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## **A METROPOLIS OF ENCLAVES: IMAGE AND REALITY IN URBAN NORTH AMERICA\***

ARTÍCULOS

### **RESUMEN**

El imagen y la realidad de las ciudades americanas siguen siendo definidas por el enclave, aunque ha habido una tendencia reciente hacia la concentración urbana. La mayoría de la población vive en suburbios dispersos, fragmentados, de baja densidad y dependiente del automóvil. Las nuevas formas de desarrollo de enclaves en los centros urbanos y los suburbios son: "edge cities", "technopoles", Disneyworld, vecindarios con rejas, y las "cybercities". Imágenes opuestas, que reflejan un desarrollo urbano más articulado, diferenciado y sustentable juegan un subordinado pero importante papel en la metrópoli real.

### **ABSTRACT**

Enclave development continues to define the image and reality of American cities, despite recent trends toward greater urban concentration. The majority of the population lives in sprawled, fragmented, low-density, auto-dependent suburbs. New forms of enclave development in central cities and suburbs include "edge cities", technopoles, the Disneyworld theme park, the gated community, and cybercity. Opposing images, reflecting more integrated, diverse and sustainable forms of urban development, continue to play a subordinate but important role in the real metropolis.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** ENCLAVE. URBANISMO. METRÓPOLI. SUBURBANO. MITO.

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The divide between the image and reality of American cities can be either bridged or exaggerated by literature and art. The imagination can, and should, carry us to urban places we can only dream of. Our images and fantasies should include visions of the future that will help us transform cities into better places to live and work. They can become positive myths that lead us forward, challenging intolerable urban realities.

However, sometimes our myths help perpetuate the intolerable, and prevent us from understanding and changing realities that daily disturb us. Sometimes our myths bear little resemblance to reality and leave us in the realm of pure cerebral entertainment.

The dominant, most pervasive myths of American cities are made up of images that both correspond with and depart from current realities. In the following, I will discuss these myths and compare them with today's realities. We shall see how urban myth and reality in North America are anti-urban, based on the desire to escape from public places to private enclaves. The dominant myths throughout the Americas are mainly North American myths, because North America's economic and political influence is so pervasive. However, there are many alternative images (and realities) throughout the Americas, including North America as well, that may some day overcome the prevailing myths.

The most recent product of the pervasive anti-urban culture in the Americas is the myth that cities are dying or already dead. According to this myth, since the 1970s flexible production and consumption have been making urban places in the United States obsolete. It is claimed that with the internet, fax, telephone, telecommuting and home-based work, there is no longer any reason for urban concentration. In the future, the cyber-city will replace the real city and virtual places will replace public places. Theme parks, cyber malls, Disneyworlds and Las Vegas, they say, will triumph.

The only thing wrong with this scenario is that its realization assumes an underlying process of economic and technological change that began at least one hundred years ago, not decades ago. And over the last century that process has resulted in greater urban concentration, not less. All of the impulses that were thought to be leading towards dispersal have actually produced a greater concentration of the American population. That concentration has been in the metropolis. Within the metropolis, however, the population has been dispersed to suburbs. But suburbs are clearly incorporated in the urban sphere of the modern metropolis.

Over the last hundred years of metropolitan growth in the Americas, the central characteristic of population movement has been greater concentration in cities. This concentration has usually taken the form of *enclave* development—districts segregated by race, class and social status. Enclaves are found everywhere in a variety of densities, in urban, suburban and rural environments. Within the context of this greater concentration, there is a contradictory process of dispersal—suburban *sprawl*. But this dispersal occurs within fully urbanized metropolitan regions. It produces new forms of low-density enclaves. The dual pattern of concentration and dispersal is being reinforced by the latest wave of globalization, which has spurred to growth of metropolitan regions throughout the world. However, in the United States, even more significant contributors to this process are the dynamic expansion of metropolitan real estate markets and the relatively low cost of fuel and energy.

*Enclave* development and suburban *sprawl* are becoming increasingly intertwined as metropolitan regions become larger and more complex. Despite continuing *sprawl* at the edges of the metropolis, many older suburbs are becoming somewhat more physically and socially diverse; they are acquiring some characteristics of the more densely developed central cities, including poverty and despair. Despite the persistence of sharp divisions between central city and

suburb, public and private space, commercial and residential functions, rich and poor, and black and white, there are many new examples of growing integration and multi-cultural diversity. Thus it would appear that some progress has been made in resolving the well-known racial and class contradictions that so sharply divide the U.S. metropolis. It almost seems as if a new post-modern metropolis is emerging: a city devoid of dualism, where physical space is being replaced by cyberspace, and identities are now so diverse and complex that there is no longer any real urban structure.

