Urban Behavior
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To

EPHRAIM and EDNA

my Parents
Preface

This book is the result of many years of experience in teaching courses in urban society, rural sociology, human ecology and community planning at the University of Kansas and the University of California. That experience has taught me the importance of the textbook and has led me to certain definite convictions regarding the type of text best calculated to help juniors and seniors in college to gain a knowledge of the fundamental facts and principles of urban behavior. This is the sole objective of the book. My contribution to urban theory, if any at all, is slight. This book is not written for the edification of advanced students specializing in specific areas of urban life. On the contrary, it is intended for undergraduates and teachers of undergraduates in this broad field of inquiry.

Four specific goals motivated the writing of this text: (1) to bring together the basic research in urban life with balance of interpretation and integration; (2) to de-emphasize the old rural-urban dichotomy, since a sharp dividing line no longer exists between city life and country life; they shade into each other to create a combination of rural and urban characteristics; (3) to demonstrate the relationship between concepts and empirical observation in urban sociology; (4) to portray urban behavior in process.

The separation between conceptual usage and empirical investigation has become a major dilemma in this field of study which must be bridged. What is needed is a working relationship between concepts and the facts of urban experience wherein the former can be checked
by the latter, and the latter ordered anew by the former. This is a
gigantic task, and I do not attempt to resolve the dilemma in one
textbook, but only to point the way. We start with the recognition
that vagueness is characteristic of concepts in urban sociology. They
are vague in the sense that they do not have explicit features that
would enable one to identify clearly the detonative thing to which the
concept refers. To appreciate the point one has merely to think of such
concepts as competition, symbiosis, community and society, centraliza-
tion and decentralization versus concentration and dispersion in the
diversity of the city. Concepts of structure, social control, class, and
public opinion, among others, are still vague in the area of urban
social organization.

A patient teacher will find enough excursions mentioned in this
volume to conduct a college class for a term. The hasty reader will
prefer to omit tables, footnotes, and several stodgy sections in order
to move on to the big ideas. I hope that the student will find the data
and generalizations contained herein stimulating enough to test them
with the data and observations about his own community.

As a rule, my treatment of urban behavior has been confined to
those topics upon which urban sociologists have reached fairly definite
conclusions. When this rule could not be followed, I have stated, some-
what dogmatically, perhaps, what I consider to be sound conclusions
regarding subjects upon which there may still be real difference of
opinion among authoritative urban sociologists. I do not believe that
the beginning student of urban sociology profits greatly from that type
of discussion which presents arguments on both sides of a contro-
versial question and then leaves him to draw his own conclusions.
Such matters belong in the more specialized advanced courses which
deal with urban behavior: human ecology, social psychology, city
planning, among others. Controversial materials are presented here
only for the purpose of clarifying concepts or points of view.

The suggested readings listed at the end of each chapter are not
comprehensive; they do not embrace works of a highly advanced, spe-
cialized or technical nature. They are merely intended to present
certain books and articles for the student which he will find interesting
and profitable to read in connection with his first exposure to urban
sociology.

I make grateful acknowledgment of the invaluable assistance re-
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of the manuscript. Professors Marston M. McCluggage and Charles K.
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Professor Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University, for their
critical reading of the manuscript. The late Professor Louis Wirth, my
principal teacher at the University of Chicago, is in no way responsible
for the way the ideas are presented here but was more influential than
any other sociologist in shaping the basic perspective contained in
these pages.

E. G. E.

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PART I

The City and Civilization

"God made the country and man made the town."—Cowper, The Task.
The City as a Social Laboratory  

Something has happened to human beings since they have become urban dwellers. A new pattern of life has emerged, with people living together much like sardines in a can yet treating each other indifferently. As a place where custom has been superseded by public opinions and positive law, where man lives by his wits rather than by instinct or tradition, the city is the breeding ground for individuals as units of thought and action rather than passive, adaptive mechanisms motivated by simple physiological drives. As the playground as well as the battleground of contemporary civilization, the city is the place where men have drawn the border lines of order and justice, lines which are forever ambiguous and shifting between recreation and vice, involving not only the local citizens but the visitors as well. Some persons would insist that our cities represent the decay of the human spirit and of civilization generally, while others would counter that they are a dynamic symbol of growth, the point of civilization’s most exuberant vitality. However, both sides to the controversy would probably agree that the city is an agglomeration of human beings and processes stumbling pell-mell over each other to reach some kind of obscure, recondite greatness by an equally abstruse method. Described as the natural habitat of civilized man, the urban community is where he first achieved a self-conscious, intellectual life and elaborated on those characteristics that distinguish him from lower animals and primitives. It represents man’s most dramatic attempt to remake the world to fit his own interests.

Thus indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his
task, by making the city man has remade himself. In this connection we might think of the city as a social laboratory. City life and "progress" have in great measure been molded by experts rather than amateurs; we have social surveys, bureaus of municipal research, and city planning boards. Hence modern cities have assumed something of the character of a controlled experiment. Insofar as the city serves as a dynamic human stimulus, for better or for worse, evolving its own distinctive culture, attitudes, habit patterns, and social types; insofar as it is, in a unique sense, a center of competing and conflicting forces, developing its own peculiar consciousness, it is an object of sociological investigation and explanation in its own right. For a great city tends to spread out and lay bare to public view on a massive scale all the characteristics and traits which are ordinarily obscured and suppressed in smaller communities. It is equally the home of the pervert as well as the pure-in-heart, the locale of the wealthy as well as the destitute, the abode for radicals as well as conformers. Because of the opportunity it offers to the exceptional and abnormal types of man, a search for typical urbanites and typical urban areas constitutes a false start—a spurious undertaking. Attention to numbers and averages does not alone yield an understanding of city life. But when we include the extreme modes of conduct and the knowledge of lack of personal relations with those with whom urbanites come into contact, urbanism takes on meaning; investigation can be made to add up to knowledge useful to both practical people of affairs and social theorists. These observations justify the view which would make of the city a laboratory or clinic in which human nature and social processes may be conveniently and profitably studied. It is a natural experimental laboratory, a term applied to a problem evolving and without sure solution. It is a community not deeply rooted in tradition; a community where the novel is the norm, where the automobile and other contrivances for human locomotion and communication bring individuals of diverse origins and interests into sudden and unexpected contact giving rise to conflicts and new adjustments. Therefore in the city we see a constant sifting, sorting, and accommodating process, made possible through improved modes of human mobility and contact.
THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN PROBLEM

The basic social problem of contemporary civilization is the city problem, i.e., a problem of achieving in the freedom and anonymity of the city a social order and a means of social control equivalent to the family, clan, or tribal life of antiquity. Civilized man, after all, is a late arrival; he has appeared apace with cities, each influencing the character of the other. Modern man, accordingly, acquired most of his native inheritable traits in an entirely different world from that of his ancestors. He has succeeded in great measure in adapting himself fundamentally and biologically to his new environment. A broad division of labor coupled with a new freedom has displaced the relatively stable life of past centuries. Thus the peasant who comes to the city to work and live, to "seek his fortune," is emancipated from the control of ancestral custom, enjoying this new freedom, but at the same time suffering by the release from intimate group participation and responsibility. He is no longer backed by the collective wisdom of his peasant community, having grown up in an order which took nature as it was—an order based upon custom and tradition. While the old order was unconditional, where institutions existed for their own sake, the new urban social order is more or less an artificial creation—"artificial" in the special sense that man depends upon the physical and social devices which he has created with his own hands and intelligence. Otherwise the city is just as natural as a village or clan. It is a world neither absolute nor sacred, but pragmatic and experimental. In short, it marks a shift of human values from the spiritual to the material, from the sacred to the secular, from peasant to urban.

Therefore the great problem of today, particularly among citizens of the Western world, would seem to be neither divorce, immorality, disease, nor poverty, but something much deeper and more subtle, specifically: Do we want to live as city people with all that city life implies—human indifference, tension, monotony, often a negative birth rate, a world, ironically, in which men travel every day from institutions where they prefer not to work to residential districts where they prefer not to live, yet a setting where the greatest riches in art, music, and literature have been accumulated, where reside the greatest institutions of education and medical skill, plus museums and exhilarating forms of recreation? In this surging masslike society,
the ordinary little man does not seem to count for much and is constantly being reduced to smaller proportions. He is made to feel that he does not count any more; he complains of being out of touch with his spokesmen, of being in a poor position to obtain the complete answers to current problems which intimately concern him. He receives only partial explanations of events due to an imperfect press, radio, and other modes of human communication. Whereas in the primitive and rural societies men spoke by authority because they spoke of God and not of man, where God was the master of men’s fates, where God was the first consideration, today nothing exists in its own right; no institution survives for its own sake. The urbanite inquires: What is the family for? Is religion good? If so, good for what? Man feels that he has been liberated psychologically from the control of his sacred institutions. He is living in a man-made environment, a setting based upon instrumentalism.

THE AIM OF THE URBAN SOCIOLOGIST

Like the broad field of sociology, urban sociology is a generalizing science. Its practical aim is to search out the determinants and consequences of diverse forms of social behavior found in the city. To the extent that it succeeds in fulfilling this role, it clarifies the alternatives of organized social action in a given situation and of the probable outcome of each. Louis Wirth ably described the complexity of our subject matter:

The city is not merely the point at which great numbers are concentrated into limited space, but it is also a complex heterogeneity in almost every characteristic in which human beings can differ from one another. In this respect the city represents perhaps the most striking contrast to the social entities that we call primitive, folk, and peasant societies. Consequently, the methods adapted to the understanding of the population of the metropolis are strikingly different from those suited to simpler and more homogeneous societies. This accounts for the fact that in attempting to understand the city we have had to resort to extensive statistical inquiries to determine the human elements of which it is composed. They differ, as do all societies, in sex and age, but they show peculiar distribution of age and sex groups and great variations in these respects as we pass from area to area. They differ widely from one another in occupation, in view of the more extensive division of labor which the growth of the market has made possible. They differ in wealth and in income, rang-
ing from the extreme of affluence to the depths of the direst poverty and insecurity. The city, moreover, by virtue of its focal position in the complex of capitalistic civilization, has attracted within its confines the racial and ethnic stocks of all the world and has more or less amalgamated them and blended their traits into a new aggregate of hybrids, here mingling with one another and there segregating themselves from one another, here collaborating and there at war, but in any case building a complex of cultures unprecedented in human history. This heterogeneity of the human materials in the city is at once a source of ferment and stimulation, and of the frictions and conflicts that characterize modern society.¹

Because of the complexity of our problem we must approach it from several directions. First, we are concerned with the relationship between the city and civilization (Part I), with the fact that modern literate man is integrally wound up with urbanism and all that it implies. The task here is twofold: (1) meaningfully to identify the city and (2) to trace the origins of modern city life back to their antecedents.

Second, the physical mechanism (Part II) as a preconditioning force requires deliberation. This is the ecology of urbanism, a concern with the city as a physical object composed of streets, buildings, facilities for communication and transportation, and a complex of technical devices through which an area is transformed into a human community. This ecological dimension, a necessary approach, embraces those physical, spatial, and material aspects of urban life distinguishable from will, consensus, and deliberate action of a social-psychological nature. The key question here is: Why do certain human types, groups, races, professions, and physical utilities tend to move to certain areas in the city, and how does the configuration of settlement enter into social life?

Third, the form of social organization (Part III), the city from the standpoint of its having a social structure, is important. An examination of the nature of human values, norms, and practices as reflected in social institutions is the problem here. Institutions, coupled with the economic base, comprise a most important index by which we may ascertain whether an aggregation of people is peasant, rural, or urban, and thus permit prediction concerning types of behavior. Of

equal importance is the impress of mass behavior upon the values and interests which generate human activity, i.e., the relationship of urbanism to personality.

Fourth, the perspective of control (Part IV) is the logical concluding problem in a sociological analysis of city life, since here theory and practice are joined. The historical, ecological, social-psychological, and organizational bases of urbanism are shown in their proper integrated light and permit us to make practical generalizations upon which effective control measures may be exercised in a democratic urban setting.

In these four areas the sociologist enters into the picture of urbanism with the fundamental, all-pervasive question: How can men obtain consent in the city without consensus being involved? The heterogeneity of city life arising from great population density and division of labor allows for the concern of sociology since it gives rise to a diversity of individual types and collective behavior.

EARLY STUDIES OF CITY LIFE

The early studies of city life in the United States and England contributed heavily in providing a realistic and objective picture of urbanism. As might be expected, the first studies were practical rather than theoretical. Problems of health, housing, poverty, and crime received central attention. These studies became the basis for reforms as reflected in model tenements, playgrounds, and the accumulation of vital statistics. This practical approach to city life gave rise to the romantic interest in slums. The literature on "how the other half lives" pointed out that the poor and immigrants were indeed human and could be made useful members of any community with sufficient effective social welfare programs. The social settlement houses of the nineteenth century in England and the United States became the outposts for the sociological observation and study of the newcomer to the city. Jane Addams' Hull House Maps and Papers ² in 1895 and Robert Woods' The City Wilderness ³ in 1899 were explorative studies which laid the ground for later studies. Edith Abbott and


Sophonisba P. Breckinridge in 1908 studied housing in Chicago⁴ after Charles Booth in 1888 had completed an epoch-making study of life and labor in London.⁵ Rowntree in 1901 wrote *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*,⁶ a study of destitution in York, England. The studies of both Rowntree and Booth were on a grand scale, an effort to reduce the descriptive and impressionistic statements of earlier students of the city into precise and general formulations.

The greatest impetus to local studies in the United States was derived from the establishment in 1906 of the Russell Sage Foundation and the publication in 1909 to 1914 of the Pittsburgh survey,⁷ thus injecting new energy into the developing humanitarian movement of this era. The city of Pittsburgh was chosen by Paul U. Kellogg for investigation because it was representative of the forces that originate in rapidly expanding industrial life of the United States. His purpose was to make generalizations from this one study. Following this investigation, social surveys came into vogue. The Springfield survey ⁸ (1918–1920) covered the whole field of social politics—health, education, and social services. The survey of *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* ⁹ closely followed. These surveys emphasized unique situations. They were case studies making possible few generalizations of wide validity by furnishing a body of materials that raised issues and suggested hypotheses which could later be studied and placed in statistical language and quantitative terms.

The idea that cities are enough alike to allow for generalizations for all cities was the central theme in the University of Chicago studies under Dr. Robert E. Park. It was in 1915 that Park published a paper entitled, “The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment”¹⁰ which called attention to the

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⁹ Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter (directors and editors), *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation, 1922).
opportunities for empirical research and the formulation of a systematic body of hypotheses for the would-be social scientist who could be lured from the library long enough to look urban life squarely in the face. What had been lacking, and what Professor Park’s stimulation supplied, was a coherent body of concepts which would furnish a suitable optic for the formulation of problems and the selection, description, and systematic interpretation of facts. In this, the categories in which the opposing concepts were status and contract, symbiosis and consensus, community and society, mechanical and organic solidarity proved themselves useful for general orientation purposes.11

These investigations had implicit in them the notion that the urban community, in its growth and organization, represents a complex of tendencies and events that can be described conceptually and made the object of independent study. The Chicago studies were primarily ecological. That is, they were concerned with “natural areas” of the city, i.e., regions that come into existence without design and perform a function, though the function may be contrary to any one person’s wishes. These were natural areas because they had a natural history and pointed to the fact that the city is a constellation of natural areas, each with its own unique milieu and performing its own function. Each of these units is the product of a sorting, sifting phenomenon which selects out of the population those personalities and functions best suited to live or function in it. Thus Park, with Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, directed graduate students in ecological studies,12 demonstrating that as individuals rise and fall in the struggle for status in the community, they invariably move from one region to another, from “Gold Coasts” to slums or somewhere between these two poles. Maps were used to demonstrate how some areas were characterized by no children, others by a minimum of divorce but high desertion, others where old folk outnumbered the young folk ten to one. Each community or natural area was labeled

either homogeneous, interdependent, or marginal, depending upon
degrees of social distance between the occupants.

In recent years the ecological emphasis upon the city has shifted
from the minute analysis of the local community within the city to the
larger sectors and zones in the metropolitan region. The concept
"metropolitan region" has been sufficiently well established that many
of the baffling problems arising out of the growth of the city and its
interrelations with the hinterland have become amenable to analysis
and treatment. The orderly presentation of the data on urban areas
and growth, on a regional scale, has already proved indispensable
in the practical problems of land utilization, housing, transportation,
public services, and planning. The hypothesis upon which these
regional studies proceeded is that the metropolitan region is in fact
an economic and social unit to which due political and administrative
consideration has not been given owing to the relative inflexibility of
legally established boundaries. A new type of metropolitan area was
established for the 1950 census, made up in most cases of one or
more whole counties. Areas often crossed state lines.

The natural area concept, whether pertaining to local villages or
regions, has become a valuable frame of reference for studying the
city.

In the study of the social aspects of invention and technology and
their effects upon city life, William F. Ogburn has effectively portrayed
how the technological revolution which underlies the development of
urban civilization out of pre-industrial folk society is by no means
at an end. The complicated, efficient machines upon which the modern

of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933);
Lewis Copeland, "The Limits and Characteristics of Metropolitan Chicago" (unpub-
lished master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1937); Calvin F. Schmid, Social Saga
of Two Cities (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937);
Robert E. Park and Charles Newcomb, "Newspaper Circulation and Metropolitan
Regions," Roderick D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York:
McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933); Graham R. Taylor, Satellite Cities: A Study of
Industrial Suburbs (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1915); N. L. Whetten and E. C.
Devereaux, Jr., Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut; Storrs, Connecticut State
College of Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin 212 (October, 1936); National
Resources Committee, Regional Planning: Part II—St. Louis Region (Washington:
United States Government Printing Office, 1936); Mildred L. Hartough, The Twin
Cities as a Metropolitan Market (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1925).

14 E. Gordon Eriksen, "The Superhighway and City Planning: Some Ecological
Considerations with Reference to Los Angeles," Social Forces, Vol. 28 (May, 1950);
Walter Firey, Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The
Case of Flint, Michigan (East Lansing: Michigan State College Agricultural Experi-
ment Station, Special Bulletin 339, June, 1946).
urban community depends bring with them benevolent as well as disorganizing influences, as Ogburn’s research has so well demonstrated.  

Sociologists are just now beginning to take apart the concept of social status in the city. Here we find that the economic, social, and political superstructure that has been erected upon the ecological and technological base substantiates the older hypothesis that in the course of urbanization and industrialization of the Western world, a new form of social organization, a new social structure, is emerging, characterized by impersonal relations in which the pecuniary link is the most significant cohesive bond. Instead of kinship and tradition, interest and ideology now have come to serve as the more binding cement that binds human beings into effective working groups in urban areas.

In conclusion, the city is an advantageous laboratory for the study of social life because every characteristic of human nature is not only visible but magnified. In the freedom of the city, every individual, no matter how eccentric, finds an environment where he can grow and thrive and find self-expression. The city tolerates everybody and everything: the criminal, the beggar, the genius, the wealthy, the pervert, and the talented. Here all secret ambitions plus suppressed desires find expression. The fact that the city magnifies, in fact advertises, human nature is what makes this arena of human life interesting. By placing the understanding of the city in the center of sociological interest we may acquire a perspective for the comprehension of the salient problems not only of urban civilization but of contemporary society as a whole.


SUGGESTED READINGS


Park, Robert E., "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," The City (University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 1–46. Park surveys (1) the city plan and local organization, (2) industrial organization and the moral order, (3) secondary relations and social control, (4) temperament and the urban environment for the purpose of demonstrating how the city shows the good and evil in human nature in excess and hence comprises an excellent human laboratory.

Redfield, Robert, "Social Science in our Society," Phylon, The Atlanta University Review of Race & Culture, Vol. 11 (First Quarter, 1950), pp. 31–41. The place of social science in our society is critically important, but its nature is widely misunderstood. Social science aids society by making use of reason in solving problems and organizing knowledge, in short, helping us to accomplish certain desired objectives more effectively.

Wirth, Louis, "The Urban Society and Civilization," The American Journal of Sociology, XLV, No. 5 (March, 1940), p. 750. An excellent article explaining how the city is identified more by heterogeneous characteristics than by homogeneous ones.
It has been said, and with some truth, that we can judge how modern a sociology text is by the fewness of its definitions. That is to say, when we emphasize precision in the study of human conduct, we invite an intellectual game with the reader which has little relationship with the realities under consideration. Social philosophers have frequently fallen into the error of assuming that once they had defined a phenomenon, it would remain as it was, for they believed that all knowledge is reducible to formulae which may be checked and cataloged. They have pursued facts as external truths, on the supposition that truth is static. Once truth was classified, they did not expect it to change. If human relations in cities were under the same dominion of law that assures that two times two will always equal four, our study of urban life would be less difficult. However, the best answers to questions concerning urban behavior tend to be merely tentative, because change is ever present in cities and definitions have no sooner been made than they need to be altered. Sociology is a science of social relationships of real people, a study of the "materials that come from the sidewalk." Consequently, the best way to know about city people is to follow them into the street and their private lives whenever possible to watch and observe them just as the biologist studies micro-organisms. We are not interested here in studying hypothetical people as the economist once complacently studied the "economic man"; we are concerned with real groups of people and their representatives in the urban setting.

