



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
Suburbanization, globalization, post-socialist urbanization

Suburbanization, globalization, post- socialist urbanization

Mgr. Václav Orcígr
ISS FSV UK

JSB421 Critical Urban Sociology



Structure of the lecture:

- Suburbanization
- Globalization
- The concept of Global City
- Post-socialist urbanization: privatization, governance transformation, public participation



Suburbanization



- Growth beyond city borders present almost the whole history of urbanization
 - Special type of growth - suburbanization -> mainly with capitalism
 - US -> dream of homeownership -> big settlements, growth of MCMR
 - Post-socialism -> tradition of homeownership, insufficient guarantees of rental homes (x Austria, Germany, public housing)
 - Structural & agent-oriented view on suburbanization: real estate interests (Feagin 1983: 8) x homeownership priorities (conspicuous consumption, Veblen 1899)
 - > „The history of suburbanization in the United States is a protracted story of bold quests to acquire wealth through the development of fringe area land and individual or group pursuits of a residential vision that would solve the problems of city living.“ (Gottdiener et al.: 119)
 - > suburban ideal of single-family house with generous living space
 - > structural side -> except of real estate interests – often stressed transportation technology as a cause (Hawley 1981; Jackson 1985)
 - > transportation NOT the cause of suburbanization -> only *means* for suburban development
-



Urban sprawl

- Special form of suburbanization
- Undesirable from economical, social, environmental perspective
- Un-controlled positioning of residential or commercial compounds into landscape
- Usually mosaic-like structure as a result of the process
- Source -> maximalization of profit by individual owners/investors, lack of public intervention
- Therefore – importance of quality planning schemes, strong role of local municipality



Problems of urban sprawl:

- Bad interconnection and bad traffic servicing, importance of individual car traffic
- Bad public services – post services, communal waste management, snow clearing, technical & social services, medical care, educational institutions, public offices...
- (absence of roads and sidewalks – public infrastructure)
- ...
- -> worsening of quality of life both in the suburbs & in the city (work accessing by car, infrastructure costs...)



Suburbanizace.cz





Suburbanization, real estate & state subsidies

- 1920s – mass consumption & production of automobile – aided the movement of people to the suburbs; 23 million cars registered in the US; 33 million registered in the 1930s; 1940s 200 cars/1000 inhabitants
- 1920s/30s suburbanization in the US -> important for further development (esp. after the WWII -> infrastructure for the suburban growth
- Prior to the 1920s -> suburban residence mainly for the more affluent classes, since 1940s -> suburbanization as mass phenomenon
- Typical example -> LA metropolitan area – built during the age of automobile -> immense sprawl



LA sprawl



Government programs & intervention

- Cultural effect of suburbia and the tastes of urban individuals & families (American dream) => state support -> production of a mass housing market (single-family homes as desirable way of living)
- 1930s Depression -> impact on the banking industry and home mortgages -> new legislation (National Housing Act and others) in order to save the housing industry as a means of saving the banks – support of mortgages (mortgages insurances, lower level of principal sums...) -> bigger affordability of mortgages; rise of new financial and expert institutions; new programmes for banks restructuralization; mortgage subsidies...
- -> government programs primed the mass demand for housing, most new construction took place in the suburbs
- Comp. Madden, Marcuse 2016: state support and housing policies always in favour of private development



Racism and suburbanization

- Beneficiaries of suburbanization were overwhelmingly white people – population transfer of whites to suburbs -> sometimes referred to as „white flight“
- Racism mainly in preventing African Americans from moving to the suburbs -> black people blocked from buying homes in white areas by real estate agents + low accessibility of mortgages for the black people by banks
- Results => segregation

Suburbanization in post-socialism

- roots in the avant-garde urban tradition of the First Republic between the WWI and WWII
- involves firstly spread of the city and migration of the urban inhabitants into the side areas or countryside, secondly the drift of these rural areas and its inhabitants to the urban way of life
- Boom in the 90s, 2000 peak (Galčanová, Vacková 2008)