The unfortunate reality is otherwise: *enclave* development is still the major defining feature of the real North American metropolis. It also remains the dominant *myth* that motivates growth, development and change, and even survives despite some dramatic changes in the physical form of cities and examples of greater concentration.

### THE NORTH AMERICAN METROPOLIS

There is simply no evidence of any major trend towards the dispersal of the American population outside of metropolitan areas due to new communications technology. Thus, use of the Internet is concentrated in metropolitan areas, particularly in central cities. This should come as no surprise, since every previous revolution in communications, including the telephone, television and fax, has strengthened trends towards concentration. In any case, a majority of people still do not have access to the Internet. The Cybercity dreamed of by "Net-heads", where physical space is supplanted by virtual reality, is far away still.

The latest census figures reaffirm the fact that the majority of people in the United States live in metropolitan regions. Over half live in metropolitan areas greater than one million population and over three-fourths live in all census-defined metropolitan areas. Of all the regions of the world, North America has

the largest proportion of its population living in metropolitan areas, and Latin America is not far behind (Angotti, 1993).

While dispersal outside of the metropolis has been minimal –there is a slight growth in some rural areas– dispersal within the metropolis remains the rule. About two thirds of the population of the metropolis lives in the suburbs and suburbs make up the largest part of metropolitan territory. And most urban areas, particularly those that are growing more rapidly, are *suburban metropolises* which bloomed in the latter part of this century –such as Los Angeles, Dallas, Albuquerque, Phoenix and Denver (Fishman, 1987). Most of the new population growth is at the metropolitan fringe –whether in rapidly growing new metropolises like Phoenix, Arizona or older ones like Chicago.

The transformation to a suburban nation over the latter part of this century is reflected in the historic shift of political power from central cities to suburbs. Congress and the Presidency are dominated by the suburban voting bloc, and neither advocates a government commitment to solving central city problems (except for the central business districts). Witness the absence of any significant response by government to the 1992 urban rebellions in South Central Los Angeles (see Davis, 1993).

### URBAN AND SUBURBAN MYTHS

The real North American metropolis is sharply divided between central city and suburb, and as a result there are two distinct myths –an urban and suburban myth. Each in its own way reinforces the prevailing prejudices against cities and urban places. Italo Calvino (1972) imagined two cities that could fit the North American model of placelessness:

Se toccando terra a Trude non avessi letto il nome della città scritto a grandi lettere, avrei creduto d'essere

arrivato allo stesso aeroporto da cui ero partito. I sobborghi che mi fecero attraversare non erano diversi da quegli altri, con le stesse case gialline e verdoline. (135)

Se nascosta in qualche sacca o ruga di questo slabbrato circondario esista una Penteselea riconoscibile e ricordabile da chi c'è stato, oppure se Penteselea è solo periferia di se stessa e ha il suo centro in ogni luogo, hai rinunciato a capirlo. La domanda che adesso comincia a rodere nella tua testa è più angosciosa: fuori da Penteselea esiste un fuori? O per quanto ti allontani dalla città non fai che passare da un limbo all'altro e non arrivi a uscirne? (163)

The urban myth (and reality) in the United States is based on the perception that cities are a liability, problem and aberration. The concept of *urban* actually refers to central cities—the more densely developed urban cores of metropolitan regions—even though in many ways suburbs are just as “urban” as central cities (i.e., suburbs are indisputably metropolitan). *Urban* problems are thought of as basically central city problems and *urban* programs are those that benefit central cities. In the last two decades, *urban* programs have been cut back as the federal government abandoned its national *urban* policy. However, government support to metropolitan regions as a whole, particularly to suburbs, has increased.

The *urban* myth arose with industrial cities in the late Nineteenth Century, when the majority of Americans lived in rural areas and small towns. As poor immigrant workers flooded to industrial cities, anti-urban prejudices were mixed with a xenophobic assault on immigrant workers from Ireland, Italy and Eastern Europe. *Urban* was equated with the usual characteristics of poverty—disease, disorder and violence. By the 1930s, the Chicago School of urban sociology was effectively attributing the social problems of unbridled capitalist growth to cities. After World War II and the assimilation of European immigrants into suburbia and the migra-

tion of African-Americans from the rural South to cities, the anti-urban myth was used against Blacks and, more recently, the expanding immigrant populations from Latin America, Asia and Africa. The classical anti-urban bias targeting immigrants has now merged with the historic structures of racism and discrimination against people of color.

