

Thanks Pitt...

Assistance in copying and distributing this issue of the *UGSG Newsletter* was provided by Ted Muller and the Urban Studies Program at the U. of Pittsburgh. The UGSG expresses its thanks for such contributions by its members and their institutions.

AAG Urban Geography Specialty Group

NEWSLETTER

Vol. 3, No. 2

June 1983

...and Utah

Through an editorial oversight, the assistance of the Betsy Burns and the Department of Geography at the U. of Utah in copying and distributing the last issue of the *UGSG Newsletter* was not recognized in print. The Editor and the UGSG offer their belated thanks.

UGSG AFFAIRS

UGSG Plans 7 Sessions for Washington

The UGSG Washington Program Committee, chaired by Bob Lake (Rutgers U.), has announced plans for seven sessions that the UGSG will sponsor at the Washington meeting of the AAG from 22 to 25 April 1983. Five of the sessions will feature presentation of papers:

1. "Progress Toward a National Urban Policy", organized by Gordon Clark (Harvard U.), including four or five papers on selected topics (such as reindustrialization, governance, new technologies) by authors of the Committee on National Urban Policy reports sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council.

2. "International Approaches to Urban Policy", organized by Bob Lake, including four papers and a discussant who will compare cross-national approaches to urban and regional planning and policy development.

3. "Specialized Urban Communities: The Evolution of the Cultural Mosaic", organized by Peter Muller (U. of Miami) and Patricia Gober (Arizona State U.), which will provide status reports, empirical assessments, and analysis of policy implications of recent trends in key sub-national units.

4. "Intra-urban Mobility and Public Policy", organized by Gordon Clark, including papers by geographers and HUD discussants on this theme, which has been identified by HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research as central to its current research and policy needs.

5. "Departures and Continuities in Urban Theory", organized by Allen Scott (U.C.L.A.), which will include three papers and the remarks of one or two discussants on continuing developments in urban theory in the social sciences.

The Washington Program Committee also plans two panel sessions:

6. "Research Needs of the Federal Government", organized by Marilyn Brown (U. of Illinois), which will consist of a panel discussion with statements on research needs by representatives of key federal agencies (including HUD and DOT) and responses by geographers.

7. Geography and the U. S. Census, organized by John Adams (U. of Minnesota), which will be a panel discussion covering census geography and the 1980 census products, as well as what geographers need from and can contribute to the census, possibly arranged in conjunction with a field trip to the Census Bureau.

Persons wanting more information or who want to participate should contact the appropriate session organizer or Bob Lake, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers U., Building 4051 - Kilmer Campus, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903 (Telephone (201)-932-3135).

Call for Papers on Urban Waterfronts

A session entitled "The Urban Waterfront: Policies and Management Issues" is being planned for the 1984 AAG Meeting in Washington, D.C. Persons interested in participating should submit their paper proposal to Gerald Krause, Dept. of Geography and Marine Affairs, U. of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

News from UGSG Members Wanted

At its annual meeting in Denver, the UGSG Board of Directors decided not to pursue development of a single, comprehensive directory of UGSG members and their research interests because of the time, cost, and timeliness of such an effort. Instead, the Board recommended that members use the *UGSG Newsletter* to update their colleagues about recent and upcoming activities and research projects in which they are involved. Short descriptions should be sent to Thomas Baerwald, UGSG Newsletter Editor, Geography Dept., Science Museum of Minnesota, 30 E. 10th St., St. Paul, MN 55101. A "Members Update" section will appear in future issues of the newsletter.

1983-84 UGSG Board of Directors

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UGSG Denver Sessions Prove Lively and Informative

Sessions sponsored by the UGSG played a major role in getting the AAG Meeting in Denver off to a rousing start, while other sessions sponsored by the group later in the week focused on the latest research in urban geography.

Especially noteworthy were the panel discussions on Sunday and Monday afternoons. The Sunday session on "Outlook for the Future: A Dialogue Between Geographers and Private Developers" looked at times to be more a formal debate, with geographers Peter Muller (U. of Miami) and Joe Beaton (U. of Denver) painting a less rosy picture of the fate of downtowns, including Denver's, than the image provided by Dana Crawford (developer of Larimer Square) and Dick Fleming (president of Downtown Denver, Inc.). The initial presentations in a basement meeting room of the Denver Hilton proved to be the most antagonistic, however, with a warm Denver sun mellowing most participants when the 70 or so in attendance adjourned to the 16th St. Mall to continue the discussion, which ambled through topics like the prospects for both strong downtowns and outlying centers, transit needs, limits to office construction, and the business acumen of department store managers.

Although more theoretical, the Monday afternoon discussion on "Research Priorities in Urban Geography" proved just as lively. Following statements by six representatives of various perspectives (reprinted later in this issue of the Newsletter), many of the over 150 persons in attendance jumped into the discussion. Called to question during the debate was the value of "urban" geography, the role of historical study, the need for foreign and cross-metropolitan studies, and Larry Bourne's failure to engage himself in the fray. The success of the session was symbolized by the fact that discussions continued among smaller groups of those who attended long after the session was formally adjourned, first in the meeting room, and then in the hallways outside after the next sessions began.

