What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?

Daphne Spain
School of Architecture, University of Virginia

From the Chicago human ecologists to the Los Angeles postmodernists, urban theorists have tried to understand how space is structured by technological, political, economic, and cultural forces; gender is seldom examined. Yet both women's status and urban form underwent significant changes following World War II. As the home became less predictably the center of women's lives, the monocentric city was evolving into the polycentric metropolis. This article suggests that gender relations also have spatial implications for the metropolis, and that urban theory would be more comprehensive if it incorporated historically parallel developments in the literature on gender and space.

Professor Michael Dear issued an invitation to debate the merits of the Chicago and Los Angeles Schools of urban theory in the first issue of this journal. To briefly summarize his excellent essay, the Chicago human ecologists described the monocentric city as an organism driven by population invasion and succession, whereas the Los Angeles postmodernists interpret globalization and economic restructuring as forces shaping the contemporary metropolis. In the intervening years numerous theories focused on transportation and communication technology, cultural practices, the political economy, growth coalitions, and public-private regimes as the key processes driving urban development. Curiously missing from this list of explanations, however, is the role of gender relations. The purpose of this article is to bring the issue of gender into the debate about urban theory.

Neither the Chicago School at the beginning of the 20th century nor the Los Angeles School at its end adequately incorporated gender relations into theories of urban structure. Yet women's options in 1900 centered around the home, while their options in 2000 incorporated the workplace as well. The "walking city" of urban nostalgia still existed after home and work were separated *for men*. Only when women began to leave the home as well (in conjunction with the advent of the automobile) did the real spatial revolution begin.

World War II marked a turning point in the transformation of the monocentric industrial city into the polycentric informational metropolis.

City & Community 1:2 June 2002

Central cities typically experienced growth before the war and declined thereafter (Beauregard, 1993). World War II also signaled the beginning of the "third period of crisis-generated urban restructuring" (Soja, 2000, p. 110). Soon thereafter, women's ability to achieve economic independence increased dramatically. The subsequent restructuring of power within the home was surely as powerful an agent of urban change as the global economy. Indeed, the social movement for women's equality in industrialized nations has been called "the most important revolution because it goes to the roots of society and to the heart of who we are" (Castells, 1997, p. 135). Such a movement cannot change society without changing its cities as well.

A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Gender relations are determined by women's status, which often responds to demographic changes. "Gender relations" refer to the beliefs, expectations, and behavior that characterize interactions between women and men. Traditional gender relations in the United States made women economically dependent on men because men engaged in paid labor while women performed unpaid work and bore primary responsibility for childcare. When Park and Burgess were writing about Chicago at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, middle-class women were expected to stay home while their husbands or fathers went to the office. That is what they did; until 1940 less than one-quarter of all women were in the labor force. Many poor and minority women were employed in factories or as domestics, of course, but the ideal of separate spheres prevailed. Now, with 60 percent of all women in the labor force, it is the rare woman who does *not* work outside the home. For all races and ethnicities, the change in women's ability to earn a living affected gender relations by granting women greater economic power within, and outside, families.[1]

Feminist scholars have long recognized the spatial consequences of gender relations for cities. Edited volumes with titles such as *Building for Women*, *Women and the American City*, and *New Space for Women* proliferated in the 1980s (Ardener, 1981; Birch, 1985; Hayden, 1981, 1984; Keller, 1981; Leavitt, 1980; Stimpson et al., 1980; Wekerle et al., 1980). Sociologist Lyn Lofland applied a gender perspective to urban research in 1975 with her article on the "thereness" of women. Lofland pointed out that women perform much of the invisible work of maintaining urban neighborhoods through daily routines (Lofland, 1975), and nearly 20 years later Milroy and Wismer (1994) identified women's voluntary community work as an essential link between the home and workplace. There can be a downside to women's neighborhood involvement, however. Word-of-mouth can connect neighbors, but it also can reinforce racial and ethnic residential segregation (DeSena, 1994). Although these authors may or may not have intended to contribute to the larger field of urban theory, they were certainly dealing with urban space. The separation between gender issues

and urban theory is nothing new. Its seeds were sown nearly 100 years ago in Chicago.