Two-thirds of the nation's population lives in suburbia. Suburbia is the reality and its myth is supreme. The two essential components of this myth are the “dream home” and the “dream car”. Both are essential elements in preservation of separate enclaves in suburbia. The single-family detached “dream home” on a separate plot of land is the modern version of the nineteenth century homestead, the small farm carved out of the American frontier by European settlers (see Jackson, 1985). Almost two-thirds of American households are owner-occupied and most of these are in single-family detached homes.

The private automobile is a symbol of citizenship in the U.S. much as land ownership was in the nineteenth century. The latest and hottest sports vehicles from Detroit mean freedom, social mobility and financial success. With an average of more than one car for each household, the number of vehicle/miles traveled in the U.S. continues to increase yearly. To live without an auto is to be isolated and impoverished—i.e., to live in a central city. Only 9.2 percent of all households in the U.S. do not have cars; over half of these carless households are in central cities, only a fourth are in the suburbs, and a fourth are in rural areas (Crepeau and Lave, 1996). New York City, which has the largest urban rail transit system in the country, and one of the largest in the world, and the lowest rate of car ownership, is the national pariah, feared and loathed by suburban America.

The suburban myth and culture emerged from an economy that has encompassed vast material wealth and seemingly unlimited natural resources. Sociologist Thorsten Veblen

(1961) used the term *conspicuous consumption* to describe the regime of capitalist development in the U.S. —whose heart is suburbia. Civic and cultural life revolves around the shopping mall, which is designed not only to maximize consumption but to maximize the exaltation of commodities as a central activity in people's lives (for one of the earliest and best analyses of consumerism, see Packard, 1961).

The sprawled physical form of suburban development is a product of the conspicuous consumption of land and energy, a twentieth century version of the nineteenth century frontier mentality. The myth is that land is there to be consumed and thrown away because there is an endless supply. This concept also rules in central cities, where massive urban renewal projects threw away historic urban places and entire neighborhoods. Sprawled land development is part of the reason for the exceptionally high rate of energy use in the U.S. Specifically, detached housing uses more energy for heating and the auto is one of the most energy-inefficient modes of transportation, which also contributes heavily to air pollution and global warming.

Since the beginning of this century, suburban sprawl became the "answer" to *urban* concentration and *urban* "problems". The main urban planning mechanisms used in America —zoning and subdivision regulations— originated as a response to the incursion of low-income working class populations in elite central city enclaves, but despite their urban origins these planning tools have mostly given legal sanction to sprawled suburban enclave development. They are applications of "rational" planning which consciously creates enclaves by separating land uses, and people, to avoid the interaction of conflicting classes and ideas (see Boyer, 1983).

### **GREATER CONCENTRATION, NEW ENCLAVES**

In recent decades, despite the hegemony of suburbia, and

because of it, a modest, incremental transformation towards urbanism appears to have occurred in suburbs, at least on the surface. There are now many examples of greater physical concentration in suburbia. New higher density commercial and residential nodes have emerged, especially in the more developed metropolitan regions, producing a polycentric regional form distinct from the classic monocentric configuration that characterized large cities at the beginning of this century. These changes have little to do with any long-term macroeconomic changes such as "globalization" or technological innovation, as is often suggested. Nor are they strongly associated with any cultural or ideological shift away from the classical urban and suburban myths in America.

These recent changes are mostly dictated by growth of the metropolitan real estate market. They follow the same pattern that has governed suburban expansion since the end of the last century: growing land values emanate from the central business districts (CBDs) outward, creating a ripple effect which, over the long run, makes low-density housing near the central core unprofitable to landowners. Sometimes aided by federal and local urban renewal programs, large portions of the nation's central cities and inner suburbs have been transformed from neighborhoods of single-family homes and low-rise apartments to densely developed districts of mid-rise and high-rise office buildings and apartments.