The concept of the city has been variously defined and described, depending upon the special interests of the men involved. Geographers
have viewed the city as an artificial landscape made of streets, buildings, water mains, and other material appurtenances which make city life possible. Their central interest is the correlation between habitat and social factors. While the economic geographer is concerned with the city trade areas and the market, the physical geographer analyzes the physical contours and the urban site. The ecological geographer concentrates upon the types of physical and institutional formations which appear in the city as a result of dominant processes, as well as the character of interdependence of the city with other areas. Thus the geographer studies basic elementary problems and makes generalizations concerning conditions of production, transportation, and the like.

*Historians* have a decidedly different perspective from that of the geographers. They look to the city to acquire an intimate expression of civilization by employing the technique of document analysis, e.g., studies of official papers, diaries, newspapers, and personal letters. Since their approach has been colored somewhat by city forms of antiquity, historians tend to view the city-state as a legal entity and refer to these agglomerations as centers of civilization. Only recently have they been viewing the city as the *pulse* of civilization rather than the place where all things worth-while begin. In this respect they agree with the sociologists.

*Political scientists* perceive the city as a form of political organization. In their studies they have become increasingly interested in the city as a locale of public services and have measured the degree of efficiency and democracy there. Lately, however, more attention has been directed toward the study of home rule; special governments for special purposes, such as sanitation districts which embrace several incorporated communities; water supply districts; and crime control districts. Political scientists study and make proposals relative to more effective relations between city, state, county, and federal political agencies. Their subject matter, the mechanism of city government, is sometimes very elaborate. Perhaps quite unwittingly some political scientists have become political moralists (even as sociologists were ethical moralists a quarter of a century ago), their political science becoming, in actuality, political technology as they advocate one kind of urban political structure over against another.

*Economists* view the city as an agency of economic enterprise. They try to discover what is true about urban behavior as a result of
division of labor, human interdependence, and scarcity of wealth. To them the city is a purveyor of water (and sometimes of gas, electricity, and transportation); a purchaser of supplies; a seller of service; and an employer of labor. Much of what the modern city does is business. Although the economist is basically concerned with prices, units of value, and the pointing out of how prices depend upon scarcity, he also knows a good deal about business, markets, booms, panics, and trade. He is interested in discovering the best location for a factory, the best method of marketing a commodity. Since the city of modern civilization is the great market place, it becomes an important laboratory for the economist. In recent years his long-standing interest in theoretical speculations has been somewhat subordinated to research endeavors. The practical desirability of ascertaining the causes of fluctuations in economic activity in cities has encouraged quantitative researches into urban income and similar matters. The result is a growing body of knowledge concerning the bookkeeping transactions of modern cities. Unfortunately, at times, modern economists, even those who pride themselves on their research interests, seem no more inclined to study economic activities in process than did the pure theorists of earlier times. The result has been that the study of the economics of city bookkeeping (market prices and their fluctuation, production totals, labor supply, and so forth) has not been as fruitful as it could be. Economists are becoming more aware of the fact that before they can contribute anything more of significance about economic life in cities they must go out and study men working in the factories, the market places, and the counting houses.

The lawyer looks upon the city as a corporation at law, a municipal corporation endowed with an artificial personality. It may sue and be sued, hold property, make contracts, and do in its corporate capacity most of the things that a natural person may do. As a municipal corporation, it has power to levy taxes, borrow money, and give in pledge the private property of its citizens. The bonded indebtedness of a city constitutes in effect a first mortgage on every piece of property within its boundaries regardless of ownership. Through the right of eminent domain, the city has the privilege of taking private property for public use against the will of the owner or on payment of just compensation. A study of such legal powers and their exercise is what chiefly interests the lawyer about the city.
On Defining the City

The professional social welfare worker perceives the city as an agency for the promotion of human welfare. He may be engaged not only in governmental and economic enterprises, but also in doing work of social amelioration and providing free education, health protection, poor relief, and public recreation as made possible through public taxation. As much as one-third of a city's annual expenditures may be devoted to these social welfare undertakings. There is a constant demand that the city do more for its people along lines of health protection, recreation, education, and philanthropy. These responsibilities are being steadily transferred from the home to the school, the public playground, the neighborhood house, or civic center.

The sociologist poses this question to himself: What is there about the city as a form of social life which distinguishes it from social life elsewhere? Sociology studies the consensual or more purely social relationships of man. By the term "consensual" we mean the pattern of cohesion in folkways and mores, and the cooperative resolution of conflict between members of a single group or between separate and distinct groups. As a science which investigates the factors of conduct of men living collectively, it is concerned with people as having a common outlook. The heart of urban sociology is: How do city people think they belong together? Stated differently, sociologists seek to discover (1) how people in cities come into agreement resulting in collective action, and (2) how this agreement is maintained in groups and institutions.

The difference between these sciences or professions, whichever the case may be, is fundamentally a matter of emphasis, since each is complementary to the other. Definitions of the city are formulated appropriately to the interest at hand. In addition to the activities of social scientists, special interests have been developed in the technological phases of urban life; in real estate, traffic engineering, housing, sanitation engineering, policing, recreation, education, and many others. In fact one may venture the hypothesis that for each of the many bodies of knowledge concerning the city, one may find an appropriate specialist and definition of the situation.

Defining a term means giving the general properties of what is described, together with the particular property which distinguishes it from all other members of the same class. As such, it is a formula which cuts off and isolates the object we are concerned with from all other things. While it is perfectly sound and useful to define such
sharply distinct things as an even number, a straight line, or a triangle, we cannot, on the other hand, usefully define a white object or an intelligent man, since there is a continuity between whiteness and blackness and between intelligence and unintelligence. So it is with the city. To define a city as a place containing 2,500 or more people is of little usefulness because the city also shows continuous variation; some communities act like little Chicaemos, though they contain only 1,000 inhabitants, while those with 15,000 population may impress one as being more folklike or rural in their behavior characteristics.

DEFINITIONS OF A CITY

Definitions Based on Demography:
Those aggregations possessing a low birth rate in combination with a high marriage rate.—Rumelin
A density of 10,000 people per square mile is indicative of a city.—Mark Jefferson
All agglomerated areas of 8,000 or over.—U.S. Census Bureau, 1900
All agglomerated areas of 2,500 or over.—U.S. Census Bureau, 1910–1940

Definitions Based on Juridical Factors:
... a corporation, possessing a charter that guarantees it certain rights and privileges, and imposes upon it certain obligations. ...—A. F. MacDonald, American City Government and Administration
A city is determined by the existence of a council.—Justi
In the United States a town or collective body of inhabitants incorporated and governed by a mayor and alderman. ...—The New English Dictionary, 1893

Definitions Based on Functional Characteristics:
Every aggregation which is the seat of special activities.—Muller-Lyer
Aggregations of men dependent on products of outside agricultural labor for their subsistence.—Sombart
Cities represent points of ossification of the social organism.—Bordier

Definitions Based on Multiple Factors:
A city is distinguished by gates, churches, and population density.—Perenné
A city is identified by the coexistence of industrial, commercial and political activities.—Contemporary economists

In Great Britain a city is usually a corporate town which is or has been the seat of a bishop.—The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, 1908
THE LAW OF THE EXCLUDED MIDDLE

There is a venerable law of logic called the "law of the excluded middle" which states that A is either B or not B. Thus the sky is either blue or not blue. This is obviously true, and we shall not deny its soundness as a law of pure logic. At the same time, however, we must notice that the kind of thinking embodied in this law may be dangerous and misleading when applied to a certain very common range of facts. In our physical and social surroundings, we find properties which show continuous variation, and we find these properties obscured by the use of words implying sharp distinctions. "Beautiful" and "ugly," "good" and "bad," "extrovert" and "introvert," "proletarian" and "capitalist," "city" and "country" are all pairs of opposites which show this property of continuous variation. The use of two sharply contrasted terms such as "extrovert" and "introvert" leads us to forget the continuity between them. An essential difference between two individuals, each bearing the respective label of introvert or extrovert, is the degree of outward or inward expressiveness. This power of successful adjustment to one's surroundings varies quite continuously from one individual to another; and no one is either an absolute extrovert or introvert, urbanite or ruralite, but is a varying combination of these. Any argument, therefore, which begins in some way as follows: "A man must be either sane or insane, and an insane person is absolutely incapable of reasonable thought . . ." is a dangerous piece of crooked thinking since it ignores the fact of continuity. Equally spurious is the statement that "community A is a city while community B is not," that "members of B community are incapable of behaving as urbanites." "Urban" and "rural" do not conform to the exclusive pattern expressed by "either/or."

Indeed, we can create a consistent theory of sociology by defining mores, institutions, accommodation, assimilation, urban, rural, society, and community. Even so, we have no guarantee that what we have defined are the names of anything which has a separate existence in fact. We may be playing a delightful and intricate game which has nothing whatever to do with the true subject matter of sociology. The difficulty of knowing where to draw the line is so universal in the kind of matter with which modern sociologists are engaged that many of our traditional methods of thinking which presuppose that
we are dealing with things entirely separate from one another fail us altogether.

Where no sharp distinctions exist in fact, the use of sharply different words to distinguish facts which show continuous variation only distorts the realities we are trying to describe. We make sharp distinctions in speech where none exists in fact or we go to the other extreme by denying the reality of the differences because there is a continuous variation between the different things. A very old example illustrates this type of spurious thinking. We could easily throw doubt on the reality of a man’s beard by asking whether or not a man with one hair on his chin has a beard. The answer is clearly “No.” Then we may ask whether a man with two hairs on his chin has a beard. Again the answer must be “No.” So again with “three,” “four,” and so forth. At no point can our opponent say “Yes,” for if he has answered “No” for, let us say thirty-nine hairs, and “Yes” for forty, it is easy to pour scorn on the suggestion that the difference between thirty-nine and forty hairs is the difference between not having and having a beard. Yet by this process of adding one hair at a time, we can reach a number of hairs which would undoubtedly make up a beard. The trouble lies in the fact that the difference between a beard and no beard is like the difference between white and gray, for it is possible to pass by continuous steps from one to the other.

By the same token, do we have a city when we have one, two, three, or four skyscrapers; when we have one thousand, two thousand, or three thousand inhabitants of some geographical site? In this kind of thinking the fact of continuous variation undermines the reality of the difference. However, since there is no sharp dividing line between an urban and a rural community, someone might therefore insist that there is no difference—a false imputation. Where no sharp distinctions exist in fact, the use of sharply different words to distinguish facts which show continuous variation only distorts the realities we are trying to describe.

THE MEAN BETWEEN TWO EXTREMES

Sociology also uses “average” types, which are not to be confused with “ideal” types to be discussed next in the effort to set up norms. Almost everyone loves a compromise, and when somebody recommends an intermediate position between two extreme positions, we
feel a strong temptation to accept it. Knowing this, people of the most
diverse opinions present their views to us in this way. We read about
what the average American city looks like, how Los Angeles is more
typically urban than, say, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Kansas City.
Advertisers tell us about the “typical” city gentleman and how he
dresses, shaves, or mixes cocktails. The idea that truth always lies
in the mean, median, or mode position between two extremes, how-
ever attractive it may be, is of no practical use as a criterion for
discovering where the truth lies, because every view can be repre-
sented as the mean, median, or mode between two extremes. The
student of urban society should distrust this sort of faulty thinking.
Averages and average types can only be formed when we are dealing
with items of degree from a central homogeneous point. And indeed
this does actually happen. In urban human affairs, however, we find
heterogeneous motives, and thus an average cannot be indicated.

It is obscurative to talk about averages. Furthermore, when we
have two extreme positions and a middle one between them, the
truth is just as likely to lie at one extreme, equally near both extremes,
or in the middle position. If I wished to convince you that two
and two make five, I might commend it to you as the safe middle
position between the exaggerations, on the one hand, of the ex-
tremists who assert that two and two make four and, on the other
hand, of those who assert the equally extreme position that two and
two make six. I should appeal to you as moderate men and women
not to be led away by either of these extreme parties, but to follow
with me the safe middle path of asserting that two and two make
five. Perhaps you would believe me, but you and I would both be
wrong because the truth would lie with one party of the extremists.

THE "IDEAL-TYPE” APPROACH

How, then, shall we recognize our subject matter? A German
sociologist, Max Weber, supplies a sound method known as the
"ideal-type" approach. The term “ideal” as used here has nothing
to do with evaluations of any sort. It refers to the construction of
certain elements of reality into a logically precise conception. For
analytical purposes, one may construct ideal types of prostitution as
well as of politicians, religious leaders, and communities. The term
does not mean that either prophets, harlots, politicians, or cities are
exemplary or should be imitated as representatives of an ideal way of life. Gerth and Mills state the Weberian method as follows:

By using the term Weber did not mean to introduce a new conceptual tool. He merely intended to bring to full awareness what social scientists and historians had been doing when they used words like "the economic man," "feudalism," "Gothic versus Romanesque architecture," or "kinship." He felt that social scientists had the choice of using logically controlled and unambiguous conceptions, which are thus more removed from historical reality, or of using less precise concepts, which are more closely geared to the empirical world. Weber's interest in world-wide comparisons led him to consider extreme and "pure cases." These cases became "crucial instances" and controlled the level of abstraction that he used in connection with any particular problem. The real meat of history would usually fall in between such extreme types; hence Weber would approximate the multiplicity of specific historical situations by bringing various type concepts to bear upon the specific case under focus. \(^1\)

One of the expressed aims of this text is to explore urban life as a mode of human existence in contrast with rural life, i.e., to study the bipolar characteristics. Because urban behavior is devoid of much understanding when it is studied alone we must investigate it through making comparisons and drawing inferences. While any urban community has distinct rural elements, it must be studied both theoretically and empirically. There are commercial cities as contrasted with political and resort cities. Likewise the term "rural community" is an ever-expanding concept, including more and more interrelationships between city and country, and calling for an expanding set of related concepts for the consideration of the problems in rural life. It, too, must be studied by inference as well as by comparison.

Studying the urban or rural community is like studying primitive man; we have never really seen a typical rural or urban community; so we must set them up as ideal types. Precise definitions cannot be given. For our purpose the following ideal-type definition of the city should be adequate: The city is a settled aggregation of people who by their density tend toward heterogeneity and impersonality. Naturally in every hamlet, village, or metropolis one will encounter impersonal as well as personal relationships; however, by this definition we are deliberately presenting the city in its most "ideal" form, for

we are contrasting it with the rural community, the opposite pole in our conceptual framework (to be defined in its more "pure" form as a settled aggregation of people who by their loose density tend toward homogeneous and personal relationships). Since no two cities are ever equally impersonal, nor enjoy the same amount of human density, our definition is an exaggeration of events in experience (all events typed as to [1] kind and [2] quality), but not completely formed out of imagination. We profit from this kind of ideal definition since it allows us to gain a more meaningful understanding of the relations

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram.png)

**Fig. 1. The Tribal-Urban Continuum.**

(Diagram prepared by Robert Redfield for his course, "The Folk Society," at the University of Chicago.)

of communities. By constructing an ideal form as our definition we recognize that it is no more ideal and absolute than what the physicist postulates as ideal friction or an absolute vacuum. So we deliberately indulge in a kind of casuistry, the setting up of ideal generalities and the application of specific cases to them for the test of their nature. This approach is intimately linked with the comparative method, implying that two constellations are comparable in terms of some feature common to both. Through using ideal types we may eventually build up enough cases of urban communities and urban behavior to set up a sequence of communities ranging in kind and quality from the "most rural" to the "most urban." Social anthro-
pologists have been seeking by the same method to set up on a continuum types of communities and culture groups for all mankind ranging from primitives to sophisticated urbanites (Figure 1).

In Professor Redfield's diagram of the tribal-urban continuum above, those societies which are more characteristically "folk" appear at the left. Reading from left to right one may trace some of the principal historic ways in which primitive societies have become converted into urbanized societies or into other and special types of societies. These types are diagramed as to their genetic relationships to one another.

By constructing a definition of a city abstractly, we have not defined anything which has a separate existence in fact; yet such a construction permits us to study the cities of reality with some precision and practicality. We now have a measure by which to determine when a community is nearing its urban majority.

The primary difference between life in large and small communities is not simply the respective number of one's acquaintances but (1) the degree of intimacy (the strength of the ties) between members of social groups, and (2) the carry-over of these bonds of intimacy into other affiliations. In the metropolis, for example, the work group ties do not necessarily overlap the recreational group; the school group and the play group are not necessarily the same. Other subtle differences between rural and urban behavior are derived from these observations.

On the inner side, when the simple primary group relationships that characterize village and town life yield to more complex interaction wherein men behave toward one another in terms of their specialized roles (hiding or disguising those other facets of the broader self) and, further, when the neighborhood has been broken down into smaller and more isolated social units which have been separated according to their diverse interests, we can call a community a city. On the outer side, when a community begins to take on rules, as prompted by its heterogeneity, when control comes through some intermediate agency, and water, food supplies, health, influx of strangers, transportation, and weights and measures become regulated, that community is on its way to cityhood.

2 A "folk" society includes peasant and other illiterate societies as well as the tribal and "subtribal" societies characteristically considered by ethnologists; societies of this class are roughly to be recognized in the extent to which folk tales and folk songs are to be obtained from them.
The terms "village," "town," "suburb," and "city" thus become names for community types as measured in terms of population density and habits or designs of living. *Sheer numbers do not make a community either rural or urban, but numbers plus a kind of behavior.* This social-psychological aspect of city life must not be ignored because the urban community is composed of those areas characterized by a minimum degree of intimacy and informality between man and man, group and group. Conversely, the rural begins at that ill-defined point where people assume personal attitudes toward each other. Obviously the density of population and the economic-occupational factors play an important role in developing these behavior tendencies. Our problem here is to gain an understanding of those conditions of life which grow out of a city as a consequence of this minimum of intimate affiliations. We observe, for example, a housing problem in American cities closely linked with the absentee landlord, usually a land speculator, who is indifferent to the problems in the local neighborhood where he owns property. He is principally concerned with profit in the competitive scheme. This lack of social participation by a key man fosters deterioration of both the physical and social appurtenances for community well-being. This kind of anonymity and detachment are the keys to urban life standing in contrast to the rural world where there is a higher degree of homogeneity, a tendency toward social inbreeding, and a lesser degree of individual freedom. A relatively absolute pattern is imposed on rural members in direct contrast with the indifference in the urban scene.

We cannot overemphasize the fact that the great differences between rural and urban existence in the United States and the Western world are rapidly disappearing. The best that one can do is to recognize that the extremes of these two societies are identifiable and admit that there is a transition area between the extremes in which social life partakes of the nature of both urban and rural communities in somewhat equal proportion. With the separate individual, it is no longer so important *where* he lives as *how* he lives. A person's mode of living can be carried with him to different areas so that he cannot be clearly identified in terms of habitat. In this technological age,

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people are capable of modifying their habitat, and escaping it through inventions with the result that statistics on rural and urban communities become more and more meaningless. Country people die in city hospitals and give birth to children in city hospitals. On the other hand, many of the city's greatest leaders derive their financial returns from working in the city, but prefer to reside in the smaller communities of the vast hinterland beyond the administrative boundaries. In this way the compilation of statistics is upset. In fact, in some instances the city is made to appear as the place where the greatest proportion of people become diseased and die—an unfair statistical imputation. In view of these observations we cannot say: "The city is this and the country is that," for these communities represent two ways of life which are becoming more and more integrated. Less emphasis can be placed on location. We are compelled to look at a community's space dimension in relationship to usable space. In the final analysis, in defining a city we are not talking about standing-room only but a way of life in space.

SUGGESTED READINGS


A rather comprehensive and organized survey of the social sciences. It forms an important background for understanding the phases and relationships of any social science.


Dr. Miner, while pointing out the pitfalls one may encounter in employing the folk-urban ideal-type continuum, explains that it is valuable in providing a framework within which various theoretical fields may be integrated to provide greater understanding of the nature and course of culture change.


Descriptive portraits of various American cities emphasizing unique characteristics and individuality.


One of the clearest statements of ideal-type folk behavior as expressed by one of America's foremost social anthropologists.

This small book presents in very interesting and readable fashion the arguments which defend as well as refute "the law of the excluded middle" and "the mean between the two extremes."
The Rise of Cities

Just when and where urban communities first appeared is difficult to say. There are stories of lost cities and vanished civilizations, such as Plato’s account of Atlantis. Barbarians had fortresses and villages. Although it is difficult to establish a point of departure, we can trace cities back as far as records and monuments will take us, and show their gradual development.

PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES

If by history we mean recorded history, cities of some sort have existed throughout the documented past. Even some of the available prehistoric evidence tends to show that men in early times occasionally lived in considerable aggregations, although it may be questioned whether these settlements were either sufficiently large or complex to deserve the name of cities. Man, like most higher animals, seems naturally to have lived in groups, the size of which was determined primarily by the available food supply. Common defense bonds and the care of young kept bands of people together. Thus we observe a social disposition being fostered. Common descent, the blood bond, and not common territory, was the base upon which community life developed. Permanence of settlement had very little to do with the band as a social phenomenon. These early groups were organized on a regional or territorial basis sufficient only to sustain them and provide protection. In these protected spots men came to barter. New bands were formed through these contacts. A crossroads of land or
The Rise of Cities

water travel or some neutral boundary was often the designated place where a temporary type of annual "fair" was made possible through a religious or armed truce. Eventually, as skills and resources developed, more frequent market days became desirable and settlements emerged where traders could come habitually or where the inhabitants could exchange goods. Skilled craftsmen sought these centers and thus gave birth to tribalism or territorial groups. An urbanism characterized by specialization of labor and human density was brought into being. The old lines of consanguinity were broken down. Communities based on blood ties became a mere fiction as people made efforts to classify themselves by wealth, occupation, and place of birth.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CITIES

With the rise of a new form of human classification based upon political districts and the division of people becoming territorial rather than consanguineal, we see the civil society emerging with its local government replacing the old order based on ethnic and kinship bonds. The physical structure of these cities, as their ruins now indicate, was dictated by the need for defense and trade opportunities, and by the ambitions of rulers to build monuments as testimonials to their power and glory in the form of cities. Like oases in a relatively undeveloped nomadic or agrarian domain, these ancient cities were parasitic upon the material and human resources of the countryside, furnishing in exchange a dubious protection and a semblance of order.

Adna Weber speculates on the size of the cities of ancient times:

The ancient world was acquainted with great cities whose magnificence and wickedness do not yield to modern capitals. There are no accurate figures concerning the population of Thebes, Memphis, Babylon, Ninevah, Susa, and Egbatana; but the fact that the Greeks spoke of them with wonder argues their magnitude. For the Greeks themselves had several cities exceeding 100,000 in population. In the fifth century both Athens and Syracuse certainly surpassed this figure, and Syracuse had not then touched the zenith of 700,000. At the beginning of the Christian era, Alexandria contained 500,000, possibly 700,000 inhabitants, and a considerable number of Roman cities reached the 100,000 class; but all of them, with the exception of Rome herself, were outside of Italy. Rome's
population was 600,000–800,000, certainly not over 1,000,000; and during the first three centuries of the present era, it fluctuated about the number 500,000. After Rome’s decay, Constantinople was the only European city whose population exceeded 100,000; but Constantinople in the early middle ages was overshadowed by Bagdad and rivalled by Damascus and Cairo. The modern period was well begun (1600) before Paris wrested the first place from Constantinople, and only to be overtaken and passed by London before the end of the seventeenth century.¹

The origin of the cities in the Tigro-Euphrates valley precedes the dawn of ancient history. Great city-states, kingdoms, and empires developed in this region. Babylon rose to supremacy under Hammurabi, and dominated western Asia until destroyed by the Persians. Herodotus gives a vivid account of this great city with its massive walls, towers, and temples. We have to realize that such a place was actually a city-state, comprising within its bounds not only the royal palaces and quarters for a large subject population, but also gardens, granaries, and reservoirs capable of sustaining a million people when besieged. The inhabitants were housed in structures three or four stories high.² Religious influences were strong in Babylon; laws were well developed; and a mixed population was kept in order.

Because of sketchy records the history of ancient civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, and Assyria cannot be adequately recounted here beyond mentioning the fact that the rise and decline of such empires were generally associated with the rise and decline of their principal city-centers. Egyptian cities, for example, were concentrated along the Nile and their topography protected them from attacks by nomadic people. The early nomes or petty states were probably tribal settlements that gradually united under religious and feudal leadership. Traces of local deities and city fleets lead us back to dates prior to 4000 B.C. The ancient cities which gradually emerged were sustained by the tribute of a vast empire, and sheltered large populations of slaves, craftsmen, soldiers, and priests. Thus the beginnings of civilization, as marked by the permanent settlement of formerly nomadic peoples in the Mediterranean basin, demonstrate how there is more than a mere verbal connection between the words “city” and “civilization.” The two have emerged together with the

city furnishing the structural framework through which civilization functions.

While these ancient cities served as places of refuge and political and religious centers, they were also economic phenomena: centers for the accumulation of wealth by aggregates of people who, at least in part, did not live on the produce of the land in their midst but obtained their means of subsistence from other rural aggregates. Early cities were consumption cities *par excellence*. All cities are dependent upon raw materials and an abundant supply of foodstuffs which must be provided by the surrounding rural regions; the ancient cities of Greece and Rome developed a far-flung and reciprocally beneficial network of trade and commerce between the metropolis and the provinces. In fact, the transition from a slave economy and an exploitative urbanism to an urban civilization resting upon a free economy marked by mutual interchange of services between city and country, came with the growth of Greek and Roman civilizations. The Greeks and Romans had their slaves, too, but they came to be employed more and more in the manufacture of goods to be exchanged rather than in production for domestic consumption.³

Because of the great technological difficulties of inland transportation, the commerce developed by the Greek and Roman cities of antiquity became increasingly dependent upon shipping. The historic Roman system of roads was used more for military than for commercial purposes. Because of this the location of cities came to be associated more and more with waterways and harbors and less and less with inaccessible inland sites. Technological devices may also be said to have naturally changed men's habits, and in doing so they necessarily modified the structure, function, and location of cities. The general nature of these changes may be described as (1) changes in the character of man's relation to the soil and to his natural habitat; (2) changes in his relations with other men. Like ancient Egyptian cities concentrated along the Nile, Roman and Greek cities of the time flourished commercially and enjoyed protection from attacks by nomadic peoples because of their location near bodies of water. Rivers, lakes, and oceans functioned not only in keeping the enemy at bay but also as effective transportation routes to distant market places. The invention of the boat made it increasingly advan-

tageous for cities to locate on the edge of large bodies of water. As a result most of the great cities of the world, the congested populations, have aligned themselves along those points where land and water transportation converge. Such locations reflected the dual functions of cities, specifically trading and protection.

THE DOUBLE ROLES OF HISTORIC CITIES

Cities of antiquity were often compelled to function in a dual and self-contradictory role, for inaccessibility and accessibility were two of their mutual aspects; they were fortresses as well as trading centers. Just which of these functions was the initial force in the creation of urban centers is a question over which sociologists and historians both disagree. In an era prior to the invention of gunpowder, cities enjoyed protection by situating on high points, water fronts, or by erecting high walls around the populations. Behind these barricades, a group could defend their homes or guard their conquests. United by religious ties and often by common descent, the citizens of the small city-states developed a local aristocracy and lived on the produce of a subjected peasantry.

While the city was situated externally in the most gainful position with respect to its trade function, it was affected internally by its fortress function. Streets generally ran from center outward like the spokes of a wheel, connecting with circular streets which paralleled the contour of the defensive wall. Such a design facilitated an effective inner defense of the city, since a small body of men could hold several streets by guarding one junction. Several centuries later, Napoleon encouraged this physical pattern for the defense of Paris. Life in ancient fortress cities was exceedingly unhealthful, according to twentieth-century middle class American standards. This was particularly true when the population was crowded into narrow areas on the principle that the smaller the over-all area the easier it was to defend it against enemy attack. Only during periods of peace was there a sound basis for health, since although the town was surrounded by a wall, it was still part of the open country. As the cities increased in size and density of population, however, their rural base was undermined and new sanitary difficulties arose out of the very fact of density.

The physical structure of the defensive city was predetermined
by the geometric plan. Efforts were made in ancient times to construct cities in circular designs or many-sided forms with towers at the corners.

In early medieval times the moat was a formidable obstacle and required some sort of water system, an artificial or natural stream, plus a source of provisions in food and arms for the inner community (Plate 1). Such an arrangement called for armaments and tunnels to the outside. Mumford writes:

... the strength and security of a fortified stronghold, perched on some impregnable rock, could be secured even for the relatively helpless people of the lowlands provided they built a wooden palisade or a stone wall around their village. Such a wall, particularly when surrounded by a moat, kept the attacker out, and made his weapons ineffective. In terror of the invaders, the inhabitants of Mainz, for example, restored at last their dilapidated Roman wall. Under commissions from the German emperor, Henry I, walls were built even around monasteries and nunneries to guard them from attack. And in Italy, too, walls were built again at the end of the ninth century in order to repel the Hungarians and other invaders.

This discovery, fortunately, proved to be double-edged. If the wall could protect the town from outside invasions more successfully than the feudal war-band, could it not also protect the community from the invasions and usurpations of these greedy and arrogant "protectors"? By means of the wall, any village could become another stronghold: people would flock to that island of peace, as originally they had submitted in desperation to the feudal gang-leaders or had given up the hopes of domesticity to find protection in a monastery or a nunnery. Life in the open country, even under the shadow of a castle, ceased to be as attractive as life behind the urban wall. Stockades, such as one still sees in Lucas Cranach's woodcut of the siege of Wolfenbüttel in 1542, were a cheap price to pay for such a collective security of life and property, such regularity in trade and work, such peace in thought and worship.\(^4\)

Of course with the invention of gunpowder the enemy could shoot over or through city walls. Defensive elements were made less important as cities became more vulnerable to military attack. The trading function became the key role of the city just as it is today. Now we see in the older cities the remaining portions of city walls with the old

city and its functions of government, religion, and homes for the elite situated within the central area, and the industries and new enterprises situated without. Only gradually were suburban areas developed. Medieval and ancient cities were usually divided into ecological parts: (1) the sacred area in the center with its temples, government buildings, and wealthy class; and (2) the outside area with its proletariat. The bishop controlled the center portion and the feudal lords came into control of the outer portions. Not until the nineteenth century did industries become more important than the central administrative areas and thus force a disunity among cities. In China's older cities we still see the Lords and the institutions and objects of cultural value in the geographic center. However, these are not the most powerful symbols of urbanism today inasmuch as commerce and light manufacture with their dependent service institutions or "multipliers" have come to hold the central geographic position. Political and social functions rank below the trade function. In ancient and early medieval cities, however, what industries there were enjoyed a satellite position both socially and spatially.

GREEK AND ROMAN CITIES

No other nation concentrated so completely on the perfecting of city life as did ancient Greece. In Athens the environmental conditions influenced urban growth. The climate, rich soil, and nearness to the sea made it possible for a city to develop. At first the power of Athens was vested in one person known as the "King-Priest." Later this form of government was superseded by the "aristocracy of magistrates," an all-powerful group, which, however, degenerated into an oligarchy of the worst type. With the increasing industrial importance and social power of the artisan class, a democracy developed. This economic independence led to the right to participate in the economic life of the community. The entry of slaves and serfs into politics led to the popular assembly. The whole idea of the Greek cities was that the city was a restricted territory and the community was more important than the family or individual.

Rome, like Greece, was based on the social contract theory, i.e., a binding mutual security and welfare pact between the subjects and the sovereignty. If the people met with tyranny and oppression, they were to be freed from their promises and returned to that state of
liberty which had preceded the institution of government. Rome held a commanding position and favorable geographic relationship to other countries of the Mediterranean basin, advancing beyond the "city-state" and developing the idea of a world-empire. The extension of Roman political influence to distant countries led to an elaborate administrative system which was centered in Rome. Well-developed means of communication between provinces and capital and a system of police protection for life and property accompanied this political centralization. With this came freedom of migration to the cities where inventions, new ideas, and discoveries were encouraged. Overcrowding appeared with its accompanying inconveniences as we know them today. Social amusements of the city were emphasized; yet the necessities of healthful living were neglected. However, despite these and other negative factors for comfortable urban living, Rome demonstrated the importance of the role of public authority in providing healthful recreation for citizens and the importance of the group over the individual.

**THE “DARK AGES” OF CITY-MAKING**

From the tenth century on, the urban movement is a story of old urban settlements becoming more or less self-governing cities, and of new settlements being made under the auspices of the feudal lord who was endowed with rights and privileges that served to attract permanent groups of traders and craftsmen. The city charter was a social contract. The free city enjoyed legal as well as military security, and living in the corporate town for a year and a day removed the obligations of serfdom. Hence the city of the medieval period became a selective environment, drawing to itself the more skilled, the more adventurous, the more upstanding, and therefore probably the more intelligent part of the rural population.

The city was the political arena in which the urban bourgeoisie and its overlords struggled for power. Many of the conflicts came from attempts to drive a hard bargain with the new citizens, rather than from absolute resistance to granting any privileges whatever. In the humble beginnings of the new towns of the Middle Ages, military considerations were always uppermost. A strong ruler conquered a district adjacent to his old dominion or wished to defend his frontier against a neighboring enemy. He built crude fortresses and encour-
aged his subjects to live in them so that they might undertake the responsibility of their defense. But after all, since the serf had a permanent claim to the land he was tied to, extra bait was needed to move him several hundred miles away. For the first time the serf discovered he had bargaining power, and the proprietor was forced to meet the demands of the new settler half-way. The towns won the right to hold a regular market, the right to be subject to a special market law, the right to coin money and establish weights and measures, and the right of the citizens to be tried in their local courts and to bear arms in their own defense. This citizenship gave its possessor the opportunity for social and spatial mobility which was indispensable to the rise of a trading class.

In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, with the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe entered into a period of disintegration and political decentralization. The cities that had begun to develop as the outposts of the Roman Empire suffered a decline and depended once more upon the immediate hinterland for their supplies. Only a few, among them Constantinople and Rome itself, continued to exist on a scale comparable to their former glory, and even then only because these cities served as political capitals and centers of the growing power of the church.

Economic relations over a wide area became more precarious in view of the general insecurity of life. Considerations of safety and defense became dominant, both in the selection of sites and in the development of physical plans. The growth of medieval towns can be traced to two causes: (1) the grouping of towns around the feudal castles to enjoy protection, and (2) the granting of specific market privileges by feudal lords. The requisites for large city growth were lacking, for there was no large territory from which a city could draw the population. Only a comparatively crude state of commercial and industrial development and a weak centralized government which guaranteed freedom of migration from district to district existed.

While local authorities made innumerable regulations concerning trade and industry, it was not until late in history that municipal services appeared. Citizenship was regarded as a marketable, inheritable property right, not the "inalienable" right as viewed more generally in democratic societies today. Full membership in the community was acquired either through inheritance, the gift of the municipality, or purchase.
This period was marked by a breakdown of great trade routes due to the constant pressure of invasions. Local communities were thrown upon their own resources. Churchmen succeeded to the authority formerly held by Roman governors. Even kings trembled before the church. The diocese and the parish were the fundamental political divisions of society. The universal form of taxation was the tithe which went to support the great establishment of Rome. A great portion of the economic life of the urban areas was devoted to the glorification of God, the construction and maintenance of church buildings, cathedrals, monasteries, hospitals, and schools, and the support of the clergy and those who waited on them. Even business and religion were organically related, with business copying the institutions of religion in the organization of trading posts. Monasteries and churches arose; the latter became an important force in maintaining peace and order, administering charity and education, and promoting local improvements.

In most cases, however, military leaders became the local rulers. In return for a leader's protection, the freemen of the community agreed to hold their land subject to conditions imposed by the lord. As tenants they were obliged to render service in peace and war. Thus European civilization in the Middle Ages rested primarily upon a manorial economy which was characterized by local self-sufficiency of one or, at best, several manors. The existing commerce was largely a luxury trade. Cities played a very minor role and such city-like settlements that continued to exist were either frontier fortifications, small villages around a castle, or relatively minor trading centers.

The English borough of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries represented the ideal of a true democratic community. However, the following characteristics of this early democracy would appear strange to twentieth-century urban life in the United States: (1) the denial of equal economic opportunity to newcomers which led to their political subordination and (2) the social ascendancy of the more prosperous trades which gave rise to certain classes of leadership in political affairs or, more specifically, power in the hands of guild leaders. The unattached person was one who was either condemned to exile or doomed to death. His salvation rested upon the success by which he attached himself to a group, if nothing more than a band of robbers. To exist, one had to belong to an association, a manor, a monastery, a household, or a guild. There was no security except through asso-
ciation, and no freedom that did not recognize the obligations of a corporate life. One lived and died in the style of one's class and corporation.

Guilds secured a monopolistic and aristocratic control over trade and industry, for guild membership was a prerequisite to the exercise of trade. The purpose of this control was to prevent overcrowding of the trade and to perpetuate a high value of guild membership.

THE REFORMATION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Cities did not begin to resume their functions as centers of trade and manufacturing until the commercial and industrial revolutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was during the fifteenth century that the first industrial revolution took place in England. Commercial relations with foreign countries carried the interests of the citizen beyond the territorial limits of municipal control. This commercial and industrial revolution was intimately associated with the renewed interest in transoceanic navigation, which culminated in the discovery of America. The old guild system, with the development of a relatively cheap and abundant labor supply plus its basic master-apprentice relationships, came increasingly into competition with the putting-out system. The latter was a system whereby a merchant furnished raw material to the worker, who took it home and returned the finished product to the merchant for a meager sum. The putting-out system marked the transitional stage between the earlier form of craftsmanship and the modern factory. As the new capitalistic economy grew up, the social activities of the town shrank. That is, the homogeneity of the towns with their few class distinctions, relative equality of wealth, and general harmony of interests gave way before the new capitalism and its emphasis upon social and economic mobility and individual initiative. The revolution spread throughout Europe. By displacing Catholic orders in England and northern Germany, the Reformation threw the burden of poor relief and education upon the local governments. National capitals grew in importance. Adventurers, artisans, and literary people flocked to the towns. Wealth increased and art began to flourish. The Reformation period led to a transformation of political ideas and ideals with a resulting new emphasis upon individuation as an end rather than a means.

The government came to be regarded as the guarantor and pro-
The Rise of Cities

The notion that the separate individual is a sacred and free agent spread from English towns to the United States and New England, where the settlements possessed great local freedom and managed their affairs by town meetings. Religion and education were fostered by these communities. They rapidly developed trade and manufacturing and thus invited greater urban concentrations. The England of the seventeenth century first emphasized freedom of the individual, with the government as a servant, guarantor, and protector of individual rights. In the United States this ideal was formulated in the Bill of Rights. This emphasis upon individualism and the doctrine of laissez-faire acted against social solidarity and tended to retard civic responsibility. The concept of the "socialized-self" had yet to make its practical appearance in the philosophy of urban dwellers with the theme that each citizen bears a twin responsibility, a moral responsibility to improve himself but concomitantly to promote the community welfare.

THE APPEARANCE OF GREAT CITIES

Though growth of cities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was rapid, it was still slow when compared with the rate of urbanization during the nineteenth century. The unprecedented scale on which goods were exchanged in the new system gave significance to locations where natural routes of travel converged. Cities thrived at these points. Great cities of more than a million inhabitants first appeared in history. London passed the million mark in 1802; Paris in 1850; New York about 1870; Vienna in 1878; Berlin in 1880; Tokyo, Chicago, and Philadelphia about 1890; Calcutta in 1900; and Buenos Aires about 1906. Today there are over forty-four great cities in the world (Table 1).

