

NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

Differential Groups and Spatial Location in the
Metropolitan Region

In this chapter, we pivot away from our focus on urbanization and urban social problems to the importance of community. The sociospatial approach to metropolitan life asserts that diversity in lifestyles and subcultures exists not just within the city but also throughout the metropolitan region. A basic tenet of the sociospatial approach is that social factors determining the patterns of population dispersal are also linked to particular spaces. The important concepts of neighborhood and community are used to understand urban daily life. Lifestyle differences are externalized in a specific environment: the enclave, the street corner, the mall, the cul-de-sac, or the golf course. Furthermore, these places are always meaningful. Interaction is shaped through the signs and symbols of sociospatial context. It means something very different to live in the north shore suburb or oceanfront town than it does to be from the "hood" or to have grown up in the projects. Our choice of residential location is not always voluntary. Restrictions of wealth and race are potent sifters of population across metropolitan regions. Socioeconomic difference and the system of social stratification therefore manifest themselves both as differences in individual lifestyles and as differences in neighborhood living or local space, and these differences in spatial location and social standing are reproduced in everyday life through acts of consumption.

The pioneering contributions to the study of community came from Emile Durkheim and Robert Nisbet. For Durkheim (1933 [1893]), capitalism was possible because of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity. The strong social bonds that defined mechanical solidarity gave way to flexible social bonds of modernity, or organic solidarity. He saw this transforming communal life in nineteenth-century Europe, as modernity tore apart a communal life based primarily on family and kinship and uniform cultures. The puzzle was figuring out how society stayed together and did not dissolve into tribalism and war. Durkheim's answer was that the division of labor

replaced kinship ties, so society was held together through a network of social institutions—our jobs, our schools, our families, our religion, our government. This change was not without social cost, as individuals struggled to adapt to the new freedoms and anonymity found in city life. In *The Sociological Tradition*, Robert Nisbet (1966) identified five important themes that have guided the study of community in sociological studies from its nineteenth-century origins: authority, alienation, the sacred, status, and community. For Weber, social relations could be understood as *communal* (meaning the total involvement of the individual in the group) or *associative* (marked by rational and less sustained individual involvement). Nisbet argued that the erosion of social institutions that supported community (including family and church) lead people to seek community through increasingly powerful governments.

For the sociospatial approach, the study of community has expanded to include the importance of social space for group identity and the role of power in limiting opportunities throughout the life course. According to Lefebvre, urbanization has a differential logic: it creates a world of differences. Difference is another form that becomes detached from its content and particularities. This leads to a polarization between those who manipulate the form—the technocrats and those who possess the content—differential groups. Like urban sociologists at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century, Lefebvre argues that a unique quality of the urban form is the myriad sociocultural distinctions that are evident there. While most American urban sociologists analyzed these differences in terms of subcultures or minority groups, and natural, ecological processes, Lefebvre used this concept to emphasize relations of inequality (of domination and subordination) and thought about them in terms of political, economic, and cultural processes. In the struggles that take place in urban social space, groups affirm their distinctions against the process of homogenization, as the sociospatial approach maintains, according to Lefebvre's multi-factorial analysis of "differential groups."

The study of community involves examining patterns of social solidarity and difference in the MCMR. Fragmentation and integration exist as two sides of the same coin, so we cannot assume that communal life goes through a never-ending process of fragmentation. The sociospatial approach involves studying how social groups, from racial and ethnic groups to bowling teams, form and change, as they interact with social space. The main questions we address in this chapter are how spatial location interacts with other markers of identity and community, and, the variation in quality of daily life within the MCMR.

THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY

Urban sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s were preoccupied by the question of whether urban settlement space produces different behavior than the rural way of

life. Sociologists worked with an idealized image of small-town life as a community in which everyone shared personal friendships; that is, primary relations. They believed that the intimacy of small-town life was the result of primary social relationships, while life in the city would force "secondary" or anonymous relations on individuals based on business or state bureaucratic considerations rather than friendship, with a consequent loss of community feeling. In contrast to persons in the small town, city people were believed to be unfriendly, rushed, uncaring, suspicious, and standoffish.

Louis Wirth's essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" builds from this earlier view of life in the industrial city. For Wirth the city itself, featuring the loss of community and demographic factors such as size and population density, produced a distinctive form of urban behavior. When we go to a store in a city, we do not have, nor do we seek, a close relationship with the salesperson. We simply want efficient service. The replacement of personal relationships by secondary relations in the city, Wirth believed, would have negative effects on the individual and on everyday life more generally, producing anomie and disengagement from community life.

Silvia Fava (1980) extended Wirth's view in *Suburbanism as a Way of Life*. If increased size, density, and heterogeneity were the determinants of everyday life in the city, Fava reasoned, then everyday life in the suburbs must be different because the suburbs are smaller in size, lower in density, and more homogeneous—the opposite of the city. This was a reasonable description of American suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s, with single-family homes and households that were mostly (or exclusively) white. Personal relationships, increased neighboring, strong family ties, and the prevalence of younger households would characterize suburban life with children.

Herbert Gans's (1968) reply to Fava and Wirth, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life," is a classic work in urban sociology. Gans argued that it is not the fact of residing in a city or suburb that has a determinant effect on everyday life, but the socioeconomic characteristics of the population (and population subgroups) living in particular suburbs or city neighborhoods that creates difference. In other words, an individual's social interactions may be primary, quasi-primary, or secondary, but this is determined by demographic characteristics (age, gender) and stage in lifecycle (married or not married, children present in the household or childless), as well as personal choice. Gans suggested examining particular subgroups in the city—*cosmopolites* (persons who value urban residence for the amenities it affords, such as museums, restaurants, and music); single persons and childless couples (who value urban residence for the nightlife); *ethnic villagers* (persons living in older ethnic neighborhoods); the *deprived* (the ghetto poor who have few opportunities to move); and the *trapped* and downwardly mobile (often elderly persons who lack the resources to move despite changes taking place around them). But in each instance, Gans notes, it is the composition of the local population, and not residence in city or suburb, that is responsible for specific lifestyles.

In short, Gans emphasized societal composition factors and argued against the role of space or the form of the built environment itself. Among other things, his view ignores the effects of capitalism and the role of architecture, while highlighting the importance of sociological factors. Although the latter remains important to our sociospatial approach, we cannot disregard the importance of space and the effects of differences in the built environment created by stages in capitalism.

The Social Survey

The long-standing tradition of sociological research on urban communities had its origins in the social study, associated with the settlement house and social reform movement at the end of the nineteenth century (Bulmer et al., 2011). By this time many had become concerned about the housing and living conditions for the working classes in the new industrial cities.

Charles Booth, a wealthy philanthropist and early social researcher, documented the life of London paupers in *Life and Labour of the People* (1891) and of other London groups in *Labour and Life of the People* (1891). The nine-volume *Life and Labour of the People in London* was published between 1892 and 1897. He argued for old age pensions and other reforms to help stem the tide of the growing socialist political movement, because as with Friedrich Engels, mentioned in a previous chapter, the ills he studied in manufacturing cities were direct results of industrial capitalism. The publications included detailed, block-by-block maps showing the residence of seven different groups, ranging from the lowest class (vicious, semicriminal) and very poor at the bottom, to the middle class (well-to-do) and wealthy (prosperous) at the top.

Samuel Barnett founded Toynbee Hall in the slums of East London in 1884, where students from Oxford and Cambridge would serve as residential volunteers and in so doing learn about poverty and develop practical solutions they could enact when they entered political life. Jane Addams (who became the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize) read about Toynbee Hall in a magazine article in 1887 and later visited Barnett to learn more about the settlement house. In 1889 she established Hull House in the Near West Side neighborhood in Chicago with her college friend and partner Ellen Gates Star, opening facilities that eventually included kindergarten classes for children and night classes for adults, a public kitchen, and art and drama classes. As is the case of social problems in England, American cities also suffered from the social effects of industrial capitalism.

Social reformers and educators associated with Hull House (and led by Florence Kelley) conducted a series of studies about poverty and living conditions among immigrant groups on the Near West Side of Chicago. Part of the research would be included in an early study by the US Bureau of Labor titled *The Slums of the Great Cities* and in the *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895) which, as the title

suggests, included block-by-block maps of the local community following the model of Charles Booth's work in London.