By the 1950s, speculative land pressures had already extended well beyond the core cities and into the suburbs of most of the developed metropolises in the East and Midwest, creating conditions for the development of new densely configured urban satellites. In the sprawled suburban metropolises of the West, a somewhat different process occurred, but yielded similar results. Because of the enormous dimensions of low-density sprawl in these areas, the metropolitan regions quickly expanded beyond the reach of an easy commute to the central city. This happened particu-

larly because most regions do not have rail transit systems to efficiently deliver workers to the central business core. Thus, the demand was created for new business centers in the periphery; and the development of these new centers has had a ripple effect in immediately surrounding areas where increasing land values have encouraged redevelopment.

Most metropolitan regions now have several CBDs, each with their own financial, cultural and service functions. The new polycentricity is clearly evident in the largest metropolitan regions such as New York and Los Angeles. Commuting patterns are no longer funnelled to a single central core from outlying suburbs, and commuting within suburbs is a well established and growing pattern, facilitated by the ring roads of the federal interstate highway system built in the last forty years. In the New York region, for example, there are perhaps more than a dozen major CBDs: two in Manhattan, and others in Brooklyn, Newark, Jersey City, Stamford, New Haven, etc. In the Los Angeles region, there are downtown satellites in, for example, Pasadena, Pomona, Burbank and San Bernardino. Each of these new urban centers incorporates the usual characteristics of the central core, including poverty, racial isolation, and despair.

Joel Garreau (1991) claims that this tendency toward multiple urban cores and densification in suburbs is producing new "Edge Cities" that are the next frontier in America. Some of the new centers indeed are glittering alternatives to the nation's decaying central cities, lonely suburban malls and single-family subdivisions. Most, however, are simply up-dated reproductions of the original central cores or suburban malls with mixed uses. They have fewer public places than the older central cities and are, above all, private enclaves. In sum, they are in many ways no more urban than their suburban surroundings.

Among the shining examples of "Edge Cities" are the large specialized centers known as "technopoles" or "tech-

noburbs", which were planned or have grown around high tech industries such as electronics and computers. Silicon Valley in California's San Jose metropolitan region and Route 128 in Boston are major examples (see Castells and Hall, 1994). But these sub-regions are unique and not typical, and they tend to attract a relatively high-income professional workforce. The communities which they serve are elite enclaves, hardly diverse or representative of the general population; and the single-family American "dream home" has mostly prevailed as the dominant housing type in these areas.

"Edge Cities" and "technoburbs" alike are reformulated versions of the traditional form of enclave development. They do not challenge but instead revitalize the prevailing urban and suburban myths. Their "new" elements—the office building, mixed uses and densification—do not make them any less exclusionary. In Crystal City, Virginia, a planned high density inner suburb in Washington, DC, the compulsive attention to security measures in the planning and operation of this new town have made it a highly self-contained shell, eerily devoid of accessible public places. It is a tightly planned, inwardly oriented enclave, a model that is being repeated all over the country.

### ENCLAVES AND THE FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS

Enclaves are everywhere in America—in central city, suburban and rural areas. The "rugged individualism" of North America is nurtured in enclaves, not in open, public places. The extensive civil society for which the U.S. is known emerges within enclaves and seeks to protect them. They are the fortified anti-urban core of North American culture.

The enclave is at the heart of the suburban myth. Suburbs are fragmented in a series of separate enclaves: residential subdivisions created by real estate developers, shopping malls, municipalities, and industrial parks. Within each

enclave, exclusion is the fundamental organizing principle, and elaborate legal instruments are designed to guarantee the exclusion of people of lesser class and rank and, above all, people with colored skin. Zoning, subdivision regulations, and other instruments of urban planning are based on the desirability of separating land uses as a means of separating social and racial groups. Despite decades of talk about racial integration of housing and schools, the suburbs remain overwhelmingly white and central cities are overwhelmingly populated by people of color. For example, in the New York metropolitan region, one of the most segregated in the nation, 90 per cent of African-Americans live in the central city. In all metropolitan areas in the country, two-thirds of African-Americans live in central cities and two-thirds of all whites live in suburbs.

The CBD is a corporate enclave. As the center of economic power and location for the world's major corporate and financial headquarters, the CBDs are exclusively for business; after 5:00 pm every day they turn into ghost towns as executives and office workers head for their residential enclaves. The latest corporate solution to this problem is to make new night-time entertainment centers in the CBDs, urban Disneyworlds, but these are enclaves with little organic connection to the environment in which they are placed.

In form, luxury high rise towers in central cities may be vastly different from single-family suburban homes, but in function they are both enclaves. Park Avenue towers are a vertically organized version of the suburban enclave. Both separate and divide individuals and households, with no quality public space connecting them.