These metropolitan centers are the workshops of the civilized world with their factories and sundry service institutions. They are the centers of production, distribution, and control through which mankind as a whole may enjoy a higher standard of economic living. While it is doubtful that any of the ancient cities approached the one-million mark in population, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries signaled the appearance of such supercities. In 1377 the population of London was only about 35,000, and even by 1800 it had not yet reached the million mark. In that same year, when London was
already the largest city in the world, its nearest competitor, Paris, had only about 550,000 residents. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only twenty-one cities in the world with a population of 100,000 or over, while today there are well over 500 cities of that size.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY AND CITY</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>COUNTRY AND CITY</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFRICA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ASIA (Except the U.S.S.R.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td><em>Egypt</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>China</strong></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Alexandria</td>
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<td>Canton</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
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<td>Changsha</td>
<td>600,000</td>
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<td><em>Union of South Africa</em></td>
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<td>900,000</td>
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<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>Hangchow</td>
<td>500,000</td>
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<td><strong>NORTH AMERICA</strong></td>
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<td>HANKOW</td>
<td>700,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Canada</em></td>
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<td>Hongkong</td>
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<td>Toronto</td>
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<td>Nanking</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Cuba</em></td>
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<td>Peiping</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Havana</td>
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<td>Shanghai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mexico</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tientsin</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico City</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>Tsingtao</td>
<td>500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>United States</em></td>
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<td>Boston</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<td>Milwaukee</td>
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<td>Minneapolis</td>
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<td>New Orleans</td>
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<td>Kyoto</td>
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<td>Osaka</td>
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<td>Pittsburgh</td>
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<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>6,700,000</td>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
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<td>Yokohama</td>
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<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>775,357</td>
<td><strong>Korea</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>802,178</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOUTH AMERICA**

| *Argentina*              |            | **Korea**        |            |
| Buenos Aires             | 3,100,000  | **Korea**        |            |
| Rosario                  | 500,000    | Seoul            | 900,000    |
| *Brazil*                 |            | **Korea**        |            |
| Recife                   | 500,000    | Seoul            | 900,000    |
| Rio de Janeiro           | 2,400,000  | Seoul            | 900,000    |
TABLE 1  Cities of 500,000 or More Inhabitants * (1950)—Cont’d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY AND CITY</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>COUNTRY AND CITY</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Mukden</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
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<td>Hamburg</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td></td>
<td>Munich</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>Greece</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Athens</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>600,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Budapest</td>
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<td>Ireland</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dublin</td>
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<td>Italy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Genoa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Milan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Turin</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
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<td>Bucharest</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Glasgow</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Madrid</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Valencia</td>
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<td>Stockholm</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Belgrade</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oceania</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All figures are loose approximations except for United States cities which are reported directly from the 1950 Census.
LIFE SPAN OF CITIES

However, the city as we have quantified it above, is not presented as a social organization, but rather as a territorial abode of numerous social organizations. The city as a territorial place has given rise to considerable questionable investigations by sociologists and others interested in urbanism. Quetelet, for example, in one of his essays on the duration of nations, governments, and cities,⁵ thought that the average duration of big cities was about 627 years. He obtained his figure from computing the average durations of three cities, Tyre (680 years), Carthage (701), and Syracuse (501). However, in our mobile age and period of “boom cities” we cannot accept such a method or such an average since they enlighten us in no particular way. Today cities appear and disappear within a few years. One study of cities in the Canadian Prairie provinces numbering over 5,000 population shows eight such cities in 1910, ten in 1915, twelve in 1920, eleven in 1925, and eleven in 1930.⁶ Within the period of five years two new cities of over 5,000 population sprang up, and within the same period one of them disappeared. Such appearance and disappearance was still more sudden in regard to smaller cities. This is certainly true in “boom areas” of the United States. As the Diesel-electric locomotive displaces the “iron horse,” it is bringing in its wake technological unemployment in many small railroad communities in this country with the result that populations migrate to new centers where gainful employment may be had. The result is the rapid disappearance of many of these old railroading communities.

While it is difficult to compute the duration of most cities because of a lack of accurate data and sufficiently large samples, it is possible, nevertheless, to measure the age-composition of existing territorial cities. Professor Sorokin reports on a study of the age-composition of the largest cities of the world (over 100,000 population) as well as of smaller cities.⁷ By his use of a sampling technique which excluded those cities about which no data could be secured, we are given the following picture:

⁵ A. Quetelet, Du système social et les lois qui les régissent (Paris: Guillaumin, 1848), pp. 163–164.
The Rise of Cities

The Great World Cities
(100,000 Population and Over, 1920)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD OF EMERGENCE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.C. to 5th century A.D.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th to 10th century</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th to 15th century</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th to 20th century</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sorokin discovered a slight correlation between the age of the cities and their present size, but found it slight and inconsistent for various countries. Many of the old cities are still small at the present moment. Sorokin concluded that the popular opinion that the older the city the larger it tends to be is not quite accurate. In a relatively new country like the United States, he naturally found the cities much younger. Of the sixty-six American cities with populations of 100,000 or more in 1920, 24.3 per cent were founded in the seventeenth century; 31.8 per cent in the eighteenth; and 43.9 in the nineteenth century. A representative sample of smaller cities up to 5,000 population indicated that 15.8 per cent of them were founded in the seventeenth century, 24.1 in the eighteenth, and 60.1 per cent in the nineteenth century. Thus about one-half of the American cities studied were centenarians or younger.⁸

However, Sorokin found the picture for France quite the reverse, as borne out by a sample from the French census of 1926 which revealed the following:

... Of the 234 cities [selected] 155 are from 10,000 to 25,000 population, 64 from 25,000 to 100,000 and 15 are over 100,000 population. Of these cities about 40.1 per cent were founded before the fourth century of our era and were Roman cities. But as the continuity between these ancient and the new cities founded on the same place was broken, it would be more appropriate to take only those cities which were founded in the sixth century A.D. and later (128 cities). Of these, 8.6 per cent were founded in the sixth century, 15.6 in the seventh, 12.5 in the eighth, 13.3 in the ninth, 16.4 in the tenth, 11.7 in the eleventh, 7.8 in the twelfth, 6.2 in the thirteenth, and about 1 per cent in the fourteenth and fifteenth, 1.6 in the sixteenth, 4.7 in the seventeenth and about 1 per cent in the eighteenth and nineteenth.⁹

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⁸ Ibid., pp. 528–529.
⁹ Ibid.
CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

When the United States began its life as a nation, it did not have a single town with as many as 50,000 inhabitants. Not until 1820 did it have a city with over 100,000. In 1880 it could finally boast of having a city with a million population (Figure 1).

![Proportion of Urban Population, U.S.A., 1790–1950](image)

(Source: U.S. Census.)

Under reasonably favorable conditions the current trend toward the growth of metropolitan or supercities may be expected to continue. In 1950 the United States Census Bureau felt compelled to make a better separation of urban and rural population, particularly in the vicinity of our larger cities than the 1940 Census accomplished. In 1940 only those persons living in incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more and in a few places designated as urban under special rule were included in the urban population. Thus, many persons living under distinctly urban conditions were classified in the rural population. In response to requests from many of the users of census data for a more realistic classification of the population by urban and rural residence, the Census Bureau adopted the following definition of the urban population for the 1950 enumeration:

1. places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, and villages; 2. the densely settled suburban area, or urban fringe, incorporated or unincorporated, around cities of 50,000 or more; 10

10 Incorporated places with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants are classified as urban provided the incorporated place includes an area with a concentration of 100 dwelling units or more with a dwelling unit density in this concentration of 500 or more per square mile. This density represents approximately 2,000 persons per square mile and normally is the minimum found associated with a closely spaced street pattern.
The Rise of Cities

(3) Unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside of any urban fringe; 11 (4) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as towns except in New England, New York, and Wisconsin, where "towns" are simply minor civil divisions of counties.

TABLE 2 Population of Urbanized Areas, U.S.A.: April 1, 1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBANIZED AREA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>PER CENT OF POPULATION INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL, 157 URBANIZED AREAS</td>
<td>68,787,978</td>
<td>47,988,213</td>
<td>20,799,765</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akron, Ohio</td>
<td>365,130</td>
<td>273,189</td>
<td>91,941</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albany-Troy, N. Y.</td>
<td>290,209</td>
<td>206,041</td>
<td>84,168</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allentown-Bethlehem, Pa.</td>
<td>225,155</td>
<td>172,260</td>
<td>52,895</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altoona, Pa.</td>
<td>86,249</td>
<td>76,844</td>
<td>9,405</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarillo, Texas</td>
<td>73,935</td>
<td>73,737</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>99.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asheville, N. C.</td>
<td>57,658</td>
<td>52,208</td>
<td>5,450</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>502,204</td>
<td>327,090</td>
<td>175,114</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic City, N. J.</td>
<td>105,326</td>
<td>61,642</td>
<td>43,684</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta, Ga.</td>
<td>87,823</td>
<td>71,507</td>
<td>16,316</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin, Texas</td>
<td>135,465</td>
<td>131,964</td>
<td>3,501</td>
<td>97.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Md.</td>
<td>1,151,050</td>
<td>940,205</td>
<td>210,845</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baton Rouge, La.</td>
<td>137,108</td>
<td>123,957</td>
<td>13,151</td>
<td>90.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont, Texas</td>
<td>93,746</td>
<td>93,715</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binghamton, N. Y.</td>
<td>144,570</td>
<td>81,132</td>
<td>63,438</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham, Ala.</td>
<td>438,726</td>
<td>298,720</td>
<td>140,006</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>2,218,893</td>
<td>790,863</td>
<td>1,428,030</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeport, Conn.</td>
<td>237,954</td>
<td>159,352</td>
<td>78,602</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brockton, Mass.</td>
<td>92,086</td>
<td>62,856</td>
<td>29,230</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo, N. Y.</td>
<td>794,747</td>
<td>577,393</td>
<td>217,354</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar Rapids, Iowa</td>
<td>77,990</td>
<td>72,149</td>
<td>5,841</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston, S. C.</td>
<td>116,441</td>
<td>68,243</td>
<td>48,198</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston, W. Va.</td>
<td>130,122</td>
<td>72,818</td>
<td>57,304</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte, N. C.</td>
<td>140,085</td>
<td>133,219</td>
<td>6,866</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattanooga, Tenn.</td>
<td>167,031</td>
<td>130,333</td>
<td>36,698</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>4,902,801</td>
<td>3,606,436</td>
<td>1,296,365</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>808,021</td>
<td>500,510</td>
<td>307,511</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Ohio</td>
<td>1,372,274</td>
<td>905,636</td>
<td>466,638</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia, S. C.</td>
<td>119,747</td>
<td>85,949</td>
<td>33,798</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus, Ga.</td>
<td>118,112</td>
<td>79,510</td>
<td>38,612</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
<td>436,257</td>
<td>374,770</td>
<td>61,486</td>
<td>85.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi, Texas</td>
<td>122,354</td>
<td>108,053</td>
<td>14,301</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>536,864</td>
<td>432,927</td>
<td>103,937</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Unincorporated places must contain at least 500 dwelling units per square mile. All outlying areas within 1 1/2 miles of an urban center, measured along the shortest connecting highway, is included as urban.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBANIZED AREA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>PER CENT OF POPULATION INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davenport, Iowa-Rock Island-Moline, Ill.</td>
<td>193,733</td>
<td>159,530</td>
<td>34,203</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton, Ohio</td>
<td>343,781</td>
<td>243,108</td>
<td>100,673</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decatur, Ill.</td>
<td>75,148</td>
<td>67,801</td>
<td>7,347</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>495,513</td>
<td>412,856</td>
<td>82,657</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Moines, Iowa</td>
<td>198,892</td>
<td>176,954</td>
<td>21,938</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>2,644,476</td>
<td>1,838,517</td>
<td>805,959</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duluth, Minn.-Superior, Wis.</td>
<td>142,344</td>
<td>139,157</td>
<td>3,187</td>
<td>97.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham, N. C.</td>
<td>72,369</td>
<td>70,307</td>
<td>2,062</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Paso, Texas</td>
<td>136,430</td>
<td>130,003</td>
<td>6,427</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie, Pa.</td>
<td>151,282</td>
<td>130,125</td>
<td>21,157</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evansville, Ind.</td>
<td>133,200</td>
<td>109,869</td>
<td>23,331</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall River, Mass.</td>
<td>117,881</td>
<td>111,759</td>
<td>6,122</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint, Mich.</td>
<td>197,151</td>
<td>162,800</td>
<td>34,351</td>
<td>82.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Smith, Ark.</td>
<td>55,947</td>
<td>47,864</td>
<td>8,083</td>
<td>85.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Wayne, Ind.</td>
<td>139,529</td>
<td>132,840</td>
<td>6,689</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Worth, Texas</td>
<td>313,872</td>
<td>277,047</td>
<td>36,824</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresno, Calif.</td>
<td>129,275</td>
<td>90,618</td>
<td>38,657</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galveston, Texas</td>
<td>71,000</td>
<td>65,898</td>
<td>5,102</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids, Mich.</td>
<td>225,427</td>
<td>175,647</td>
<td>49,780</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greensboro, N. C.</td>
<td>82,719</td>
<td>73,703</td>
<td>9,016</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, Ohio</td>
<td>63,021</td>
<td>57,717</td>
<td>5,304</td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisburg, Pa.</td>
<td>168,933</td>
<td>89,091</td>
<td>79,842</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford, Conn.</td>
<td>299,676</td>
<td>177,073</td>
<td>122,603</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Texas</td>
<td>697,287</td>
<td>594,321</td>
<td>102,966</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntington, W. Va.-Ashland, Ky.</td>
<td>156,136</td>
<td>117,388</td>
<td>38,748</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis, Ind.</td>
<td>499,799</td>
<td>424,683</td>
<td>75,116</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, Miss.</td>
<td>99,677</td>
<td>97,684</td>
<td>2,003</td>
<td>98.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacksonville, Fla.</td>
<td>241,579</td>
<td>203,404</td>
<td>38,175</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnstown, Pa.</td>
<td>92,780</td>
<td>62,723</td>
<td>30,057</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo, Mich.</td>
<td>82,859</td>
<td>57,326</td>
<td>25,533</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City, Mo.</td>
<td>689,350</td>
<td>453,290</td>
<td>236,060</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoxville, Tenn.</td>
<td>148,174</td>
<td>124,183</td>
<td>23,991</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancaster, Pa.</td>
<td>76,087</td>
<td>63,601</td>
<td>12,486</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansing, Mich.</td>
<td>133,625</td>
<td>91,694</td>
<td>41,931</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence, Mass.</td>
<td>111,937</td>
<td>80,427</td>
<td>31,510</td>
<td>71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, Nebr.</td>
<td>98,048</td>
<td>97,423</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.</td>
<td>150,758</td>
<td>143,529</td>
<td>7,229</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>3,970,595</td>
<td>1,957,692</td>
<td>2,012,903</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>470,394</td>
<td>367,359</td>
<td>103,035</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowell, Mass.</td>
<td>105,783</td>
<td>96,523</td>
<td>9,260</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macon, Ga.</td>
<td>93,305</td>
<td>70,106</td>
<td>23,199</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 2  Population of Urbanized Areas, U.S.A.: April 1, 1950 —Cont’d**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBANIZED AREA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>PER CENT OF POPULATION INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madison, Wis.</td>
<td>109,577</td>
<td>95,594</td>
<td>13,983</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester, N. H.</td>
<td>84,768</td>
<td>82,581</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>97.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis, Tenn.</td>
<td>404,033</td>
<td>394,012</td>
<td>10,021</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami, Fla.</td>
<td>453,044</td>
<td>246,838</td>
<td>206,621</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>823,430</td>
<td>632,651</td>
<td>190,799</td>
<td>76.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.</td>
<td>977,931</td>
<td>826,751</td>
<td>151,180</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile, Ala.</td>
<td>180,892</td>
<td>127,151</td>
<td>53,741</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery, Ala.</td>
<td>108,034</td>
<td>105,098</td>
<td>2,936</td>
<td>97.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskegon, Mich.</td>
<td>84,775</td>
<td>48,047</td>
<td>36,728</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville, Tenn.</td>
<td>257,898</td>
<td>173,359</td>
<td>84,539</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford, Mass.</td>
<td>125,354</td>
<td>109,033</td>
<td>16,321</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Britain-Bristol, Conn.</td>
<td>122,618</td>
<td>109,536</td>
<td>13,082</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
<td>242,589</td>
<td>163,344</td>
<td>79,245</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>655,822</td>
<td>567,257</td>
<td>88,565</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York-Northeastern, N. J.</td>
<td>12,222,963</td>
<td>8,573,403</td>
<td>3,649,560</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niagara Falls, N. Y.</td>
<td>97,648</td>
<td>90,875</td>
<td>6,773</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.</td>
<td>351,342</td>
<td>259,895</td>
<td>91,447</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma City, Okla.</td>
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<td>242,450</td>
<td>30,974</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha, Nebr.</td>
<td>306,291</td>
<td>247,408</td>
<td>58,883</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando, Fla.</td>
<td>72,572</td>
<td>51,826</td>
<td>20,746</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoria, Ill.</td>
<td>154,084</td>
<td>111,523</td>
<td>42,561</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>2,913,516</td>
<td>2,064,794</td>
<td>848,722</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix, Ariz.</td>
<td>214,335</td>
<td>105,442</td>
<td>108,893</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh, Pa.</td>
<td>1,525,966</td>
<td>673,763</td>
<td>852,203</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac, Mich.</td>
<td>91,799</td>
<td>73,112</td>
<td>18,687</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Arthur, Texas</td>
<td>81,763</td>
<td>57,377</td>
<td>24,386</td>
<td>70.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Maine</td>
<td>112,659</td>
<td>76,936</td>
<td>35,723</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Ore.</td>
<td>509,120</td>
<td>371,011</td>
<td>138,109</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence, R. I.</td>
<td>581,607</td>
<td>247,700</td>
<td>333,907</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo, Colo.</td>
<td>73,102</td>
<td>63,561</td>
<td>9,541</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racine, Wis.</td>
<td>76,101</td>
<td>70,749</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raleigh, N. C.</td>
<td>68,190</td>
<td>65,123</td>
<td>3,067</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading, Pa.</td>
<td>154,571</td>
<td>109,062</td>
<td>45,409</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, Va.</td>
<td>257,423</td>
<td>229,906</td>
<td>27,517</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke, Va.</td>
<td>105,883</td>
<td>91,089</td>
<td>14,794</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester, N. Y.</td>
<td>406,923</td>
<td>331,252</td>
<td>75,671</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockford, Ill.</td>
<td>121,723</td>
<td>92,503</td>
<td>29,220</td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento, Calif.</td>
<td>210,081</td>
<td>135,761</td>
<td>74,320</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saginaw, Mich.</td>
<td>105,358</td>
<td>92,352</td>
<td>13,006</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph, Mo.</td>
<td>79,820</td>
<td>75,572</td>
<td>3,708</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>1,394,051</td>
<td>852,623</td>
<td>541,428</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Petersburg, Fla.</td>
<td>113,378</td>
<td>95,712</td>
<td>17,666</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lake City, Utah</td>
<td>226,880</td>
<td>181,718</td>
<td>45,162</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2  Population of Urbanized Areas, U.S.A.: April 1, 1950 —Cont’d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBANIZED AREA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
<th>PER CENT OF POPULATION INSIDE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio, Texas</td>
<td>447,365</td>
<td>406,811</td>
<td>40,554</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bernardino, Calif.</td>
<td>135,394</td>
<td>62,792</td>
<td>72,602</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego, Calif.</td>
<td>413,274</td>
<td>321,485</td>
<td>91,789</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.</td>
<td>1,997,303</td>
<td>1,141,329</td>
<td>855,974</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose, Calif.</td>
<td>175,983</td>
<td>95,044</td>
<td>80,939</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah, Ga.</td>
<td>128,190</td>
<td>119,689</td>
<td>8,501</td>
<td>93.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenectady, N. Y.</td>
<td>123,573</td>
<td>92,070</td>
<td>31,503</td>
<td>74.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scranton, Pa.</td>
<td>235,122</td>
<td>124,747</td>
<td>110,375</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>616,047</td>
<td>462,440</td>
<td>153,607</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shreveport, La.</td>
<td>148,296</td>
<td>125,426</td>
<td>22,870</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux City, Iowa</td>
<td>90,144</td>
<td>84,035</td>
<td>6,109</td>
<td>93.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend, Ind.</td>
<td>167,879</td>
<td>115,698</td>
<td>52,181</td>
<td>69.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane, Wash.</td>
<td>174,853</td>
<td>160,484</td>
<td>14,369</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Ill.</td>
<td>96,649</td>
<td>80,832</td>
<td>15,817</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Mo.</td>
<td>75,117</td>
<td>66,302</td>
<td>8,815</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Ohio</td>
<td>81,837</td>
<td>78,029</td>
<td>3,808</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield-Holyoke, Mass.</td>
<td>356,471</td>
<td>217,042</td>
<td>139,429</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamford-Norwalk, Conn.</td>
<td>172,197</td>
<td>123,042</td>
<td>49,155</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton, Calif.</td>
<td>113,362</td>
<td>71,660</td>
<td>41,702</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse, N. Y.</td>
<td>264,610</td>
<td>220,067</td>
<td>44,543</td>
<td>83.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacoma, Wash.</td>
<td>166,910</td>
<td>142,975</td>
<td>23,935</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tampa, Fla.</td>
<td>178,398</td>
<td>124,073</td>
<td>54,325</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terre Haute, Ind.</td>
<td>77,845</td>
<td>64,047</td>
<td>13,798</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo, Ohio</td>
<td>361,493</td>
<td>301,358</td>
<td>60,135</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topeka, Kans.</td>
<td>88,100</td>
<td>77,827</td>
<td>10,273</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trenton, N. J.</td>
<td>189,276</td>
<td>127,857</td>
<td>61,409</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsa, Okla.</td>
<td>203,968</td>
<td>180,586</td>
<td>23,382</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utica, N. Y.</td>
<td>117,390</td>
<td>101,479</td>
<td>15,911</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waco, Tex.</td>
<td>92,299</td>
<td>84,300</td>
<td>7,999</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D. C.</td>
<td>1,281,572</td>
<td>797,670</td>
<td>483,902</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterbury, Conn.</td>
<td>131,442</td>
<td>104,242</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterloo, Iowa</td>
<td>83,551</td>
<td>64,354</td>
<td>19,197</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeling, W. Va.</td>
<td>106,151</td>
<td>58,447</td>
<td>47,704</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichita, Kans.</td>
<td>192,009</td>
<td>166,306</td>
<td>25,703</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkes-Barre, Pa.</td>
<td>270,978</td>
<td>76,638</td>
<td>194,340</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmington, Del.</td>
<td>186,265</td>
<td>109,907</td>
<td>76,358</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston-Salem, N. C.</td>
<td>91,493</td>
<td>86,816</td>
<td>4,677</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Mass.</td>
<td>217,705</td>
<td>201,885</td>
<td>15,820</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York, Pa.</td>
<td>78,495</td>
<td>59,704</td>
<td>18,791</td>
<td>76.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngstown, Ohio</td>
<td>297,084</td>
<td>167,643</td>
<td>129,441</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Preliminary count, 1950, which excludes crews of American vessels and persons enumerated away from home. Source, U.S. Census.
All remaining population is classified as rural. Since the urbanized areas outside incorporated places are defined on the basis of housing or population density, their boundaries for the most part are not political but rather follow such features as roads, streets, railroads, streams, and other clearly defined lines which may be easily identified by census enumerators in the field. Therefore the 1950 Census definition of "urban" employs both political boundaries (incorporated cities) and geographic boundaries (Table 2).