The most important early US social survey is W. E. B. Du Bois's study, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899). Du Bois completed his doctorate (in history) from Harvard in 1895 and was hired as an assistant in sociology at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania in the summer of 1896 to study "the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia." University provost Charles C. Harrison suggested the study to bring attention to social problems in the Seventh Ward. Du Bois spent the next year visiting churches, businesses, and schools in the community and went door-to-door to interview more than 2,500 black residents. This information was used to map the location of social class groups within the black community (see Figure 9.1). Du Bois concluded that the conditions stemmed from a lack of education and the need to strengthen the black family. The most serious problem was housing, brought about by widespread discrimination, which forced blacks to pay "abnormally high rents" for substandard housing, and racial prejudice, which encouraged the growth of other evils, including criminality. Du Bois's research presents us with the first systematic study of an urban black community, and his conclusion seems fateful given the conditions in many present-day American cities: "For the educated and industrious young colored man who wants work and not platitudes, wages and not alms, just rewards and not sermons, for such colored men Philadelphia apparently has no use." Summarizing, the brilliant study of Du Bois added the sociocultural effects of racism to the poor quality of urban life under capitalism in American cities.

THE COMMUNITY STUDY

The community study as a distinctive genre of urban research developed in the United States (and in Britain) in the 1920s and 1930s. While the general concern of this research was similar to that of the earlier social survey, in the community study urban sociologists sought to apply more scientific methods (avoiding the language of the social reformer) to the study of the impacts of social change on everyday life in the industrial, capitalist city. Bell and Newby (1972) offered the most extensive overview of the community study tradition. They suggested that the community study serves two sociological purposes: first, the results may be generalized to other communities and perhaps to the larger society; and second, "community studies allow the exploration of the effects of the social setting on human behavior, that is, treating the community as an independent variable" (Bell and Newby, 1972:82). The community study as a social science tool is essentially a "research process" that involves three stages: entering the community and establishing a presence in the ongoing system of community life that will allow the researcher to

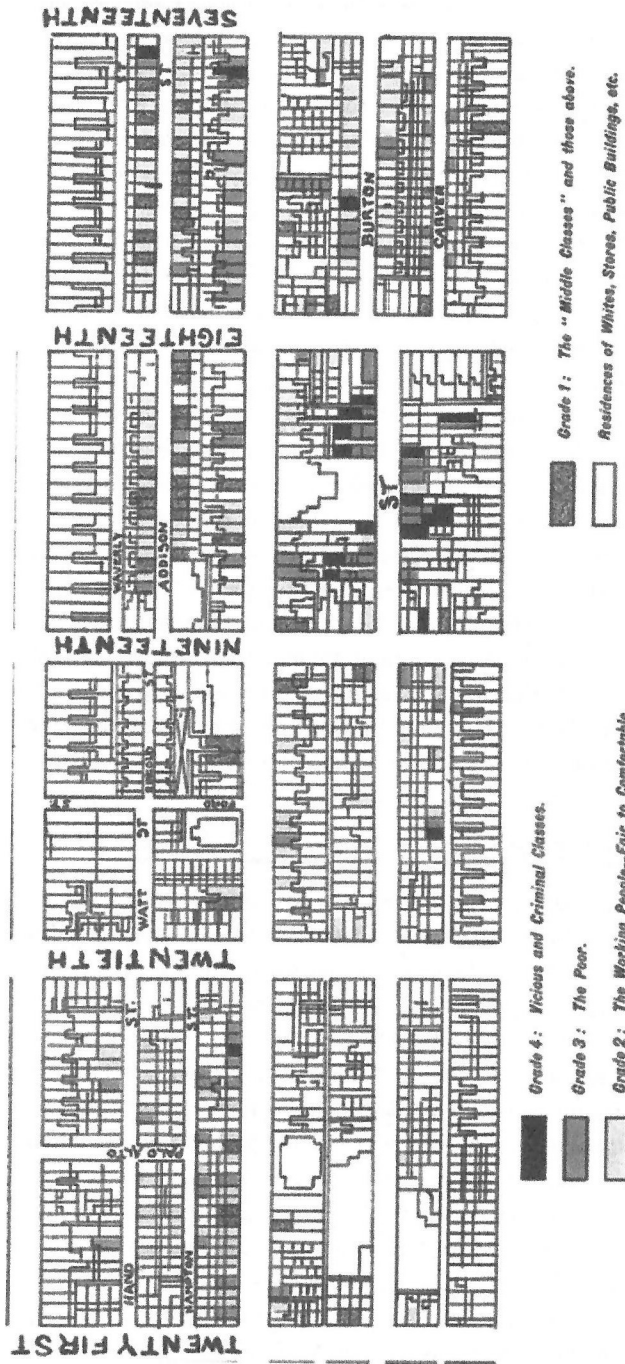


FIGURE 9.1 W. E. B. Du Bois and the Philadelphia Negro. In 1896, W. E. B. Du Bois was hired as an “assistant in sociology” to conduct a study of the black population in Philadelphia. He went door-to-door to interview the 2,500 black residents of the city, collecting information about employment, education, and household income, among other things. He classified each of the households by social class (using his own judgment as to what group they might fit into) and mapped their location. Du Bois’s categories are similar to those used by Charles Booth in his earlier London study: Grade 1: The “Middle Classes” and those above; Grade 2: The Working People, Fair to Comfortable; Grade 3: The Poor; and Grade 4: Vicious and Criminal Classes. The mapping clearly shows a pattern of residential differentiation with the middle classes and working people living adjacent to one another (in the top half of the mapping here), and the poor and criminal classes sharing residential space (in the bottom half). **SOURCE:** Adapted from W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899).

access data; collecting data (through a variety of methods and over an extended period of time); and finally exiting the community, analyzing the information collected, and publishing the results. This final part of the process may be difficult—severing ties built up over months or even years, and publishing results that involve important questions of anonymity and confidentiality.

The most famous of the American community studies is the work of Helen and Robert Lynd, based on some two decades of research on the community of Muncie, Indiana, and published as *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (1929) and *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (1937). The research was intended to represent the “typical” American small city and involved a variety of techniques (existing documents, statistical analysis, field research, personal observation, interviews) to discover the impact of cultural change on social norms and the quality of community life. The Lynds’s research showed a division between the working class and business class, as well as the outstanding cleavage in the community. Much of their research would not be out of place in the contemporary world: high school was the hub of adolescent life, most children planned to attend college, and the community claimed to value education but showed disdain for academic learning. There was strong cynicism toward politics, most persons did not vote, and the local business class was Republican and dominated community affairs. The city was “highly but invisibly” segregated; whites and blacks lived separately, and there was a large divide between social class groups. In short, their study showed many of the same problems as experienced by communities in the MCMR today, despite the shift from industrial to global capitalism.

The Lynds returned to Middletown ten years later to study the impact of the Great Depression on the social structure and everyday life of the town. They discovered some social changes, which tended to return to old patterns as the economy returned to normal. The Republican “business class” eventually supported the policies of the Roosevelt administration and accepted the federal money that the New Deal brought into the community, but then withdrew its support when the programs no longer seemed necessary. There were important changes, as local industries had been sold to larger companies that had little interest in the everyday affairs of the community, and citizens appeared to be more concerned with consumerism and opportunities to enhance their own leisure and personal lives than with civic involvement. Once again, this was not a positive view of the typical American city, and cultural critics such as H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis cited the Middletown studies as examples of the banality and shallowness of American life that may remind some of us about communities today.

NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY

Neighboring studies are important because they are related to the issue of community and territory. The classic image of a community reflects a circle of family

and friends within a defined place, which we call a “neighborhood.” Yet the terms *neighborhood* and *community* are different concepts. A neighborhood can be defined as any sociospatial environment where primary relations, such as intimacy, among residents dominate. If this connection of intimacy is absent, as it may be in the spatial arrangements of large city housing blocks or in suburban apartment complexes where residents have little connection with one another, we can hardly call such an arrangement “a neighborhood.” Thus, the study of neighborhood reaffirms the importance that the local space plays in social relations.

Neighboring activities occur across metropolitan regions. Neighboring and community involvement are strongly related to the lifecycle—whether individuals are single or married or have children, are young or old, and where they are at in their careers. Most neighboring tends to be done by people who are raising families. The stereotypical view of suburbia as a place of neighboring may be an artifact of families with small children living there. But the spatial separation of families in suburban housing developments may be less conducive to visiting with neighbors, while urban neighborhoods with a greater density of private businesses and public amenities, or, so-called “third places” like a corner bar, a church, or gym, may facilitate social interaction among community residents (Oldenburg, 1999).