As evidence of the power of the enclave, the physical dividing line between public and private space in America is usually as absolute and inviolable as a medieval fortification. There is no transitional space between public and private, where the

connection can be made between civic life and the family or household. Real and imagined fences and gates surround private property, separating the homestead from the public way. Where they exist, sidewalks are not used by the public, as in most suburbs, and therefore are virtually an appendage of private space; or they are treated as strictly public spaces, as in most central cities, and therefore become dangerous places to be used disproportionately by the carless poor. The street is the largest potentially public space in American cities, usually taking up a third of all urban land. But streets are used almost exclusively by cars, which are in effect mobile private enclaves, extensions of and necessary complements to the private home.

The shopping mall, the physical, economic and cultural center of suburbia, remains the premiere commercial enclave. Recent changes would seem to suggest they are evolving towards greater diversity and a mixture of uses, but this is more a superficial than fundamental change. The first malls in the 1950s were austere places with few public amenities, designed for consumption alone. Then, responding to consumer complaints, mall managers began to provide some seating, free entertainment and public space. To compete for shoppers, some mall managers are now turning their places into entertainment complexes with movies, video arcades, and theme park attractions. This is making malls somewhat more diverse in function, and in some cases highly sophisticated Hollywood makeovers. But all of these amenities and activities narrowly serve the collective interests of the private storeowners; they are strictly engineered, as in Disneyworld, to encourage and complement the acquisition of consumer products. They preserve rather than threaten the mall as private enclave.

It is worth noting the growing presence of gated residential communities throughout the country. These are fully enclosed residential enclaves, often with high walls and 24-hour

security. Though a drastic departure from the superficially “open” physical landscape of the American suburb, the gated community is perhaps the most extreme expression of the suburban myth. Included in this category are many retirement communities, where segregation by age is sanctioned, and new upscale subdivisions where the consumption of sophisticated security systems has become the latest status symbol. Most are suburban, but New York City, for example, has two privatized gated neighborhoods – Sea Gate and Breezy Point.

### THE SUBURBANIZATION OF CENTRAL CITIES?

At the same time that suburbs have begun to look a little more like central cities, central cities have begun to look a little more like suburbs. Until the latter part of this century, CBDs in the major metropolitan areas were closely linked with manufacturing and provided retail services for the urban working class population. The CBDs have now been transformed into centers for banking and finance, while manufacturing and the working class neighborhoods that lived from manufacturing have dwindled in size and importance. Industry that did not move to the suburbs in the immediate post-World War II period has moved to other countries with lower labor costs and fewer labor and environmental regulations. The remaining industry has cut wage and benefit levels and employs at low wage levels the new immigrant populations that fled the economic devastations spurred by transnationals in their countries of origin.

The central city neighborhoods that were not transformed into new business and luxury enclaves by government-sponsored urban renewal programs have been left to die slowly from abandonment and disinvestment. Large swaths of vacant land of little interest to the real estate industry have scarred central city neighborhoods in New York, Chicago, Detroit and many other cities. But most of this vacant land has been or will soon be redeveloped for low-density middle-

income housing. The suburban dream has now arrived in the urban center just as surely as the urban nightmare has arrived in the suburbs. Charlotte Gardens in the Bronx (New York City), a 1970s development of single-family homes on vacant land once occupied by apartment buildings, has become a national model for central city redevelopment. Encouraged by national policy and the myth that high-rise buildings produce ghettos, public housing authorities in several major U.S. cities are demolishing multi-family projects and replacing them with smaller numbers of one- and two-family homes; low-income enclaves are turning into middle-income enclaves. And over a million people are homeless.

Suburban malls have also invaded and mostly conquered central cities. Most CBDs have already lost their Main Streets and become a collection of suburban-style malls, each with their own parking garage, turned away from the public streets. The main function of the street system is to lead people to expressway interchanges. There is no street life, except for the carless poor. Atlanta is one of the prime examples of this transformation; one of the fastest growing metropolises in America, Atlanta’s downtown was remolded around a mall symbolized by a giant Coca-Cola bottle, a hotel-convention center, and a collection of minor malls and corporate enclaves. Retail superstores that first conquered farmland around highway interchanges have now swallowed Main Streets all over the country. New York City is one of the last major cities in the country to undergo the barrage of corporate retail giants selling discounted brand name products, with dozens of new superstores expected in the next decade.

