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978-0-521-80179-9 - Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age
Moscow, and Meiji Osaka

Blair A. Ruble

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Second Metropolis

By exploring and comparing North America's, Russia's, and Japan's "second cities"—Chicago, Moscow, and Osaka—*Second Metropolis* discloses the extent to which social fragmentation, frequently viewed as an obstacle to democratic development, actually fostered a "pragmatic pluralism" that nurtured pluralistic public policies. Such policies are explored through six case studies—the politics of street railways and charter reform in Chicago, adult education and housing in Moscow, and harbor revitalization and poverty alleviation in Osaka—that illustrate how even those with massive political and economic power were stymied by the complexity of their communities. Chicago, Moscow, and Osaka, although the products of very different nations and cultures, nonetheless shared an important experience of inclusive politics during an era of extraordinary growth and social diversity. The success of all three cities, which went well beyond mere survival, rested on a distinctive political resource: pragmatic pluralism.

Blair A. Ruble is the director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, a program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, where he is also codirector of the Comparative Urban Studies project. Ruble is the author of *Leningrad: Shaping a Soviet City* and *Money Sings: The Changing Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl*.

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For Katya, Galya, and Ira

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A City is like a person: if we don't establish a genuine relationship with it, it remains a name, an external form that soon fades from our minds. To create this relationship, we must be able to observe the city and understand its peculiar personality, its "I," its spirit, its identity, the circumstances of its life as they evolved through space and time.

Ivan Klima

"The Spirit of Prague"

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Preface



This is the third of three volumes examining the fate of Russian provincial cities during the twentieth century. The first—*Leningrad: Shaping a Soviet City* (1990)—traced that city's decline following World War II from former imperial capital and co-leading city to mere regional center by the end of the Soviet regime. The second—*Money Sings: The Changing Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl* (1995)—captured the confusion and optimism widely felt at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union. This third volume represents an effort to place Russia's great heartland metropolis—Moscow—into a comparative perspective just as it was about to become the Soviet capital. Taken together, these studies turn up a tiny corner of the curtain behind which so much of Russian urban life has been experienced during the troubles of the past century, far away from the raw ambition, stilted ceremony, and pervasive anxiety of the political capital.

The chapters that follow constitute a rather unwieldy study that has depended on the support and good cheer of colleagues and friends from whom far too much patience has been expected on my part. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Allison Abrams, Akizuki Kengo, Boris Ananich, Harley Balzer, Pinar Batur-Vander Lippe, Theodore C. Bestor, Susan Bronson, Geoffrey Dabelko, Tony French, Cathleen M. Giustino, Helena Goscilo, Jeffrey W. Hahn, David Hoffman, Peter Holquist, Robert Huber, Pavel Ilyn, Grigorii Kaganov, Nina Khrushcheva, Steve Lagerfeld, Susan Goodrich Lehmann, Robert Litwak, Ruth O'Brien Miller, David W. Plath, Nancy Popson, Susan Gross Solomon, Peter Stavrakis, Stefan Tanaka, Robert Thurston, Ronald Toby, Joseph Tulchin, Galina Ulianova, Douglas Weiner, Elizabeth Wood, Igor Zevelev, and several anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments on previous versions of these chapters. Seki Hajime

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biographer Jeffrey Hanes has been more generous and supportive than, I suspect, my work deserves. Jeffrey Brooks, William Chase, Timothy J. Gilfoyle, and William Gleason have been truly heroic supporters and, when required, cogent critics.

I will never be able to repay the especially warm backing of Muramatsu Michio, of Kyoto University, and Tanami Tatsuya, initially of the International House of Japan and subsequently of the Nippon Foundation in Tokyo. Akizuki Kengo of Kyoto University has become an intellectual soul mate and a genuine friend during this project. Kamo Toshio of Osaka City University and Shibamura Atsuki of Momoyamagakuin University have given me tremendous help and encouragement. Other Kansai historians—especially Matsushita Takao, Mizuguchi Norihito, and Inatsugu Hiroaki—have offered much appreciated and needed help along the way. American Japan specialists Theodore C. Bestor, Stefan Tanaka, and Ron Toby have urged me at various times and in myriad ways to continue my forays into Osaka. Many thanks are due as well to Alexei Kral and Kaori Hanamura Kral for helping me understand a few of the Japanese language's many mysteries. The generous encouragement, gracious hospitality, and tolerant curiosity of Japanese scholars and American Japan specialists toward a non-Japanese-speaking, Russian-specialist interloper have made this project personally rewarding beyond any reasonable expectation. I owe these splendid colleagues in Japan and the United States more than I can ever express or fully acknowledge.