Community is more a function of social networks, and therefore depends less on territory. Indeed, with the rise of global communication technology and digital social networks, robust communities have formed almost entirely independently of the geography of their members. This effect is known as “community without propinquity” and it underscores how social media has affected social relations, because people may have strong personal ties that exist in hyperspace or through e-mail, without the need to live near each other. Consequently, when considering contemporary social networks, there is wide variation in their size and geographic dispersion. Now, the territorial reach of friendship networks depends on the presence of *competing commitments*: that is, an individual who has more involvements outside their neighborhood is less likely to have ties to immediate neighbors. Not everyone assertively seeks out friends in their immediate neighborhood—and with the advent of social media, this becomes even less necessary for developing meaningful social networks. But we know that local neighborhoods have an enduring impact on the everyday lives of persons across the metropolitan region. This is the subject of Robert Sampson’s work on neighborhoods in Chicago—and is discussed in Box 9.1.

Types of Neighborhoods and Community Interactions

Rachelle and Donald Warren (1977) studied variations among communities with respect to *identity* (how strong is the sense of connectedness to place?; how much do people feel they share with their neighbors?), *interaction* (how strong are the

Box 9.1

The Enduring Neighborhood Effect

Robert Sampson’s *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* (2013) is considered a landmark publication in urban sociology. Sampson uses the cumulative results of research studies conducted in Chicago over the last three decades on topics as diverse as health, crime, altruism, teen pregnancy, leadership networks, and much more.

Sampson writes that the local neighborhood has what he calls “durable-properties—with cultural and social mechanisms of reproduction—and with effects that span a wide variety of social phenomena.” The key to understanding the effect of local communities is something that Sampson calls *collective efficacy*:

We live in an increasingly organizational society, and this reality plays out in neighborhoods as well. The density of nonprofit organizations leads to enhanced collective efficacy (for example neighbors watching out for others), collective civic engagement, and cohesion among community leaders. What’s important is not so much the existence of any specific type of organization but the overall organizational infrastructure of a community ... Communities with a diversity and density of many types of organizations seem to do better, creating collective spillover or “knock on” effects. (Quoted in Florida, 2012)

This helps explain why some neighborhoods may have higher or lower rates of teenage pregnancy despite having similar ethnic or income groups, or why persons moving from a poverty neighborhood (with high collective efficacy) may experience depression and isolation when moving to a higher-income neighborhood (with low collective efficacy). As for the enduring neighborhood effect, Sampson finds that the institutional structures and social organizations that result in higher collective efficacy tend to remain in place even as other parts of community life have changed.

Many contemporary scholars argue that community is dead, suggesting that persons act solely as individuals based on self-interest, or that our actions are determined by global forces beyond our control. The enduring neighborhood effect, however, suggests instead that communities still matter because everyday life is decisively shaped by where we live.

SOURCE: Richard Florida, “The Enduring Effect of Neighborhoods,” *The Atlantic* (April 5, 2012).

interactive ties to neighbors; do they visit often?), and *linkages* (whether or not there are ties between the local area and larger community). By combining information on these three dimensions, they identified five types of urban neighborhoods:

The *parochial neighborhood* has a strong subcultural orientation that dominates everyday life. This is a stable community with strong identity and considerable neighboring and interaction. However, the urban village tends to have weak ties to the surrounding area and to the city as a whole and may not possess political influence.

The *integral neighborhood* scores high on all three dimensions, and is characterized by active neighboring and a high degree of involvement in community associations, strong ties to city agencies, and active influence in affairs of the city as a whole.

The *diffuse neighborhood* has low levels of neighboring, but there is considerable interaction and social networking among residents and others outside of the neighborhood. These linkages mean that the neighborhood may have influence in the larger city, due in part to the status of its residents.

The *anomic neighborhood*, characteristic of many poor areas, with low voter turnout and weak community organizations. There is little interaction or connectedness among residents, and there may be high levels of social disorganization and crime.

The *stepping-stone neighborhood* comprises residents who live there only for the time it takes to acquire resources to move elsewhere; they are highly mobile. While there is some neighboring, a common identity and linkages to the larger community are weak.

In addition to the ideal types discussed by the Warrens, there is another type of neighborhood identified by community researchers that has become important in later research. Georg Simmel recognized that social conflict is one of the factors that draw individuals and groups together. Gerald Suttles's (1968) study of the Near West Side in *The Social Order of the Slum* showed that neighborhoods may isolate themselves as a consequence of an external threat (such as a different racial or ethnic group attempting to move into an area). This leads us to another familiar type of urban life that he called the "defended" neighborhood:

The *defended neighborhood* results from response to an external threat; although it may not be characterized by high interaction or solidarity to begin with, there is a heightened sense of community identity and increased social interaction as the community mobilizes to build linkages to local government to increase community influence. (Suttles, 1972:21)

The efforts of residents in the defended neighborhood to forge new social linkages and to mobilize for social action may be long-lasting if successful, or fleeting if the neighborhood succumbs to the outside threat. Of course, the types of neighborhoods identified in urban research are not limited to those noted here, and the existence of these and other neighborhood types may be found across the metropolitan region.

Sociospatial relations continue to play a significant role in the lives of minority groups in the United States. Years ago Robert Park spoke of an "urban mosaic" to capture the diversity of people and lifestyles in the city. Today the entire metropolitan region, both cities and suburbs, can be described this way. It goes without saying that different groups use and interact with urban spaces differently. However, unlike the conclusions of almost all the earlier researchers on community and city life, the sociospatial approach strongly asserts that the relationship between minority groups and social space is much more important than just the force of diversity because group identity is also formed in relation to the space it inhabits or controls and because of the context within which people live as compared to other residents in the metropolitan region. Comparative conception of quality life across the regional space is very important to how people perceive themselves and their social condition.

Lefebvre argued that differential groups needed to establish their own space for them to exist as a meaningful social category. For Lefebvre, evidence of meaningful social action established group identity, while defending the group space was akin to reproducing their identity over time. There is a dialectical relationship between groups that can affirm their identity by controlling space and groups whose identities are affirmed when they are assigned spaces. For example, high status groups, like affluent whites, create an identity as they secure spaces for themselves and people like them, such as those located in outer ring suburbs or gated communities. Not only do they exclude others from their spaces, they actively acquire the social influence to prevent lower status groups, such as African Americans, Hispanics, and low status whites from living in their developments. Although low status groups cannot secure spaces of their own, they nevertheless establish places where they regularly interact with other group members, reaffirming their identity by retaining their control over their particular spatial location. Once settlement spaces are segregated and neighboring relations are established, residents feel emotionally attached to the community, even if the community is dangerous or destitute. The emotional well-being provided by the territorially bounded community acts as a buffer against their marginalization in urban space, but also hinders their integration into the broader community (Abrahamson, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Sanders and Nee, 1987). Consequently, and according to Lefebvre, the play of social standing and influence is very much connected to the establishment and control of local space, something that earlier researchers such as Fava and Gans completely ignored.

CLASS DIFFERENCES AND SPATIAL LOCATION

The United States is a stratified society. This means that individuals and households are located within a social hierarchy. One's position in the social hierarchy determines their access to resources, like time and money, establishes the reach of their social networks and available opportunities for success and upward social mobility. Research on the American class structure divides our society into a number of different groups based on what social scientists call SES, or *socioeconomic status*, which is a particular combination of wealth, occupation, education, gender, and race, among other factors (Robertson, 1987). Many studies divide the population into five groups: the lower class, the working class, the lower middle class, the upper middle class, and the ruling class. While the ruling class controls enough wealth to be in control of their economic circumstances, working and middle-class families find it increasingly difficult to maintain their standard of living.