Probably the most unique new development in the U.S. metropolis is the growing influence of Disneyworld, both as myth and reality. Disneyworld is not just a theme park but a new theory and practice of organizing urban space. It is a new version of the old myth of the enclave.



Disneyworld is the supreme gated community. All space is meticulously engineered to encourage and strictly control mass consumption. The mammoth ex-urban Disney theme parks in California and Florida (and Disney colonies in Japan and France) were planted where they could sprawl over a vast territory, secure from encroachment by all other urban life. Although the original Disneyworlds are being encircled by a sprawl that extends beyond their corporate control, they remain sealed and secure from spontaneity and uncontrolled diversity.

Disneyworld has now invaded central cities and is making commercial theme parks and entertainment centers in the heart of financial districts. *Newsweek* exults in this trend, declaring that "the newest way to save cities is with showbiz. If you build theaters, amusement parks and Planet Hollywoods, people will come. And they'll buy T-shirts" (Adler, 1995).

The Times Square area in New York City, in recent decades a seedy center of despair and pornography, is becoming a magnet for high tech entertainment enterprises, led by the Disney Corporation and retail superstores. In the Disneyfied downtown, free public spaces, including the streets, will be subordinated completely to private amusement enclaves. The Disney downtown is being re-engineered to meet the needs of the corporate bottom line. Private Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), financed and run by local businesses, are taking over responsibilities for the security and maintenance of public streets that have traditionally been managed by government. The BIDs plan and control pedestrian traffic and amenities; they are, in effect, the gendarmes of the new privatized downtown enclaves.

### THE "NEW URBANISM"

The "New Urbanism" is an important new trend in urban planning and development in North America that seeks to counter suburban sprawl, develop more energy-efficient

urban forms, and retrieve some of the traditional values of the nineteenth century small town and Main Street. Thus, neo-traditional communities have been built at Seaside (Florida), Kentlands (Maryland), and Laguna West (California). While the New Urbanism holds much potential as both a critique of sprawl and enclave development and a model for change, in practice it is fostering new enclaves and minimally challenges sprawl. As Michael Southworth (1997) notes, "there is little urbanity in the New Urbanism. Like other suburbs, the neotraditional models are essentially anti-urban, sanitized versions of the small town, and they exclude much of what it takes to make a metropolitan region work". Neo-traditional communities are made largely for the wealthy, and may have more to do with nostalgia for the pre-metropolitan era than an effort to change the metropolis. Their starting point is a determinist approach to urban design, based on the unshakable egoism of master builders who advance the myth that they are making history. So far, these new experiments have not resulted in any significant reduction in auto dependence, sprawl or consumption patterns.

The Disney Corporation has now embarked on developing its own version of New Urbanism, a new town called Celebration at its Disneyworld campus in Florida. Celebration is to be a post-modern community with 8,000 housing units configured more compactly than the usual sprawled suburb, with a compact downtown and a golf course. It will be a showcase for architects anxious to experiment with unconventional mixtures of traditional small town architecture and post-modern design signatures. It will be a perfect enclave within an enclave, insulated from the sprawling Disney empire yet very much in tune with it. And like the rest of Disneyworld, it may be more successful in creating a new consumer market than in changing anything of significance (Dunlop, 1996).

For the first time in world history a major metropolitan region has grown up around a sort of Disneyworld –Las Vegas. This

glitzy city in the desert started as a small entertainment strip but is now a metropolitan region with a population of over a million. At the center, along the Strip, life still revolves around enclaves of pleasure protected by neon lights that herald the indulgence of hedonistic fantasies. Perhaps the crowning achievement in this anti-urban fantasy world is the sterile mock-up of New York City called "New York New York", a sanitized walk-through collection of the real city's most notable monuments.

### ALTERNATIVE MYTHS AND REALITY

It might appear from this that the invasion of the American metropolis by the various versions of Disneyworld has produced the ultimate and total commodification of urban space, the end to all urbanity in American life. One might easily conclude that enclave development is an unchallenged characteristic of the American way of life.

Since the beginning of America's urbanization, there have been deep alternative economic and political currents in opposition to the commodification of space through enclave development. The counter currents, reproducing concentration and integration, may have been weakened in recent years but continue to survive and in some cases even flourish. To examine these in detail would require another paper of at least the same depth as this one, so I will merely touch on them as a way of concluding on a more optimistic note.

