



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
The Origins of Urban Life and Urban Sociology

The Origins of Urban Life and Urban Sociology

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JSB421 Critical Urban Sociology



Structure of the lecture:

- 1/ The beginning of urban civilizations – ancient cities
- 2/ Medieval order and the Renaissance city
- 3/ Capitalism and the rise of the industrial city
- 4/ The origins of urban sociology
- 5/ Louis Wirth and urbanism as a way of life
- 6/ The Chicago School of urban sociology



Urbanization

- Refers to the origins of cities and the process of city building; studies the way social activities locate themselves in space according to interdependent processes of societal development and change; historical and comparative analyses
⇒ **Societal dimension (activities and connection with space)**

Urbanism

- Studies the ways of life that may be found within an urbanized space; it deals with culture, with meanings, symbols, patterns of daily life, individual lived experiences, and processes of adjustment to the environment of the city; + deals also with social conflict and political organization at the street, neighborhood, and city levels
⇒ **Societal dimension (lived experiences within the urbanized spaces)**

Gottdiener 2019: 44



- **Industrialization in the 19th century** => rise of social sciences, sociology and also **urban sociology** (ascendance of capitalism brings new topics to examination of human life)
- First sociological thoughts about the city (urbanization growth); modern urban life as a contrast to feudal life
- City = modern and complex; feudal = premodern and simple
- Assumptions of progress represented by the modern city + accompanying social problems -> solution of rational planning and scientific advancements (=> enlightenment follow-up)
- BUT -> urbanization in various forms **existed well before the industrial city** + DOES NOT FIT into the neat modern/premodern binary





F. Engels

G. Simmel



R. E. Park

E. Burgess



L. Wirth



- First urbanization -> about 10 000 years ago
- **Settlements in the Middle East (Mesopotamia)** -> ca 6 000 years ago
 - **Tigris and Euphrates rivers** (3900 BC), Sumerian + Akkadian empire (+ others)
 - city of **Ur** (around 65000 inhabitants in 2000 BC), **Uruk, Nineveh**
- **Egypt** -> ca 5000 years ago
 - **Nile River Valley** (around 900 km of fertile land around the river)

**The beginning of
urban civilizations –
ancient cities**



- **Indus River Valley** (India) -> ca 4000 years ago
- **Yellow River Valley** (China) -> ca 4000 years ago (i. e. 2000 BC)
- Younger urban civilizations: f.e. **Ancient Greece** (Athens, 150 000 inhabitants in around 500 BC), **Ancient Rome** (753 BC, 1 million inhabitants in the 3rd century – incl. slaves), **Yucatan Peninsula** (Mexico, 200 BC)
- Lewis Mumford (1961): first human settlements were cities of the dead (*thanatopolis*) -> caverns and mounds built by Paleolithic hunters = first permanent dwelling of cumulated human bodies
 - > places of repeated ritual and worship, first paintings and pictographs (also places of art)



Civilizations born along rivers

„By roughly 6000 to 8000 years ago, agriculture was well under way in several regions including Ancient Egypt, around the Nile River; the Indus Valley civilization; Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers; and Ancient China, along the Yellow and Yangtze rivers. This is because the **regular river floods made for fertile soil around the banks and the rivers could also supply fresh water to irrigate crops. It's no coincidence that as agriculture allowed for denser and denser populations along with more specialized societies, some of the world's first civilizations developed in these areas as well.**“

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Ancient cities:

- Locus of agriculture (well-developed agricultural systems, using big rivers and sophisticated watering systems)
- Trade centres
- Hand craft manufacturing, beginnings of culture and art
- *social spaces* with religious, economic and cultural meaning and significance



Technology and planning in ancient cities:

- Lagopoulos 1986: „In ancient societies, urban settlements were built using a shared set of symbols and a model of space that was inherently meaningful to each group“
- Distinction of sacred and profane spaces; particular structures and spaces „with the protection of the gods“
 - Etruscans (around 500 BC) – construction of the cities in order of ritualized religious ceremony (sacred space became the core of the inhabited spaces)
- Several ancient cities possessed remarkable structural features, that made urban living not only possible but also quite comfortable



- **Mohenjo Daro** (ancient India) -> built on a grid street system, maximum use of space + open sewer system to carry away waste and rainwater

- similar pipe sewer system to today's construction

- two-story houses built around a central courtyard with balconies on the second floor

- **Jericho** – perhaps the oldest continually inhabited city in the world (West Bank, today Palestine); system of canals that facilitated the irrigation of fields outside the city (still used until today)



Ancient Greece:

- Spiritual & cosmological code of construction that incorporated sacred spaces and religious symbols linked to the pantheon of Greek gods
- Athens -> built to honor the goddess Athena; in the centre of the city was the *agora* (marketplace, public hearth of the city) or *hestia koine* (the center of the community); surrounded by public buildings (courts, libraries, temples, gymnasium)
 - different development both from the early grid network (Indus Valley) and haphazard organic growth (Mesopotamia)
 - urban construction based on the equality of all Athenian citizens (Athens considered as first democracy in the world)



Ancient Rome:

- Constructed on a model developed from an imperial code -> stressed grandeur, domination and excess
- Urban space was based on the military power of the state (x opposite of the greek principle based on equality) and the ambitions of the emperors; „physical representation of the empire itself“
- Functional public space embedded in a larger, meaningful space governed by political and cultural symbols
- Monuments and public buildings were constructed to honor the personal accomplishments of each emperor
- About 46 000 apartment buildings (*insulae*) – typically three stories tall, five apartments, five to six people each; only 4000 private homes within the city
- 8 aqueducts to service 1200 public fountains, 926 public baths, public latrines
- Narrow & twisting streets, six to fifteen feet wide (about 5 m)
- The capital of the first urban civilization (not a city-state)



