



The Anthropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City

Setha M. Low

Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 25. (1996), pp. 383-409.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0084-6570%281996%292%3A25%3C383%3ATAOCIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R>

Annual Review of Anthropology is currently published by Annual Reviews.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/annrevs.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CITIES: Imagining and Theorizing the City

Setha M. Low

PhD Programs in Psychology (Environmental) and Anthropology, Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036

KEY WORDS: urban theory, urban anthropology, globalization, deindustrialization, racism

ABSTRACT

This review considers the following questions: Why is the city undertheorized in anthropology? Why is an anthropological voice rarely heard in the urban studies and urban policy discourse? Anthropological literature published since 1989 is reviewed, with an emphasis on contributions to urban theory and the locating of anthropological studies within the broader context of urban studies. The city is found not to be absent in anthropological theory, but it has had no major theoretical impact. The images of the ethnic city, divided city, deindustrialized city, and global city have been most influential, as has research in the areas of racism, migration, poststructural studies of conflict and resistance, and critiques of architecture and urban planning. The literature continues to focus on the links between the experience of individuals and sociopolitical and economic processes as well as on the cultural meaning of the urban environment. The newest areas of inquiry include the study of urban space and time, metropolitan knowledge, and ethnoaesthetics.

INTRODUCTION

Why has the city been undertheorized in anthropology? Urban analysis has been left to a group of scholars who draw from architecture, history, geography, planning, sociology, and economics (33, 43, 79, 80, 210, 216, 222, 224, 254), bringing their unique interdisciplinary skills to the study of the city. These interdisciplinary analyses are quite broad in scope and focus on the city as part of a critical theoretical discourse. Anthropologists, however, have been

more concerned with everyday urban processes, so although the city is present in anthropology, it has not had a major impact.

In addition, why is an anthropological voice rarely heard in the urban studies discourse, even though many anthropologists have contributed actively to the urban poverty, immigration, architecture, and planning literature? Stack (227), Bourgois (20), Susser (232), and Newman (160) argue that while anthropological data are essential to understanding urban problems, anthropologists have hesitated to participate in urban public policy debates.

I address the above queries concerning the city and anthropology by (a) reviewing the anthropological literature on the city published since 1989, (b) identifying organizing images and metaphors as well as concepts and issues, (c) highlighting anthropological contributions, (d) positioning anthropological studies within the broader discourse of urban studies and urban policy, and (e) offering suggestions for future research.

In earlier reviews, Fox (58, 59), Jackson (88), and Gulick (73) advocated an anthropology *of* the city, rather than *in* the city. They argued that the distinction “is not trivial or hairsplitting” (73:xiv), yet their perspective has been criticized as essentializing the city as an institution and identifying it through population density, unique physical qualities or appearance, and styles of social interaction (136). I am not arguing for an essentialism of the city but favor attending to the social relations, symbols, and political economies manifest in the city, and view the “urban” as a process rather than as a type or category.

Theorizing the city is a necessary part of understanding the changing postindustrial, advanced capitalist, postmodern moment in which we live. The city as a site of everyday practice provides valuable insights into the linkages of macroprocesses with the texture and fabric of human experience. The city is not the only place where these linkages can be studied, but the intensification of these processes—as well as their human outcomes—occurs and can be understood best in cities. Thus, the “city” is not a reification but the focus of cultural and sociopolitical manifestations of urban lives and everyday practices.

An eclectic set of materials selected from recently written field-based ethnographies and articles within anthropology, as well as monographs and articles from the cognate fields of geography, sociology, history, urban planning, and political science, are included. Kemper (106) has indexed and summarized urban anthropology dissertations, and Sanjek (208) and Kemper (105) have covered urban work published through 1990. Therefore, I focus mainly on works published since that date. Books were selected from both fieldwork and nonfieldwork-based monographs, and articles were selected from English-language anthropology journals. The selections from other disciplines include

books and articles drawn from major journals and bibliographies in the urban studies and urban policy fields. Of course, some research was excluded, including that on urbanization, urban applied anthropology, urban historical archaeology, urban medical anthropology, and urban linguistics. Research on poverty and homelessness is covered by Susser in this volume of the *Annual Review of Anthropology*.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

With the emergence of the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1930s and the development of an urban ecological perspective (173), the city is viewed as made up of adjacent ecological niches occupied by human groups in a series of concentric rings surrounding a central core. Class, occupation, world view, and life experiences are coterminous with an inhabitant's location within these niches. Social change occurs through socioeconomic transitions, with each group replacing the next in an outward spiral. Research strategies focus on participant observation to uncover and explain the adaptations and accommodations of urban populations to these microenvironments. The contemporary sociologists Anderson (5) and Wacquant (238), both of whom trained at the University of Chicago and studied the African-American ghetto experience in Chicago, continue to draw upon this work for theoretical and methodological inspiration.

A second major influence on how we view the city was the Institute of Community Studies (in Bethnal Green, London) program of policy and planning research on slum clearance and replacement of housing in London, England, and Lagos, Nigeria. From the 1950s to the present, Young & Willmott (250), Marris (143, 144), and their colleagues conceived of the city as a series of urban "communities" based on extended family relations and kinship networks. Bott's (19) research on the social networks of middle-class English families drew upon discussions with anthropologists at the University of Manchester (66). Network analysis, used to study the social organization of city residents, was also used to understand the rapidly urbanizing populations of Africa (156) and Latin America (128), and employed by North American researchers to study the interconnections and interdependencies of family and household relationships among the urban poor (226, 227). Network analyses are now more elaborate and quantitative, and they still provide an important methodological strategy and theoretical model for urban research (96, 115, 123).

Planned physical and social change in Latin-American low-income residential neighborhoods (126, 127) as well as the planning and design of new towns such as Ciudad Guayana (174) and Brasília (51) provided further ethnographic examples of local as well as national/international conflict over planning

goals. Peattie (175) identified foreign capital investment and Rabinow (186) identified the power/knowledge of the technologies of planning and architecture as antithetical to producing a humane environment for local populations and workers. Studies of urban renewal (68) and community rebuilding after natural disasters (167) further examined how redevelopment processes exclude the psychosocial needs of residents. Conflicts emerge among government institutions, planning experts, and local communities that set the stage for contemporary poststructural analyses of urban struggles for land tenure rights (10, 84) and adequate housing (129) as well as critiques of planning and architecture as instruments of social control (133, 148, 181).

Another theoretical force has been Leeds's cumulative work (119), recently published in a posthumous volume (209). Although Leeds concentrated on supralocal and local linkages and the nation/state level of analysis, his fieldwork dealt predominantly with the city as the point of articulation in these complex relationships. Leeds's model of the flow of goods, cash, labor, and services between metropole and countryside continues to be used in analyses of the city (70, 71).

The most important transition in the anthropological study of the city, however, occurred in the 1980s with the introduction of political economy. Susser's (231) landmark ethnography of a Brooklyn working-class neighborhood, Hannerz's monograph (75), and Mullings's (157) critique of urban anthropology in the United States ushered in a decade of ethnographies that document how structural forces shape urban experience. The examination of the social effects of industrial capitalism and deconstruction of the confusion of urbanism with inequality and alienation produced a new urban paradigm (157, 168).

The final development in this trajectory includes the notion of "representational cities" (89)—an approach in which messages encoded in the environment are read as texts. Jacobs argues that "ethnographic studies were commonly prescribed the role of rendering more real the exotic and marginalized, but were seen to have little value in terms of the modern project of theory-building" (89:828). Radicalized urban ethnography, however, links everyday practices and the broader processes of class formation. According to Jacobs (89), new cities require new forms of analysis in which the urban built environment becomes a discursive realm. The representational approach is reflected in Holston's (82) analysis of the planning and architecture of Brasília read as an ideological tract of an imagined socialist utopia, and in Dorst's (49) postmodern ethnography of the re-creation of the history and landscape of Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania.

The coincidence of geographical region with theoretical genealogy has resulted in research continuities within culture areas. The tradition of British

social anthropology in Africa has generated a series of ethnographies of social relations in the city—exchanges, political alliances, market relationships, and network analyses that form the core of contemporary African urban analyses (11, 137, 156, 176). Other continuities include the examination of favelas, shantytowns, and turgorios in the urban periphery, and the informal economy in Latin America (99, 207); Japanese ethnographies that focus on work organization (17, 74, 110, 230); and Chinese studies that emphasize urban hierarchies (72, 92).

The historical development of an anthropology of cities has produced many approaches drawn upon to this day, including urban ecology models; community, family, and network analyses; critiques of the power/knowledge of planning and architecture; supralocal/local linkage analyses; and political economic, representational, and discursive models of the city.

IMAGINING THE CITY: METAPHORS AND IMAGES

The contemporary literature is much more diverse and does not fall neatly into the categories presented above; it is therefore best presented through a series of images and metaphors. These images of the city are meant to be heuristic and illuminating and should not be confused with previous evolutionary schemes or the development of urban typologies (59, 73). They are a guide to the diverse ideas, concepts, and frameworks used to analyze and write about the city, and they are different lenses that offer the reader as well as the writer different ways to communicate about an often elusive and discursively complex subject.