American culture and the lifestyles it supports connect the financial resources of individuals and families, expressed in our hierarchy of social stratification, to patterns of consumption. Members of each social class consume in distinctive ways that reproduce their status as capitalists, as wagedworkers, as technocrats, as landlords, and so on. For example, a worker uses her wages to buy various commodities—food, shelter, clothing, and recreation—that will allow her to return to work the next day as well as to prepare her children to assume their positions in the social structure when they become adults. Her place in space will affect her family's access to quality schools and cultural amenities. Her expenditures require her to return to work to continue the process as well as allowing capitalists and landlords to realize profits that will allow them to continue as investors—it reproduces her dependence on her employer and landlord and their dependence on her, which is what Lefebvre means by the reproduction of class differences and the social relations of production. For technocrats and members of the upper middle class, price is not the only consideration when buying or renting a home. Their place in social space affects their access to quality schools for their children, to the quality of neighborhood recreational amenities, and to the quality of their social networks. As we have already pointed out above, people's location in space is an important variable in the quality of life for community and neighborhood studies.

As we move through different local spaces within the metropolitan environment, we encounter a tremendous diversity in lifestyles. Here, we focus on how these differences are a function of class standing and how acts of consumption reflect the class position of the consumer, thereby enabling us to talk about class-based lifestyle differences in the metropolitan region.

The Wealthy

The wealthy are able to afford multiple homes, and many wealthy people alternate among townhouses, suburban estates, and rural recreational houses. At any given time a wealthy family can only occupy one of these residences, so multiple homeownership is a symbol of wealth and power that carries meaning and prestige (see Box 9.2). Their activities take place within certain spaces that are allocated to the particular mix of restaurants, resorts, and social clubs reserved for the upper class. In the city, the wealthy are associated with fashionable districts such as Nob Hill in San Francisco, Beverly

Box 9.2

The Upscale Urban Lifestyle

Market researchers have studied yuppies in detail because they spend so much of their income on consumer products. They identify characteristic yuppie areas as located in the more affluent sections of the central city (Weiss, 1988). Many live in high-rise buildings in areas of high population concentration and in newly gentrified housing in suddenly fashionable areas of the inner city. According to one report:

Almost two-thirds live in residences worth more than \$200,000, decorating their living rooms according to *Metropolitan Home*, buying their clothes at Brooks Brothers, frequenting the same hand-starch Chinese laundries. In Urban Gold Coast, residents have the lowest incidence of auto ownership in the nation; these cliff-dwellers get around by taxi and rental car. (Weiss, 1988:278)

Market researchers also note the peculiar, service-dependent nature of yuppie consumer behavior. For the sake of last-minute convenience, they will spend more to eat out or purchase items at nearby grocery stores that charge more than large supermarkets. Convenience is prized by people whose high salaries often require them to devote extra hours to their work. According to Weiss:

Residents usually eat out for lunch and dinner, and their forays to grocery stores mostly yield breakfast items: yogurt, butter, orange juice, and English muffins—all bought at slightly above-average rates. Compared to the general population, residents buy barely one-fifth the amount of such pedestrian treats as TV dinners, canned stews, and powdered fruit drinks. Where these consumers do excel is at the liquor store: They buy imported champagnes, brandy, beer, and table wine at twice the national norm, possibly to take the edge off stress-filled urban living. (1988:281)

Hills in Los Angeles, the Gold Coast near Lake Michigan in Chicago, Beacon Hill in Boston, and Park Avenue in New York City.

One important way the wealthy manifest their power and status is by creating exclusive social spaces to isolate them from the rest of the population. In the suburbs or at country homes, however, the benefits of isolation are found in gated communities and exclusive country clubs or golf clubs that cost many thousands of dollars to join. In the city, this type of voluntary segregation may be accomplished by living in ultra-expensive housing with security guards and controlled entrances. Even though public transportation and taxis are available, the wealthy often utilize private transportation services, such as limousines. Shopping and recreation are all located in heavily policed areas. This level of isolation requires surveillance and control, which demands additional resources like private security guards, apartment buildings with twenty-four-hour doormen, and private schools for children who are driven to and from school by private car services. When out in public, the elite moneyed class often use personal bodyguards, as well, for protection—another service that costs considerably.

An early study of the upper-class lifestyle is E. Digby Baltzell's *Philadelphia Gentlemen* (Baltzell, 1989 [1958]). Baltzell showed that, while the wealthy require their own segregated space, the areas they choose for their voluntary isolation varies over the years, because, in an effort to remain invisible, the wealthy had to move as the metropolitan region expands over time. Baltzell distinguished between the elite, or the technocrats in Lefebvre's terms, and the upper class. The former are "those individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the functional class hierarchy. These individuals are leaders in their chosen occupations or professions" (Baltzell, 1989 [1958]:6). Baltzell's book is not about the elite but about the upper class in the Philadelphia metro region, which he defines in contrast as the

group of families whose members are descendants of successful individuals one, two, three or more generations ago. ... [Individuals in this social grouping are] brought up together, are friends, and are intermarried one with another; and finally, they maintain a distinctive style of life and a kind of primary group solidarity which sets them apart from the rest of the population. (Baltzell, 1989 [1958]:7)

According to Baltzell, the upper class in Philadelphia restricted itself to a particular location in the city and tried to remain out of sight. It usually did not stay in the same neighborhood generation after generation, but was subject to the same forces of deconcentration and regional drift as were other individuals in the metropolitan region. Most American cities have a pattern similar to Philadelphia of once fashionable districts that have declined as the wealthy shuffle around the metropolitan region in search of secure enclaves for their lifestyle. The most characteristic area of upper-class life in Philadelphia was the Main Line, which

stretched westward from the central city on the commuter railroad to the suburbs of Overbrook, Merion, Wynnewood, Ardmore, Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Rosemont, and other towns out to Paoli, Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia upper-class lifestyle consisted of a withdrawal from civic affairs and the concentration on business by the males, while females were expected to stay close to home minding the household, entertaining guests, and organizing charity balls or fund-raising activities for the arts. Children were sent to exclusive private schools, and social life meant exclusively interacting only with other members of the upper class on the Social Register.

The upper class, however, is not confined to city residence. One of the earliest studies of the affluent in suburbia was Thorsten Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). Although wealth was behind their behavior, the most important characteristics of the lifestyle were symbolic or cultural. Veblen coined the concept *conspicuous consumption* to refer to this particular aspect of the affluent style of suburban life. This concept refers to an outward display of consumption that demonstrates wealth and power through the use of resources and the symbols of upper-class membership visible to others. The suburban homes of the wealthy, for example, were endowed with excess. Houses were huge, over 5,000 square feet or more, with many more rooms than were necessary to service the immediate family. Estates had large front and rear lawns that were landscaped and attended to by a staff of gardeners, for show.

The suburban lifestyle of the wealthy is focused on leisure activity as a sign of conspicuous consumption. This is particularly significant because symbols of leisure mean that people do not have to work. The suburban country club, costly to belong to and restrictive in its membership, is an essential component for the exclusive set. The leisure activities of choice for the affluent are golf and tennis. In a wealthy area such as Palm Desert, California, located about a hundred miles east of Los Angeles, a considerable amount of the town land is devoted to golf courses. Palm Desert's location in the desert means that the maintenance of golf courses requires a substantial amount of water to maintain the greens. Because of their needs for water and chemical spraying to control weeds, golf courses across the world are culprits in the global environmental crisis, especially because of rising temperatures. Yet, the importance of playing golf is as solid as can be for the most affluent and all middle-class people that ape their lifestyle.

Wealthy suburbanites maintain their social isolation from the less affluent through mechanisms similar to those utilized in the city, such as the high price of homes, surveillance and control by private security forces, gate-guarded and enclosed communities, and the separation that comes from spatial dispersal itself. Their homes are located at the greatest heights. In the suburbs, this often means that estates are built on the high ground, on hillsides or escarpments. In the city, this "god's eye view" is acquired with apartments at the top of luxury high-rises,

such as the penthouse, which is a term coined specifically to refer to the highest possible apartment dwelling.

In short, the wealthy possess a distinct lifestyle built on class privilege and symbols of high social status and excessive consumption. Their daily life manifests itself in space through unique molding of the environment to create isolation and exclusion. Whether living in the city or the country, their lifestyle, like any other, is sociospatial; that is, it is organized around expressive symbols (Fussell, 1983) and particular spaces, and it contributes to their reproduction as a class.

The Creative Class and the Suburban Middle Class

A large proportion of central city residents are not members of the upper class, but do have significant discretionary income because of monetary rewards associated with their field of work. Since the 1970s, as manufacturing has declined in the city, there has been a phenomenal increase in service-related jobs. Many of these are professional positions created by the information-processing economy of the city, such as the financial and legal institutions associated with corporate headquarters. The shift to information-processing professional services has also affected metropolitan settlement space by reinforcing certain upper-middle-class patterns of behavior. As with all other lifestyles in our society, socioeconomic standing and the financial resources of these groups are expressed through particular consumption patterns and contribute to their reproduction as a class.

