

Democracy and the Bureaucratic City
Urban Studies 240 [1]
Department of Urban Studies
Fall Semester, 2006

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SYLLABUS

This course is an introduction to the nature and roles of human organizations in the modern American city. For better or for worse the contemporary American city is a mosaic of large, complex organizations which may appear almost chaotic if not irrational, both individually and especially as a system. Max Weber first called these types of organizations "bureaucracies". He included both governmental and non-governmental agencies. In this course we will attempt to ascertain the influence of such bureaucracies upon life in the American city, how that influence has changed over time and how the resulting organizational milieu compares to other urban cultures. The focus is the American city and its influences on, and how it was influenced by, the rise of complex organizations. A particular concern will be how current technological change effects organizations and cities.

In addition to information about the course, the **Syllabus** also includes brief *sections* about how to read books and other academic materials, and how to study. The recommended procedures should help boost your productivity and reduce frustration. Of course, each individual will find some things work for her that do not work for another, but the basics should work for almost all students. This help will be particularly important in later courses that will expect considerable reading and the integration of that reading with lectures and other materials.

Scope

The course focuses upon the large American city. The city is defined as both the actual central city and the surrounding suburban cities. This more accurately captures the urban reality. This is certainly the "city" as most people experience it.

The first part of the course looks at the history of the American city, especially in terms of how the major bureaucracies developed as part of a pervasive alteration of American culture. It is not a history course; rather the initial historical *section* reflects the fact that one can not know where one is unless one knows where she/he has been. History is therefore not a luxury or an indulgence, but an indispensable component of understanding the course of American culture and the effects of the organizations formed within it.

The final parts of the course examine the influence of bureaucracies on urban life. Life is more than politics and the course reflects this by looking at how organizations pervasively effect all parts of our lives. The course examines not only outcomes but attempts to ascertain causes as well. However, one of the primary purposes of organized urban society is self-governance. Thus, the course examines how changes in urban life have influenced, and been influenced in turn, by government. Democracy, in this context, refers to the place of people in American culture generally and urban society specifically as well as their rights to participate in political decisions.

Focus

The course centers on the influence of bureaucracies on city life and American culture. No judgements are made, or intended, that any particular influence is "good" or "bad". All types of influence are examined descriptively, that is, "what happened," and then a variety of normative evaluations, that is, "what should be," will be performed. As a result, students can understand how complex phenomena evolve and by what criteria their influence on culture can be ascertained and evaluated.

In contrast to a history course, the time period of concern is the present. History is indeed important, but only as it channels and constrains the present. The conclusion of the course will briefly speculate about the future of the city in terms of the nature and influence of organizations in the ever evolving American culture. As noted earlier, a primary concern will be with the nature and consequences of current technological changes. These changes, particularly in light of a concern with homeland security, promise to alter the structure of both public and private lives. This outcome demands careful attention to complex organizations and cities.

Learning Objectives and Outcomes

The diligent student should learn "how to learn", and not be limited by the opinions or beliefs of the instructor or any other member of the human specie. Learning is a competence that can be acquired; and is a necessity for a successful life in contemporary America. In addition to acquiring such a general competence, students who complete all assignments and integrate the materials of the course should acquire the following knowledge, skills and competencies:

1. an understanding of the historical development of American cities, especially the dynamics that effected the structures of individual lives;
2. an understanding of the evolution of complex organizations in the urban context and how that evolution effected the structures of individual lives;
3. basic knowledge about the urban culture, how it shaped both cities and the complex organizations that operated within urban areas as well as how the urban and organizational developments, in turn, effected culture;
4. an ability to integrate academic frameworks and turn them into usable knowledge, that is, use theory in everyday life; and

5. the capability of reading books, especially academic and history volumes, in order to increase your usable knowledge.

Procedures

Student should do the readings prior to the class for which it is assigned. The *Order of Study section* of the **Syllabus** lists the topics we will cover and the readings for that topic. The readings are in the two required textbooks and reserve readings. The latter are available as noted in the *Text section* below. Note the first four (4) topics do not require any reading.