Problems of ancient cities:

- Unsanitary housing and street conditions -> plague, diseases (increased as cities grew in size)
- Greater need for security as the wealth and power of cities flourished
- Increased trade & commerce vs. continued conflict as the new city-states sought to exercise power over the countryside
 - in order to be secure, it was necessary for early cities to exercise their strength and dominate the hinterland
- Life under constant threat of attack by bands of warriors or armies from other towns; victors often killed off or enslaved defeated city populations and then burned the city to the ground



The Akkadian empire in
Mesopotamia (between 2334 -
2154 BC)



The great Ziggurat in Ur (Sumerian ancient city, 3D vizualization)



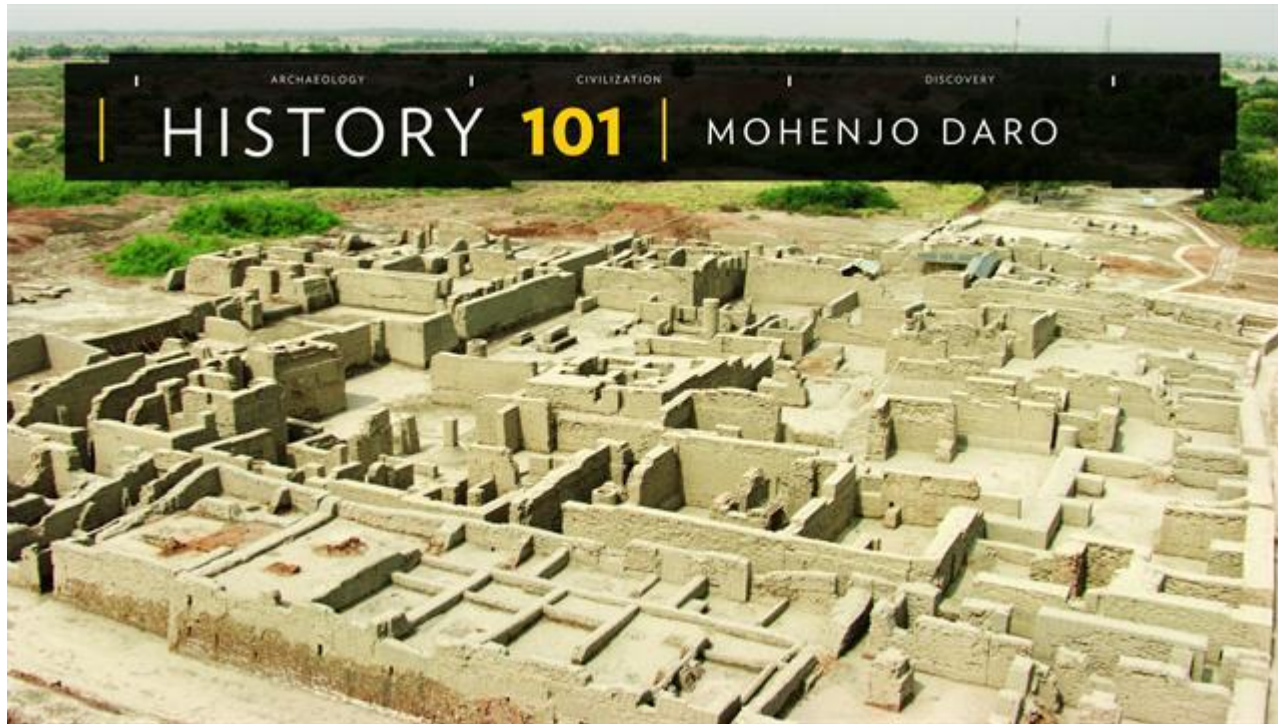
Tigris river today (National Geographic)



Nile River Valley ancient civilization remains;