FROM CHICAGO TO LOS ANGELES

Gender relations at the beginning of the 20th century idealized separate spheres in which wives maintained the home and family and men earned a living. Domestic architecture reinforced these stereotypes by designating separate rooms for feminine and masculine activities (Spain, 1992). A woman's status was determined largely by whom she married. Relatively ineffective contraception made for large families, high maternal mortality, and short life expectancy. Few women attended college or earned professional degrees, and the one-fifth of women who were in the labor force in 1900 were typically unmarried, low-paid immigrants and African Americans. As a group, then, women's potential for economic independence was relatively low. Their options centered primarily around the home.

Some women were exceptions to this profile. They lived in cities, away from their families while they worked for wages, and they publicly demonstrated for the vote (Meyerowitz, 1988; Ryan, 1990). A small minority of college-educated women created their own profession of settlement work, a combination of social work and progressive urban reform. The most notable settlement worker of all, Jane Addams, lived in Chicago's Hull House at the same time Robert Park and Ernest Burgess were developing their urban theories. Addams and Julia Lathrop documented deplorable conditions among immigrants in *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895). Yet Burgess considered their work only "the second stage in the trend of neighborhood work toward a scientific basis" (Park et al., [1925] 1967, p. 143). Jane Addams published in sociological journals and her contemporaries in the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration wrote extensively about housing reform (Abbott, 1936; Abbott and Breckinridge, 1912). The Department of Sociology dismissed their work, however, defining it as practical rather than theoretical (see Deegan, 1988; Sibley, 1995).

Subsequent research has revealed a Chicago terrain invisible to Park and Burgess. Hull House and other settlements established public baths, playgrounds, kitchens, libraries, and kindergartens in the midst of Burgess's zone of transition. Boarding homes for "women adrift," YWCA-sponsored residences and vocational schools, and Catholic shelters for women and girls occupied the same landscape (Hoy, 1997; Meyerowitz, 1988; Spain, 2001). But with the exception of the taxi-dance hall, where male patrons bought tickets to dance with women, members of the Chicago School virtually ignored gendered aspects of the city (Cressey, 1932).

They could have learned something from Jane Addams. Her memoirs, published in 1910 as *Twenty Years at Hull House*, included astute

observations about the impact of immigration on the city. Addams and her colleagues provided care for children whose mothers worked in factories, organized women to demand better garbage disposal and street cleaning, taught adults how to speak English, and sponsored festivals celebrating ethnic heritage. Hull House met so many needs that it grew from an individual residence to an entire city block. Eventually it encompassed a gymnasium, nursery, music school, coffee house, theater, and rooms for working girls (Spain, 2001). In the midst of the mundane, Addams recognized the sociological importance of her endeavor:

> The Settlement . . . is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the overaccumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other. (Addams, [1910] 1960, p. 98)

This sounds like theory combined with practice, or praxis, in Marxist terms. In fact, Jane Addams and other settlement workers were decidedly leftist politically, which may be one reason their ideas failed to gain currency with members of the Chicago School (Sibley, 1995).

Numerous theories emerged over the next 50 years to supplement or supplant the Chicago School. The shape of cities evolved into sectors and multiple nuclei, while explanations for their transformation were attributed to the political economy of growth machines and public-private regimes (Hoyt, 1939; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Stone, 1989). Central city neighborhoods declined and some rebounded (Beauregard, 1990; Laska and Spain, 1980; Smith and Williams, 1986). A strong thread of Marxism informed much late-20th-century theory, including the "dual city" metaphor for the spatial separation of upper and lower classes (Gottdiener, 1985; Katznelson, 1992; Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991). Marxist analysis also formed the foundation for postmodern urban theory.

Sociologist Manuel Castells in France and geographer David Harvey in the United States, both influenced by Henri Lefebvre, published significant work on the social production of urban space in the early 1970s. Edward Soja and Michael Dear, among others, have continued their tradition. These scholars propose that the absence of a central urban core is indicative of a fractured postmodern society. As society has become more fragmented by racial, ethnic, and gender diversity, the metropolis has assumed the form of a crazy quilt lacking a central focus. Los Angeles has eclipsed Chicago as the prototypical American city. Postmodern urban theory discards the human ecological models of the Chicago School, along with its positivist methodology, in favor of a philosophical, subjective interpretation of cities. Where Chicago sociologists saw the cooperation and benign competition characteristic of the industrial assembly line, the L. A. School sees the conflict and chaos associated with mobile

capital and labor (Castells, 1977, 1983; Dear, 2000; Harvey, 1973, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2000).

