# Separating out the levels: Globalization, identity, and the Ekistic Grid in sociological perspective

William Michelson

## Introduction

The world is faced with the vigorous growth of a macroscopic phenomenon – globalization. The impact of globalization comes as a collective phenomenon "from the top down," that is, as a widespread dynamic generated from and impacting large areas of the world and working its way towards areas of lesser scale with differing identities and correspondingly unique built environments. Is it inevitable that the shared characteristics of globalization can and will transform places with unique form and functions at a more microscopic level into a sea of sameness?

I do not claim expertise regarding either globalization or place identity. But the general content of the field of Sociology gives some clues as to the answer to this question, as do insights gained from studies of some of the lower levels of environmental scale. These suggest a need to separate out the dynamics of trends and processes by scale, much as the Ekistic Grid has done for many decades, and to cultivate endangered contexts more assiduously.

## Globalization

We have to take globalization seriously. It is widespread, and its ramifications are major. From an economic perspective, it involves flows of capital and technology largely from developed nations to others that are less well developed, for the purpose of creating products where the costs of labor, resources, and infrastructure are lower. At the same time, this process creates increasing numbers of consumers for the products made, by increasing the number and worldwide distribution of wage earners and their exposure to these goods. Agreements between nations are made under the auspices of international umbrella groups that, with some exceptions, facilitate the flow of capital and goods while lessening the ability of nations to forego participation in this trend. Writers like Ulrich Beck (1995) have coined the expression of "risk society" to denote that more people are thought to be exposed to increasing varieties of dangers as a consequence of material aspects of globalization.

The cultural trappings of nations extending their global reach are planted in increasing numbers throughout the world. For example, while Chinese enterprise has been harnessed to supply the rest of the world with clothing and electronics, Chinese citizens have increasingly switched to western styles of dress, to cell phones, to automotive transportation, and to the existence of western fast-food restaurants in the major cities. The extensive new housing developments in Chinese cities greatly resemble recently-built areas in, for example, Toronto.

Globalization has hugely altered conditions of work and consumption in many previously less well developed nations, while at the same time involving a transfer of both industrial and white collar jobs away from the well developed nations, creating the grounds for greater socio-economic polarization in these latter countries even at the same time that their citizens have greater access to low-cost consumer goods. Is globalization an inexorable force, transcending local cultures, ways of living, family structures, and gender roles? Are such changes as are occurring with the transfer of western technology, markets, goods, and culture worldwide resulting in net gains or losses for the citizens of both developed and less developed nations – and if so to which segments of these populations? With respect to one small aspect of globalization, what implications are there for those dedicated to the creation of optimal built environments reflecting local identities?

Globalization exists. But is it inexorable? And all encompassing?

The evidence is not conclusive. Writers have examined such phenomena as material well-being, risk, religious convergence, human rights, inequality, gender roles, environmental contamination, health and nutrition, popular culture, labor practices, education, media content, and much more without providing persuasive findings that globalization is sovereign and that its current manifestations are entirely positive or negative (cf. GIDDENS, 2000; SMITH, 2004). While it is not difficult to identify difficult or even disastrous impacts of globalization, the jury is still out as to the balance of effects.

Sheer logic suggests caution against overgeneralized expectations about the path of globalization. At the outset, many world trends do not support a growing hegemony related to globalization.

First, it is hard to think of globalization without thinking of the residue of an earlier world process – imperialism. Imperialism

was not the same as globalization, but it was surely global. A small number of economically advanced countries established control over many territories elsewhere in the world, with the primary goal of extracting valuable resources from these places for use in the growing industries in the home countries. Regularizing the port areas and hinterlands pertinent to this transfer of resources involved exercising political, economic, social, and military control over vast areas, sometimes attempting to cast them into nations resembling the home country. Great Britain exuded pride in the sun never setting over its empire, of which India was but one large example. However, the sun did set on this and the other empires, as colony after colony sought to pursue its own identity. Would this have been predicted at the height of empire building?

In her work on global cities, Saskia Sasson (1991 and 1994) has documented clearly that the major cities driving globalization as a function of highly developed financial and corporate infrastructures, advanced communication technology, and international airport hubs are relatively few. Many, if not most, large cities seek global city status, but few succeed. Individual cities march to different drummers.

