

SUMMARY

Many people live in urban areas and never venture into inner-city neighborhoods or downtown. They live in suburbs, attend school in suburbs, work in suburbs, shop in suburbs, visit friends and family in suburbs, and attend movies and sports events in suburbs. Motor vehicles allow movement across urban areas without entering the center.

Conversely, inner-city residents may rarely venture out to suburbs. Lacking a motor vehicle, they have no access to most suburban locations. Lacking money, they do not shop in suburban malls or attend sporting events at suburban arenas. The spatial segregation of inner-city residents and suburbanites lies at the heart of the stark contrasts so immediately observed in any urban area.

Here is a review of the key issues raised at the beginning of the chapter:

1. Why Do Services Cluster Downtown? The central business district (CBD) contains a large percentage of a settlement's business services. Business services cluster downtown to facilitate face-to-face contact. Retailers with large thresholds or large ranges may also locate downtown.

2. Where Are People Distributed Within Urban Areas?

Three models explain where various groups of people live in urban areas—the concentric zone, sector, and multiple nuclei models. Combined, the three models present a useful framework for understanding the distribution of social and economic groups within urban areas. With modifications, the models also apply to cities in Europe and in LDCs.

3. Why Do Inner Cities Face Distinctive Challenges? Inner-city residential areas have physical problems stemming from the high percentage of older deteriorated housing, social problems stemming from the high percentage of low-income households, and economic problems stemming from a gap between demand for services and supply of local tax revenue.

4. Why Do Suburbs Face Distinctive Challenges? The suburban lifestyle as exemplified by the detached single-family house with surrounding yard attracts most people. Transportation improvements, most notably the railroad in the nineteenth century and the automobile in the twentieth century, have facilitated the sprawl of urban areas. Among the negative consequences of large-scale sprawl are segregation and inefficiency.

CASE STUDY REVISITED / Contrasts in the City

What is the future for cities? As shown in this chapter, contradictory trends are at work simultaneously. Why does one inner-city neighborhood become a slum and another an upper-class district (Figure 13–29)? Why does one city attract new shoppers and visitors while another languishes?

The Camden, New Jersey, urban area displays the strong contrasts that characterize American urban areas. The central city of Camden houses an isolated underclass while suburban Camden County prospers.

- **Population Decline:** The population of the city of Camden has declined from 117,000 in 1960 to 70,000 in 2007.

- **Racial Change:** Camden's white, non-Hispanic population has declined from 90,000 in 1960 to 4,000 in 2007. African Americans comprise about 36,000 of the city's population; Hispanics about 30,000.
- **Demographic Stress:** More than one-fourth of Camden's residents are under age 15, closer to the level found in LDCs than to the rest of the United States. The infant mortality rate for the city's African American population is 27 per 1,000, about the level of Mexico, and four times higher than the rest of the United States.

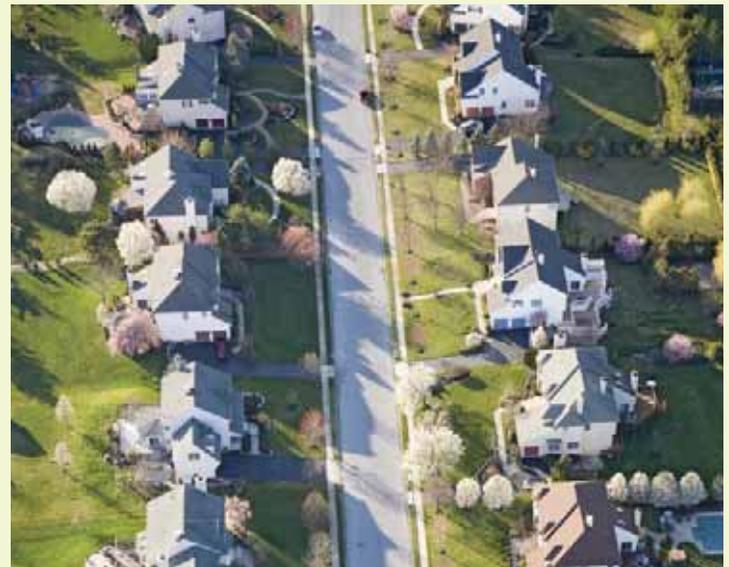


FIGURE 13-29 Urban contrasts. (left) Downtown Camden. (right) Suburban Camden County.

CASE STUDY REVISITED (Continued)

- **Low Income:** Median annual household income in Camden is \$23,000, compared to \$42,000 for the United States as a whole. More than half the population receives government assistance.