Suburban Social Characteristics

- No typical suburb or unique suburban lifestyle; x typical suburban everyday life (comp. Lefebvre 2014) -> single homeownership, automobile communication, low-density neighborhoods differentiated from life in the central city
- Shift in the 1980s with globalizing processes & deindustrialization -> formerly „bedroom communities“ with inhabitants working in the inner city, now most of people working in the suburban jobs (different situation in the US x Europe x post-soc)
- Various classes of white Americans, difficult suburbanization possibilities for African Americans (cca 10 % of suburban population), segregation also in suburbs



Economic Deconcentration

- US -> retailing dominated by malls and big box store shopping centers
- 1960 -> ca 2000 suburban shopping malls in the US; 1980 -> over 20 000; boom 1990s – 2000s
- Overdevelopment of suburban retailing -> almost 50 % decrease since 2007
 - > stagnation of wages, disappearance of middle class (luxury brands x discount stores), new technologies and shifts in consumer sentiment, growth of online retailing (Amazon), loss of jobs in suburban retailing





Manufacturing

- New manufacturing industries in suburbia; 1980s -> over 50 %, in some cities even more (Boston, Pittsburgh)
- Industrial parks -> beginning in the 1950s; business manufacturing
 - > high-tech companies, science parks, medical campuses, storage halls, electronics, chemicals...
 - > independent of the central city

Office and administrative headquarters

- Relocation of corporate headquarters to fringe areas



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
Suburbanization, globalization, post-socialist urbanization





Deindustrialization and globalization



- Since 1960s -> deconcentration of economy from monopoly to global capitalism
- Labor outsourcing (-> loss of jobs) => *deindustrialization* -> decline of manufacturing in the US and most of the developed countries
- National corporations were bought out or went into partnership with giant multinational companies -> change of headquarters
- => consequences in the transformation of the urban spatial landscape
 - > 1950s – typical city was an *industrial city* (manufacturing, factories, blue-collar neighborhoods around plants for workers, various ethnic groups, predominantly white, factory routine in everyday life)
 - > by the 1980s – transformation -> cities no longer dominated by manufacturing, shift in patterns of family life (no longer typical working-class family life), rise of services
 - > risks -> unemployment, loss of inhabitants (Pittsburgh – former steel city -> transformation to services -> - 24 % of jobs; - 37 % of population between 1940 – 1980)
 - > the sector of capital involved in national and global processes of financial investing has taken over the downtown (New York, Chicago), growth of employment in the financial sector



Population deconcentration

- Since 1970s -> greater population growth for metropolitan areas rather than inside them (reverse the traditional urbanization process)
- Shift from the Dust Belt to the Sun Belt (south & west of the US)
- Formerly -> faster expansion of large cities (New York, Chicago) than smaller ones; since 1970s reverse tendency in the US (faster growth of smaller cities especially in the south -> Phoenix, San Antonio, Dallas...), loss of population in former industrial cities (Detroit, Pittsburgh...)
 - > US specific case, dominated by regional suburbanization
 - > EU -> urbanization in larger cities



Globalization and uneven development

- > employment growth located principally in the service sector, decline of manufacturing
- > robust activity in advanced services that has benefited a relatively small and select group of trained professionals + modest employment in lowpaying service
- > „service city“ of the global capitalism: 1) a core of nodal services, connected to internationalization of business and economic growth, highly trained professionals
 - 2) a second segment of relatively low-paid service workers who feed, entertain, or transport the members of first segment
- > contrast between affluence and poverty, „dual city“ (Mollenkopf and Castells 1991)
- > disappearing middle class, income polarization, rise of the elite 1% of affluent power holders
- > growth of *informal economy* within urban areas – unregistered workers, unregulated factories, goods and services sold without regulation on the streets or exchanged for barter



Deindustrialization, globalization and effects on/in suburbs

- Suburbs = „bedroom communities“ (Jackson 1985) -> places for living for urban professionals and their families -> mainly in 1950s and 1960s
- Later changes with the emergence of MCMR -> cultural, economical, political diversity (+ geographical circumstances), multifunctional economies
- Movement to suburbs -> social, economical
 - > example -> Philadelphia suburbs in the 1980s -> 63 % of the region's employment, 67 % of manufacturing jobs, 68% of wholesaling and 70 % of retailing
 - > shifts connected to globalizing restructuralization of inner cities
 - > MCMR -> reflects urbanization in metropolitan areas (most visible effect of globalizing effects)



