants to urban areas in LDCs live in squatter settlements.
- Squatter settlements have few services, because neither the city nor the residents can afford them.
- Electricity service may be stolen by running a wire from the nearest power line.
- In the absence of bus service or available private cars, a resident may have to walk two hours to reach a place of employment.
- At first, squatters do little more than camp on the land or sleep in the street.
- Families then erect primitive shelters with scavenged (materials).
- The percentage of people living in squatter settlements, slums, and other illegal housing ranges from 33 percent in São Paulo, Brazil, to 85 percent in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, according to a U.N. study.



Key Issue 3: Inner Cities

- Inner-city physical problems
 - Deterioration process
 - Urban renewal
- Inner-city social problems
 - Underclass
 - Culture of poverty
- Inner-city economic problems
 - Annexation

Inner-City Physical Problems - Process of Deterioration

- The major physical problem faced by inner-city neighborhoods is the poor condition of the housing, most of which was built before 1940.
- As the number of low-income residents increase in the city, the territory they occupy expands.
- Middle-class families move out of a neighborhood to newer housing farther from the center and sell or rent their houses to lower-income families.



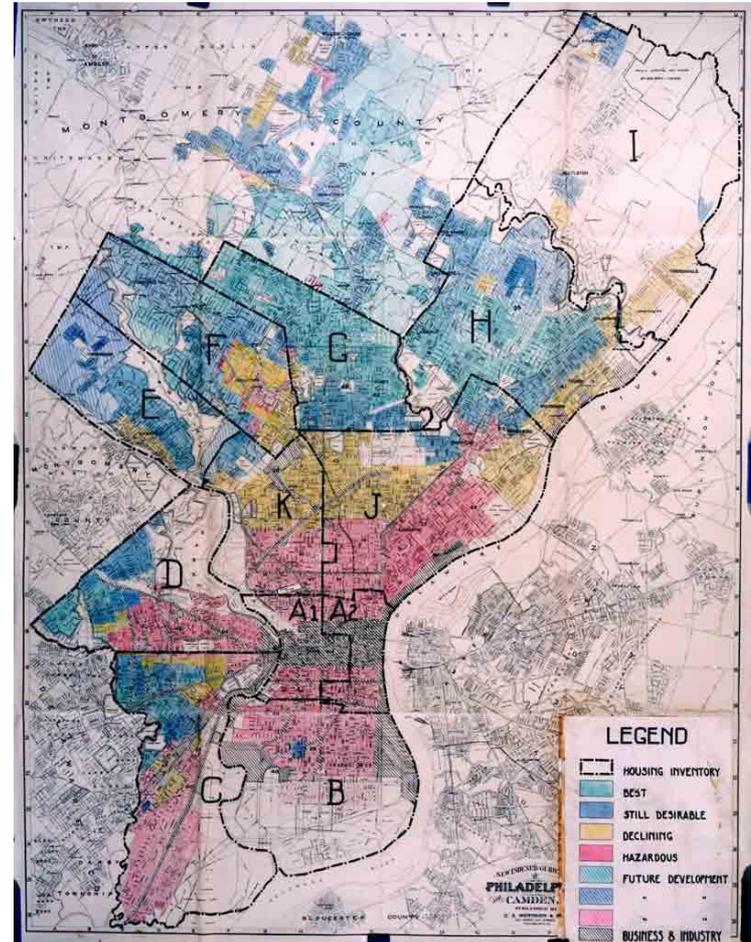
Filtering

- Large houses built by wealthy families in the nineteenth century are subdivided by absentee landlords into smaller dwellings for low-income families.
- This process of subdivision of houses and occupancy by successive waves of lower-income people is known as filtering.
- Landlords stop maintaining houses when the rent they collect becomes less than the maintenance cost.
- The building soon deteriorates and grows unfit for occupancy.
- At this point in the filtering process the owner may abandon the property, because the rents that can be collected are less than the cost of taxes and upkeep.
- Governments that aggressively go after landlords to repair deteriorated properties may in fact hasten abandonment, because landlords will not spend money on repairs that they are unable to recoup in rents.
- These inner-city neighborhoods that housed perhaps 100,000 a century ago contain less than 10,000 inhabitants today.
- Schools and shops close because they are no longer needed . . . with rapidly declining populations.
- Through the filtering process, many poor families have moved to less deteriorated houses farther from the center.



Redlining

- Some banks engage in redlining—drawing lines on a map to identify areas in which they will refuse to loan money.
- Although redlining is illegal, enforcement of laws against it is frequently difficult.
- The Community Reinvestment Act requires banks to demonstrate that inner-city neighborhoods within its service area receive a fair share of its loans.



Urban Renewal

- North American and European cities have demolished much of their substandard inner-city housing through urban renewal programs.
- The land is then turned over to private developers or to public agencies, to construct new buildings or services.
- In the United States, public housing is reserved for low-income households, who must pay 30 percent of their income for rent.
- Public housing accounts for only 2 percent of all dwellings, although it may account for a high percentage of housing in inner-city neighborhoods.
- In the United Kingdom more than one-third of all housing is publicly owned.
- Private landlords control only a small percentage of housing in the United Kingdom.



THE CALIFORNIA URBAN-RENEWAL PROGRAM

Public Housing

- In Western Europe, governments typically do not own the housing.
- Instead, they subsidize construction cost and rent for a large percentage of the privately built housing.
- The U.S. government has also provided subsidies to private developers, but on a much smaller scale than in Europe.
- Most of the high-rise public-housing projects built in the United States and Europe during the 1950s and early 1960s are now considered unsatisfactory environments for families with children.
- Some observers claim that the high-rise buildings caused the problem, because too many low-income families are concentrated into a high-density environment.
- Public-housing authorities have demolished high-rise public-housing projects in recent years in . . . U.S. and European cities.
- Cities have also experimented with “scattered-site” public housing, in which dwellings are dispersed throughout the city rather than clustered in a large project.
- In recent years the U.S. government has stopped funding new public housing.



Public Housing Supply



- The supply of public housing and other government- subsidized housing diminished by approximately 1 million units between 1980 and 2000.
- But during the same period, the number of households needing low-rent dwellings increased by more than 2 million.
- In Britain the supply of public housing, has also declined.
- The government has forced local authorities to sell some of the dwellings to the residents.
- But at the same time, the British have expanded subsidies to nonprofit housing associations.
- Urban renewal has been criticized for destroying the social cohesion of older neighborhoods and reducing the supply of low-cost housing.
- Most North American and European cities have turned away from urban renewal since the 1970s.

