Warning 9
Guide 13
extension
American city referred to as the **Griffin–Ford model**. Griffin and Ford found that South American cities blend traditional elements of South 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 development 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. 9.23). The zone of maturity in the inner city contains the best housing outside the spine sector, attracting middle-class residents 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 that represent a transition from interring affluence to outer-ring poverty. The outermost zone of peripheral squatter settlements is home to the impoverished and recent migrants who live in shantytowns. **Shantytowns** are unplanned developments of crude dwellings and shelters made mostly of scrap wood, iron, and pieces of cardboard that develop around cities. Although the ring of peripheral squatter settlements consists mainly of teeming, high-density shantytowns, many residents here are surprisingly optimistic about finding work and improving their living conditions.

A structural element common to many South 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 South 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. 9.24). 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 períférico, 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 South American city? The model reflects the enormous differences between the spaces of privilege and the spaces of abject poverty within the South 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 9.24 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 comparatively low overall level of urbanization, 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 still be seen in many African cities. During the colonial period, Europeans laid out prominent urban centers such as Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Nairobi (Kenya), and Harare.
FIELD NOTE

"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 hillside 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 haphezard, 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. There are 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 someday have legal rights to the space they occupy. During his campaign for president of Brazil, former president Lula da 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 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 preparation for the 2014 World Cup, the city of Rio and government of Brazil demolished several favelas and spent millions of dollars working to provide services to remaining favelas in the path of the public eye."

(Zimbabwe) in the interior, and Dakar (Senegal), Abidjan (Côte d’Ivoire), Luanda (Angola), Maputo (Mozambique), and other ports along the coast Africa even has cities that are neither traditional nor colonial. The centers of South Africa’s major cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban) remain essentially Western, with elements of European as well as American models and a veneer of globalization, including high-rise CBDs and sprawling upper-income suburbs.

As a result of this diversity, it is difficult to formulate a model of the African city. Studies of African cities indicate that the central city often consists of not one but three CBDs (Fig. 9.25): 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 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 as people of ethnic kin tend to cluster together). Since many African cities began as mining towns, such operations still occur in conjunction with this zone in some instances. Manufacturing companies still function here—taking advantage of the proximity to a nearby labor force. Invariably, fast-growing African cities are encircled by vast shantytowns rapidly growing as a result of significant in-migration.

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.
In 1967, urban geographer T. C. 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. 9.26). 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 CBD; 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 South 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 South American cities.

Regardless of the region or city, we recognize that models do not explain how or why cities are organized in 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.

Employing the concepts defined in this section of the chapter, compare and contrast the Latin American city model with either the African city or Southeast Asian city model. What is similar—can you see influences of colonialism in each model; are the poorest residential areas located on the outskirts of the city, where are the wealthiest residential areas located relative to manufacturing zones?
HOW DO PEOPLE SHAPE CITIES?

People and institutions make places, including cities. The roles individual people, governments, corporations, developers, financial lenders, and realtors play in shaping cities vary across the world. Government planning agencies can directly affect the layout of cities by restricting the kinds of development allowed in certain regions or zones of cities.

Through zoning laws, cities divide up the city and designate the kinds of development allowed in each zone. Portland, Oregon, is often described as the best planned city in North America because it is built around free transportation in the central city to discourage the use of cars. Portland is a compact city with office buildings and residential zones in close proximity to encourage walking, biking, and public transportation. On the other hand, Houston, Texas, is the only large city that does not have zoning laws on the books. Houstonites voted against the creation of zoning laws three different times (most recently in 1993).

In addition to government planning and zoning laws, people shape cities by choosing to live in certain neighborhoods and by opening stores, houses of worship, and even sporting fields that reflect the values of their culture. If you wander through the neighborhoods of any city and pay close attention, 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 9.27 with Figure 9.28. 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 you consider? You may look at the presence or absence of high-rise buildings, the aesthetics of the buildings, the road, and the distance between houses. After doing so, you might guess that Figure 9.27 is in the wealthy country. Look again. This time, look for whether there are telephone and electrical wires, and note what building materials were used. Figure 9.27 is actually in a poorer country; it is the city of Lomé, Togo, in Subsaharan Africa. Figure 9.28 is part of a suburb of Tokyo, Japan. Japanese houses in this middle-class neighborhood are almost on top of each other because the city is so densely populated that land is at a premium. In Lomé, the high rises are part of the CBD, and some of the houses immediately surrounding them are where the wealthy live. The houses in the foreground are where the poor live. Here the roofs are tin or cardboard, the
FIELD NOTE.

"Central Cairo is full of the multi-story 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. Paris's Baron von Haussmann 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."

windows (Fig. 9.32). Traffic-choked, garbage-strewn, polluted Cairo is home to an estimated 9.1 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.

Shaping Cities in the Global Core

The goals people have in establishing cities have changed over time. People constantly remake the cities where they live, reinventing neighborhoods or changing layouts to reflect changing 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 predominantly black neighborhoods—and refuse to offer loans to anyone purchasing a house in the neighborhood encircled by red lines on their maps. 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 or to purchase homes for sale.