**THE "STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA"**

For the 1950 enumeration, the United States Census Bureau adopted the new term, "standard metropolitan area," to replace another type of metropolitan community called the "metropolitan district." This term refers to an economically integrated area adjacent to a large city, while the term "urbanized area," discussed above, measures housing and population density in the vicinity of cities. Because the standard metropolitan area is delimited in terms of political county lines it is not quite as functional a concept as the urbanized area. The Census Bureau provides the following definition:

A standard metropolitan area contains at least one city of 50,000 or more, and each city of this size is included in one standard metropolitan area. In general, each standard metropolitan area comprises the county containing the city and any other contiguous counties which are deemed to be closely economically integrated with that city. In a broad sense the country's standard metropolitan areas include all the leading urban centers together with all adjoining territory that has been demonstrated to be closely linked with the central cities.\(^{12}\)

The following principles have been adopted by the Census Bureau as a guide in applying this general concept to the definition of individual areas:

1. Each standard metropolitan area must include at least one city of 50,000 or more; the areas as a whole must have a total population of at least 100,000. Areas may cross State lines.

2. Where two cities of 50,000 or over are within 20 miles of each other, they will ordinarily be included in the same area.

3. Each county included in a standard metropolitan area must have either 10,000 nonagricultural workers or 10 per cent of the nonagricultural workers in the area, or more than one-half of the county’s population must have been included in the “metropolitan district” as defined by the Bureau of the Census. In addition, nonagricultural workers must constitute at least two-thirds of the total employed labor force of the county.

4. Each county included in a standard metropolitan area must be economically and socially integrated with the central counties of the areas. A county has been regarded as integrated (a) if 15 per cent of the workers living in the county work in the central county of the area, or (b) if 25 per cent of those working in the county live in the central county of the area, or (c) if telephone calls from the county to the central county of the area average 4 or more calls per subscriber per month. These criteria have been selected largely because investigation indicated that they were the only direct measure of integration on which usable data might be obtained for a substantial proportion of the areas under consideration. Where satisfactory data on even these measures are lacking, considerable reliance has necessarily been placed on informed local opinion.\(^{13}\)

More than half the population of continental United States was living in a standard metropolitan area on April 1, 1950. Population growth in the United States during the decade 1940–1950 was very largely growth within the standard metropolitan areas. More than four-fifths of the national population increase took place within the 168 standard metropolitan areas. The population of these areas increased from 69,276,481 to 83,929,863, representing a gain of 14,653,382, or 21.2 per cent. On the whole, the communities on the outskirts of the large cities of the United States grew much more rapidly than did the central cities themselves or the remainder of the country (Table 3).

As a group, the standard metropolitan areas in the middle range had a greater rate of growth than did the very large or the very small areas. The growth rate of the middle-sized areas between 1940 and 1950 was 24.7, whereas the rates in the very large and very small areas were 18.2 per cent and 22.5 per cent, respectively. These figures

\(^{13}\) Taken from mimeographed bulletin dated January 28, 1949, from the Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, pp. 1–2.
suggest that in general the smallest standard metropolitan areas have not yet reached the stage of maximum rate of development and that the very large areas have already passed this stage. This suggestion is supported by the fact that standard metropolitan areas of 100,000 or more had 41.8 per cent of their total population outside the central cities, whereas the smaller areas had only 29.6 per cent of their population in their outlying parts. Population growth in the standard metropolitan areas with less than 100,000 inhabitants appears to be more heavily concentrated in the central cities than is the case for the corresponding larger areas.

**TABLE 3 Population Increase of Standard Metropolitan Areas: 1940 to 1950 **

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population increase 1940 to 1950 †</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>18,186,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard metropolitan areas</td>
<td>14,653,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central cities</td>
<td>5,652,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying parts</td>
<td>9,001,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside standard metropolitan areas</td>
<td>3,532,935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Computed on the basis of preliminary figures for 1950 which exclude crews of American vessels in ports of the United States and persons enumerated away from home who have not yet been credited to their specific usual place of residence.

Standard metropolitan areas with growth rates for their central cities exceeding the rates for their outlying parts are concentrated in the South, which has 25 of the 34 areas in this class. The metropolitan centers of the South appear not to have reached a stage of development in which the growth of suburban communities is as marked as elsewhere in the country.

In 1950, there were 40 standard metropolitan areas with less than half their total population in their central cities. These range from areas centering on such large cities as Los Angeles, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Atlanta, to the relatively small areas surrounding cities of the size of Orlando, Florida: Asheville, North Carolina; and Jackson,
Michigan. These standard metropolitan areas lie in 19 states, largely in the Northeast and the South, but are most numerous in 2 states, Pennsylvania and California. In Pennsylvania, 9 out of 13 standard metropolitan areas have more than half their population outside their central cities, and in California 6 out of 8 areas are of this class.

Of the 168 standard metropolitan areas, 161 gained population between 1940 and 1950, and 7 lost population.\(^{14}\)

**SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION: RURAL AND URBAN**

The growth of large cities and urban populations is one of the distinctive characteristics of the present industrial age. The speed with which our civilization has been transformed owing to the growth of cities and industrialization accounts in part for the disorder which we frequently associate with cities. This disorder, however, can be more properly attributed to the fact that in the United States we have telescoped the changes accompanying this urbanization into a few

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>19.5 *</td>
<td>7.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Old urban-rural definition.

decades which in Europe took several centuries. Whereas in 1790 at the time of our first census there were only about 200,000 urban dwellers in the United States, as compared with 3,700,000 rural dwellers, today the ratio of urban to rural population is decidedly reversed. The Bureau of the Census reports that we have 96,028,000 urban people or 63.7 per cent of the whole, whereas the rural population is 54,669,000, or 36.3 per cent.

The exodus from farms in the interval between the two censuses has been great (Table 4). Without such a movement, the farm population would have increased by several million because the number of births among persons on farms substantially exceeded the number of deaths.

**Rural-Urban Fertility.** Beginning about 1947, the urban population has been overtaking the rural population in respect to marital fertility. That is, throughout American history urban families usually have had fewer children than rural families. Between April, 1940, and April, 1949, rates of children under 5 years old per 1,000 women 15 to 49 years old, married and husband present, increased about 36 per cent in urban areas and 22 per cent in rural-nonfarm areas, while there was virtually no change in rural-farm districts (Table 5).

A survey made in April, 1947, by the Census Bureau indicated that the urban population had a net reproduction rate sufficient for permanent population replacement for the first time in more than 40 years. Most demographers are of the belief, however, that the positive net reproduction rate in American cities is the result of temporary causes and hence the baby boom itself will be temporary. The 1930’s represented a depression decade during which people postponed getting married or having children. Then the concurrence of both business improvement and the military draft not only brought about many marriages that had been postponed but also induced many to marry earlier than they normally would have done. The result was the mightiest wave of marriages the country has ever witnessed. During

---

15 The Census Bureau in supplying these figures states: “Trends in rates of children under 5 years old theoretically tend to resemble a 5-year moving average of annual birth rates, modified by factors such as mortality among infants and women and net migration between the birthdate of the children and the time of the survey. Thus trends in rates of children under 5 years old are not indicative of year-to-year fluctuation in fertility.”

### Table 5: Number of Own Children Under 5 Years Old Per 1,000 Women 15 to 49 Years Old, Married, and Husband Present, By Age of Women, for The United States, Urban and Rural: April, 1949, 1947, and 1940 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA &amp; AGE OF WOMAN</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>Children under 5 per 1,000 women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO. WOMEN, MARRIED HUSBAND PRESENT</td>
<td>NO. CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNITED STATES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 15 to 49 years</td>
<td>26,204,000</td>
<td>14,537,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 29 years</td>
<td>4,598,000</td>
<td>3,747,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 29 years</td>
<td>4,939,000</td>
<td>4,543,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39 years</td>
<td>9,352,000</td>
<td>5,316,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49 years</td>
<td>7,315,000</td>
<td>931,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>URBAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 15 to 49 years</td>
<td>15,671,000</td>
<td>7,886,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 24 years</td>
<td>2,643,000</td>
<td>1,977,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 29 years</td>
<td>2,974,000</td>
<td>2,549,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39 years</td>
<td>5,653,000</td>
<td>2,910,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49 years</td>
<td>4,401,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RURAL-NONFARM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 15 to 49 years</td>
<td>6,081,000</td>
<td>3,844,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 24 years</td>
<td>1,170,000</td>
<td>1,035,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 29 years</td>
<td>1,205,000</td>
<td>1,197,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39 years</td>
<td>2,210,000</td>
<td>1,418,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49 years</td>
<td>1,496,000</td>
<td>194,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RURAL-FARM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 15 to 49 years</td>
<td>4,452,000</td>
<td>2,807,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 24 years</td>
<td>875,000</td>
<td>735,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 29 years</td>
<td>760,000</td>
<td>797,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39 years</td>
<td>1,489,000</td>
<td>988,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49 years</td>
<td>1,418,000</td>
<td>287,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Series P-20, No 27.
The Census Bureau estimates that for the 5-year period ending in April, 1949, the average net reproduction rate of the female population (regarded as a whole and not limited to those married) was about 1,385 for the United States, 1,186 for urban areas, 1,628 for rural-nonfarm areas, and 1,806 for rural-farm areas. A rate of 1,000 is just sufficient for permanent replacement assuming no further change in age schedules of mortality and fertility and no net migration.
the 1940 decade the number was approximately 3,670,000 above normal. Since these were in part marriages "borrowed" from the future, we must necessarily expect a marriage rate below normal in the 1950's, even if times are good. Since the rearmament of the 1940's and the military draft affected all young people irrespective of urban or rural labels the marriage and reproductive trends for urbanites were temporarily running nearly abreast with those of rural people. Previous ratios were thrown out of gear. Such a temporary rise in the birth rate of urban couples does not mean that these people have suddenly changed the number of children they want ultimately to have, but simply the time when they want to have them. Having had two or three children in the 1940's, they will tend to have few in the 1950's. The birth rate must inevitably decline again in both rural and urban worlds, insist the population experts; in fact, in 1950 it was one-tenth lower than in the peak year of 1947.17

**Changes in Composition and Distribution.** The size, distribution, and composition of the population of the United States are continuously changing. Each day the population is increased through births and immigration. Although these gains are partly offset by deaths and emigration, in the year 1952 the net result was an average increase of approximately 7,000 persons a day.

Since 1916, the over-all trend in the number of persons living on farms has been generally downward, despite the relatively high fertility and favorable mortality of this segment of the population. During the depression of the 1930's a marked but temporary increase occurred. This increase was followed by a gradual loss during the latter half of the decade, then by a rapid loss as farm people responded to the World War II demand for manpower in industry and the armed forces.

If the average annual rate of decline that prevailed between 1916 and 1951 continues, in 1960 the farm population will include about 21 million persons, approximately 3 million fewer than in April, 1950. Because of the large excess of births over deaths among farm people, these projections imply a relatively large net migration from farms to nonfarm areas. Thus, many young people now living on farms will likely become part of the nonfarm population at some

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time in the future; some undoubtedly have hopes or definite plans for this. It is important that these young people be prepared for rural-nonfarm or urban living. It might also be noted that educational programs which offer some training along these lines may be of more value and interest to potential migrants than a program focused entirely on the farm home and business and on the rural community.

The importance of programs reflecting an urban civilization is increasing in other ways. Improved communication, educational facilities, and so on, have diminished many of the differences between urban and the rural-farm ways of life, even when the comparison is restricted to persons both living and working in cities and to those both living and working on rural farms. In addition, improvements in transportation, war and postwar demands for manpower, housing shortages in cities, and other factors have increased the proportion of farm residents employed in nonfarm jobs. Measures aimed at the dispersal of industry, 18 both for reasons of national security and for greater balance in the economic strength of the various geographic regions of the United States, may augment this trend in the future.

The growth of rural-suburban population is another aspect of the "urbanization" of the rural population. Between April, 1940, and April, 1950, the rural population of metropolitan counties increased by 41 per cent, whereas the rural population of non-metropolitan counties decreased by 1.6 per cent. 19 In fact, the rate of growth of the rural population of metropolitan counties exceeded that of the total urban population.

The population pyramids in Figure 3 show the relative distributions of the rural-farm and urban civilian populations in April, 1951, by age, sex, and marital status. These pyramids were constructed from estimates of the percentage each age-sex-marital status group is of the total civilian population in the appropriate residence classifications. Distribution of the areas of the two pyramids varies according to the proportion of people in the specified age-sex-marital status groups. The more obvious differences shown by the chart are the greater proportion of persons 20 and more years of age—particularly


young adults—in the urban population. The prospective labor supply within the rural-farm population of persons now in their teens who are potentially available for replacement of losses from the next older age group appears ample, if the work and way of life that are available to them on farms are sufficiently attractive. The greater proportion of children in the rural-farm population also means a greater dependency load on the more economically active sector of that population. For each child under 14 in the rural-farm population in 1951, one adult under 55 was married, widowed, or divorced; whereas in the urban population, there were approximately two such adults for each child.

The greater proportions of widowed and divorced persons among women than among men in both the urban and the rural-farm populations are also striking. This is attributable to several factors: Husbands are usually older than their wives and are therefore less likely to outlive them; men have higher mortality rates than women, age for age; and older men have higher remarriage rates than older women. The smaller proportions of widows in farm areas may be indicative
of a tendency for women to leave the farm or to sell the farm land after they are widowed. The effects of the aging of the population, rural or urban, are many. The terms “geriatrics” and “gerontology” are becoming part of our everyday language. The literature on income maintenance, employment and employability, maintenance of health, housing needs, and recreational needs of the aged is expanding rapidly, but much work, including basic research, remains to be done in this field. Interest in and demand for products used chiefly by oldsters, such as canes, hearing aids, and certain sizes and types of clothing, will grow. The demand for information concerning hospitals and boarding homes for the aged and the number of applications for admission to these institutions will increase.

An item of rather widespread interest—the relative numbers of males and of females—is difficult to evaluate from the above chart as the differences are rather small. Also, the chart does not give as direct a comparison of the relative numbers of men and women as it does of the relative sizes of the various age groups. Careful examination of the pyramids, however, shows a greater proportion of women than of men in the urban population in every age group beginning with 15 to 19 years. But men outnumber women in almost every age group of the rural-farm population. The trend toward a greater number of women than of men has also been a source of undeserved apprehension—undeserved so far as the immediacy and magnitude of the problem are concerned. In a total population of more than 150 millions, the excess in the number of females over the number of males, including those in the armed forces stationed in the United States, was less than 2 millions in April, 1951. Furthermore, even in the urban population, there are more single men than single women in the age groups under 45 years and the scarcity of single women on rural farms is pronounced.

THE WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF URBANIZATION

Three fundamental facts are noteworthy with reference to the distribution of urban populations over the earth. First, although the modern world is more urbanized than it has been in any previous

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20 This section is adapted exclusively from Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz, The Pattern of World Urbanization, Chapter III (unpublished manuscript). Reproduced with the kind permission of the authors and The Macmillan Company. The terms “urbanization” and “rural” are used here in a demographic sense only.
time, it is still primarily a rural world. Second, the areas manifesting a high degree of urbanization are few in number and highly concentrated. Third, despite the predominantly rural character of the world as a whole and the limited scope of highly urbanized areas, urbanization has (like other traits of modern civilization) spread over the entire globe to some degree.

That the world's population is as yet not a city population is shown by the finding, in 1950, that the proportion living in cities of 100,000 or more is approximately 13 per cent. Indication that the world's population is not even an urban population is shown by the finding that the proportion in places of 20,000 or more is only 21 per cent; and in places of 5,000 or more, about 30 per cent (Table 6). These figures may be inaccurate by varying margins, but they give a good enough indication of the small proportion of the world's population living in urban centers.

**TABLE 6 World's Urban Places of Various Sizes, 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBAN PLACES BY SIZE CLASS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>POPULATION (MILLIONS)</th>
<th>PER CENT OF WORLD POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5,000-plus</td>
<td>27,600</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000-plus</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000-plus</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000-plus</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000-plus</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 6 shows, there are only about 50 cities with more than a million inhabitants. These contain something like 70 million inhabitants, or roughly 3 per cent of the world's population, as compared to the 250 million, or 11 per cent, in all cities of 100,000 or more. The extreme concentration of these city people can be gathered by assuming that the average 100,000-plus city occupies an area of about 100 square miles (a figure somewhat above the average for the cities of the United States in that category),\(^{21}\) which then yields a total of about 70,000 square miles, or 0.14 per cent of the world's habitable

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\(^{21}\) The average area of cities of 100,000-plus was computed on the basis of data concerning cities of various sizes above this limit. These were stratified by size class and the average for each size class was weighted by its percentage of all cities in the world.
area. In other words, the average density in the cities is approximately 3,600 per square mile, which is some 90 times the average density of the rest of the world's population, according to 1947 data.

The urban population is highly concentrated in particular regions, and these are not always the regions having high concentrations of the general population. The disparity can be seen if we use a rough continental breakdown of the world's land surface. As Table 7 shows, the major continental areas have highly disproportionate shares of the urban population. The most urbanized of these areas is Oceania, with 46 per cent of its population in places of more than 20,000, and 40 per cent in places of 100,000 and over. Next is the American continent north of the Rio Grande, with 41 and 28 per cent in the two classes of cities. It so happens that both of these regions are sparsely populated in comparative terms. The United States and Canada, with only about one-fourteenth of the world's total population, have one-seventh of the world's people in cities of 100,000 and over. Europe, with a fifth of the world's population, has about a third of the number in cities of this size, whereas Asia, with about half the world's population, has less than a third of the population in cities of 100,000 plus.

**TABLE 7  Share of City and Non-City Population in Major World Areas, 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Non-City Population *</th>
<th>Cities 20,000-plus</th>
<th>Cities 100,000-plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER IN '000</td>
<td>PER CENT</td>
<td>NUMBER IN '000</td>
<td>PER CENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>2,402,354</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,900,160</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia †</td>
<td>1,279,178</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>1,109,370</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe †</td>
<td>393,499</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>255,554</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Am.§</td>
<td>165,534</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>95,807</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>193,000</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>132,784</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Am.</td>
<td>111,105</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>81,717</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>197,171</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>178,568</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America ‡</td>
<td>50,435</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>39,800</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>12,432</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>6,560</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not to be confused with "rural" population, this is simply the population living in places smaller than 20,000.
† Without U.S.S.R.
§ Includes U.S.A. and Canada.
‡ Includes countries of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean.
However, the continental distribution does not give the full story of the unequal dispersion of urbanization. For instance, Oceania appears to be heavily urbanized because of the predominance in the area of three extremely urbanized countries: Australia (51 per cent in 100,000-plus cities), New Zealand (36 per cent), and Hawaii (50 per cent). The rest of Oceania contains no cities above the 20,000 level. Similarly, Europe is not all equally urbanized. Northwestern and Central Europe have nearly twice the proportion (27 per cent) in 100,000-plus cities that Southern and Eastern Europe have (14 per cent).

It is plainly necessary to break down the continental figures into their component parts to get a better picture of what may be called the concentration of urban concentration. If we group the most urbanized countries into regions, we find that there are only four major regions of urban settlement in the world—Northwestern Europe, Australasia, U.S.A.—Canada, and Southern South America. Together, these four regions contain 20 per cent of the world's total population but 62 per cent of the world's population in cities of 100,000 plus. The ten most urban countries of the world contain 10 per cent of the world's people but 26 per cent of the inhabitants of large cities.