Other unified, homogenizing blocs of nations have become unglued, the former Soviet bloc most spectacularly, but even individual nations within that bloc have devolved as a function of diverging cultural identities: the former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. The vast economic and military power of the United States, wedded to capitalism and increasingly to fundamentalist Christianity, appears at the time of writing to be dividing the world more than uniting it. While McDonald's and branded merchandise appear more and more to be ubiquitous, many other shades of commercial culture have expanded with the sweat of sole proprietors. Asian restaurants give McDonald's a strong run for their money in North America. If there is but a single restaurant in a Swedish town or city, it is arguably a pizzeria. Globalization is surely not the only game being played.

The greatest example of widespread adoption of the same design in high-density multiple-family housing was in the cities of the former Soviet Union. These apartments were not spacious, luxurious, built with good materials, or well-maintained. But they were *there* in great numbers, built according to common plans regardless of culture, climate, or topography – in Moscow, Tallinn, Kiev, Tashkent, or wherever. Such centrally-controlled construction, built according to common blueprints was part of neither imperialism nor globalization – but rather the top-down approach of a government trying successfully to build a safety net of housing for its urban populations.

Sociology and sociologists provide evidence of why it is critical to separate out the levels at which important processes occur.

## Sociology and the Ekistic Grid

**Sociology** is a discipline without very much discipline. Few adherents do exactly the same thing, and when they do, differences appear anyway. Nonetheless, when staking out what falls within the rubric of sociology, there is relative agreement. This is shown in the content of introductory textbooks. While sociology addresses human life with primary reference to human groups, the groups considered pertinent for study range from micro to macro over a large scale, and the various texts cover the range in scale with considerable consistency.

I examined the contents of a number of sociology textbooks. Given the more macro approach of sociology, in comparison to psychology, it is not surprising that topics frequently reflect human groups at the more macro levels of scale. Pictured in figure 1 is the content of two textbooks, of which the senior editor and author, respectively, are colleagues at the University of Toronto: Tepperman, Curtis, and Albanese (2008), and Brym and Lie (2005).[2]

Normally, just one chapter, out of 15-25 chapters, is at the global level, for example, "Social Change, Globalization, and Development" (LINDSEY and BEACH, 2004), "Global Stratification" (MACIONIS, 2005), "Globalization" (ALBROW, 2001), and "Global Society" (SMITH, 2004). Other chapters at a high level of scale deal with various kinds of segmental phenomena that occur within large collectivities but that are not tied inherently to the process of globalization and its implications. These include culture, social class and stratification, politics, social movements, mass media and technology, the environment, population, race and ethnicity, and deviance and crime.

Sociology texts typically have a chapter on urban sociology, including cities, urbanization, and urbanism. However common cities are around the world – some of them playing a key factor in the globalization process – they are inherently at a more circumscribed level of scale, lower than globalization. Regularly-treated topics like education have both micro and macro aspects. The same is true with sexuality, religion, health, aging, gender, and work and occupations.

Every such text has a chapter on the family, a topic at the micro end of the continuum. Ranging upwards from the micro end are treatments of socialization, roles and identities, social interaction, and groups.

Thus, the acknowledged structure of sociology recognizes that social reality is a congeries of intersecting phenomena, understood with reference to different levels of scale and varying conceptualization and focus. There is no single lens that can focus on all that represents and explains human organization and behavior. The prospects of globalization providing the basis for understanding all relevant aspects of human life and interaction are slim. The chance that a discourse on globalization could substitute for the minutiae of what sociologists currently learn about human societies is slimmer yet.

This is parallel to the intent, structure, and content of the classic **Ekistic Grid** reprinted here as figure 2.

This grid needs but little elaboration here.

• Its intent is to classify for explicit recognition and efficient retrieval the focus and content of research literature about different types of environment (built and natural environments) and the functions they are intended to fulfill. As can be seen in the longstanding Ekistic Grid shown here, the environmental categories considered in the rows are broken down by their scale, as classified in the columns. These range, going from left to right, from the individual person ("man") to the global scale ("ecumenopolis"). In between are scales corresponding to a few people, to families, to small groups, neighborhoods, towns, cities, regional conglomerations, and continents.

• A second, less explicit function of the Ekistic Grid is that it displays openly the content included in this science of human settlement.

It is not surprising that this classificatory scale resembles the content of sociological substance, insofar as major figures in the social sciences contributed to the origination of the Ekistic Grid. Certainly, the precedent of sociological content substantiates the discreteness of the various cells, giving the different levels unique identities in terms of their content and dynamics. The structure of sociology as a field gives us reasonable confidence that the worst case scenario of globalization and ekistics sketched below in figure 3, in which the *only* level of scale worth exploring becomes ecumenopolis, is not realistic. Just because globalization is current and potent does not mean that all other forms of dynamic explanation and understanding are squeezed out, particularly at lower levels of scale.