UGSG Business Meeting Minutes

The annual business meeting of the AAG Urban Geography Specialty Group was held in the Denver Hilton, Denver, Colorado, on Monday 25 April 1983.

1. The meeting was called to order by Betsy Burns at 5:05 p.m. There were 47 members in attendance.
2. The agenda was announced and approved.
3. Roman Cybriwsky, outgoing Secretary-Treasurer, gave his report.
 - a. The minutes of 1982 Business Meeting (which were published in the May 1982 issue of the UGSG Newsletter) were approved.
 - b. The treasurer's report was approved. The current fund balance is \$359.43, a net increase from April 1982 of \$125.85. In large part this increase was the result of financial support for production and distribution of the UGSG Newsletter from the geography departments at the University of Utah and Georgia State University. Thanks were extended to both departments. It was noted that such support is beneficial to the financial status of the UGSG, and that it would be useful if the departments of UGSG members would be willing to support the UGSG in this manner.
4. Betsy Burns, outgoing Chairperson, gave her report on activities for 1982-83.
 - a. Thanks were extended to Jim Mulvihill for his work as chairperson of the Program Committee for the Denver meeting, and to all those who worked with him in developing the UGSG special sessions.
 - b. 1983 election results were announced. Chairperson - David Hodge; Vicechairperson - Roman Cybriwsky; Board Members - Robert Lake, Edward Muller, Allen Scott, and Randy Smith (to replace Roman Cybriwsky, 1983-84). Continuing board members to 1984 are Marilyn Brown and Eric Moore.
 - c. Issues and decisions from the Board of Directors Meeting of 24 April 1983 were presented.
 - i. The Board recommended that Tom Baerwald be appointed Editor of the UGSG Newsletter for an additional year. This recommendation was based on Tom's willingness (in a letter to the Board) to do so, and on his outstanding service as Editor over the past three years.
 - ii. The Board recommended that the Editor of the UGSG Newsletter be appointed an ex-officio member of the Board of Directors, so that he/she is made aware of administrative actions and can convey them to the membership through the Newsletter.
 - iii. The Board recommended that there be a reduction in the number of issues of the UGSG Newsletter distributed each year. Tom Baerwald addressed this issue. Given problems of cost and timing of production, it was recommended that there be three issues each year (in June, November, and February) instead of four issues.
 - iv. The Board presented recommendations for committee assignments: UGSG Secretary-Treasurer - Randy Smith; Nominating Committee - Betsy Burns (chairperson), Susan Brooker-Gross, and Michael Webber; Dissertation Award Committee - Marilyn Brown and Eric Moore;

Minutes (continued)

Washington Program Committee - Bob Lake (chairperson). All those recommended to serve have agreed to do so.

Each of these recommendations was discussed and approved. Some concern was raised about reducing the number of issues of the Newsletter, with the suggestion, supported by several members, that the three Newsletters should contain more material to offset the reduction in number.

d. Winners of the 1983 Dissertation Awards were announced: Susan Christopherson (Ph.D., U. of California-Berkeley; "Family and Class in a New Industrial City"; Advisor: Allen Pred) and Shaul Krakover (Ph.D., U. of Maryland; "Spread of Growth in Urban Fields, Eastern United States, 1962-1978"; Advisor: Derek Thompson).

The Dissertation Awards Committee urges all members to consider submitting recently-completed dissertations in urban geography for this competition.

5. David Hodge, UGSG Chairperson for 1983-84, assumed the chair for the remainder of the meeting.

a. He thanked Betsy Burns for her excellent work as UGSG Chairperson for the 1982-83 year.

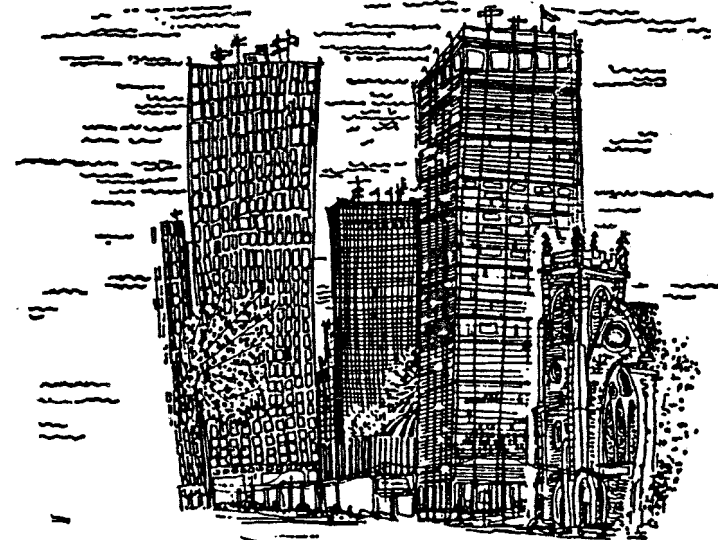
b. He noted that the early stages of the development of the UGSG, which stressed administrative matters, have now been replaced by a focus on developing our professional roles -- work on the Newsletter, Dissertation Awards, and the development of a set of special sessions for the annual meetings by our program committees.