The post-industrial economy created new classes based in professional occupations and new forms of settlement spaces. The original name for this group was *yuppies*, shorthand for young urban professionals. This term has acquired a derogatory connotation, but it is a very useful way to describe relatively young (late twenties to early forties), middle-class professionals who live in the city. We should note that yuppies represent an urban subpopulation characterized by their income, occupation, and lifestyle; they are not identified by ethnicity or race. According to Sassen (1991), yuppies were responsible for gentrification and the upgraded housing and renovation of older loft buildings in New York and other cities; their culinary demands spurred the opening of many new and often exotic restaurants; and their more specialized everyday needs, such as last-minute food shopping, health and fitness requirements, and reading and cinema tastes, have opened up new sectors of employment for a host of immigrant groups and working-class urban residents looking for entry-level service positions.

Echoing Sassen's analysis of yuppies, Richard Florida suggested a new "creative class" has emerged as the driving force of the neoliberal economy. Florida defines the creative class as a group whose labor is focused on creativity. This means everyone from musicians writing songs, to sociology professors conducting research, to surgeons developing new surgical techniques. In practice, though, his

analyses of the creative class is based on aggregations of detailed occupational categories reported by the US census into his own creation—a large "class" category (Florida, 2002:68, 73). Florida shows that this, so-called creative class prefers diverse, tolerant, and creative communities, despite the actual existing realities of diverse and tolerant communities, and they want to live in or near the central city. According to Florida, his nominally named class is the main group behind gentrification and the "back to the city" movement.

The question raised by Florida's approach, that has become famous through self-promotion as a means for cities to capture their once lost luster and economic prominence is whether or not the creative class constitutes a social fact, i.e., an actually existing new "class." From the sociospatial perspective, it seems more like a differential group that *is* an important agent in the restructuring of urban social space, especially if it is the source of gentrification. But Florida misses the larger process—the social production of space and the reproduction of the social relations of production, that is, the structural-side of the process. He has little to say about the relation of this purported class to capital, and he overlooks the social division of labor—the class division of labor, capital/land/labor—and focuses on the technical division of labor—the occupational structure. This is not how capitalism has survived the crises in the global economy since the Great Depression; it has survived by occupying and commodifying space—by turning profits and accumulating capital on real estate investments, that is, structural activities found in the second circuit of capital using agents of property speculation, development, and ownership.

Florida acknowledges that the members of this class lack class consciousness and cohesiveness, but they have created spaces for themselves, which qualifies them as a *differential group* in Lefebvre's terms. They are agents of gentrification, transforming factories and warehouses into artist lofts, upscale bars and restaurants, condominiums and coops, and other cultural institutions. They have revitalized centers whether in cities or suburbs—within urban regions—that contributes to the production of multicentered urban spaces. Of course this is the bright side, the winner's side, in what is an uneven process of spatial development, and it ignores the dark side, the loser's side, in this process: the poor, working-class homeowners and renters, racial groups, and even less affluent middle-class professionals, that can't afford city loft living, for example, who have been expelled due to the rising cost of housing, to the regional periphery in order to make way for the redevelopment of inner city centers under the leadership of the profit chasing real estate sector and its political allies in city government. Redevelopment tends to raise property values, which often means higher taxes for homeowners on modest incomes and higher rents for tenants. Often the children of these homeowners are priced out of that market when they attempt to replicate their parents' achievements. Rather than seeing the "creative class" as *the* positive solution to declining city economies, as Florida

does, it is more likely that this pseudo social grouping will contribute to the well-being of cities only as long as affluent professional occupations bring a positive effect to other social groups via employment.

The Suburban Middle Class

The suburbs have been historically associated with the middle class. Decades of white flight for those who were able to move to the ever-expanding suburbs have resulted in the virtual absence within the central city of much of the white middle class, and to a lesser extent the black middle class as well. Beginning at the end of WWII, in the late 1940s, and because of government programs like the GI Bill, the federal highway project, and low-interest home loans through the middle of the twentieth century, middle-class Americans have spread out across the vast expanses of the metro region in developed housing tracts of suburban settlement space.

The typical suburban home is a scaled-down replica of the upper-class estate, and symbols of status abound in these places. Most new middle-class homes possess front lawns devoted exclusively to raising grass and ornamental shrubs, have decks in the backyard where children play and adults cook on the grill. While the upper-class estate requires a team of gardening and maintenance people to take care of the yard, the middle-class homeowner is a do-it-yourselfer, mowing grass usually every weekend in the spring and summer, while spending household money at home improvement chain stores spread across the suburban landscape.

In many municipalities, tax money has been used to acquire the kind of public facilities that the affluent enjoy in private. These include public golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts, and parks. In areas close to the ocean or a lake, suburban municipalities often build and service public marinas for boating and other water sports. But, leisure time is increasingly rare for suburbanites. According to The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017) among all workers with paid holidays in the US, the average number of days of paid vacation was eight, that is, gone now is the traditional two-week vacation. Since middle-class workers are rarely unionized, their wages and leisure have not kept pace with their productivity. Doing so would require them to create unions for themselves or to form a common front with overworked working-class Americans. Suburban life was family life, but family time has been shrinking, and this makes the reproduction of this class far more problematic.

The Working Class, the Working Poor, and the Jobless

In the nineteenth century, factories dominated life for the working class in the city. Modest working-class housing was constructed in grid-pattern rows nearby

factories. In the period immediately after World War II, US cities contained a prodigious density of such working-class districts. In these neighborhoods, churches, unions, and other local institutions supported communal living. During the Great Migration, many African Americans moved from the southern US into racially segregated neighborhoods in northern cities creating communities of their own.

Since the 1960s, however, the strength of community institutions in working-class neighborhoods has waned. One reason was that many factory workers attained middle-class status with the ability to purchase single-family homes in the suburbs (Berger, 1960), often with government-funded veterans' benefits and federal policies supporting homeownership and suburban sprawl. A second, more drastic cause was the decline in manufacturing employment as the product of deindustrialization beginning with the 1970s when the economy shifted to global capitalism. As the strength of unions and other community institutions waned, working-class residents saw their collective power and political influence diminish.

Although working-class families have suburbanized in large numbers since the 1960s, many still reside in large cities. The working class is also an increasingly racially diverse group comprised of Hispanics, blacks, and Asians in addition to whites. Across all races, the working class is more frequently referred to as the "working poor" since their standard of living declined while cities become more expensive places to reside. Because their standard of living is related to city services, the working poor are often at odds with public administrators, and city politics involves clashes over the quality of public services. Beginning in the 1970s, the declining fiscal health of cities has made this political conflict worse resulting in drastic cuts of city services, increasing costs of public transportation, and the firing of public employees. Now, the working poor and their advocates in historical inner cities fight ongoing battles with mayors and governors over the lack of affordable housing, excessive rent, as well as declines in education, fire and police protection, sanitation, highway maintenance, health care, and recreational amenities available to them.

The working poor and jobless live in neighborhoods, trailer parks, or in subsidized housing units adjacent to the middle and affluent classes within metro regions. The spaces of the working poor formed as deindustrialization and capital disinvestment closed factories that resulted in a domino effect closing most local shops, diners, and bars that were economically tethered to factory life. William Julius Wilson (1996) refers to these places as "jobless ghettos," and he defines these as census tract neighborhoods with greater than 40% of the residents living in poverty. Residents of these neighborhoods often find jobs inaccessible or non-existent. The working poor and the jobless have very little control over their fate, and many of the challenges faced in these neighborhoods were created not by

their current residents, but instead by the business owners and middle-class residents who once lived there, but then left, taking their capital, and many of the neighborhood's jobs with them. Lastly, without money and activist voting patterns, they lack political power so that urban politicians can ignore them without consequences at the polls.