Cairo today



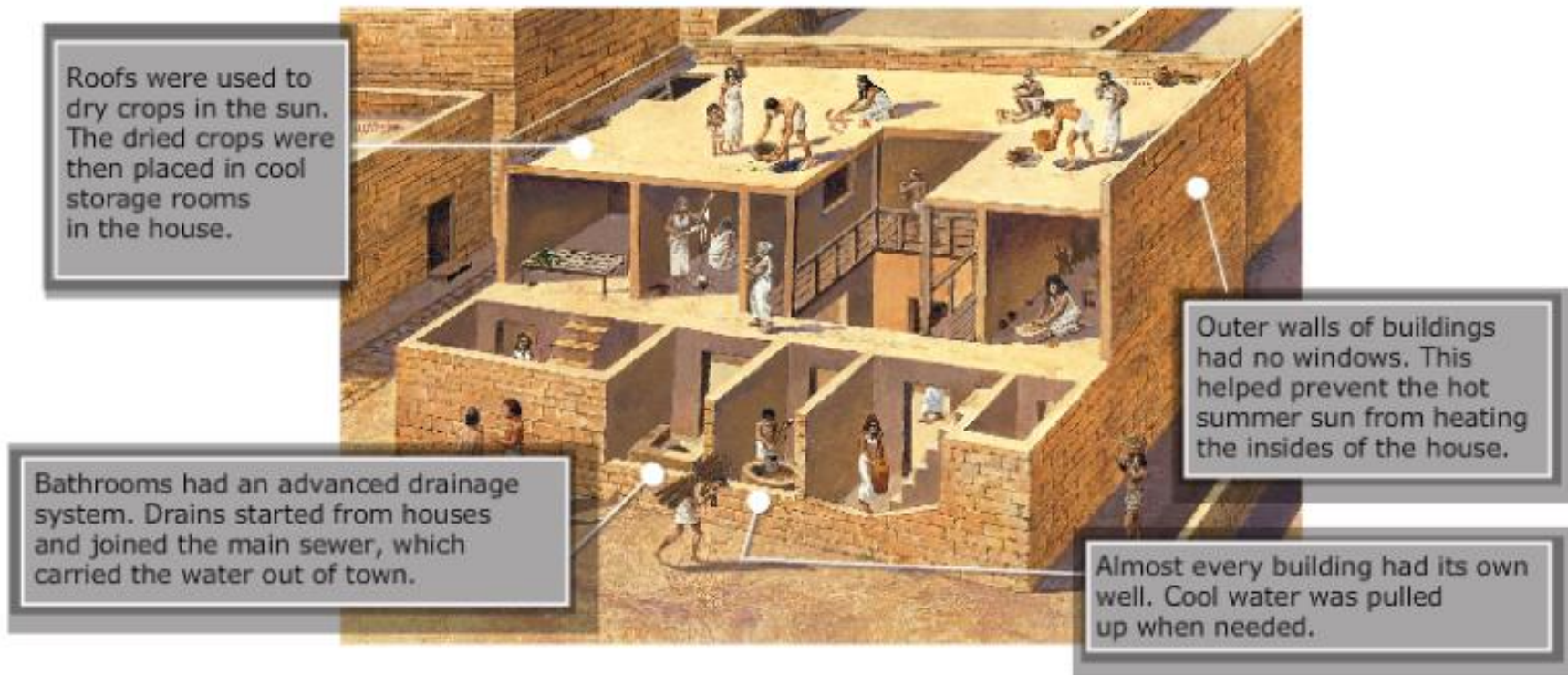


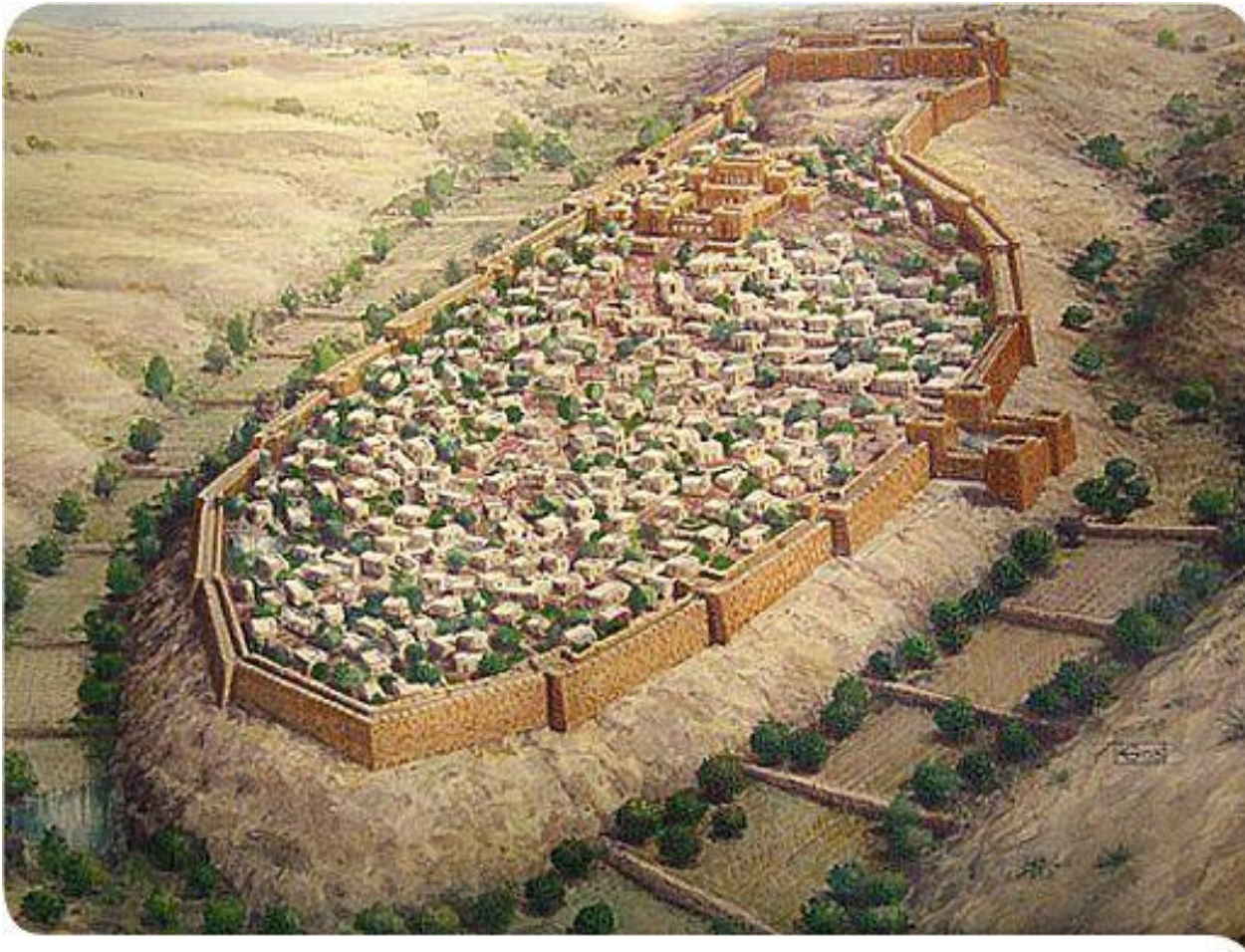
Mohenjo Daro in ancient India (nowadays in Pakistan)