c. Bob Lake, Chairperson of the Program Committee for the 1984 Annual Meeting in Washington, was introduced. Bob outlined plans for the UGSG special sessions at those meetings (the theme of which will be Geography and Public Policy). He noted that he had already received some suggestions for special sessions. There was a general discussion of the importance of the Washington meetings from the point of view of presenting ongoing substantive research and learning of the availability of data sources and research funding. Several suggestions for sessions were presented: geography and the U.S. census; research priorities at HUD, identification and analysis of "lifestyle communities" in the United States; progress toward a national urban policy; implications of the "New Federalism"; the geographer as an expert witness; international approaches to urban policy; and a continuation of "roundtable" discussions on progress in urban geography. Bob thanked members for excellent suggestions and indicated that he would consider them in the preparation of the program. (A subsequent statement of plans by the Washington Program Committee is included on the first page of this issue.)

d. It was noted that the annual report of the UGSG would be submitted to the UGSG.

6. There was no additional business. The meeting was adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

W. Randy Smith, UGSG Secretary-Treasurer



This scene of Columbus, Ohio, is from a shopping bag of The Union department store. Keep on the lookout for other urban views!—The Editor.

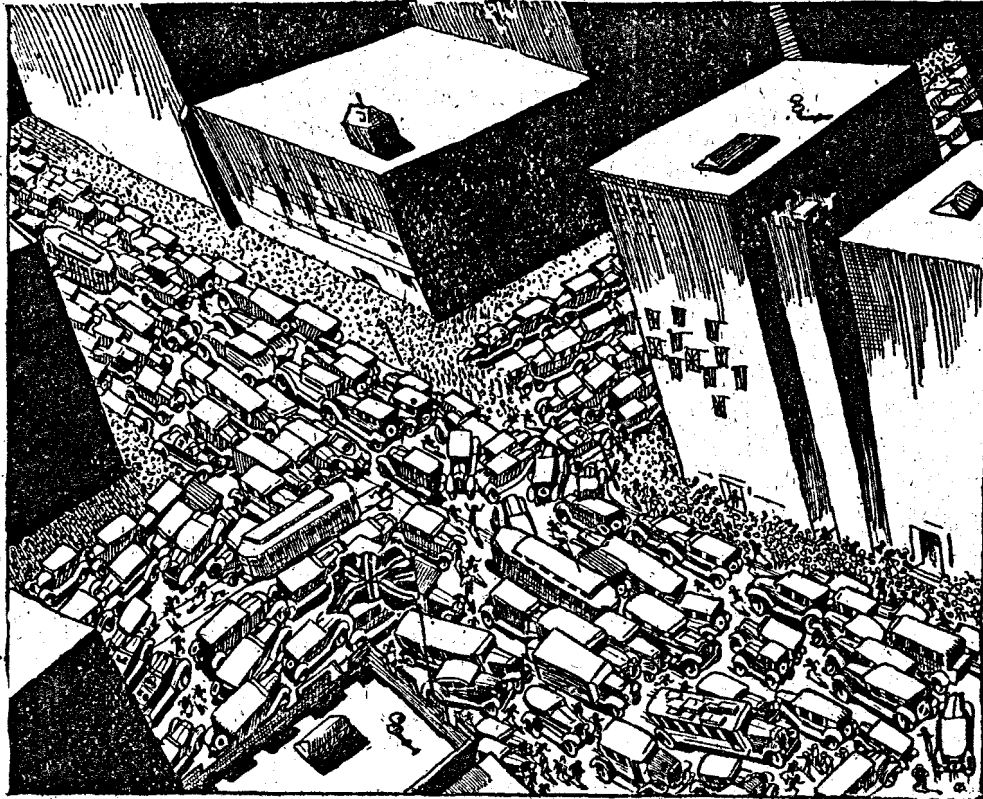
PUBLICATIONS

IBG Special Publications

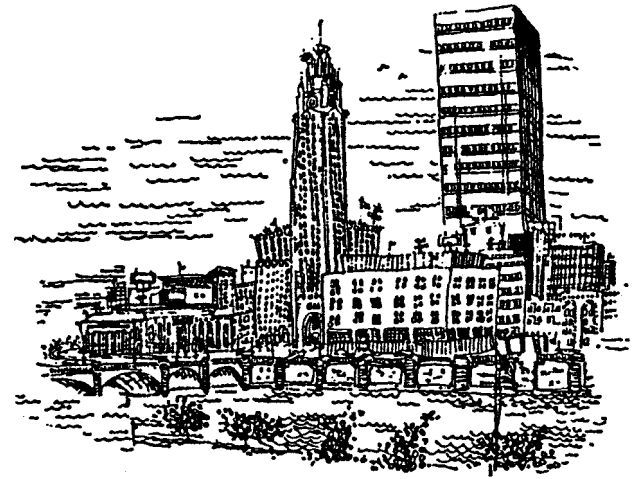
Proposals for Special Publications, both monographs and edited volumes, should be sent to Dr. J. W. R. Whitehand, The Secretary, IBG Special Publications Editorial Board, Department of Geography, University of Birmingham, P. O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT, England. Special Publications are available from Academic Press, Inc., 111 5th Ave., New York, NY 10003. Recent numbers are: (12) Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation, ed. by P. Jackson and S. J. Smith, \$34.50; (13) The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management, papers by M. R. G. Conzen, ed. by J. W. R. Whitehand, \$34.50; (14) The Future of the City Centre, ed by R. L. Davies and A. G. Champion, \$39.50; and (15) The Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions, ed. by J. Anderson, S. S. Duncan, and R. Hudson.

