Citizenship and The City

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Introduction

With some notable exceptions, cities have been an integral part of every human civilization. They have long functioned as economic, political, cultural and religious centers. When the empires that built them fall, they remain. Today, cities exist in every country on earth. Developed countries already majority urbanized while developing countries are progressing towards majority urbanization. Currently, 54.9% of the world population lives in cities with an average rate of growth of 1.84% per year (2015-20 est.).[1] Since cities form a prominent part of our social fabric, if not our own individual lives, we would be remiss if we did not consider them and their purpose critically, building them towards some more noble end than the economic productivity they would appear to solely embody.

Although the design of cities might appear a strictly technical disciple, much like the construction of a bridge, canonical political theorists from Plato to Marx have recognized that cities are political creations, even though they give them little attention in their work nor focused on their design. Several urban planners, however, have designed cities based on normative considerations and normative ends, creating plans to promote different ideals, from public health to individualism. In the ancient world, political theorists understood that social systems could be spatially rendered in the form of the city with the social system and urban design working to create a larger political system. Today, spatial justice vies to become another facet of not only what justice is, but looks like.

If cities are political, what political ends should they then serve? Plato imagined a city focused on justice, as does Susan Fainstein. Aristotle claims the city allows people to reach their

[1]CIA. "The World Factbook: World." Central Intelligence Agency. Accessed February 21, 2018. www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html.

teleological ends while Marx simply states that the distinction between the city and the country side must be reduced. For their considerations of the city however, these theorists all make less than tangible prescriptions about what the city should look like in some physical form. It must be asked what physical elements should a city have in order to possess the desired traits and how do those desired traits take on a physical spatial form? This thesis will endeavor to offer prescriptions about design elements that should be present in the city so as to create good citizens, just as Jane Jacobs makes her prescriptions about successful cities in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Focusing on citizens and citizenship, I believe is the correct perspective rather than looking at the city in aggregate, as Fainstein does. Just as Winston Churchill noted that "we shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us,"[2] so too do we shape our cities and afterwards they shape us.

To make these prescriptions, I will hold several key premises, the first one having already been stated; the design of cities is political and cities can be designed towards some end, in that, urban design affects how we interact with each other. Secondly, the good citizen will be imagined as the active citizen in the tradition of citizenship advanced by Aristotle and Rousseau, although the liberal conceptualization of citizenship as a set of rights will be discussed as well. The prescriptions I will make will be towards creating efficacious citizens who participate in democracy and are a part of a strong political community. These premises will be justified in the first part of this thesis as well as other secondary ideas within these premises.

These premises are not without objection. Opponents will argue to believe that cities can be designed in such as a way to make people do certain things is paternalistic social engineering.

[2] "Churchill and the Commons Chamber." UK Parliament. Accessed March 26, 2019. https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/architecture/palacestructure/churchill/.

While this claim deserves greater scrutiny, we can simply note for the moment that the secluded, and perhaps gated, neighborhoods that these critics hope to defend are maintained by zoning laws which limit the uses of the land in a certain area. They do not object to the means by which cities are created, only to the results. They simply wish to use these policy tools towards their own ends, and do not offer opposition out of any well-reasoned objection.

Key to my prescriptions, the city must first be broken down into one of its constituent parts, the neighborhood. It has long been noted that once a democracy gets sufficiently large it requires certain changes to it to make it feasible. Direct participatory democracy in the ancient Greek sense is no longer possible, especially in large nation-states. Thus we see the advent of representatives. Although Rousseau claims the implementation of representatives destroys democratic culture and thus advocates for a small city in the *Social Contract*, this is unlikely to happen. Still, his observations about a small polity being beneficial to citizenship are useful, as are Aristotle's. Neighborhoods additionally, have the benefit of being a sub-unit of the city and a unit of community within the minds of both citizens and academics. Breaking the city down into small neighborhoods will therefore form my first prescription. Embedding citizens into their respective city-wide community is much more difficult that embedding them into their neighborhood community, although this thesis will advocate both, a problem of scale is readily recognized.

In promoting democracy at the neighborhood level, this thesis will prescribe two design elements to be present in the neighborhood. Public space, a traditional element of many neighborhoods, shall be prescribed for its benefits to democracy and no doubt be familiar to the reader. Perhaps less familiar to the reader, affordable housing will be prescribed for its ability to create the demos of the polity and the subsequent effects that has on democracy. Both of these

prescriptions will be justified first theoretically and then with empirical evidence to present the strongest possible case. The concluding remarks of this thesis will tie the design prescriptions of this thesis together and note some other possible design elements and policies which could be implemented to compliment these design elements and enhance their effects. I offer these prescriptions and considerations both in the hope of furthering democracy as well as adding to the conversations of urban planning about how we might build our values into our cities.

The City as a Political Creation

The Political Nature of Cities

Some cities are believed to be up to 11,000 years old, indeed cites are some of the oldest human creations which persist to the present day. As with most everything created by humans, cities are created by us with some purpose in mind. Since cities are large settlements of people and entail people interacting with one another, politics invariably enters the picture. Numerous political theorists have recognized that cities possess a political nature, but few have sought to consider how they might be designed to achieve a particular end.

Ancient Greece, the world in which traditional western philosophy developed, was a world where the city-state, or the polis, formed the predominant unit of government. The city thus naturally constituted a prominent unit of study and theorizing for the political theorist of the era, most notably Plato and Aristotle. In the *Republic*, Plato imagines a city as a means and metaphor to answer the question of what is justice? He imagines what would be the ideal society and city where philosophers would be kings amongst other things.[3] Plato, however, does not give a great deal of consideration to the design of the city but rather to its social aspects. It should be noted that imagining a city was a deliberate choice over a more rural setting and we should understand with this the implicitly political aspects of the city and its historic use as a political ideal.

Aristotle by contrast, focuses on the city in a much different way than Plato. Aristotle's teleological ideas assign the city paramount value as we are "political animals" and it is necessary that we reside in cities in order to achieve our purpose. With this consideration in

[3] Plato. *The Republic*. Translated by William C. Scott and Richard W. Sterling. Norton, 1996.

mind, Aristotle says that "the political community [the city] must be regarded…as being for the sake of noble actions, not for the sake of living together."[4] Economic considerations, such that they are when people decide to live in cities, ought not to be considered the purpose of cities nor should any other non-teleological purpose. While they are economically important, the creation of wealth is not the purpose of cities rather "living well…is the end of the city."[5]

Aristotle held that the interaction between people is the defining characteristic of the city. Two places that are connected to another by a wall surrounding the two cannot be regarded as a city "unless they inhabit one and the same location and make use of intermarriage."[6] Cities allow us to live in the same place with one another, as compared to a rural location where people are dispersed, and to interact with one another to create a community, or "make use of intermarriage." Through these interpersonal relationships, a community is created. The community then satisfies people as "political animals" and allows us to pursue our telos or end.

While Aristotle gives consideration to cities, recognizing their importance, and the importance of citizenship, he says relatively little about the design of cities. While he does briefly talk about the size of city populations and notes the importance of public health, he gives most of his consideration to the defense of cities.[7] Although relevant to Aristotle's time, cities no longer need to be designed with invading armies in mind. Furthermore, our modern public health knowledge has rendered Aristotle's public health advice obsolete. He in fact ends his brief statements about the design of cities by saying "it is pointless at present giving a detailed account

[4] Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord. 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press, 2013. (Arist. *Pol*. 3.9, 1281a2-3, Trans. Lord)
[5] Ibid, (Arist. *Pol*. 3.9, 1280b39, Trans. Lord)
[6] Ibid, (Arist. *Pol*. 3.9, 1280b35-36, Trans. Lord)
[7] Ibid, (Arist. *Pol*. 7.11-12, Trans. Lord)

and speaking of such things. It is not difficult to understand such things, but more so to do them."[8]

Although Alexis De Tocqueville studied New England townships, he examined community which is a necessary ingredient to the political life and functioning of cities or anywhere people reside. Tocqueville understood the power of community in a political system as he articulated that self-interest properly understood, and cooperation were both necessary to overcome the relative weakness of a singular individual.[9] Similarly for Aristotle, a city is self-sustaining just as the communities that Tocqueville studied were. Without the community, there can be no city, thus Aristotle uses the terms community and city somewhat interchangeably. The relationship between the community, the city and citizenship will be explored in Chapter III.

Rousseau gives tangential consideration to the city as a political unit in the *Social Contract*. In the vein of Plato and Aristotle, he imagines an ideal regime with the implicit understanding that such a place would be a city-state. This idea appears throughout the work as he makes reference to ancient Greek city-states and articulates the necessity of a small polity for direct democracy, the power of the people, and democratic culture. Rousseau most likely imagined his ideas would come to fruition in his native Geneva, which he prominently identifies himself as a citizen of on the cover of the work.[10] He did not think his ideas will come to pass however, nor does he sketch what the design of such a city should be. Like Plato, he focuses on the social aspects and institutions of his ideal city.

[8] Ibid, (Arist. *Pol*. 7.12, 1331b19-21. Trans. Lord)
[9] Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Edited by J. P. Mayer. Translated by George Lawrence. Harper Perennial, 1969.
[10] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Major Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The Two Discourses and Social Contract*. Translated by John T. Scott. University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pg. 152

Thomas Hobbes does not give any explicit consideration to cities in the *Leviathan*, but the original cover of the work is worth examining (not pictured) as Hobbes's Leviathan towers over a well-ordered town. [11] The well-ordered nature of the town is symbolic of the order which Hobbes imagined the Leviathan would create. Cities and towns in Hobbes's time would not have necessarily been well ordered, just as there are few if any well-ordered cities today, short of entirely planned cities. To consider cities to be emanations of political system is not an intuitive idea, but one that must be kept in mind as we consider them. This observation has certainly not been lost on political theorist even if they have not explicitly examined them. We can even see this in the ideas of Marx and Engels when they called for the "gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country," in the *Communist Manifesto*.[12]

Normative Ideals in Urban Planning

While canonical political theorists have paid little attention to the design of cities, urban planners have endeavored at various times to incorporate normative ideas into their plans. The early history of normative ideals in urban planning focused on the creation of utopias. Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier represent the three most influential planners from the late 1800s to early 1900s whose ideas influenced the development of cities in their own time and up until the 1960s, when their ideas and the rational-technical mode of planning they practiced fell out of favor. Each hold different normative ideals by which they designed their plans, Howard in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Wright in his Broadacres plan and Le Corbusier with his towers in a park. Their influences can still be seen today in the cities that were built

[11] Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*. Edited by Edwin Curley. Hackett, 2007.
[12] Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. "Manifesto of the Communist Party." In *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert C. Tucker, 2nd ed., 469–500. W. W. Norton & Company, 1972. Pg. 490

inspired by their ideas, although their ideas exert relatively little influence over modern planners. Howard built Letchworth, United Kingdom as a Garden City in his own time, and since 2011 the Town and Country Planning Association has sought to remake the concept for the 21st Century.[13] Wright's vision influenced the creation of the suburbs. Le Corbusier influenced the creation of public housing high rises[14] and designed Chandigarh, India. Each of these thinkers knew that their plans unto themselves did not represent a utopia but believed that cities could and should be designed to represent and further utopian ideals.

Ebenezer Howard's ideal of garden cities came as a reaction to the cities of the late 1890s when cities were often crowded with slums and characterized by poor public health. He imagined a city of about 30,000 people which would have commerce, industry, residential and cultural amenities surrounded by a permanent green of farms which would solve the health problems of cities and blend together the city and country.[15] A central garden city would further be surrounded by other smaller cities connected by a rail system. The area in between the larger city and smaller cities would be keep as a permanent greenbelt reserved for forests or agricultural uses. Howard's ideas have proven to be very influential as he founded several towns and other towns have been based on his ideas. Yet these ideas have proven to be rather dated, as we now realize that density is beneficial for a number of reasons. Cities are no longer as unclean as they once were due to technological progress and communion with nature has faded as an ideal.

[13]Lock, Katy. "Growing Garden Cities." *Land Journal*, December 2015, 6–8.
[14] Mumford, Eric. "The 'Tower in a Park' in America: Theory and Practice, 1920–1960." *Planning Perspectives* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 1995): 17–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665439508725811.
[15] Fishman, Robert. "Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier." In *Readings in Planning Theory*, edited by Susan S. Fainstein and James DeFilippis, 23–50. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015.

Wright based his utopian Broadacres plan on the principles of individualism and equality, and the then newly invented automobile.[16] His plan called for every family to have a home on one acre of land with commerce and industry placed reasonably close enough to drive there by car. With every family owning a home on one acre of land, everyone would possess some level of equality and landlords would be eliminated. Wright's vision would create vast population sprawl and the space between families would likely create isolated individualism as a considerable distance would need to be traversed in order to interact with other people. In effect there would be no community larger than the friendships that people endeavor to maintain, in that there would be no weak tie relationships. Such an arrangement would risk people becoming socially isolated should they not make the considerable efforts to maintain their relationships and opportunities for people to meet spontaneously would be few. This plan would also be low density and given a reliance on automobiles would not be environmentally sustainable for which it has drawn contemporary criticism.

Although Le Corbusier did not believe his plans to be political, he believed in a syndicalist ideology and his ideas of towers in the park can be reasonably seen as an extension of these ideas.[17] While the factories of mass production would be housed elsewhere, Le Corbusier's towers in the park would be self-contained units which would have residential, commercial, space for crafts that could not be mass produced and leisure space. These towers would be situated in green space, which would serve as park land containing gardens and areas for outdoor recreation. Le Corbusier's design was to be something which would come after the societal revolution which he envisioned.[18] That revolution never happened however, and his designs have

[16] Ibid
[17] Ibid
[18] Ibid

not lived up to his hopes and were actualized in the form of what are known as super blocks. These super blocks were built as public housing in the 20th century and have since been torn down as a part of the Hope VI housing program.

Perhaps the most influential and best-known work in urban planning came as an explicit response to the planning ideas of these three planners and others whose ideas were actualized in the creation of American cities. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs describes the ideas of these planners as abstractions divorced from the reality of the city, and are more destructive to the city than a planning ideal. In her work, Jacobs lays out several ways in which cities function and the elements that allow them to thrive: mixed primary uses, small blocks, old buildings and population density.[19] In describing how cities work, Jacobs does not assign any teleological ends or suggest that they ought to take into account any political aims. She is more concerned about how they, and by extension people, work to make cities great and in doing so discredits the ideas of Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier among others. Any theorizing about cities ought not to ignore Jacob's astute observations as they are revealing of how people behave in cities and what cities are and could be.

In more recent years, planning theory has moved away from the rational-technical approach embraced by Howard, Wright, and Le Corbusier to one focused on a communicative normative ideal based on the deliberative ideas of Habermas.[20] Key to this understanding of incorporating deliberation into the processes of urban planning has been to conceptualize citizen

[19] Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 1992.
[20] Yiftachel, Oren, and Margo Huxley. "Debating Dominence and Relevance: Notes on the 'Communicative Turn' in Planning Theory." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, no. 4 (2000): 907–13. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00286.

participation into a typology with an ascending order akin to a ladder.[21] Although this is an important theoretical turn in urban planning and injects some much-needed democracy into the planning process, I believe it is lacking in imagination and normative power. Cities will always, need to be created with ideas in mind. It is important that these ideas come from the people who live in their respective cities but that does not mean, however, that there is no role for others to offer ideas about what the city should be. These ideas are particularly important if we are to deliberate.

One scholar who adds more normative power to the ideals of urban planning is Susan Fainstein. She asks the question of how we can plan a just city in her work, *The Just City.* In analyzing the ideas of political theorist such as John Rawls and Martha Nussbaum, Fainstein develops the theory that there are the three criteria to be maximized when creating a just city: democracy, diversity and equity.[22] This takes us closer to what cities should be but still misses an opportunity to make normative assertions with regards to design and considers what a just city is in aggregate and not necessarily to the individual. The city itself ought to be just, but what does that mean at the level of the citizen? Further does a just city produce a good citizen? Questions such as these require further inquiry, although they will not be explored here.