According to Steven Flusty and Michael Dear (1999), postmodern urbanism is characterized by edge cities, "privatopias" of homeowners' associations, "minoritization" (where the majority of the population is the nonwhite "other"), theme park environments, fortification, and "technopoles" (geographical loci of high-tech production). "Containment centers" (prisons) promote the image of the carceral city (Davis, 1990). Flusty and Dear invoke a gaming board metaphor they call "keno capitalism" to describe a seemingly random pattern of development. They conclude that "conventional city form, Chicago style, is sacrificed in favor of a noncontiguous collage of parcelized, consumption-oriented landscapes devoid of conventional centers"(Flusty and Dear, 1999, p. 46). The processes accounting for all these changes include economic restructuring, globalization, and environmental politics (Dear, 2001).

Like Park and Burgess, Flusty and Dear could have learned something from women working in the same city at the same time they were developing their postmodern perspective. Architectural historian Dolores Hayden and urban planner Jacqueline Leavitt, both then teaching at UCLA, recognized the implications of the contemporary women's movement for gender and the city. They wrote about space and gender, and they also engaged in the life of Los Angeles, as Jane Addams had in Chicago. Hayden was active in creating the Los Angeles Woman's Building in 1973, the same year David Harvey published *Social Justice and the City*. The Woman's Building was founded to provide "a social and physical place in the public world in which women can re-evaluate and re-create their gender identity, crossing boundaries of age, race, class, or ethnic origin" (Levrant de Bretteville, 1981, p. 47).

While involved with the Woman's Building and other local projects, Hayden was also publishing. In a 1980 essay titled "What Would a Non-Sexist City be Like?," she advocated a Homemakers Organization for a More Egalitarian Society (HOMES). HOMES was a program through which existing suburban blocks of single-family houses could be modified to create accessory apartments, laundries, daycare centers, and collective open space (Hayden, 1980). Her later work, titled *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (1984), dealt specifically with the mismatch between suburban housing built after World War II and women's changing status. Hayden's most recent book, *The Power of Place* (1995), documents how she and others restored the history of women and minorities to Los Angeles's urban landscape.

UCLA professor Jacqueline Leavitt was a pioneer in the field of planning and gender. She challenged the gender bias in urban planning in the early 1980s, citing the small number of female planning professionals. The lack of affordable housing for low-income women was also one of her priorities (Leavitt, 1980; 1985). For a national competition, Leavitt worked with architect Troy West to design cooperative housing for the elderly and single mothers (Leavitt, 1991). Some of Leavitt's most important

TABLE 1. Spatial Characteristics of Urban Form

	Circa 1900	Circa 2000
Prototype	Industrial city	Informational metropolis
Number of centers	One	Two or more
Location of activities	Mixed	Separated
Density of population	High	Low
Direction of development	Vertical	Horizontal

research documented how women public-housing residents in Los Angeles acquired the skills to make their spaces safer (see Leavitt, 1996; Leavitt and Saegert, 1990).

What did Chicago in 1900 have in common with Los Angeles in 2000 besides a disconnect between men and women studying the same city? Demographically quite a lot. Both cities were magnets for the major international immigration streams of their era. Immigrants moved through successive zones in Chicago, whereas they form a "heteropolis" in Los Angeles. Both cities attracted significant numbers of African Americans. "Race riots" in Chicago's Black Belt became "civil disturbances" in L.A.'s Watts. Both cities are stages on which the important issues of minority ethnic and racial status have been dramatized. In respect to women's status, though, Chicago and Los Angeles are a century apart. Women were still fighting for the franchise in 1900; by 2000 they could control their own fertility as well as vote. This crucial difference has implications for urban form.