The Global City



- Description of the changes in the city in the global capitalism, transformation of urban structures, economic processes and its connection to the global economy
- Structural change in the service and production sectors
- Globalization: information era -> information available any time any place, digitalization x still particular activities that need to be done in personal presence
- The Global City -> economically dependent mainly on the sector of producer services and its viability -> consequences in polarization of incomes & working places, tendency to fiscal crises, growth of unemployment, low paid workers in other services...
- Centralized urban places of commerce (central business districts – comp. Burgess' concentric model)
 - > flow of investments mainly to the centre
- Typical examples of global cities -> New York, London, Tokyo





- NY, London, Tokyo -> reacted on the economical shift in their spatial arrangement + eliminated close competitors; concentrated metropolises, most active in global services (accounting, law, consultancy)
- Differencies -> NY lost some national financial headquarters during the 20th century x Tokyo -> growth of financial headquarters + centre of high-tech manufacturing
 - > London + Tokyo: growth of highly paid working positions
 - > New York + London: decrease of residents in the centre; not in Tokyo + racially and ethnically homogenous population of the centre (despite immigration)
- -> Growth of precarization (NY: informal jobs; London: part-times; Tokyo: day works)
- Centres of global system of production & global urban hierarchy
- Social structure of global cities – simultaneously homogenized, de-diferenciated social structure -> macro-level services produce big labour of part-time workers, growth of both high-wage and low-wage workers; women more often in low paid jobs (gender perspective of urban analysis)



- The biggest concentration of global flows of capital in global cities
- Important role of subcontracting in the global pyramid of capital flow
- Growth of global cities is simultaneous & opposing sociospatial process -> concentration & de-concentration
 - > technologies & telecommunication -> *de-centralization* of economical functions
 - > routine jobs are *pushed away* from central areas to „low wage areas“
 - > investments into highly specialized and high wage sectors *concentrated* in central areas
- Global cities not only places of transactions, but also places of production (services, financial products)
- Focus on spatial dimensions of control coming from changes in investment structure and production (**structuralist perspective**, not too much attention to individual actors or developers)
 - > *practice of global control*
- Shift from traditional centres to new global centres in Middle East and Asia (Dubai, Shanghai, Singapore, Hongkong...)



Critique

- Zukin -> relationship between global services and degradation of working conditions -> no obvious reason to claim, that global services increase the necessity of casual work
- Different substance and aiming of global cities -> connected with global trade and its localization -> hard to universalize the concept, rather fluid concept (Sassen uses the concept of liquidity when describing the global city)



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
Suburbanization, globalization, post-socialist urbanization

Post-socialist urbanization



Socialist urbanization

- Is there a socialist city?
- S. Hirt 2013: two approaches -> 1) *ecological* – similarities of capitalist and socialist cities, dominated by processes of industrialization and modernization, which formed both capitalist and socialist cities in similar way
 - 2) *historical* – distinctions between the two types -> crucial role of political economy and production practices on urban formation
- Various topics of examination of socialist cities -> housing (Dangschat 1987), historical structural urban changes (Musil, Ryšavý 1983; Matějů et al. 1979; Musil 1987), ecological structure of a city (Musil 1968), regional planning and urban management under socialism (Musil 1980; Szelényi 1981)...



- Socialism -> state directed informal connections & relationships; state construction & development; socialist real estates (70s -> up to 100 000 housing units yearly -> today ca 35 000, mostly private)
- „second world“
- 1989 -> „western“ turn, privatization, neoliberalism
- Horak 2007: change in politics & governance, low level of political participation
 - > the case of Prague: 90s/00s -> long governance of the ODS (Civic-Democratic Party), byrocratization, corruption
 - > shift in governance visible f.e. on heritage protection & traffic investments (car traffic, massive traffic projects -> tunnels, car infrastructure)
- Sýkora 1994: important concept of transformation -> long process
- Important departments & authors: Sociological Institute CAS (Lux, Sunega, Kostelecký), FSS MU (Galčanová, Ferenčuhová), Department of Geography, Faculty of Science (Sýkora, Ouředníček)
- Paneláci (The Paneláks: <http://panelaci.cz/stranka/panelaks>)