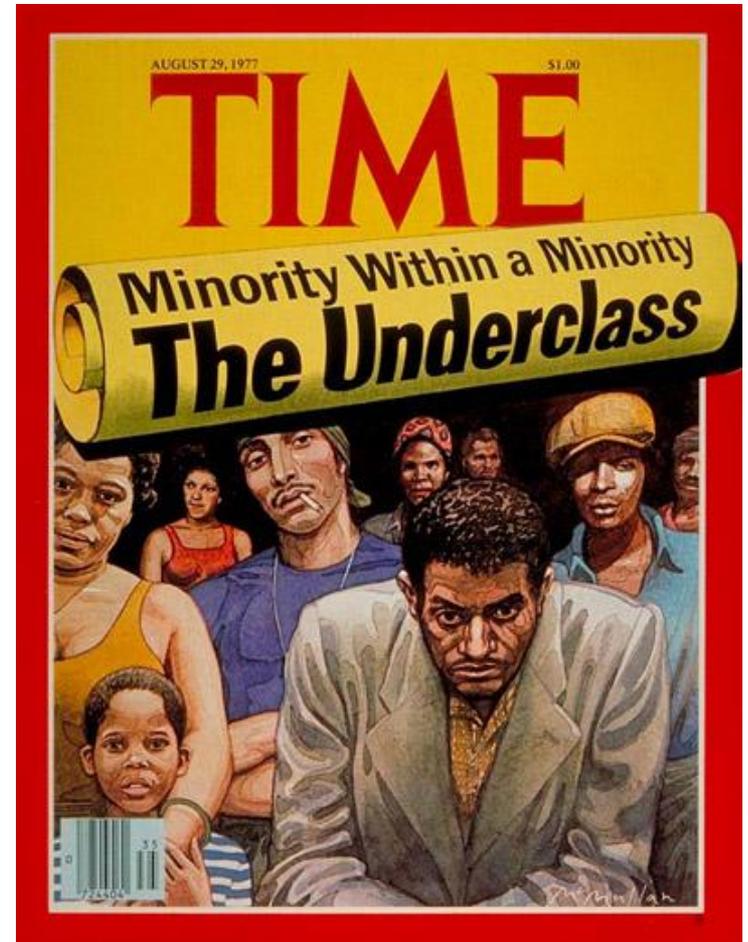
Renovated Housing



- In some cases, nonprofit organizations renovate housing and sell or rent them to low-income people.
- But more often, the renovated housing attracts middle-class people.
- Most cities have at least one substantially renovated inner-city neighborhood where middle-class people live.
- In a few cases, inner-city neighborhoods never deteriorated, because the community's social elite maintained them as enclaves of expensive property.
- The process by which middle-class people move into deteriorated inner-city neighborhoods and renovate the housing is known as gentrification.
- Gentrified inner-city neighborhoods also attract middle-class individuals who work downtown.
- Cities encourage the process by providing low-cost loans and tax breaks.
- Public expenditures for renovation have been criticized as subsidies for the middle class at the expense of poor people, who are forced to move . because the rents are suddenly too high for them.

Inner-City Social Problems – The Underclass

- Beyond the pockets of gentrified neighborhoods, inner cities contain primarily low-income people who face a variety of social problems.
- Inner-city residents constitute a permanent underclass who live in a culture of poverty.
- Inner-city residents frequently are referred to as a permanent underclass because they are trapped in an unending cycle of economic and social problems.



Lack of Job Skills

- The future is especially bleak for the underclass because they are increasingly unable to compete for jobs.
- The gap between skills demanded by employers and the training possessed by inner-city residents is widening.
- Inner-city residents do not even have access to the remaining low-skilled jobs, such as custodians and fast-food servers, because they are increasingly in the distant suburbs.



Homeless

- Some of the underclass are homeless.
- Accurate counts are impossible to obtain, but an estimated one to two million Americans sleep in doorways, on heated street grates, and in bus and subway stations.
- Homelessness is an even more serious problem in less developed countries.
- Most people are homeless because they cannot afford housing and have no regular income.
- Roughly one-third of U.S. homeless are individuals who are unable to cope in society after being released from hospitals or other institutions.