Students are required to write two (2) think papers. A think paper takes one of the concepts developed in the course and applies it to a different situation, a student's own past, etc. It is not a research paper and requires no extra reading. Rather the conceptual material encountered in the course is applied or critiqued, that is, analyzed in terms of its utility for understanding urban life. In essence, the paper is an opportunity to re-conceptualize the city, some of your or your family's past, current concerns, etc. Each think paper is limited to two (2) pages, typed or word processed double-spaced. The first Think Paper is due the fifth week of class, Friday, 29 September, and the second the tenth week of class, Friday, 27 October. If a draft is submitted the previous Monday, 25 September and 23 October, respectively, I will grade it and write comments as to why the particular grade was assigned. You will have an additional week, that is, until Friday, 6 October and 3 November, to revise the Paper and resubmit it if you are not satisfied with the grade. If you are satisfied with the grade, you will have completed the assignment early.

There will be a midterm and a final. The midterm will be a short answer examination. The final will be a combination of short answer and essay. The contribution of the exams to the final grade is noted in the *Grade section* below.

The final requirement is a group research project. The project is to focus on a complex organization in Cleveland, such as ISG Steel (formerly LTV Steel), Cleveland Department of Economic Development, Center for Community Solutions (formerly the Federation for Community Planning), Cleveland Foundation, Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, etc. The research is to ascertain the structure of the organization and how it effects urban life in Cleveland. Obviously, a definite study can not, and is not expected to be, completed in one semester. However, the students should learn about how organizations are structured, their operations and how they relate to - and shape - the culture of the city in which they are located.

Because the city is a political organism, politics in all of its various forms envelops it.

William O. Winter

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Groups need to be formed by Monday, 25 September. Those students who have not selected a group by the following class period (Monday, 2 October) will be assigned to a group.

A group will have three (3) or more students. Each member of the group receives the same grade. Any problems among the members of the group should be worked out quickly with the instructor. He has been a member of such groups, albeit in a past often dimly recalled, and understands the problems that can arise.

The following points about the organization need to be covered. They can be covered in any order that a group finds useful; however, each needs to be addressed.

1. Its History
 - A. Location
 - B. Mission
 - C. Products

2. Structure
 - A. Ownership
 - B. Formal Organization
 - C. Decision Processes
 - D. Pattern of Employment; nature of Task Accomplishment

3. Mission and Markets
 - A. Organizational Purpose
 - B. Primary Products
 - C. Important Customers

4. Relations to Local Governments
 - A. Extent of Involvement
 - B. Nature of Involvement
 1. General
 2. Specific Issues

5. Relations to Other Organizations
 - A. Extent of Involvement
 - B. Nature of Involvement

1. General
2. Specific Issues

6. Major Effects on Urban Culture

- A. Structure of Beliefs
- B. Structure of Daily Life

Of course, some of the outline above will vary depending upon whether the organization is a public agency, private corporation or a not-for-profit. However, by thinking carefully and conceptually, most of the categories can be applied to all types of organizations. Note that some categories require a group to reach conclusions beyond what researchers or observers have written; each conclusion should be reached with a logical argument. You are graded as much on the logic of your argument as on any conclusion you reach. Thus, the effects of what an organization did will be your conclusions, reflecting the information you have gathered and, ideally processed, about both the organization and American urban life.

Each group will present their findings in class on Wednesday and Friday, 6 and 8 December, in a computer presentation program such as **Power Point**. Each will distribute a two (2) page outline of their findings. In addition, each group must submit a final computer disk or a file. The file can be sent via E-Mail as an attachment. Note you have both a University and College computer account. These include E-Mail. Staff at both locations can help you learn about this. I am also willing to help. The disk or file is due no later than the final class meeting, which is on a Friday, 8 December. **Late submissions lose points!**

One of the best ways to learn is to ask questions. Do not forget that you have paid to be here. You control how much you learn (assuming I do my job!) by how you conduct yourself in class and in the effort devoted to reading, thinking, and researching in that order.

Grading

The final grade is a weighted average of the following items. The percents after the items indicate the specific weight of that item.

Think Paper , each	10 %
Midterm	20 %

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Final 30 %

Research Project 30 %

Letter grades will be transformed into numerical scores on the following scale:

A+ = 99; A = 95; A- = 91; B+ = 89; B = 85; B- = 81; C+ = 79; C = 75; C- = 71; etc.