Before the civil rights movement, realtors could purposely sell a house in a white neighborhood at a very low price to a black buyer. In a practice called blockbusting, realtors would solicit white residents of the neighborhood to sell their homes under the guise that the neighborhood was going downhill because a black 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 as representatives of buyers and sellers. 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, developers did not maintain tenements well, dropping the property values even further.

Developers and governments are also important actors in shaping cities. In cities of the global core that have experienced high levels of suburbanization, people left the city proper for the suburbs in search of single-family homes, yards, better schools, and safety. With suburbanization, city governments lose tax revenue, as middle- and upper-class taxpayers leave the city and pay taxes in the suburbs instead. In order to counter the suburbanization trend, city governments are encouraging commercialization of the CBD and gentrification of neighborhoods in and around that district.

The plans that city governments develop to revitalize central cities usually involve cleaning streets, sidewalks, and buildings; tearing down old, abandoned buildings; and building up commercial offerings and residences. City governments have often created programs to encourage commercialization of CBDs, which entails transforming the central business district 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 areas, and amusement zones occupying former industrial sites. Cities including Detroit and Minneapolis commercialize their CBDs by building or using tax incentives to attract professional sports stadiums to the central areas of the city. Ventures have been successful in attracting tourists and in generating business, but they alone cannot revitalize 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.

Beginning in the 1960s, poor central-city neighborhoods located conveniently close to CBDs began to attract buyers who were willing to move back into the city to rehabilitate rundown houses and live in central-city neighborhoods. A process called gentrification—the rehabilitation of deteriorated houses in low-income neighborhoods—took hold in areas near the centers of many cities.

In the United States, gentrification began in cities with a tight housing market and defined central-city neighborhoods, including San Francisco, Portland, and Chicago. Gentrification slowed in the 1990s, but it is growing again as city governments encourage 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) is growing, as is the number of single people in the population. Childless couples and singles often choose to live in cities because the suburbs do not look as attractive to them as they typically do to families with young children. Gentrified central-city neighborhoods attract residents who want to live within walking distance of their workplace and close to cultural, entertainment, and recreational amenities, nightlife, and restaurants (Fig. 9.33).

One consequence of gentrification is increased housing prices in central-city neighborhoods. Gentrification usually displaces lower income residents because property taxes rise as land values rise, and the cost of goods and services in the neighborhood, from parking to restaurants, rises as well. For urbanites displaced by gentrification, the consequences can be serious. Rising housing costs associated with gentrification have played a key role in the growing homelessness problem facing American cities.

The suburb is not immune to gentrification. In suburbs that are close to the city or directly connected by commuter rail, people purchase smaller or older homes with the intention of tearing the house down and building a much larger home. The homes intended for suburban demolition are called teardowns. In their place, suburbanites build newer homes that often are supersized and stretch to the outer limits of the lot. New supersized mansions are sometimes called McMansions (Fig. 9.34).

Like gentrification in the city, the teardown phenomenon changes the landscape and increases average housing values, tax revenue for the city, and the average household income of the neighborhood. Unlike inner-city gentrification, with teardowns the original houses are destroyed instead of preserved. Also unlike inner-city gentrification, teardowns often occur in middle-class and wealthy suburbs such as Greenwich, Connecticut, and Hinsdale, Illinois.
FIELD NOTE

"In 2008, downtown Fort Worth, Texas, looked quite different than it did when I first visited in 1997. In that 11-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 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, which opened in 1998."

Greenwich, a high-end neighborhood in Fairfield County, Connecticut, just outside of New York City, issued 138 permits for teardowns in 2004 (56 more than it did the year before). The collapse of the housing market brought a decline in the number of teardowns in Fairfield County starting in 2007, but in May 2010 the Wall Street Journal reported that teardown permits had begun rising again in Fairfield County. Permits in Greenwich, however, did not rise. As noted in the Wall Street Journal, “The most expensive corners of Fairfield County, including Greenwich, haven’t seen much of a pickup in teardowns, local brokers say. A surplus of homes priced at more than $2 million, and difficulties in getting financing for these purchases, has kept that activity to a minimum.”

In Hinsdale (just outside Chicago), one-third of the suburb’s houses have been torn down since 1986. Those in favor of teardowns argue that the phenomenon slows urban sprawl by replacing existing homes with new homes, rather than converting farmland to residential lots. Those opposed to teardowns
see the houses as too large for their lots, dwarfing the neighboring houses, and destroying the character of the street by demolishing the older homes on it.

**Urban Sprawl and New Urbanism**

As populations have grown in certain areas of the United States, such as the Sun Belt 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. 9.35). Sprawl is a phenomenon of the automobile era. Cities that expanded before the automobile typically grew "up" instead of "out." For instance, Boston grew around the marketplace and port, but it grew before the automobile, resulting in development over smaller areas. When you go 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 Kolskiewicz and Roy Beck (two anti-sprawl 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 common in the Sun Belt 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 between 1960 and 1990—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. When urban sprawl happens, farmlands and old industrial sites are razed, roads are built or widened, strip malls are erected, and housing developments come to monopolize the horizon.