Social Relations

THE ETHNIC CITY As illustrated by the protagonist's difficulties in the movie *Little Odessa* (1994), which is set in the Russian immigrant community of Brighton Beach, Brooklyn, it is often impossible to escape the pressures of one's cultural group when one remains in the community. However, trying to leave can lead to unexpected and sometimes unfortunate circumstances. *Little Odessa* presents a mythic image of an East-Coast ethnic city. This image of the ethnic city, which has deep historical roots, focuses on ethnic politics and ethnically based urban social movements. Edited volumes addressing the many immigrant groups coexisting in large US cities (36, 56, 116, 235) and ethnographies that portray the differences in the structure of opportunity (103), access to power by generation (100), location of headquarters and subsidiary relations (114), and self-conscious creation of collective identities (124, 244) define the parameters of group success and failure in this urban model.

There are two dominant streams of research: (a) studies of the ethnic city as a mosaic of enclaves economically, linguistically, and socially self-contained

as a strategy of political and economic survival (183, 252); and (b) studies of ethnic groups that may or may not function as enclaves but that are defined by their location in the occupational structure (141), their position in the local immigrant social structure (142), their degree of marginality (139), or their historical and racial distinctiveness as the basis of discrimination and oppression (37, 57, 113). The ethnic enclave has been criticized as often assumed rather than empirically verified (180). Nonetheless, it has generated a productive stream of research (182, 184). Studies of urban ethnic communities provide important insights into collective ethnic politics.

One book that has received considerable attention is Portes & Stepick's *City on the Edge* (183), a study of the development of Miami, Florida, a city of competing ethnic enclaves. Historically dominated by the white middle class, the cultural hegemony of Miami has more recently shifted to Cuban-born immigrants, and Spanish has become the lingua franca of commerce and sociopolitical networks. Cuban-born immigrants have been singularly successful in manipulating the local power structure and media to create a new kind of ethnic politics in which the oppressed have become the oppressor.

Probably the most ambitious research program has been Lamphere's (116) project on the changing relations between established residents and newcomers in Miami; Chicago; Houston; Philadelphia; Monterey Park, California; and Garden City, Kansas, which identifies quite different strategies in the development of ethnic politics. Horton (87) discussed the "voluntary construction of ethnicity" (87:234) of the Chinese majority and Latino newcomers in Monterey Park, California. Stull (228, 229) emphasized class-based perceptions of ethnic identity in Garden City, Kansas. And Goode & Schneider (67) framed their study in terms of racial as well as ethnic divisions in Philadelphia.

Goode & Schneider's (67) depiction of Philadelphia is particularly noteworthy in that it assesses the political and economic processes that segregate Philadelphia's neighborhoods. Although Goode & Schneider use the term racially "divided city," their research suggests that new immigrants settling in older divided communities are in fact reconfiguring the city into ethnically diverse neighborhoods. An ethnically based real estate market has developed, as well as speciality shopping areas, local ethnic associations, and a proliferation of ethnic festivals. Philadelphia is interesting in that it draws upon two complementary images: It is a historically diverse city known for its neighborhoods dotted with churches and synagogues that mark ethnic differences, and it is a city divided into racial territories of black and white (111).

THE DIVIDED CITY The divided city conjures up images of the Berlin Wall (18) or the Danube, which divides Buda from Pest. Within anthropology it evokes hidden barriers of race and class encoded in metaphors of uptown and downtown, upscale and ghetto, and particularly in the United States, of black

and white. McDonogh (149) interpreted the experience of being black and Catholic in the divided city of Savannah, Georgia, as “characterized by a continuous tension among discourses that sustain stereotypes, delimit social groups, and shape the activities of citizens who participate in urban cultures” (149:65). Keith & Cross (102), however, argued that the divided city has restored the cultural primacy of the urban as a culture and cash nexus or “city as playground.” The division here is between the white cultural playgrounds and the abandoned black residential areas so clearly seen in cities such as Washington, Los Angeles, and New York City.

The processes producing the divided city have been studied primarily in US cities. Studies focus on different aspects of racism and racial segregation (246). Williams’s (247) exploration of the displacement of blacks through gentrification and other real estate activities and Greenbaum’s (68) examination of housing abandonment provide ethnographic explanations for the more theoretical overviews of American residential apartheid (27, 147). According to Massey & Denton (147), the continued high level of urban residential segregation exemplifies racial prejudice and discriminatory real estate practices and mortgage structures designed to insulate whites from blacks. Gregory (69) noted that a shift from race-based to class-based politics is even separating the residences of low-income blacks in Queens, New York City, from middle-class blacks who are increasingly adopting the political values of white homeowners.

Further explorations of the economic, social, and political consequences of racism include Page’s (170) concept of “white public space” to analyze how white institutions control even the production of “blackness.” Here efforts by black entrepreneurs to serve their own people and culture are coopted by the white power structure that dominates the economic and communication systems used by the black community. Sacks (206) explained race, class, and gender relations through the metaorganization of capitalism, which she defined as a materially based and state-reinforced social and cultural construction. Fernandez-Kelly (104) explained the divided city through the unequal distribution of “cultural capital”—the symbolic repertory whose meanings individuals learn and use as members of particular social networks—and “social capital”—the relations of reciprocity between individuals and groups. Cultural and social capital are defined by physical vectors such as urban space and by collective constructions such as social class, race, and gender, and thus are toponomical, dependent on physical and social location.

Unequal distribution of material resources and urban services is also identified as a reflection of the “major cleavage between those able to augment their basic needs through labor market participation at a wage high enough to insulate them from the vagaries of state budget crises and those who remain on

state services just to survive" (94:112). Susser (232, 233) pointed to the separation of mothers and male children as perpetuating the dismantling of the black family and as increasing the vulnerability of black male children, while Jones (93, 95) demonstrated that although mothers want their children to achieve, the material bases for social reproduction are not available to support such desires. Ogbu (166) and George (61) identified city schools' failure to provide educational environments that affirm and allow black and other minority student achievements.

The most extreme image of the divided city is Wacquant's (238) concept of the hyperghetto, a racially and socioeconomically segregated section of the inner city characterized by the "depacification" of everyday life, "desertification" of organizations and institutions, social "dedifferentiation," and "informalization" of the economy. Wacquant (237) compared the stigma and racial division of South Side Chicago's Black Belt with the Parisian Red Belt of the urban periphery, which "highlights the distinctively racial dimension of inner city poverty in the United States" (237:380). Mingione (153) commented on the "Americanization" of poverty in European cities to describe the increasing racialization and ghettoization of the European poor.

Other researchers, however, argue that the South Side of Chicago is a special case, and that New York's Harlem and Los Angeles's South Central are not experiencing these desertification and depacification processes. Newman (160, 162, 163) and George (61) refute the generalizations of Wacquant & Wilson (240) and identified instead an increase in the number of local churches, the development of new Afrocentric schools, and a reappropriation of identity politics based on positive black images.

THE GENDERED CITY The city has been perceived primarily as a male place in which women, "along with minorities, children, the poor, are still not full citizens in the sense that they have never been granted full and free access to the streets...and they have survived and flourished in the interstices of the city, negotiating the contradictions of the city in their own particular way" (248:8). The life within these interstices makes up the gendered city, seen by feminists (48, 80, 146, 225, 248) as a place of work, struggle, and strife.

Anthropological studies have focused on women's work and workplaces in the informal sphere: the market (38, 78), homework, (245), and domestic service (64, 190). With the increasing feminization of key sectors of the informal economy and the informalization of economic and political processes in third world cities, more women are supporting their children as street vendors ("higglers") in Jamaica (78), market women in West Africa (38), pieceworkers in urban Turkey (245), and domestic workers in Bolivia (64). Repak (190) argued that the structural forces in El Salvador of no rural jobs,

low marriage rates, and multiple partners have produced a gender-specific migration of women as a low-wage labor source of domestics for Washington, DC, households. This historical-structural theory of "gendered labor recruitment" explains why single women come to cities, but it is their newly acquired values of freedom, growth, and individual achievement that explain why they stay.

Another way of conceptualizing the gendered city has been to document and analyze women's urban protests against their "silencing" in urban public high schools (54), their exclusion from the sites of knowledge acquisition in Sudan and New York (101), and their control by traditional and Western hegemonies in Cairo (138). Hayden (80) is particularly concerned about the absence of physical and spatial markers of women's contributions and designs monuments to the forgotten histories of women who built and nourished Los Angeles. Redevelopment schemes erase the cultural, architectural, and spatial remains of ordinary people and leave an urban landscape that provides no "place memories" for women, immigrants, and other minorities (23, 80, 132, 164).