Problems of post-socialist countries development (UN Population Fund, 1996):

- economic, political and administrative transition -> shrinking GDP, high unemployment, declining fertility and life expectancy
- Need to establish new institutions and redefine the role of the public and private sectors
- Environmental degradation
- Need of new regulatory regimes to accommodate greater participation by nongovernmental organizations and the private sector



- Ca 2000 -> 68 % of population in the Eastern Europe lived in urban areas => high level of urbanization (x urbanization as progress to affluence and stability)
- Large urban centres dominating the country (Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Moscow, Minsk, Kiev, Belgrade...)
- Specific development in the inter-war period
- Different nature of the central city – absence of the finance capital sector, the pattern of population distribution, housing policy, absence of a capitalist real estate market
 - > historical centres, lack of ambitious office building schemes -> slower shift to service-oriented economy and aspects of global-city spatial patterns
 - > decline in central city population, increase in the suburbs (similar to Western Europe) ->

MCMR



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
Suburbanization, globalization, post-socialist urbanization



Velká Ohrada



Sídliště Ďáblice



FAKULTA
SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD
Univerzita Karlova

Course:
Lecture:

Critical Urban Sociology
Suburbanization, globalization, post-socialist urbanization

New Urban Sociology and Post-Socialist City?



- Socio-spatial perspective
- MCMR
- Capitalism – strong
- Individualism
- Planning
- Housing
- Real estate
- Politics
- ...



Literature

- Dangschat, J. „Sociospatial disparities in a socialist city: the case of Warsaw at the end of the 1970s“ in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11 (1): 37 – 60. 1987.
- Feagin, J. *The Urban Real Estate Game: Playing Monopoly with Real Money*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. 1983.
- Galčanová, L., Vacková, B. *Residenční suburbanizace v post-komunistické České republice, její kořeny, tradice a současnost. Případová studie brněnských suburbií* in „IVRIS Papers“. Brno: IVRIS, 2008, roč. 03, č. 02, s. 1-23.
- Hawley, A. *Urban Society: An Ecological Approach, 2nd ed.* New York: Wiley. 1981.
- Hirt, Sonia. „Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city?“ in *Cities* 32: 529 – 538. 2013.
- Horak, Martin. *Governing the Post-Communist City. Institutions and Democratic Development in Prague*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. 2007.
- Hnilička, P. *Sídelní kaše. Otázky k suburbánní výstavbě kolonií rodinných domků*. Era. Praha. 2005.
- Jackson, J. „Urban sprawl“ in *Urbanismus a územní rozvoj* 5 (6): 21-28. 2002.
- Jackson, K. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*. London, New York: Verso. 2014.



- Madden, David; Marcuse, Peter. *In Defense of Housing*. London: Verso. 2016.
- Matějů, P., J. Večerník, H. Jeřábek. „Social structure, spatial structure and problems of urban research“ in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 3 (1 – 4): 181 – 202. 1979.
- Mollenkopf, J., Castells, M. *The Dual City: Restructuring New York*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation. 1991.
- Musil, J. „Housing policy and the sociospatial structure of cities in a socialist country: the example of Prague.“ in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11 (1): 27 – 36. 1987.
- Musil, J., Z. Ryšavý. „Urban and regional processes under capitalism and socialism: a case study from Czechoslovakia.“ in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 7 (4): 495 – 527. 1983.
- Musil, J. *Urbanization in socialist countries*. New York: M. E. Sharpe. 1980.
- Musil, J. „The development of Prague´s ecological structure“ in R. Pahl (ed.). *Readings in Urban sociology*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 232 – 259. 1968.
- Sýkora, Luděk. „Local Urban Restructuring as a Mirror of Globalisation Processes: Prague in the 1990s“ in *Urban Studies* 31 (7). 1994, pp.1149 – 1166.
- Szelényi, I. „Urban Development and Regional Management in Eastern Europe.“ in *Theory and Society* 10 (2): 169 – 205. 1981.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Viking. 1899.