House in ancient Mohenjo Daro (Quizlet)





Ancient Jericho & Jericho today



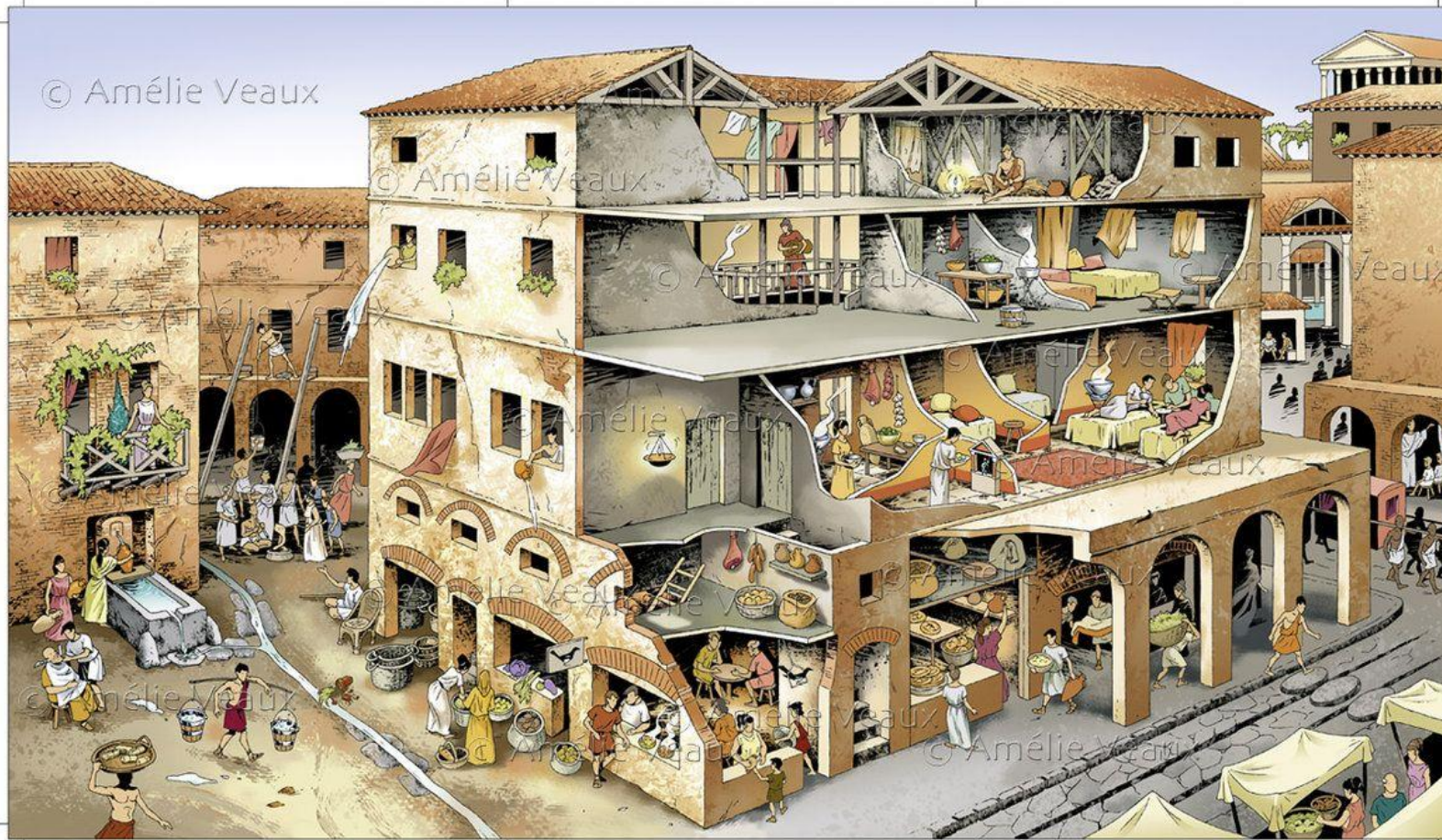


The agora in ancient Athens & today





Ancient Rome vizualization
(Washington Examiner)



Roman insulae



- New form of feudal relations developed after the fall of the Roman Empire beginning in the 5th Century
- *Low level of urbanization* in Europe during the Middle Ages (just few cities over 10 000 inhabitants) x the cities in Asia, Near East and Latin America grew bigger
- **Medieval city** also included *important symbolic space in the center* -> buildings on the central squares represented the dominant social, economic and political interests in medieval society: *the cathedral, the town hall, the merchants' hall* etc.