Chicago in 1900 and Los Angeles in 2000 differed on at least four spatial dimensions: the presence of one center versus two or more; the location of activities; the level of density; and the direction of development. The industrial city a century ago had one central business district, mixed land uses that juxtaposed slaughterhouses and tenements, high population density, and the vertical profile of smokestacks and skyscrapers. In contrast, the contemporary informational metropolis consists of multiple centers, single-use zoning, low density, and a strong horizontal axis (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Most women's lives now include the home and

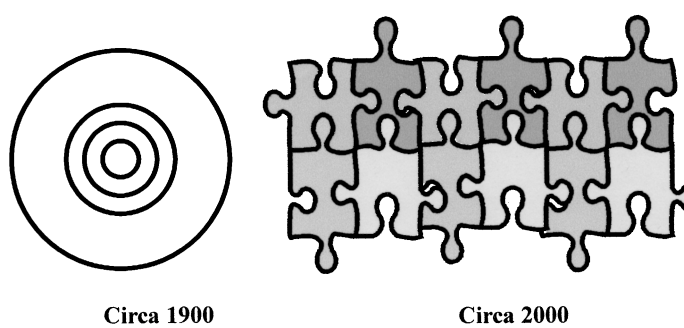

FIG. 1. Alternative models of urban form.

workplace, which are separated by low-density, single-use zoning that contributes to suburban sprawl. As women have become more economically independent, their activities have both shaped and reflected the contemporary metropolis.

Figure 1 is an oversimplification to which there are obvious exceptions. Yet it serves well enough to summarize basic spatial differences before and after World War II. The war had an impact on more than urban form, however. It created a shortage of men and thus had implications for gender relations. An imbalance in the sex ratio has certain predictable consequences for women's status (Guttentag and Secord, 1983). The absence of men during World War II opened new jobs for women, allowing them to receive the training and wages that eventually fostered independence. That independence was temporarily sidetracked by the economic and political necessity of employing thousands of returning veterans. During the 1950s, women's labor force participation declined, the birth rate rose, and far more men than women attended college. But by the 1970s women's status began to change. Birth rates dropped, educational attainment rose, full-time labor force attachment increased, and more women headed their own households. These changes were facilitated by several federal policies.

POST-WORLD WAR II CHANGES IN WOMEN'S STATUS

As economic restructuring began to alter urban form, federal intervention involving reproductive rights and equal opportunity legislation started to enhance women's status. Highly effective oral contraception was introduced during the 1960s, and abortion was legalized in 1973 with the Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade*. Women became capable of making their own decisions about childbearing for the first time in history. *This* was a watershed. Demographers called it a "contraceptive revolution" (Westoff and Ryder, 1977). The ability to control their fertility was women's first step toward independence. The second step involved access to educational and financial resources.

Congress passed four significant pieces of equal opportunity legislation during the 1960s and 1970s. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 made it illegal to pay women and men different wages for the same job. Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 prohibited sex discrimination in all public and private colleges receiving federal funds. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 barred sex and marital-status discrimination in the credit process, and Section 303(b) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 was amended to eliminate sex discrimination in housing and housing finance.

Combined with reproductive rights reform, equal opportunity laws provided women with powerful avenues for change. The first was *rising educational attainment*. In 1960, only 6 percent of adult women had a college degree; now nearly one-quarter of American women have graduated from college (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 55; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998).

TABLE 2. Indicators of Women's Status

	Circa 1900	Circa 2000
Prototype	Wife/mother	Employed mother
Fertility control	Ineffective	Effective
Percent with college degree	<5%	25%
Percent in labor force	20%	60%
Percent of households maintained by women	13%	28%
Potential for independence	Low	High

Source: Solomon, 1985, p. 64; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975, pp. 42, 128; 1998, pp. 61, 167.

As more women graduated from college, more joined the labor force. Gradually the schools and workplaces women shared with men became less spatially segregated. The history of education and employment in the United States, in fact, has been characterized by declining spatial gender segregation and rising status for women (Spain, 1992).

The second change was *women's entry into the labor force*. So many women, including mothers, joined the labor force so rapidly that it soon became the norm for women to be employed outside the home. Between 1950 and the end of the century, the proportion of women in the labor force nearly doubled (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 81). Among married mothers with preschoolers, the proportion in the labor force rose from 12 to 64 percent between 1950 and 1997 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975, p. 347; 1998, p. 409). The third trend to emerge was the *growth of female householders*. Prior to World War II, women maintained less than 15 percent of all households. By the end of the 20th century, this figure was nearly 30 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975, p. 42; 1998, p. 61). Delayed marriage, longer life expectancy, high divorce rates, and rising rates of out-of-wedlock births all contributed to the increase in the number of female householders (see Table 2).

