systems greatly expanded the radius of urban settlement: horsecars beginning in the 1830s, cable cars in the 1870s, and electric trolleys in the 1880s. In the 1880s, the first central power plants began providing electrical power to urban areas. The rapid communication provided by the telegraph and the telephone allowed formerly concentrated urban activities to disperse across a wider field.

The industrial city still focused on the city center, which contained both the central business district, defined by large office buildings, and substantial numbers of factory and warehouse structures. Both trolleys and railroad systems converged on the center of the city, which boasted the premier entertainment and shopping establishments. The working class lived in crowded districts close to the city center, near their place of employment.

Early American factories were located outside of major cities along rivers which provided water power for machinery. After steam power became widely available in the 1930s, factories could be located within the city in proximity to port facilities, rail lines, and the urban labor force. Large manufacturing zones emerged within the major northeastern and midwestern cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cleveland. But by the late nineteenth century, factory decentralization had already begun, as manufacturers sought larger parcels of land away from the congestion of the city. Gary, Indiana, for example, was founded in 1906 on the southern shore of Lake Michigan by the United States Steel Company.

The increasing crowding, pollution, and disease in the central city produced a growing desire to escape to a healthier environment in the suburbs. The upper classes had always been able to retreat to homes in the countryside. Beginning in the 1830s, commuter railroads enabled the upper middle class to commute in to the city center. Horsecar lines were built in many cities between the 1830s and 1880s, allowing the middle class to move out from the central cities into more spacious suburbs. Finally, during the 1890s electric trolleys and elevated rapid transit lines proliferated, providing cheap urban transportation for the majority of the population.

The central business district of the city underwent a radical transformation with the development of the skyscraper between 1870 and 1900. These tall buildings were not technically feasible until the invention of the elevator and steel-frame construction methods. Skyscrapers reflect the dynamics of the real estate market; the tall building extracts the maximum economic value from a limited parcel of land. These office buildings housed the growing numbers of white-collar employees in banking, finance, management, and business services, all manifestations of the shift from an economy of small firms to one of large corporations.

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The other important elements of existing city planning are subdivision regulations and environmental regulations. Subdivision regulations require that land being subdivided for development be provided with adequate street, sewers, water, schools, utilities, and various design features. The goal is to prevent shabby, deficient developments that produce headaches for both their residents and the city. Since the late 1960s, environmental regulations have exerted a stronger influence on patterns of urban growth by restricting development in floodplains, on unstable slopes, on earthquake faults, or near sensitive natural areas. Businesses have been forced to reduce smoke emissions and the disposal of wastes has been more closely monitored. Overall, the pace of environmental degradation has been slowed, but certainly not stopped, and a dismaying backlog of environmental hazards remains to be cleaned up. City planners have plenty of work to do as we move into the twenty-first century.

Conclusion: Good City Form

What is the good city? We are unlikely to arrive at an unequivocal answer; the diversity of human needs and tastes frustrates all attempts to provide recipes or instruction manuals for the building of cities. However, we can identify the crucial dimensions of city performance, and specify the many ways in which cities can achieve success along these dimensions.

A most useful guide in this enterprise is Kevin Lynch's A Theory of Good City Form (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981). Lynch offers five basic dimensions of city performance: vitality, sense, fit, access, and control. To these he adds two "meta-criteria," efficiency and justice.

For Lynch, a vital city successfully fulfils the biological needs of its inhabitants, and provides a safe environment for their activities. A sensible city is organized so that its residents can perceive and understand the city's form and function. A city with good fit provides the buildings, spaces, and networks required for its residents to pursue their projects successfully. An accessible city allows people of all ages and background to gain the activities, resources, services, and information that they need. A city with good control is arranged so that its citizens have a say in the management of the spaces in which they work and reside.

Finally, an efficient city achieves the goals listed above at the least cost, and balances the achievement of the goals with one another. They cannot all be maximized at the same time. And a just city distributes benefits among its citizens according to some fair standard. Clearly, these two meta-criteria raise difficult issues which will continue to spark debates for the foreseeable future.