Landscape

Landscape (Vol. 27, No. 1; 1983) includes articles on the Australian pub by Robert Britton and on the demolition of the New Yorker Hotel in Miami Beach by James Curtis and reviews of Polyzoides, Sherwood, and Tice's Courtyard Housing in Los Angeles by Z. Kaparth and Roueche's Special Places: In Search of Small Town America by Thomas Harvey. Single copies of Landscape are available for \$5.95; a three-issue annual subscription is \$18. To order, write Landscape, P. O. Box 7107, Berkeley, CA 94707.



From Brick: A Journal of Reviews, 17 (Winter 1983), published by Brick Books, Ilderton, Ontario.



MEETINGS

Boulder Pedestrian Conference

"A Step Forward: Marketing for Pedestrians" is the theme of the Fourth Annual Pedestrian Conference, which will be held in Boulder, Colorado, on 22-23 September 1983. The theme of the conference, which is sponsored by the Transportation Division of the City of Boulder, is to bring together a multi-disciplinary consortium of professionals to focus on the design of public and private spaces for pedestrian activities. This year's program will feature traffic planner Emily Lloyd, architect Will Martin, and critic Wolf Von Eckhardt. There will be presentations on New York's Battery Park, Vancouver's Granville Market, Bridgetown in the Virgin Islands, Toronto's transit system, and pedestrian amenities in popular recreational areas like Aspen, Colorado.

Registration before 1 September is \$95. After that date the fee is \$120. Group rates are available. Registration covers all activities for the two days of the conference and one copy of the conference proceedings. Proceedings from the 1981 and 1982 conferences are available at \$15 per copy. For more information, contact the Conference Coordinator, Transportation Division, City of Boulder, P.O. Box 791, Boulder, CO 80306; (303)-441-3266.

ULI Session Examines High Tech Locations

Roger Zanarini (Upland Industries) provided the following comments regarding the Urban Land Institute meeting in Seattle on 4-7 May 1983:

"The mood was generally upbeat and the consensus was that things have improved since the Houston meetings last fall. High technology was the most popular topic of the conference, surfacing in practically every session. Also, prospects for housing were positive for the first time in several years."

A session on "Attracting the High Tech User" consisted of a panel discussion that stressed "high tech flex". "Flexibility in design and financing are both important. The three cardinal rules are: (a) location, (b) quality of the construction development, and (c) quality of the developer. Ten golden rules of high tech were also stated: (1) 300 days of sunshine a year; (2) recreational water within one hour; (3) great university with excellent engineering school, especially graduate school, nearby; (4) cosmopolitan city located with close proximity; (5) skilled and semi-skilled labor pool; (6) affordable housing available; (7) big hitter housing, even closer than the affordable housing, located in the hills and/or on the water; (8) \$1 billion worth of start-up capital to chase every new high tech firm; (9) cooperative spirit among land owners, lenders, and the private sector; and (10) high probability of establishing a profitable high tech business exists (lower than normal risk). If your area has all of these attributes, you must be in the Silicon Valley. Three of the most common problems mentioned were the traffic that is created, that fact that the existing wage scale is destroyed by the high tech industry, and the intense competition that exists (so many places are chasing so few firms). The example was given that many Texas cities give away land, forego taxes, and offer other inducements to corral high tech firms. In summary, the distribution of high tech locations will be uneven. Some areas will receive the bulk, but most places will receive none."

The next ULI meeting will be in Miami on 27-29 October 1983.

"RESEARCH PRIORITIES IN URBAN GEOGRAPHY"

The UGSG-sponsored rountable discussion on "Research Priorities in Urban Geography" generated considerable discussion and debate, which was so lively that it was still active in small groups clustered outside the Terrace Room of the Denver Hilton almost an hour after the session officially ended. Although no transcription of the discussion was made, each of the six speakers who kicked off the session consented to have their remarks reproduced in the UGSG Newsletter so that those who were unable to attend could get a sense of many of the issues that were raised. The session was held on the afternoon of 25 April 1983. It was organized by David Hodge (U. of Washington) and chaired by John Adams (U. of Minnesota).

Michael Dear (McMaster U.)

At the core of urban geography, right now, there is a theoretical vacuum. It has persisted since the "quantitative revolution" was absorbed, and even though many alternative philosophies have been drawn into the vacuum and tested, they have not gained wide acceptance. Needless to say, these alternative frameworks continue to provide a legacy of lasting relevance (especially the marxist and behavioural schools). Ambiguity regarding the future of urban geography is fuelled by twin trends of convergence and divergence in human geographical thought.