Nonetheless, while phenomena of varying kinds and scales have their own identities, it does not mean that they are wholly independent of each other. The unique dynamics of discrete
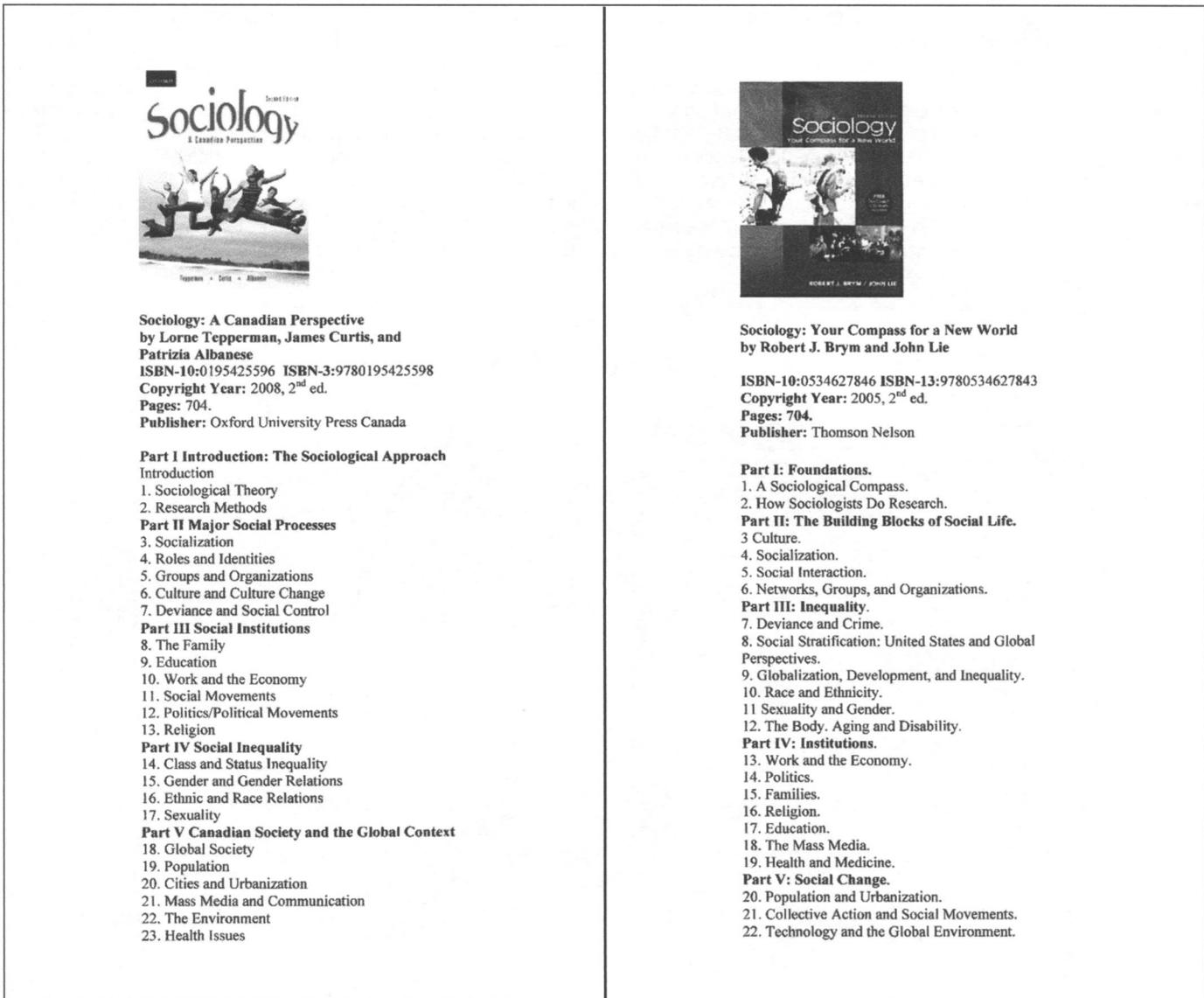
170

**Fig. 1:** Tables of contents of the books *Sociology: A Canadian Perspective,* 2nd ed., by Lorne Tepperman, James Curtis and Patrizia Albanese (Toronto, Oxford University Press), and *Sociology: Your Compass for a New World,* 2nd ed., by Robert J. Brym and John Lie (Toronto, Thomson Nelson, 2005).[2]