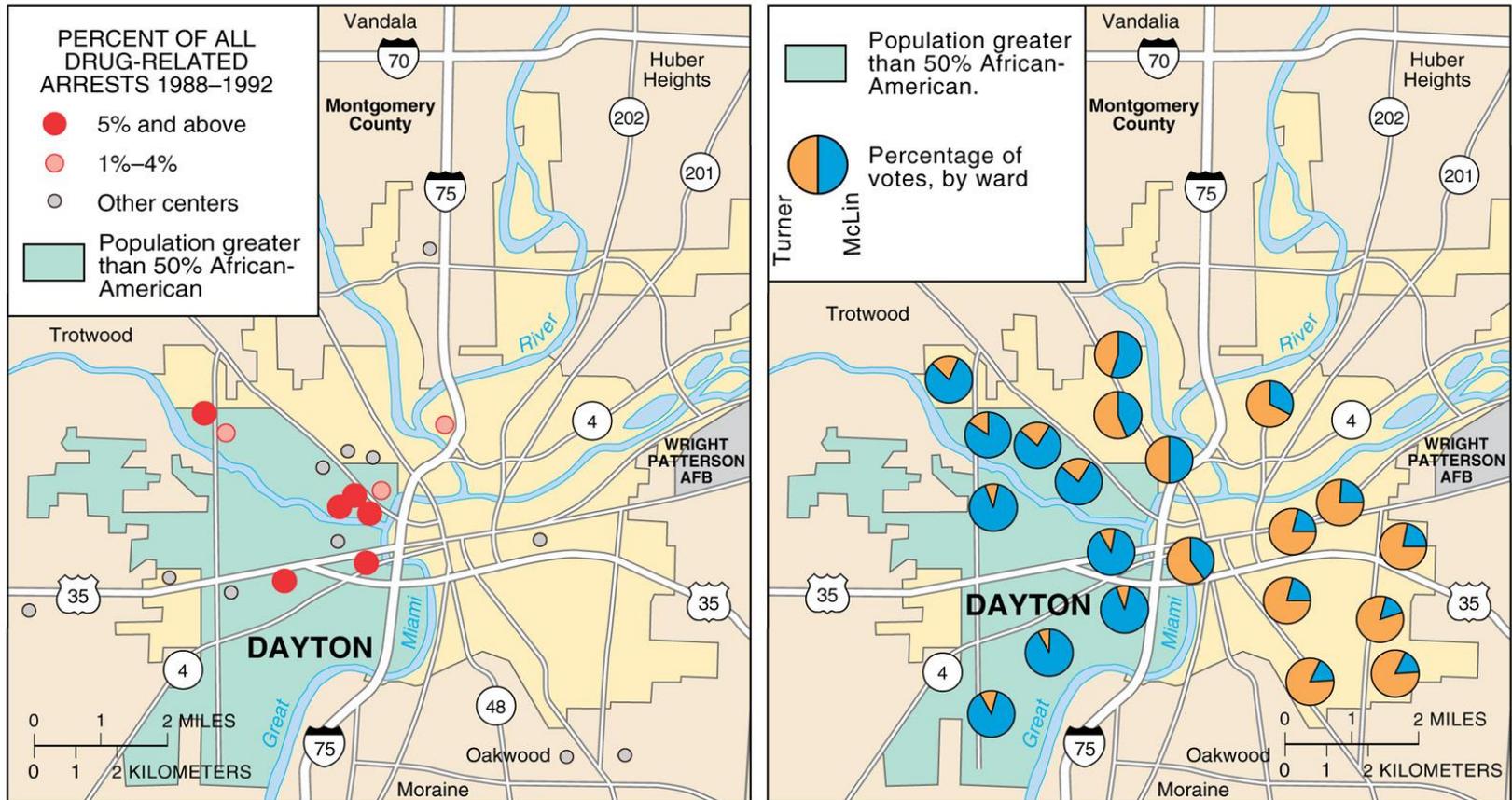


Culture of Poverty

- Inner-city residents are trapped as permanent underclass because they live in a culture of poverty.
- Unwed mothers give birth to two-thirds of the babies in U.S. inner-city neighborhoods, and 90 percent of children in the inner city live with only one parent.
- Because of inadequate child-care services, single mothers may be forced to choose between working to generate income and staying at home to take care of the children.
- In principle, government officials would like to see more fathers living with their wives and children, but they provide little incentive for them to do so.
- If the husband moves back home, his wife may lose welfare benefits, leaving the couple financially worse off together than apart.



Dayton, Ohio, Inner City

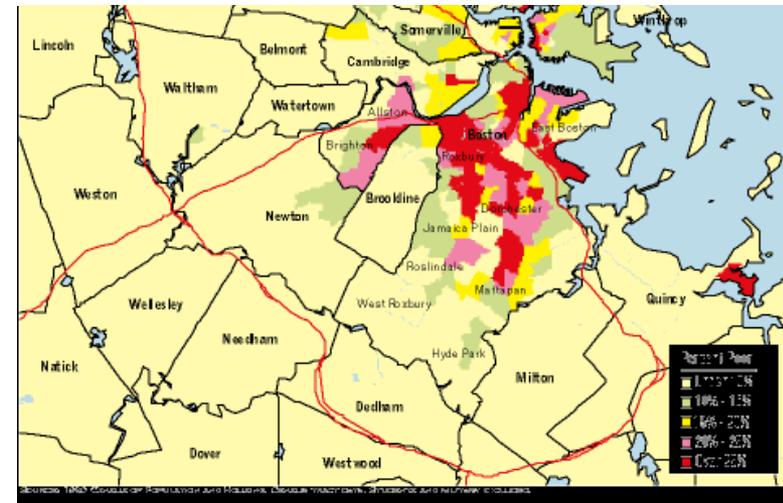
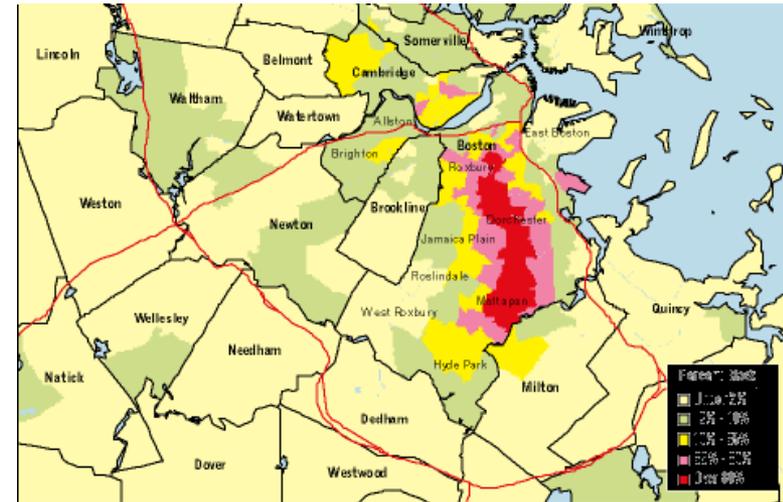


Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-17: Drug-related arrests (left) have been concentrated in the inner-west side of the city. In the 2001 mayoral election, votes for Rhine McLin concentrated in the African-American section of the city.

Ethnic and Racial Segregation

- Many neighborhoods in the United States are segregated by ethnicity.
- Even small cities display strong social distinctions among neighborhoods.
- A family seeking a new residence usually considers only a handful of districts, where the residents' social and financial characteristics match their own.
- Segregation by ethnicity explains voting patterns in many American urban areas.
- The concentration of low-income residents in inner-city neighborhoods . . . require public services, but they can pay very little of the taxes to support the services.
- A city has two choices to close the gap between the cost of services and the funding available from taxes.