THE CONTESTED CITY The West Indian Labor Day Parade in Brooklyn, New York (100); the Halloween Parade in Greenwich Village, New York (112); and Las Fallas in Valencia (117)—events that temporarily invert the urban power structure through symbolic control of the streets—are well-known images of "the contested city." The growing attention to the masquerade politics of urban cultural movements (39) and to earlier work on urban social movements (9, 32) has broadened contemporary concepts of urban struggle and resistance. Post-structural analyses describe the city as a site of ongoing urban conflicts about the material basis for social reproduction reflected in a concern for the quality of life (94), access to land (12, 83), and neighborhood control of affordable housing (13). Historical studies of Central Park in New York City (192a) and of Barcelona (98) also record the solidarity of class and gender in the struggle to control land and labor.

Resistance, however, is not always a process of active contestation (165). Pred (185) and Banck (8) emphasized how simply naming streets can be an act of political struggle. In urban high schools, resistance has been explored through the concept of "silencing," a vehicle for understanding how it is that "language, representations, and even the forms of resistance permitted or not" (53) shape patterns of social injustice.

The contested city also provides a site for methodological innovation. Bura-woy (28) used the "modern metropolis" as a laboratory for students who produced ethnographies looking at issues of power and resistance. Abu-Lughod's (3) "collective ethnography" of New York City's Lower East Side is

another effort "to capture the economic and social complexities found in our newest forms of inner-city neighborhoods" (3:5). These inner-city neighborhoods have become arenas for struggle with developers and city government officials, but also sites of conflict for the subgroups that live within them.

Economics

THE DEINDUSTRIALIZED CITY Michael Moore's underground film *Roger and Me* (1989) tells the story of the closing of the General Motors automobile factory in Flint, Michigan, and the resulting unemployment of workers, disinvestment in the community, declining standard of living, and subsequent deterioration of family and personal life. The story is a common one: deterioration of a city because of the closing or relocation of industries that were the sole employers in working-class towns. The forces of globalization, new forms of flexible capital, and new venues of cheap labor have accelerated the number of these closings and their socially deleterious effects.

The consequences of deindustrialization on the lives of working-class men and women have been described by Pappas (171), who focused on the effects of the closing of the Seiberling plant of the Firestone Tire and Rubber company in the midwestern industrial town of Barberton, Ohio. His ethnography sensitively depicts the reaction of displaced workers who once had a modicum of affluence and security. Nash (159), in her comprehensive historical-structural analysis of the economic and social decline of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, sees the response to deindustrialization in terms of the construction of community and corporate hegemony. When General Electric announced downsizing and the subsequent closing of local plants, the discourse between employees and management began to change, and issues of corporate responsibility, social contract, and community welfare took on new meaning. Nash (159:324) concluded that:

General Electric consciously used the threat and actual practice of moving production elsewhere when they recognized the strength of nationally organized unions.... Their growing global investments were as much an attempt to control the labor movement in their domestic plants as to take advantage of cheap labor in export processing plants or branches within low-wage countries.

Related research looks at the costs of deindustrialization according to its impact on residents in New York City suburbs (161), immigrants in Philadelphia (111), and African-Americans in Chicago's ghettos (240). Deindustrialization has contributed to the hyperghettoization of the city (240) and to the "withering" of the middle-class American dream (161). The consequences of urban deindustrialization also are found in the poverty and homelessness literature.

THE GLOBAL CITY New York, Tokyo, and London are cited as the preeminent global cities—centers of technology, financial production, and support services (210) in which translocal economic forces have more weight than local policies in shaping urban economies (211). These three cities have “undergone massive and *parallel* changes in their economic base, spatial organization, and social structure” (210:4) to accommodate their “command post” functions as key locations for markets, finance and special services, and sites of production and innovation. The resulting polarization of the city and the economy, the internationalization and “casualization” of labor, and deterritorialization of the social organization of work and community are products of the same post-Fordist forces that have reshaped the deindustrialized city. Global forces are also reshaping regional systems of cities and the formation of transnational identities and communities (212). For example, along the US-Mexico border a distinct category, the “border metropolis,” has arisen that is characterized by commuting populations and transnational character (7, 81).

“World city” has also been used to describe the changing economies of large, central cities from a world systems perspective (241). Friedmann (60), summing up a decade of research, argued that world cities: (a) articulate local economies in a global economy, (b) provide a space for capital accumulation that excludes the world as a whole, (c) are locations of intense economic and social interaction, (d) are hierarchically arranged within the world system order, and (e) constitute a social class—the transnational capitalist class. Another manifestation is the “dual city” (155), comprised of upper-class and upper-middle-class professionals who act as a group in pursuing their own political ends and who effectively diffuse the political influence of more pluralistic neighborhoods.

The consequences of globalization have been examined in the creation of the third world “global factory” (199), the transformation of the Tsukiji wholesale fish market in Tokyo (17), and the reinterpretation of Hong Kong’s economic past and future within a global framework (220). Anthropological contributions, however, have primarily focused on transnational perspectives of migration (215) in which issues of race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism are reconsidered (35, 62, 121, 169). Everything from drug trafficking by gangs (77) to selling hats in Harlem made in Africa emblazoned with Malcolm’s “X” (40) is transformed by international capitalism. Transnational forces are also changing the “social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity” (6:191) in such a way that landscapes of group identity are deterritorialized. The shifting terrain of public culture is constantly redefining the local according to the global. This new world of cultural ebb and flow, however, has probably been captured more adequately in the media-based image of the informational city.

THE INFORMATIONAL CITY In *The Informational City*, Castells (33) described another kind of dual city, one in which space flows supersede the meaning of the space of places. Space flows, however, are organized on the principles of information-processing activities, rather than on the everyday spaces of living and working. The resulting meaninglessness of everyday places and political institutions is resented and resisted through a variety of individual and collective strategies. People attempt to reaffirm their cultural identity, often in territorial terms, by “mobilizing to achieve their demands, organizing their communities, and staking out their places to preserve meaning, to restore whatever limited control they can over work and residence” (33:350).

Castells (34) further outlined his theory of the informational society as a world in which control over knowledge and information decides who holds power in society. Communications technology and media control of images, representations, and public opinion, as well as the increasing ability of computer networks to allow the individual to create personal images, illustrate the growing tension between globalization and individualization. Individuals react by representing their values and interests through the reassertion of primary identities of self-identified communities, which results in the rejection of other communities, increasing racism and xenophobia. In response, Martin (145) suggested that the emphasis on adaptive, continuous change is creating an everyday concept of the “flexible body”; that new forms of inequality—in poverty, education, immigrant experience, and communication—are being produced (234); and that the dynamics of the new identity-making are, in fact, dialectical rather than unidimensional processes (132).

Hannerz (76), in *Cultural Complexity*, offered another version of an informational society based on cultural flows organized according to states, markets, and movements. Here the city is the center of cultural growth, the place where the interplay of the centralizing agencies of culture—schools and media—and the decentralizing forces of the diversity of subcultures are located. Hannerz, in contrast with Castells, emphasized the linkages between local experience and these global cultural flows.

Urban Planning and Architecture

THE MODERNIST CITY Brasília is the archetypal modernist city. It is based on CIAM’s (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne’s) premise of social transformation and executed by the force of a strong central government. The design of Brasília was supposed to integrate the disparate classes and colors of Brazil’s complex social structure while simultaneously revitalizing the economy through the creation of new jobs and industries in the central region. Brasília was conceived by President Kubitschek as an attempt to celebrate Brazil’s arrival as a modern country ready to take its proper place in the world system

and global economy. As a symbolic statement it was successful, but as a city its abstract architecture and idealist plan conflicted with the needs and desires of its people. This story is the substrate of Holston's (82) architectural ethnography, which provides an effective critique of Brasília's plan and architecture as well as of the underlying cultural assumptions of the monumental urban project. Holston's (84) critique of modernist planning has led him to search for a new social imagination, one that provides "spaces of insurgent citizenship" as sources of legitimation and political participation (85).

"The colonial city," another urban image recently reviewed by King (108), is often critiqued from a modernist perspective in the sense that the "modern technologies" of planning and architecture are employed to build these new societies and indoctrinate citizens within the spatial confines of rationally planned towns (249). Mitchell's (154) *Colonizing Egypt* and Rabinow's (186) *French Modern* both examined the building and "enframing" of power relations reflected in colonial spatial configurations and visual perspectives. Low (130, 131) explored the impact of the Spanish colonial system of spatial organization on the urban landscape. Pellow (177) investigated the British control of land and political power in the space accorded local peoples in Accra, Ghana, while King (107) linked colonialism with the broader issues of urbanism and the world economy. The analysis of the role of planning agencies and of vested local interests has become a critical part of any study of urbanization and the politics of modernization in third world countries such as Ghana (31) and China (45).

THE POSTMODERN CITY The movie *Pulp Fiction* (1994) reflects the space-time compression proposed by Harvey (79) and Giddens (63) as a feature of contemporary social life. Jameson (90) argued that late capitalism has a distinctive cultural logic that is reshaping the form and functioning of the city (224a). Boyer (23) calls it the "city of illusion," Zukin (254) the "city of cultural consumption," and Rutheiser (203) the "nonplace urban realm" where the packaging of cities as commodities creates the "city of scenographic sites" (23).