The modern women's movement that fueled these changes in women's status qualifies as one of those social movements that arise occasionally to "challenge the meaning of spatial structure and therefore attempt new functions and new forms" (Castells, 1983, p. 312; 1997, ch. 4). Manuel Castells (1983, p. xvi) defines an urban social movement as "collective actions consciously aimed at the transformation of the social interests and values embedded in the forms and functions of a historically given city." The women's movement met these criteria. It challenged the adage that a woman's place is in the home. The women's movement seems to have been overlooked as an agent of *urban* change, however. But why are gender relations any less powerful agents of spatial transformation than economic restructuring or globalization?

NEW GENDER RELATIONS CREATE NEW URBAN SPACES

Having taken the L.A. School to task for ignoring gender, the next step is to incorporate gender into postmodern urban theory. Consider the concept

of "privatopia," or gated communities administered by homeowners' associations. Dear (2001) estimates there are currently 150,000 homeowners' associations, and common-interest developments (CIDs) account for nearly 10 percent of the American housing stock. The United States currently has at least 20,000 gated communities, the vast majority of which have been built since the 1980s. Their increase correlates fairly strongly with the history of women's labor force involvement. Few middle-class families sought gated living when women were home all day to provide informal security. Whereas husbands once earned the income and wives had time to supervise children's play, most wives now have traded time at home for money. One of the costs has been the absence of neighborhood surveillance. Furthermore, services provided by homeowners' associations in gated communities are reminiscent of the work women volunteers performed 100 years ago: landscaping of common grounds, garbage pickup, street cleaning, and maintaining parks and playgrounds were all part of the municipal housekeeping agenda that encouraged women to apply their domestic skills to the public sphere (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Spain, 2001).

Mike Davis's (1990) concept of the city as a fortress presents another opportunity to incorporate gender. He focuses on mean streets and dangerous communities, identifying public housing as part of the carceral city. The Imperial Courts Housing Project in Los Angeles, for example, is a fenced-off war zone requiring identification for entry. He neglects to mention, however, that public housing is occupied predominantly by women and children (Vale, 2000). Thus, danger is distributed disproportionately by both geography and gender. Leavitt's work with Los Angeles public-housing residents recognized this and illustrated how resourceful women have been in creating a sense of safety and community (Leavitt, 1996). Davis also identifies prisons as "containment centers" in the urban landscape, the masculine counterpart to public housing. A gendered view of containment centers, however, might also include daycare centers and retirement homes as places that hold economically marginal populations under supervision.

Edge cities, a primary component of the postmodern metropolis, have evolved from the confluence of three conditions: (1) the dominance of automobiles and the need for parking; (2) the communications revolution; and (3) the entry of women in large numbers into the labor market (Dear, 2001). How, exactly, does women's market labor contribute to the formation of edge cities? One way, of course, is by increasing the demand for vehicles. The majority of Americans drive alone to work and women are no exception. Most employed women also face two other issues: how to care for children or elderly parents and how to feed a family. Individual women's efforts to balance their family and work lives have collectively shaped the metropolitan area in significant ways. Important services once performed by women in the privacy (or seclusion) of the home have moved into the public arena: care of dependents and meal preparation. *Childcare facilities, assisted care institutions for the elderly*, and

eating establishments all are providing services that were once a private responsibility.

When the proportion of married mothers with preschoolers nearly tripled in two decades, childcare became a public issue. The majority of working mothers in the 1960s depended on in-home babysitting provided by a relative or someone else; group care centers were rare (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 178). Over the decades, however, the childcare industry expanded to meet growing demand. By 1998, the United States had nearly 100,000 licensed childcare centers where 31 percent of preschoolers spent some part of their day (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998, p. 394).

Employed women with responsibility for elderly parents face similar concerns about care for dependents. Increased life expectancy means parents are living longer just at the time their daughters are committing more fully to the labor force. Employed women have less time (although theoretically more money) than their grandmothers had, making it possible to pay others to adopt tasks they once were expected to perform. In the last 25 years alone, the number of skilled nursing facilities has tripled (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998, p. 139). The "old-age home" of the last century has been replaced by nursing homes, retirement homes, and "assisted living" facilities, each label becoming more euphemistic as people live longer. Although few of the elderly currently live in one of these institutions, their numbers will surely grow as the population ages.