**Fig. 2:** The classic Ekistic Grid.



**Fig. 3:** The worst case scenario of the Ekistic Grid.

phenomena are more easily grasped by not reducing them into higher order processes like globalization. But this does not make them totally immune from macro influences. The more realistic view is to assess the extent that there are linkages among sectoral conceptualizations, from top down and laterally. It is realistic to expect that increased globalization at the macro end may impact on both the structure and functioning of families. For example, a dramatic expansion of wage labor accompanying globalization appears to impact the workplace participation of female household members, even at the same time that culture-based gender roles within the household re-

main strongly held. Similarly, one could argue that health and education have different identities regarding their structures, activities, participants, and dynamics, while, at the same time, they are both related in important ways to conditions at the macro level. Globalization is certainly a factor in the contemporary metamorphosis of health and education.

It is therefore highly appropriate that the organizers of the WSE Hikone 2005 Conference present the Ekistic Grid shown in figure 4 as a dynamic set of relationships between levels in general and within different levels of the same elements (e.g. shells and networks). The message of this version of the grid
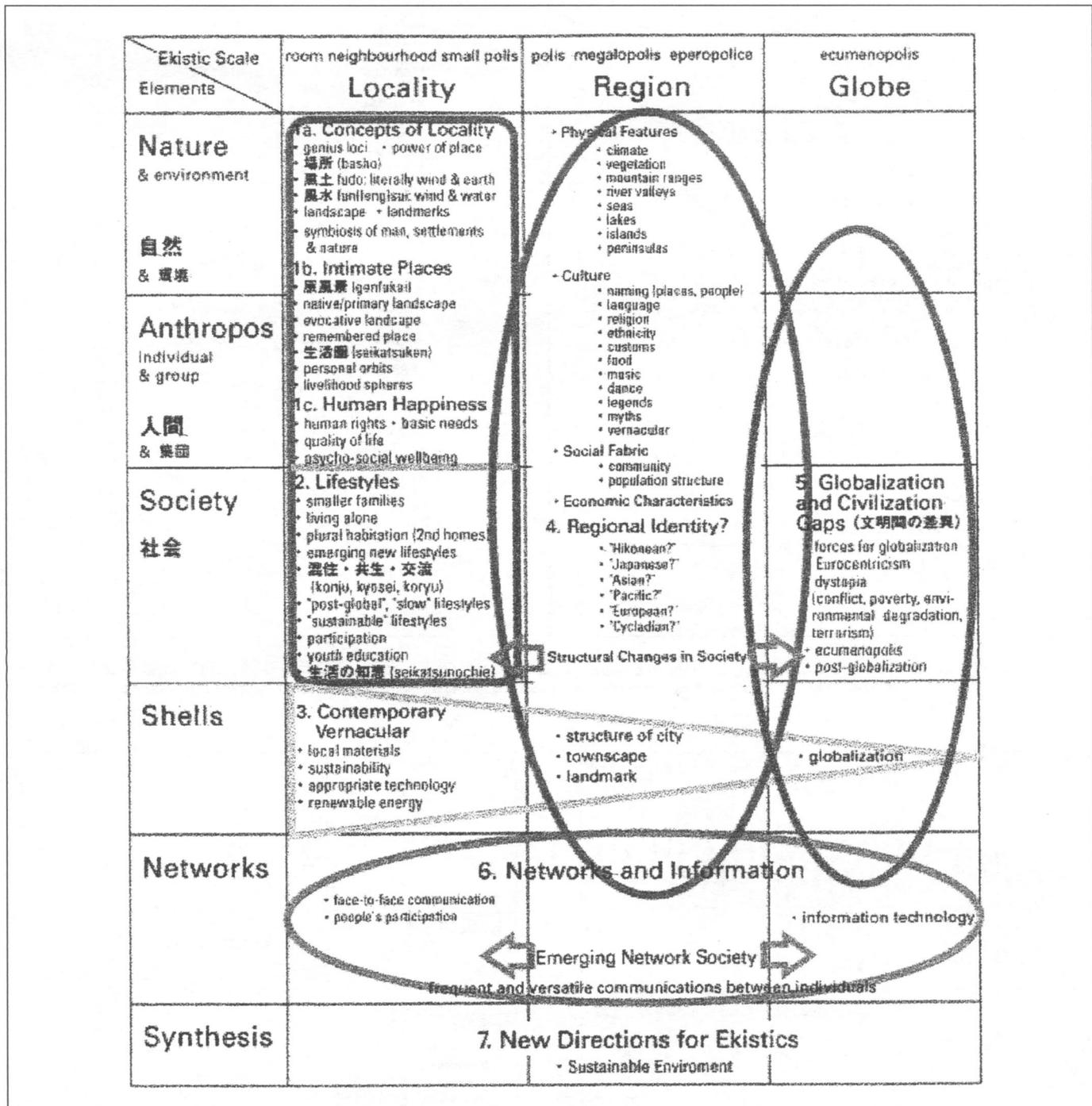