Job prospects are not promising for Camden's young people. In the past, they could find jobs in factories that produced Campbell's soups, Esterbrook pens, and RCA Victor records, radios, and televisions, but the city has lost 90 percent of its industrial jobs. The Esterbrook and Campbell factories in Camden are closed, although Campbell's corporate offices remain. The old RCA Victor building has been converted to apartments.

As Camden's population and industries decline, few shops have enough customers to remain open. The city once had 13 movie theaters, but none are left. The murder rate soared after gangs carved up the city into districts during the mid-1980s to control cocaine trafficking. Violent crimes such as murder, rape, and robbery are increasing in Camden while dropping nationally. New Jersey state troopers help the city's understaffed police force deal with crime.

Meanwhile, Camden County (excluding the city) grew from 275,000 in 1960 to about 443,000 in 2007. Cherry Hill had about 72,000 residents in 2007, compared to fewer than 10,000 in 1960. The population of Cherry Hill has increased modestly since 1990, as growth pushed east, much farther away from Camden, which is on the far western edge of the county.

Cherry Hill is an example of an edge city, a large node of office and retail activities on the edge of an urban area. Despite its rapid population growth and trained labor force, an edge city like Cherry Hill has become both a residential area that commuters leave and an employment center that attracts other commuters. Cherry Hill has attracted so many new jobs that a major obstacle to further economic growth is a shortage of qualified workers.

But many inner-city Camden residents lack transport to reach the jobs or the skills to hold the jobs. Camden's mismatch among locations of people, jobs, resources, and services exemplifies the urban crisis throughout the United States, as well as in other countries. Geographers help us understand why these patterns arise and what can be done about them. ■

KEY TERMS

- Annexation** (p. 424) Legally adding land area to a city in the United States.
- Census tract** (p. 412) An area delineated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for which statistics are published; in urbanized areas, census tracts correspond roughly to neighborhoods.
- Central business district (CBD)** (p. 406) The area of a city where retail and office activities are clustered.
- City** (p. 424) An urban settlement that has been legally incorporated into an independent, self-governing unit.
- Combined statistical area (CSA)** (p. 425) In the United States, two or more contiguous core based statistical areas tied together by commuting patterns.
- Concentric zone model** (p. 410) A model of the internal structure of cities in which social groups are spatially arranged in a series of rings.
- Core based statistical area (CBSA)** (p. 425) In the United States, the combination of all metropolitan statistical areas and micropolitan statistical areas.
- Council of government** (p. 426) A cooperative agency consisting of representatives of local governments in a metropolitan area in the United States.
- Density gradient** (p. 427) The change in density in an urban area from the center to the periphery.
- Edge city** (p. 427) A large node of office and retail activities on the edge of an urban area.
- Filtering** (p. 419) A process of change in the use of a house, from single-family owner occupancy to abandonment.
- Gentrification** (p. 420) A process of converting an urban neighborhood from a predominantly low-income, renter-occupied area to a predominantly middle-class, owner-occupied area.
- Greenbelt** (p. 429) A ring of land maintained as parks, agriculture, or other types of open space to limit the sprawl of an urban area.
- Metropolitan statistical area (MSA)** (p. 425) In the United States, a central city of at least 50,000 population, the county within which the city is located, and adjacent counties meeting one of several tests indicating a functional connection to the central city.
- Micropolitan statistical area** (p. 425) An urbanized area of between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, the county in which it is found, and adjacent counties tied to the city.
- Multiple nuclei model** (p. 412) A model of the internal structure of cities in which social groups are arranged around a collection of nodes of activities.
- Peripheral model** (p. 427) A model of North American urban areas consisting of an inner city surrounded by large suburban residential and business areas tied together by a beltway or ring road.
- Primary census statistical area (PCSA)** (p. 425) In the United States, all of the combined statistical areas plus all of the remaining metropolitan statistical areas and micropolitan statistical areas.
- Public housing** (p. 420) Housing owned by the government; in the United States, it is rented to residents with low incomes, and the rents are set at 30 percent of the families' incomes.
- Redlining** (p. 420) A process by which banks draw lines on a map and refuse to lend money to purchase or improve property within the boundaries.
- Rush hour** (p. 433) The four consecutive 15-minute periods in the morning and evening with the heaviest volumes of traffic.
- Sector model** (p. 411) A model of the internal structure of cities in which social groups are arranged around a series of sectors, or wedges, radiating out from the central business district (CBD).
- Smart growth** (p. 429) Legislation and regulations to limit suburban sprawl and preserve farmland.
- Social area analysis** (p. 412) Statistical analysis used to identify where people of similar living standards, ethnic background, and life style live within an urban area.
- Sprawl** (p. 428) Development of new housing sites at relatively low density and at locations that are not contiguous to the existing built-up area.
- Squatter settlement** (p. 417) An area within a city in a less developed country in which people illegally establish residences on land they do not own or rent and erect homemade structures.
- Underclass** (p. 421) A group in society prevented from participating in the material benefits of a more developed society because of a variety of social and economic characteristics.
- Urban renewal** (p. 420) Program in which cities identify blighted inner-city neighborhoods, acquire the properties from private owners, relocate the residents and businesses, clear the site, build new roads and utilities, and turn the land over to private developers.
- Urbanized area** (p. 424) In the United States, a central city plus its contiguous built-up suburbs.
- Zoning ordinance** (p. 429) A law that limits the permitted uses of land and maximum density of development in a community.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. Compare the CBDs of Toronto and Detroit. What might account for differences?
2. Draw a sketch of your community or neighborhood. In accordance with Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City*, place five types of information on the map—districts (homogeneous areas), edges (boundaries that separate districts), paths (lines of communication), nodes (central points of interaction), and landmarks (prominent objects on the landscape). How clear an image does your community have for you?
3. Jane Jacobs wrote in *Death and Life of Great American Cities* that an attractive urban environment is one that is animated with an intermingling of a variety of people and activities, such as found in many New York City neighborhoods. What are the attractions and drawbacks to living in such environments?
4. Land-use activities in Communist cities were allocated by government rather than made by private market decisions. To what extent would the absence of a private-sector urban land market affect the form and structure of socialist cities? What impacts might Eastern European cities experience with the switch to market economies?
5. Officials of rapidly growing cities in LDCs discourage the building of houses that do not meet international standards for sanitation and construction methods. Also discouraged are privately owned transportation services, because the vehicles generally lack decent tires, brakes, and other safety features. Yet the residents prefer substandard housing to no housing, and they prefer unsafe transportation to no transportation. What would be the advantages and problems for a city if health and safety standards for housing, transportation, and other services were relaxed?