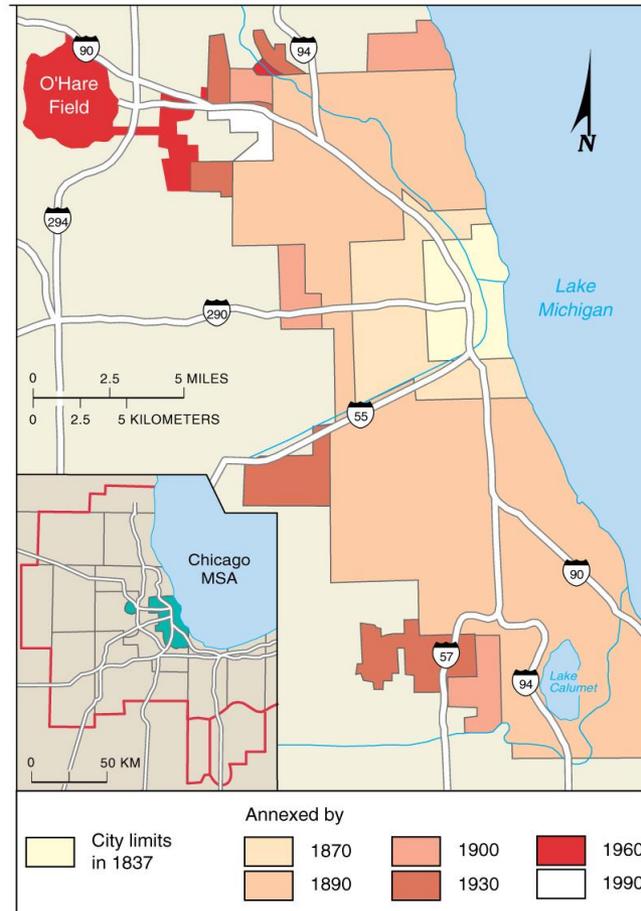


Inner-City Economic Problems

- One alternative is to reduce services.
- Aside from the hardship imposed on individuals laid off from work, cutbacks in public services also encourage middle-class residents and industries to move from the city.
- The other alternative is to raise tax revenues.
- Because higher tax rates can drive out industries and wealthier people, cities prefer instead to expand their tax base, especially through construction of new CBD projects.
- Inner-city fiscal problems were alleviated by increasing contributions from the federal government during the 1950s and 1960s.
- Federal aid to U.S. cities declined by two-thirds during the 1980s when adjusted for inflation.
- To offset a portion of these lost federal funds, some state governments increased financial assistance to cities.



Growth of Chicago



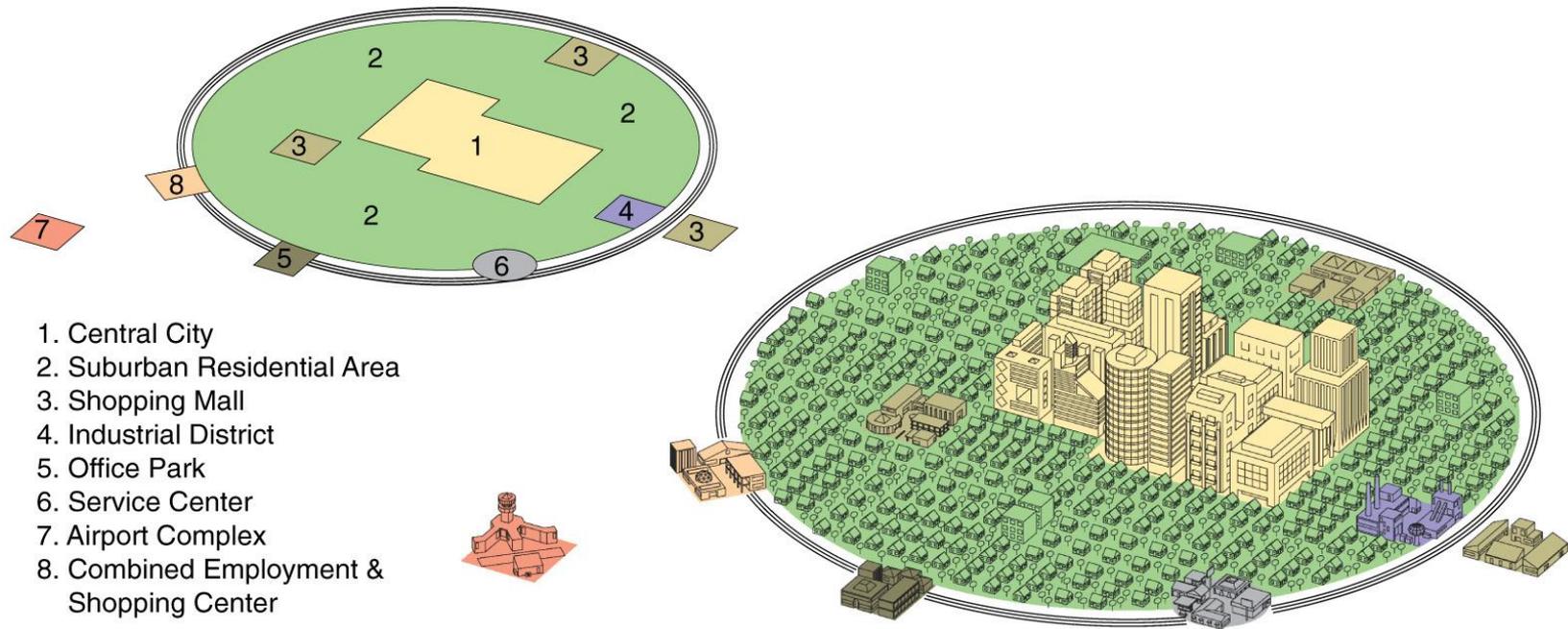
Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-18: Chicago grew rapidly in the 19th century through annexation. In the 20th century the major annexation was for O'Hare Airport.

Key Issue 4: Problems of Suburbs

- The peripheral model
 - Density gradient
 - Cost of suburban sprawl
 - Suburban segregation
- Transportation and suburbanization
 - Motor vehicles
 - Public transportation
- Local government fragmentation
 - Metropolitan government
 - Growing smart

Peripheral Model of Urban Areas

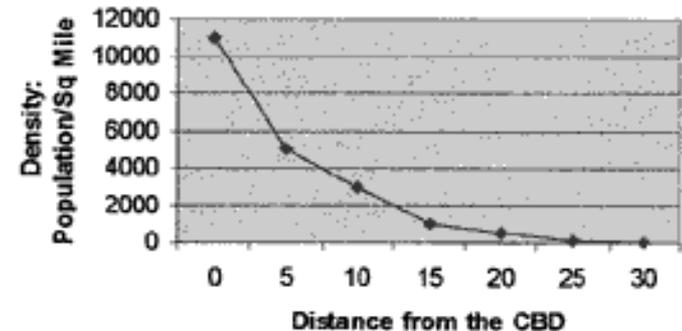


Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

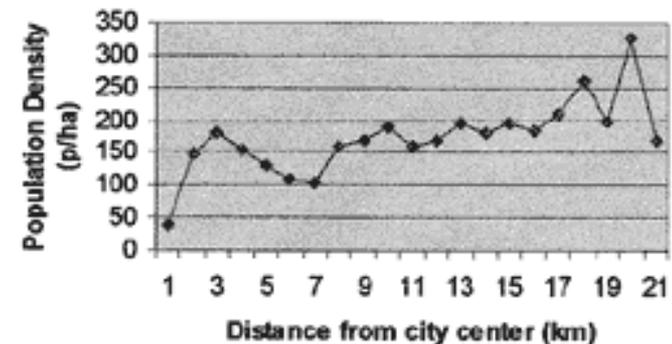
Fig. 13-19: The central city is surrounded by a ring road, around which are suburban areas and edge cities, shopping malls, office parks, industrial areas, and service complexes.