Dorst's (49) extraordinary analysis of Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania, as an image, idea, ideological discourse, and assemblage of texts—a written suburb—and of the preservation of Chadd's Ford as a representative display of a place that exists putatively only in Andrew Wyeth's paintings, demonstrates the theoretical power of ethnography when applied to a postmodern site. Dorst employed the concept of postmodern hyperspaces constructed to behave like depthless surfaces to explain the visual impact of the mirror-glass surface of the Brandywine Museum and its enframed scenes (49:108).

Conversely, Fjellman (55) considers the ultimate city of illusion: Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida. He argued that Walt Disney World has

become the major middle-class pilgrimage center in the United States, “partly because of the brilliance of its cross-referential marketing and partly because its utopian aspects appeal strongly to real peoples’ real needs in late capitalist society” (55:10). The cinema structures one’s experience there, with activities constructed as movie scenes: Thus, all experience is composed of surfaces similar to the “vener” and “vignette” of Dorst’s Chadd’s Ford.

Another approach has been to document the “imagineering” of the post-modern city, as in Rutheiser’s (204) study of how Atlanta’s nondistinctive identity was “repackaged” for the 1996 Olympics into an image of “traditional urbanity” (203), and McDonogh’s (148) exploration of the ideological impact of Olympics planning on the reconstitution of public space and citizenship in Barcelona. Sieber (219) showed how postindustrial port cities use the revitalization of the waterfront to create downtown tourist sites with middle-class images of housing complexes and shopping malls, while Cooper (41) traced the transformation of spatial ideologies for imagining the Toronto waterfront. Ruble (200) also critiqued the reshaping of the image of a provincial Russian city in the postsocialist transition. In each of these revitalization schemes, histories and monuments of public memory are manipulated to create a seamless presentation of the city’s revalorized cultural heritage (22, 164, 218).

Hong Kong has also been identified as an important site of postmodernity. The four eroding ecologies of the merchant city, the industrial city, the financial city, and the capital city have created colonial spaces with working-class conditions adjacent to commodity spaces with new towns and high-rise buildings (44). The contradictions of these spaces can be seen on any Sunday when groups of Filipina domestic workers picnic on blankets, filling the cement sidewalks and streets because the city will not provide public parks and recreation; while during the week a staggering number of street hawkers sell their wares next to transnational corporate buildings (221). The skyscraper architecture of Hong Kong derives from modernist ideas of town planning, but these buildings are transformed by the hyperdensity of the site (1). Dovey (50) argued that these corporate towers are produced by the forces of creative destruction that are emblematic of the condition of postmodernity (79).

THE FORTRESS CITY Imagine private police guarding New York City’s wealthy Upper East Side, or private highways running along the median strip of Los Angeles’s freeways (163a). Remember the fortified encampments of futuristic films such as *Road Warrior* (1982) and *Mad Max* (1980) or the underground prison of the recent film *Twelve Monkeys* (1996). These are all images of the fortress city, conceived of by Davis (46) and modeled on Los Angeles.

Davis’s fortress city is drawn from his radical history of the development of Los Angeles, in which he traces the control of media, seizure of land, busting

of unions, rigging of water rights, and exclusion of minorities from political participation, all of which has resulted in the destruction of public space. Davis explains that the resulting militarization (47) took a long time to develop, with many periods of working-class and minority resistance producing minor successes. However, the riots in South Central Los Angeles and movies such as *Boyz in the Hood* (1991) suggest that unequal social relations solidified with the continued infusion of capital from movie-making businesses and Pacific rim financial services that accelerated land speculation, development, and rising housing prices.

The social production of the fortress city is explained in Fainstein's study of the logic of large development projects in such cities as New York and London (52:1):

This built environment forms contours which structure social relations, causing commonalities of gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and class to assume spatial identities. Social groups, in turn, imprint themselves physically on the urban structure through the formation of communities, competition for territory, and segregation—in other words, through clustering, the erection of boundaries, and establishing distance.

Large mixed commercial and residential development projects reinforce the segregation of the divided city, further cutting off communities by visual boundaries, growing distances, and ultimately, walls. Merry (151) argued that in middle-class and upper-middle-class urban neighborhoods residents seek privacy because they desire peace and can afford it. Such neighborhoods are marked by patterns of avoidance of social contact: building fences, cutting off relationships, and moving out in response to problems and conflicts. Government simultaneously expands its regulatory role: "Zoning laws, local police departments, ordinances about dogs, quiet laws, laws against domestic and interpersonal violence, all provide new forms of regulation of family and neighborhood life" (152:87).

In the fortress city, youth gangs and homeless youth are part of the new social imaginaries: "[N]ew social subjects are created and create themselves in and through the social space of the city" (201). Space takes on the ability to confirm identity (132), and gangs compete for limited urban spaces (91), as institutional and private forces increasingly constrain and structure the lives of street addicts and other marginalized groups within the public arena (242).

Within this context, acts of violence and crime are increasingly feared. Anderson (5) discussed the "streetwise" behavior of Philadelphians: in which residents cross the street when faced with oncoming young black males. Wacquant (239) portrayed the perceived isolation of families in Chicago's Black Belt, where the streets are deserted and no longer patrolled by police. Bourgois (21) described the fear and sense of vulnerability experienced by El Barrio

residents and by anthropologists faced with the everyday violence of those who sell crack in East Harlem, New York City. African-American adolescents in Baltimore perceive this violence as both within and against their communities (97), while suburbanites and the black and Latino urban-working poor do not accept a structural economic analysis of criminality but instead blame crime on individual actors rather than on social forces (20).

Most studies of the fortress city focus on Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, even though the United States does not have a monopoly on this type of social and physical development. Brazil offers examples of fortification and urban violence that match any US venue (213). Banck (8) documented growing fear with the increased differentials of consumption by class. Linger (125) has written an ethnography about *brigas*, violent confrontations that are a kind of cultural performance occurring during Carnival. Caldeira (30) described the increasing fear of street crime and building of fortified enclaves in São Paulo, and Low's research in Caracas, Venezuela, is informed by the fear middle-class residents experience when they leave their gated compounds. The fortress city is on the horizon as a new built form and device of social control that should be studied as part of our inquiry into growing urban economic inequality.

Religion and Culture

THE SACRED CITY Levy's (122) insightful account of Hinduism and the organization of the traditional Newar city of Bhaktapur presents the city as a "mesocosm," an essential middle world that symbolically mediates between the cosmological universe and the experience of everyday life. Bhaktapur is said to be an archaic city, one that uses "marked" symbols to solve the problem of cultural communication among many people, and Levy provided an analysis of how these symbolic forms, such as sacrifice, festival calendars, and the pantheon of divinities, work to order a very large and complex city. Civic life is a "choreographed ballet" (122:17) of religious observance and practice. Parish (172), also working in Bhaktapur, reiterated that the city is a sacred setting for collective ritual, "a mandala of shrines" (172:21) that embodies the Hindu religious system and cosmology within which individuals locate and create moral selves. Lynch (136) also examined the construction of identity, but in the Hindu city of Mathura, where ancestral place becomes a metaphor for the self-identity of the Chaubes, a community of priests who act as guides and ritual specialists performing the necessary rites for pilgrims at Krishna's birthplace.

The image of the sacred city is analyzed through its symbolic form in Hindu (122, 136, 172) and Islamic cities (2, 189), but there are other aspects of sacredness. Research on religion as a basis of urban resistance movements (29, 189, 243), as a basis of class politics (236), as an expression of gay identity (217), and as a vehicle of immigrant survival (26) suggests that religion plays a

variety of roles in the lives of urban residents. Reeves (189) in particular argued that religion as a form of resistance goes unnoticed in Northern Egypt and therefore is not controlled or countered. Burdick's (29) work in Brazil, however, suggests that there are many religious discourses in the arena, some of which produce strong counterreactions.

THE TRADITIONAL CITY Several studies of cities in Japan, India, and China consider the maintenance of tradition within the urban context. While not contributing directly to a theory of the city, these studies investigate dimensions of urban life often overlooked by other researchers.

Bestor's (14, 15) work on a shitamachi neighborhood in Tokyo and Robertson's (191) study of newcomers in a small Japanese city portray urban experience as a struggle for balance between the maintenance of tradition and the pressures of rapid social change. Kondo (110), however, examined the relationship of work and self-concept, in which a person's occupational status may come into conflict with traditional values and sex-role obligations. Japanese urban studies also consider the maintenance of traditional forms of status privilege and status recognition, in business (74, 230) and among the nobility (118). A fascinating study of a Mongol city in China focuses on the many details of urban social hierarchies and provides insights into the management of marriage and romance within this traditional setting (92).

Indigenous studies of urban processes provide an important window into indigenous conceptualizations of problems and culturally significant themes. Edited volumes by indigenous authors on urban anthropology in China (72) and on urban sociology in India (187, 188) include a number of articles emphasizing ongoing conflicts between the desire to preserve cultural traditions in the face of rapid social change.