Housework can usually wait, and most studies of the division of household labor suggest that it does (Bianchi, 2000). But people have to eat several times a day. "Family" restaurants and fast food franchises have proliferated over the last 20 years as a substitute for the kitchen and dining room. Married couples with children now spend more than one-third of their food budget on meals outside the home (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998, p. 466). Every strip development leading into every American city of any size has its own assortment of food outlets staffed by immigrants, teenagers, or retirees—those who are marginal to the mainstream economy, just as women were when they prepared meals at home.

The transfer of domestic services from the home to the public sphere has exacerbated suburban sprawl because new construction occurs at the urban periphery. Zoning regulations that separate residential neighborhoods from commercial activities also have an impact on metropolitan form. Women typically need a car to get to work, deliver kids to daycare or soccer practice, and run household errands (Ritzdorf, 1986; Hayden, 1984; Rosenbloom, 1992). The result has been a significant increase in the number of vehicles on the road. Since 1969, the rate of increase in household vehicles has been more than six times the rate of population growth (U.S. Department of Transportation, 1997).

One other type of urban space has been created by women's greater independence. Female householders have created homes from which the man is (sometimes only technically) absent. The growth in female householders has changed the metropolitan landscape primarily by creating a demand for more and different housing units. Young women who once

moved straight from their parents' home into marriage now live independently for some years. Unless an unwed mother stays with her parents, she also must find a place to live. Every divorce splits one household into two. Women's longer life expectancy and lower remarriage rates mean they live alone longer after widowhood than men. Each of these new household types demands new housing (Franck and Ahrentzen, 1991).

Women seeking to form their own households often need help getting established. For example, temporary shelters for victims of domestic violence are a new addition to the urban landscape, although, to ensure residents' safety, they are seldom identified as such. Boston and Minneapolis established transitional housing developments during the 1980s to bridge the gap between emergency shelter and permanent affordable housing for low-income women. Women and their children can live there for six months to two years while receiving childcare assistance and job counseling (Cook, 1991; Sprague, 1991). Women in Toronto developed and managed housing cooperatives to meet the needs of single mothers and elderly women (Wekerle and Novac, 1991).

New gender relations have transformed urban spaces in both the public realm and the private domain of the home. One hundred years ago, women were less visible in colleges and workplaces than they are today, while men were more visible in the typical home. Now women have moved into public spaces and men have moved out of many private homes.

INTEGRATING GENDER INTO URBAN THEORY

Many factors have contributed to the transformation of urban space from the modernist monocentric city to the postmodern polycentric metropolis. According to Michael Dear, economic restructuring, globalization, and environmental politics are among the most important reasons. This article proposes that changing gender relations should be added to the list. Ample opportunities existed in Chicago at the beginning of the 20th century, and in Los Angeles at the end of the century, to incorporate gender into urban theory. Yet work on gender and urban space has remained largely isolated in a parallel world of feminist scholarship.

Changing gender relations have shaped the metropolis in several ways. Women's ability to control fertility and achieve economic independence following World War II eventually had spatial implications. Care of dependents and meal preparation have moved out of the home and into the metropolis as women's labor force activity has increased. Childcare centers, assisted living facilities for the elderly, and franchise food chains have all contributed to suburban sprawl and the proliferation of edge cities. Although nurseries, old-age homes, and restaurants all existed at the beginning of the 20th century, only at its end did they become ubiquitous. The labor performed in these facilities is underpaid and relies on marginal workers—just what women were before World War II.

A gender perspective applied to current urban theory would count daycare centers and retirement homes among the "containment centers"

identified by Davis as part of the postmodern metropolis. It would also interpret the growth of gated communities (privatopias) as a consequence of women's entry into the labor force. Americans are not seeking a fortress to separate themselves from others as much as they are trying to replicate an era when mothers were home all day.

Some tenets of postmodern urban theory have direct corollaries with gender relations. Take one aspect of economic restructuring, that employees experience less job security than they once did. During the 1970s, when divorce rates were high, many wives also discovered that they received less job security than they had bargained for. These displaced homemakers were the rehearsal for downsizing and job layoffs in the paid economy. The broken marriage contract that released women from the security and responsibilities of marriage was a precursor to broken corporate loyalties. Or take the "dual city" metaphor of the underclass and overclass. A gender analysis would point out that there has always been a dual city, consisting of women's free labor and men's paid labor. It was invisible because it existed under the same roof. The rise of the service sector has merely taken *unpaid* work out of the home and turned it into *underpaid* occupations throughout the metropolis.