**Fig. 4:** Globalization and Local Identity: Sub-themes and keywords in the Ekistic Grid formulated by the Steering Committee for the organization of the WSE meeting in Hikone, Japan, 19-24 September, 2005, as revised on 14 September, 2005.

is to recognize both the unique content of places and processes at different levels of scale and also the macro forces that bind the levels of a given phenomenon together. The parallel to sociology is both striking and supportive.

To this point, I have attempted to identify the co-existence of contradictory processes: the continuing identity of places and social dynamics at lower levels of scale, on the one hand, as well as the top down impacts of macro phenomena like globalization, on the other. It might be helpful as a counterbalance to globalization as a potent force to examine some concrete circumstances in which discrete contexts are of value in their own right in people's lives, quite apart from trends at the macro level.

# Lessons from social science research on the identity of lesser places

Lessons about the local importance of discrete places fill books and might best be appreciated in their full contexts. Nevertheless, it might be instructive to point to a series of findings highlighting the continued importance of environments reflecting low to medium levels of scale – and what can be done to protect them from macro trends toward a market-based common denominator.

## Settings for the elderly

While elderly people vary greatly physically, mentally, and socially, attention to physiological concerns is nonetheless critical. Lighting, safe kitchen and bathroom facilities, heating, cooling and fresh air, avoidance of falls, and security can go a long way to protect older citizens from the discontinuities of aging. These need to be prominent in housing at the micro level in which older people live. It is arguable that market-based housing lacks incentives to optimize environments for the elderly. Much is known about what to provide (cf. ALTMAN, LAWTON, and WOHLWILL, 1984). Less is practiced and universally provided. Even the growing geriatric care industry puts seniors in jeopardy when seniors' housing and care are placed in the realm of profit-making private enterprise. Comprehensive provision of safe environments for the elderly does not produce windfall profits, particularly if dependent on stingy governmental agencies. While luxurious retirement communities vie for affluent elders, "fast food" geriatric care (and childcare) rush in to address but not fill the vacuum facing the expansion of the elderly in society. Heat waves (KLINENBERG, 2002) and now floods disproportionately kill less mobile, poor seniors, particularly if living in socially dangerous areas. Some authority with teeth and resources has to implement what is already known about environments for the elderly. This is not going to happen as a function of globalization, where older people are increasingly less likely to remain in the cocoon of the multi-generational family. The elderly are creating increasingly active lobbying organizations. But it is another step entirely for the contextual interests of the elderly to be enshrined in a public utility with clout.

## Young children: A place of their own

Research has made clear that the world of the child is extremely small at first. The daily orbit does not extend far from the child's dwelling unit. There are huge variations locally on the extent that such immediate locales are safe, healthy, interesting, and functional (cf. COOPER MARCUS and SARKISSIAN, 1986; POLLOWY, 1977). Even as children grow older and they become less dependent on very immediate space, there is frequently little or no space that is both interesting and theirs to control (cf. LYNCH, 1977). There are once again great variations in the suitability of nearby areas for chil-

dren. Whose mandate is it to provide for the unique needs of children in urban space? Once again, worldwide market forces are ineffective in addressing such a deficiency, as children in general lack disposable resources, increasing numbers grow up in families close to or under the margin, and public space for the young set is not exactly a moneymaker for enterprise. How healthy is the disaggregated, indoor alternative with television, such other electronics as might be available, and physical inactivity?