Images of the city, however, are not the only contribution that anthropologists have been making to an anthropology of cities, and the final section of this review discusses how anthropologists have approached the city through the concepts of space, time, knowledge, and aesthetics.

THEORIZING THE CITY: SPACE, KNOWLEDGE, TIME, AND AESTHETICS

The view that contemporary cities not only pose problems intrinsic to the metropolitan experience, but that they also underscore and transform many of the most traditional concerns of the discipline—the social organization of space; the meanings of knowledge, group, and power; and the intricacies of commodity, exchange, and political economy—has been taken up by a group of scholars involved in the theoretical revitalization of the field (for a similar undertaking, see also 135, 251). The concern has been to articulate understandings of

particular cities—Vienna; Barcelona; Valencia; Savannah; Atlanta; New York; Toronto; Accra; Shanghai; Tokyo; Belize City; and San José, Costa Rica—with broader anthropological concepts of space, knowledge, time, and identity. The inquiry began not with imagining the city as a metaphorical object but with imagining urbanites: residents, homeless people, planners, municipal bureaucrats, and architects experiencing the city through the social relations, political economic, and planning processes outlined in the previous section.

The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space (197) reflects an attempt to understand “the meaning of urban spaces through the knowledge of the people who live within them” (197:xi). The studies are characterized by the search for the underlying social and cultural values and power politics that give form and meaning to the cityscape and the built urban environment. McDonogh’s (150) ethnography of “emptiness” provides an evocative theoretical category that marks not an absence of urbanity but a zone of intense competition that betrays the imposition of urban power. Low (130) focuses on the historical emergence of spatial meanings of power relations in the Spanish American plaza, while others are concerned with the symbolic mapping of contested arenas of urban social interaction such as privacy (178), neighborhood (16), and schooling (202). Research on the design of housing (42, 134) and place attachment to urban space (4) also contribute to this ongoing venture.

Setting Boundaries (179) is more concerned with boundaries and perimeters, that is, the way in which “physical and conceptual boundaries are integrally tied to the creation, maintenance, transformation and definition of social and societal relations—of socio-cultural behavior and action” (179:3). In these chapters the concept of boundary is dealt with both spatially and metaphorically, which links the materialist and metaphorical analyses of social and spatial demarcation (for a similar concept within cultural geography, see 223).

Many of the ideas explored in these volumes have been further elaborated by asking how meaning is created through both the social production of space and the social construction of space (133, 192), and how power is represented in the history and evolution of the built forms (117, 120, 131, 195). An ethnographic approach to the study of urban space including four areas of spatial/cultural analysis—historical emergence, sociopolitical and economic structuring, patterns of social use, and experiential meanings—is one means of working out this theoretical agenda (133).

Rotenberg has also proposed a second project, that of identifying other forms of metropolitan knowledge as a “subset of the knowledge people gain from their lived experience and value socialization” (197:xii). City dwellers share the knowledge because they live in dense and specialized concentrations of people, information, built form, and economic activity. Rotenberg (194) speaks of the “salubrity of sites” as a way to understand how metropolitan

knowledge is made manifest on the urban landscape. For example, in *Landscape and Power in Metropolitan Vienna* (195), he elaborated this idea by tracing the history of open spaces and gardens in Vienna and documenting how these spaces have become a spatial template of urban symbolic communication.

An additional project, the study of time, directs urban researchers to consider how schedules coordinate the circulation of people in the city as a means for studying embedded power relations. Rutz argued that "a *politics* of time is concerned with the *appropriation* of the time of others, the *institutionalization* of a dominant time, and the *legitimation* of power by means of the control of time" (205:7). Rotenberg's (193) study of Viennese urban schedules, Lovell's (128a) study of street time in New York City, and Gounis's (67a) documentation of the daily homeless shelter routine in New York City demonstrate the tyranny of urban schedules over individuals subject to their control. Local control of both time and space are critical to the survival of homeless people who live in urban public spaces (86).

The most recent contribution to this urban dialogue is Rotenberg's (196) contention that the identity of the city also structures residents' urban experience, adding urban identity to place and time as universal sources of metropolitan knowledge. This proposal resonates with Sennett's (216) interest in embodied urban experience. These universal characterizations bring us temptingly close to earlier essentializing discourses but also provide provocative material for perceiving how the city as a set of processes links experience and structure.

One other promising project is the study of ethnoaesthetics. Although much of this literature focuses on indigenous media and aesthetic and political sensibilities (65), the implications of this work transform our notions of the urban, global, transnational, and marginal. In the city, where culture-making often occurs, "performing aboriginality" takes on new aesthetic and identity meanings (158). Bright & Bakewell (25) in *Looking High and Low* also attempted to reposition art and ethnoaesthetics to redefine notions of cultural identity. Urban murals and low-rider cars provide examples of how the city constitutes an important dimension of the aesthetic (24). Although relatively undeveloped as part of the urban discourse, the study of ethnoaesthetics and cultural identity and the demystification of art and artistic creation (140) are useful in analyzing the culture of cities (109, 254).

CONCLUSIONS

The anthropological literature on the city published since 1989 has incorporated a number of models and paradigms from other disciplines. The influence

of political economy, architectural and planning theory, cultural studies, urban sociology, and cultural geography can be seen in the increasing attention to economic, political, and discursive models of the city. However, poststructural and postmodern epistemologies have resulted in a recasting of the questions and modes of inquiry used to study the city. The dominant research trends in anthropology appear to be poststructural studies of race, class, and gender in the urban context; political economic studies of transnational culture; and symbolic and social production studies of urban space and planning.

A number of theoretically useful images and metaphors of the city organize this inquiry. Some—the ethnic city, divided city, deindustrialized city, and global city—have had an impact on the body of research and have encouraged ongoing projects. For instance, the ethnic city has encouraged discussion of assimilation and the development of ethnic politics, and the global city has focused attention on the unique roles of cities in the development of transnational cultures. Other images suggest future research endeavors: The symbolic structure of the sacred city suggests further inquiry into the symbolic structure of secular cities and the study of the relationship between public symbols and the organization and meaning of everyday urban life. The contested city is a powerful image for poststructural studies that enriches the investigation of conflict and resistance in both the public and private urban realms. The promise of the informational city is already reflected in the growing number of studies on the hegemony of media and information technologies, and the image of the fortress city has influenced research on social inequality and residential segregation.

Some areas of research have been particularly influential within the broader field of urban studies and urban policy. The anthropological twist on globalization has focused attention on the transnational aspects of migration, culture-making, and identity management, and on the shifting cultural environments and meanings that contextualize (and decontextualize) behavior. Ethnographies offer an experience-near critique of inner-city life that provides a more complex understanding of the differences between cities' and residents' responses to racial segregation and class inequality such that research based on one city—Chicago—is held suspect. Anthropological critiques of planning and design projects provide a methodology and framework for decoding the ideological intentions and material consequences of architectural plans and landscape designs, while radicalized fieldwork retains the power to demonstrate the how, why, and when of urban processes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Dolores Hayden, Joel Lefkowitz, Deborah Pellow, Robert Rotenberg, Carol Stack, Ida Susser, Laurel Wilson, and the editors of the *Annual Review of Anthropology* for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. I also thank

the members of my Anthropology of Cities graduate seminar for their critique of readings and insightful discussions that helped to clarify certain points in this review.

Any *Annual Review* chapter, as well as any article cited in an *Annual Review* chapter, may be purchased from the Annual Reviews Preprints and Reprints service. 1-800-347-8007; 415-259-5017; email: arpr@class.org