Two decades ago, after Black rage swept segregated city neighborhoods and the suburban white majority consolidated its power, there were dire predictions that densely developed central city neighborhoods would inevitably decline in size and importance. This was wishful thinking by many conservatives, but the thinking was transformed into action with national policy changes that sought to remove government support from central cities.

Happily, central cities are not only surviving but are undergoing a renaissance. Population levels have stabilized and in some cities are increasing. New York City, still seen in suburban movie theaters as a place of crime, violence, corruption and decay, has rebuilt many neighborhoods devastated by abandonment in the 1970s. The city is a thriving global financial center and, for all the recent decline in manufacturing, remains one of the major production centers in the country. In culture, education, health care and government, it remains a national leader. New Yorkers are traitors to the national myths. They walk, use public places and public transit; they live in multi-family rental housing; they are urbane. In sum, as reviled as they may be in the eyes of their fellow Americans, New Yorkers have proven that physical and social diversity and integration—real urbanism—works.

This situation did not happen spontaneously. Protest and organizing by communities in central cities was successful in stopping displacement, abandonment and decline. The civil rights movement and its progressive allies were instrumental in defending communities of color from further destruction. From these movements have emerged alternative myths and practices for urban life. There is an alternative civil society whose goals are inclusion and not exclusion, and cooperation instead of competition. This alternative values diversity and integration within a diverse metropolitan region. It may be found among thousands of neighborhood associations, community development corporations, and movements for ethnic, immigrant, tenant, womens and gay rights. Much lip service is now paid to this alternative in public rhetoric; it has become fashionable for elected officials to exhort their constituents to seek "community" as well as self. But by and large, this alternative remains a minority current in American society.

The seminal work of Jane Jacobs (1961) best captures the critique of anti-urbanism and leads the way to new alternatives. Her concept of "integrated diversity" implies a compre-

hensive approach to cities that values both diversity and integration, greater concentration, and social equity. Her work has been followed by important urbanists –mostly women– who give voice to the aspirations of the prisoners of enclaves who seek a more wholistic and humane alternative. Among these new voices are Dolores Hayden (1984) and Leslie Kanes Weisman (1992). Starting with a feminist critique of modern city planning, they advocate the redefinition of *urban* around places and human networks.

In facing the challenges of the twenty-first century, the dominant trend of enclave development will face many more obstacles than it does today. Though the consensus is still not fully formed, within North American capital there is a growing awareness that enclaves and sprawl are obstacles to global competitiveness. Witness the strong advocacy of equity, concentration and inclusion in the Regional Plan Association's Third Regional Plan for the New York region (Yaro & Hiss, 1996). The RPA's recipe is not entirely heretical; it is endorsed by its corporate sponsors. With the inevitable increase in energy prices in the coming century, and the declining white majority in North America, capital cannot avoid facing the high cost of maintaining conspicuous consumption in the urban infrastructure. Nor will it permit the customary pattern of wanton consumption by whites to be adopted by people of color and new immigrants. Nor can it guarantee a diverse and mobile labor force if the restrictions imposed by obsolete territorial enclaves remain in place. At present, corporate and government elites are unwilling to face the substantial popular resistance to concentration and integration –particularly racial integration– because of the political problems it would create for them. And some of the most politically influential monopolies –auto and oil in particular– clearly oppose such ideas. But at some point in the next century, they may find themselves constrained by economic realities, resource limitations and alternative movements for urban and environmental justice.

Eduardo Galeano's story of Pueblo Federacion suggests that the need for and appreciation of public places can survive for many generations:

Cuando llega la sequía, y se lleva las aguas del río Uruguay, la gente de Pueblo Federación regresa a su perdida querencia. Las aguas, al irse, desnudan un paisaje de la luna; y ellos vuelven.

Ellos viven ahora en un pueblo que también se llama Pueblo Federación, como se llamaba su viejo pueblo antes de que lo inundara la represa de Salto Grande y quedara hundido bajo las aguas. Del viejo pueblo ya no asoma ni la cruz en lo alto de la torre de la iglesia; y el pueblo nuevo es mucho más cómodo y mucho más lindo. Pero ellos vuelven al pueblo viejo que la sequía les devuelve mientras dura.

Ellos vuelven y ocupan las casas que fueron sus casas y que ahora son ruinas de guerra. Allí, donde la abuela murió y donde ocurrieron el primer gol y el primer beso, ellos hacen fuego para el mate y para el asado, mientras los perros escarban la tierra en busca de los huesos que habían escondido (Galeano, 1989).

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