First, and most importantly, there has been a strong revival of historical materialist approaches in the analysis of social phenomena in most social sciences. One of the main precepts of this revival is that social processes are comprehensible only within the context of some prior analysis of the production and reproduction relations of capitalist society. It is highly significant that, in the search for materialist explanations in their various disciplines, many non-geographers have made significant excursions into the geographic realm. This is essentially true of social historians and sociologists, and (to a lesser extent) economists and political scientists. At the same time, geographers of a materialist persuasion have widened their search for explanation in geography beyond conventional disciplinary boundaries. They have gained much by their boldness, but they have often encountered only partial or unsatisfactory answers and have thereby been stimulated to new research efforts in the materialist critique.

Second, there is a renewed interest in geographic theory and philosophy. This is inevitable because geographers encountering mainstream social science theory have been forced to examine their philosophical and methodological assumptions, and others in the expanding sub-disciplines are obliged to give some account of their motivations. At present, amidst the cacophony of claims, there seems to be little common ground among competing philosophies.

Third, it is apparent that during the past decade human geography has undergone a severe fragmentation into apparently distinct sub-disciplines. Of course, such a splintering has occurred previously and is not unique to geography, but its present scale is unparalleled in geography's history. This trend toward fragmentation is evidenced by the proliferation of special interest groups within the profession, and of new journals devoted to the specialties (for instance, applied geography, urban geography, and political geography). The main impetus behind this fragmentation seems to be a new protectionism, as disciplines and sub-disciplines marshal forces against the general assault on tertiary education. On the whole, the splintering of human geography has not been well-founded in any clear theoretical or conceptual rationale.

Fourth, there is a wider issue of the "loss of nerve" (or direction) undoubtedly being felt by many individuals, departments, disciplines, and institutions during this time of great social, economic, and political uncertainty. The current crisis of capitalist economies has severely altered general expectations about the social contract and has threatened the future of tertiary education in most capitalist countries. Geography, like many other disciplines, is on the defensive as student enrollment becomes a major criterion for survival.

In summary, then, it is a time of great uncertainty in urban geography. The theoretical vacuum at the core of the discipline has been created by the genuine perplexity of the various sub-disciplines as they seek to establish their separate rationales; it has been fuelled by the departure of geographers in search of explanations beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries, and by the equally significant incursion of other disciplines into the geographic realm. The vacuum exists at a time when university education and research is under assault, and many seem to have lost their nerve and direction in human geography.

The only research priority which I wish to identify is the need for a completely reconstituted base for urban geography.

1. Why is a specifically urban geography necessary?
2. What do urban geographers do that other geographers don't, other than they do it in the city?

Dear (cont.)

3. What has urban geography got to say to the other sub-disciplines of geography?
4. Why do so few significant and relevant urban geography books get written?
5. What does urban geographical theory look like?
6. Why urban geography?

Robert Lake (Rutgers U.)

As the sins of the father are visited on the child, the foremost research priorities in urban geography are synonymous with those of human geography in general. Principal among these is the need for a reconciliation and synthesis of anthropocentric (read humanist/behaviorist) and structuralist perspectives. The "behavioral revolution" turned attention from space to place, from analysis of abstract spatial distributions to the study of affective, idiosyncratic place. Certainly older, and one might add, also wiser, we can envision this as a return not to the abstract space of social physics and distance decay functions, but rather to space abstracted after Alfred Schütz as a compendium of socially-constructed ideal type environment ensembles used by individuals to ascribe meaning to the experienced world. Such ideal typifications are not wholly structural since they are adopted and used by individual actors, yet neither are they wholly anthropocentric since they are created, altered, and distributed within social space.

The challenge is one of identifying the terms of the social construction of spatial ideal typifications. Two queries emerge within this endeavor. The first concerns the actor's relation to structure: How does the individual actor align the content of experience with socially-embedded ideal typifications? The second considers the influence of structure: How does the social sphere mold, manipulate, and use the ideal typifications of actors for desired ends?

The second of these in particular — structural influences manipulating and reformulating ideal typifications — is properly within the domain of urban geography first, if a sub-set of such influences can be identified as peculiarly urban, or second, if the result of the manipulation of spatial ideal types has peculiarly urban consequences. Several subsidiary questions arise directly from this problem statement:

1. What are the principal elements of symbolism and imagery drawn upon in the manipulation of spatial ideal typifications?
2. What are the institutional channels through which formation of spatial ideal types is manipulated?
3. How are these institutional channels related to broader structural formations?
4. What are the values, goals, and motives of the institutional channels and their structural base?

A paramount concern is to focus attention throughout on uncovering the mechanisms linking the social structural base to urban spatial structure as end-product. An overwhelming fascination with structure per se fails to illuminate the process through which structural dictates are translated to and absorbed by the individual actor: we have gained little if we simply replace "economic man" with "class-interest man" and "profit maximization" with "the drive to accumulate". Individuals in everyday life after all respond to the immediate tangible world or experience and not to a superstructure of class interests. It is the intermediate linkage mechanisms that are in need of our attention.