I realize that not speaking or reading Japanese is a profound handicap in a comparative study of this ambition. The materials that follow on Osaka are necessarily more limited and less textured than the discussions of Chicago and Moscow. I have knowingly taken the risk of appearing to be even more foolish than usual because the contrasts and insights to be gained by adding this particular third city to my comparison of Moscow and Chicago are so exciting. I hope that readers will find the relevance of Osaka to this study to be no less compelling than I have. I also hope that readers will be open to the observations of a researcher who can never know Osaka—or the native-language materials about that city—as well as he should. In the end, my writing about Osaka will be a success if it can serve as a bright thread woven against the more textured backdrop of observations about Moscow and Chicago.

The intellectual journey that culminates in this volume began with a friendly suggestion by Pavel Ilyn that I write an article comparing turn-

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of-the-century New York and Moscow. That article, which appeared in *Moskovskii zhurnal* in 1992, raised so many questions in my own mind that I became a captive of that era's Moscow. I must thank Pavel and his wife, Ella Kagan, for their moment of genuine inspiration.

I have learned more from Vyacheslav Glazychev, Grigorii Kaganov, and Josep Subiros about how to think about cities, see cities, and feel their pulse than from any other human beings. Slava and Grisha may well be among the last true *intelligent*. Barcelona-based Pep, despite an absence of Russian-ness, may be considered so as well. I have been blessed by their friendship. I hope that this volume approaches their scholarly standards and reflects a modicum of the profound insight of their own work.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies interns Collin Brink, Alina Entin, Anthony S. Lauren, Timothy J. Louzonis, Kelly Elizabeth Massicotte, Cynthia Neil, David Russell, Joseph Schill, Lajos F. Szaszdi, Matt Warshaw, and Monique Wilson, as well as Kyoto University's Kitamura Wataru, for their assistance with the research on which this study has been based. Cynthia Neil was especially helpful during the final preparation of the manuscript for publication. I also would like to acknowledge the material support and incorporeal encouragement of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Faculty of Law at Kyoto University, and the Suntory Foundation (Osaka). Copy editor Traci Nagle has improved the manuscript immeasurably.

Like so many researchers, I would have been lost without the assistance of librarians and staff at the Library of Congress—perhaps the single best library in the world for researching this particular project—and the Chicago Historical Society. The staff of the Woodrow Wilson Center Library has been valiant in managing my interlibrary loan requests. Hotta Akio of the Osaka City History Editorial Office has been particularly thoughtful and helpful, as have his colleagues at the Osaka Prefectural Library. Edward Kasinec of the New York Public Library has demonstrated time and again why he and the NYPL are so important to our field.

Readers should note that I have used the Library of Congress transliteration system for Russian words and names, except in those few instances when there is an alternative, commonly accepted English spelling, such as “Leo Tolstoy” instead of “Lev Tol'stoi.” The names of individual Japanese appear in their traditional Japanese order, with family names preceding personal names.

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The brief historical overviews of each city found in Part I are intended to highlight elements of the past that are relevant to the subsequent case studies rather than being comprehensive reviews of each city's history. The arguments that follow are complex and ambiguous. I have tried not to force all of my empirical evidence into a single narrative or argument. The careful reader will detect internal contradictions, instances when my evidence points in a direction opposite that of my general argument.

I similarly fear that some outright mistakes of fact may have crept onto a page or two, although I certainly have tried to keep such lapses to an absolute minimum. Specialists on each of the cities and societies under examination will find much to criticize, much to dispute, and much to argue against. I hope that in the end, like the pragmatic pluralists about whom I have written, readers will conclude that the gains from tolerance and perseverance outweigh the debits of confronting an author who is likely to be outside their own disciplinary and regional specializations. The act of reading this volume may require the very metropolitan tolerance about which it was written.

Finally, I have had the good fortune of working with three remarkable Muscovites throughout the writing and researching of this book. Ekaterina Alekseeva, Galina Levina, and Ira Petrova have represented the Kennan Institute well in Moscow since the early 1990s. Their imagination, compassion, integrity, and good cheer have set high standards for all of us working with them from Washington. Katya, Galya, and Ira personify the values about which I have tried to write in this book. They represent all that is right about Moscow, and it is to them that I dedicate this book.

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