Literature Cited

1. Abbas A. 1994. Building on disappearance: Hong Kong architecture and the city. *Public Cult.* 6:441-59
2. Abu-Lughod JL. 1987. The Islamic city: historic myth, Islamic essence, and contemporary relevance. *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 19:155-76
3. Abu-Lughod JL. 1994. *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*. Oxford: Blackwell
4. Altman I, Low SM. 1992. *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum
5. Anderson E. 1990. *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press
6. Appadurai A. 1991. Global ethnoscap: notes and queries for a transnational anthropology. In *Recapturing Anthropology*, ed. R Fox, pp. 191-210. Santa Fe, NM: Sch. Am. Res.
7. Arreola DD, Curtis JR. 1993. *The Mexican Border Cities*. Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press
8. Banck GA. 1993. Signifying urban space: Vitória, Brazil. In *Urban Symbolism*, ed. PJM Nas, pp. 104-15. Lieden: Brill
9. Banck GA. 1994. Mass consumption and urban contest in Brazil: some reflections of lifestyle and class. *Bull. Lat. Am. Res.* 13: 45-60
10. Banck GA, Doimo AM. 1989. Between utopia and strategy: a case study of a Brazilian urban social movement. In *Urban Social Movements in the Third World*, ed. F Schuurman, RV Naerssen, pp. 125-50. London: Routledge
11. Barnes S. 1986. *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press
12. Barriga MD. 1995. The politics of urban expansion in Mexico City: of ejido urbanization in the Ajusco foothills, 1938-1990. *Urban Anthropol.* 24:363-96
13. Beck S. 1992. *Manny Almeida's Ringside Lounge: The Cape Verdean's Struggle for this Neighborhood*. Providence, RI: Gávea-Brown
14. Bestor TC. 1989. *Neighborhood Tokyo*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press
15. Bestor TC. 1992. Conflict, legitimacy, and tradition in a Tokyo neighborhood. In *Japanese Social Organization*, ed. T Sugiyama, pp. 23-47. Honolulu: Univ. Hawaii Press
16. Bestor TC. 1993. Rediscovering shitamachi: subculture, class and Tokyo's "traditional" urbanism. See Ref. 197, pp. 47-60
17. Bestor TC. 1997. *Tokyo's Marketplace: Culture and Trade in the Tsukiji Wholesale Fish Market*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press. In press
18. Borneman J. 1991. *After the Wall: East Meets West in the New Berlin*. New York: Basic Books
19. Bott E. 1957. *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families*. London: Tavistock
20. Bourgois P. 1995. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
21. Bourgois P. 1996. Confronting anthropology, education, and inner-city apartheid: ethnographic vulnerability in El Barrio. *Am. Anthropol.* 98(2):1-10
22. Boyer MC. 1992. Cities for sale: merchandising history at South Street Seaport. See Ref. 224a, pp. 181-204
23. Boyer MC. 1994. *The City of Collective Memory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
24. Bright BJ. 1995. Remappings: Los Angeles low riders. See Ref. 27, pp. 89-123
25. Bright BJ, Bakewell L, eds. 1995. *Looking High and Low: Art and Cultural Identity*. Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press
26. Brown KM. 1991. *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
27. Bullard RD, Grigsby JE III, Lee C. 1994. *Residential Apartheid: The American Legacy*. Los Angeles: CAAS Urban Policy Ser.
28. Burawoy M, Burton A, Ferguson AA, Fox KJ, Gamson J. 1991. *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press

29. Burdick J. 1993. *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
30. Caldeira T. 1996. Fortified communities. *Public Cult.* 8(2):303–28
31. Campbell J. 1995. Urbanization, culture, and the politics of urban development in Ghana, 1875–1980. *Urban Anthropol.* 23: 409–50
32. Castells M. 1983. *The City and the Grass-roots*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
33. Castells M. 1989. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*. Oxford: Blackwell
34. Castells M. 1996. The Net and the self: working notes for a critical theory of the informational society. *Crit. Anthropol.* 16(1):9–38
35. Charles C. 1992. Transnationalism in the construct of Haitian migrants' racial categories of identity in New York City. See Ref. 215, pp. 101–24
36. Chavez LR. 1990. Immigrants in US Cities. *Urban Anthropol.* 19:1–184
37. Chen HS. 1992. *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
38. Clark G. 1994. *Onions Are my Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
39. Cohen A. 1993. *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
40. Coombe R, Stoller P. 1994. X marks the spot: the ambiguities of African trading in the commerce of the Black public sphere. *Public Cult.* 7:249–74
41. Cooper M. 1994. Spatial discourses and social boundaries: re-imagining the Toronto waterfront. *City Soc. Annu. Rev.* 1994:93–117
42. Cooper M, Rodman MC. 1992. *New Neighbours: A Case Study of Cooperative Housing*. Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press
43. Cronon W. 1991. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: Norton
44. Cuthbert A. 1995. Under the volcano: post-modern space in Hong Kong. In *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, ed. S. Watson, K. Gibson, pp. 138–48. Oxford: Blackwell
45. Davis DS, Kraus R, Naughton B, Perry J. 1995. *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China: The Potential for Autonomy and Community in Post-Mao China*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
46. Davis M. 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso
47. Davis M. 1992. Fortress Los Angeles: the militarization of urban space. See Ref. 224a, pp. 154–80
48. di Leonardo M. 1993. What a difference political economy makes: feminist anthropology in the postmodern era. *Anthropol. Q.* 66:76–80
49. Dorst JD. 1989. *The Written Suburb: An American Site; An Ethnographic Dilemma*. Philadelphia: Univ. Pa. Press
50. Dovey K. 1992. Corporate towers and symbolic capital. *Environ. Plan. B: Plan. Des.* 19:173–88
51. Epstein D. 1973. *Brasília, Plan and Reality: A Study of Planned and Spontaneous Urban Development*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
52. Fainstein SS. 1994. *City Builders: Property, Politics and Planning in London and New York*. Oxford: Blackwell
53. Fine M. 1991. *Framing Dropouts: Notes on the Politics of an Urban Public High School*. Albany: South. Univ. NY Press
54. Fine M. 1992. *Disruptive Voices: The Possibilities of Feminist Research*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
55. Fjellman SM. 1992. *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America*. Boulder, CO: Westview
56. Foner N. 1987. *New Immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
57. Fong TP. 1995. *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
58. Fox R. 1972. Rational and romance in urban anthropology. *Urban Anthropol.* 1: 205–33
59. Fox R. 1977. *Urban Anthropology: Cities in Their Cultural Settings*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall
60. Friedmann J. 1995. Where we stand: a decade of world city research. In *World Cities in a World System*, ed. PL Knox, PJ Taylor, pp. 21–47. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
61. George L. 1992. *No Crystal Stair: African-Americans in the City of the Angels*. London: Verso
62. Georges E. 1992. Gender, class, and migration in the Dominican Republic: women's experiences in a transnational community. See Ref. 215, pp. 81–100
63. Giddens A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press
64. Gill L. 1994. *Precarious Dependencies: Gender, Class and Domestic Service in Bolivia*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
65. Ginsburg F. 1991. Indigenous media: Faustian bargain or global village? *Cult. Anthropol.* 6:95–114
66. Gluckman M. 1971. Preface to 2nd edition. In *Family and Social Network*, by E Bott, pp. xiii–xxx. New York: Free Press

67. Goode J, Schneider JA. 1994. *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
- 67a. Gounis K. 1992. Temporality and the domestication of homelessness. See Ref. 205, pp. 127-49
68. Greenbaum SD. 1993. Housing abandonment in inner-city black neighborhoods: a case study of the effects of the dual housing market. See Ref. 197, pp. 139-56
69. Gregory S. 1992. The changing significance of race and class in an African-American community. *Am. Ethnol.* 19: 255-74
70. Guildin GE. 1989. The invisible hinterland: Hong Kong's reliance on Southern Guangdong Province. *City Soc.* 3:23-39
71. Guildin GE. 1992. *Urbanizing China*. New York: Greenwood Press
72. Guildin GE, Southall A. 1993. *Urban Anthropology in China*. Leiden: Brill
73. Gulick J. 1989. *The Humanity of Cities: An Introduction to Urban Societies*. Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey
74. Hamabata MM. 1990. *Crested Kimono: Power and Love in the Japanese Business Family*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press
75. Hannerz U. 1980. *Exploring the City*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
76. Hannerz U. 1992. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
77. Harrison FV. 1989. Drug trafficking in world capitalism: a perspective on Jamaican posses in the US. *Soc. Justice* 16: 115-31
78. Harrison FV. 1991. Women in Jamaica's urban informal economy: insights from a Kingston slum. In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. CT Mohanty, A Russo, L Torres, pp. 173-96. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press
79. Harvey D. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge: Blackwell
80. Hayden D. 1995. *The Power of Place*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
81. Herzog LA. 1991. The transfrontier organization of space along the US-Mexico border. *Geoforum* 22:255-69
82. Holston J. 1989. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press
83. Holston J. 1991. The misrule of law: land and usurpation in Brazil. *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 33:695-725
84. Holston J. 1995. Spaces of insurgent citizenship. *Plan. Theory* 13:35-51
85. Holston J, Appadurai A. 1996. Cities and citizenship. *Public Cult.* 8:187-204
86. Hopper K. 1991. Symptoms, survival and the redefinition of public space. *Urban Anthropol.* 20:155-75
87. Horton J. 1995. *The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance and Change in Monterey Park, California*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
88. Jackson P. 1985. Urban ethnography. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 10:157-76
89. Jacobs J. 1993. The city unbound: qualitative approaches to the city. *Urban Stud.* 30:827-48
90. Jameson F. 1984. Post-modernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism. *New Left Rev.* 146:53-92
91. Jankowski MS. 1991. *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
92. Jankowiak W. 1993. *Sex, Death, and Hierarchy in a Chinese City*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
93. Jones DJ. 1993. The culture of achievement among the poor: the case of mothers and children in a Head Start program. *Crit. Anthropol.* 13:247-66
94. Jones DJ, Turner JT. 1989. Housing and the material basis of social reproduction: political conflict and the quality of life in New York city. See Ref. 134, pp. 13-42
95. Jones DJ, Turner JT, Montbach J. 1992. Declining social services and the threat to social reproduction: an urban dilemma. *City Soc.* 6:99-114
96. Kadushin C, Jones DJ. 1992. Social networks and urban neighborhoods in New York City. *City Soc.* 6:58-75
97. Kaljee LM, Stanton B, Ricardo I, Whitehead TL. 1995. Urban African American adolescents and their parents: perceptions of violence within and against their communities. *Hum. Organ.* 54:363-72
98. Kaplan T. 1992. *Red City, Blue Period: Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
99. Kasarda J, Crenshaw EM. 1991. Third world urbanization: dimensions, theories, and determinants. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 17: 467-501
100. Kasinitz P. 1992. *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
101. Katz C. 1993. Growing girls/closing circles: limits on the spaces of knowing in rural Sudan and United States cities. In *Full Circles: Geographies of Women over the Life Course*, ed. C Katz, J Monk, pp. 88-106. London: Routledge
102. Keith M, Cross M. 1993. *Race, the City and the State*. New York: Routledge
103. Kelly MPF. 1993. Rethinking citizenship in the global village: reflections on immigrants and the underclass. New York: Russell Sage Found. Work. Pap. 38
104. Kelly MPF. 1993. Towanada's triumph: unfolding the meanings of adolescent pregnancy in the Baltimore ghetto. New York: Russell Sage Found. Work. Pap. 40