Numeric scores are transformed into letter grades according to this scale:

98.5 - top, **A+**; 92.5 - 98.4, **A**; 89.5 - 92.4, **A-**; 88.5 - 89.4, **B+**; 82.5 - 88.4, **B**; 79.5 - 82.4, **B-**; 78.5 - 79.4, **C+**; 72.5 - 78.4, **C**; 69.5 - 72.4, **C-**; etc.

Texts

There are two (2) textbooks for the course. Both are in the bookstore and have been used in this course previously. Thus, both of the texts may be available as used books though be sure to check the edition. In addition, some articles and chapters from other books are assigned. All other assigned readings will be on a CD-ROM that will be distributed to the class. The CD will cost one dollar (\$1.00) which goes to the Department and covers the cost of the media.

Gareth Morgan, **Images of Organization** (2nd edition)

Ray Suarez, **The Old Neighborhood: What We Lost in the Great Suburban Migration, 1966 - 1999**

Assignments to be Handed-in

Think Papers - Word processed, double spaced; each Paper limited to two (2) pages or less. A Draft can be handed-in one week early with the possibility of resubmitting if the grade is not satisfactory - due 29 September and 27 October.

Midterm - in class; definition of terms and concepts. - administered Friday, 13 October.

Group Project - computer disk or file; one submission no matter how many members in the group. - due Friday, 8 December.

Final Examination - in class; definition of terms and concepts with essay questions. - administered 1:00 PM, Monday, 11 December or a date and time during Final Exam week agreed to by all students.

{T}he city is the oldest of all sophisticated human political institutions...

William O. Winter

Office Hours

My office hours are Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 1:30 to 3 PM. I am also available on Thursday from 2 to 6 PM. My office is in Room 130 of the Glickman-Miller Hall (UR). I can be reached at 687-2173. Most of the time a caller will tap a message system. After a serious but also humorous (depending upon your perspective, of course) statement, a caller may leave a message and a number at which s/he may be contacted. I return most calls within a day during the semester; however, E-Mail is a more certain method of contacting the Instructor.

Honor Code

The Urban Studies Program does not have a formal Honor Code. Often, a program requires students to sign such a Code which details the ethics that should guide behavior of both Faculty and students. Any questions about the Code should be asked prior to engaging in any behavior that one thinks may be under its provisions. The Professor will enforce an Honor Code that includes but is not limited to the following:

1. Each student shall treat all students and their opinions with respect.
2. Each student shall diligently complete all assignments.
3. A student shall do his or her own work. Any work taken from others will be correctly footnoted and acknowledged.
4. All problems with any aspect of the class or with any other student shall be reported to the Professor in a timely fashion.
5. The Professor shall clearly state course goals and how these relate to professional needs.
6. The Professor shall treat all students in a similar and just fashion, varying any treatment to meet course goals and/or the specific needs of a student.
7. The Professor shall timely return all assignments, complete with explanation of why they received the grades they did.
8. The Professor will answer all relevant and appropriate questions and be available to meet with students at stated times.

Punishment for failure to comply with the above provisions will be fair, formal and clear. In the case of rule 3, conscious plagiarism, the unacknowledged use of another's materials as one's own with the intent to do so, **will result in a F for the course**. The punishment reflects the nature of the crime; it is repugnant to academic and personal integrity.

Electronic Mail

One of the benefits of a computer network is the ability of those with accounts to communicate easily. As a student you are entitled to an account. In fact, you may have two (2) free accounts, one at the University level and one at the College of Urban Affairs if you are an Urban Studies major. (These are financed by the Technology Fee, and tuition, of course.) The University account is through Information Services and Technology (IS&T). The account provides free access to the Internet. The benefit not only provides access to word processing, database and spreadsheet software with laser printing but also facilitates sharing files and messages as well as access to the Internet. Thus, if you are working on a group research project, you could share drafts over the network. You can also send files and messages to the Mainframe as well as from the Law School Network to the Levin College Network.

You can also access the University mainframe remotely and any E-Mail sent to my mainframe address will automatically be forwarded to the College network. As a Cleveland State student, you have an automatic account on the mainframe. See the kind people in Information Services and Technology (IS&T) on the 11th floor of Rhodes Tower to obtain details about what you have and what you can do with it. IS&T also provides free training about computer topics as does the Main Library. All relevant information can be found on Viking, the information computer system for the University.