David Ley (U. of British Columbia)

Human geography has shown increasing pluralism in the past decade, and while this has some dangers, it is a trend which should be encouraged, for the healthy discipline is innovative and experimental, aware and respectful of traditions, but not restricted by them and not allowing past scholarship to dominate the shape of current work. The twentieth century has been called the age of analysis, and urban geography has been heavily influenced by analytical perspectives. While some excellent analytical work has been completed, it is often beset by two weaknesses. First, the discipline has lost its distinctive synthetic identity, for the variable-by-variable analysis of process commonly carries explanation toward neighbouring disciplines at the expense of the integrative core of geography. Second, analysis often fragments what is integrated in everyday life. It decontextualizes, and in its most damaging form leads to reductionism and abstract empiricism.

These weaknesses make the more interesting a newfound commitment to synthesis is the social sciences, whether a return to classical figures like Weber or Marx, a concern with modern writers like Giddens or Habermas, or discovery of schools like the Annales school among French historians. These trends are particularly apposite for human geography in terms of its traditional integrative focus, and the real prospects for convergence and a

Research Priorities (cont.)

Ley (cont.)

new synthesis which exist in the discipline itself. The empirical rigor of positivism, the theoretical attentiveness of those who have explored both radical and nonradical social theory, the presuppositional emphasis of a growing philosophical awareness, and a focus on the human experience of place espoused by humanists, together suggest the ingredients for a new geographical synthesis for those not overcommitted to a single vision of scholarship. This is not to claim that integration may be achieved by some facile conflation of perspectives, for the issues are more subtle than this. Nonetheless, many of the components of what a recent volume has called a search for common ground are now in place.

For an essentially integrative discipline, urban geography would then become the study of urban places, urban landscapes, and urban regions. The interpretation of person-place relations in an urban setting has always been a strong pedagogic focus of the discipline. Now it needs to be emphasized that it is a strong intellectual focus as well, that the limitations of a traditional regional approach are neither inherent nor necessary. Implicit then are some important departures from traditional practices. First, studies of urban places would be better informed theoretically, seeking the general rather than the particular and attentive to central theoretical questions such as the relations between the individual and society, or between economy and culture; indeed, as important a concept as culture would be theorized more carefully than has conventionally been true in studies of the cultural landscape. Second, philosophical maturity would introduce a critical and even self-critical spirit concerning basic assumptions, to challenge too easy an orthodoxy. Third would be the realization that not all explanation can be referred to local or even to visible phenomena, a realization that would carry the study beyond the shortcomings of voluntarism (where the actors' accounts are accepted uncritically), of localism (as in ecological correlation, where only local variables are considered), and of positivism (with its requirements for explanatory variables which fit an observation language). Explanation, in short, is both imminent and contextual, which means that in some important respects it is geographically variable and contingent. Fourth, rather than being a descriptive amassing of facts, studies would be problem-oriented, guided by conceptual heuristics; for example, themes such as landscapes of domination (John Western's monograph on apartheid in Capetown, Anthony King's study of imperial cities in India), the meanings of residential space (Peirce Lewis' classic study of New Orleans, Deryck Holdsworth's research on the working-class struggle for homeownership in Canadian urban places), or other themes such as landscapes of exclusion, urban centers and the culture of consumption, and deprivation of urban regions. These proposals are only illustrative, and would not find universal acceptance, but they do offer lines of enquiry for an urban geography committed to a synthetic investigation of the processes which reveal cities as inherently human settlements.

Risa Palm (U. of Colorado)

Two extreme positions on the nature of explanation in urban geography have resulted not only in different methods but also different subject-matter emphasis. On the one hand, there are those who argue that explanation lies largely in an understanding of the overarching mechanisms within the political, economic, and social structure. This perspective emphasizes structures emanating from the top of a hierarchy of power and influence down to the individual level. What is studied is the influence of the political-economic system which encapsules and constrains individual choice. Research in this field includes the interpretive analysis of governmental-industrial-business influence on large regional settlement, and attributes some portion of the changes observed in capitalist economies to attempts to secure and increase surplus value or profit, and governmental support (legitimation) of such activities. The study of individual households, firms, corporations, or governmental units may be undertaken, but the bulk of attention is given to the interpretation of larger factors at work within a political economy directing the individual firm or decision-making unit. Indeed, decision-making at the individual level may even be seen as trivial, lacking a clear understanding of the significance of larger constraints.

At the other extreme are those urban geographers emphasizing individual decision-making. Although these theorists would not deny the importance of overall constraints, they focus attention on decision-making within the realm of activities open to discretionary behavior, as well as studies of developmental accommodation to a given structure, and developmental studies of human spatial behavior. Survey research or participant observation studies are common, with emphasis on the determination of empirical regularities or the response of a given group to its environment.