Those who live in the jobless ghettos endure a life of insecurity and alienation. African Americans living in segregated areas of the inner city have adopted a particular form of cultural accommodation called "the street code." In one sociological study of a specific African American segregated ghetto, Anderson (1999) reported, in the *Code of the Street*, that everybody knows, understands, and recognizes the social norms represented by the ghetto street's code regardless if they are decent or criminal people. Anderson argued that ghetto street people embrace the code because they are alienated from mainstream society and social institutions, suffer from extreme poverty, and seek dignity and social status through violence. Decent people are more likely to supervise their children, to work (even if in low paying jobs), and are connected to schools, the black church, and have adult role models. Even though decent people are law abiding and embrace mainstream values, they still have to navigate through the codes of the street to survive: "many less alienated young people have assumed a street-orientated demeanor as a way of expressing their blackness while really embracing a much more moderate way of life" (Anderson, 1999:313). Thus, despite the complexity of the jobless ghetto, the communal aspect of the black ghetto is expressed through the contested terrain of blackness because being African American is the primary spatial identity of the black ghetto.

US IMMIGRATION: ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY ACROSS THE MULTICENTERED METROPOLITAN REGION

Three distinct waves of immigration to the United States have occurred, and settlement patterns and social life are connected to each wave.

Audrey Singer's analysis of immigration to metropolitan regions during the twentieth century suggests that the combination of recent immigration and historical settlement patterns of earlier ethnic groups has produced six types of *immigrant gateway cities* (see Box 9.4). Singer's study of the immigrant gateway cities is important for our understanding of the effects of the new immigration on metropolitan regions across the country. One problem with the analysis—something that is discussed in the report—is the focus on the gateway city, because most of the new immigrants live in suburban towns within the metropolitan region, not in the central city. Our focus on the sociospatial perspective will help us to understand the importance of moving beyond the city and looking at the metropolitan region more broadly.

Box 9.3

The First Wave

Many thousands of years ago, Asians immigrated to the Western Hemisphere over a land bridge to Alaska. In the 1500s and 1600s, Western European settlers from the British Isles, Spain, Holland, and France arrived as a consequence of state policy. Some were convicts taking advantage of an alternative sentence to debtors' prison in their homeland. Others signed on with the promise of free land and other resources. Still others, such as the Puritans who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony and William Penn and his Quaker community, came in search of religious freedom. At the time of the American Revolution, some 95% of immigrants to the United States were Northern European, and nearly 70% came from Great Britain (Steinberg, 1996). Regardless of where they came from, they confronted Native Americans upon arrival.

During the 1840s, the potato famine in Ireland caused Irish people to be the first large group of immigrants who were not Anglo-Saxon Protestants to immigrate to the US, and they confronted extensive discrimination (Higham, 1977). They were also the first large group of immigrants that went directly to the cities. Prejudice and discrimination meant that many Irish immigrants were employed in dangerous tasks, such as building railroads, or as the first proletarian factory workers in the northern cities where slavery was not allowed.

The Second Wave

By the 1800s, industrialization was in full bloom and the cities of the United States were expanding. At about that time a second substantial wave of new immigrants arrived here from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Most second-wave immigrants made their homes in the city. Many had come from rural backgrounds and had to make adjustments to the urban way of life (Handlin, 1951). Cities overcrowded, and housing for most immigrants lacked the basic necessities of sanitation and sewage. Public health crises and crime waves were quite common (Monkkonen, 1986).

Both the Irish who had arrived somewhat earlier and the second wave of Central and Eastern Europeans were viewed by established residents as threatening to the American way of life. Antagonisms developed between immigrant groups organized as workers, and city officials and factory owners. Some second-wave immigrants shared ideas of radical labor movements in Europe, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), with their neighbors and fellow laborers in the US.

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occur across four dimensions: socioeconomic status, spatial concentration, language assimilation, and intermarriage (Waters and Jiménez, 2005). Waters and Jiménez (2005) found that through the 1990s and early 2000s, immigrants were settling in southern and midwestern states and suburban neighborhoods at higher rates than previous immigrant groups. While immigrants of this era still experienced spatial segregation, they have also assimilated along each of the four dimensions over time. For example, most first-generation immigrants continue to speak their native language, but the third generation primarily speaks English, and there are high rates of intermarriage among racial subgroups across generations. Consequently, assimilation into American culture and society remains strong over the generations.

Achieving a middle or upper-class status and assimilating has not curtailed the racism that non-white ethnic groups face. Nor has it done much to eliminate segregated Hispanic and Asian spaces. The model of white ethnic assimilation into white Anglo society does not extend to Latinos. For one, white ethnic assimilation accompanied the disappearance of white ethnic neighborhoods, in large part due to suburbanization. Intermarriage rates between whites and Hispanics or Latinos and suburbanization has not led to the disappearance of Hispanic settlement spaces. Furthermore, as Feagin and Colbas's (2014) field research on the lived experience of Latinos showed, Latinos still face discrimination and mistreatment from whites. Physical differences in skin tone still exist. Whiteness is not the same as being white, just as being treated as an honorary white person is not the same as being white, in the United States, according to Feagin and Cobas. More broadly, while Los Angeles and many other US cities host many immigrant communities, and are racially and ethnically diverse, it is wrong for academics to conflate diversity with integration. The Los Angeles MCMR remains segregated, which perpetuates social inequalities, cultural misunderstandings, and other social problems addressed in the previous chapter.

WOMEN, GENDER, AND SPACE

In 2014 Stockholm adopted a new snow-clearing policy. The plan prioritized walkways, public transportation, and bicycle paths over roadways. Citing data that shows more pedestrians than drivers are injured during snow storms, Daniel Hellden, Stockholm's vice-mayor of transportation, explained that this new policy has "made economic sense" for their city (Tunney and Lunn, 2018). When an unusually bad snow storm hit the city in November of 2016, blocking roadways and canceling train trips, the policy was called into question. Framed as working toward "gender balance," the approach has faced additional scrutiny. As Schmitt (2018) pointed out, those behind the plan explained that in their city women are

more likely to travel by bike, public transit, or on foot, consequently prioritizing snow removal in this way should not only reduce injuries, but also alleviate gendered inequalities in transportation and mobility.

Stockholm is not alone in their efforts to bring gender considerations into their city. As part of a larger effort to gender balance the budget in Canada, its finance minister, Bill Morneau, met with his Swedish counterpart in early 2018 to discuss their snow removal policy. Morneau stated that this was part of his effort to take "concrete measures that are going to help women to be more successful in our economy" (Tunney and Lunn, 2018). At the US Conference of Mayors in January 2018, a panel of women mayors discussed the role of gender in their leadership of their communities in the context of the #metoo movement (Farmer, 2018). Representation of women among city leadership is important because their priorities have historically been overlooked in everyday urban life.

The relationship between gender and space highlights the different ways urban life shapes different roles between men and women and the gendered meanings of space. By gendered meanings, we are referring to how masculinity and femininity is embedded into social space. The masculine and feminine meanings embedded into space are connected to broader gendered categories found throughout society, such as the differences between the public sphere and the private sphere. The public sphere is the space of the state and the economy. The private sphere is the family and the home. However, occupations are gendered, such as care work. The sidewalks are gendered, as feelings of safety vary between men and women, because men don't get catcalled or deal with unwanted advances while on the subway or walking past a construction site.

Urban public spaces have historically been masculine spaces. One well-known geographer wrote a book entitled *This Scene of Man* (Vance, 1977) and, not to be outdone, more than a decade later an equally famous urban sociologist published a study of Chicago entitled *The Man Made City* (Suttles, 1990). Reflecting broader patterns in society, women had limited access to positions of power in cities, and their interests have often been overlooked in urban planning and policymaking, as well as research in urban sociology. As one commentary noted, women are also told through harassment, "that the public realm belongs to him and you are there by his permission as long as you follow his rules and as long as you remember your place" (Benard and Schlaffer, 1993:390). Spain used the example of the nineteenth-century department store as a place that was "clearly a women's place," and in contrast, "the saloon" was a place for men (2014:582). As men and women socialized in gendered spaces, they reaffirmed the gendered meanings embedded in those spaces, and subsequently reaffirmed the gendered expectations of their identity. In short, control of space, or the built environment, clearly demonstrates one of the most fundamental principles of our sociospatial approach—behavior is affected by social as well as spatial norms; the two spheres are dialectically linked.

Consequently, when the government of Sweden attacks gender inequality by making spatial changes, it shows an understanding of what is meant by gendered space and also how to overcome it through public policies. The US is light years behind such sophisticated thinking and, therefore, we can assert that women continue to be discriminated against by men in the public realm.