Europe contains the largest number of the world's large cities—about one-third of them. Within Europe those countries most intimately connected with the great transition and having the largest populations—Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, and France—include about two-thirds of the large cities of the region. Some of the newer areas of the earth, though highly urbanized, do not contain many large cities because their populations are not large compared to that of Europe. Thus Oceania includes only 10 large cities, and America north of the Rio Grande only one-seventh of the total. Asia, outside of Japan and the U.S.S.R., has approximately 167 such cities, most of them located in the few large countries that have huge populations—India, Pakistan, and China. Although the 167 cities of Asia, apart from Japan and the Soviet Union, represent almost one-fourth of the total number of large cities in the world, one has to remember that this part of Asia contains half of the world's total population. Peasant Asia is therefore the main area that is deprived of cities in relation to its population, just as the "new"

22 The number of cities 100,000 and over in China is a rough estimate.
regions of western civilization are the ones that have the greatest share of cities in relation to total numbers. Africa, the least urbanized of all the continents, is deprived of cities to an even greater extent than Asia. Most of the large cities are concentrated at the northern and southern end of the continent. For example, Egypt and the Union of South Africa, each with 7 large cities, together contain about half of all such cities on the continent. But Africa is sparsely settled. Her urbanization in relation to population may be expected to gain more rapidly than that of Asia.

SUSTAINING MODERN CITIES

The economic organization which made for great human density in this country combined with the technological conditions essential to the existence of really large cities are innovations peculiar to our own era. So far as records permit us to judge, all civilizations have developed cities or urban-like agglomerations only to the extent that the prevailing productive technique and economic organization have permitted such living arrangements. Modern man as well as primitive man has depended upon (1) the geographic conditions of existence and (2) the man-made conditions of existence, through technology and social organization, to permit the production of a sufficient surplus of goods and thus permit large human concentrations. Man of antiquity took nature largely as he found it as he built his cities and exercised only a crude manipulation of the geographic habitat. On the other hand, modern man has found through science and cultural development that he can modify nature to the point of producing sufficient surpluses to allow for more or less permanent centers of any size, where he can engage in trade and employ his fellows in specialized occupations to make things which satisfy his cravings for greater variety. This may be said to constitute the natural basis of the city.

The improvement in agricultural techniques has proceeded slowly, and in most parts of the world which are not industrialized it still requires approximately three agricultural workers to support each person engaged in nonagricultural pursuits. In view of this, it is understandable why some areas are not able to support great cities. But today a country does not need to produce a large surplus of agricultural products within its own boundaries in order to develop
cities. England, for example, does not produce nearly enough agricultural commodities to maintain her urban population. She is forced into a position where she must exchange her industrial products and services for agricultural produce of other countries. This has been made increasingly possible by modern transportation, storage, and trade. Similarly, it is not necessary nowadays for cities to rely upon the agricultural surpluses of their immediately surrounding regions. They can draw upon the resources of a wider area, indeed, the whole world. The United States has been very fortunate in this respect. Until recently this was a sparsely populated virgin territory with the result that the nonintensive agriculture was able to provide a vast agricultural surplus over and above the subsistence requirements of the population. This disproportion between men and natural resources was in some measure responsible for the rapid urbanization of this country. As the great technological developments that took place in the cities have been focused upon the improvement of agriculture, the effect upon urbanization has been greatly enhanced. The actual form of the modern city was largely derived from the direct use of steam for power and as the agent of communication. If electricity and methods for its use had been discovered simultaneously with steam, it is quite probable that our whole industrial-urban civilization would have assumed a far different form of organization. While the importance of steam as a primary factor in the growth of cities has diminished, electricity and the internal combustion engine have entered the picture and strongly affected the city's size and influence.

SUGGESTED READINGS


The section on urbanism in the nineteenth century is particularly recommended because it deals with urbanism on a worldwide basis. Clerget discusses (1) the geographical situation, (2) human factors, and (3) the exterior character of cities.


In this old classic the author paints a vivid picture of the economic conditions prevailing in European communities after the fall of the Roman Empire.

A splendid discussion of the functions of cities of early times, portraying the fact that urban patterns of living are very old.


A short statement naming the preconditioners which permit a civilization to foster city life: national and world commerce, technology, population movement, social and intellectual intercourse, and cultural and political contact.
History of Thinking About Rural-Urban Life

A widely held assumption today is that urban life is on a higher level than rural life and that rural living is a deviation from the norm. We like to say that our civilization is characterized by the rise and dominance of cities; and that cities and the urban way of life have been growing at the expense of rural communities and rural philosophy. Some people would even insist that on the whole those who move to the city are superior to those who stay in the rural hinterland.

Are urbanites superior in achievement or intelligence? The wealth factor is obviously invalid as a criterion, since great wealth is always in cities even though the presence of that wealth does not mean that its possessors necessarily live in the city. To assert that those who migrate to the cities are intellectually superior to those who remain behind on the farm is a tenuous claim poorly grounded on substantial data. Studies of intelligence tests given to rural children in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey indicated that in instances where numbers of pupils had migrated to nearby cities, their scores did not show any appreciable superiority over those of the children who remained at home.¹

Conflicting evidence is given in other studies. Gist and Clark used actual intelligence test scores in Kansas rural high schools and then ascertained which individuals had migrated to cities and which ones had remained at home. The migrants, they discovered, had an average of four points higher in general intelligence than the group who remained in the rural setting. However, these investigators emphati-

cally state that this does not measure inherent differences, but rather
the influence of home environments or such traits as ambitions, values,
and special interests that could be satisfied better in urban surround-
ings. Even if this study were a proof of selective migration in Kansas,
it would not necessarily show that it had occurred in other areas.²

Gee and Corson in Virginia found that rural migrants to the city
showed a definite superiority of several points over the children who
remained at home.³ Since many children accomplish much less in
school than they are able to do, this proves nothing about their native
intelligence⁴. In studies of the Minnesota area, Sorokin and Zimmer-
man conclude that it is the home-owning class on the farm that
remains in the country, and there might be some presumption that
they are of higher intelligence because they rise more rapidly in the
social scale on those occasions when the offspring actually migrate to
the cities.⁵

However, these studies do not demonstrate that the more intelligent
remain at home, either; they only indicate that there is some
presumption that they do so in the Minnesota area. According to
T. Lynn Smith, the following points appear to be well established:
(1) migrants from the farms to the cities receive more formal educa-
tional training than the sedentees; (2) intelligence test scores definitely
favor the migrant to towns and urban places; and (3) persons who
migrate from farms are more likely to attain eminence than those
remaining in rural districts.⁶ To draw the conclusion that migrants
are more intelligent, however, cannot be done, as Smith shows.⁷

² Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-
³ Gee, Wilson, and Corson, J. J., Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and
Piedmont Areas of Virginia (University of Virginia, 1929), p. 102 (monograph).
⁴ For the year 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau reports: "Persons 25 years old and
over living in urban areas had the highest median educational attainment (10.0
years), those living in rural-nonfarm areas ranked next (8.9 years), and persons in
rural-farm areas had the lowest (8.4 years). This pattern of urban-rural rankings in
educational attainment held true for practically all age-sex groups within the popula-
tion 25 years old and over. In all areas, women had a slightly higher median attain-
ment than men. For both men and women in all three urban-rural areas, median
educational attainment was progressively lower in successively higher age groups." From Preliminary Reports Series PC-7, No. 6, "Educational Attainment of the
Population 25 Years Old and Over, for the United States: 1950."
⁵ P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural Urban Sociology
(New York: Holt, 1929), pp. 573, 582; C. C. Zimmerman, "Migration to Towns and
p. 366.
⁷ Ibid., pp. 365-368.
That the cities draw the extremes as to intelligence and achievement potentials, while the rural areas retain the means, is frequently accepted as a fair descriptive hypothesis of the nature of this selectivity.\(^8\)

As suggested, the quest seems to persist to make the rural world as much like the urban world as possible. But this has not always been the case, as we shall see upon examining the history of thinking about rural-urban thought.\(^9\)

**ANCIENT TIMES**

The Old Testament places agriculture and husbandry on a high level. In Genesis, Jehovah did not approve of the attempt by Noah's descendants to "build a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven." We have a similar negative attitude manifested toward the city in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. In fact, the general attitude expressed in the Old Testament seems more sympathetic with the pastoral life than the agricultural, and especially more than with the urban life. Cities are described as places of sin and depravity; as places of refuge for criminals. Here the streets are morally dangerous; wisdom and folly live side by side. As centers for the accumulation of wealth and luxury they are the places that must be constantly guarded by God in order that they may not perish.

When we consider the ancient Persian literature, in particular that of the Zoroastrian religion, we find that men who pursued occupations of an urban character held generally the lowest status. Engaging in agriculture was like performing a ceremonial to sacred beings. Lowest in rank were the urban tradesmen, artisans, market dealers, and tax-gatherers. Only the professional men of the city ranked alongside the cultivators, who in turn were placed beneath the men of great knowledge, those learned in religion, kings and judges.\(^10\)

\(^8\) Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

\(^9\) The student should keep in mind as he reads this sketch of rural-urban thought that this is a presentation of "ideal" value judgments, i.e., of what writers thought best, generally not what people actually lived by. It is noteworthy that the pastoral poetry and rural reveries of Greece and Rome were written by urban poets! There is some evidence of a town-focused orientation also in medieval times: Canterbury, London-town, "Golden Mainz," and so on.

\(^10\) The Zend-Avesta and Pahlavi texts, which compose the principal texts of the Zoroastrian religion, were written after the beginning of our era. However, their content is old and goes back several centuries before our era and may be relied upon as excellent sources for early Persian thought. See F. Max Muller's *The Sacred Books of the East (SBE)* for early Persian, Indian, and Chinese thought.
In the Hindu world of India, agriculture was regarded as being more noble than any of the other modes of subsistence, with the exception of learning and receiving alms. The principal occupations and attitudes may be classified as learning, mechanical arts, working for wages, traffic, contentment with little, soliciting alms, receiving interest on money, and cattle-raising. Agriculture was definitely superior to commerce. Only the lower castes engaged in such urban occupations as trade and money-lending, modes of life considered by the higher castes as a "mixture of truth and falsehood," a "dog's mode of life." From the meager literature of the ancient Hindus and Zoroastrians, we learn how cultivators were ranked below the classes of priests and rulers but above the occupational groups of traders, artisans, business men, and the class of nonagricultural labor generally.

Ancient Japanese and Chinese records rank urban life as the least desirable. The Japanese claimed that emperors from the urban world were rarely the best. In China, as a rule, the emperors were in the first place "expert farmers" who were required to demonstrate ability in tilling the soil. The people considered the best emperors to be the best husbandmen, since the promotion and improvement of agriculture comprised the most important function of government.

In ancient Greece the farmer class was viewed favorably as being the very foundation of the social order. Farmers were considered stable, law-abiding, hard-working, vigorous, healthy, moral, patriotic, religious, and brave. Farm life was regarded as the best school for physical training, for the development of the best soldiers, and for producing honest, industrious citizens. But there was one inconsistency. While Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, and other Greek writers praised the farmer class, they also rated it below the classes of full-fledged urban citizens. Everyone praised the farmer, but no one wanted to become one or place him on an equal level with urban citizens.

However, a clear picture of Greek life is obscure owing to the prevailing serfdom, and the fine remarks made about farmers were directed toward free farmers and not to the slaves working in agriculture. In Plato's Republic, where a picture is painted of what an ideal state should be, Plato framed his republic in an agricultural setting. He had the farmers training in farming and not in governing, since the latter was the job of the philosophers. In his Laws, agriculture was the primary business of the state and all citizens were to be landowners. Commerce, trade, money-lending, and similar occupa-
tions were excluded as being unnecessary and undesirable. Agriculture was considered more necessary than urban occupations.

Plato felt that in the primeval world, long before cities came into being, the blessed state and way of life existed, of which “the best ordered of existing states is a copy.” 11 He wrote:

In the first place, the desolation of these primitive men would create in them a feeling of affection and good-will towards one another; and, secondly, they would have no occasion to quarrel about their subsistence, for they would have pasture in abundance, except just at first, and in some particular cases; and from their pasture-land they would obtain the greater part of their food in a primitive age, having plenty of milk and flesh; moreover they would procure other food by the chase, not to be despised either in quantity or quality. They would also have abundance of clothing, and bedding, and dwellings, and utensils either capable of standing on the fire or not; for the plastic and weaving arts do not require any use of iron; and God has given these two arts to man in order to provide him with all such things, that, when reduced to the last extremity, the human race may still grow and increase. Hence in those days mankind were not very poor; nor was poverty a cause of difference among them; and rich they could not have been, having neither gold nor silver:—such at that time was their condition. And the community which has neither poverty nor riches will always have the noblest principles; in it there is no insolence or injustice, nor, again, are there any contentions or envyings. And therefore they were good, and also because they were what is called simple-minded; and when they were told about good and evil, they in their simplicity believed what they heard to be very truth and practised it. No one had the wit to suspect another of a falsehood, as men do now; but what they heard about Gods and men they believed to be true, and lived accordingly; and therefore they were in all respects such as we have described them. . . . Would not many generations living on in a simple manner, although ruder, perhaps, and more ignorant of the arts generally, and in particular of those of land or naval warfare, and likewise of other arts, termed in cities legal practices and party conflicts, and including all conceivable ways of hurting one another in word and deed;—although inferior to those who lived before the deluge, or to the men of our day and in these respects, would they not, I say, be simpler and more manly, and also more temperate and altogether more just? . . . 12

12 Ibid., pp. 454–455.
Aristotle preferred the agriculturists, but unlike Plato he excluded the agricultural class from citizenship in his ideal city-state. The reason for this is not so much the inferiority of farmers as their lack of training for highly responsible governmental functions and their lack of leisure time for carrying out the functions of citizens. He felt that the best government is that which is composed of highly trained, selected experts who give all their time to government, a requirement which could not be met by the farm population. Nevertheless, Aristotle stressed the superiority of the farming class over the city rabble. Next in superiority to the agriculturists were the pastoral people who lived by their flocks. To Aristotle, they were the best trained of any for war, and were robust in body and able to camp out.

Rome reflected the stability of agricultural life, since it was a parasite city, depending upon the surrounding agriculturists. Consequently, the writers of ancient Rome had high praise for the class of free farmers and the effects of agricultural work upon the mind and body and the social order. Such writers as Virgil, Horace, Seneca, and Tacitus noted how the city depended upon the country, and how the destitute always came to the city for free grain. Seneca stated in his Epilogue that the strongest soldiers came from the rough country, while the lazy ones came from the city. The very foundation of Rome and its expansion during the early period was due to the Roman farmers, who were also the Roman soldiers. Consequently what was won by the Roman farmer-soldier was quickly consolidated by the power of the plow of the Roman farmer-soldier-colonist.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

From the year 400 A.D. to approximately 1400 A.D. there was only a meager amount of reflection on city versus country life. Cities, during these Dark Ages, were mainly frontier outposts rather than cultural centers. Only since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Europe do we begin to find any statements about rural-urban life.

In Arabia from the fifth to the twelfth century, however, we find great progress in science, art, and literature following Arab victories over many countries. The most important observation on rural-urban sociology was made by Ibn-Khaldun (1332–1406), a celebrated historian and philosopher, who made a detailed and surprisingly accurate description of the social life of the Arab. This distinguished
historian urged that history should not simply considered rulers, dynasties, and wars, but also racial factors, climatic forces, the laws of association, and the stages of associative life. Although he evolved a spiral theory of social evolution, beginning with the crudest primitive life and ending with the most civilized urban life, he claimed that nomadic rural people were braver and more moral, and that their family life was stronger than that of city dwellers. The city, he claimed, had to be replenished constantly by the stronger country people. His convictions and observations may be summarized under six points: (1) Nomadic and rural people are more healthy, brave, sound, resourceful, moral, self-reliant, less degenerate than urban people; (2) family life is cleaner and family relationships are stronger in the rural districts than in the cities; (3) mutual aid and sociality are developed more in the desert and country than in the city; (4) the position of women and older people is better, and they are more respected and valued in the country than in the city; (5) the city population is incessantly replenished by the migration of country people, and these migrants are recruited chiefly from the more wealthy rural families; and (6) the city leads to degeneration of people and the consequent decay of the entire society, since urbanism means unhealthy environment, luxury, vice, indulgences, and other debilitating conditions. There are, without doubt, many people today who support Khaldun's claim that with the development of science, commerce, and art in the cities, comes the inevitable decay of all society.

EUROPEAN THINKERS BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

As we proceed to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the theories about rural-urban life become more and more developed. A new interest in city life arises, as is indicated in the writings of Rousseau, Thomas More, and Machiavelli. Before their time Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) had proclaimed the city as a self-sufficient, natural state for man, and the country as unnatural, which was a somewhat exceptional attitude to take in his era. Contrary to Aristotle of ancient Greece, he visualized the city with many houses neatly divided into many streets, with each home being the location

for a certain occupational group whose totality makes the city self-
sufficient. He claimed that peasants lived outside of the city not
because they disliked it, but that because of their poverty, lack of
ability, and inferiority, they could not make the move. He agreed
with Aristotle, at least in regarding the city-state as the best and
highest form of socio-political organization.

Sir Thomas More (1478–1535) in his Utopia, took a more
moderate position than that of Thomas Aquinas by describing a
plan whereby everyone could find his greatest pleasure in giving to
others. He believed that the strongest league of peoples or nations
is not that which is united chiefly by treaties or covenants, but that
which is knit together by love and a benevolent attitude. More con-
ceived of agriculture and country life as being the most suitable
setting for this genuine Christian brotherhood. He did figure cities
into his scheme, though, and required that every urban community
be a garden city, that every house possess a garden plot. Agriculture
was an occupation which was obligatory upon all persons of his ideal
society for a period of two years, regardless of whether they were
born in the city or country.

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527), an Italian, differed from Sir
Thomas More in many ways by declaring that people should be con-
sidered as they are, and not according to false teachings about them.
He advocated either an autocratic or democratic form of government,
depending upon the conditions of the time and place. His “relishless
empircism” gave direction to the trend of social thinking which
resulted in inductive researches in the field of social analysis and
social control. On the subject of city life, however, he agrees with
More, for he points to the city as a breeder of tumult, disorder, luxury,
and vice. He proclaimed that class struggle very often and very suc-
cessfully originates in cities. The city to Machiavelli was generally
the source of social disorganization and demoralization. He did not
take the extreme position of Rousseau who later asserted that city
life meant an inevitable and unavoidable social decay.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) held a negative view toward

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14 George Simpson (ed.), The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, Bohn’s Classical Li-

15 N. Machiavelli, The Florentine History, Tudor translations (London, 1905),

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pp. 130–177; “Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio,” Opere Complete di N.

Machiavelli (Florence, 1943), pp. 279 ff.; The Prince, Tudor translations (London,

1905), pp. 293–294.
the city. He was a romanticist who claimed that man is naturally good and that a simple society such as agricultural life is best for man. This romantic view is developed in his *Discourse about Science and Arts* and his *Social Contract*. He felt that the happiest and most virtuous life is the simple life of primitive people where there are no cities, sciences, arts, or complex civilizations. Social decay is the consequence of the growth of cities, with their commerce, industries, luxury, effeminacy, and injustice.

Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) was neutral regarding rural-urban life. His feelings can be summed up in four statements: (1) agriculture is a basic industry and should be encouraged; (2) commerce and urbanism follow after agriculture and ruralism in importance; (3) the arts and sciences, as well as commerce, function positively to refine the mores, thus extend peace, labor, efficiency, orderliness, sagacity, and regularity. But Montesquieu pointed out how the arts and sciences of city life can lead to the corruption of the mores, increasing inequality and disorder, thus establishing an all too formal justice and a weakening of sincerity and hospitality. He claimed (4) that in the main, population decrease is due to a lack of a free farm population and a farmer proprietorial class. To increase population fertility Montesquieu believed a society must have a landed class whose living conditions are satisfactory.

David Hume (1711–1776) took a somewhat indefinite view, so far as is shown by the remarks in his various essays. Under some conditions agriculture is better than industrial life, he claimed, yet under other circumstances the reverse is true. Agriculture is not the only productive class. He observed that enormous cities are destructive to society since they give rise to vice and disorder, starve the nearby provinces, and raise prices. On the other hand, he looked favorably on the development of manufacturing, industry, arts, commerce, luxury (when it was not vicious), and other processes of life in the city.

Adam Smith (1723–1790), like Hume, did not regard the farmer as the only productive person. He claimed that the classes of manufacturers, artisans, merchants, and professionals were also productive, but remarked that the city had its origin and grew out of rural pro-

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duction. In the final analysis, Smith believed, a condition of co-operation exists between country and city, and there is no one-sided development of either at the expense of the other.\textsuperscript{18}

**RURAL-URBAN THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES**

Up to 1860, every President of the United States had something favorable to say about agriculture. Neither Jefferson nor Jackson liked industrial capitalism and were overwhelmingly in favor of agriculture. President Polk claimed that the entire United States prospered when the agrarian world prospered. President John Tyler condemned the new aristocracy rising in the United States from liquid wealth as being characteristically urban. To him, country life, with its nonliquid wealth, was the most wholesome. The rural champions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries described how the city (1) produces sterility, and means (2) small families, (3) poorer diet and living conditions, and (4) psychological tensions and mental disorders; but these observers overlooked the fact that the concentration of wealth in the city permitted cultural advantages in the arts, education, recreation, museums, and libraries.