RESOURCES

Some recent and classic books and articles on industrial geography:

- Berry, Brian J. L. *The Human Consequences of Urbanization*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- , and John D. Kasarda. *Contemporary Urban Ecology*. New York: Macmillan, 1977.
- , and James O. Wheeler, eds. *Urban Geography in America, 1950–2000: Paradigms and Personalities*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Bertaud, Alain, and Bertrand Renaud. "Socialist Cities Without Land Markets." *Journal of Urban Economics* 41 (1997): 137–51.
- Bourne, Larry S., ed. *Internal Structure of the City*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Brockhoff, Martin P. "An Urbanizing World." *Population Bulletin* 55, no. 3. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, 2000.
- Clawson, Marion, and Peter Hall. *Planning and Urban Growth*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Dear, Michael, and Steven Flusty. "Postmodern Urbanism." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998): 50–72.
- Ford, Larry R. "A New and Improved Model of Latin American City Structure." *Geographical Review* 86 (1996): 437–40.
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- Gottmann, Jean. *Megalopolis*. New York: Twentieth-Century Fund, 1961.
- Griffin, Ernest, and Larry Ford. "A Model of Latin American City Structure." *Geographical Review* 70 (1980): 387–422.
- Guest, Avery M. "Population Suburbanization in American Metropolitan Areas, 1940–1970." *Geographical Analysis* 7 (1976): 267–83.
- Harris, Chauncy D. "Diffusion of Urban Models: A Case Study." *Urban Geography* 19 (1998): 49–67.
- . "The Nature of Cities and Urban Geography in the Last Half Century." *Urban Geography* 18 (1997): 15–35.
- , and Edward L. Ullman. "The Nature of Cities." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 143 (1945): 7–17.
- Hodge, David C., Richard L. Morrill, and Kiril Stanilov. "Implications of Intelligent Transportation Systems for Metropolitan Form." *Urban Studies* 17 (1996): 714–39.

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- Jacobs, Jane. *Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Knox, Paul L. *Metroburbia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- Levy, John. *Contemporary Urban Planning*, 8th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008.
- Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1960.
- Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1961.
- Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, eds. *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.
- Scott, Allen J. "Capitalism, Cities, and the Production of Symbolic Forms." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 26 (2001): 11–24.

Journals featuring urban geography:

Environment and Planning, *Journal of Housing*, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *Land Economics*, *Planning*, *Urban Geography*, *Urban Land*, and *Urban Studies*.

Key Internet sites:

- www.census.gov. Data concerning any urban area can be found at the U.S. Bureau of the Census web site. The American Factfinder service provides information from the most recent census as well as annual updates from the American Community Survey. Tables and maps can be generated for census tracts within urban areas as well as for entire urban areas. Access is also provided to data from earlier censuses.
- www.socialexplorer.com. Social Explorer provides access to census data at all scales, including urban. An interactive map enables users to choose the area of interest and from among hundreds of census variables.