Theorists of the Los Angeles School like to distance themselves from their Chicago ancestors, but they share one inescapable similarity. They both ignored the women who were working on the same issues in the same city at the same time. Just as Robert Park and Ernest Burgess barely acknowledged Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop, Michael Dear and Edward Soja have integrated little of Dolores Hayden's or Jacqueline Leavitt's perspectives into their own. After nearly a century, gender remains largely marginalized in urban theory.

In closing, I would like to propose that the way we think about gender relations and the way we theorize urban structure are similar. When we thought women's natural place was at the center of the home, we perceived the city as a centered organism around which various functions were rationally organized. Both those images are outdated. Women now fill a variety of roles both inside and outside the home, and the metropolitan area has become the site of scattered activities. What happened to gender relations on the way from Chicago to Los Angeles? The same thing that happened to urban form. They became less predictably centered and more diverse.

Acknowledgments

Thanks are due Suzanne Bianchi, Ann Forsyth, Steven Nock, and Brandy Savarese for comments on an earlier draft of this article.

Notes

[1]My equation of gender relations with women's status is only one of many ways to think about gender and the city. Other approaches include cities as stages for sexual imagery and behavior (Bech, 1998; Betsky, 1995), how the built environment reinforces gender

stereotypes (Weisman, 1992; Wilson, 1991), and women as agents of urban change (Enstam, 1998; Spain, 2001). Yet another literature identifies gender as a continuum of identities that includes gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, and transgendered persons. Case studies of San Francisco, New York City, and Northampton, Massachusetts, demonstrate how gays and lesbians have contributed to urban revitalization (Castells, 1983; Chauncey, 1994; Forsyth, 1997; Lauria and Knopp, 1985). It is also possible to interpret standard economic, political, and technological explanations of urban form through a gender lens, since the majority of investment capitalists, government officials, and engineers are men.

References

Abbott, E. (ed.), 1936. *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908–1935*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Abbott, E., and Breckinridge, S., 1912. *The Housing Problem in Chicago*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Addams, J., [1910] 1960. *Twenty Years at Hull House*. New York: Macmillan.

Ardener, S. (ed.), 1981. *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*. London: Croom Helm London.

Beauregard, R., 1990. "Trajectories of Neighborhood Change: The Case of Gentrification," *Environment and Planning A*, 22, 855–874.

Beauregard, R., 1993. *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Bech, H., 1998. "Citysex: Representing Lust in Public," *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 15, 215–241.

Betsky, A., 1995. *Building Sex: Men, Women, Architecture, and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: William Morrow and Company.

Bianchi, S., 2000. "Maternal Employment and Time with Children: Dramatic Change or Surprising Continuity?" *Demography*, 37, 401–414.

Birch, E. (ed.), 1985. *The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the '80s*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Blakely, E., and Snyder, M. G., 1997. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Castells, M., 1977. *The Urban Question*. London: Edward Arnold.

Castells, M., 1983. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Castells, M., 1997. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chauncey, G., 1994. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*. New York: Basic Books.

Cook, C., 1991. "Passage Community: Second-Stage Housing for Single Parents" in K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (eds.), *New Households, New Housing*, Ch. 10. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Cressey, P., 1932. *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Davis, M., 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Vintage.

Dear, M., 2000. *The Postmodern Urban Condition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dear, M., 2001. "Los Angeles and the Chicago School: Invitation to a Debate," *City and Community*, 1, 5–32.

Deegan, M. J., 1988. *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.

DeSena, J., 1994. "Women: The Gatekeepers of Urban Neighborhoods," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 16, 271–283.

Enstam, E., 1998. *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

Flusty, S., and Dear, M., 1999. "Invitation to a Postmodern Urbanism," in R. Beauregard and S. Body-Gendrot (eds.), *The Urban Moment: Cosmopolitan Essays on the Late-20th Century City*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Forsyth, A., 1997. "'Out' in the Valley," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21, 36–60.

Franck, K., and Ahrentzen, S. (eds.), 1991. *New Households, New Housing*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Gottdiener, M., 1985. *The Social Production of Urban Space*, 2nd ed. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Guttentag, M., and Secord, P., 1983. *Too Many Women? The Sex Ratio Question*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Harris, C., and Ullman, E., 1945. "The Nature of Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 242, 7–17.