A second basis of classification of research in urban geography is the contrast between those investigating the spatial organization of urban society and those more interested in the interaction between people and their environment. Although these questions are not a

Palm (cont.)

continuum along a single dimension, they are also not orthogonal. For example, the urban geographer interested in access to medical care (spatial organization) should also be concerned with influences of the physical/social/cultural environment on morbidity and mortality; similarly, the urban geographer interested in the distribution of criminal behavior cannot afford to overlook various environmental influences on the propensity to be either a victim or perpetrator. It is probably safe to say that since the spatial organization school, formerly dominated by logical positivist research, predominated during the formative period of modern urban geography (the late 1950s through the early 1970s), most research has been done on questions of distribution and location rather than environmental interactions.

If one can accept this summary of research traditions (Table 1), and if one also accepts that greatest progress in any field can be made at a "frontier" (generally a sparsely populated and unexplored location connected to the activity of previous explorers and settlers), then it seems obvious that there are safe, secure, and less exciting areas in which research can take place, and also areas in which both the risks and the potential pay-offs are greater. In this particular table, the central cells, where micro- and macro-level explanations may be conjoined, contain the most opportunity for exciting research developments. In addition, since few urban geographers have ventured into the territory of human-environmental interactions, it would appear that the central cells in the second row are especially promising. I would be hard-pressed to argue that there is any area within urban geography which is so well understood that no new research is needed, but I would assert that we have had relatively large numbers of studies of individual decision-making concerning both spatial organization (firm location, migration decision-making) and certain types of human-environmental interactions (individual response to natural hazards). Similarly, I find it hard to justify much more effort in discussions of the overall role of the political economy that are not firmly empirically grounded in studies of the development of specific regional organization, urban development, or the evaluation and use of environmental resources. Instead, research should focus on one or more of the four central cells: the conflicts between individual and group utility functions in spatial or environmental decision-making, and the cultural and historical factors within the political economy which account for the particular realizations in a given setting and time. Spatial and environmental questions raised at the explanatory levels where micro- and macro-level approaches coalesce are not only of interest in themselves, but also promise to lead us to more complete understandings of our urban environment.

Table 1

Each cell contains examples of some research topics.	At what level does the process operate?			
	Micro			Macro
What geographic question is addressed?	Individual decision-making	Rational individuals in irrational settings	Cultural/historical circumstances within which economic forces are realized	Political-economic determination
<u>Spatial organization</u>	Migration decision-making	Urban managers vs. households in migration decisions	Changes in specific regional location decisions by industry in response to changing conditions, given a particular political economy	Analysis of urban structure as an expression of class conflict and extraction of profit
Examples: Location decisions at a regional or local level		Conflict between residents' and planners' goals		
<u>Human Environment</u>	Household or individual response to natural hazards	Conflict between individual short term responses and corporate/state response to environmental conditions	Susceptibility to hazards based on combination of resources and position in political economic complex	Evaluation and use of the environment by various political economic organizations
Examples: Natural hazards, technological hazards, cultural-social hazards (e.g., ecology of crime)				

Research Priorities (cont.)

James Vance (U. of California)

Today I wish to take the topic of this roundtable discussion in a most literal sense: to look at the way in which city frontiers affect the functioning of urban society and economies. It is my belief that the role of the frontier in shaping past urban life is greater than commonly appreciated, and I have a strong hunch that it will be particularly important for the next several decades.

To set a context for this call for attention, it is useful to establish that the times of radical change in urban life and morphology have come when the frontiers of the city have been fundamentally expanded. The Age of Discovery greatly transformed the trading frontiers of cities in a mercantile revolution that pushed those economic boundaries for successful ports across vast oceans, while at the same time forcing increasingly larger domestic tributary areas into subservience to them. The great commercial metropolis grew out of that shift of frontiers, creating for their time enlarged versions of earlier places with a traditional single-centered functional morphology. The resulting traditional core city housed particularly dock and wholesaling activities, though increasingly the fabrication of products from their rising colonial trade in raw materials, and the residences of those employed in the city. So long as that strongly mercantile economy persisted, urbanization showed a marked domination by marine and potamic transportation routes setting the distant frontiers of trade and forcing a tight clustering on the morphology of the city.

The morphological frontier of the traditional core city remained close and confining until human improvements in natural routes began to take shape about the middle of the last century. Particularly with railroads available the traditional urban frontier could be breached and a new area of urbanization pioneered with the foundation of industrial satellites, in which the expanding demand for goods in distant trade and local consumption could be satisfied, and residential suburbs, in which the middle and upper classes could seek a more healthful and culturally-assimilated environment. The suburban band became the most dynamic element in cities for more than a hundred years, the place where that distinctive American contribution to urban morphology, the suburb, took shape, and the site for the major part of the vast industrialization that peopled the city and added industrial capital to the earlier mercantile capital clustered there. The suburban frontier was first reached by railroads a hundred years ago but was filled out by easily ramified trolley lines for the succeeding third of a century up to the First World War.

So long as public transit provided the main body of internal urban movement, the suburban band sufficed for urban pioneering, and the city's frontier was formed of suburbs and satellites. But by the 1930s there was restlessness showing. The automobile and truck gave individuality to movement, so the suburban frontier could be pushed radically outward, though without great functional or morphological change. So great was the areal expansion of the suburban band that frontiers internal to the city began to emerge dividing urban space into regions of daily activity less comprehensive than the full metropolis. Urban realms became a model of the functional geography of the city, whereas its morphology remained divided between the traditional core and the now expanded suburban band.