If you want an account on our network, please complete the requisite form. Lab Assistants in the Computer Labs on the bottom floor can provide you with both an account on our system and the appropriate documentation. Free training sessions on using computers at the College and at home are provided by both the University and the College. Again, check with the Computer Lab Assistants for information or go to our Web Site, <http://urban.csuohio.edu>.

My E-Mail address is: *larry@urban.csuohio.edu*.

Hints for Effective Reading

Reading a book is reading a mind. A classic book is a "recorded mind" that has seen and is sharing a new world. Thus, to understand effectively a book one must be able to stand in the shoes of the author.

Carefully reading the Preface is an effective way to ascertain the author's purpose. Most authors briefly summarize what they are trying to do and some even why they did it.

Once you grasp the purpose, note the names and order of the chapters. The perspective and overall view of the author is disclosed by chapter order and content. Similarly note subsections within chapters and how these relate to the chapter.

Finally, note how the author explains people and events. Does she see these as outcomes of human action? If so, how does she explain human action? Does she capture the psychology as well as the sociology, that is, the thoughts that prompt action as well as the social setting of the actor? What role is assigned chance? Does her outcomes appear to follow logically her causes?

By using the above criteria, you should be able to understand and critique any author intelligently. Reading time should be reduced while comprehension increases. Who knows, you may even write a book yourself someday.

Hints at Effective Study

In all too many cases students waste considerable time and effort in study. (Students who do not study are irrelevant.) The waste is inexplicable given that students pay, or borrow, a minor fortune to attend college. Fortunately, effective study does not require a major change in the time spent for most students and, in fact, for many it will mean a decrease in time spent at study.

The first skill for effective study is to learn how to read. The *section* above deals with that topic. The second skill is to learn to think conceptually. Conceptualization is organizing reality according to some basic categories. A student with this skill can readily comprehend a new "thing" by placing in the context of other things. (Note that many philosophers, most notably Immanuel Kant, found the organization of the world to result from categories in our minds. Thus, how well we categorize determines how successfully we cope with the world.)

An example of a concept is an economy. Learning is not assigning names in a rote fashion; rather it is using the concept to explain things. Economy means there

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is an incentive system, a set of rewards and punishments for action. Thus, one can attempt to explain actions of people by how they perceive and act within a system of incentives; that is, the type of economy they experience. Economists believe that people will do only those things for which they receive adequate rewards. Furthermore, people will engage in relationships only because they expect to receive sufficient value from the interaction. Therefore, an economic perspective explains the "why" of human behavior with the use of concepts relevant to an incentive system.

In a course, the key to easy learning is to grasp the purpose of the course and how the lectures and the readings relate to the purpose. Purpose in this sense is similar to the theme of a musical piece or literature. In essence, a course should argue (in a technical sense) that a phenomenon can be understood best by a particular perspective and demonstrate why that is so. By understanding the purpose and grasping the relations among the lectures and the readings, a student can quickly put any specific bit of information into a useful pattern. This makes new material easy to understand as its place in the pattern can be determined. More importantly, all that one needs to remember is the pattern. This avoids getting lost with facts, seeing only trees and not the forest.

Finally, learning to conceptualize should make daily life more understandable. Ideally, you should be able to "see" a different world than when education started. If this is not happening in this or any other course, be sure to ask questions until you can grasp the pattern and organize the facts. You have a "live" professor (presumably; at least on most days) so that you can ask questions and engage in a dialogue. Take advantage of that situation.

Critical Dates and Locations

Class Time and Location - Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays 12:15 PM - 1:20 PM, UR 247

First Class -- Monday, 28 August

Holiday -- Monday, 4 September

First **Think Paper** Due -- Friday, 29 September

Draft of First **Think Paper** Due -- Monday, 25 September

Holiday -- Monday, 9 October

Midterm - Friday, 13 October

Second **Think Paper** due - Friday, 27 October

Draft of **Second Think Paper** due - Monday, 23 October

Last Day to Drop Class -- Friday, 3 November (Note a "W" will appear on Transcript)

Holidays -- Friday, 10 November and Friday, 24 November

Group Presentations -- Wednesday and Friday, 6 and 8 December

Last Class -- Friday, 8 December

Group Project Papers Due -- 8 December

Final Examination -- Monday, 11 December, 1:00 - 3:00 PM

Order of Study

Part I: Essential Background Statistics for the Living

Topic 1

Theory in Everyday Life
All off at Wonderland

Lecture

Topic 2

Functional Theory
Is there a purpose to life? to male nipples?