A more recent set of design ideals worth engaging with is the ideas of New Urbanism, an urban design movement which seeks to promote community and sustainability. It hopes to accomplish this using a number of design features such as increasing density and the walkability of neighborhoods.[23] As has been already suggested and alluded to earlier, community is an

[21] Arnstein, Sherry R. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (July 1969): 216–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225.
[22]Fainstein, Susan S. *The Just City*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.
[23] Congress for the New Urbanism. *Charter of The New Urbanism*. Edited by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. McGraw Hill, 2000.

important political consideration for cities. Yet it must be further ascertained whether the community that New Urbanism promotes is the political community. If so, can these features create good citizens? Still, New Urbanism is on the right path to give consideration to such things and imagine design features to accomplish them.

Combining the Social and the Spatial

The two premises of the city as a political creation and the ability for urban planning to reflect normative concerns can be seen most clearly when the socio-political system and the spatial organization of the city are wedded together. Considered another way, we can observe how the social system is rendered spatially. Although Aristotle speaks very little in *Politics* of how the city ought to be spatially arranged he refences a philosopher who does, Hippodamus of Miletus. According to Aristotle,

> [Hippodamus] wanted to institute a city of ten thousand men, divided into three parts, and to make one part artisans, one farmers and the third the military part that possessing arms [sic]. He also divided the territory into three parts, one sacred, one public and one private: the sacred to provide what custom requires to be rendered to the gods, the public for the warriors to live off of, and the private that belonging to the farmers.[24]

In another passage in *Politics,* Aristotle says that Hippodamus is the inventor of the division in the city, which has sparked a continuing debate about whether Hippodamus invented the grid system, the social division in urban planning, zoning or made the first connection

[24] Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 2013 (Arist. *Pol*. 2.8, 1267b30-38, trans. Lord)

between social systems and the spatial elements of the city.[25] Regardless of this, Hippodamus draws a clear connection between the spatial and the social combining the two in the creation of a city by giving certain types of land to specific social groups.

This connection becomes even more clear when considering how the caste system might be rendered spatial in ancient India as Kautilya's Arthasastra does. The caste system represented in ancient India, as it does today, a religious, social, and political division assigning individuals

[25] Mazza, Luigi. "Plan and Constitution: Aristotle's Hippodamus: Towards an 'Ostensive' Definition of Spatial Planning." *The Town Planning Review* 80, no. 2 (2009): 113–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27715094.

at birth an occupation either as a king, priest, merchant, or laborer.

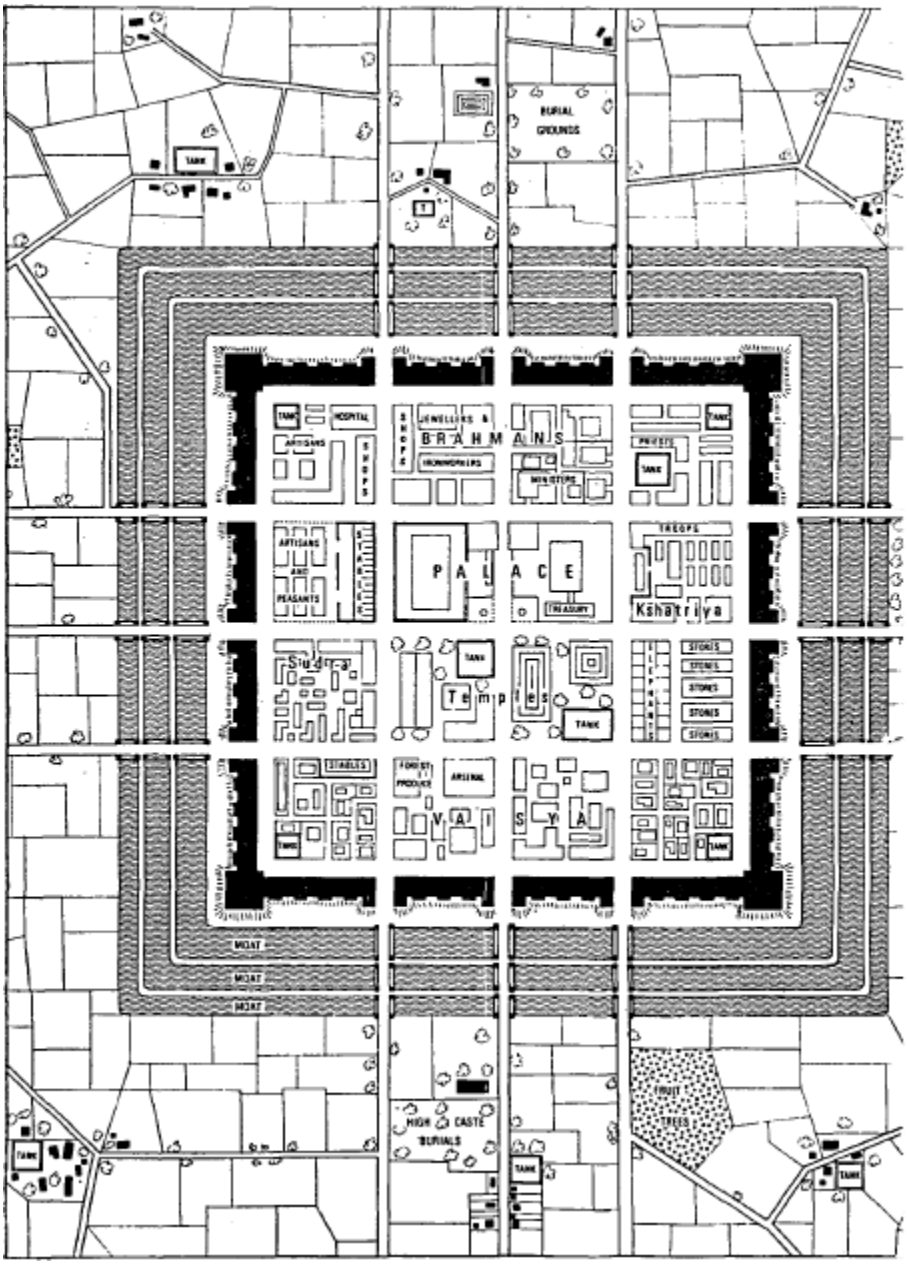

Figure taken from: Kirk, William. “Town and Country Planning in Ancient India According to Kautilya’s Arthasastra.” *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 94, no. 2 (September 1978): 67–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/00369227808736393.

Just as the caste system created social segregation, Kautilya’s Arthasastra renders that social segregation spatially. The different sections of the city are designated as being for a singular caste with no integration between castes. This segregation can even be seen in burial

sites with one burial ground for the higher castes and a separate burial ground for the lower castes. While there is a notable exception to this caste segregation with placing the priests in the same area as government ministers, we can note that the higher castes elites are kept away from the lower castes and the political influence of the priests is increased via their proximity to members of the government. We can see how the segregation in the plan was meant to control social interactions between the various castes. Those of a same caste should live near each other and interact primarily with those of the same caste. Even if those of different castes interact were to with one another it should be high caste individuals interacting with other high caste individuals.

This plan can also be examined from the perspective of environmental and spatial justice. Shops and the hospital are placed near the Brahmins, the priests and highest caste, and away from the lower castes. The artisans, peasants and Sudra, the laborers and lowest castes, have the stables, which would be an unclean place, situated in their area of the city. Still there might be some equality present in this plan with the temples being placed in the center of the city equidistant to all castes, so longs as we don't simply interpret this as showing the centrality of religion in this plan.

Cities have long been considered important by political theorist although they have been little expounded upon. Urban planners, by contrast, once used normative considerations in creating their plans. However, in contemporary planning theory it seems that more attention has been given to process rather than to the actual design of cities. Yet plans from both ancient Greece and India shows us that social and spatial systems have worked in combination to create the body politic and political systems of their respective cities. In our modern times we too can

ask how these two systems can work together to better our democracy and create the active citizens who maintain it.

The Republican and Liberal Model

Conceptualizations of citizenship most often follow two models: the republican model which emphasizes political agency, and the liberal model which emphasizes citizenship as a legal consideration bestowing certain rights.[26] The liberal model's conceptualization of citizenship and any promotion of legal rights is in some ways beyond the power of urban planning and city design. However, rights of the citizen can be observed in the urban landscape and how rights exist spatially can be considered. In order to consider the right to an education, a near universally agreed upon right, one must ask where the school that individuals are to attend is located. If a school is located so far away as to be inaccessible, one can reasonably consider that right denied, although such claims are often debated. However, not all rights can be rendered spatially in the context of the built city environment even if that right does have a spatial element. Voting, which relies on precincts, is a right with a spatial element but voting precincts are not a permanent feature of the urban landscape. An egregious example of how the rights associated with the liberal form of citizenship have been violated in urban planning is redlining, a practice that created racial housing segregation and furthered racialized wealth inequality. Although the liberal model of citizenship has a valuable perspective to offer when looking at cities, it is a rather limited one and will not be the primary focus of this work. The rights of the citizen must be articulated in order to consider them spatially, and there are often disagreements and controversies surrounding which rights people may or may not have. Thus, when the liberal model of citizenship is considered it will be done considering rights which are often agreed upon

[26] Leydet, Dominique. "Citizenship." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2017. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/citizenship/.

and noncontroversial. There is of course a great deal of room to consider how a number of rights could be rendered spatially but this will not be done here.

In this same vein as the liberal model, we can also consider the capabilities approach to justice spatially. Some human capabilities require physical infrastructure. While there is not an agreed upon and definitive list of capabilities, Martha Nussbaum offers a list of capabilities, listing life as the first capability.[27] Having the capability to live, rather than a narrowly defined right often understood as negative liberty, requires physical infrastructure such as housing to provide shelter, grocery stores to buy food and plumbing or a well from which to get water. These are the bare necessities. If we are to consider the capability to lead a good life and the other capabilities that we may want humans to have then a great deal more physical infrastructure would be required. Examining the city in this way, we must consider the placement, quality and quantity of the infrastructure which supports human capabilities as well as access to said infrastructure, not having access to said infrastructure being tantamount to not having it while having less or lower quality infrastructure constitutes a violation of the principle of equality.

The Republican model of active citizenship can be linked in a clearer way to cities than the liberal model since the design of cities can influence the behavior of citizens, (this will be further justified later in this chapter). Notably, it has been two theorists in the republican tradition of citizenship, Aristotle and Rousseau, who have given the greatest thought to cities as their ideas come from their considerations of city-states.[28] Aristotle asserts that the good citizen

[27] Nussbaum, Martha Craven. *Creating Capabilities : The Human Development Approach*. Harvard University Press, 2011. Pg. 33-34
[28] Leydet, Dominique. "Citizenship." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2017. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/citizenship/.

is one that maintains the political community.[29] While this is not intuitively helpful, it does reinforce the necessity of community as a value and suggests a culture of maintaining the political community. In a more modern sense we could call this political capital and can look at the work of Robert Putnam and, somewhat more importantly in this context, Jane Jacobs. In the *Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Jacobs lays out design elements which foster community and social capital, showing its importance with the concepts of eyes on the street. In considering what good citizenship is we can look to design elements that improve social capital.

Rousseau, like Aristotle, imagines an active and virtuous citizenry as they are a necessary aspect of his political ideas, and as we will see later, they must be kept virtuous.[30] A key part of his theory is that the city must be kept relatively small. If the body politic becomes too large, then representative government becomes necessary which in turn degrades the political culture and in Rousseau's view destroys democracy itself. While I will not attempt to enumerate which virtues should be promoted and how urban planning might promote them, Rousseau's consideration about the size of a political body will be taken into account in the next chapter. This work will primarily focus on the Republican model of citizenship, considering design elements that promote social capital and active, civic participation. The virtue element often found within this model that Rousseau and Aristotle promote will be avoided. Effectively, this work will take active participation and social capital to be an intrinsic good which should be promoted, ostensibly following the Republican model.

Cities or Farms?

[29] Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord. 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
[30] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Major Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: the Two Discourses and Social Contract*. Translated by John T. Scott, The University of Chicago Press, 2014.

With the founding of the United States, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson held two competing visions for the new nation. Hamilton imagined an industrial nation. Jefferson saw an agrarian one, claiming that farmers are the "chosen people of god," and those who live in cities and work as manufactures are dependent and lacking in virtue. He unequivocally states "let our work-shops remain in Europe."[31] While Hamilton's vision would seem to have won out since the United States ended up becoming a large manufacturing nation, some still argue for an agrarian vision of society.

Similar to Thomas Jefferson, Wendell Berry sees a non-agrarian society as creating a system of specialists who are dependent on one another which in turn creates moral failing.[32] Farming, and an agrarian society by contrast creates a society of hardworking, self-reliant generalist. While specialist only know how to do one thing, farmers know how to do everything that might be required of them, making them self-reliant. This self-reliance, rather than dependence, creates the virtuous moral character that Barry sees in farmers. While Jefferson is not as illustrative in describing the virtues of an agrarian society, he would likely agree with Berry's assessment. Self-reliance in this context is believed to prevent the dependence on others or more importantly, domination by others. Freedom from domination by others is known as Republican Freedom and is how ancient republics and democracies conceptualized freedom.[33]

For the virtues that Berry sees in an agrarian society, Iris Marion Young sees city life as a normative ideal which in many ways sees the specialization that Berry critiques as a virtue. Young describes the ideals embodied in city life as: (1) social differentiation without exclusion:

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[31] Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Edited by William Peden. 2nd ed. The University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Pg. 165
[32] Berry, Wendell. *The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture*. Counterpoint, 2015. Chapter 1, Pg. 5-18
[33] Pettit, Philip. "Republican Freedom and Democratic Contestation." *Democracy's Value*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, Cambridge University Press, pp. 163–90.

people learn to live with groups that are not themselves in cities and cities are large enough to allow new social groups to form that might not in a small town; (2) variety: there is a diversity of public spaces in cities; (3) eroticism: cities always contain something new and exciting to discover; and (4) publicity: cities have public spaces where anyone can gather and mingle with one another, this publicity creates familiarity amongst people without assimilation.[34] Although Young promotes theses ideals, she recognizes that not all of them are present in our modern cities. Nevertheless, these are ideals which are found in city life which she believes should be promoted. Furthermore, these ideals are found only in cities as a product of city life and are not necessarily found as a result of rural life on a farm or in a small town.

Aristotle also believes that the city has unique political value that rural areas lack. He believed that leisure was required to participate in politics, and leisure was created in cities for some citizens by the self-sufficiency of the city.[35] In order to be self-sufficient, cities need to be of a certain size. Using terms akin to Berry's, we can understand this as requiring a sufficient amount of specialization to create leisure for some citizens, whereas a generalist has very little leisure since they are tasked with doing everything. We can still observe to a certain degree this system of specialization in cities and generalism on farms to this day. Furthermore, we can understand that political participation requires leisure time away from the basic task of survival and subsistence. While Jefferson was a country farmer, he was not laboring on his farm as this was done by slaves. He had leisure to pursue politics. Thus, in Aristotle's view, cities are uniquely important politically because they provide leisure time which enables political

[34]Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference.* Princeton University Press, 1990.
[35]Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 2013

participation. With modern technology however, it is not clear that there are differences in leisure time between cities and rural areas.

The question remains, do we wish to have a nation with a rural, urban, or suburban character? Should we embrace becoming generalists and the perceived greater moral rectitude it creates or be the specialized agents creating the normative ideals which Young promotes? First, let us recognize that many people live in cities and many continue to move there. To move people out of cities and on to farms would require coercion contrary to the system of rights found in democracy. Individuals have made the choice to live in cities and it would be paternalistic to not respect that choice and force them to do something they have not chosen for themselves. Secondly, a system of specialization is what has allowed human progress and flourishing since the agricultural revolution. Farming itself has benefited from specialization with the advancement of agricultural technology. These two reasons form a strong argument as to why populations shouldn't be shifted from cities to farms for theoretical reasons beyond the numerous pragmatic reasons. Ultimately, individuals will choose where they wish to live, a right guaranteed to them in a democracy.

In considering if farms are better than cities for democracy however, empirical data does not appear to be on Jefferson and Berry's side. Cities have always been more economically productive than farms and better at generating wealth for society. It is easily observable that richer and more urban countries tend to be democracies while poorer and more rural countries are not. This would provide some anecdotal evidence in the contemporary period that having a nation of rural character does not promote democracy. Furthermore, the first known democracy, Athens was not a rural place, but rather a city state. Of course, this argument is ahistoric as predominantly rural nations have been democracies and the largest democracy in the world,

India, is still predominantly rural. Empirical research has found a more direct link, however, between wealth and democracy with materialist and postmaterialist values. Materialist values are the values associated with subsistence and survival whereas postmaterialist values are the values which are developed when one does not need to worry about one's own survival. A rural farming nation would by nature be a nation of subsistence farmers with materialist values. An urban nation would develop postmaterialist values, which are conducive to the establishment of democracy.[36] While we can question Young's ideals of city life, evidence indicates that cities are in fact better for democracy than farms due to the wealth they produce and that wealth's influence on societally held values.

Changing Norms of Citizenship

While the republican and liberal models are the ways citizenship has historically been theorized, some have noted that norms of citizenship have changed overtime. Particularly important to the norms and ideas of the republican view of citizenship, Murray Bookchin claims that the rise of the nation state and commodification due to capitalism have caused a decline in active citizenship especially in comparison to the Ancient Greeks.[37] In the same vein, others have claimed that neoliberalism has strengthened transnational corporations and weakened the power of the state, making it compete for capital investments and thus weakening the power of citizens since corporations are not accountable to them. Some have proposed to use Henri Lefebvre's right to the city concept as a way to combat this weakening of citizenship. Implementing this, however, would mean requiring citizen input on the creation or transformation of any urban

[36]Inglehart, Ronald. "Postmaterialism." Britannica Academic, n.d. Accessed February 6, 2019.
[37] Bookchin, Murray. *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*. Sierra Club Books.

space.[38] This is of course a radical concept and would require input on a multitude of decisions by a great number of people. Everything from how the government would contribute to the creation of the city but also how businesses would contribute to the city would require the say of citizens. No laws in any country would allow this as it would interfere with property rights and it seems unlikely laws will be passed to allow such a system. Still this has been a popular idea of late in some of the urban planning literature. It is too soon to say if these academic conceptualizations of citizenship will be actualized with regards to how we create our cities.

There appears to be a general trend in thinking that active citizenship is on the decline. Empirical research claims this as well, most notably the work of Robert Putnam who claimed in the 1990s that social capital in the United States has declined over several decades because instead of building social capital, we now watch more TV.[39] Although there is also research to suggest that our ideals of citizenship are not so much in decline as they are changing. Russel Dalton claims that US citizens are starting to no longer see citizenship as a duty but rather as being engaged with politics which involves other political activities beyond voting.[40] While these are contradictory claims, they in fact lead us in the same direction. If active citizenship is on the decline, and active citizenship has beneficial impacts on democracy or is desirable as many believe, we should encourage it. If we are starting to be less dutiful citizens and more engaged with politics, then our institutions must react to it.

Creating Efficacious Citizens

[38] Purcell, Mark. "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant." *GeoJournal* 58, no. 2/3 (2002): 99–108. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000010829.62237.8f.
[39] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, 2000.
[40] Dalton, Russell J. "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation." *Political Studies* 56, no. 1 (March 2008): 76–98. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x.

For all of these observations and claims about how citizenship should be conceptualized and ought to be, the question remains, how can urban planning effect how citizens behave and produce good citizens? Or in a more empirical sense, increase citizens' efficacy, political participation and social capital? All urban planners have approached the discipline understanding that the cities they create will have effects on the lives of everyday ordinary citizens and that urban design effects people's behavior. This is a central premise of the early 20th century plans of Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. While this belief in physical determinism fell out of favor in the mid-late 20th century New Urbanism has revived it, albeit with new aims.

With New Urbanism's ascendant popularity in the field, empirical studies have sought to test the premise of physical determinism in urban design. The claim of physical determinism, in the urban planning context, is not that design *forces* people to perform a set of actions but rather that design *influences* the actions of people. We can easily recognize how the design of objects in our everyday lives influences our actions. When given a mug with a handle, the simple presence of a handle does not require us to use it but the fact that it is there makes us more likely to do so. I acknowledge that there are larger philosophical arguments about determinism, but I am going to sidestep them here as they are beyond the scope of this work. Empirical research into the validity of this premise in urban planning has lent credence to it. Studies have found that walkability as a feature of urban design increases both the sense of community felt by residents as well as the social capital of an area.[41,42] It must be noted, however, that urban design of an area is not the only factor in that area's sense of place and social capital. Another study noted

[41]Leyden, Kevin M. "Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods." *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 9 (2003): 1546–51. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.9.1546.
[42] Lund, Hollie. "Pedestrian Environments and Sense of Community." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, no. 3 (2002): 301–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X0202100307.

that socio-cultural perceptions and demographics/socio-economics factored in to an area's sense of place while confirming urban design as a factor.[43] While the design of an area is not the only factor in the creation of community, it is an important one.

Jane Jacobs in *Death and Life of Great American Cities* shows not only how urban planning effects our everyday behavior but also our social capital. She explains with her observations how eyes on the street reduce crime just as Putnam notes that social capital is correlated with less crime. They both identify social capital and the reduction in crime, merely in different ways. Jacob's observations of community and social capital are particularly important to the republican ideal of citizenship, even though she was not considering how cities could be designed around democracy and citizenship. To consider individuals as political agents and citizens rather than understanding the economy of a city as Jacobs is to make different observations and prescriptions. Still, her observations of the city help us understand how people interact in relation to urban design and thus she promotes certain design elements such as mixed use.

A key premise in this work will be the ability of deliberative democracy to increase citizen's efficacy. Deliberative democracy is held to have advantages over other theories of democracy by deliberative democracy theorists. Deliberative theorists debate whether deliberative democracy has instrumental value, it leads to the creation of good policy due to epistemic advantages, or expressive value, deliberation expresses mutual respect amongst citizens. In some circumstances it would seem that deliberative democracy does both.[44]

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[43] Jabareen, Yosef, and Omri Zilberman. "Sidestepping Physical Determinism in Planning: The Role of Compactness, Design, and Social Perceptions in Shaping Sense of Community." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 37, no. 1 (March 2017): 18–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X16636940.

[44] Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. "CHAPTER 1: What Deliberative Democracy Means." In *Why Deliberative Democracy?*, 1–63. Princeton University Press, 2004. Pg. 21-23.

Deliberative democracy's ability to create better policy is difficult to empirically test since objectively measuring what is good is difficult to accomplish. The expressive value of deliberative democracy is only slightly easier to detect empirically, one aspect of which, political efficacy, is important to this work.

Empirical research into deliberative democracy and efficacy has been mixed. One study found that deliberative democracy increases external efficacy, and that these increases persist over time.[45] Some studies have not found any effects on efficacy,[46,47] while another study offers qualified support.[48] Another study found there is only a likelihood that face to face deliberation increases internal efficacy.[49] Just as several political theorists have argued that participation makes better citizens, and empirical research has yet to find this effect because it is believed to cause subtle changes caused over time, [50] so too have the effects of deliberation been difficult to find.

Empirical research beyond examining the possible efficacy effects of deliberative democracy has yielded important results for deliberative democracy's critics and citizenship. While deliberative democracy has been charged with being elitist, it has been found that deliberation is for everyone and in fact tempers elite power. It has also been found to apply to

[45] Nabatchi, Tina. *Deliberative Democracy: The Effects of Participation on Political Efficacy*. Indiana University, July 2007. ProQuest.
[46] Andersen, Vibeke Normann, and Kasper M. Hansen. "How Deliberation Makes Better Citizens: The Danish Deliberative Poll on the Euro." *European Journal of Political Research* 46, no. 4 (2007): 531–56. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2007.00699.x.
[47] French, Damien, and Michael Laver. "Participation Bias, Durable Opinion Shifts and Sabotage through Withdrawal in Citizens' Juries." *Political Studies* 57, no. 2 (June 2009): 422–50. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00785.x.
[48] Nabatchi, Tina. "Deliberative Democracy and Citizenship: In Search of the Efficacy Effect." *Journal of Public Deliberation* 6, no. 2 (December 28, 2010). https://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol6/iss2/art8.
[49] Morrell, Michael E. "Deliberation, Democratic Decision-Making and Internal Political Efficacy." *Political Behavior* 27, no. 1 (January 3, 2005): 49–69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-005-3076-7.
[50] Mansbridge, Jane. "On the Idea That Participation Makes Better Citizens." *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions*, edited by Stephen L. Elkin and Karol Edward Soltan, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, pp. 291–325. U-M Catalog Search.

divided societies and in fact offers a solution to polarization.[51] With the theoretical and empirical evidence we have, I believe the evidence is suggestive enough for us to believe that deliberative democracy has the power to increase political efficacy and thereby participation. On a more practical level, I am uncertain that other forms of democracy can be rendered in the physical landscape whereas deliberative democracy can, as this work will endeavor to do.

Also crucial to this work is contact theory, the belief that contact between different groups reduces the animus those two groups may feel about one another. While there is a continuous debate in psychology between contact theory and conflict theory, which claims that intergroup contact inflames tensions between groups, I believe the evidence to be on the side of contact theory; although the debate will likely continue as there are still unanswered questions to test.[52] Contact theory is important to citizenship and democracy since animus between groups has historically and presently undermined the promise of equal citizenship. This is perhaps seen most clearly through White Supremacy which holds non-white people to be inferior to white people in numerous ways.[53] Similarly, Patriarchy holds women to be inferior to men. Not viewing or treating individuals as equals clearly violates the liberal model of citizenship and treating people as inferior in democracy often entails disenfranchising them or erecting additional barriers to them exercising their franchise. In this way, a violation of the liberal model of citizenship restricts the republican model of citizenship. Intergroup animus also harms active citizenship by preventing the formation of social capital. If two groups are hostile towards one

[51] Curato, Nicole, John S. Dryzek, Selen A. Ercan, Carolyn M. Hendriks, and Simon Niemeyer. "Twelve Key Findings in Deliberative Democracy Research." *Daedalus* 146, no. 3 (June 29, 2017): 28–38. https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00444.
[52] Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. "The Contact Hypothesis Re-Evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy*, July 2018, 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/bpp.2018.25.
[53] Mills, Charles W. "White Supremacy." In *Blackwell Companions to Philosophy: A Companion to African-American Philosophy*, edited by Tommy L. Lott and John P. Pittman, 269–81. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, n.d.

another they will not work with one another thus reducing their bridging social capital. At worst, intergroup hostility results in violence which undermines the premise of nonviolence politics and deliberation in a democracy. To promote good citizenship, I will rely on an assumption of contact theory as being correct so as to reduce group animus and subsequently promote democracy.

If we are to accept that cities can be designed in such a way so as to produce some form of social outcome, we must then ask, should we engage in this creation of social outcomes? Critics might call these endeavors social engineering, as if they were some pernicious ends. Others might note that a premise of our modern society is free association and choice and that these sorts of top-down approaches to the creation of cities undermine that basic freedom. While these objections might make some sense in a vacuum, when contextualized their validity vanishes.

It is not social engineering that people find objectionable, rather they do not wish their self-created homogeneity to be disturbed. Gated communities, which those who would raise these objections would defend, are social engineering unto themselves. The barriers to entry are high both in terms of the socio-economic means to purchase a home and live in one, as well as the physical walls that surround them. They permit only a privileged homogenous group to live within their community. That is their intended purpose. Some might ask what is wrong with that? That is their freedom of association. Freedoms of course have limits and there have been times in which it has been decided that an individual's freedom to do one thing, often a negative liberty, must be given up in order to do another, often a positive freedom. Segregation, it can be argued is a form of freedom of association which has reasonably been given up, both as a point of morals but also for the freedom to live in a more inclusive society for everyone's greater mutual

benefit. Segregation infringes on the liberal model of citizenship and as will be seen Chapter V, harms the republican model of citizenship.

Gated communities are the most extreme example of "social engineering" claiming to be a product of simple freedom of association. Zoning regulations can be, and often are, used to protect the privilege and status of specific areas in a city if not an entire municipality as is done in the suburbs. Municipalities have the power to limit an individual's freedom of association already by being able to dictate how many people unrelated by blood or marriage live within a home in a particular zone.[54] By creating zones in which only single families may live with large lot minimums, a city can increase the barrier to entry. Through zoning regulations, municipalities put up as many barriers to entry as gated communities, although without any physical barrier as such. Residents of those areas then fight to keep these zoning regulations and use other laws which enable them to say "not in my backyard" when new developments are proposed in their areas.

Only the most ardent of libertarians call for an end to zoning regulations and fewer still object to these types of practices when it benefits them. Zoning regulations have their appropriate role in creating a rational order for cities to follow and in urban design. I do not propose to use these powers that government already has to benefit one particular group, despite their frequent use in this way. Rather, I propose that these powers be used to promote citizenship and strengthen our democracy overall, which I believe is a benefit to all.

[54] Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas, No. 73–191 (United States Supreme Court April 1, 1974).

The Neighborhood as a Democratic Unit

The Size of the Polity

The scale on which democracy operates has dramatically increased in size, from Greek city-states of perhaps 40 thousand people to 1.2 billion people, the population of India, the world's largest democracy. This radical change in size from 500 BCE to now has resulted in a blending of democratic traditions that can be seemingly at odds with each other.[55] This increase in size has also taken us from direct democracy to a system of representative democracy. Not coincidentally as we will see, the two theorists who promote an active and engaged/republican conceptualization of citizenship, Aristotle and Rousseau, believe that political units must be small to encourage citizen participation. One innovation in democracy that has enabled the growth of democracy from small city-states to large republics has been electing representatives. While it is claimed that large polities are detrimental to active citizenship, we still wish to have active citizens.

Today's systems of large nation-states and representative democracies are not going anywhere nor are we likely to see a resurgence in city-states in an effort to create virtuous citizens as Rousseau might like. The connection between a small political unit and active citizenship, which he and Aristotle point, out give us a starting point in asking how we can make good citizens in today's modern cities. In Aristotle's view, the city cannot be too small nor too large, noting that the great city and the populous city are not one and the same since the purpose of the city is for people to engage in politics and live finely. However, he does not offer any definitive prescription on the size of the city. He asserts that if the city is too small and not self-

[55] Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. Yale University Press, 1989.

sufficient, there will be no time for leisure which allows individuals to engage with politics and their fellow citizens. Conversely, if the city is too large individuals will not be able to know their fellow citizens, cooperating with them as "political animals," which would prevent the city from producing good governance. Although a nondeterminate size, the best size for a city is a size at which it is self-sufficient, and citizens can know each other and participate in politics.[56]

It is difficult to say what size Aristotle might have found agreeable for a city in his own time, let alone attempting to find that number today. Although we can easily imagine there were a number of small villages in Ancient Greece, large cities were not unknown to him. Aristotle says of Babylon that it "has the dimensions of a nation rather than a city."[57] If Babylon is akin to a nation to Aristotle, a city like modern day New York City might be considered an empire to him. He leaves his discussion of Babylon here and does not offer any more insights to large cities and his understanding of the ends of the city and political community. In considering the size of modern cities and their political arrangements, we know that we are not going back to a system of city states. To fully utilize Aristotle's insights on citizenship and the city, we will have to adjust our scale and consider a polity size where people might have an opportunity to know each other.

Similar to Aristotle, Rousseau sees too large of a city as a detriment to active citizenship. Large polities necessitate representatives as direct participation becomes unfeasible. Representatives, according to Rousseau, allow people to abdicate their duties as citizens and the democratic political culture vanishes. He even goes so far as to say that "the English people

[56] Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 2013. Book 7, Chapter 4. (Arist. Pol. 7.4, Trans. Lord)
[57] Aristotle. *Aristotle's Politics*. Translated by Carnes Lord, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 2013. (Aristotle. Pol. 3.3, 1276a26, Trans. Lord)

thinks it is free; it is greatly mistaken. It is so only during the election of members of Parliament; as soon as they are elected, it is a slave, it is nothing."[58] In another way however, greater populations diminish the power of individual citizens. There is only one set of law with each person getting an equal say in how those laws will be created and enforced. Political power is thus a fraction of one over the number of people in a polity who have a say over those laws. More people in a polity creates less democratic power for everyone.[59] Often when we have less power to change things, we are less inclined to try to do so. Rational choice theory even goes so far as to suggest that it is irrational to vote in large elections since the odds that an individual's vote will be the deciding vote is astronomically low.[60]

Aristotle and Rousseau both present theoretical evidence in favor of a smaller polity and connect the republican tradition of citizenship to the size of the polity. For Aristotle a smaller polity allows people to know one another in the political community while for Rousseau a smaller polity means greater political power for individuals. Yet, a small polity is not without critique. More controversial to Rousseau's advocating a small polity is his prescriptions of censorship and civic religion. Both of which rightly strike a number of people as oppressive. Yet Rousseau makes these prescriptions out of a desire to maintain the virtue of the city and to allow the general will to prevail as he lays out in the *Social Contract*. While a small polity enables this social regulation, it does not cause it. Even in a small society, pluralism can arise. While we are in favor of pluralism today, Rousseau detests it as subverting unity and the general will, and seeks to limit it. The lack of causal effect between oppressive unity and a small polity can be

[58] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Major Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: the Two Discourses and Social Contract*. Translated by John T. Scott, The University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pg. 235
[59] Ibid
[60] Feddersen, Timothy J. "Rational Choice Theory and the Paradox of Not Voting." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (February 2004): 99–112. https://doi.org/10.1257/089533004773563458.

seen in the limits of censorship which Rousseau acknowledges saying that "censorship can be useful for preserving morals, never for restoring them."[61] If a small polity created unity and virtue, it would maintain it, but since it does not, Rousseau prescribes other measures to do so. What a small polity does create is greater democratic power for citizens which ought to encourage their political participation.

Iris Marion Young however does not see a small polity as being beneficial. In her view a regime of face to face interactions that Aristotle and Rousseau promote is impossibly utopian and the ideal of the community, which is implicit in their ideas, is exclusionary.[62] Youngs's ideals of city life rely on the assumption of a large city. She identifies the importance of anonymity of city life when she notes that "deviant or minority groups find in the city both a cover of anonymity and a critical mass unavailable in the smaller town."[63] This anonymity of course is in contrast to the face to face associations that Aristotle views as important to citizenship and the city. More than anything else, Young wants to push back against the oppressive unity which Rousseau promotes and she correctly sees a large polity as a way to do that. As already mentioned however, Rousseau does not claim that a small polity will create unity unto itself. While it can readily create the opportunity, possibility and reality should not be conflated. To fully understand Young's critique however we must define and understand community, which is undertaken in the next section.

While investigating the causes of America's decline in social capital, Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone* questions if our environment, whether urban, suburban or rural effects our levels

[61] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Major Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: the Two Discourses and Social Contract*. Translated by John T. Scott, The University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pg. 262
[62] Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference.* Princeton University Press, 1990. Pg. 226-36.
[63] Ibid. Pg. 238

of social capital. He finds that it does, as smaller town have higher levels of social capital. Putnam writes:

> Compared with other Americans, residents of the nation's largest metropolitan areas (*both* central cities *and* their suburbs) report 10-15 percent fewer group memberships, attend 10-15 percent fewer club meetings, attend church about 10-20 percent less frequently, and are 30-40 percent less likely to serve as officers or committee members of local organizations or to attend public meetings on local affairs…residents of small towns and rural areas are more altruistic, honest and trusting than other Americans. In fact, even among suburbs, smaller is better from a social capital point of view. Getting involved in community affairs is more inviting – or abstention less attractive – when the scale of everyday life is smaller and more intimate. [Author's emphasis][64]

Although observing these lower levels of social capital in cities, Putnam ultimately finds that urbanization is not what is causing America's decline in social capital. These findings do however lend credence to the idea that a smaller polity leads to more active citizens. Eric Oliver also finds that in smaller polities have greater levels of political participation, theorizing that a larger municipality size makes participation more difficult, which in turn depresses participation.[65] Perhaps to the detriment of social capital and political participation, cities are not going to get smaller, instead they are growing, both in the US and around the world.

Defining Community

[64] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, 2000. Pg. 205

[65] Oliver, Eric J. *Democracy in Suburbia*. Princeton University Press, 2001. Chap. 2, Pg. 33-69.

Arguments over the size of the polity are implicitly intertwined with competing ideas about the size and nature of community. A small polity would create a small, and presumably tightknit community, while a large polity would create a loose if not none existent community where it would seem unlikely that people would know and interact with each other. Often we identify community without any definition, rather, we know it when we see it. At times we consider it demographically, e.g. the student community or the African American community. Other times we consider it geographically, such as the Ann Arbor community or the shared ethos of the Midwest. If both of these general conceptions are true then they must exist at the same time. Yet while we have some intuitions about community, a definitive definition of community is elusive, muddling our understanding of community. Some see community as a positive while others see it as a negative, but in some ways the two groups talk past each other since they do not agree on a definition. Before we can proceed in the understanding that a small polity is beneficial and promotes active citizenship, we must define and understand community.

A crucial part of what makes a city for Aristotle is that citizens "inhabit one and the same location and make use of intermarriage."[66] Since Aristotle understands the community and the city as one and the same, we can understand this to also be his definition of community. His definition settles the community as being solely geographic and established in face to face interpersonal connections or social relations. We can see how this definition and understanding of community is rooted in Aristotle's time. Athens was not as diverse as what a modern American city would be today, nor is in person communication the only way to communicate thanks to cell phones and the internet. Although the world has changed since Aristotle's time, we

[66] Aristotle. *Aristotle's "Politics"*. Translated by Carnes Lord, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 2013 (Arist. *Pol*. 3.9, 1280b35-36, trans. Lord)

can still see insights in conceptualizing the community in this way. Although we often communicate via text, email, etcetera, these methods of communication are often seen as less intimate and personal than those which most closely imitate in-person communication. We often consider a phone call to be more personal than a text and a video call to be more intimate than a phone call. It is easily recognized that with these forms of communication information is lost compared to an in-person conversation. Politics and human interaction, as complicated as they are, leads us to want more information rather than less.

The responsive communitarian theorist Amitai Etzioni builds on Aristotle's conceptualization of community offering a two-part definition of community:

> Community has two characteristics: first, a web of affect-laden relationships among a group of individuals, relationships that often crisscross and reinforce one another (as opposed to one-on-one or chain-like individual relationships); and second, a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, norms, and meanings, and a shared history and identity – in short, a particular culture.[67]

This definition I believe, captures how communities are social entities characterized by interpersonal connections or social networks, and captures communities as being both demographic and geographic. What it fails to consider however, in its consideration is the strength of those social ties and the strength and robustness of said cultural norms. In small towns it is thought that social ties are quite strong and there is strong commitment to shared cultural norms. Often criticized about small towns is that these cultural norms do not allow for deviation and that strong social ties allows for interpersonal surveillance. In a large city however,

[67] Etzioni, Amitai. "Communitarianism." In *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, edited by Michael T. Gibbons, 1st ed. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118474396.wbept0184.

the social ties are weaker since not everyone can meet everyone or even a large fraction of the city. Cultural norms are also often thought to be weaker in cities, although this is a more modern thought as immigration has spurred multiculturalism and unseated a certain amount of cultural homogeny which has been historically present in a number of nations, and conformity is no longer valued as highly as it once was.

New York City serves as a good example to understand that there are different types of communities with varying strengths and norms. Taken as a whole, the city is a geographic community with both weak social ties amongst its residents and weak cultural norms. It is home to a number of ethnic cultures embedded within the city with much stronger cultural norms amongst members of their shared ethnicity and most likely the members of said cultures have stronger social ties with one another than they have with the larger city of New York. Yet there is a weak culture which pervades the city created by the shared experiences of city life, created in virtue of a shared location. The borough system of New York refines the community of the city in another way, fine graining the geographic communities of the city, potentially producing stronger social ties and cultural norms created by a closer proximity and shared experience. These distinctions can be fine grained even further still as one chooses. Cities are often plentiful with communities embedded within communities and smaller and smaller refinements of community. None of these communities are necessarily mutually exclusive with one another, rather they all exist at once. This understanding will be useful as we consider how small communities exist inside of larger communities and small polities existing inside of larger polities.

According to Benedict Anderson, communities need only to be imagined to have political power. In his theory of nationalism, Anderson asserts that within a nation, citizens cannot know

everyone within that nation, yet they feel affinity for their fellow citizens. This not knowing everyone in their respective nation or even a sizable fraction of their countrymen makes nations imagined communities created by a cultural affinity that originated in the standardization of language due to newspapers and print capitalism.[68] Comparing this conceptualization of imagined communities to the definition of community presented by Etzioni, we can see how print capitalism in Anderson's theory creates a shared culture through the standardization of language, but it does not create interpersonal social relations. In this way, the community is only imagined as it lacks the interpersonal connections. As history has shown us however, nationalism is a very powerful idea, evoked in organizing and mobilizing a myriad of groups for numerous causes. If nations are imagined communities, then so too are cities for they are similarly large enough to disallow citizens from forming interpersonal connections with their fellow city residents. In this way, Aristotle correctly sees the large city of Babylon as a nation rather than a city. There are also many communities beyond the city which are so large that we are not able to form interpersonal connections with many others. By connecting community to nationalism, we can begin to see why so many have criticized community as history is replete with horrors committed for the cause of furthering nationalism. Still, we must recognize that although community has been connected to nationalism in this way, we should not dismiss community so quickly because of its potential consequences when imagined.

There is another conceptualization of community that must be addressed, that is the use of community as a stand in for society on the whole. Most often it is invoked when referring to the supposed interests of the whole community. I say supposed interests because often there is

[68] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983. Chap. 3.

little or tentative collective agreement on what the definitive interests of the community are. It is powerful to claim that an entire community supports or opposes something but often these claims are made on the basis of majority opinion and not consensus. This conceptualization I believe is analogous to the logic of the nations as a community which as shown is only imagined. Society on the whole can be understood as an imagined community because of its sheer size but also as a collection of communities. This is in many ways the promise of pluralism. The pluralist nation is a collection of communities that interact and at times compete in politics to determine policy. As citizens we are members of communities and the larger nation expressing our voices in politics.

This leaves us with a question however, how do we differentiate between an imagined community and an "actual" community? It can firstly be recognized that an imagined community is much larger than an actual community and that many actual communities can exist within a larger imagined community just as communities can exist within communities. Since imagined communities lack the social network aspect of community, one clear distinction we can make is that they lack social capital. We can see this in Putnam's work on social capital, while he does look at the United States on the whole, the data can always be more accurately broken down by community. Associations are produced not as much by shared culture but by people as we see a number of associations which are multicultural in nature. This importantly leads us to understand that it is not shared culture and imagination that needs to be strengthen in order to build social capital and community, but rather social networks and social bonds.

Those who value a shared culture will naturally object to my claim suggesting that shared culture is not necessarily important to community and social capital. Shared culture can be important, but it can be overcome by interpersonal connection and contact. A study of six ethnically diverse European cities found that while neighborhood attachment is negatively

correlated with ethnic diversity, but they also found "ethnic diversity does not erode neighbourhood attachment for natives who have ties with people of other ethnicities, or for migrants with mono-ethnic ties."[69] Another study in Los Angeles examining neighborhood attachment and diversity found that "although the neighborhood presence of blacks and Hispanics moderately diminishes some aspects of residents' attachment, regardless of individual race, in many instances neighborhood racial composition fails to exert a significant impact on neighborhood attachment."[70] Putnam in his work on social capital and diversity disagrees with this, saying that people in ethnically diverse neighborhoods tend to "hunker down" and not interact with their neighbors.[71] While another study confirms these findings they make a qualification saying that "individuals who regularly talk with their neighbors are less influenced by the racial and ethnic character of their surroundings than people who lack such social interaction."[72] In the Netherlands it has been found that Putnam's hypothesis only partially holds and neighborhood diversity only has a negative effect on the degree of contact in the neighborhood.[73] Needless to say there are competing empirical findings with regards to this question. What some of these findings would seem to suggest however, is that shared culture is perhaps not as important as we might think or if it is important, it is important to those who do not have relationships with those who are not like them. Multiculturism is a much more

[69] Górny, Agata, and Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz. "Neighbourhood Attachment in Ethnically Diverse Areas: The Role of Interethnic Ties." *Urban Studies* 51, no. 5 (April 1, 2014): 1000–1018. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013494418.

[70] Greif, Meredith J. "Neighborhood Attachment in the Multiethnic Metropolis." *City & Community* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 27–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2009.01268.x.

[71] Putnam, Robert D. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 137–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x.

[72] Stolle, Dietlind, Stuart Soroka, and Richard Johnston. "When Does Diversity Erode Trust? Neighborhood Diversity, Interpersonal Trust and the Mediating Effect of Social Interactions." *Political Studies* 56, no. 1 (2008): 57–75. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00717.x.

[73] Gijsberts, Mérove, Tom van der Meer, and Jaco Dagevos. "'Hunkering Down' in Multi-Ethnic Neighbourhoods? The Effects of Ethnic Diversity on Dimensions of Social Cohesion." *European Sociological Review* 28, no. 4 (2012): 527–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23272536

complicated subject than what I am allowing for but to show this point more conclusively would require more time than can be allowed for here. I seek only to show in this moment that social ties are a more important aspect to community than shared culture. Furthermore, we can recognize that a great deal of emphasis on shared culture produces these negative social effects given that nationalism relies exclusively on this aspect of community and we have seen how virulent nationalism can be.

Iris Marion Young's critique of small polities fundamentally revolves around her understanding of community. Although she does not offer an explicit definition of community, she identifies it as exclusionary and an oppressive force which diminishes difference. Citing authors such as Sandel, Barber, and Benhabib, Young considers their definitions of community as shared subjectivity and complementary reciprocity before claiming that the ideal of community is the ideal of having "transparency of subjects to one another."[74] After concluding that it is not possible for a community to be fully transparent to itself, she goes on to claim that "the ideal of community denies the differences between subjects," and that desiring community "often operates to exclude or oppress those experienced as different."[75]

Since Young does not offer her own definition of community, we cannot compare the definition she might offer to the definition that I have laid out. Thus, we must consider how she might have arrived at describing the ideal of community as "transparency of subjects to one another," relating it back to what I have laid out before deciding if her conclusions properly follow from the premises. She identifies this ideal as the "Rousseauist Dream," which is an easy way to suggest a desire for unity to such an extent that it becomes easily recognizable as

[74] Young, Iris Marion. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, 1990. Pg. 231
[75] Ibid. Pg. 234

conformist and oppressive, albeit Young would seem to imply that any suggestion of unity or commonality implicitly is in the vein of the so called "Rousseauist Dream."

To understand how the understanding of community that I have presented relates back to Rousseau, we must return to the two aspects of community: social ties and shared culture. As stated previously, social ties and shared culture may be some combination of strong or weak and the strength of shared culture, in that the agreement of people to adhere to that culture, does not necessarily determine the content of said culture. One of Rousseau's great concern in the *Social Contract* is the triumph of the general will over the self-interested individual or group interests that emerge in society which in his view would be to the detriment of the larger society. To accomplish this, he recognized a need for a small polity, and virtuous citizens. Virtuous citizens cannot simply be created however, they must also be maintained, for which Rousseau claimed that censorship and civic religion is required. Rousseau wants a community with a strongly held, virtuous shared culture. Cultural norms must be enforced if they are to continue to be cultural norms and perhaps the best way to enforce cultural norms is to have strong social ties between individuals such that everyone knows the actions of everyone else. Such knowledge of the actions of another in an interpersonal sense is understood to be an intimate relationship. This knowledge could make for an intimate and loving community, yet it could also be used as an interpersonal surveillance system. These strong social ties create the "transparency" in the community necessary to have strong enforcement of social norms such that they can be maintained, and deviance punished.

What must be understood however is the oppressive society that Rousseau describes is not a product of the ideal of community but of the community culture which he prescribes. A strong community culture results in oppression if and only if that culture highly values

conformity and seeks to punish deviancy. It is easily recognizable that intimate relationships may be beneficial in allowing support to be given in a way that it could not be if one does not know that support is needed. Equally recognizable is that intimate knowledge may be abused. No one however faults the knowledge for its misuse, but more appropriately faults the misuser. So too with culture we must fault oppressive culture for its oppression and not the intimate social connections which may have enabled it.

A simple counter argument to this is that some knowledge should not be made available for others to know. Some information we want to keep from others and having a large and loosely connected community would grant us anonymity and allow us to keep our privacy. There is however no perfect system which we can create that would keep all the information we might wish to keep private. We must recognize that a large city only provides anonymity because we are often in the presence of strangers who do not know our name or anything about us. Should they acquire information we do not want them to have, they would seemingly have very little use for it. In this argument our choices are cast as a community with strong ties where this knowledge about us is easily transmitted because of the strong ties or no/weak social ties where the information cannot be transmitted. This choice is misdescribed. Individuals rarely have no social ties, at minimum they have some social ties with those whom they frequently interact with. Additionally, knowledge still travels through weak ties, just as it does through strong ties.[76] Yet with weak ties there is a lack of social trust between individuals, with a system of weak ties sensitive information might travel more easily as there is little trust in the system which would make anyone inclined to keep the information private. The internet and social media provide an

[76] Granovetter, Mark S. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *Social Networks*, 1977, 347–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-442450-0.50025-0.

example of this as people become more interconnected but without any social trust between them. Increasing amounts of information are continually put on social media which travels quickly, and individuals act in ways they would not otherwise if their identities were known. The internet has in some ways already increased the social surveillance we are under without any social trust. We see information that someone might have wanted private, quickly go viral and become widely known. I believe that it is better to have a community of strong ties and social trust such that sensitive information may be kept private rather than a community of weak ties lacking social trust which might be so inclined to proliferate that information. Even if the information is gained by those who have no use for, we still do not wish anyone to have it and it might make its way to someone who we know and wish to keep it from through weak ties.

Even the social differentiation without exclusion which Young sees as a part of city life is a product of culture rather than something inherent to community or the size of the polity. Immigrants to the United States who settled cities in the late 19th and early 20th century lived in ethnic neighborhoods which would seem to allow them the social differentiation without exclusion which Young promotes. Today these ethnic neighborhoods no longer exist as these immigrants and their descendants have been assimilated into the American mainstream. Confirming what we already know, census data from 1850 to 1940 shows a peak and then decline in ethnic segregation.[77] We can also see the cultural pressure to assimilate through something as simple as names. Looking at census records from 1920-1940 for the children of immigrants it has been found that "children with less-foreign-sounding names completed more years of schooling, earned more, and were less likely to be unemployed than their counterparts

[77] Eriksson, Katherine, and Zachary A. Ward. "The Ethnic Segregation of Immigrants in the United States from 1850 to 1940." National Bureau of Economic Research, June 2018. https://doi.org/10.3386/w24764.

with more foreign-sounding names."[78] Yet if Young's understanding is correct, we should not see either of these findings as cities continued to grow in this time period and the large and growing size of the polity would eliminate the need to assimilate. This of course did not happen. On the contrary, ethnic festivals held in cities are held more as novelties to celebrate this period of US history than as celebrations of culture tied to a strong ethnic identity. Saint Patrick's Day is perhaps the best example as cities such as Chicago celebrate by dyeing the Chicago River green with those who partake in the festivities not celebrating their Irish heritage and culture so much as consuming alcohol, only some of which might be Irish. It is only today that we see social differentiation without exclusion, and we can note that there is no longer as concerted an effort to integrate ethnic groups, particularly ones seen as white, into the American mainstream. Quite the opposite we hear rhetoric from a hateful vocal political minority that some groups will never be like us, that our values are incompatible with theirs and thus we must exclude them to preserve our own culture and values. They promote social differentiation with exclusion. Exclusion, therefore we can consider a product of culture and not community or the size of the polity. If we wish to have social differentiation without exclusion it must be a facet of our culture and will not come as a result of the size of the polity or the community.

Young further sees community as exclusionary because "it is understandable that we exclude and avoid those with whom we do not or cannot identify."[79] Yet she rejects what she calls the logic of identity which sees individuals as possessing some unity in their commonalities. This goes against the intuition of most people who are inclined to think that there is at least some commonalities in humanity and that there might be a human community.

[78] Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. "Cultural Assimilation during the Age of Mass Migration." National Bureau of Economic Research, 2016. https://doi.org/10.3386/w22381.
[79] Young, Iris Marion. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, 1990. Pg. 235

Ultimately, the empirical research of Robert Putnam finds that "community and equality are mutually reinforcing, not mutually incompatible."[80] We should also keep in mind the difference between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is the social capital between individuals who are similar in a key way, while bridging social capital is social capital between individuals who are different in some key way. Putnam suggests that high bonding social capital does not need to imply low bridging social capital as some have suggested.[81] While Young sees community as oppressive and fears a small polity breeds intolerance, the size of the polity would not appear to have any causal effect in creating intolerance. Aristotle and Rousseau by contrast see a small polity as creating engaged citizens. Furthermore, we can recognize that in discussing community, individuals having social ties with one another is not what is being critiqued. In fact, we do not wish for anyone to become socially isolated. Rather, it is the content of shared culture which must be examined so as to prevent the ills that some see in community and by extension nationalism.

Defining community and showing that it is not oppressive as Young claims does not automatically make community good. For communitarians, community is held as implicitly good and recognizing that people are embedded in them is a more accurate understanding of human nature as opposed to the atomized individual which they see in liberalism. Without engaging in these ontological and metaphysical debates, let us simply show that community is good for democracy and creating active citizens, a much simpler task.

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[80] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, 2000. Pg. 358

[81] Putnam, Robert D. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 137–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x.

In Tocqueville's study of the United States, he describes individualism as harmful to democracy. Unlike democracy "despotism, by its very nature suspicious, see the isolation of man the best guarantee of its own permanence."[82] Opposite of isolation and individualism is community or society according to Tocqueville, which he saw as being created by the liberties and democratic decision making of the United States. He writes that "the free institutions of the United States and the political rights enjoyed there provide a thousand continual reminders to every citizen that he lives in a society."[83] From a society of citizens who are a part of a community we see the doctrine of self-interest properly understood arise. Being in a society/community reminds citizens "that it is the duty as well as the interest of men to be useful to their fellows."[84] From this doctrine of self-interest properly understood, which breaks down inclinations towards individualism, citizens form a more cohesive society. Citizens also seek to involve themselves in public affairs when a public endeavor greatly affects one's private interests. Importantly, we can see how this relates back to social networks as helping others strengthens social ties in an interpersonal way but also doing good for others creates larger reputational effects. With interactions such as these, created by democracy and community, citizens take part in the public affairs.

Robert Putnam also notes community's benefit to democracy, noting that democracy without social capital leads to more polarized politics, which is contrary to compromise which many have suggested to be the essence of democracy. Putnam has only show in his work that social capital is important to the success of government, both in his research in Italy but also in

[82] Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Edited by J. P. Mayer. Translated by George Lawrence. Harper Perennial, 1969. Pg. 509
[83] Ibid. Pg. 512
[84] Ibid. Pg. 512

the US finding that "social capital is the only factor that successfully predicts tax compliance."[85] For those who see creating public goods as a role of government, community and social capital must be fostered as they have been shown to important to the creation of public goods. Community is not only good for democracy but also for us as individuals as it can lend assistance to us through self-interest being properly understood and through the creation of public goods.

If we are to make use of theoretical considerations and empirical observations of small polities coupled with our understanding of community and apply them to our large modern cities, we are led to the conclusion that the city must in some way get smaller. It must become made up of small polities. Yet at the same time we do not want the city to cease to be cohesive whole, if it ever was. Depopulating cities is outside the realm of pragmatic possibilities nor is it desirable. Fortunately, a smaller polity within the city already exists; the neighborhood. Considering the neighborhood with an emphasis on active citizenship also has advantages other than the considerations of small polities given by political theorists. People often already carry some form of attachment to their neighborhood and neighborhoods are recognized as sources of community. Additionally, it has been found that for youth, neighborhood attachment is correlated to both voting and volunteering.[86] By focusing on neighborhoods, we can also venture beyond design elements and into using neighborhoods as elements of the political regime as cities such as Portland, Birmingham, Dayton and St. Paul have done. These neighborhood organizations have been found to encourage a sense of community as well as been effective in organizing African-

[85] Putnam, Robert. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. Simon & Schuster, 2000. Pg. 347

[86] Boulianne, Shelley, and Michelle Brailey. "Attachment to Community and Civic and Political Engagement: A Case Study of Students." *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie* 51, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 375–88. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12052.

Americas and including them in the political process.[87] From our understanding of community, we can see how neighborhoods create community through having social networks within a geographic area. None of this is to suggest that social capital and good citizens are only created through neighborhoods, but when considering citizenship and urban design, neighborhoods are where we ought to focus our efforts. It is again fortunate that urban planners have already given consideration to the neighborhood and neighborhood design which we can examine in the pursuit of considering how can cities be designed to create good citizens.

History of the Neighborhood Unit

The plan for the Neighborhood Unit originated in 1929 with its design by Clarence Perry. Shortly after being created, it became influential with a reduced version of the concept being codified in the Federal Housing Administration's subdivision standards seven years later.[88] The design of Perry's Neighborhood Unit shows suburban concerns although with more density, and amenities than what we would expect in modern suburbs which are often characterized by the same house in a slightly different color one after the other. Or as is often the point reference for the suburbs, Levittown.

[87] Portney, Kent E, and Jeffry M Berry. "Mobilizing Minority Communities." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no. 5 (1997): 632–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764297040005009.
[88] Perry, Clarence. "'The Neighborhood Unit' from Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs (1929)." In *The Urban Design Reader*, edited by Michael Larice and Elizabeth MacDonald. London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203094235.

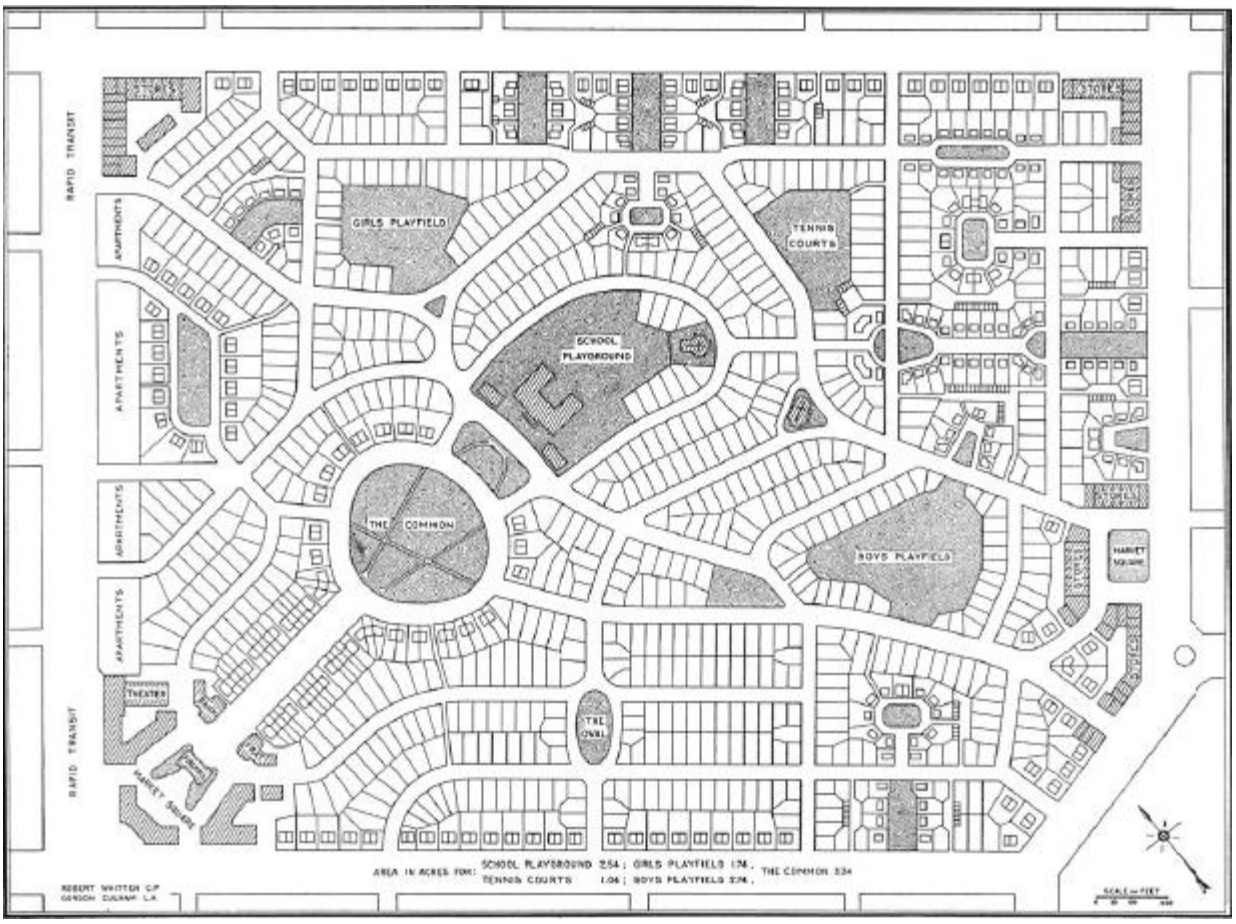

Figure taken from Perry, Clarence. "'The Neighborhood Unit' from Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs (1929)." In *The Urban Design Reader*, edited by Michael Larice and Elizabeth MacDonald. London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203094235.

In designing the Neighborhood Unit Perry used the following principles: (1) size, there should be enough residential units to support an elementary school, about 5000 to 6000 people yielding 800 to 1200 elementary students; (2) boundaries, it should be bound by arterial streets; (3) open spaces, parks and public spaces should be provided; (4) institution sites, the school and other social institutions should be suitably grouped together; (5) local shops, stores which the residents need should be provided at the edges or circumference of the unit; (6) internal street

system, the street system should facilitate movement within the unit but be discouraging to through traffic.[89]

These principles create a semi-self-reliant residential unit since a number of amenities people may want are contained within the Neighborhood Unit. In Perry's observations the neighborhood "possess a certain unity which is quite independent of political boundaries."[90] His plan bolsters this already present unity which larger regions lack in his view. It is because of this natural unity that neighborhoods are important. As Perry writes "while the neighborhood community has no political structure, it frequently has greater unity and coherence than are found in the village or city and is, therefore, of fundamental importance to society."[91] Perry's Neighborhood Unit represents the epitome of neighborhood unity, although at the potential cost of creating a bound or cloistered neighborhood. In considering how Perry's plan sought to accomplish the political goals of unity and community, it must be noted that his plan employs physical determinism rather than social determinism.[92] The Neighborhood Unit accomplishes the political goals of the plan through design and not the social homogeneity that may result from its suburban nature.

The boundaries or boarders of the neighborhood unit, the arterial roads which are meant to be impermeable, have been greatly criticized for their effects on the areas which are on said boarders as well as their effects on neighborhoods. Jane Jacobs calls them "boarder vacuums," which make neighborhoods into weakened fragments. Jacobs writes that "frequent borders, whether formed by *arterial highways*, institutions, projects, campuses, industrial parks, or any

[89] Ibid
[90] Ibid, pg. 234
[91] Ibid, pg. 235
[92] Lawhon, Larry Lloyd. "The Neighborhood Unit: Physical Design or Physical Determinism?" *Journal of Planning History* 8, no. 2 (May 2009): 111–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538513208327072.

other massive uses of special land, can…tear a city to tatters, [my emphasis]."[93] According to Jacobs, the movement and circulation of people is the lifeblood of cities and boarders act as barriers, choking off this circulation. Nor does the Neighborhood Unit have much mixed use which might draw people out of their homes and into the neighborhood. While it has a certain number of amenities, the amount of those amenities and their location is questionable as to if they provide everything the neighborhood might require.

With these critiques in mind, New Urbanism sets out to reimagine the Neighborhood Unit. New Urbanism changes the Neighborhood Unit to included mixed use and multiple housing types which are not found in Perry's plan and moves it from being car-centric to providing equal support for walking, biking and driving. It also changes the scale of the neighborhood to a quarter mile from the center of the unit, which is centered on a school like Perry's plan, to the edge of the unit allowing for easy walking with public transit and a transportation corridor also being provided.[94] While a reimaging of the Neighborhood Unit, New Urbanism leaves intact a number of the premises of the Neighborhood Unit while making its own contribution and providing for the interconnection of neighborhood units through public transportation and transit oriented development.

New Urbanism has seen numerous critiques however, most notably that it is an exercise in nostalgia, that it is oriented towards the upper middle class and upper classes, and that it promotes racial, ethnic and class segregation as well as denying cultural difference.[95] Seaside,

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[93] Jacobs, Jane. *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011. Pg. 264

[94] Congress for the New Urbanism. *Charter of The New Urbanism*. Edited by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. McGraw Hill, 2000. Pg. 71-121

[95] Ellis, Cliff. "The New Urbanism: Critiques and Rebuttals." *Journal of Urban Design* 7, no. 3 (October 2002): 261–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1357480022000039330.

Florida, an icon of New Urbanist design made famous by the movie The Truman Show, makes an easy target for these critiques. Designed as a beachside resort town modeled on the developments of the past, Seaside would not seem to be a place where most Americans could or would want to live. New Urbanism does however, advocate for a diversity of housing options and its principles have been used by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in their affordable housing HOPE VI program.[96] Critiques of New Urbanism more often come in the form of critiquing its implementation rather than the theory behind it. By theoretically reconceptualizing the neighborhood, we might endeavor to address this critique of flawed implementation.

The Neighborhood as Amenities

A crucial way in which we may fault the Neighborhood Unit is that it is far too rigid and short of building an entirely new city or neighborhood, the entire plan cannot be implemented all at once. While it was once possible to do this with the growth of suburbanization and urban sprawl, today, cities are experiencing more infill than sprawl as jobs move back into cities along with people, especially young people. Urban planning has also come to see urban sprawl as a negative thing for a number of reasons that won't be delved into here. The modern reality is that building a new subdivision is not as popular or feasible as it once was, nor does the Neighborhood Unit as drawn by Perry or modified by the New Urbanist offer tremendous guidance for considering the gradual change of existing areas. For the purposes of actual planning, we can treat these idealized plans as thought experiments or induction pumps. While

[96] Congress for the New Urbanism. *Charter of The New Urbanism*. Edited by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. McGraw Hill, 2000.

philosophically very useful, they are ultimately idealizations that may require some translation and modification to be pragmatic and useful in the non-ideal, real world.

To accomplish this, we should think about neighborhoods in a more abstract sense, considering what are the constituent parts which form them and make them what they are. In this way we can make them what we want them to be by strengthening certain aspects of them and introducing elements which promote what we seek to create. Neighborhoods are firstly defined by their residents, but they would seem to require two things: amenities and boundaries. Yet we ought not to think of the neighborhood as a bounded unit, but rather as an overlay district, in that the neighborhood is an area characterized not by single use but by shared character. We can, and should, conceptualize the neighborhood in this way, firstly, because most people do not know everyone or even most people within their neighborhood which makes the neighborhood an imagined community.[97] There are of course interpersonal connections in neighborhoods and thus actual communities inside of them, but as such they elude rigid boarders. Secondly, this should be done because of the normative concerns which boundaries create which will be expounded upon later.

In Tridib Banerjee and William Baer's empirical study of the Neighborhood Unit, they find two important things which lend credence to the need to conceptualize the neighborhood unit in a more abstract and general way. First, they find that "the rigidity, inflexibility, insensitivity, and unresponsiveness of the neighborhood unit concept impose[s] decided limitations on its ability to satisfy a diversity of needs."[98] This confirms what was already

[97] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
[98]Banerjee, Tridib, and William C. Baer. *Beyond the Neighborhood Unit: Residential Environments and Public Policy*. Plenum Press, 1984. Pg. 172

theoretically expected. More importantly however they find that "*the residential area means different things to different people*, even within the same population group [author's emphasis]."[99] This empirical finding implies that it is unlikely that any singular design will accommodate everyone's conceptualization of the neighborhood. Jane Jacobs notably asserts that the only useful neighborhoods are the city as a whole, street neighborhoods, and large districts.[100] Thus, the design of neighborhoods ought to be more general than specific so that they may be tailored to their respective circumstances. Furthermore, Banerjee and Baer find that amenities often form important nodes in how residents imagine their neighborhood.[101] This leads us to focus on neighborhood amenities and assign them particular importance in our conceptualization of the neighborhood.

While Banerjee and Baer cast doubt on physical determinism in their work which I have defended, I believe that there are several relatively safe premises from which I can proceed with these empirical findings in hand to justify my conceptualization of the Neighborhood Unit. Communities are firstly, if nothing else, gatherings of people, and people must gather in some physical place. Without a physical place for people to gather it becomes difficult for people to form a community and act as such. Although it might seem that this point is not as strong as it used to be with the advent of the internet, physical places to gather, or social infrastructure has been shown to still be important by Erik Klinenberg.[102] Furthermore, Putnam finds that sprawl, which spreads out social infrastructure and other neighborhood amenities, reduces social capital

[99] Ibid, Pg. 172
[100] Jacobs, Jane. The death and life of great American cities. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011. Pg. 117
[101] Banerjee, Tridib, and William C. Baer. *Beyond the Neighborhood Unit: Residential Environments and Public Policy*. Plenum Press, 1984. Pg. 85-124
[102] Klinenberg, Eric. *Palaces for The People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and The Decline of Civic Life*. New York : Crown, 2018, 2018.

due to time displacement caused by commuting. He finds that, "each additional ten minutes in daily commuting time cuts involvement in community affairs by 10 percent."[103] The empirical findings of Klinenberg, Putnam, and Banerjee and Baer, along with the considerations on the size of the polity, point to conceptualizing the neighborhood as amenities within a small area as an effective way to produce more active citizens. Public spaces as places to gather will be delved into more deeply in the next chapter.

Empirical evidence has further found that traditional neighborhood design and walkability, defined as the ability to walk to amenities and not just the presence of sidewalks, increases the social capital of a neighborhood[104] as well as the sense of community for those living in the neighborhood.[105] These findings further lends credence to the idea of having a geographically small neighborhood characterized by amenities and show a clear connect between neighborhood design as I prescribed it and an increase in social capital.

As previously mentioned, a note on neighborhood boundaries must be made. Neighborhood boundaries fall on a spectrum of permeable, those which allow people to cross them, to impermeable, those which do not allow people to cross them. This has important ramifications for democracy in that these boundaries ought to allow people to move across them to allow the interaction of citizens from different neighborhoods. When neighborhood boundaries are impermeable, we see where democracy has failed, for example the "peace" walls in Belfast which separate catholic and protestant neighborhoods or highways and other

[103] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, 2000. Pg. 213
[104] Leyden, Kevin M. "Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods." *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 9 (2003): 1546–51. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.9.1546.
[105] Lund, Hollie. "Pedestrian Environments and Sense of Community." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, no. 3 (2002): 301–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X0202100307.

infrastructure which separated black and white neighborhoods in apartheid South Africa. An impermeable boundary does not need to be solely a physical boundary however, it could be a boundary enforced by violence or custom. Since democracy is a system of government which requires us to know one another and acknowledge each other as equals, any obstacle which inhibits or prevents interactions between citizens is a detriment to democracy. Impermeable neighborhood boundaries present one such obstacle.

Furthermore, conceptualizing the neighborhood in an abstract way akin to an overlay district as I have proposed allows for the overlapping of neighborhoods. Should such overlapping occur, the interconnection of those neighborhoods will be a likely result. This phenomenon of overlapping areas of the neighborhood unit can be found in New Urbanism's reimagining of the neighborhood unit while keeping some of the more rigidly planned aspects of the design. Iris Marion Young also sees the lack of neighborhood boundaries and their overlap as a part of her ideal of social differentiation without exclusion, writing "in the good city one crosses from one distinct neighborhood to another without precisely knowing where one ended and the other began."[106] In this way, neighborhood design can both create a community but also create the interweaving of the neighborhood into the larger social fabric of the city.

One last piece that must be defined in this conceptualization are the amenities which are to constitute the neighborhood. Perry believed that there were four main elements to the Neighborhood Unit, "(1) the elementary school, (2) small parks and playgrounds, (3) local shops, and (4) residential environment."[107] New Urbanism in its reimaging of the Neighborhood Unit

[106] Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference.* Princeton University Press, 1990. Pg. 239
[107] Perry, Clarence. "'The Neighborhood Unit' from Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs (1929)." In *The Urban Design Reader*, edited by Michael Larice and Elizabeth MacDonald. London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203094235. Pg. 236

advocates for mixed use and a diversity of housing options but does not alter these four constituent parts.[108] All of these constituent parts are amenities which further Perry's previously articulated goals of the Neighborhood Unit and are amenities which people often want and are places where people can gather. I believe that Perry and New Urbanism are correct in that these are the constituent parts of the neighborhood and create a sense of place and neighborhood community. Additionally, I agree with New Urbanism's recommendation of mixed use as this will draw people out of their private home and into public where they can interact with their fellow citizens. Jane Jacobs has also prescribed mixed use as good for cities to create the circulation of people.[109] The succeeding chapters of this work will elaborate on public spaces and housing as prescriptions to create active citizens within the neighborhood now that it has been established how neighborhood design can help create active citizenship.

[108] Congress for the New Urbanism. *Charter of The New Urbanism*. Edited by Michael Leccese and Kathleen McCormick. McGraw Hill, 2000. Pg. 71-121

[109] Jacobs, Jane. The death and life of great American cities. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011

Public Space and Democracy

Defining Public Space

Many political theorists, namely deliberative democratic theorists, have endeavored to define both public space and the public sphere. So too have urban planners with many definitions arising out of the question, what is public space? Rather than attempt to create a complex definition that might capture the concept in its entirety, I will offer a simple definition tailored to the purposes of this section. I define a public space as a physical space which is (1) accessible to everyone, (2) a space where citizens may recognize each other as fellow citizens and (3) citizens may engage in political discourse if they so desire. All three of these elements are important to democracy for several reasons. Firstly, in a democracy we must recognize our fellow citizens as our equals. If we did not, we would be inclined to change our system of government from a democracy to an aristocracy. Secondly, a public space must allow for political deliberation so as to create a deliberative democracy, the importance of which and its effects on increasing political efficacy were discussed in Chapter II. Additionally, a public space must be accessible to everyone since everyone should be included in the democratic process as equal citizens. Furthermore, all voices are necessary in a deliberative democracy to improve decision making. Since I am examining the city, with an emphasis on its physical/spatial aspects, I will examine public space as a physical entity and avoid broader discussions of the public sphere and nonphysical domains where political discourse occurs, such as the internet.

This definition which I have laid out captures a number of important places which we recognize as public spaces. Under my definition, traditional public places such as parks and plazas are considered public spaces. Although we might not often engage in any political debates

or discourses in these places, we are free to do so, and we have the opportunity to recognize each other as citizens there. Many protests have taken place in public spaces such as Lafayette Square and the National Mall in Washington, D.C., Tiananmen Square in Beijing, Red Square in Moscow and numerous other parks and squares, the most notable of which are often in political capitals near national political institutions. On an average day these places host tourists or others milling about, but their national symbolism makes them prominent sites of protest. Non-capital cities may also have sites which might hold symbolism or where protests often occur.

This definition also importantly includes streets and sidewalks as public space. Anyone who has attended or witnessed a protest in modern time will have likely seen people marching down the street and sidewalk, often to some location where they might participate in a rally of some nature. While protests are not the be all end all of democracy, they are undoubtably an important part of them and it is easily recognized that the suppression of protest is undemocratic. Even when the streets and sidewalks are not filled with protesters however, they allow us to engage in political discourse and recognize our fellow citizens. Sidewalks might be home to a lone protester or small group of protesters, or a street preacher. Beyond this however, sidewalks can be the sight of conversation for two friends about to head in different directions or even two strangers depending on the circumstance.

One important aspect of the definition that I have offered is that public spaces must be available and accessible to everyone, so that no one is excluded. Yet there are spaces which meet the criteria of being places were political discourse occurs and where citizens can recognize one another but are not accessible to everyone. Since they are only accessible to some and not others, they serve a special public, we can designate them as special public spaces. Some will object to calling these public spaces in any sense, saying that any exclusion is wrong. Yet we must also

consider that freedom of association in democracy is both the freedom to gather with those who we wish to associate with and to exclude those with whom we do not. This is of course not an absolute right, as few, if any, rights are held to be absolute. Nonetheless, we recognize these two aspects of freedom of association and allow exclusion under certain circumstances. Since they allow for citizens to recognize each other and allow for political discourse, we can still see them as public in some limited sense and recognize their importance to democracy.

Religious institutions are a common example of a special public space. They are not necessarily open to all people, although some are more open than others, even those that are open to everyone, non-believers are disinclined to go. For those who do go to religious institutions however they are able to engage in political discourse and recognize each other as fellow citizens. We can see this in how church attendance has been found to increase the likelihood of voting.[110] With this we can surely identify that political discourse is occurring within religious institutions as indicated by the increase of citizen participation through voting. Offices of political parties are also special public spaces, although they serve only their partisans, the conversations held in these offices undoubtably add to the overall political discourse.

Some businesses can also serve as special public spaces or public spaces. While it is unlikely that anyone will engage in any political discourse in the grocery store, businesses such as restaurants and coffee shops can be home to political discourse amongst small groups. These businesses are places where people gather to be social, as this is a part of these businesses' business model. While the entirety of a coffee shop will most likely not be engrossed in any political conversation, those who wish to engage in political discourse at their table are able to do

[110] Gerber, Alan, Jonathan Gruber, and Daniel M Hungerman. "Does Church Attendance Cause People to Vote? Using Blue Laws' Repeal to Estimate the Effect of Religiosity on Voter Turnout." Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research, September 2008. https://doi.org/10.3386/w14303.

so. While these businesses are private establishments and could ban political discourse if they so desired, they are unlikely to do so as it may harm their business. If a business banned all political discourse entirely, said business would no longer be a public or special public space. What determines whether a business is a public space or special public space depends on how accessible it is. Antidiscrimination laws prevent discrimination with respect to a number of identities, but they do not prevent businesses from being inaccessible to all socioeconomic classes. Coffee shops can be accessible to all socioeconomic class while a country club is accessible only to the affluent, therein a coffee shop might be a public space will a country club is a special public space.

While the definitions I have offered captures many things, they still leave out places which we would not consider public such as the workplace, many businesses and individuals' homes. We should also recognize that any place where people gather is not necessarily a public or special public space. While many people gather at a sporting event or concert, little if any political discourse is occurring there. Exceptions of when sports teams have political associations or athletes participate in protests or politically motivated concerts notwithstanding. Recognizing each other as citizens and equals also depends on the context of the gathering.

Places which I have defined as public and special public spaces, Eric Klinenberg calls social infrastructure. Klinenberg believes that social infrastructure can help to address a number of our contemporary problems, such as social isolation, crime, education, health, political polarization and climate change.[111] While I will focus on public spaces and their importance to democracy, it should not be forgotten that public spaces can also produce a number of other

[111] Klinenberg, Eric. *Palaces for The People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and The Decline of Civic Life*. New York : Crown, 2018, 2018.

positive outcomes, several of which can be related to democracy.[112] However, none of these effects shall be considered here.

The Importance of Public Space to Democracy

In Ancient Athens, democracy and public space were inseparable concepts as public space was the physical embodiment of the democracy system. In order to have a system of direct democracy in Ancient Athens, the Athenian Ekklesia, or popular assembly, needed a place to gather. Initially they chose the Pnyx, a small rocky hilltop with a speaker's platform as their primary meeting location. Later all meetings were moved to the Theatre of Dionysus. While neither of these locations fall under the definition of public space which I have offered as they were not accessible to women, slaves and foreigners, it was accessible to all the citizens of Athens. Both places embody the criteria of allowing for democratic deliberation, as this was precisely the function of both places being home to the Athenian popular assembly. Similarly, the Agora was central to Athenian Democracy and public life, being placed at the physical center of the city and home to buildings of commercial, religious and political importance.[113] Many people could gather there and if they desired, discuss the issues of the day.

Just as in the Ancient world public spaces were integral to democracy and it was only through public spaces that direct democracy could happen, so too are public spaces important in our modern system of representative democracy. Public places in a representative democracy are important for the performance of democracy.[114] This is especially true for places with national

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[112] Oldenburg, Ray. *The Great Good Place : Cafés, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You through the Day*. [2nd ed.], Marlowe & Co., 1997.
[113] Glowacki, Kevin. "The Athenian Agora." In *Meet the Philosophers of Ancient Greece: Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Ancient Greek Philosophy but Didn't Know Who to Ask*, edited by Patricia F O'Grady. Farnham, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005.
[114] Parkinson, John. *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

symbolism which have been the sites of many important protests. Even in non-democracies public spaces are important to the creation of democracy. While social media and twitter were integral to organizing large protests in the 2016 Arab Spring movement, the protests themselves were not held online, rather they took place in public spaces, often ones with symbolic significance.[115] Nor is this unique to the Middle East, in the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution the Maidan was home to many protests advocating the removal of the authoritarian regime.

Large protests and revolutions are hardly daily activities and direct democracy has not been conducted on any significant scale comparable to Athens in thousands of years, with some exceptions in Switzerland. Public spaces are not only important because of these exceptional occurrences, but also in small ways every day. On any given day public space can be home to someone handing out flyers to advance a cause, a person gathering signatures for a candidate or ballot proposal or an activist expounding their beliefs. Such activities are mundane and may not be exceptional depending on how busy a public space may be. These little acts are just as important to democracy as large acts as small acts turn into large in the building of political movements.

Political activity does not need to be occurring in a public space for said spaces to be important to democracy. It is valuable to have citizens be in the same space as their fellow citizens. This enables them to have contact with people we are unlike them, since public space is accessible to everyone. In recognizing their fellow citizens in public space, they recognize them

[115] Ehsani, Kaveh. "The Production and Politics of Public Space Radical Democratic Politics and Public Space." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 1 (February 2014): 159–62. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743813001335.

as their equals, for this is what it means to recognize one's fellow citizens. Public spaces and especially public parks present us with this opportunity, as Fredrick Law Olmsted observed:

> New York Park and the Brooklyn Park are the only places in those associated cities where…you will find a body of Christians coming together, and with an evident glee in the prospect of coming together, all classes largely represented, with a common purpose, not at all intellectual, competitive with none, disposing to jealousy and spiritual or intellectual pride toward none, each individual adding by his mere presence to the pleasure of all others, all helping to the greater happiness of each. You may thus often see vast numbers of persons brought closely together, poor and rich, young and old, Jew and Gentile. I have seen a hundred thousand thus congregated, and I assure you that though there have been not a few that seemed a little dazed, as if they did not quite understand it, and were, perhaps, a little ashamed of it, I have looked studiously but vainly among them for a single face completely unsympathetic with the prevailing expression of good nature and light-heartedness.[116]

While Olmsted was writing in a different time, I believe his observations about the power of parks and the way in which they bring us together still holds true. An empirical study in Argentina has shown the potential which parks provide for social interaction across socioeconomic strata.[117] Similarly, a study in the Netherlands found that parks offer the opportunity for interactions between multiple ethnic groups.[118] In the case of parks and public spaces, it is not only that they are gathering places, but also that vegetation and nature presents a welcoming environment. In the case of urban public

[116] Olmsted, Frederick Law. "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns." In *The Urban Design Reader*, edited by Michael Larice and Elizabeth MacDonald. London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013.
[117] Krellenberg, Kerstin, Juliane Welz, and Sonia Reyes-Päcke. "Urban Green Areas and Their Potential for Social Interaction – A Case Study of a Socio-Economically Mixed Neighbourhood in Santiago de Chile." *Habitat International* 44 (2014): 11–21. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2014.04.004.
[118] Peters, Karin, Birgit Elands, and Arjen Buijs. "Social Interactions in Urban Parks: Stimulating Social Cohesion?" *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening* 9, no. 2 (2010): 93–100. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ufug.2009.11.003.

housing, it has been found that levels of vegetation have predicted the use of a shared common space and the level of neighborhood social ties.[119] While it has not been empirically tested or verified, a review of urban planning and social capital literature suggests that public spaces increase social capital.[120]

Although parks have great potential to stimulate contact between groups of people, this might not always be the case. Parks can act as places to gather for diverse groups of people, where they might have contact with one another, but they might also act as barriers between two different neighborhoods.[121] One group may lay claim to the park and make other groups feel unwelcome and thus they will minimize their visit to the park. Just as people can gather in parks so too can they be a place where group tensions play out. I think this is most likely a reflection of attitudes of the park's users than the park itself. For the contact hypothesis to work, in general people must have an open mind to a certain extent and existing attitude cannot prevent the contact from taking place. Despite this however I believe that parks are valuable places for people to gather and to recognize their fellow citizens, and are ultimately beneficial to citizenship.

Parks are an important part of creating more active citizens through the aspects of deliberative democracy as I have shown, but we should also consider the provision of parks in the liberal tradition of citizenship. While there is some dispute as to if there is discrimination in the access of public parks, it has been found that there are inequities in

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[119] Kuo, Frances E, William C Sullivan, Rebekah Levine Coley, and Liesette Brunson. "Fertile Ground for Community: Inner-City Neighborhood Common Spaces." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 26, no. 6 (1998): 823–51. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022294028903.

[120] Ijla, Akram M. "Does Public Space Create Social Capital?" *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (February 29, 2012): 48–53. https://doi.org/10.5897/IJSA11.084.

[121] Gobster, Paul H. "Urban Parks as Green Walls or Green Magnets? Interracial Relations in Neighborhood Boundary Parks." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 41, no. 1 (May 15, 1998): 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0169-2046(98)00045-0.

the size and quality of parks with ethnic minorities and people of lower socioeconomic status having access to smaller parks of lower quality, reflecting a divide between inner cities and the suburbs.[122] This is concerning to many because of the health benefits which parks provide which are less accessible to underprivileged groups. Yet this should also be concerning from the perspective of citizenship because it violates the equality amongst citizens implicit in the liberal tradition of citizenship and its implications of making citizens less active. While restricting voting rights is a more obvious way that the liberal conceptualization of citizenship is violated which results in less active citizens, we should also recognize the way in which the violation or abridgement of rights is built into the physical landscape which in turn depress participation.

Whereas parks are gathering places were people come together and interact, sidewalks play a different role in terms of public space. In an urban environment, citizens walk out of their home and onto the sidewalk, moving from their private sphere into public space. Most often we simply use sidewalks to get from point A to point B. They act as a mode of transportation. This unto itself in valuable as they allow people to circulate which is vital to the success of cities.[123] Without sidewalks people would never leave their home or they would travel via their car which would not enable them to have any spontaneous social interactions since they are cloistered in their vehicle. We often see this in the suburbs as cars are necessary to go anywhere and there are not always sidewalks.

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[122] Rigolon, Alessandro. "A Complex Landscape of Inequity in Access to Urban Parks: A Literature Review." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 153 (September 1, 2016): 160–69. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.05.017.

[123] Jacobs, Jane. *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011.

History has also shown us that sidewalks are important public spaces where our understanding of citizenship plays out. In the Jim Crow era south, it was expected that African Americans would get off the sidewalk if white people were walking on it, just one of many expectations of African Americans under Jim Crow as a part of the existing white supremacist system.[124] In contrast to the Jim Crow system, everyone walking on the sidewalk without there being any expectation of anyone having to move off the sidewalk can be seen as an everyday act of equality. In this way sidewalks and the expectations of those who walk on them are intertwined with the liberal conceptualization of citizenship.

Jane Jacobs attributes three important functions to sidewalks in cities: safety, contact and the assimilation of children.[125] The most important of these for democracy being contact as ideally deliberation in a democracy will occur in person. Jacobs asserts that sidewalks and the public interactions on them create "a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighborhood need."[126] The public identity of people and web of trust which Jacobs describes as being created by sidewalks we can understand as a community. The public identity of people forms the shared culture, while the web of trust creates the interpersonal relationships, the two components identified as creating community in the previous chapter. In this assertion Jacobs also says that sidewalks create social capital as

[124] Berrey, Stephen A. *The Jim Crow Routine: Everyday Performances of Race, Civil Rights, and Segregation in Mississippi*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2015. http://muse.jhu.edu/book/39480.
[125] Jacobs, Jane. *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011.
[126] Ibid, Pg. 56

the web of public trust and respect is a resource in her words. Bonds between people, especially those which can be used in a time of need, is precisely social capital.

Integral to the community and social capital that sidewalks create according to Jacobs are what she calls public characters. Public characters are individuals who interact with a great number of people in an area or neighborhood. They form important nodes in the social network of the neighborhood community. Jacobs identifies businessmen and shop keeper as the most important of these public characters as all other public characters rely on them. This is because storekeepers have their eyes on the street but also due to the fact that many people patronize their establishments in the course of their everyday errands.[127]

Beyond potentially functioning as special public spaces, businesses draw people out of their homes. It is important to note that in the case of the Athenian Agora and of sidewalks which Jacobs describes businesses are connected to each other by public space. The more unique and diverse a commercial area, often the more people it attracts as each business can draw its own clientele and when these groups are all gathered in one location, they may patronize other establishments. Malls stand as the antithesis to the Athenian Agora and sidewalks. They are often a collection of un-unique chain stores, entirely enclosed, connecting all of the stores within them with private space.[128] While they might act as special public spaces, since people can gather in them and they might allow for deliberation, most often they do not as they are heavily policed and loitering in

[127] Jacobs, Jane. *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage Books, A division of Random House, Inc., 2011. Chapter 3.
[128] Barber, Benjamin R. "Malled, Mauled, and Overhauled." *Public Space and Democracy*, edited by Marcel Hénaff and Tracy B. Strong, University of Minnesota Press, 2001, pp. 201–20.

them will result in being removed from them. While malls in many ways imitate the public domain, they are quite the opposite. Those who loiter in malls are typically teenagers with nothing else better to do. Everyone else accomplishes their shopping interacting with very few people and leaving as quickly as they came.

Streets can also function as public spaces but only under specific circumstances, in that when they are not being driven on by cars. Streets have been home to numerous marches and protests, from the civil rights movement to climate change demonstrations. Today, protesters are fond of chanting "who's streets? Our streets!" claiming the street for democracy and political speech. Streets also host street fairs, where people have come together in mutual celebration of an occasion, which helps to create place attachment and common experience from which culture can be formed. Although often home to cars which prevent them from being claimed as public space, street can become important places for democracy.

Many of the public spaces which I have described can be programed in order to bring people out of their homes and into the community. Often neighborhoods hold street fairs or farmers markets in the streets, movie nights in parks and a number of other events. Holding events such as these in public spaces is known as place activation. Place activation places citizens in spaces with their fellow citizens although they may not engage citizens in political discourse, some have the capacity to do so. A particular movie shown in the park or a speaker event in a public space might spark conversation. Art can be political and its display in a public space can add to a larger public discourse. Place activation can be done by local organizations or the local government, regardless of who sponsors the place activation, public spaces are needed to allow for it to occur. Once a

place is activated, citizens can interact with their fellow citizens potentially furthering democracy.

While democracy is no longer indistinguishable from public space as it was during the time of Athenian Democracy, we can hardly imagine democracy without it. Although we now have representatives, we still feel the need to gather in protest, directly stating our beliefs on an issue or set of issues. Similarly, those of minority opinions, who may not have representation, use protests to state their claim in the larger political debate. Without public spaces, protests of these sorts would be impossible. Certainly the internet is changing this in some way, but in a public space everything is visible. On the internet we can easily filter the information which receive so as to not see any view we might disagree with. Unlike the internet, public spaces also allow us to interact with our fellow citizens in person, become a part of a geographic community and build social capital in that community. Although democracy has changed overtime, public space has always accompanied it. Public space continues to be in many ways the physical embodiment of democracy.

Housing as a Right

The most obvious connection between housing and citizenship is to recognize housing as a human right in line with the liberal model of citizenship. While housing does not immediately strike us as a right or freedom that we enjoy in the same way that we utilize free speech or freedom of religion, it has an undoubtable impact on the everyday lives of citizens. Housing is undeniably necessary for human flourishing and a basic need of human beings. As such, adequate housing has been recognized as a human right in Article 25 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights[129] as well as in Article 11(1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.[130] Franklin Delano Roosevelt also proposed housing as a right in his proposed Second Bill of Rights which he offered in his State of the Union in 1944, saying that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence."[131] Congress however never passed FDR's Second Bill of Rights and today only South Africa recognizes housing as a right in its constitution.

In line with our understanding as housing a necessity for human flourishing, we can see the provision of adequate housing to every citizen agrees with the capabilities approach. Understanding housing as a right which is inseparable from perhaps our most basic right/capability to live is self-evident and uncontroversial. What is more difficult is to make this

[129] "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," October 6, 2015. http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/.
[130] "OHCHR | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights." Accessed November 18, 2018. https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx.
[131] Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. "Full Text Transcription of the January 11, 1944 State of the Union Address to Congress. Also Known as the Economic Bill of Rights Speech and the Second Bill of Rights Speech." Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum. Accessed January 23, 2019. http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/address_text.html.

right both a physical reality, since housing is expensive to build and to understand the right to housing exists not just at the national level. The idea that housing is a right which must be reflected everywhere and not just at the national level in aggregate will be explored later.

Akin to housing as a human right, Susan Fainstein focuses on housing with regards to diversity and equity, two of the three characteristics of a just city that must be maximized in her view.[132] She advocates for inclusive zoning to promote equity and for less exclusionary zoning regulations to promote diversity.[133] Fainstein considers democracy to be an aspect of a just city but does not connect it with housing. I believe that housing and democracy are related and shall show this in the next section.

Housing and Deliberative Democracy

Housing and active citizenship are principally related by the fact that if an individual does not have all of their human needs met, they are less likely and less able to participate in democracy because their participation is made more difficult. Providing that every citizen has their basic human needs met, such as housing, would likely increase the participation of those individuals currently in need. Housing is also connected to political participation, voting in particular, because it is based on where an individual lives. An exception to this would be a county that only uses proportional representation but even then there are often subunits of government which individuals may participate in such as states, provinces, counties and municipalities. The powers of subunits of governments vary but in most cases they make numerous decisions which affect people's everyday lives. Housing also effects and relates to the set of policies or even regime type under which we live. Public choice theory contends that we

[132] Fainstein, Susan S. *The Just City*. Cornell University Press, 2010.
[133] Ibid, pg. 172-4

can vote with our feet and move if we dislike the policies that govern us. Yet our ability to move and vote with our feet is limited by a number of factors such as socioeconomic status and others. Socioeconomic status principally interacts with housing in determining where someone is able to live, as many places will have lower paying jobs but they will not always have housing affordable that is for those who work those jobs. Without making a judgement on the normative ideas of public choice theory, it can be recognized that for the theory to describe an actual choice which can be made, affordable housing must be found in all polities such that everyone has the opportunity to move there. Yet this is clearly not the case.

Housing is unique in its political effects because it can determine the composition of a local polity. If a municipality is comprised only of large single-family homes on large lots, then said homes will be expensive and only individuals with the means to buy them will live there. Often it is not the market which causes housing in an area to develop in this way but rather local zoning regulations which set lot minimums and occupancy limits. Zoning regulations such as I have described create and maintain economically homogenous polities. The creation of housing thus becomes a highly charged political question in a local democracy as to who the demos, the people of which it is comprised, will be. It should be noted that this power has been greatly reduced as local governments, developers and homeowners used to be able to restrict where people could live based on race and other attributes with zoning regulations and deed restrictions. These sorts of regulations have been eliminated over time through court decisions and antidiscrimination laws. As we have promoted individual rights, in line with the liberal model of citizenship, the ability to exclude has been weakened, but has by no means gone away.

Faced with the question of a homogeneous polity, the ideas of Rousseau must be revisited. While Rousseau's idea that a small polity creates more active citizens was defended in

the chapter III, what was not defended was his ideas about homogeneity. As was seen, Rousseau wanted a homogenous society such that the general will would prevail over the wills of individuals and groups. To create this homogeneity, he wished to use censorship, civic religion and other generally oppressive means. These ideas rightly strike us as wrong today and even in the *Social Contract* we do not necessarily get the impression that people are participating in the democratic process out of enthusiasm or volition but out of duty where they will articulate the general will, which would maintain the social regime which Rousseau envisions. A more contemporary problem than anyone instituting Rousseau's vision however is us separating ourselves into homogenous groups. While this self-sorting is unlikely to create what Rousseau desires, it can cause some of the detrimental effects which have already been identified in discussing the effects of heavily emphasizing a shared culture in relationship to community. Yet, we have in fact already sorted ourselves into homogeneous groups, with a number of negative consequences.

Americans began to move into the suburbs en masse in the 1950, and today it is still common for a large city to be surrounded by smaller municipalities which form that city's metropolitan area. Often more people live in the metropolitan area of a city than in the city itself. One key effect of this mentioned previously is that suburbanization has caused longer commutes which has caused a reduction in our social capital.[134] This has not been the only effect of suburbanization. Before suburbanization, cities were diverse places where everyone lived and worked but new technologies such as the automobile made it possible to move out of the city. Those with the means moved out of the city when industrial jobs and cities lost revenue when the

[134] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, 2000. Pg. 204-16

affluent created their own suburban municipalities.[135] This process was aided by the federal government through redlining and mortgage guarantees which were not given to African Americans which greatly disadvantaged them.[136] While the policies that created this arrangement no longer exists, the arrangement itself persists to this day as we see many wealthy suburbs surrounding poorer cities.

Beyond the normative concerns related to racial and socioeconomic segregation that suburbanization has brought, suburbanization has negatively affected citizen participation. In his empirical study of democracy in the suburbs, Eric J. Oliver found that economic homogeneity reduces citizen interest in local politics and thus reduces the likelihood that citizens will participate in local politics through voting, contacting local officials or attend a meeting of an organization or community group.[137] Places that are economically heterogeneous are more interested in politics and thus participate more than both affluent and poor heterogeneous locals.[138] Understanding the empirical effects of economic homogeneity we can begin to understand why having a diverse supply of housing, namely having affordable housing is beneficial for democracy.

Oliver's findings about how economic homogeneity also relate to deliberative democracy, which was shown in chapter II to increase an individual's efficacy. Many people offer criteria for what deliberative democracy is and what produces quality democratic deliberation. For James Fishkin, who pioneered the deliberative opinion poll and has run many deliberative opinion polls, democratic deliberation has five elements: Information, substantive

[135] Oliver, Eric J. *Democracy in Suburbia*. Princeton University Press, 2001. Pg. 1-33
[136] Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*. Princeton University Press, 2010.
[137] Oliver, Eric J. *Democracy in Suburbia*. Princeton University Press, 2001. Pg. 68-98
[138] Ibid

balance, conscientiousness, equal consideration and diversity.[139] When considering cities and citizenship, we must consider which of these components can be integrated into the physical landscape of the city. Information, substantive balance, conscientiousness and equal consideration are all aspects of the deliberation itself, either through how the deliberations are moderated or the conduct of the deliberators. The element of diversity however relates to the participants themselves, thus we can consider how we can create diversity of people in the physical landscape. As already noted, this diversity is currently lacking in many of America's suburbs.

Since people participate in the politics of the place they live, the diversity required of democratic deliberation in a deliberative democracy can be created through housing. An area can attract or be home to a diverse set of people so long as there are diverse housing options. In a simple sense this means housing which is affordable and options such as renting or buying a home or apartment. Yet this also means having diverse amenities which are related to how people evaluate their housing options. Diversity in employment options are also needed to bring in a diverse group of people. However, diverse employment options are not something that urban planners or the government can necessarily create through urban planning and design. By promoting diversity, political participation can be promoted in a direct way, but also through the promotion of deliberative democracy which in turn increases efficacy and promotes participation.

Critics of deliberative democracy and deliberation will eye what I have proposed skeptically however as they see deliberation as privileging certain forms of communication over

[139] Fishkin, James S. *When the People Speak : Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2009.

others. This privileging of certain forms of communication in turn becomes the privileging of already privileged groups.[140] In this view, my suggestion that there should be diversity to further deliberation is rather pointless since deliberation itself marginalizes these voices. Proponents of deliberative democracy have replied to this criticism of deliberation by expanding the forms of communication which are a part of deliberation. Iris Marion Young proposes greetings, rhetoric and storytelling as forms of communication in deliberative democracy.[141] These forms of communications which Young proposes I believe are best exemplified when in person. Stories are their most powerful when we can see the facial expression and body language of the person telling. Greetings are their most personable when in person and not through calls and text. Empirical research has also found that deliberation is for everyone.[142] Additionally, creating a diverse polity in which people will interact with each other in person, as their housing facilitates, allows deliberation to be more inclusive and for everyone to benefit from deliberative democracy.

While I have presented diversity as good for democracy and political participation, some have claimed that diversity has the opposite effect. They claim that the more diverse a nation, the less likely it is to embrace democracy, and more likely to become authoritarian.[143] The problem with this claim however is that diversity has been measured in inconsistent ways. Rather than have one metric for what diversity is, these critics measure diversity on a country by country

[140] Sanders, Lynn M. "Against Deliberation." *Political Theory* 25, no. 3 (1997): 347–76.
[141] Young, Iris Marion. "Inclusive Political Communications." In *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2000.
[142] Curato, Nicole, John S. Dryzek, Selen A. Ercan, Carolyn M. Hendriks, and Simon Niemeyer. "Twelve Key Findings in Deliberative Democracy Research." *Daedalus* 146, no. 3 (June 29, 2017): 28–38. https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00444.
[143] Fish, M. Steven, and Robin S Brooks. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 1 (2004): 154–66. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2004.0009.

basis. When diversity is considered with one metric, the claim that diversity harms a county's odds of becoming a democracy falls flat.[144]

This national level critique is not the only critique of diversity in democracy. Robert Putnam, using data from the United States, has found that the presence of ethnic diversity people "hunker down," and there is a reduction of social capital for all groups.[145] Examining data from Europe however, one study found Putnam's thesis that diversity depresses social capital does not hold.[146] While in another study his thesis only partially held true.[147] These competing findings would suggest that Putnam's findings are not generalizable beyond the US context. Furthermore, additional research which has confirmed Putnam's thesis in the United States and Canada on the neighborhood level also finds that individuals who talk to their neighbors regularly are less influenced by their context, concluding that social ties can mitigate the already found negative effects of diversity on social trust.[148]

Research on ethnic violence between Hindus and Muslims in India further substantiates how contact between ethnic groups mitigates the potential negatives associated with ethnic diversity. Ashutosh Varshney finds that the presence of everyday interactions and participation in the same civic associations between Muslims and Hindus can prevent deadly riots.[149]

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[144] Ibid
[145] Putnam, Robert D. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 137–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x.
[146] Gesthuizen, M.J.W, T.W.G. van der Meer, and P.L.H Scheepers. "Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital in Europe: Tests of Putnam's Thesis in European Countries." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 32, no. 2 (2009): 121–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2008.00217.x.
[147] Gijsberts, Mérove, Tom van der Meer, and Jaco Dagevos. "'Hunkering Down' in Multi-Ethnic Neighbourhoods? The Effects of Ethnic Diversity on Dimensions of Social Cohesion." *European Sociological Review* 28, no. 4 (2012): 527–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23272536.
[148] Stolle, Dietlind, Stuart Soroka, and Richard Johnston. "When Does Diversity Erode Trust? Neighborhood Diversity, Interpersonal Trust and the Mediating Effect of Social Interactions." *Political Studies* 56, no. 1 (2008): 57–75. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00717.x.
[149] Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life : Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press, 2002. U-M Catalog Search.

Varshney notes that in small communities, everyday interactions are enough to prevent ethnic violence while in cities participation in the same civic associations by both groups becomes much more important and makes cities resistant to national level shocks or events which strain intercommunity relations. He further finds that strong intercommunity civic life can limit the actions of politicians and prevent them from using ethnic tensions for political gain.[150] Referencing studies in other countries, Varshney finds his findings to be generalizable.[151]

These empirical findings which indicate that contact between groups is necessary to mitigate the negative effects of diversity leads to an important inference. Diversity in neighborhoods and polities must be integrated. Diversity without integration firstly deprives a polity of the positive effects of deliberative democracy but also creates the negative effects of homogeniety which has already been referenced. Housing is key to creating integration in both neighborhoods and polities. While historically housing policies have been used to create segregation, building affordable housing and implementing inclusive zoning, which requires affordable housing units to be created in buildings which have market rate units, can create integration. While neighborhood themselves must be integrated, housing must also endeavor to promote interaction as well. This has not always happened. Some apartments which include affordable units, which would seem to create integration, also have separate entrances for those who live in those affordable units. These have come to known as "poor doors" and undermine the integration which having affordable units in the same building as market rate units creates. Empirical research has shown that housing creates social interaction through public spaces near said housing with small and confined places near residential buildings being significantly related

[150] Ibid Pg. 297-300.
[151] Ibid, Pg. 297-300.

to social interaction and friendship formulation.[152] While this is related to public space which was discussed in the last chapter, these design considerations are also related to housing as they can be incorporated as a part of the site plan of individual buildings and large housing developments.

This diversity of housing, and thus the diversity of people needed for quality democratic deliberation must be present at the level of neighborhood design. Interpersonal deliberation often happens on a small scale and thus the smaller size of the neighborhood is much more conducive to deliberation than the larger size of the whole city. Here we must also return to housing as a right and the way that it must be understood on the local level. If we consider the supply of housing in a large aggregate, we might see that there is a diversity and leave it at that. What we would miss in that assessment however is that segregation may be present, as this would not be apparent from looking at the situation in aggregate. To ensure the positive effects of diversity, there ought not to be segregation but rather integration. A diverse supply of housing in every neighborhood will help to ensure that there is in fact integration. This is not to say that every neighborhood will be able to create a completely diverse housing supply which is fully inclusive to all groups. What is necessary is that there be some diversity in a neighborhood's housing supply. As has been shown, homogeneity is detrimental to democracy while diversity furthers it.

[152] Abu-Ghazzeh, Tawfiq M. "Housing Layout, Social Interaction, and the Place of Contact in Abu-Nuseir, Jordan." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 19, no. 1 (March 1, 1999): 41–73. https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.1998.0106.

Conclusion

In this work I have sought to prescribe urban design elements which promote citizenship, namely the active citizenship of the republican model. I have done so believing in the value of democracy and citizen participation. That is not to say however that cities cannot be planned with other aims in mind, as was seen in Chapter I with Kautilya's Arthasastra which codified the caste system into the landscape. In more modern times we can also see how Albert Speer's plan for remaking Berlin into what the Nazi's believed would become their world capital of Germania promoted the glory of the regime and authoritarianism. Any plan that is made will have some objectives in mind, planned cities simply show us this most clearly. When we ask what our cities are designed to promote today, many answer capitalism, and cite how cities often give tax breaks to large corporations or provide infrastructure improvements to encourage them to build in a locality. While many debate whether this should or should not be done, I offer my prescriptions in the hopes that most will agree that the promotion of citizenship and democracy should be built into the landscape. I do not propose these things as a cure all, but only as one route which can be taken.

The three design features which I have prescribed in the second half of this work are by no means the only ones which have a positive impact on democracy. If not for time constraints, I would also make neighborhood schools a prescription, recognizing their importance to democracy as expounded upon by John Dewey. Furthermore, in some cities, access to schools and in particular neighborhood schools is becoming increasingly limited. Beyond the educational implications of public schools and Dewey's ideas about them, public schools serve as community centers, drawing people together and are important places where people can become active in their community. Public transportation I also believe to be important as it can allow for

social mobility. Social mobility will in turn create greater participation and political efficacy in those who are able to move upward socioeconomically. Transportation also interconnects neighborhoods, which could become isolated if they come to consist only of strong tie relationships with little possibly of forming relationships with those of the surrounding neighborhoods. Public transit can also help neighborhoods to become vibrant and in a way acts as a public space where strangers can interact. I have offered a wide definition of public spaces speaking about them broadly when there may be public spaces which deserve special attention for their particular characteristics. Businesses might be one such special public space as market interaction may promote equality through equal dignity as Elizabeth Anderson has suggested.[153] There are likely other design features which deserve special attention which I have not focused on here or in the preceding chapters.

While this work has been primarily theoretical, I have endeavored to use empirical research wherever I can to bolster the claims I make. Despite my more purely theoretical claims, I believe what I propose is empirically testable, although that is beyond the scope of this present work. For my hypothesis to be tested, I believe that a checklist of the characteristics and amenities which I have outlined would need to be developed. Having done this, the existing neighborhoods of a city could be assessed and graded on how many characteristics they have. I would expect that the neighborhoods which have more of the characteristics which I have prescribed will have higher rates of participation, assuming other variables are controlled for, as well as higher social capital, again assuming other variables are controlled for. This would lend

[153] Anderson, Elizabeth. *Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk about It)*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017.

evidence to my claims, although there could be troublesome lurking variables such as park placement and design, and others which I have not gone into great technical detail about here.

Should the prescriptions which I have put forward be implemented, I believe this would create the possibility of other institutional reforms which would further democratic control and active citizenship. Focusing on neighborhoods as small polities and creating community within them opens up the possibility of direct democracy akin to the practices of Athens. One way of implementing this is through participatory budgeting, which has been implemented in over 3,000 cities.[154] Participatory budgeting works by allowing citizens to come together and design projects, which the community then debates and votes on how to allocate a certain amount of money which has been previously set aside.[155] Participatory budgeting represents a small return to a system of direct democracy where citizens can determine how their money is spent without any system of representation. It also allows for a system of deliberative democracy as citizens weigh and discuss the merits of each proposal. Deliberative democracy theorists would argue this is good for normative reasons but as shown in Chapter II, deliberative democracy can improve political efficacy.

Neighborhoods could also embrace direct democracy by creating a Neighborhood Landsgemeinde. The Landsgemeinde originated in Switzerland as a coming together of all Swiss citizens on one day to vote on questions facing the polity. The Landsgemeinde is conducted as open-air meeting with majority rule and non-secret ballot in the spirit of direct democracy reminiscent of Ancient Athens. Landsgemeindes are still practiced today in the cantons Appenzell Innerrhoden, and Glarus, Switzerland as well as some local districts in Appenzell

[154] "What Is PB?" Participatory Budgeting Project. Accessed January 16, 2019. https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/what-is-pb/.
[155] Ibid

Innerrhoden. This practice is also akin to the New England town meeting, although in the case of Landsgermeindes in Switzerland, they are used to pass canton or state level legislation. A public space, if sufficiently large, could accommodate the citizens of a neighborhood to answer the important questions which are posed to the neighborhood.

These Landsgemeindes could be given powers deemed appropriate for them such as planning and zoning decisions in their neighborhoods. Although not Landsgemeindes, cities such as Burlington and Portland, among others, have Neighborhood Planning Associations which exercise a similar authority. In the spirit of deliberative democracy, Neighborhood Landsgemeindes could also act as policy juries, deciding if polies should be implemented their respective neighborhood. It would of course have to be determined which policies they might be allowed to have a say in accepting or rejecting. If a Landsgemeinde was implemented in each neighborhood throughout a city, on the day which they all met the city would be filled with citizens participating in democracy, making their voice heard not just by electing a representative but directly voting on issues. They might serve as powerful symbols for the vitality of democracy and might actually increase turnout as seeing a multitude of citizens gathered in a public place would create social pressure which has been found to increase voting.[156] Although not a Landsgemeinde, Minneapolis' Neighborhood Revitalization Program has been found to increase civic participation.[157] Instituting a neighborhood institution such as what I have suggested would be a radical development for urban democracy, but I believe it would promote political

[156] Green, Donald P., and Alan S. Gerber. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*. Brookings Institution Press, 2015. http://muse.jhu.edu/book/42590.
[157] Fagotto, Elena, and Archon Fung. "Empowered Participation in Urban Governance: The Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 3 (2006): 638–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00685.x.

participation and strengthen democracy nor is it unprecedented as I have drawn from the example of direct democracy in Switzerland.

While this suggestion of neighborhood level political institutions would require definite boundaries, which is seemingly at odds with the conceptualization which I offered of the neighborhood as an abstract overlay, this apparent contradiction is not an issue. Our modern political institutions require defined boundaries, but our understanding of neighborhoods does not. As stated, the boundaries of neighborhoods are more imagined than definite. Short of creating physical barriers between neighborhoods, we will not be able sync the barriers between the neighborhood as they exist in people's minds and the boundaries of political institutions. The reasons for why this should not be done have already been given. We do not need these two sets of boarders to align nor is it pragmatically useful. The boundaries of local political institutions might inform how individuals see the boundaries of their neighborhood, but this is by no means certain. Nevertheless, it is perfectly acceptable and perhaps beneficial that urban planners see the city with a different understanding of neighborhood boundaries than local political institutions would.

In our modern times we have agreed that democracy is good and should be promoted, some might even argue that it is an intrinsic good. As such, it is in our interests to promote it, both as a system of institutions but as a political arrangement which places a fundamental importance on citizens. People, existing in physical space, create physical things which reflect our values. Cities are perhaps our grandest creations, and they are only growing. As we continue to create cities, we should dedicate ourselves to creating them through democratic processes as communicative planning theory recommends but also in the design elements we create and consider.

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