Density Gradient

- As you travel outward from the center of a city, you can watch the decline in the density at which people live.
- This density change in an urban area is called the density gradient.
- According to the density gradient, the number of houses per unit of land diminishes as distance from the center city increases.
- Two changes have affected the density gradient in recent years.
- First, the number of people living in the center has decreased.
- The density gradient thus has a gap in the center, where few live.
- Second is the trend toward less density difference within urban areas.

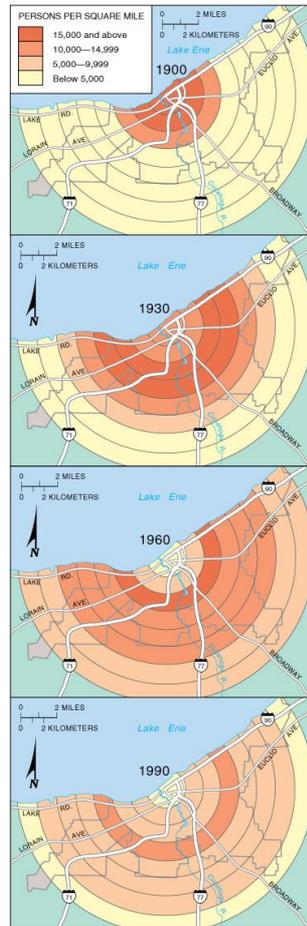


1980 Density Gradient



1990 Density Gradient

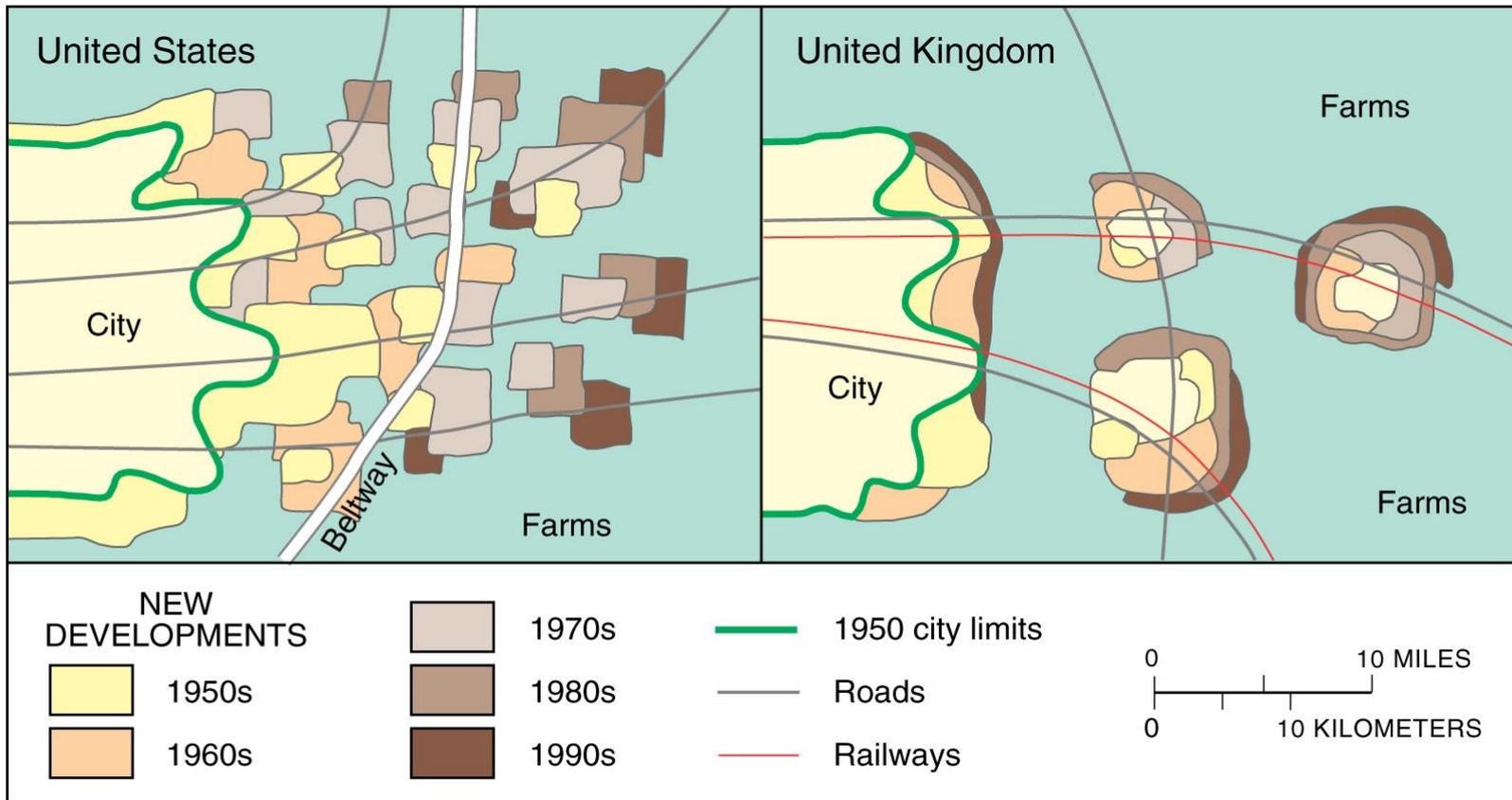
Cleveland, Ohio, 1900–1990



Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-20: The density gradient in Cleveland shows the expansion of dense population outward from the city center over time. In 1990, population dispersed over a wider area with less variation in density than before.

Suburban Development in the U.S. and U.K.