Farming was the first vocation of the American people, and it has remained a major occupation throughout their history. The abundance of free, fertile land gave the European immigrants the opportunity to secure property and build homes. Moreover, the fact that American people lived on farms and depended directly upon nature for their existence tended to strengthen the naturalistic philosophy of eighteenth-century European traditions.

From the beginning of American history there was also another vocational group, there were those who came to America to secure treasures; to find gold, to engage in fur trade, or to exploit the Indians. Out of this minority group developed an urban manufacturing class which was sometimes called the money class or the "aristocracy of wealth" by those people not affiliated with it. Workers in the shops and factories were generally ignored as unimportant. Not until near the close of the nineteenth century did American statesmen recognize more than two economic classes: the small farmers

and the rich manufacturing and commercial groups from the city. For the greater part of the nineteenth century these two groups engaged in economic conflict, and out of this emerged sentiments and group attitudes which were later rationalized and became economic philosophies. The one has been called the agrarian philosophy or the Jeffersonian democracy, the other the commercial philosophy or capitalism in its first stage.

The lower-income groups in America have generally turned to Jefferson as their leader, while the more successful and wealthy Americans have found support in the declarations of Hamilton. Both men were great Americans, and both their philosophies were equally American. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence which contains the philosophy justifying institutional change, and Hamilton provided the element of stability to the Constitution. These two philosophies have intermittently gained ascendancy over each other, but at no time, not even for a short period, has either of them disappeared. Although the nature of the problem has shifted, as have the arguments employed in dealing with it, the general limits have remained the same. The one has been throughout the philosophy of the "average man," the other the philosophy of economic strength. Puritanism was essentially agrarian in its social and economic outlook. And in this philosophy were nurtured those ideals and virtues that have given meaning and direction to America for more than a century. The extent to which the agrarian ideal has found its way into American institutions is well illustrated by the influence which its greatest advocate has had in its creation: no one had greater influence in shaping the American national life during the first thirty-five years of its existence, and no one more fully embodied in his philosophy the agrarian convictions, than did Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826).

Jefferson was eminently qualified through his colonial heritage to be the spokesman and statesman for the small farmer and the common American citizen. Although he was an aristocrat by descent and the size of his estate, he enjoyed the confidence of the small farmers; he lived with them and shared their problems. He was one of them and yet as their leader he towered above them. In him were combined scientific agricultural skill, practical experience, common sense, and self-confidence with sympathetic understanding of the needs and the likes of the "common man." Thomas Jefferson well expressed some of the feelings of the eighteenth century when he said:
The mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body. . . . Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberties by the most lasting bonds. . . .

As a system of philosophy, agrarianism was not completely American. Like many other things in America, its component parts came from various sources and were welded together in new form by American ingenuity. Jefferson gained some of his ideas while in France as a diplomatic representative of our government. Perhaps the most important idea was contained in the physiocratic movement, a definitely agriculture-based philosophy which exalted the state of the laborers and peasantry and which rapidly gained favor because it was "close to nature" and therefore sound. This eighteenth-century French trend is historically the most prorural current of thought known, not alone in its doctrines, but in its practices. These men, Quesnay, Mercier de la Riviere, Mirabeau, and Condillac, placed importance on the soil as the only source of an actual net product. They portrayed the agriculturists as the only truly fruitful people. They pointed out that the real wealth was in the hands of the farmer and that his life was more conducive to happiness. Commerce was absolutely parasitic. This school, which had such great influence upon Jefferson, can be summarized in three statements: (1) the only source of wealth is the earth and its creative forces; (2) the agricultural class is the only productive one in the proper sense of the word; all other classes are unproductive, although useful to a society; (3) the excessive growth of cities, manufacturing, and commerce, with their luxury, is dangerous since they are less enriching and profitable than the development of agriculture. The physiocrat school was opposed to the English mercantilist school, which held that urban life is necessary for all mercantile pursuits, that rural life is subordinate to manufacturing.

Jefferson gave agrarianism its basic principles and in the main laid its philosophical foundation. Andrew Jackson and William Jennings Bryan advanced the ideals of Jefferson. Since Jackson was an uneducated man and without insight into the European cultural background, he modified its refined traditional idealism by adding the

\[19\textit{Survey, Vol. LXXI, 213, "cited by" C. A. Beard, "The City's Place in Civilization" (1928).}\]
robust spirit of the West. William Jennings Bryan, like Jackson, was a product of rural America. He lacked Jefferson’s critical insight and the statesmanship of either Jefferson or Jackson, yet in sincerity of purpose and eloquence of expression he added strength and enthusiasm to the agrarian philosophy. Besides these three statesmen many men of letters amplified and elaborated the fundamental principles of agrarianism. We focus our attention upon these three men not because they showed greater insight into the agrarian interest, but rather because they received the attention of the masses and influenced public sentiment.

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) lived on the frontier where he associated with the common folk and accepted their political and economic ideas as well as their patterns of personal conduct. The early part of his life, however, was not unlike that of the well-to-do economic classes of the West and South. He became successful through buying and selling land in great blocks and horse and slave-trading. In the panic of 1795 he lost his extensive holdings, his homestead, and many of his slaves. He then established himself more permanently on a six-hundred acre tract of land eight miles from Nashville, the Hermitage, which later became one of the show places of America. He became less speculative and lived more consistently the life of a planter, as Parrington tells us:

With this removal his middle-class ambitions fell away and he became a planter with a simple agrarian point of view; and this old-fashioned agrarianism became in later years the determining force in all his political thinking.²⁰

In contrast with Jefferson, his predecessor, the aristocrat and scholarly gentleman from Virginia, Jackson was an uneducated man who possessed a temper that even Jefferson regarded as dangerous in a man who might become President of the United States. “He is,” declared Jefferson, “one of the most unfit men I know of for the place. He has had very little respect for laws or constitutions, and is, in fact, an able military chief. His passions are terrible. . . . He has been much tried since I knew him, but he is a dangerous man.”²¹

In summary, the social outlook of the agrarian philosophy of Jefferson and Jackson may be expressed in five fundamental propositions:

1. An economic war is raging between the farmers of America, who are the real producers of wealth, and the wealthy urban manufacturing and commercial classes who threaten their liberty as citizens and their natural rights as men.

2. The common farmers have the capacity and moral integrity to direct their own affairs politically as well as economically. They do not need professional politicians nor wealthy financiers to guide them in matters of the state or in business affairs. The state need do nothing more than guarantee liberty and equality to all.

3. Liberty meant freedom from restraint, from institutional control. Equality meant equality of rights, rights to the land and natural resources.

4. The urban capitalistic system of finance with its paper currency is merely an instrument in the hands of the money class to advance their own political and financial interest. This class endangers the welfare of the farmers, the common people.

5. As an essential phase of their democratic philosophy, both Jefferson and Jackson favored frequent and thorough political changes in the interest of agrarian democracy. Jefferson advocated periodic revolutions. Jackson expressed his view as a slogan, "To the victor belongs the spoils."

These were dogmatic assumptions. They were neither universally true nor universally valuable as guiding ideals, yet they were the functioning ideas, the philosophy of the people, in the period between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. In the minds of many American farmers they are still held as the essential elements of democracy. By and large, however, these assumptions have run their course and tend to be disappearing from the thoughts of America's rural population. In fact, since the Civil War there has been a demand for a restatement of the basic concepts of the agrarian philosophy. While Jefferson and Jackson continue to be the standard bearers of the more liberal Democratic Party today, many changes have taken place, changes that make some of their ideas more reactionary than radical.

About 1890 the American frontier was practically closed, for there was no longer an abundance of free, fertile land, no longer the inducement to leave the cities. The population movement was con-
sequently reversed from the country to the city. City population grew rapidly and soon outnumbered that of the country. Huge industries began to develop within the cities, and now, in the twentieth century, America was beginning to experience what England had experienced in the nineteenth century: an industrial revolution. Capitalism now reached its full stature. By being attached to the machine, human labor became more efficient and simplified.

With this great transformation America’s industrial philosophy made a corresponding change. Two self-conscious industrial classes developed in the city: those who owned and controlled industry, and those who worked in it. Each of these classes acquired its own philosophy, its own conception of social justice. The ground for labor organizations and the development of the trade unions was now being laid. The laboring man began to work and talk in terms of a standard of living instead of property rights. He became rapidly conscious of the fact that inventions and labor-saving devices were not necessarily to his entire advantage, for those same machine processes might actually replace labor and create an army of unemployed workers. The bidding of such an army for employment would put the working man at a disadvantage with his employer in the bargaining relationship. A new class consciousness was on its way. Karl Marx’s interpretation of capitalism began to take on meaning in America. The system now appeared to be a process of labor exploitation. Machines could reduce a formerly skilled and complex job, carrying a high wage and prestige, to simple, tedious processes requiring little or no training on the part of the operator. The “God-given right to get up in the job” functioned as an ideal, a myth. Mobility on the job was as much horizontal as vertical; the worker could only aspire to move to the next tedious machine operation and receive no substantial rise in pay or status. The new system could and has become a disheartening force, undermining the morale of those workers in industry who expected through it to climb in the social system.

Along with the mechanization of industry, large-scale production, and expanding railroad systems in the United States, a form of business organization developed in the cities that was both novel and distinctive. The corporation with its absentee ownership and centralized control has often been pronounced as America’s greatest invention. In terms of its efficiency, its facility for utilizing productively the vast accumulations of America’s savings, and its employment of
skilled, industrial engineers and competent managers, its importance can hardly be overstated. The corporation came into existence in answer to a strongly felt need for simplifying a growingly complex economic process which was centered in the city and was definitely getting out of hand. Unlike the scientific discoveries and inventions of the laboratories which have so profoundly influenced technological development in industry, the corporation is an invention of city men, the practical men of affairs, keenly conscious of waste and highly skilled in combining the numerous economic factors in the interest of profit.

This survey of America’s economic philosophy has revealed changes that are socially significant. Capitalism in the United States began as an expression of democracy with high regard for the rights of the “common man,” and culminated in a system of efficiency with a centralized authority. It began as a personal and ethical philosophy and became a nonpersonal, mechanical, corporate organization. It began as a system of property rights in which equality was jealously guarded, but ended in a great disparity of rights in which large owners of capital stock had their rights expanded, while the rights of small stockholders were limited. In each of these phases the transition was one of sacrificing ideal values for economy and efficiency. In view of these transitions some might say, “Return to the earlier philosophy,” yet such a return is not a solution. The cry of “back to the land that was not sown,” “back to nature,” and “back to a pre-established order” is an old cry of despair revealing a sense of impotency in the presence of overwhelming human problems.

Under corporate management in a machine age, property constitutes power through which the conditions of freedom and equality are changed. With the development of the machine age in agriculture the capital investment required for successful operation has increased tremendously. And this, together with the great oscillations in prices for farm products, has taxed the business ingenuity of men in agricultural pursuits. The result has been that being a successful farmer requires more than a willingness to work and an ability to grow fine crops. In fact, the extension of the machine age to agriculture has posed problems that agricultural economists are only now beginning to analyze with some degree of success. For instance, they are just beginning to talk with any degree of clarity about the necessity of an optimum balance of the several factors of production, land, labor,
and capital, if agriculture is to compete successfully with urban manufacturing. However, our concern here is not to solve these problems, but to point out the predicament in which the American farmer has been struggling. From the start the urban man who produced farm implements has had an advantage over the man who used those implements in farm production. Those who control property as it involves the application of steam, gas, and electricity possess a strength far beyond those who merely own land and livestock.

Carl Becker points out how these and other changes have "transformed the relatively simple agricultural communities of the eighteenth century into societies far more complex and impersonal than anything the prophets of liberal democracy could have imagined—mechanized Leviathans which Thomas Jefferson at least would have regarded as unreal and fantastic and altogether unsuited to the principles of liberty and equality as he understood them." 22 The individualism of Jefferson and Jackson, with its emphasis upon freedom from governmental restraint, has gradually given way, or is giving way, to a conception of the necessity for "self sustaining" farmers and the city laborers to cooperate for mutual support, and to use the state as a chief agency in their struggle for freedom, equality, and security.

The reaction against capitalistic control from the cities began with the Granger revolt in the seventies when the Farmers Alliances of the Mississippi Valley broke, at least temporarily, the control of the railway kings over the legislatures. 23 In the nineties this movement finally developed into the Populist Party. At the same time the agitation for a more equitable tax system also began. The farmer's property was of an external and physical character in contrast with the business group of the city. As a supplement to the general property tax which placed the farmers at a disadvantage, an income-tax provision was written into the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act of 1894. In this agitation, however, the farmers were moving too rapidly away from a deeply rooted notion of property right which, in this case, turned out to be a claim supported by the Constitution of the United States. The forceful manner in which the Supreme Court defended the Constitution and thereby the wealthy capitalists of the city against

the farmers is of double significance: It clarified (1) the growing importance of the Constitution as a protection of the "urban capitalist class," and (2) the growing intensity of the conflict between the two self-conscious economic groups.

Near the close of the nineteenth century capitalism had gained the ascendancy and agrarianism was waning. The urban industrial and commercial groups had become stronger and the farming group in every part of the country had grown correspondingly weaker. The government had fallen, or had threatened to fall, into the hands of powerful city corporations and trusts. The rural population was again in revolt, but this time they were engaged in a losing battle under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), an agrarian preacher from Nebraska. He fought on many fronts and lost all his engagements. The tragedy of it all was that he spoke for a prevailing agrarian philosophy, but wanted one that was neither economically, politically, nor scientifically up-to-date. His personal morality did not take into account the need of the new relationships that the corporate and mechanical industry of the cities had brought about. His Christian religion and morality suited rural life, but was inadequate in the presence of the great political and economic issues of the day.

It would seem that agrarian democracy failed for want of a great champion. The principles so clearly expressed by Jefferson and Jackson received only lip service. Bryan and his party associates continued to employ the terms "freedom" and "equality," but failed to recognize the conditions that prevented their ideals from being realized in rural life. The great issue of human rights and democracy was superficially treated in the campaign of 1896 when Bryan chose silver to symbolize democracy. It was a case of silver versus gold, one metal against another. The great issue of democracy that had been so ably championed by Jefferson now became an economic issue in the narrowest possible sense.

The dawn of the twentieth century marked the breaking up of traditional agrarian thought. Until then the farmers had constituted a homogeneous class with a common philosophy as expressed so effectively by the great statesmen, Jefferson and Jackson, and less adequately by Bryan. But today the unity is not maintained. There are now numerous groups, each of which has a philosophy based on his peculiar economic interest.
The economic change in the life of the farmers today is almost revolutionary in nature. While changes in the urban world of business and industry extend back to the industrial revolution, the agricultural world has changed in little more than a decade. The philosophies of businessmen and laboring men of the city have become more clearly defined. On the other hand, the farmer does not yet know where he stands. In some of the middle western states he joins hands with the laborers, while in other places he prefers to stand alone except for utilizing governmental help. Evidence would seem to point in the direction of a new group consciousness and a new philosophy which will supplant the old individualism of Jefferson's day. With a renewed strength we might expect the farmer to utilize more fully the government agencies and foster cooperative unity. Trends in rural socio-economic organization appear to be sixfold:

1. A tendency toward professionalization, as in the urban world. Traditional factors have stood in the way of this trend; the "jack-of-all-trades" is still the "typical" farmer in the eyes of many people. Nevertheless the rural man is becoming a specialist in different rural enterprises; he is becoming like the urban man, judged on the basis of one factor rather than many. This will make for greater skill and achievement possibilities. Ability to perform (earned prestige) will mean more than assigned or ascribed prestige stemming from family affiliation or traditional association with the community.

2. A trend toward the agricultural entrepreneur. The rural world is taking on the urban money economy characterized by wealth chiefly through entrepreneurial activities.

3. As the old skills of the rural individual become increasingly embodied in machinery made in the cities, his prestige and power will be less important than earlier. Therefore the ruralite sees the need of organization for representation to get desired legislation, from both the consumer and producer standpoint, to maintain and improve his socio-economic position in an urbanized nation.

4. There is an increasing dominance of the larger area organization versus the neighborhood organization. This is the result of technological development: roads, automobiles, trucking services, and so on. The small agricultural village is being by-passed by the farmer for the larger county-seat or urban community insofar as material and social needs are concerned.
5. A tendency toward a greater degree of absentee ownership, as in the cities. Profits and dividends rather than survival are becoming the criterion of success in the rural world.

6. There is an increasing state participation in rural life by means of agencies. This signifies a greater proportion of revenue is going to rural areas. This has meant parity prices, i.e., equality in the purchasing power of the urban industrial world and the agricultural world, an equivalence in the price structure in agricultural and industrial goods. State participation means far greater educational facilities, improved electrical service (Rural Electrification Authority), land conservation advice and programs, crop and soil services, and insurance aids. At the present time, it should be noted, most of these benefits are going to the proprietors in the rural world rather than being equally distributed between owners and workers.

Methods in our day which have been proposed for reconciling the conflicts between these alleged bipolar worlds (which are actually in great interdependence rather than in conflict) are: (1) subsidization, the government either paying the farmer in cash to keep him from planting crops or paying him sums in excess of the market price; (2) out-migration programs to foster a balance of the rural and urban populations; (3) ruralizing the city; (4) industrializing the farm; (5) establishing a national floor under both the rural and urban worlds so that neither can fall below it in times of economic stress, depressions, droughts, urban technological unemployment, and so forth; (6) reducing the rural reproduction rate; and (7) cure-alls such as decentralizing urban industries, building green-belt towns where each man may participate both in industrial and agricultural pursuits.

Some of these proposals have been tried and proved unsuccessful, others are in the planning stage. These programs of action point to a revolution going on in agriculture today. That is, there is a progressive reconstruction of the rural community under the impress of urban living, its technology and ideologies. Increasingly the problems of both communities are becoming identical. The only exceptions are (1) that the rural world is affected more directly by nature, i.e., the rain, insects, floods, droughts, sour soil, and so forth, while (2) the urban world is affected more directly by human policies; its problems are the business cycle, breakdowns of governmental organizations, revolts, strikes, and lockouts. And even these exceptions require serious
qualification. The broader problem is one of public policy directed at (1) equalizing rural and urban opportunities, (2) minimizing the social and economic imbalance, and (3) answering the question: Is it, after all, desirable to retain these poles of American life? These are adjustment problems to be squarely faced, involving the respective standards of expectations: definitions of ambition and success, the waste of human and natural resources. Rural advancement toward innovations on the social level is slower than in the city; thus the city must carry the greater burden of responsibility in showing the way with regard to changes in family organization, religious beliefs, education and the like.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we have tried to demonstrate that (1) many present problems of rural-urban sociology appeared long ago, and (2) these problems were also given quite definite answers one way or another. This brief survey is useful in helping us to develop a more accurate perspective as we consider contemporary theories and hypotheses of urban sociology. Although rural and urban have in the past been represented as opposite poles of life, it does not follow that they are separate. The concept "rural," to the unmeticulous mind, means the smell of freshly mown meadows, herds of cattle, fields of crops, a country store, farmers in overalls, and wives in house gingham. Indeed, these elements characterize one phase of the meaning of rural, but an ever-widening conception of the term is necessary in any consideration of future problems and ways of meeting them in both the city and country. People who live remote from the city use its services, are affected by its functions, and come to share its problems. The farmer, while he may still cherish the illusion of independence in what he plants, how he cultivates the soil, the tools he uses, and the prices he gets for his products, cannot remain oblivious to the city. His well-being, his health, the education of his children, his taxes, his politics, his income, his ideas and attitudes are shaped as much or possibly even more by what goes on in the cities than by what occurs in his own immediate surroundings. We repeat, therefore, an earlier statement: modern technology has reduced the importance of where we live, and enhanced the importance of how we live.
SELECTED READINGS

Employing the ecological concepts of "concentration" and "mobility," McKenzie traces the growth and distribution of American metropoles.

Mumford, in contrast with Pirenne (see below), takes the view that cities are to be understood historically as places for protection, with inaccessibility rather than accessibility (for trade) being the basis for location. An excellent source book.

The author shows the dependence of historical contemporary cities upon commerce and industry, all other processes or relationships being secondary. Status and socio-economic opportunities can be understood only in this framework, according to Pirenne.

Schlesinger demonstrates how in American cities one feels the pulse of American life, as the center for material and social innovations. See also Schlesinger's volume, *The Rise of the City* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933).