Lecture

Topic 3

Statistics
Guessing with the Best

Lecture

Topic 4

Putting It Altogether
Some do it with Logic

Lecture

Part II: The Development of the American City Who said Rome couldn't be built in one day!

Topic 5

The Colonial Reality
Death, Taxes and Revolution

Charles A. And Mary R. Beard, **The Beard's New Basic History of the United States**, chapter 4

Topic 6

Cities and Nation Building
Taxes with Representation

Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, **Evolution of American Urban Society** (5th edition), Chapters 1 & 2

Topic 7

The Rise of the Modern Gotham
Rube Parks the Tractor

Gunther Barth, **City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America**, *Introduction, Chapter 1* and one of the following chapters -- 3, 4, 5 and 6 (Each of these chapters deals with one of the culture shaping urban institutions of the turn of the 20th century American city -- Metropolitan Press; Department Store; Ball Park; and Vaudeville.)

Topic 8

Running Gotham
Or Life without Superman

Ray Suarez, **The Old Neighborhood: What We Lost in the Great Suburban Migration, 1966 - 1999**

John Holland, **Hidden Order: How Adaptation Builds Complexity**, chapter 1

Part III: Understanding Organizations
Briefcase Brigade

Topic 9

The Concept
Organized Groveling?

Gareth Morgan, **Images of Organization**, Chapter 1, Introduction (Hereinafter Morgan)

[Popular sovereignty] originated not so much in discontent among the governed many, as in disagreement among the governing few. Those who invoked it were wary of having it invoked against them, as jealous of their exclusive claim to speak for the people as the King had been of his claim to speak for God Edward S. Morgan

Topic 10

The Original Myth

All together Now...

Morgan, Chapter 2, *Mechanization Takes Command: Organizations as Machines*

Topic 11

Organizations as Community

People Loving People

Morgan, Chapter 3, *Nature Intervenes: Organizations as Organisms*

Topic 12

Thoughtful Organizations

You Mean Someone Planned This??

Morgan, Chapter 4, *Toward Self-Organization: Organizations as Brains*

Topic 13

Organizations and Reality

Blame It on the Comptroller!!

Morgan, Chapter 5, *Creating Social Reality: Organizations as Cultures*

<<< **Midterm** >>>

Friday, 13 October 2006

Topic 14

Politics Within

Men, Women and Games

Morgan, Chapter 6, *Interests, Conflict, and Power: Organizations as Political Systems*

{A} new patrician aristocracy which met all the requisites of a monarchical privileged order - the charm of antiquity, complete dependence on the government and total insignificance.

Walter Lippman

Topic 15

People and Minds
Nightmares on the Job

Morgan, Chapter 7, *Exploring Plato's Cave: Organizations as Psychic Prisons*

Topic 16

People and Change
Yes, Virginia, People Do Need to Believe in Santa Claus

Morgan, Chapter 8, *Unfolding Logics of Change: Organization as Flux and Transformation*

Topic 17

People and Power
Crushing for Fun and Profit

Morgan, Chapter 9, *The Ugly Face: Organizations as Instruments of Domination*

Topic 18

Analyzing Organizations
The World According to GAAP et al

Morgan, Chapter 10, *Reading and Shaping Organizational Life*

Part IV: The Modern City
Life in the Fast Lane to No Place

Topic 19

The Industrial Organization and The City
From Foremen to the Boardroom

Charles A. Reich, **The Greening of America**, chapter V

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Topic 20

The Public Organization and The City
From Bosses to Bureaucrats

Paul Kantor with Stephen David, **The Dependent City: The Changing Political Economy of Urban America**, chapter 7

Topic 21

Planning, National Government and The City
From Maps to Roads, all with More Levels and Bureaucrats

Robert Caro, **The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York**, chapter 22