Medieval order and the Renaissance city



- Necessity of defence – walled hill towns in central Italy / towns surrounding fortified castles
- Upward construction (even five-story buildings)
- Cities grew with prosperity – with overcrowding grew also poverty, crime, poor sanitation & diseases
- **Medieval urban community:**
 - 1) a fusion of the fortress and the marketplace (predomination of trade and commercial relations)
 - 2) legal court
 - 3) a partial political autonomy (election of local authorities to administer daily affairs)

Weber, 1966
- By the 18th Century, nation-states had acquired control of territory (+ change of global economy & trade -> mutual dependence of individual places)



Rome as the model of a renaissance city:

- Ca 1550 – Rome restored to its position as the capital city of the Catholic world
- Growth in size and significance as trade and commerce in cities across Europe produced a new merchant class
- Pope Sixtus V (1585 – 1590) -> *urban development plan* to react on the overcrowded housing and massive traffic problems
 - Renaissance Rome as „a city worthy of the church“; pilgrimage sites within the city linked by broad boulevards, new sense of movement and spatial ordering within the city; new squares were built, new monuments to symbolize the power of the church
 - 60 years of implementation of the development plan (incl. destruction of former crowded medieval housing)

Note: New Town in Prague was planned by Karel IV. In the 14th Century (also inspired by Rome) => cities were planned in the ancient times and in the Middle Age as well

- *Charles University, new cathedral, new public buildings & housing*



Rise and fall of great cities

<i>Location/Date</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Rome		
AD 100	650,000	World's largest city
600 – 800	50,000	Invasion by German tribes
1300	15,000	Exile of popes to Avignon
1500	35,000	
1600	120,000	Pope Sixtus V and the rebirth of Rome
Mexico City		
1500	80,000	Capital of Aztec Empire
1524	30,000	Destruction by Spanish conquistadors
1600	75,000	Colonial center of Spanish empire



<i>Location/Date</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Baghdad		
765	480,000	Establishment of caliphate
900	1,100,000	First city of 1 million persons
1400	125,000	Sacked by Tamerlane, 1401
1650	30,000	
Beijing		
1200	150,000	
1350	400,000	Capital of Ming dynasty
1500	670,000	World's largest city
1800	1,100,000	World's largest city
London		
1500	120,000	
1700	350,000	
1800	1,000,000	Second largest city in the world
1900	6,480,000	Largest city in the world



Baghdad in the golden age



Mexico City during the Aztec empire



Historical part of Beijing



Renaissance Rome



- Industrial revolution changed the way of development both of the society and the cities („urban implosion“), **massive growth of urbanization**
 - > specialization of occupations, more complex division of labor, manufacturing, wage labor
 - > land became a commodity that could be purchased by anyone
 - > development of real estate and land market
- Most dramatic changes in England and Wales (growth of urban counties by 30 % between 1780 – 1800 and by 300 % between 1801 - 1831)
- **Industrial cities** -> haphazard development led by individual capitalists, development directed by the real estate interests
- About the only clear pattern that emerged -> spatial separation of rich and poor

Capitalism and the rise of the industrial city



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1893 – University of Chicago -> first sociology department (Albion Small)

-> joined by Robert E. Park in 1914

-> both studied in Germany by G. Simmel

1890s -> professional sociologists only in France (Durkheim) and Germany (Weber, Simmel)

-> common special concern with the impact of urbanization and capitalism on European society

The origins of urban sociology



Friedrich Engels

- *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Engels, 1973 (1845))
 - > description of the pathological nature of uneven development characterizing urban growth under capitalism
 - similar focus (conditions of the labour) -> Mayhew (1851 – 1862), Booth (1891)
 - evils of industrialization and capitalism were intensified by space of the city



*„Every great city has one or more slums, where the working class is crowded together. **True, poverty often dwells in hidden alleys close to the palaces of the rich; but, in general, a separate territory has been assigned to it, where, removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can.** These slums are pretty equally arranged in all the great towns of England, the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns; usually one- or two-storied cottages in long rows, perhaps with cellars used as dwellings, almost always irregularly built. These houses of three or four rooms and a kitchen form, throughout England, some parts of London excepted, the general dwellings of the working class. The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. Moreover, ventilation is impeded by the bad, confused method of building of the whole quarter, and since many human beings here live crowded into a small space, the atmosphere that prevails in these working-men’s quarters may readily be imagined“*

F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Engels, 1973 (1845))



Ferdinand Tönnies

- *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1957 (1887))
 - „Community and Society“ or „Community and Association“
 - **community**: long histories of individual families, personal interaction on individual basis, common work of community members, mutual relation, jobs interdependent on one another
 - **society**: interaction between individuals without personal knowledge, jobs seem unrelated to each other
- Result of the transition from community to society: weakening of social ties, loss of a shared sense of belonging to a meaningful community



- Ideas of community and society often used to highlight differences between village life of the preindustrial period and urban life of the capitalist industrial period + between small-town life and that of the large, *modern city*
- ***Gemeinschaft***: consciousness of belonging together, condition of mutual dependence, living together as a condition of its active life, shared feelings and enjoyment of the commonly possessed goods, cooperation in teamwork as well as in divided labor, common or shared ideals
- ***Gesellschaft***: typical for urban life -> domination of commerce and industry, capital wealth – capital is the means for the appropriation of products of labor; city as a center of science and culture -> capitalist exploitation of both labor and art; production of thoughts



Émile Durkheim

- *The Division of Labor in Society* (1933 (1983))
- Similar approach to Tönnies'
 - mechanical solidarity: mechanical bonds of kinship and social interdependence in the preindustrial village; bonds were pre-determined (therefore *mechanical*) and unbreakable as long as the individual remained within the local village
 - organic solidarity: in the industrial city, there were no longer such bonds, individuals could work at new types of jobs + have greater opportunities for interaction with a wider range of people; organic bonds that flowed naturally from the increased differentiation brought about by the division of labor