Harvey, D., 1973. *Social Justice and the City*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harvey, D., 2000. *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hayden, D., 1980. "What Would a Non-Sexist City be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," in C. Stimpson et al. (eds.), *Women and the American City*, pp. 167–184. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Hayden, D., 1981. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hayden, D., 1984. *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Hayden, D., 1995. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hoy, S., 1997. "Caring for Chicago's Women and Girls: The Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1859–1911," *Journal of Urban History*, 23, 260–294.

Hoyt, H., 1939. *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*. Washington, DC: Federal Housing Administration.

Hull House Maps and Papers. 1895. New York: T.Y. Crowell.

Katznelson, I., 1992. *Marxism and the City*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Keller, S. (ed.), 1981. *Building for Women*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Laska, S., and Spain, D. (eds.), 1980. *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*. New York: Pergamon.

Lauria, M., and Knopp, L., 1985. "Toward an Analysis of the Role of Gay Communities in the Urban Renaissance," *Urban Geography*, 6, 152–169.

Leavitt, J., 1980. "The History, Status, and Concerns of Women Planners," in C. Stimpson et al. (eds.), *Women and the American City*, pp. 223–227. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Leavitt, J., 1985. "The Shelter-Service Crisis and Single Parents," in E. Birch (ed.), *The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the '80s*, Ch. 11. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Leavitt, J., 1991. "Two Prototypical Designs for Single Parents: The Congregate House and the New American House," in K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (eds.), *New Households, New Housing*, Ch. 8. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Leavitt, J., 1996. "The Interrelated History of Cooperatives and Public Housing from the Thirties to the Fifties," in A. Heskin and J. Leavitt (eds.), *The Hidden History of Housing Cooperatives*. Davis, CA: University of California at Davis.

Leavitt, J., and Saegert, S., 1990. *From Abandonment to Hope: Community-Households in Harlem*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levrant de Bretteville, S., 1981. "The Woman's Building: Physical Forms and Social Implications," in S. Keller (ed.), *Building for Women*, Ch. 4. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lofland, L., 1975. "The 'Thereness' of Women: A Selective Review of Urban Sociology," in M. Millman and R. M. Kanter (eds.), *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, pp. 144–170. New York: Anchor Books.

Logan, J., and Molotch, H., 1987. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Meyerowitz, J., 1988. *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880–1930*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Milroy, B. M., and Wismer, S., 1994. "Community, Work, and Public/Private Sphere Models," *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 1, 71–90.

Mollenkopf, J., and Castells, M., 1991. *Dual City: Restructuring New York*. New York: Russell Sage.

Park, R., Burgess, E., and McKenzie, R., [1925] 1967. *The City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Ritzdorf, M., 1986. "Women and the City: Land Use and Zoning," *Journal of Urban Resources*, 3, 23–27.

Rosenbloom, S., 1992. "Why Working Families Need a Car," in M. Wachs and M. Crawford (eds.), *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Ryan, M., 1990. *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sibley, D., 1995. "Gender, Science, Politics, and Geographies of the City," *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 2, 37–49.

Soja, E., 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, N., and Williams, P. (eds.), 1986. *Gentrification of the City*. Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin.

Solomon, B., 1985. *In the Company of Educated Women*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Spain, D., 1992. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Spain, D., 2001. *How Women Saved the City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Spain, D., and Bianchi, S., 1996. *Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage, and Employment Among American Women*. New York: Russell Sage.

Sprague, J. F., 1991. "Two Cases of Transitional Housing Development in Boston," in K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (eds.), *New Households, New Housing*, Ch. 9. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Stimpson, C., Dixler, E., Nelson, M., and & Yatrakis, K. (eds.), 1980. *Women and the American City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stone, C., 1989. *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946–1988*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1975. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1998. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Transportation. 1997. *Our Nation's Travel: 1995 NPTS Early Results Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vale, L., 2000. *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wekerle, G., and Novac, S., 1991. "Developing Two Women's Housing Cooperatives," in K. Franck and S. Ahrentzen (eds.), *New Households, New Housing*, Ch. 11. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Wekerle, G., Peterson, R., and Morley, D. (eds.), 1980. *New Space for Women*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Westoff, C., and Ryder, N., 1977. *The Contraceptive Revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Weisman, L. K., 1992. *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Wilson, E., 1991. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.