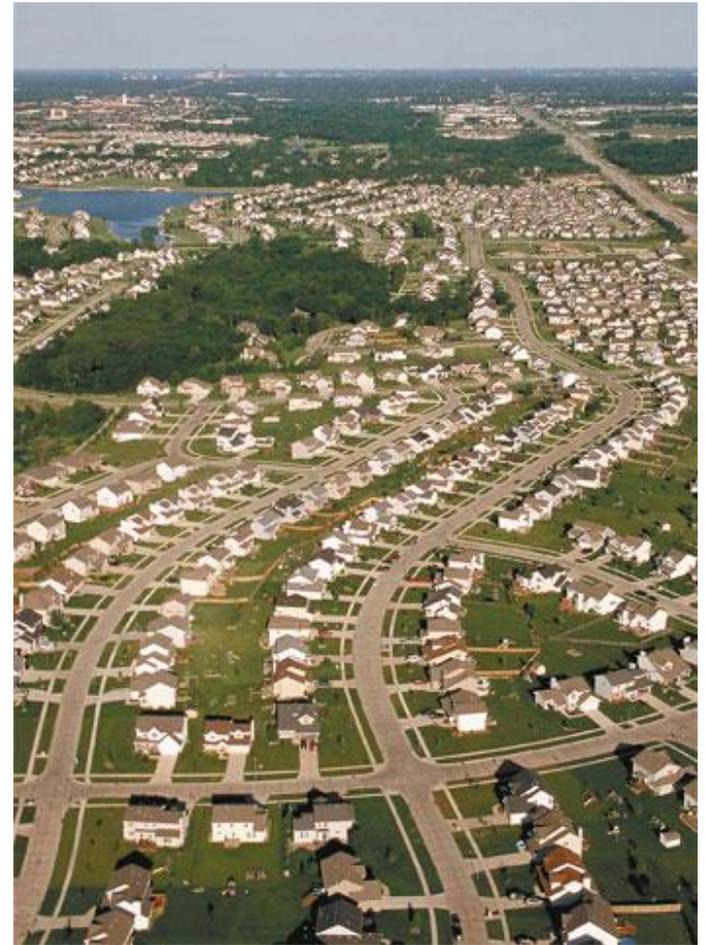


Copyright © 2005 Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc.

Fig. 13-21: New housing in the U.K. is likely to be in planned new towns, while in the U.S. growth occurs in discontinuous developments.

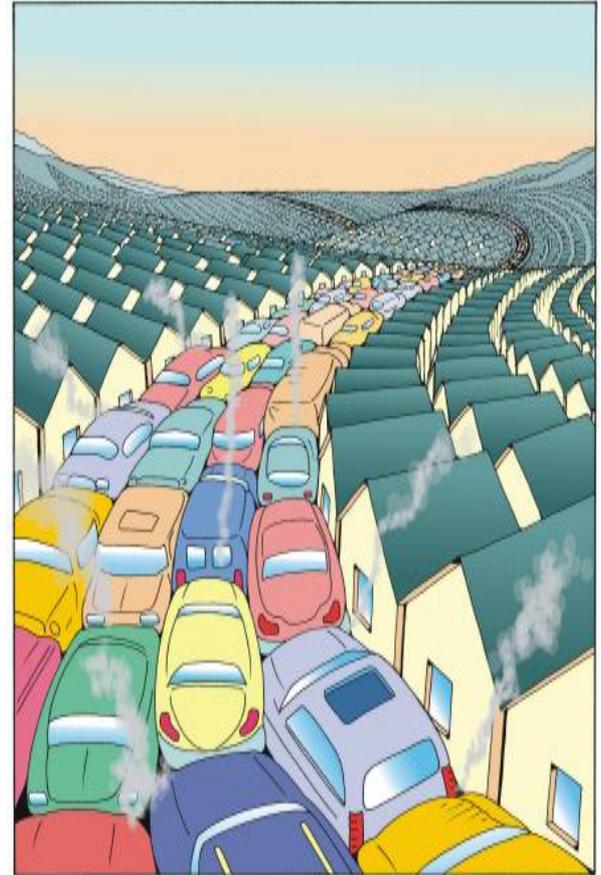
Sprawl also wastes land

- Some prime agricultural land may be lost through construction of isolated housing developments; in the interim, other sites lie fallow, while speculators await the most profitable time to build homes on them.
- The low-density suburb also wastes more energy, especially because the automobile is required for most trips.
- The supply of land for construction of new housing is more severely restricted in European urban areas . . . by designating areas of mandatory open space.
- London, Birmingham, and several other British cities are surrounded by greenbelts, or rings of open space.
- New housing is built either in older suburbs inside the greenbelts or in planned extensions to small towns and new towns beyond the greenbelts.
- Restriction of the supply of land . . . has driven up house prices in Europe.