## Space between buildings

Jan Gehl (1987) has been nearly a one-person movement to highlight the positive effects of utilizing outside spaces between buildings for collective, interpersonal use. These are spaces that fall between the cracks of building ownership and of residential or commercial use. Yet, Gehl's evidence is that a rich public social life can evolve when space outside and between buildings is cultivated. Café owners have discovered that people with means like to sit outside in good weather, making outdoor cafés into destinations. Not all people share the time and resources to luxuriate in outdoor cafés. Gehl shows that there are alternatives. But who is authorized to proceed onto land and buildings owned by others, particularly without generating profit? Could this not be a planning objective with fixed responsibility at the level less than park management?[1]

## The face block

A variety of studies in very different places has underlined the importance for social contact and the development of regularized group formation of the face block (i.e. of people living on opposite sides of the street in between cross streets). In the inner city, Jacobs (1961) and Suttles (1972) both observed the positive effects on solidarity and collective action among people in relatively low-rise housing giving them both a view and access to others on the block – and differentiating neighbors from those from elsewhere. Whyte (1956) and others have noted the regularity of contact among people in physical proximity in suburban areas. To what extent can the design of housing recognize more fully, particularly as densities get higher, the need for people to have spontaneous outreach to common space shared by a delimited number of people living together? This is a matter of density, height, and design control with social outcomes in mind (cf. MICHELSON, 1994). It can be fostered with or without globalization, depending on the will to do it (which is not an inherent component of the market economy).

## Neighborhoods, communities, and other local areas

Sociologists and planners alike have paid close attention to neighborhoods and what they do and do not accomplish. What is clear from the sociological literature is that when there is some choice as to where to live (among at least some parts of the population) there is differentiation as to who lives where and under what conditions. Most cities do not have an even mix of people throughout their territories but rather often large clusters according to income, race, ethnicity, family formation, age, life style, and more. Some of this represents the choices people are able to make. Other aspects reflect a residual open to those unable to choose anything else. Out of this, you get ghettoes, gated communities, Chinatowns, singles areas, family-friendly suburbs, and literally hundreds more identifiable areas (cf. ABU-LUGHOD, 1991). Some reinforce desired lifestyles. Others reinforce poverty (cf. JARGOWSKY, 1997), violence, and exposure to physical risks (cf. FITZPATRICK and LAGORY, 2000). Neighborhoods vary in the extent that tight social communities, for good and ill, develop in them (cf. JANOWITZ, 1957; SUTTLES, 1972).

I think it is important that neighborhoods vary so much, that different cities have different neighborhood mixes, and that the social nature of any given neighborhood emerges over time, largely from within. The development of a community out of a neighborhood can be consciously fostered, but the effective process and timing can be a long-term matter (cf. KELLER, 2003). The variety and gestation of such local areas is not determined from without, though such factors as migration and mobility can be a function of globalization. The challenge is to realize that what happens occurs from within over time, providing the opportunity for conscious attention to internal conditions that help determine long-term outcomes. Passive ignoring of the material conditions of selected parts of cities leads to pathological outcomes. This was spotlighted during the recent flooding in New Orleans. Local areas need equality (at a sufficiently high level) in infrastructure and services regardless of population characteristics and distribution. The troubles of some parts of town are not hermetically sealed within their invisible borders. Whatever differentiation or even polarization of population clusters occur, they must not be reinforced by double standards of planning, public health, and land-use control. Municipal governance has an obligation to obviate pathological conditions in local areas at the outset and to mitigate any that have grown. No other level has this obligation. Even private and religious charities are a step removed from primary responsibility.

## Land use and women

Gerda Wekerle (1984) once wrote that a woman's place is in the city. By this, she did not mean just one city or even all cities. Rather, she was comparing the compact, mixed, efficient land uses more likely found in central cities (and certainly true of Toronto, where she lives) than in low-density suburbs originally planned by men to provide safe isolation for wives caring for young children. Her point was that land-use segregation and the need for long commuting is counterproductive to the contemporary lives of women, particularly in view of increasing equality, participation in the paid work force, and children who do not remain young for very long. Who plans for the realities of everyday life, including security, as differentially reflecting gender? Who could embed the behavioral components in everyday life into the planning of urban infrastructure and form (cf. MICHELSON, 1986)? And this leads directly to transportation.

## Urban transportation

Transportation modes and routes are essential components in people's ability to realize their needed and desired combination of behaviors during the typical day (cf. HÄGERSTRAND, 1973; LENNTORP, 1978; MICHELSON, 1985). This is a more sophisticated basis for transportation planning than the provision of sufficient lanes to accommodate however many automobiles the private market can sell to sufficiently affluent people, while providing only the most basic public transit to enable less affluent people to get to certain centrally-located workplaces. Transportation is more appropriately anchored in the fabric of people's lives than in knee-jerk reactions to gasoline prices. It is clear which interests support automobile transportation and freeway construction. However, the alternative of multi-modal transportation that enables a more sustainable reinforcement of qualitatively-rewarding behavioral patterns is no longer a black box, implemented to the extent possible in some cities and parts of the world. Elsewhere, it needs a champion – one strong enough to compete realistically against the automobile lobby.