Recently, women in America have challenged the historic nature of masculine public spaces that excluded them from participating in public life and limited their access to local political power. In Chicago between 1871 and 1933, Spain (2014) noted that women campaigned for suffrage in municipal elections, and used the political power they achieved to improve garbage collection and provide prenatal care, among other things. Spain also describes several examples of women creating spaces for other women, from Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago, to Vida Scudder's Denison House settlement in Boston. Changes in women's ability to find work was their way out of the private sphere, and in turn, single women moved to urban areas, rented their own apartments, lived in all women's boarding houses, hotels, and beau parlors. In the northeast, Catholic nuns founded many of the all-girl Catholic schools, and women's only colleges were established to train women to be nurses, teachers, and social workers. Like other segregated spaces, the positive aspect of a world without men, by the early 1930s created by these efforts, was offset by policies that restricted training to "pink-collar" occupations which were, nevertheless, progress of a certain kind.

In the 1970s, women rejected gender norms and roles that tied them to the private sphere and sought entrance into "men's colleges" so that they could become a physician or a scientist or a college professor. The real wages in the United States also began to decline, and participation in the middle-class lifestyle had since grown increasingly expensive. Now, it is common for both spouses in a married household to pursue full-time employment. By 2016, 70.8% of women with children under eighteen worked (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). Women still make less money than white men. The ratio of women's to men's median income has slowly improved and by 2016 women's median weekly earnings was 82% of men's, and that ratio was higher for Blacks and Hispanics, than for Whites and Asians (89% and 88%, compared to 81% and 78%, respectively) (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). By 2015 both the husband and wife were employed in 48% of married families; however, this statistic had much less to do with gender equality than the sheer fact that life for most families in this country had become very expensive.

The legacy of masculine urban space continued to impact working women, especially women with children. Ann Markusen (1980) examined how the patriarchal division of household labor contributed to the design of buildings and urban spaces that separated single-family homes from workplaces. For Markusen, "this arrangement is apparently inefficient and onerous from the point of view of women," and "poses contradictions for capitalism" (1980:23). Decades of urban

development throughout the MCMR have separated residential and work spaces across the mini nodes. This has made it difficult for mothers to balance childcare with work without supportive parental leave programs or even reasonable transportation options. In areas minimally serviced by mass public transportation, it is just second nature for a family with young children to require two cars, a considerable expense, whether both parents are working or not. Additionally, the limited social services that were provided are primarily located in the city away from the suburbs. Affording quality day care remains an unsolved but pressing social and financial problem for American families with children when both parents need to work in order to remain out of growing debt.

Another consequence of more women in the workforce, according to sociological research, has been a change in the way both men and women view household tasks, with a greater willingness among middle-class men to share in domestic labor, especially a growing percentage of men who "mother" (Grief, 1985; Lamb, 1986). However, Hochschild and Machung's (1989) classic study *The Second Shift*, demonstrated that married women who work outside the home were doing an average of three hours a day of housework compared with only seventeen minutes for their "task sharing" male spouses. In 2015, the balance was still unequal with men averaging 1 hour and 25 minutes of household labor per day, while women averaged 2 hours and 15 minutes of household activities per day (Bulmer et al., 2015). Although, again, we can say that these data show progress of a certain kind in favor of relieving the burden of household tasks on women working full-time.

Working-class and minority women have always had to work outside the home, and have frequently been their family's main source of income. Often, working-class and minority women are employed as day care workers, teachers' aids, home health care workers, or nurses aids in a hospital or a nursing home. These low-paid sectors make it possible for upper and middle-class parents to work outside the home for higher wages. Melissa Gilbert's (1998) research examining the survival strategies of working poor women showed how the decentralized spatial arrangements that separated home from work, childcare, and social services constrained their daily efforts to support the well-being of themselves and their families. She found that women's childcare trips increased their overall commute time and limited their ability to travel longer distances to work. Importantly, though, Gilbert demonstrated that, considering the spatial context, power differentials between men and women were not all-or-nothing splits. Instead, Gilbert found that women were rooted in "mutually transformative, and spatially constituted social relations," with men, and, that the resulting "spatial boundedness" could function both as a resource and as a constraint (1998:596). For this reason, the household task problem of genders still possesses plenty of room for more negotiations. Box 9.5 illustrates how these arrangements and contradictions do not exist in every city, contrasting Scandinavian countries with the US.

Box 9.5

Gendered Space in the Built Environment

The sociospatial approach asserts that urban and suburban settlement spaces influence individual behavior; however, this influence is mediated by gender, class, and other individual characteristics. In this way, the meaning of space and the built environment may differ for men and women. Consider the ways in which the structure of settlement space in Sweden and that in the United States have very different consequences for the daily activity and well-being of women.

Suburban developments in the United States usually consist of single-family homes located some distance from the urban center. Local zoning restrictions require that suburban settlement space be low-density (not simply single-family homes instead of apartments but also lot sizes of between one and three acres). Land-use plans also require physical separation of residential areas from business and commercial development. The federal government has spent billions of dollars constructing a highway system for private automobiles, and public transportation is limited.

In Sweden, suburban developments are of moderate density, usually garden-type apartments located in mixed-use districts where stores and businesses are located within walking distance. Extensive public transportation connects suburban settlement space to the city core, and childcare and other services (provided through the public sector) are available within the local community (Popenoe, 1977).

The effects of these two very different built environments on women's lives could not be more dramatic. In the United States, women who live in suburban housing developments are comparatively isolated from friends, relatives, their place of employment, and health and other public services. A second family automobile is needed for women to take their children to day care, go grocery shopping, or travel to their jobs. Then there is the cost of travel time to and from each of these destinations (separated from one another by zoning). In Sweden and other Scandinavian countries with similar welfare state structures and urban planning, women in suburban developments are more likely to live near friends, relatives, and their place of employment. If they do not, public transportation is available, eliminating the need for a second automobile. Because day care and other family services are funded by the state and located in the new planned suburban communities, they are readily available. And because friends and even relatives may live within walking distance, it is easier to pool resources to arrange for other family needs (Popenoe, 1980).

The arrangement of suburban settlement space in Scandinavian countries encourages women to become fully integrated into the metropolitan community

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and to build strong social networks with others in the community. In contrast, the structure of suburban settlement space in the United States—where homes, workplaces, schools, and shopping areas are separated from one another—places a significant burden on suburban women's time needs and isolates them from employment opportunities and daily activities within the metropolitan region.

The lives of women are a critical component of urban and suburban activities, and urban sociology is gaining greater insight into the role of women as a Lefebvrian "differential group," and their circumstances in metropolitan life. The relations between settlement space and gender extend from the home to the community to the larger metropolitan region. The sociospatial relations of the modern global economy have much to do with gender roles and patriarchy, but they also are a consequence of economic and political factors. As middle-class women in the United States changed their social roles, energies and resources were transferred to service industries that catered to domestic needs, such as home cleaning services that have now even become franchises. In addition, restaurants and take-out shops have expanded their operations over the last few decades. Specialty shops and services spring up everywhere to cater to those families with double incomes. Supermarket and giant merchandising stores along with malls, and other retailers also redefine metropolitan space through the construction of shopping centers across the region. Neighborhoods changed to accommodate fast-food and take-out places, restaurants, laundries, and dry cleaners, and supermarkets and malls made shopping progressively more convenient. Houses in the suburbs required at least two-car garages because both spouses commuted to work. Another consequence has been the growth of paid household service work. Childcare, housecleaning, shopping assistance, and lawn care are but some of the services that have taken the place of unpaid domestic labor. In both urban and suburban settlement spaces, day care and extended childcare programs changed the place where children went to play—from city streets supervised by mothers to indoor group play areas supervised by paid day care specialists.

LGBTQ COMMUNITIES AND URBAN LIFE

Not every differential group is identified by visible cues like skin tone, a shared religion or language. In this regard, the racially segregated neighborhood and the ethnic enclave differ from the gendered meanings embedded in space and sexuality. This does not mean that social space and territory are not important for the LGBTQ community; they are. However, much like gender, the meanings of sexuality and space are intertwined

with larger cultural beliefs and social institutions that influence the spatial fragmentation and reintegration of groups. Historical and field research on the LGBTQ community shows how space is integral to the formation of this differential group's identity.