Georg Simmel

- Probably greatest influence on urban sociologists in the United States
- City as a product of „modernism“, focus on the transformative influence of urban life on individual consciousness; „cultural approach“
 - > everyday existence within the city altered the way people *thought and acted* (compared to traditional society)
 - > this „interactive perspective“ was brought to the University of Chicago by R. Park and A. Small; i. e. bigger focus of the Chicago School on social behavior and interaction within the urban milieu



- **urbanism x urbanization distinction:** Weber and Engels emphasized the relation between the historical development of the city and its ways of life; Simmel was more concerned with patterns of activity and cultural ways of thinking found in the city
- Focus on **modernity** -> transition from a *traditional society* (social relations based on intimacy or kinship => „primary“ relations + feudal economy based on barter) to *industrial society* (situated within the cities, dominated by impersonal, specialized social relations => „secondary“ relations + money economy based on rational calculations of profit and loss)
- Subtle aspects of modernity displayed most clearly within the large city or metropolis through consciously directed behaviors



- ⇒ Social psychology of modernity -> transposed by R. Park to urban sociology
- ⇒ Simmel opposed the Marxian view of societal historical progress through political-economic stages of development -> elaborated culturally determined analysis focused on historical changes in social interaction, societal organization and the individual's inner life
- ⇒ Therefore (+ America's 1900s anti-Marxism) bigger influence in the birth of urban sociology as Marxian approach (however, this changes in the critical streams of late 20th Century)



8 characteristics of urbanism by Simmel:

- 1) „blasé“ attitude – blurring of the senses, filtering out of all that was irrelevant to a person’s own personal needs, acute attention to the details of the environment, satisfaction of needs
- 2) Reduction of a person’s capabilities to the quantity of his or hers labor time (spent at work for a wage)
- 3) Occurrence of an impersonal world of pure monetary exchange created by capitalism
- 4) Anonymity of customers provided with must-produced items for purchase
- 5) Mass spectacle of consumption on display within the urban spaces (f. e. department stores)
- 6) Rational calculation of resources at the heart of a person’s daily life
- 7) Adjustment to a second nature – daily activities governed by clock time and played out within a constructed space (everydayness)
- 8) Liberation from the restrictions of traditional society and its time-bound dictates, individual freedom



- City means also liberation of an individual and freedom of choices => cultivation of an individual (x Marx -> focus purely on the exploitation of labor)
- City is a center of cultural, educational and leisure time activities which are freely available to its inhabitants (liberal approach)
- Cultural freedom and signs of individual cultivation = signs of modernity (culture of „urbanism“)



- *The Ghetto (1928)*
- Key writing on the socio-demographical processes within the Jewish neighborhood in Chicago (arrival of Russian Jewish immigrants and relocation of former German Jewish inhabitants)
- *Urbanism as a Way of Life (1938)*

- Became a faculty member in the Sociology Dept. at the University of Chicago
- One of the important figures in the later development of the Chicago School

Louis Wirth and urbanism as a way of life



- Inspired by the work of Simmel
 - > city as a spatial environment influencing individual behavior
 - > city produces unique behaviors that might be called an „urban way of life“ (contrast to existence in rural society)
 - > unlike Simmel (+ Weber, Marx) he didn't attribute much of the city way of life to the influence of larger systemic forces (capitalism, money economy); BUT aimed for general theory that ignored forces having origins outside the city
 - > research of the characteristics of people in the city and how life there might produce a distinct „urban“ culture
 - > use of statistical measurements -> urban way of life as the *dependent* variable to be explained using larger societal factors as causes (*independent* variables)



Urbanism as a Way of Life (1938)

- Urbanism was a product of large **population size, density and heterogeneity**
 - > **set of 3 factors** that could be analyzed statistically according to their effects
 - => theory with predictive power -> the higher a city scored on the three factors, the more one could expect it to house a true urban culture
- Urban culture?
 - > aspects of social disorganization (i. e. negative aspects of Simmel's characteristics)
 - > central = shift from primary to secondary social relations
 - > debilitating nature of urban anonymity to individuals



The effect of *size*: the greater the size of the population, the greater the specialization and diversity of social roles we find within the city; competition and formal mechanisms of social control replace primary relations of kinship

-> segmented human relationships = increased anonymity and fragmentation of social interaction; can be liberating but may also lead to *anomie* and social disorganization

The effect of *density*: intensifies the effects of large population size; increases competition among individuals and groups => creates a need for specialization; produces greater tolerance for living closely with strangers x creates greater stress in contact between groups who don't share a common identity

The effect of *heterogeneity*: regular contact between different individuals and groups (differences in ethnicity, social status etc.); leads to greater tolerance among groups + effect to compartmentalize individual roles and contacts => increase of anonymity and depersonalization in public life



Critique:

- Gottdiener: accurate descriptions of social interaction in the large city and urban culture **x** uncertainty that these factors produce specific results
 - > concentration of the effects of societal forces producing urban culture in cities **x** small towns are affected by many of the same social forces (although types of behaviors may differ in type and intensity)
- True effects of urbanism would occur as a matter of evolution – changes and influence of urban culture as the matter of time

Inspiration:

- *Suburbanism as a Way of Life* (Fava, 1980)
- *Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life* (Gans, 1968)