## Functional specialization of cities

Research conducted nearly half a century ago documented clearly that all cities are not made out of the same cloth. They vary in the degree and way in which they are functionally specialized (REISS, 1957). Some of the largest cities are well diversified. Others are heavily industrial; others specialize in public administration; others yet, in such specialties as research and education, retirement, recreation, transportation, insurance and finance, and more. Cities demand different occupational mixes to support their functional specializations. Specialization is an important factor in the attraction to a city by people of different backgrounds: age, gender, socio-economic status, training, and even ethnicity. It is not surprising that cities draw different blends of inhabitants, and these people have different priorities as to the nature of their own cities. As a result, "one size fits all" solutions to urban problems based on universal developmental growth plans (cf. LOGAN and MOLOTCH, 1987, and their conceptualization of the "urban growth machine") are insensitive and frequently ineffective. Cities that want to address their particular needs and aspirations will look to their own residents more than to the vanilla solutions of globalization.

## Social capital

Robert Putnam (2000) is best known for his analyses of the apparent decline in the United States of what he calls social capital. This is a constructive, collective effort for the common good that emerges from people spending time together at the local level outside their own families. Putnam examines a number of reasons why this might be occurring, including suburbanization, greater numbers of women in the labor force, private use of electronics, and many more. Some of this can be tied to globalization, particularly electronics usage. Nonetheless, it is not clear in an age of globalization whether social capital cannot be generated more fully with explicit attention paid to its value. As before, altruistic collective behavior does not emerge naturally from the global market system. Can it not find other sources of support and organization? The "New Urbanism" is based on the creation of environments that place residents in contact with one another. Can this principle be expanded to more inclusive urban entities? The neighborhood unit plan was intended to foster local citizenship but has proven disappointing in that regard.

## Municipal size

Both functional specialization and social capital suggest the need for municipalities to build their identities, infrastructure, and services in ways that reflect and support their unique blend of residents. This raises the dilemma of appropriate size for municipalities. When municipalities are part of a metropolitan area, urban region, conurbation, or even megalopolis, coordinated efforts need to be made by large-scale governmental entities. This suggests the union in some form of many historically-separate municipalities, in the interest of efficiency. Nonetheless, large amalgamations can involve municipalities in which policy makers are acting on behalf of extremely large numbers of voters – and by sheer dint of numbers are more removed from contact with them. It becomes more difficult for municipalities to respond to the unique wishes and demands of local areas and subcultures once these become submerged within a much larger municipal area and population. A solution that worked for roughly nearly 50 years in the Toronto area was two-tier government, in which a metropolitan government provided services and facilities that benefitted from central planning, while governments within smaller constituent municipalities dealt with other functions like recreation which were thought more sensitive to local priorities. It is generally con-

174

sidered that the abolition in 1997 of the two-tiered system into a single, amalgamated municipality has made it more difficult for the new government to adequately recognize the identity and uniqueness of local area needs. It is a challenge to sufficiently recognize local identity in an age of larger scale. But the municipal tools are there to do so.

## The challenge

In an age of globalization, it is essential to separate out the contexts that occur at different levels. Just because phenomena occur at different levels of scale does not mean that any of them are less real or meaningful. Certainly the example of topics within the field of sociology underscores this point. There may be links between phenomena at different levels of scale but not differences of precedence or correctness attributable to higher scale. What is necessary for contexts at lower levels of scale to flourish in an era of globalization is to cultivate them sufficiently, so that they do not wither away. Anthony Giddens, in a lecture at the University of Toronto in 2000, put it upon national governments to defend the unique interests of their citizens against the largely private sector forces of globalization. To this point, it is unclear whether political leaders at the national level perceive that their interests are best served by turning against supranational private sector forces, some of which may be based in their own countries and supporting national leaders like themselves. Defending the integrity of lower levels like cities may have to come from these lower levels, or from pressure put by them on national leaders. But when the local flower garden is withering in the absence of sufficient water and nourishment, revival cannot be expected to blow in the wind from afar. This wind is more likely to result in brownfields of local insensitivity and monotony. You cannot wait for the invisible hand of market economics to come to the rescue. It is imperative to support and protect what you have – and to grow an effective windbreak!