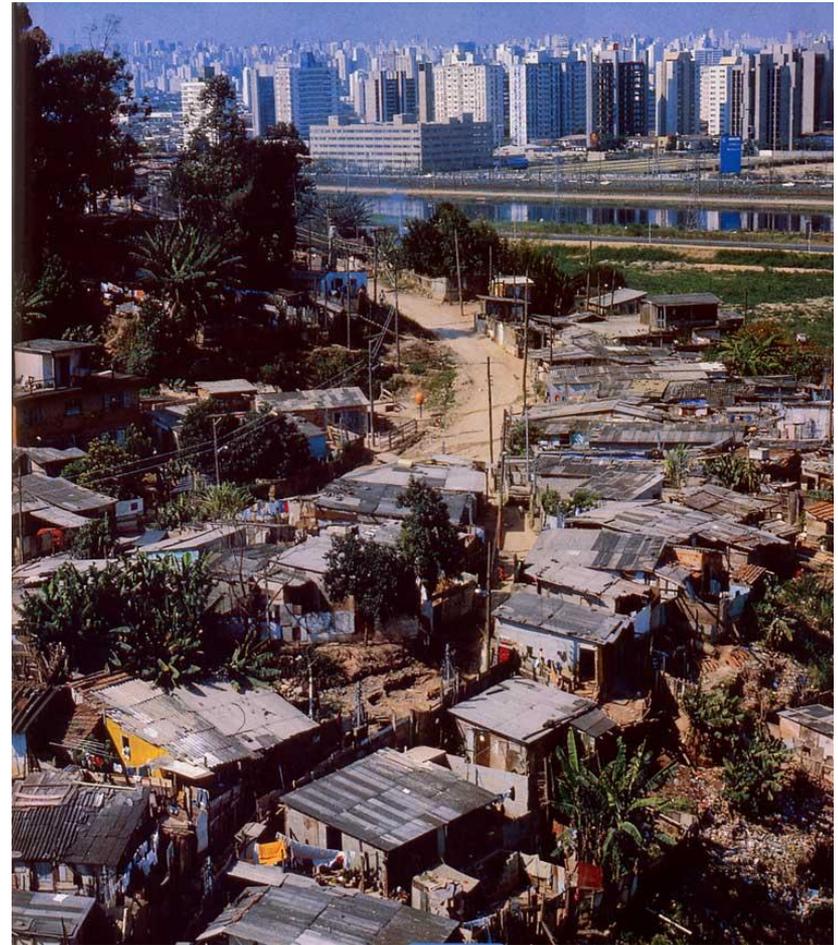
Suburban Segregation

- The modern residential suburb is segregated in two ways.
- First, residents are separated from commercial and manufacturing activities.
- Second, a given suburban community is usually built for people of a single social class, with others excluded by virtue of the cost, size, or location of the housing.
- The homogeneous suburb is a twentieth-century phenomenon.
- In older cities, activities and classes were more likely to be separated vertically rather than horizontally.
- Poorer people lived on the higher levels or in the basement, the least attractive parts of the building.



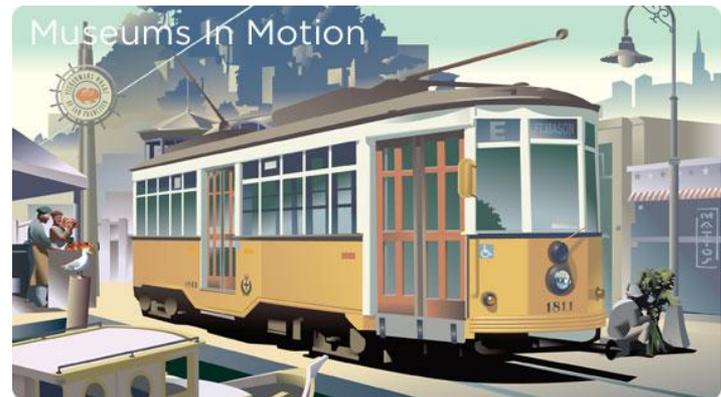
Suburban Economic Segregation

- Once cities spread out over much larger areas, the old pattern of vertical separation was replaced by territorial segregation.
- Large sections of the city were developed appealing to people with similar incomes and lifestyles.
- Zoning ordinances, developed in Europe and North America in the early decades of the twentieth century, encouraged spatial separation.
- They prevented mixing of land uses within the same district.
- The strongest criticism of U.S. residential suburbs is that low-income and minority people are unable to live in them because of the high cost of the housing and the unfriendliness of established residents.
- Legal devices, such as requiring each house to sit on a large lot and the prohibition of apartments, prevent low-income families from living in many suburbs.



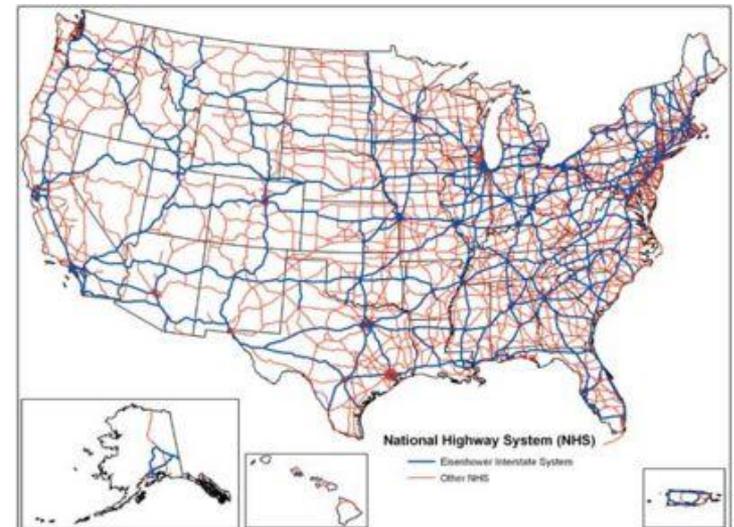
Contribution of Transportation to Suburbanization

- Urban sprawl makes people more dependent on transportation for access to work, shopping, and leisure activities.
- More than half of all trips are work-related.
- Shopping or other personal business and social journeys each account for approximately one-fourth of all trips.
- Historically, the growth of suburbs was constrained by transportation problems.
- People lived in crowded cities because they had to be within walking distance of shops and places of employment.
- Cities then built street railways and underground railways.
- Many so-called streetcar suburbs built in the nineteenth century still exist and retain unique visual identities.



Motor Vehicles

- The suburban explosion in the twentieth century has relied on motor vehicles rather than railroads, especially in the United States.
- Rail and trolley lines restricted suburban development to narrow ribbons within walking distance of the stations.
- Motor vehicle ownership is nearly universal among American households.
- Outside the big cities, public transportation service is extremely rare or nonexistent.
- The U.S. government has encouraged the use of cars and trucks by paying 90 percent of the cost of limited-access high-speed interstate highways (and) by policies that limit the price of fuel to less than one half the level found in Western Europe.



Cars: The Preferred Mode of Transportation

- The motor vehicle is an important user of land in the city.
- An average city allocates about one-fourth of its land to roads and parking lots.
- European and Japanese cities have been especially disrupted by attempts to insert new roads and parking areas in or near to the medieval central areas.
- Technological improvements may help traffic flow.
- Computers mounted on the dashboards alert drivers to traffic jams and suggest alternate routes.
- On freeways, vehicle speed and separation from other vehicles can be controlled automatically.
- The inevitable diffusion of such technology in the twenty-first century will reflect the continuing preference of most people in MDCs to use private motor vehicles rather than switch to public transportation.



Public Transportation

- Because few people in the United States live within walking distance of their place of employment, urban areas are characterized by extensive commuting.
- As much as 40 percent of all trips made into or out of a CBD occur during four hours of the day—two in the morning and two in the afternoon.
- Rush hour, or peak hour, is the four consecutive 15-minute periods that have the heaviest traffic.
- Public transportation is better suited than motor vehicles to moving large numbers of people.
- But most Americans still prefer to commute by car.
- Public transportation is cheaper, less polluting, and more energy-efficient than the automobile.
- Its use is increasingly confined in the United States to rush-hour commuting by workers in the CBD.