105. Kemper RV. 1991. Trends in urban anthropological research: an analysis of the journal *Urban Anthropology*. *Urban Anthropol.* 10:373-503
106. Kemper RV. 1993. Urban anthropology: an analysis of trends in US and Canadian dissertations. *Urban Anthropol.* 22:1-215
107. King AD. 1990. *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Culture and Spatial Foundations of the Urban World System*. New York: Routledge
108. King AD. 1995. Writing colonial space: a review article. *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 37: 541-54
109. King AD. 1996. *Re-presenting the City*. London: Macmillan
110. Kondo D. 1990. *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourse*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
111. Koptiuch K. 1991. Third worldizing at home. *Soc. Text* 9:87-99
112. Kugelmass J. 1994. *The Greenwich Village Halloween Parade*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
113. Kwong P. 1987. *The New Chinatown*. New York: Hill & Wang
114. Laguerre MS. 1994. Headquarters and subsidiaries: Haitian immigrant family households in New York City. In *Families in the United States: A Multicultural Perspective*, ed. RL Taylor, pp. 47-61. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall
115. Laguerre MS. 1994. *The Informal City*. New York: St. Martin's Press
116. Lamphere L. 1992. *Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
117. Lawrence D. 1992. Transcendence of place: the role of La Placeta in Valencia's Las Fallas. See Ref. 4, pp. 211-30
118. Lebra RS. 1993. *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
119. Leeds A. 1973. Locality power in relation to supralocal power institutions. In *Urban Anthropology*, ed. A Southall, pp. 15-41. New York: Oxford Univ. Press
120. Leone MP. 1995. A historical archaeology of capitalism. *Am. Anthropol.* 97:251-68
121. Lessinger J. 1992. Investing or going home? A transnational strategy among Indian immigrants in the United States. See Ref. 215, pp. 53-80
122. Levy R. 1990. *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the Organization of a Traditional Newar City in Nepal*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
123. Liebow EB. 1989. Category or community? Measuring urban Indian social cohesion with network sampling. *J. Ethn. Stud.* 16:76-100
124. Liebow EB. 1991. Urban Indian institutions in Phoenix: transformation from headquarters city to community. *J. Ethn. Stud.* 18:1-27
125. Linger DT. 1992. *Dangerous Encounters: Meanings of Violence in a Brazilian City*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press
126. Lobo S. 1983. *A House of my Own: Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru*. Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press
127. Logan K. 1984. *Haciendo Pueblo: The Development of a Guadalupe Suburb*. University: Univ. Ala. Press
128. Lomnitz LA. 1977. *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shantytown*. New York: Academic
- 128a. Lovell A. 1992. Seizing the moment: power, contingency, and the temporality in street life. See Ref. 205, pp. 86-107
129. Low SM. 1988. Housing organization and social change: a comparison of programs for urban reconstruction in Guatemala City. *Hum. Organ.* 47:15-24
130. Low SM. 1993. Cultural meaning of the plaza: the history of the Spanish American gridplan-plaza urban design. See Ref. 197, pp. 75-94
131. Low SM. 1995. Indigenous architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean. *Am. Anthropol.* 97:748-62
132. Low SM. 1996. A response to Castells: an anthropology of the city. *Crit. Anthropol.* 16:57-62
133. Low SM. 1996. Spatializing culture: the social production and social construction of public space. *Am. Ethnol.* In press
134. Low SM, Chambers E. 1989. *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective*. Philadelphia: Univ. Pa. Press
135. Lynch O. 1994. Urban anthropology, post-modernist cities, and perspectives. *City Soc. Annu. Rev.* 1994:35-52
136. Lynch O. 1996. Contesting and contested identities: Mathura's chaubes. In *Narratives of Agency: Self-making in China, India and Japan*, ed. W Dissanayake, pp. 74-103. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
137. MacGaffey J. 1987. *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: The Struggle for Indigenous Capitalism in Zaire*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
138. Macleod AE. 1991. *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling and Change in Cairo*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
139. Mahler SJ. 1995. *American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
140. Marcus G, Myers FR. 1995. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
141. Margolis ML. 1994. *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New*

- York City. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
142. Markowitz F. 1993. *A Community in Spite of Itself: Soviet Jewish Emigre in New York*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Inst. Press
 143. Marris P. 1962. *Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos*. Boston: Northwestern Univ. Press
 144. Marris P. 1995. Knowledge and persuasion: research at ICS. In *Young at Eighty: The Prolific Public Life of Michael Young*, ed. G Gench, T Flower, K Gavron, pp. 75–83. Manchester: Carcanet
 145. Martin E. 1996. Flexible bodies in a society of flows. *Crit. Anthropol.* 16:49–56
 146. Massey D. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
 147. Massey D, Denton N. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press
 148. McDonogh GW. 1991. Discourses of the city: urban problems and urban planning. *City Soc.* 5:40–63
 149. McDonogh GW. 1993. *Black and Catholic in Savannah, Georgia*. Knoxville: Univ. Tenn Press
 150. McDonogh GW. 1993. The geography of emptiness. See Ref. 197, pp. 3–16
 151. Merry S. 1990. *Getting Justice and Getting Even*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
 152. Merry S. 1993. Mending walls and building fences: constructing the private neighborhood. *J. Leg. Plur.* 33:71–90
 153. Minigione E. 1993. The new urban poverty and the underclass. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.* 17:319–428
 154. Mitchell T. 1988. *Colonizing Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
 155. Mollenkopf J, Castells M. 1991. *Dual City: Restructuring New York*. New York: Russell Sage Found.
 156. Moore SF. 1994. *Anthropology and Africa: Changing Perspectives on a Changing Scene*. Charlottesville/London: Univ. Press Va.
 157. Mullings L. 1987. *Cities of the United States: Studies in Urban Anthropology*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
 158. Myers F. 1994. Culture-making: performing aboriginality at the Asia society gallery. *Am. Ethnol.* 21:679–99
 159. Nash J. 1989. *From Tank Town to High Tech: The Clash of Community and Industrial Cycles*. Albany: South. Univ. NY Press
 160. Newman KS. 1992. Culture and structure in *The Truly Disadvantaged*. *City Soc.* 6: 3–25
 161. Newman KS. 1993. *Declining Fortunes: The Withering of the American Dream*. New York: Basic Books
 162. Newman KS. 1996. Working poor: low wage employment in the lives of Harlem youth. In *Transitions through Adolescence: Interpersonal Domains and Context*, ed. JJ Graber, A Peterson. New York: Erlbaum
 163. Newman KS. 1996. Place and race: mid-life experience in Harlem. In *The Idea of Middle Age*, ed. R Shweder. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
 - 163a. *New York Times*. 1996. A toll road in California offers a high-tech answer to traffic. Jan. 2, pp. A1, C33
 164. Norkunas M. 1993. *The Politics of Public Memory*. Albany: South. Univ. NY Press
 165. O'Connor RA. 1990. Place, power and discourse in the Thai image of Bangkok. *J. Siam Soc.* 78:61–73
 166. Ogbu J. 1991. *Minority Status and Schooling*. New York: Garland
 167. Oliver-Smith A. 1986. *The Martyred City: Death and Rebirth in the Andes*. Albuquerque: Univ. NM Press
 168. Ong A. 1987. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*. Albany: South. Univ. NY Press
 169. Ong A. 1992. Limits to cultural accumulation: Chinese capitalists on the American Pacific Rim. See Ref. 215, pp. 125–44
 170. Page H, Thomas RB. 1994. White public space and the construction of white privilege in US health care: fresh concepts and a new model of analysis. *Med. Anthropol.* Q. 81:109–16
 171. Pappas G. 1989. *The Magic City: Unemployment in a Working-Class Community*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
 172. Parish SM. 1994. *Moral Knowing in a Hindu Sacred City: An Exploration of Mind, Emotion, and Self*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
 173. Park R, Burgess E. 1974. *The City*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
 174. Peattie LR. 1972. *The View from the Barrio*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
 175. Peattie LR. 1987. *Planning: Rethinking Ciudad Guyana*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
 176. Peil M. 1991. *Lagos: The City is the People*. Boston: Hall
 177. Pellow D. 1991. Chieftaincy and the evolution of an Accra zongo. *Ethnohistory* 38: 414–50
 178. Pellow D. 1993. Chinese privacy. See Ref. 197, pp. 31–46
 179. Pellow D. 1996. *Setting Boundaries: The Anthropology of Spatial and Social Organization*. Amherst: Bergin & Garvey
 180. Pessar P. 1995. The elusive enclave: ethnicity, class and nationality among Latino entrepreneurs in greater Washington, DC. *Hum. Organ.* 54:383–92
 181. Plotnicov L. 1987. The political economy of skyscrapers: an anthropological intro-