- By many considered as the „birth“ of urban sociology and first truly urban focused sociological department
- 1914 -> arrival of **Robert E. Park** to Chicago and his subsequent work with **Ernest Burgess** (common datation of the origin of urban sociology in Chicago)
- Earlier roots of urban at Chicago:
 - > Charles Henderson – 1890s applied for funds for a systematic study of the city
 - > W. I. Thomas – *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918 – 1921, beginning of work in 1908)*

The Chicago School of urban sociology



1920s Chicago:

- Developing industrial city, social polarization,
ethnic minorities, economical & social struggle =>
best urban environment for sociological research





- The Chicago School dominated urban sociology in the pre-war years
- Various range of topics
- Social phenomena explained as products of social disorganization (breaking up of primary social relations through city living – Wirth)
 - > later critique for reinforcing a negative view of city life
- Explicit connection of social phenomena with spatial patterns (*sociospatial perspective*) -> one of the reasons we put the Ch. School into critical stream of urban sociology
- Interactionist perspective (following the thought of Simmel) -> research of individuals in interaction with others
- Tried to show the patterns of adjustment to sociospatial location and developed a rudimentary way of speaking about the role of individual attributes in explaining urban phenomena
- Almost exclusive focus on social disorganization and pathology
- Creation of mappings of the city, division into 70 distinct community areas
- Classical case studies (gangs, minorities, social exclusion...)



Classical works of the Chicago school:

R. E. Park, E. Burgess, R. McKenzie. *The City: Suggestions for the Study of Human Nature in the Urban Environment* (1925)

Roderick D. McKenzie. *The Neighborhood: A Study of Columbus, Ohio* (1923)

Nels Anderson. *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (1923)

Frederick Thrasher. *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (1927)

Louis Wirth. *The Ghetto* (1928)

Harvey W. Zorbaugh. *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1929)

Clifford R. Shaw. *The Jackroller* (1930)

Paul G. Cressey. *The Taxi-Dance Hall* (1932)

Walter C. Reckless. *Vice in Chicago* (1933)

Norman Hayner. *Hotel Life* (1936)



Robert Ezra Park (1864 – 1944)



- Former journalist, graduation at Harvard + studies in Germany, courses with Georg Simmel, degree at Heidelberg; W. I. Thomas took him to teach at the newly formed department of sociology
- Strongly „terrain-oriented“ approach, importance of local knowledge
- **Human ecology**: the study of the process of human group adjustment to the environment; inspiration -> C. Darwin
 - > Chicago school avoided the study of capitalism per se (x Weber, Simmel, Marx – study of larger social and economic forces)
 - > preference of a biologically based way of conceptualizing urban life; urban analysis = human ecology
 - > similar approach to Herbert Spencer -> society dominated by biological rather than economic laws of development
 - > economic competition as a special case of the struggle for survival, species competition



- Social organization of the city resulted from the struggle for survival, which produced a distinct and highly complex division of labor
- Two levels of urban life organization:
 - 1) **biotic level** – forms of organization produced by the competition of species over scarce environmental resources; stresses the importance of biological factors for understanding social organization and the urban effects of economic competition
 - 2) **cultural level** – symbolic and psychological adjustment processes + organization of urban life according to shared sentiments (similar to Simmel); operates in neighborhoods with shared cultural values among people with similar backgrounds
 - > local community life organized around a „moral order“ of cooperative, symbolic ties; larger city of separate communities was organized through competition and functional differentiation



- Later work -> emphasis only on the biotic level as the basic premise of urban ecology
 - => **critique** -> ignoration of the role of culture in the city and the influence of modernity + neglecting the social basis of community (Alihan, 1938)
- Other members of the Chicago School translated the social Darwinism implicit in the model into a spatially attuned analysis
 - > Roderick McKenzie – „*The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community*“ (1924)
 - > fundamental quality of the struggle for existence was position (location) – both for individuals or groups (insitutions);
 - > spatial position determined by economic competition and the struggle for survival; successful groups or individuals take over the better positions in the city (business locations, neighborhoods...)