By about 1960 new concepts of urban functional geography began to be expressed on the land, mainly as movements beyond the suburban frontier. With sharply increased individual mobility, the concept of urbanity without traditional urbanization could be applied to future growth. The resulting physical pattern was that of an exurban band, essentially a third major component of a functional model for the city. For the doctrinaire, the dispersed exurban residence could come into existence in the truly open countryside; for those less extreme in their rejection of urban morphology, the small-town compromise could be adopted. Just as the suburban band had satellites as well as suburbs, the exurban band now has dispersed sites for economic activity (research facilities, even factories, and the warehouses of traditional firms as well as those of the leaders in the current mail-order revolution). One may now live and work in exurbia, though it seems probable that urbane realms will arise there dividing the exurban band into daily activity areas. Some of these will tie together the complexity of morphologies found in the suburban and exurban bands by shaping a new urban activity system, part of which is without traditional urbanization.

In closing, I would like to suggest that the next generation of urban geography might find it interesting to examine urban frontiers in general, and perhaps particularly those in the city beyond the suburban frontier.

Roger Zanarini (Upland Industries)

My number one priority for urban geography research could be characterized as an increased emphasis on "financial realities". The world of finance is rarely reflected in contemporary urban geography research. From a private sector perspective, research is viewed as a commodity. The key question then becomes, who is the customer, the consumer, if you will? Who will use the product? Peter Drucker says that after you answer that

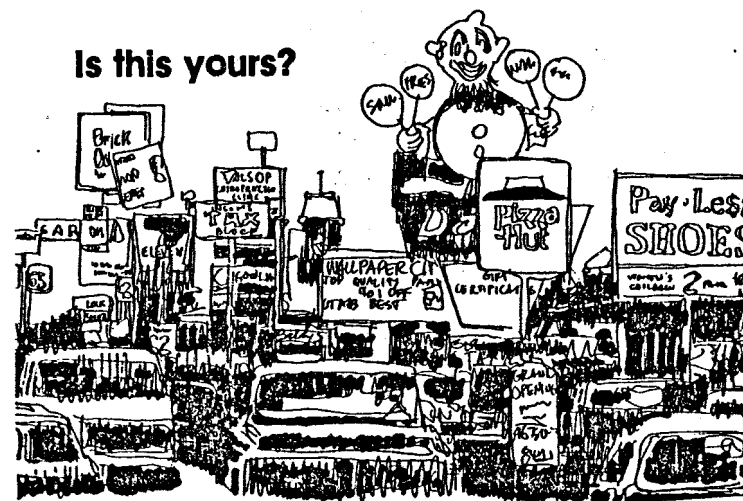
Zanarini (cont.)

question, nothing else matters. One group of potential users of urban geography research is composed of corporate leaders who are rapidly changing the design of American cities. These individuals, be they developers, lenders, or builders, constitute an important segment of society who might utilize our research findings. What impact does urban geography have on these decision-makers? I can't venture a guess, but probably not much.

The current published research reveals a basic lack of understanding of the business world. Capital is a key component and knowledge of the capital market is useful. If we wish to influence merchant builders, the literature should reflect a real world approach. Thus, in my opinion, research in the area of finance, especially risk analysis, should be a priority for urban geographers. An excellent case study is located a few blocks away right here in Denver. The Tabor Center at 16th and Lawrence, a mixed-use center featuring proven performers such as the Rouse Co. and the Williams Corp. of Tulsa, went to the stroke of midnight before finalizing definitive interim financing arrangements. The entire \$300 million deal was in jeopardy due to a perceived risk factor assessed by the lenders. Creative financing and effective cash management have become almost as important as "location-location-location" helping to solve market-derived problems.

Is this an acceptable arena for urban geographers? Is this even a geographic problem? Again, I have no answers. What I can say is that the business community needs and appreciates quality research. You can help identify the problems and define how to capitalize on the opportunities available to the private sector. Meanwhile, when drawing your conclusions and forming recommendations, "cost out" your alternatives. Too often results are uneconomical or otherwise unacceptable. The term "bottom line" is a cliché to be avoided, but its use connotes recognition of how to succeed, which translates as profit. There is no other way.

This is a plea to add a financial component to the urban geographer's research agenda. If we expect to reach our target group, an applied focus is mandatory. Until this is accomplished, the business-world audience for our research results will continue to be sparse. Let's also remember a by-product of superior research, and that is better students, which leads to highly qualified graduates entering the job market. If visibility for geography is desirable, meaningful research for the private sector will help us meet our objectives. As our AAG President recently stated, "We must become more concerned about the public representation of our discipline — the status of geography in the American mind".



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You own more than half your town. You own the streets—the pot holed streets and the tree-lined parkways. . . .

ASSIST AWARENESS PROJECT

This illustration is from *The Western Planner* (April 1982). Assist is a private, nonprofit group in Salt Lake City, Utah. (Submitted by Andrea Hauer (Iowa City, IA).)

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