Same-sex practices have always existed. For elite men in Greek and Roman society, men had sex with men, although the sexual position and question of who penetrated whom differed by social status and position in the life course. Same-sex practices were also normal occurrences in the Victorian age, and the homosexual as a sexual identity, was not created, classified, or vilified socially until the late nineteenth century, namely, by medical practice (Foucault, 1978). From the late nineteenth century until the interwar years, the social spaces of gay men and lesbians were scattered throughout a network of bars, saloons, speakeasies, cafés, and restaurants. Gay men held drag balls and were visible in public life especially in New York—in Times Square, a sliver of Harlem, Greenwich Village, and in the Bowery (Chauncey, 2004). They lived in Single Room Occupancy (SRO) hotels, in part, because they were safe spaces, but also because they were easy to move out of if they needed to escape violence or harassment. However, there was not an identifiable gay identity politics at this time because the gays and lesbians did not have their own space. The political response to anti-gay laws was organized through political associations, like the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis.

Gay enclaves in cities formed after World War II. They coincided with the rise of post-war conservatism against communism, as well as the formation of Christian religious identity and the abusive politics of McCarthyism. Gay men and lesbians were kicked out of the military. Gays publicly settled in coastal cities, like New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Ghaziani (2014) calls this era of LGBTQ history the “coming out” period because gay neighborhoods flourished, evidenced by the creation of and density of gay amenities like bars, non-profits and community centers, and bathhouses, and symbols like the rainbow flag. Unlike the pre-war era, though, the bar and café were more than just places to meet and find intimacy. The amenities were politicized, which allowed for a gay identity politics to form that then functioned as a “pull factor” to attract gays and lesbians from across the country to the urban enclave in these select cities during the 1970s. The most famous gay enclave was the Castro District in San Francisco, the place of Harvey Milk's heroic and tragic story. Harvey Milk was the first openly gay elected official in California. Milk served on the San Francisco city council but was tragically murdered by fellow council member, Dan White. Adding insult to injury, White was found innocent by a jury based on a crazy legal defense with lawyers claiming that he killed Milk because White ate too many Twinkies that day. In retrospect, it is easy to see, in this verdict, the horrible bias at work by the members of the jury against gay men, which White's lawyers exploited astutely. Milk's political success, however, was possible because

gays and lesbians had their own urban space and the gay community since that time has been a powerful political force in California.

Gay men, rather than a semblance of gender equality, dominated the representation of gay enclaves. The reason why is found in gender differences within the LGBTQ community. Adler and Brenner (1992) argued that several factors, including gender differences in access to political power and wealth as well as male violence directed at women, contributed to the lower visibility of lesbian space in cities. As Podmore (2006) explained, “While gay men have often produced highly visible territorial enclaves in inner-city areas, lesbian forms of territoriality at the urban scale have been relatively ‘invisible’ since their communities are constituted through social networks rather than commercial sites” (595). Gay men are still men, and gay white men are still white and male, and thus, the primary position of gay men in the gay enclave has to do with gender and racism.

These patterns of social life in LGBTQ communities echo aspects of Lefebvrian theory: such places have to be produced; they do not appear whole cloth within urban areas. Again, without a space of its own, a differential group has no existence according to Lefebvre. While it is true that sections of cities, such as the West Village in New York, New Town in Chicago, and the Castro District in San Francisco, are well-known LGBTQ enclaves; in all urban areas, these spaces must be produced and maintained by those who commune within them. The production of LGBTQ spaces makes political activism a necessity. As Binnie (1995) notes, “Just as individual persons do not have pre-existing sexual identities, neither do spaces. In other words, space is not naturally authentically ‘straight’ but rather actively produced and (hetero) sexualized” (179). Thus, the sociospatial idea of the “production of space,” pertains to the LGBTQ community as well.

Recently, cultural change has impacted the gay enclave, especially since 1997. Fewer same-sex households lived in zip codes historically associated with gay neighborhoods “in 2010 than they did in 2000 or in 1990” (Ghaziani, 2014:2) and 93% of all US counties contain LGBTQ residents. To an extent, America has become more accepting and tolerant of gays and lesbians. Governments and some businesses have extended benefits to same-sex partners, and same-sex marriage is now legal. However, straight acceptance tends to be limited to gender conventional lesbians and sexually non-threatening gay men, who Seidman (2002) dubbed as “good gays.” Good gays have the option to live anywhere they can afford or their race will allow. Gender non-conforming people, a segment that includes club kids, butch dykes, and many trans persons, still face discrimination and threats of violence. These individuals still need the gay enclave. Yet, these districts remain in a perilous state of transition. Ghaziani notes how the gayborhood is losing many of its distinct spatial gay structural markers. Because of the increase in social acceptance of gay and lesbian lifestyles, and feelings of cultural sameness within the LGBTQ population, “good gays” are integrating into other more traditional settlement spaces across the metropolis and increasingly

more straights are integrating into gay spaces. Now, an unintended consequence of LGBTQ assimilation across the MCMR is that it “erases the location of sexuality in specific urban spaces” (Ghaziani, 2014:56).

How should we understand the transformation and decline of the gay enclave? For one, it reflects how sexual identity is no longer serving as a primary identity for all LGBTQ persons, especially over the life course as people marry, have children, and focus on their careers as well as their family lives. However, the gay enclave continues to be important for marginalized members of the LGBTQ community, for young people who come from intolerant families, and the need for a space of their own to fight for dignity and equal rights. As the sociospatial approach to population segments maintains, because differential groups cannot affirm an identity until they have their own space, the gay enclave will not disappear. However, in the future, it will not look like the gay enclaves of the 1970s or 1990s, and will coexist side by side with gay-friendly districts comprised of gays and straights.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have studied how urban sociologists have thought about neighborhoods and communities, and how they have studied neighborhood interaction and community life for members of several differential groups. Throughout this chapter we have seen evidence of the sociospatial consequences for these groups in the way they interact in neighborhood and community life. The social space of different groups across metropolitan regions remains a consequence of the interaction between compositional social factors, such as ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, and specific territorial relations that push and pull particular individuals toward particular places within the metropolitan region.

Over the last several decades, we have witnessed a variety of ways in which fragmentation and integration operate simultaneously across the multicentric region as well. The suburbs are more racially diverse than ever, but still segregated by race. While some women are entering political life more than ever, especially because of the Trump presidency in 2019, many others are still confined to social networks tethered to feminine spaces, such as the home and low paying pink-collar jobs. The latter women in the workforce remain vulnerable to cuts and the privatization of the welfare state. Although national changes in cultural beliefs toward the LGBTQ community have given gays and lesbians more options on where to live and raise their families, it has come at the expense of maintaining distinct gay spaces they have carved out for their own social and cultural activities. Yet, structural constraints still shape circumstances, with patterns of uneven development differentially impacting some groups more than others. Across metropolitan regions, exclusionary pressures linger, and combine with

structural constraints to create the reality that most minority residents continue to experience, i.e., living in highly segregated neighborhoods and participating in communities without much diversity.

As we examine how people in cities and suburbs locate across metropolitan regions, and how work, family, and social activities often take place in different locations, we can see how the sociospatial perspective reveals the role of space in social life across the region. Space operates in a dual way as both a product of and a producer of behaviors in society. This sociospatial process orders public interaction among and between different groups. Interpretations of behavior are based on an understanding of spatial context. The meanings of space and the objects of the built environment organize social life along with the larger social forces of economics, politics, social interaction, and culture.

STUDY QUESTIONS

- Early sociologists were concerned that urban life resulted in social disorganization and the loss of community. Using what you have learned in this chapter, respond to their concerns.
- Ferdinand Tönnies asserted that community is grounded in physical space. We now are familiar with the idea of the Internet or cyber community. How do you think Tönnies would respond to our changing ideas of community?
- Urban sociologists use a number of different research methods to study neighborhoods and communities across the metropolitan region. What method would you use to study your community? What special advantages do you feel this method might have?
- Explain the difference between a community and a neighborhood? How has the formation of the multicentric metropolitan region challenged our traditional uses of the terms community and neighborhood?
- How does the social class function as a differential group? How does the spatial segregation of social classes lead to the reproduction of existing socioeconomic status? What are some of the distinct cultural and political differences of class-based differential groups?
- Does the deconcentration of immigrant enclaves throughout the multicentric metropolitan region illustrate assimilation or the continuation of segregation? How does this process differ between white and non-white ethnic groups?
- Explore the different ways that social space across the multicentric metropolitan region is and has historically been embedded with gender discrimination?