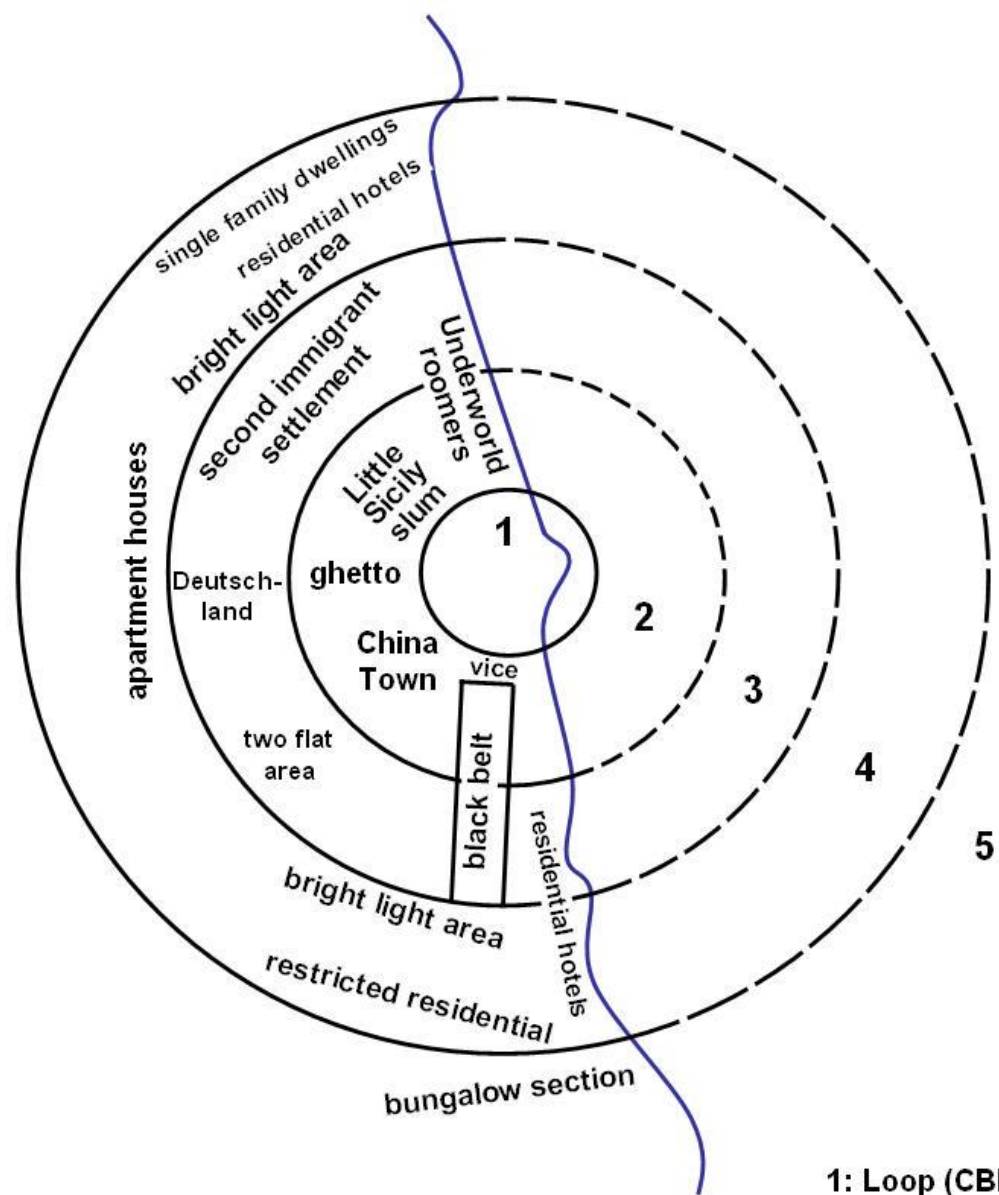


Ernest Burgess

- Theory of city growth and differentiation based on biologically derived principles (Park, McKenzie)
- „City grows constantly because of population pressure“
 - > dual process of central agglomeration and commercial decentralization
 - > spatial competition attracted new business and commercial activities to the center of the city x repelled other activities to the fringe area (away from the core)
 - > continual growth outward as activities lost out in the competition for space in the central city relocated to peripheral areas => further spatial and functional differentiation



- ⇒ City eventually in the form of a highly concentrated *central business district* that dominates the region & is a site for the highest competitive land prices as well as the main organizing functions of the society
- ⇒ Surrounding area -> four distinct *concentric rings*
 - > patterns of homes, neighborhoods, industrial and commercial locations in terms of the ecological theory of competition over spatial position
 - > competition produced a certain ordering of space as well as a certain organization in space
 - > *upper classes* lived in the center, poorer classes arranged themselves in concentric zones around the city center



- 1: Loop (CBD).
- 2. Transition zone.
- 3. Workingmen's homes.
- 4. Better residences.
- 5. Commuter's zone.



- ⇒ *The concentric model* explained the shifting of population and activities within the space of the city according to two processes:
- a) *centralization*
 - b) *decentralization*
- ⇒ Explicit link in the theory between social processes to spatial patterns = most important link for the future examination of the city (and especially the critical approaches & new urban sociology)
- ⇒ The characteristics of the social organization of the urban population were spatially deployed
- > social characteristics embedded in space
 - > decrease of social pathology + increase of homeownership & nuclear families in the outskirts
 - > the inner zones discovered as the sites of crime illness, gang warfare, broken homes etc.



Critique:

- **Homer Hoyt (1933): „sector theory“**
 - > cities carved up by unevenly shaped sectors (*not* concentric zones) with different economic activities
 - > all activities (especially manufacturing and retailing) tend to spin off away from the center and agglomerate in outward expanding sectors
 - => therefore – city grows in irregular blobs rather than neat circles
- **Chauncy Harris & Edward Ullman (1945): *multiple center city***
 - > within any city there exist separate functions and particular needs concentrated within specific and specialized districts
 - > similar activities often locate in the same area forming minicenters



Roderick McKenzie

- *The Metropolitan Community*
- Technological change (esp. transportation) as the key variable in producing spatial patterns in urban society – core of McKenzie's human ecology
- „precursor“ to the concept of the multicentered metropolitan region (socio-spatial approach)
- Technological determinism
- Focus on the metropolitan region, regional perspective



Critique of human ecology:

- Walter Firey (1945): „Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables“
 - > study of land use in Boston; large areas of land in downtown Boston reserved for noneconomic uses (public parks, cemeteries, squares...) + upper class residential neighborhood Beacon Hill near the downtown area
 - > „sociocultural school“ of urban ecology – *sentiment* and *symbolism* as important ecological factors influencing spatial patterns of development



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Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
The Origins of Urban Life and Urban Sociology

Quick audio summary: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5w9T1O_JE8I
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_ThULBsbGA