To counter urban sprawl, a group of architects, urban planners, and developers (now numbering over 2000 in more than 20 countries) proposed 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

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**Table 9.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Sprawling Large Metro Areas, 2014</th>
<th>State</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Atlanta-Sandy Springs/Marietta</td>
<td>GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nashville/Davidson/Murfreesboro/Franklin</td>
<td>TN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Riverside-San Bernardino/Ontario</td>
<td>CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Warren/Troy/Farmington Hills</td>
<td>MI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Charlotte/Gastonia-Rock Hill</td>
<td>NC/SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Memphis</td>
<td>TN/MSAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Birmingham-Hoover</td>
<td>AL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rochester</td>
<td>NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Richmond</td>
<td>VA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Houston/Sugar Land/Baytown</td>
<td>TX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Figure 9.35**

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. Many of the houses in this photograph are empty today, as Las Vegas had ranked first or second in the number of home and rental vacancies in United States cities in 2009 and 2010.
FIELD NOTE

“When I visited Celebration, Florida, in 1997, one year after residents moved into the first houses in the community, I felt like I was walking onto a movie or television set. The architecture in the Walt Disney-designed new urbanist development looked like a quintessential American town. Each house had 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 workday. 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.'

In 2013, I returned to Celebration, and I spent the day walking the same streets. The ‘Church in Celebration,’ a Presbyterian community church, was built, and the main street through the town square was hosting an arts festival focused on dogs. The city had grown to 11,000 residents. Suffered its first murder, and was experiencing a higher rate of foreclosures than the rest of Florida. The movie theater still stood but no longer showed movies. A Starbucks took up a main corner in town, standing next door to a Morgan Stanley office and an Irish pub. Disney no longer owns the town, but the influence of the Disney vision still stands, with architectural covenants allowing only certain house styles, a few pastel house colors, and hiding the trash and cars in alleys.”

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. 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, taking up less space. Along with that, making shopping and other amenities walkable decreases dependency on the automobile, which in the process helps the environment.

Although some see new urbanist designs as manufactured communities and feel disconnected from a new urbanist space, others see these designs as an important antidote 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 was owned by the Disney Company (Fig. 9.36). Built in 1994, Celebration is centered on Market Street, a shopping district with restaurants (including a 1950s-style diner and a pizzeria place), a town hall, banks, a post office, and a movie theater with a nostalgic marquee (Fig. 9.37). The town includes schools, a health center, a fitness center, and churches. The Disney Company chose certain architectural styles for the houses in Celebration, and builders initially offered 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 marks a redefinition of space in the city. Public spaces, they say, become privatized for the enjoyment of the few (the residents of the neighborhood). Geographers Stuart Aitken, Don Mitchell, and Lynn Stahel 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 that most new urbanist designs are "greenfield" projects designed for the affluent to make suburban areas 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 while 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 deepen 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 in the United States, 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 hoasing, 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 now found 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 belonging to wealthy and middle-class families, walling in yards and pools and keeping out crime. These walls often include barbed wire or shards of glass fixed to the top to discourage intruders from scaling the walls. 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 which, along with neighboring
Pretoria, has a murder rate of 5000 per year (in an area with about 5 million people). In response to their fear of crime, by 2004 people in the suburbs of Johannesburg had blocked off over 2500 streets and posted guards to control access to these streets. Many view the gated communities as 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.

Gated communities have spread off in China as well, with communities now crossing socioeconomic classes and assuming a prominent place in the urban landscape (Fig. 9.38). 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, China's gated communities are five to ten times more densely populated than Europe’s and North America's. Geographer Youjin 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 explains why the Chinese government built gated communities during the socialist period and why a proliferation of privately developed gated communities has occurred 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; the middle and lower classes also have a growing desire to feel safe at home. Some urban planners have encouraged governments to recast low-income housing as small communities, gated from each other, in order to reduce the flow through traffic and associated crime. Cities have sometimes torn down enormous high rises, typically ridden with crime and referred to as “the projects,” including Cabrini Green in Chicago and Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, in an effort to remake the spaces of the poor into “defensible” and more livable spaces.

Champions of middle-income and low-income neighborhoods seek to create a sense of community and 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.

**Urban Geopolitics**

Geographer Stephen Graham coined the term urban geopolitics to draw attention to the impact of global-scale geopolitical developments on the character of cities. Urban areas play a central role in twenty-first-century geopolitics. The existence of globe-circling surveillance networks and advanced weaponry has transformed how war is conducted and planned—prompting militant groups to retreat to urban areas where they can hide and take advantage of the urban infrastructure. The door-to-door urban combat that marked the recent United States campaign in Iraq illustrates these changes. A key theme geographers have identified in their studies of contemporary warscapes is urbicide, which Graham defines as the deliberate killing of the city. Urbicide was used to describe the conflict in the Balkans in the 1990s. The Yugoslav National Army intentionally destroyed Bosnia’s famous Mostar Bridge in 1992 in a move that has since been interpreted not as strategic, but as rooted in the desire to destroy cultural property (Fig. 9.39). Geographer Sara Fregonese has traced the concept of urbicide to Beirut in the 1970s, where local militias used barricades to take control over parts of the city and restrict movement.