- duction to advanced industrial cities. *City Soc.* 1:35-51
182. Portes A, Schauffler R. 1994. Language and the second generation: bilingualism yesterday and today. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 28: 641-61
 183. Portes A, Stepick A. 1993. *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
 184. Portes A, Zhou M. 1993. The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants. *Ann. Am. Acad. Polit. Soc. Sci.* 530:74-96
 185. Pred A. 1992. Languages of everyday practice and resistance: Stockholm at the end of the nineteenth century. In *Reworking Modernity*, ed. A Pred, M Watts, pp. 118-54. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press
 186. Rabinow P. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of Missionary and Didactic Pathos*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
 187. Ram N. 1995. *Beyond Ambedkar: Essays on Dalits in India*. New Delhi: Har-Anand
 188. Rao MSA, Bhatt C, Khadekar LN. 1991. *A Reader in Urban Sociology*. Delhi: Orient Longman. 2nd ed.
 189. Reeves EB. 1995. Power, resistance and the cult of Muslim saints in a northern Egyptian town. *Am. Ethnol.* 22:306-23
 190. Repak TA. 1995. *Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
 191. Robertson J. 1991. *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
 192. Rodman MC, Cooper M. 1995. Housing cultural difference: questions of power and space in developing Canadian nonprofits and co-ops. *Can. J. Urban Res.* June
 - 192a. Rosenzweig R, Blackmar E. 1992. *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
 193. Rotenberg R. 1992. *Time and Order in Metropolitan Vienna*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian. Inst. Press
 194. Rotenberg R. 1993. On the salubrity of sites. See Ref. 197, pp. 17-30
 195. Rotenberg R. 1995. *Landscape and Power in Metropolitan Vienna*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press
 196. Rotenberg R. 1996. The metropolis and everyday life. In *Urban Life*, ed. G Gmelch, WP Zenner, pp. 60-81. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland
 197. Rotenberg R, McDonogh GW. 1993. *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey
 198. Deleted in proof
 199. Rothstein FA, Blim ML. 1991. *Anthropology and the Global Factory: Studies of the New Industrialization in the Late Twentieth Century*. New York: Bergin & Garvey
 200. Ruble B. 1992. Reshaping the city: the politics of property in a provincial Russian city. *Urban Anthropol.* 21:203-33
 201. Ruddick S. 1996. *Young and Homeless in Hollywood: Mapping Social Identities*. New York: Routledge
 202. Rutheiser C. 1993. Mapping contested terrains: schoolrooms and streetcorners in urban Belize. See Ref. 197, pp. 103-20
 203. Rutheiser C. 1996. Making public space in a nonplace urban realm: "re-vitalizing" Olympia Atlanta. *Urban Anthropol.* In press
 204. Rutheiser C. 1996. *Imagineering Atlanta: The Politics of Place in the City of Dreams*. New York: Verso
 205. Rutz HJ, ed. 1992. *The Politics of Time*. Washington, DC: Am. Anthropol. Assoc.
 206. Sacks KB. 1996. *Race, Class, Gender and the Jewish Question*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press
 207. Safa HI. 1986. Urbanization, the informal economy, and state policy in Latin America. *Urban Anthropol.* 15:135-63
 208. Sanjek R. 1990. Urban anthropology in the 1980's: a world view. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 19:151-86
 209. Sanjek R. 1994. *Cities, Classes, and the Social Order: Anthony Leeds*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
 210. Sassen S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
 211. Sassen S. 1995. The state and the global city: notes towards a conception of place-centered governance. *Compet. Change* 1: 31-50
 212. Sassen S. 1996. Whose city is it? Globalization and the formation of new claims. *Public Cult.* 8:205-24
 213. Scheper-Hughes N. 1992. *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
 214. Deleted in proof
 215. Schiller NG, Basch L, Blanc-Szanton C. 1992. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: NY Acad. Sci.
 216. Sennett R. 1994. *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: Norton
 217. Shokeid M. 1995. *Gay Synagogue in New York*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
 218. Sieber RT. 1990. Selecting a new past: emerging definitions of heritage in Boston Harbor. *J. Urban Cult. Stud.* 1:101-22
 219. Sieber RT. 1991. Waterfront revitalization in postindustrial port cities of North America. *City Soc.* 5:120-36
 220. Smart A. 1995. Hong Kong's slums and squatters areas: a development perspective. In *Housing the Urban Poor*, ed. BC

- Aldrich, RS Sandhu, pp. 97–111. New Delhi: Staar
221. Smart J. 1989. *The Political Economy of Street Hawkers in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Cent. Asian Stud.
 222. Smith N. 1984. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell
 223. Smith N, Katz C. 1993. Grounding metaphor: towards a spatialized politics. In *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. M Keith, S Pile, pp. 67–83. London: Routledge
 224. Soja E. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertation of Space in Critical Social Theory*. New York: Verso
 - 224a. Sorkin M, ed. 1992. *Variations on a Theme Park*. New York: Noonday
 225. Spain D. 1992. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill: Univ. NC Press
 226. Stack C. 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper & Row
 227. Stack C. 1996. *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South*. New York: Basic Books
 228. Stull D. 1990. When the packers came to town: changing ethnic relations in Garden City, Kansas. *Urban Anthropol.* 19: 303–425
 229. Stull D, Broadway MJ, Griffith D. 1995. *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing and Small-Town America*. Lawrence: Univ. Kans. Press
 230. Sumihara N. 1993. A case study of cross-cultural interaction in a Japanese multinational corporation in the United States. In *Diversity and Differences in Organizations*, ed. RR Sims, RF Denneby, pp. 136–47. Westport, CT: Quorum Books
 231. Susser I. 1982. *Norman Street*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press
 232. Susser I. 1991. The separation of mothers and children. See Ref. 156, pp. 207–24
 233. Susser I. 1993. Creating family forms: the exclusion of men and teenage boys in the New York City shelter system 1987–1991. *Crit. Anthropol.* 13:267–85
 234. Susser I. 1996. Anthropological perspectives on the informational society. *Crit. Anthropol.* 16:39–48
 235. Sutton CR, Chaney EM. 1987. *Caribbean Life in New York City*. Staten, NY: Cent. Migr. Stud.
 236. Taylor C. 1994. *The Black Churches in Brooklyn*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
 237. Wacquant LJD. 1993. Urban outcasts: Sigman and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.* 17:366–83
 238. Wacquant LJD. 1994. The new urban color line: the state and fate of the ghetto in postfordist America. In *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, ed. C Calhoun, pp. 231–76. Oxford: Blackwell
 239. Wacquant LJD. 1995. Dangerous places: violence and isolation in Chicago's black belt and the Parisian red belt. In *Urban Poverty and Family Life in Chicago's Inner City*, ed. WJ Wilson. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press
 240. Wacquant LJD, Wilson WJ. 1989. The cost of racial and class exclusion in the inner city. *Ann. Am. Acad. Polit. Soc. Sci.* 501: 8–25
 241. Wallerstein I. 1990. Culture as the ideological battleground of the modern world-system. *Theory Cult. Soc.* 7:31–56
 242. Waterson A. 1993. *Street Addicts in the Political Economy*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
 243. Watts M. 1996. Islamic modernities? Citizenship, civil society and Islamism in a Nigerian city. *Public Cult.* 8:251–90
 244. Weibel-Orlando J. 1991. *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society*. Urbana: Univ. Ill. Press
 245. White J. 1994. *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey*. Austin: Univ. Tex. Press
 246. Williams B. 1992. Poverty among African Americans in the urban United States. *Hum. Organ.* 51:164–74
 247. Williams B. 1996. "There goes the neighborhood": gentrification, displacement and homelessness in Washington, DC. In *There's No Place Like Home: Poverty and Homelessness in America*, ed. AL deHavenon, pp. 172–91. Westport, CT/London: Bergin & Garvey
 248. Wilson E. 1991. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
 249. Wright G. 1991. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
 250. Young M, Willmott P. 1957. *Family and Kinship in East London*. Middlesex: Penguin
 251. Zenner W. 1994. Nominalism and essentialism in urban anthropology. *City Soc. Annu. Rev.* 1994:53–66
 252. Zhou M. 1992. *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
 253. Zukin S. 1991. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
 254. Zukin S. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell