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Schwartz, Joel. *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals and Redevelopment of the Inner City*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 375. Illustrations, maps, tables, index. US \$35.00

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form into distinct periods. Within these periods he analyzes the impact of immigration, capital shifts from one sector of the economy to another, changes in income, destabilizing developments such as the Middle East oil embargo and de-industrialization. He illustrates how land use planning has been highly reactive to these wider developments in the economy.

In considering the socio-political dimension, McLoughlin analyzes the influence of an impressive range of structures and agencies that constitute the power blocs in society. At the same time, the discussion is often sufficiently comprehensive to detail the role of particular individuals. The author discusses the influence and locational preferences of various sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing, finance, commerce, and housing. The role of community groups such as anti-freeway and anti-slum organizations is assessed, as is the role of labour and the philosophies of political parties at local state and federal levels. The influence of the built environment professions — architects, engineers, and planners — is considered as well. This section ends with comments on the extensive influence of public corporations that act not just as mediators between other factions and the engineers of powerful investment partnerships between private sector capital and government, but also as power blocs in their own right.

The damning evidence in these two themes is brought together very effectively in the geographical dimension in which a series of maps provides a very clear contrast between stated planning intentions and actual outcomes. Comparisons are made at both the macro (metro-region) level and the micro level that deals with specific projects or areas such as the city centre to provide answers to a number of broad questions. Did the various plans shift the direction of

development as intended? Did plans contain explosive suburban growth? Were major open space allocations protected? Did the city centre develop as planned? It is apparent that there has been very little correspondence between plans and reality at the metro-region level, though slightly more success has been achieved at the residential neighbourhood level.

McLoughlin then questions why planners have had so little influence in Melbourne. He concludes that they have been cut off institutionally and politically from those with greater leverage over development — the factions representing industry and commerce, for example. He also suggests that the strategies planners have put forward have not been well grounded in theories of urban growth and development. Nor has there been any systematic monitoring and analysis of demographic and development phenomena which would help planners to understand the urban dynamics which they are trying to control. Moreover, in his judgement planners seem unaware of relevant academic research that could assist them. But, in the end McLoughlin also wonders whether perhaps we are all a little naive about the ability of planners to influence the pattern and form of development in a society so wedded to the market economy.

There is a short section on changes in research and practise that might improve the situation, but it is very brief and weakly developed. Certainly this is a topic that could have been expanded.

This book should certainly be read by those in the general field of planning and urban development. It will also be of interest to students and professionals in the related fields of urban studies, geography, history, sociology, and political science. Few books make such a significant contribution to our understanding of the

various factors, agencies and processes that affect how land is developed and the urban built form produced. No claim is made that what has happened in Melbourne is typical of the successes or failures of the planning profession in general but this is a very informed study of the difficulties the planning profession faces.

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**Schwartz, Joel. *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals and Redevelopment of the Inner City*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 375. Illustrations, maps, tables, index. US \$35.00.**

Joel Schwartz's thoroughly researched and clearly written study of housing redevelopment in New York City reveals a strong consensus among the city's urban experts and liberal activists for the housing policies adopted between the 1930s and the end of the 1950s. During the period, the city granted huge subsidies to private builders and undertook massive construction projects that "transformed the city, physically and morally," the author writes in his preface.

The physical transformation is apparent to any observer. Huge high rise apartment complexes, including 314 acres supported by Federal Title I slum clearance funds, are enduring monuments to the power of New York's redevelopment machine. The moral transformation is invisible. It stems from the treatment of the people who do not live in these complexes — the ones who were relocated. Ridding the town of the decrepit tenements where its least fortunate citizens lived was one of redevelopment's primary goals. Providing better housing for

workers, later the middle-class, was the other. Never was the objective to improve housing for the truly impoverished. And the provisions to relocate families whose homes were demolished, families that were almost invariably poor and disproportionately black and Puerto Rican, were systematically inadequate.

In *The Power Broker* (1974), Robert Caro attributes the disturbing disregard for redevelopment's uprooted tenants to the imperious personality of city master builder Robert Moses. Schwartz acknowledges Moses's tactics, but with the perceptive eye of a scholar provides rich evidence that the city's politicians and housing officials, its civic elite and the leaders of the neighbourhoods most affected, supported Moses's programs, or at least winked at them. Institutions like Sloane Kettering Memorial Hospital and NYU-Bellevue Medical Center actively encouraged Moses to clear unwanted slums from their neighbourhoods.

The new research provides an important corrective. New York's redevelopment initiatives were not the product of a brilliant public servant run amok. They were the result of a consensus in favor of subsidized housing for workers and middle-class New Yorkers, and for eliminating substandard tenements without much regard for where their inhabitants would go. The roots of this New York Approach can be found in the Progressive Era. Jacob Riis, Mary Simkhovitch and others sought to improve the living conditions of the "worthy poor" whose work habits and morality justified help. The approach consciously excluded the most troublesome slum dwellers. Moses simply implemented, with fierce effectiveness, programs consistent with New York's liberal tradition.

Official stinginess and a cavalier attitude towards the dispossessed are principal

reasons Schwartz declares New York's redevelopment program immoral. He proves the meagerness of relocation provisions, showing, for example, that only 28 per cent of the displaced at the Manhattantown project could expect to find apartments in public housing, and that the Stuyvesant Town relocation allowance came to a paltry \$57.30 per household. Ironically, however, the poor, who, as Schwartz so passionately reminds us, were forgotten, remain invisible in his book. We never learn what actually happened to the displaced and if they suffered. The study never responds to the implicit logic of the redevelopers who assumed that construction of thousands of new apartments would raise the quality of the city's housing stock sufficiently to leave even the poor better off when the human shell game stopped.

Redevelopment projects solidified the segregation of New York's neighbourhoods because public officials were unwilling to confront the racial attitudes of the times. They conceived of buildings as black or white depending on location and actively avoided any effort to integrate the city. Site clearance in industrial and manufacturing neighbourhoods intensified and accelerated the flight of low skill jobs from New York. In assessing the impact of this blue collar blight, however, the author goes too far by dismissing the argument that a structural shift in the national and world economies was the fundamental reason manufacturing disappeared from the city.

In his concluding insights, Schwartz condemns the undemocratic process and damaging results of redevelopment. The program gave "moral sanction to inequitable priorities," he writes. But he provides no balance. He never acknowledges the value of the housing built. He offers no quarter for pragmatic liberals who closed their eyes to perplexing problems of race and class because they believed the programs they sup-

ported accomplished the greatest possible good within the limits prevailing attitudes imposed. Despite the moralizing tone, and occasional hyperbole, like a declaration that the Title I program may be the watershed of New York's history in the twentieth century, the book is eminently readable, an excellent piece of scholarship and a provocative history of a program enormously important to America's largest city.

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Spencer, Elaine Glovka. *Police and the Social Order in German Cities: The Düsseldorf District, 1848-1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992. Pp. xvi, 245. 8 tables. US\$ 32.50

In the aftermath of the 1848-49 revolutions, the Prussian state adopted a policy on matters relating to the police and the maintenance of public order which remained basically in place so long as the monarchy survived. Throughout the imperial era the state government adhered to its own vision of control through effective policing, sometimes appearing inclined to accommodate the demands of urban elites worried by working-class unruliness but most times retaining a firm command over the apparatus of control, a command exercised with growing confidence as the decades rolled by. In this short case-study of a district in the industrialized Ruhr, Elaine Glovka Spencer manages to address a range of issues of interest and importance to students of modern Europe in general as well as to students of urban institutions in particular: social control strategies, the mechanisms of control, the perception of "order," bourgeois and elitist, and the manner in which this cluster of concerns both defined and was shaped by the dynamic between the state and local (urban) authority.