## Notes

1. The historic development, use, and management of parks for social interaction and recreation throughout Eastern Europe could be very insightful in this regard.
2. Tables of contents of two recent sociology texts from Canada. This figure was adapted from materials on the following web pages: http://www.oupcanada.com/catalog/9780195425598.html, and http://academic.cengage.com/cengage/instructor.do?totalresults.do?page=null&keyfor=allsite&keyitem=all&keytype=null&resultfor=higheredu&resulttype=instructor&keyword_all=Brym&pagefrom= search&disciplinenumber=14&product_isbn=9780534627843&contextelement=http://academic.cengage.com/cengage). Both sites accessed on January 29, 2009.

## References

ABU-LUGHOD, Janet L. (1991), Changing Cities (New York, Harper Collins).
ALBROW, Martin (2001), in Robert Brym, New Society: Sociology for the 21st Century (3rd ed.), (Toronto, Thomson Nelson), pp. 423-448.
ALTMAN, Irwin, M. POWELL LAWTON and Joachim F. WOHLWILL (eds.) (1984), Elderly People and the Environment (New York, Plenum).
BECK, Ulrich (1995), Ecological Politics in an Age of Risk (Cambridge, UK, Polity).
BRYM, Robert and John LIE (2005), Sociology: Your Compass for a New World, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Thomson Nelson).
COOPER MARCUS, Clare, and Wendy SARKISSIAN (1986), Housing as if People Mattered (Berkeley, University of California Press).
FITZPATRICK, Kevin, and Mark LaGORY (2000), Unhealthy Places: The Ecology of Risk in the Urban Landscape (New York, Routledge).
GEHL, Jan (1987), Life between Buildings: Using Public Space (translated by Jo Koch), (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold).
GIDDENS, Anthony (2000), Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives (New York, Routledge).
HÄGERSTRAND, Torsten (1973), "The impact of transport on the quality of life," paper presented to the Fifth International Symposium on Theory and Practice in Transport Economics, European Council of Ministers of Transport (Athens).
JACOBS, Jane (1961), The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York, Vintage Books).
JANOWITZ, Morris (1957), "The imagery of the urban community press," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Cities and Society (New York, Free Pres), pp. 597-606.
JARGOWSKY, Paul A. (1997), Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City (New York, Russell Sage Foundation).
KELLER, Suzanne (2003), Community: Pursuing the Dream, Living the Reality (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press).
KLINENBERG, Eric (2002), Heat Wave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).
LENNTORP, Bo (1978), "A Time-Geographic Simulation Model of individual activity programmes," in Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes and Nigel Thrift (eds.), Human Activity and Time Geography (London, Edward Arnold), pp. 162-180.
LINDSEY, Linda and Stephen BEACH (2004), Sociology (3rd ed.), (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall).
LOGAN, John, and Harvey MOLOTCH (1987), Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place (Berkeley, University of California Press).
LYNCH, Kevin (ed.) (1977), Growing Up in Cities (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press).
MACIONIS, John (2005), Sociology (10th ed.), (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall).
MICHELSON, William (1985), From Sun to Sun: Daily Obligations and Community Structure in the Lives of Employed Women and their Families (Totowa, NJ, Rowman & Allenheld).
—— (1986), "Divergent convergence: The daily routine of employed spouses as a public affairs agenda," Public Affairs Report 26, no. 4 (August 1985), whole issue actually published in July 1986.
—— (1994), "Measuring new objectives in suburban housing," Research in Community Sociology 4, pp. 253-269.
POLLOWY, Anne-Marie (1977), The Urban Nest (Stroudsberg, PA, Dowden, Hutchinson, and Ross).
PUTNAM, Robert D. (2000), Bowling Alone (New York, Simon & Schuster).
REISS, Albert J. (1957), "Functional specialization of cities," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Cities and Society (New York, Free Press), pp. 555-575.
SASSON, Saskia (1991), The Global City (New York, London, Tokyo), (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press).
—— (1994), Cities in a World Economy (Thousand Oaks, CA, Pine Forge Press).
SMITH, Michael (2004), "Global Society," in Lorne Tepperman and James Curtis (eds.), Sociology: A Canadian Perspective (Toronto, Oxford University Press), pp. 434-456.
SUTTLES, Gerald (1972), The Social Construction of Communities (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).
TEPPERMAN, Lorne, James CURTIS, and Patrizia ALBANESE (eds.) (2008), Sociology: A Canadian Perspective, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Oxford University Press).
WEKERLE, Gerda (1984), "A woman's place is in the city," Antipode 16(5), pp. 11-19.
WHYTE, William H. Jr. (1956), The Organization Man (Garden City, NY, Doubleday Anchor Books).