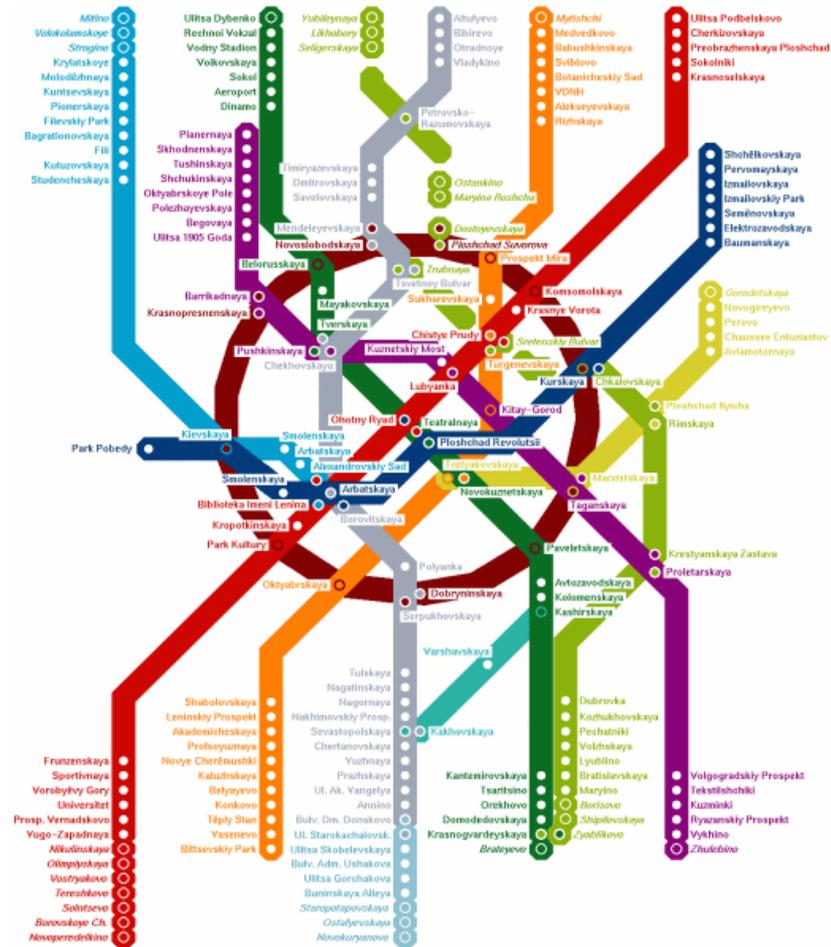
Rush-Hour Commuting

- Automobiles have costs beyond their purchase and operation: delays imposed on others, increased need for highway maintenance, construction of new highways, and pollution.
- Yet despite the obvious advantages of public transportation for commuting, ridership in the United States declined from 23 billion per year in the 1940s to 8 billion in 2002.
- The number of U.S. and Canadian cities with trolley service declined from approximately 50 in 1950 to 8 in the 1960s.
- General Motors acquired many of the privately owned streetcar companies and replaced the trolleys with buses that the company made.
- Bus ridership declined from a peak of 11 billion riders annually in the late 1940s to 6 billion in 2001.
- Commuter railroad service, like trolleys and buses, has also been drastically reduced in most U.S. cities.



New Rapid Transit Lines

- The one exception to the downward trend in public transportation is rapid transit.
- Cities such as Boston and Chicago have attracted new passengers through construction of new subway lines and modernization of existing service.
- Entirely new subway systems have been built in recent years in U.S. cities, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Miami, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.
- The federal government has permitted Boston, New York, and other cities to use funds originally allocated for interstate highways to modernize rapid transit service instead.
- Subway rider-ship in the United States has increased 2 percent each year since 1980.



Trolleys

- The trolley—now known (as fixed light-rail transit)—is making a modest comeback in North America.
- However, new construction in all 10 cities amounted only to about 200 kilometers (130 miles) since 1980, and rider-ship in all cities combined is 1 million a day.
- California, the state that most symbolizes the automobile-oriented American culture, leads in construction of new fixed light-rail transit lines.
- Los Angeles—the city perhaps most associated with the motor vehicle—has planned the most extensive new light-rail system but construction is very expensive, and the lines (will) serve only a tiny percentage of the region.



Service Versus Cost



- Low-income people tend to live in inner-city neighborhoods, but the job opportunities are in suburban areas not well served by public transportation.
- Despite modest recent successes, most public transportation systems are caught in a vicious circle, because fares do not cover operating costs.
- As patronage declines and expenses rise, the fares are increased, which drives away passengers and leads to service reduction and still higher fares.
- The United States does not fully recognize that public transportation is a vital utility deserving of subsidy to the degree long assumed by European governments.

Local Government Fragmentation & Metropolitan Government

- The fragmentation of local government in the United States makes it difficult to solve regional problems of traffic, solid-waste disposal, and construction of affordable housing.
- The large number of local government units has led to calls for a metropolitan government that could coordinate—if not replace—the numerous local governments in an urban area.
- Most U.S. metropolitan areas have a council of government, which is a cooperative agency consisting of representatives of the various local governments in the region.
- Strong metropolitan-wide governments have been established in a few places in North America.
- Two kinds exist: federations and consolidations.



Federations

- Toronto, Ontario, has a federation system.
- The region's six local governments are responsible for police, fire, and tax-collection services.
- A regional government, known as the Metropolitan Council, or Metro, sets the tax rate borrows money for new projects.
- Metro shares responsibility with local governments for public services, such as transportation, planning, parks, water, sewage, and welfare.



Consolidations

- Several U.S. urban areas have consolidated metropolitan governments; Indianapolis and Miami are examples.
- Both have consolidated city and county governments.



Growing Smart

- Several U.S. states have taken strong steps in the past few years to curb sprawl, reduce traffic congestion, and reverse inner-city decline.
- Legislation and regulations to limit suburban sprawl and preserve farmland has been called smart growth.
- Maryland enacted especially strong smart growth legislation in 1998.
- State money must be spent to “fill in” already urbanized areas. Oregon and
- Tennessee have defined growth boundaries within which new development must occur.
- New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Washington were also early leaders in enacting strong state-level smart-growth initiatives.



Chapter 13

Urban Patterns

The End