Topic 22

The American Golden Era and The City
Finding a Middle Class Haven

Lawrence F. Keller, Chapter 18, *Race and the American City: Living the American Dilemma*, in George C. Galster and Edward W. Hill, eds., **The Metropolis in Black and White: Place, Power and Polarization**

Topic 23

The Crisis and The City
Havens do not Security Make

Lawrence F. Keller, Chapter 9, *Leadership and Race in the Administrative City: Building and Maintaining Direction for Justice in Complex Urban Networks*, in Galster and Hill, *op. cit.*

<< **Presentations** >>

Wednesday, 6, and Friday, 8 December 2006

{A} new patrician aristocracy which met all the requisites of a monarchical privileged order - the charm of antiquity, complete dependence on the government and total insignificance.

Walter Lippman

Part IV: The City, Organizations and the Future
High Tech, High Touch or No Class, Nobody?

Topic 24

The Future
Back to? Back From? Who Cares?

Morgan, Chapter 11, *Using Metaphor to Manage in a Turbulent World*

<< **Final Examination** >>
Monday, 11 December 2006
1:00 PM - 3:00 PM

Version 7.7
23 August 2006

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URBAN CLASSICS

- Charles R. Adrian and Charles Press, **Governing Urban America** (any edition)
Edward Banfield, **The Unheavenly City Revisited**
and James Q. Wilson, **City Politics**
Gunther Barth, **Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver**
Peter Berger and Richard J. Neuhaus, **To Empower People**
Robert L. Bish and Vincent Ostrom, **Understanding Urban Government**
James Blish, **Cities in Flight**
J. Bodnar, R. Simon and M. Weber, **Lives of their own: Blacks, Italians and Poles in Pittsburgh 1900 - 1960**
Edward Bok, **The Americanization of Edward Bok**
Christine Boyer, **Dreaming the Rational City**
Carl Bridenbaugh, **Cities in the Wilderness**
E. W. Burgess, R. E. Park and R. D. McKenzie, **The City**
Theodore Caplow *et al*, **Middletown Families**
Fustel De Coulanges, **The Ancient City**
Robert Dahl, **Who Governs**
Margaret Leslie Davis, **Rivers in the Desert: William Mulholland and the Inventing of Los Angeles**
Peter Drucker, **The Post-Capitalist Society**
Robert Fishman, **Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century**
Herbert Gans, **The Levittowners**
, Urban Villagers
Constance McLaughlin Green, **The Rise of Urban America**
Ebenezer Howard, **Garden Cities of Tomorrow**
Robert Kusmer, **The Making of the Ghetto**
LeCorbusier, **The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning**
Elliot Liebow, **Tally's Corner**
Norton Long, **The Polity** (Especially, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games")
Martin Mayer and Edward Banfield, **Politics, Planning and the Public Interest**
Arthur Miller, **Time Bends**
Lewis Mumford, **The City in History**
, The Culture of Cities
, Golden Ages of the Great Cities
John H. Mundy and Peter Rusenberg, **The Medieval Town**
Gordon Parks, **Voices in the Mirror**
Neil Pierce with Curtis W. Johnson and John Stuart Hall, **Citistates : How Urban America can prosper in a Competitive World**
Henri Pirenne, **Medieval Cities**
Robert V. Presthus, **Men at the Top**
Carl Rowan, **Breaking Barriers**
Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, **Governing New York City**
Arthur M. Schlesinger, **The Rise of the City**
Lincoln Steffens, **The Shame of the City**
Wilbur R. Thompson, **A Preface to Urban Economics**
A. J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, **Small Town in Mass Society**
Richard C. Wade, **The Urban Frontier**

Sam Bass Warner, **Street Car Suburbs**
, The Private City

Adna F. Weber, **The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century**

Morton and Lucia White, **The Intellectual Versus the City**

William H. Whyte, Jr., **The Organization Man**

William O. Winter, **The Urban Polity**

Robert Wood, **Suburbia**

Frank Lloyd Wright, **The Living City**

Richard Wright, **Black Boy**

Harvey Zorbaugh, **The Gold Coast and the Slum**

Version 5.1
26 August 1998

[Metaphysics [is] the construction of a general picture of the nature of reality which will underlie all our interpretations of experience.

John Polkinghorne