A well-documented source book on rural behavior embracing the history of rural-urban thinking, basic differences between rural and urban worlds, institutional relationships, demographic processes, and social control.
PART II

The City as a Physical Mechanism—Human Ecology

"Life is movement, and consequently history is movement, for history is the sum and result of the phenomena of life. The history of mankind is composed of a series of movements and counter-movements, just as is the history of plants and animals."
—Friedrich Ratzel
Human Ecology and the \textit{V}
Community-Building Process

Sociologists have been criticized at times, and with some justification, for viewing man as if he were in some way detached from the earth's surface. That is, by focusing their attention upon such group ties as kinship systems, human interests, and status, sociologists have tended to overlook the important dimension of territory or space as a bond in the group-forming process. In other words, as men become attached to geographic areas, those spaces take on symbolic qualities. Human ecologists seek to emphasize how territory acts to draw together people who are exhibiting similar or interdependent social and economic features. The result is that people portray the effects of their nature-made and man-made habitat as well as their more strictly social surroundings.

Human ecology studies the spatial and temporal arrangements of men and their institutions in the community which are quite unintended from the standpoint of group prevision. It is a discipline still in the making, since it only emerged upon the academic scene in the 1920's. However, in this brief period of time it has become one of the most definite and influential schools in American sociology. Dr. Robert E. Park (1864–1944) and his associate, Dr. Ernest E. Burgess, pioneered this field in the United States, stressing its importance in the study of urban communities.

Expressed in the briefest terms, human ecology is the science of the
non-consensual adjustments between human aggregates and the study of the conditions of their respective physical and technological environments. There are consequent limitations to the field inasmuch as it studies only those groupings tied together by "consciousness of kind" and individual interdependence rather than consensus—common codes or value systems. These ecological groups tend ultimately to become social or consensual groups the longer they remain geographically contiguous. Consequently human ecology does not provide explanations of all the many ramifications of human interrelationships. It is not an autonomous social science. It is quite unlikely that there is any autonomy in science, since there is only a division of labor in studying man and his environment. In certain respects human ecology might be well regarded as the basic social science, since the problem with which it deals underlies that of each of the several specialized studies of human social life.

The dictionary lists the word "ecology" as being taken from the Greek term oikos, meaning house; it means a biological discipline dealing with the mutual relations between organisms and their environment. Therefore human ecology is a term adapted from the biological fields of botany and zoology and is a study of the spatial distribution of a population with reference to the physical and technological forces of the environment. After all, the environment or "house" of human beings is not simply the physical habitat as nature formed it, but is the embodiment of the presence, attractions, and repulsions of other men; their institutions, policies, and inventions. Man has become a different kind of creature now that he has created his own environment. He is largely a dweller in cities, which are fundamentally artifacts rather than products of nature. The crucial problems of human survival in the city derive not so much from droughts, pestilence, or earthquakes but from human policies and technological innovations. Hence, in attunement with the new problems of mankind in its urban setting, human ecology has carved out

1 By the term "aggregation" is meant an assemblage of individuals or institutional forms brought together more or less loosely. It is not a social group. A human aggregation, the subject matter of human ecologists, cannot be regarded as a society until it achieves a set of common understandings, values, or norms—in short, a capacity for collective action, although it may manifest a high degree of functional interdependence between the individuals composing it. To have a "society" there must be common interests, codes, or sentiments rooted either in past experiences, present crises, or future anticipations. Ecological groups hence become social groups as they develop consensus out of discussion sufficient to arouse collective action.

as its role in the field of science the study of the material substructure of the community, both natural and man-made, insofar as this substructure aligns and realigns human populations and utilities. It is the urban ecologist, therefore, who points out how the facilities of transportation, industry, and other physical features survive in the city where man could not otherwise adequately take care of himself. The survival of concentrated millions of people far removed from tillable soil presupposes a vast technological apparatus which is the triumph of modern natural science and engineering skill. These man-made innovations which have made cities possible are continually remaking our cities and resifting their populations. As steam has herded us together, so does electricity have the potentialities of redistributing and dispersing us. Technology, as a primary concern of urban ecology, functions to provide social welfare through such devices as air-conditioning units, heating systems, and rapid transit lines. However, it also acts to disorganize life by bringing alien peoples involuntarily together, thus giving rise to human friction and discord.

PLANT AND ANIMAL ECOLOGY VERSUS HUMAN ECOLOGY

Early human ecologists borrowed their conceptual framework from plant and animal ecology because they noted close parallels between human societies and plant and animal life. In 1869 when Ernst Haeckel coined the name for the new branch of biological science, he was seeking to call attention to the fact that the physical make-up and behavior of organisms are greatly affected by their living together with other organisms and by their habitat.\(^3\) He was aware of the fact that within the same species there were types of organisms that varied but were likewise mutually dependent upon one another for survival. Pioneering human ecologists pointed out that man is likewise an organism and as such is dependent upon the same resources, and is confronted with the same elementary problems and displays in essential outline the same mode of response to life as is observed in other forms of life. They felt that a logical consummation of the ecological point of view was the extension of patterns of

\(^3\) Haeckel defined ecology as the science of the "correlations between all organisms living together in one and the same locality and their adaptations to their surroundings." Ernst Haeckel, *The History of Creation*, II (New York, D. Appleton, 1896), p. 354.
thought and techniques of research developed in the study of the collective life of lower organisms to the study of man. One important qualification was necessary, however: the extraordinary degree of flexibility of human behavior makes for a complexity and dynamics in the human community without counterpart elsewhere in the organic world. It is this last observation that sets man apart as an object of special inquiry and gives rise to human ecology as being distinct from a general ecology suitable to lower forms of life.

What, then, may we say that plants and lower animals do have in common with civilized man from the ecological standpoint? We note that each component unit (person, organism, or plant) is bound to others of its species through interdependence arising out of specialization and division of labor. Furthermore, the sheer number or population is regulated by conscious or unconscious competition. The number of occupations or degrees of specialization is similarly regulated. Among all of these plant, animal, and human species, the spatial pattern of the community is conceived as a function of competition. Dynamic factors are constantly changing the communities, tending at one time toward equilibrium and at another toward unbalance or disequilibrium. At this point human ecology takes leave of plant and animal ecology. Modern human ecologists point out that human communities, unlike plant and animal communities, are characterized by space and sustenance relationships and made highly complicated by economic, political, and cultural factors. "Space and time are translated into cost; the struggle for life becomes a struggle for living, and 'competitive cooperation' becomes conflict and conscious collaboration toward a common goal." 4 Competition in the modern city never takes the form of blind struggle, but is carried out by more or less self-conscious groups struggling and adjusting to one another not only for economic survival but also for gains on the social ladder of society in the form of power and prestige. Therefore, human beings struggle, compete, and collaborate on many levels other than the economic plane, and this is reflected in their physical location.

Consequently, the concepts and methods of plant and animal ecology may not be transferred in their entirety because the differences between the human community and those of the plant and

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4 This portion of the chapter pertaining to human versus plant and animal ecology is adapted from Louis Wirth, "The Scope and Problems of the Community," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XXVII (May, 1933), pp. 61–73.
animal worlds are as significant as the likenesses. Four of the more readily observable differences may be enumerated:

1. There is a low degree of locomotion among plants and animals in comparison with that of human beings. Since locomotion is almost unlimited with man, he is less attached to the immediate habitat. For example, probably less than one-third of the American population die in the vicinity of their birth.

2. In the human species we encounter the dimension of social interaction which does not exist or is rudimentary among animals of lower form. Man is an imaginative creature; he indulges in reminiscences of past experiences and speculates about the future. His technology is therefore not a mere accident but the consequence of imagination and communication. Being able to form images and symbols, man can form what we call ideals. He can take the imperfect and remake it to near-perfect. As such he is a creative artist. These activities are foreign to lower forms of life. While plants and lower animals have their relations conditioned by the physiological structure or instinct, man has his relations conditioned by understandings, customs, and laws.

3. The bond of cohesion among plants and lower animal life resides within the habitat itself rather than within the organismic likenesses. Human beings, on the other hand, have as their bond of cohesion their culture, a force which affects the ecological organization of men in space and time. Man lives in the struggle for existence just as the plants and lower animals do, but he also lives in values, norms, expectations, rights, privileges, and regulations which alter the struggle. In fact, in some relationships we have reversed the struggle which proclaims that only the fittest shall survive. In warfare we allow the fittest to perish and the weak to remain at home where they are protected and allowed to propagate the race. We protect the aged and the mental defectives in social institutions and do not let them die from lack of care. All others must shift for themselves.

4. Finally, and of greatest importance, the human organism does not adjust to his physical habitat in the passive way in which plants and lower animals adjust. Man almost never lives in a natural habitat; he lives in a man-made habitat. That is, he affects and is affected by his culture, social organization, inventions, geographic setting, and so on.

Plant and animal ecologists divide their subject matter into "ate-
ecology” and “synecology,” which deal respectively with relations between individual organisms and between plant and animal aggregates and their habitats. Transferring this conceptualization to human beings, urban ecologists are “autecologists.” The human habitat of the city man is largely made over by the species. Man is engaged in an indirect rather than in a direct relationship between himself and nature by means of the erection of physical devices. This is more visible in the urban world than in rural society. In the city, men are being affected daily by human policies and institutions. Drouths, floods, hot and cold spells are secondary problems by comparison. The setting in which men find themselves, in contrast with that of plants and animals, is usually different, therefore, rather than similar. People live overwhelmingly in a habitat which they have made by themselves and which is constantly changing. Indeed, men are in a position to dig for roots just like the lower animal forms (and they do), but the more explanatory roots are those of tradition, sentiments, values, skills, and prejudices.

Therefore the method of studying the ecology of urban beings is to look to the person to find out what he has done to his environment in order to live, rather than concentrating upon the geographic habitat alone. While we look to the structure of plants and animals to get at their ecological behavior, we must look between men to the customs, laws, institutions, and systems of ethics to get at the impelling forces before we can examine the ecology of human beings.

In summarizing this comparison, the most colorless way of looking at the human community is as an aggregate of individuals in time and space; it is a case of stripping the community of all of its meaningful aspects. However, nobody ever looks at the community this way, since it is complicated by other factors. Early human ecologists sought to set up the science in this colorless way, devoid of values, sentiments, and controls. Such efforts proved fruitless. In examining the space

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5 Human ecology has been called the study of the human community in contrast with sociology as the study of human society. The two terms, “community” and “society,” have been referred to as bipolar, as being in contrast with one another. Society has stood for consensus and collective action while community has been used to refer to people in a state of symbiosis. Actual ecological studies, however, use the terms somewhat differently: “society” is made to suggest the symbolic, the ideational, the voluntary interest relations, whereas “community” refers to the more substantial, the economic, the technological relations.

However, community and society are not mutually conflicting entities, as the theoretical literature would have us believe, but two mutually complementing aspects of every form of group life, emphasizing that every social group exists in a territorial,
dimension, the ecologist cannot study it minus norms. We are compelled to look at space in relationship to usable space: a way of life in space. Every community is not only symbiotic but also contains consensus, the polar opposite of symbiosis, which allows for organized action. While animal and plant communities are defined in relation to the direct influences of the immediate soil or other living forms, in the human community we define the area in relation to remote factors.

The division of labor between the sociologist and human ecologist in the study of the city now becomes quite clear: the sociologist studies the more consensual relations of urban people while the ecologist studies the more non-consensual relations. Therefore the two fields are concerned with different layers of the urban community (Figure 1). The problem of human ecology is to determine how the natural habitat and technology, as illustrated above, affect the higher levels of life. Since the ecologist is concerned with these non-consensual aspects of human groups, this places his field in a somewhat residual category. The natural habitat and man's technology are not only modified by the social organization of man, but the reverse is also true. The habitat and technology influence the economic, political, and moral orders as well as the more characteristic urban order of secularism. The urban ecologist must never overlook the fact that culture (1) sets the limits of things, determines what is possible and

physical, and substantive as well as a social-psychological bond respectively. Every society is a community and every community has aspects of a society. Norms are present in both. (By norms we mean the rules which the members of societies and communities are expected to follow and by which their conduct is judged. Even enemies maintain some norms, some rules of the game, some etiquette, commonly known as "rules of war.")

The term "community," like all other common-sense terms when used in scientific discourse, has suffered from ambiguity. The early literature of human ecology was much concerned with the distinction between the community and the society. The community, as we have pointed out, stressed the symbiotic relations, spatial and temporal dimensions, physical structure, competition, and the division of labor. Society, however, stressed communication, consensus, common norms, values, conscious control, and collective action. Unfortunately, these two ideal-typical aspects of human social life have been frequently confused with concrete realities. There has been a failure to see that all communities are also societies, and all societies bear at least some of the characteristics of communities. Competition among human beings, for instance, never takes place in a vacuum as a blind struggle for life and survival. Competition in the community is regulated and controlled as people struggle for position, security, and status. Among the plants and animals the mechanisms of collective behavior are built into the structure of the organisms and can be truly described in terms of reflexes and instincts. But the behavior of human beings can be understood only in the light of habit, custom, institutions, morals, ethics, and laws.
usual, and (2) sets the rules for getting things done. He must contend with space as it is connected with standards of living, technology, or some other element in culture. For example, it is foolish to talk about population density in a community, rural or urban, devoid of a framework of *standards*. When the urban ecologist studies the shifts of human populations within or between cities, or any designated point, these objectives have been defined by cultural forces as desirable or undesirable goals.

![Diagram of the human community dynamics](image)

**Fig. 1. The dynamics of the human community.**

**TECHNOLOGY AND THE COMMUNITY-BUILDING PROCESS**

Inasmuch as urban human beings are not passive agents of their physical surroundings but participants in molding their environment through material technology, human ecologists have shifted their emphasis from nature to man.

**TECHNOLOGY AND THE NATURAL HABITAT**

Geography and the territorial organization of society acquire their importance from the fact that personal and social relations are determined in great measure by physical distances, and that social stability is at its zenith when human beings are rooted in the soil. Drastic changes in society are likely to be those that involve mobility and
especially mass migrations of people. Mobility increases in proportion to the adoption and creation of new and mass forms of technological means of human movement. Human groups are thereby uprooted from traditional soil and the well-entrenched systems of conduct tend to decrease in importance to the society and its members. Kinship and family relationships as well as religious, educational, and political systems lose an important identifying base, the territorial underfooting. Consequently every technical device, ranging from the wheel-cart to the airplane, has marked an epoch in history insofar as it has provided a new and more effective means of locomotion. In this sense every community carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction, technical devices that introduce new social orders and usher out old ones.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER

Living creatures not only attract and repel others but they also compete with one another. Economic relations are in a great measure the products of competition, but competition eventually brings out some sort of collaboration or cooperation, which, in the case of human beings, takes the form of an exchange of goods and services. The economic order is the product of trade. The market and the area over which exchange takes place mark the centers and limits of economic society. Technology profoundly affects the economic relations of people. In improving the means of transportation, economic relations have progressively extended the limits of the world market and economic society. Technology has made possible mass production and distribution and is directly responsible for the existence of the capitalistic system and large metropolitan centers. Technological devices function to bring diverse peoples of the earth into a world-wide web of economic relations, thus laying the basis for a world-wide political society and eventually a moral and cultural order that will include all mankind. Modern urban life, as distinguished from local and tribal cultures, is the product of commerce and the incidental division of labor which commerce not only permits but ensures. We have only to compare the material and intellectual wealth of modern civilized peoples with the material and intellectual poverty of primitive peoples to gain some concrete notion of what modern technology has contributed to society.
TECHNOLOGY AND THE POLITICAL (ACCOMMODATIVE) ORDER

Today we are living in a world in which every person and creature is in some measure a part of every other. Under these circumstances our most abstract and impersonal relations with other human beings are likely to be as much territorial and non-consensual as social. That is to say, each individual lives in a state of interdependence and accommodation with his fellows in the same general habitat. From this develops a more articulate division of labor regulated by boroughs, cities, counties, states, and nations through custom and law. We are involved with a political type of relationship, where emerging groups are organized on a territorial rather than a familial (kinship) basis. Here the rights and duties of individuals are more or less defined and enforced both by formal laws and the sanctions of customs. Relations between diverse peoples are tolerative and therefore permit an organizational life.

On this level of the community we observe that the political organization of society tends to involve personal and moral rather than physical relationships. This organization is relatively less dependent upon technology than upon abstract and formal relationships. Political power rests with the loyalties which the state and its cause inspire in the personal attachment of the individual to the soil, its association, traditions, and the eventual personal loyalties which these associations have created and maintained. Technology functions to bring political bodies into contact and thus make conflict and adjustment possible.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE MORAL-SACRED ORDER

The moral-sacred system of relations is more intimate and less formal than the political. The culture is the cement which holds men together within the bonds of a social order. Under the rationalizing and secularizing influence of science and technology, however, man is succeeding, for better or for worse, in throwing off the yoke of habit and custom. Technology has made for communication of individuals and groups by setting up contrasts and the stage of conflict, rivalry, and assimilation. By making men mobile, technology enables human beings to assume the attitudes and points of view of others.
It is the process by which a rational, moral order is substituted for one that is merely physiological. For technology tends to individualize thought and bring out distinctions within the limits of a common understanding and universe of discourse, particularly when it fosters communication of a discusssional variety.

**TECHNOLOGY AND THE SECULAR-CULTURAL ORDER**

While the moral order tends to be more intimate, informal, and intuitive, so characteristic of homogeneous peasant communities, improved modes of communication, made possible by science and technology, lead to the breakdown of this order and ultimate reorganization of the community. On this level communication between people tends to assume a rational form rather than an emotional or traditional form. Technology permits man to become highly communicative and allows him to set up contrasts concerning his way of life with those of others and to receive stimulations for new ways of acting. This calls for adjustments to the impact of other men's cultures and systems of organization. Thus technology functions to allow man to remake his world to suit his own needs and interests. This last order is the masslike urban society, marked by a plurality or segmentalization of beliefs, values, interests, loyalties, and affiliations. It is a secular order with its emphasis upon individualism, division of labor, future anticipations rather than past experiences.

Human ecology, with its interest in technology and the non-consensual relations of men, so evident in city life, makes a strong contribution toward understanding the urban personality and social organization. It denotes the following four tendencies:

1. Assuming that societies undergo a form of social evolution from simple to complex (and accepting the fact that they retrogress too), we can say that the more complex the technology the more mobile and complex is the society.

2. As technology increases in complexity the economic institutions necessary for this technology likewise increase in variety, complexity, and power.

3. As technology increases in complexity and more control over the environment develops, the sacred systems of society tend to decrease in importance to the society and its members.
4. As technological, economic, and political hierarchies become more complex, the area covered by kinship and family relations decreases in importance.

Human ecology is not an autonomous science. It is a discipline among the social sciences which has its own special field of interests, its own special problems. Louis Wirth explains:

... Human Ecology is not a substitute for, but a supplement to, the other frames of reference and methods of social investigation. By introducing some of the spirit and much of the substance and methods appropriate to the natural sciences into the study of social phenomena, human ecology has called attention to the wide areas where social life can properly be studied as if the observer were not an integral part of the observed. This beneficent influence would be negated, however, if the human ecologists were to proceed as if they, together with the demographers and the statisticians, were the only true scientists among the sociologists, or as if they, unaided by others using different approaches, alone could comprehend and explain the complicated realities in the realm of the social.⁶

HUMAN ECOLOGY AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Social disorganization in the city is, in part, a product of invasion and succession, i.e., the sifting process of human beings and institutional processes. It is part of the price which a community must pay for change. The construction of elevated lines, the presence of industry, the routing of through traffic, the growth of a shopping district, and the proximity to railroads are some of the many mechanical intrusions which transform a city. An invasion by a foreign-born group may cause well-established residents to look for a "better neighborhood" and a more "genteel" street. In most American cities there are residential areas which have been successively occupied through the years by various types of people. Professor Gibbard reports that during the late nineteenth century some residential areas were filled by first-generation Irish or perhaps Germans. Later the Polish, Lithuanians, or Italians moved in and pushed most of the older occupants to new residential areas with a more approved status. In turn, these groups were followed by Greeks, Armenians, or Russians; and the

cycle was continued when low-income Negroes or Mexicans inherited the area. During the several decades usually required for such a shift, these residential areas consistently lost status.\(^7\)

Just what justification is there for an ecological approach in studying crime, warfare, poverty, residential invasion by minority groups, disease, politics, voting, and other social phenomena? The answer is simply that it helps in localizing the problem in time and space; it helps in localizing the circumstances that promote maladjustment and thus permits others to plan and make policies for more effective remedial action.

In sociology and related social sciences one observes numerous spurious correlations between problems and causes. Scientists seem unable to agree concerning the causative factors in social problems. The advantage that ecologists enjoy in studying social problems is that they concentrate upon the socially defined habitat (space) and in this way they are able to look at the problems more objectively. By knowing the objective conditions of existence through studying the population composition and movements, division of labor, and invasion and succession as reflected in space, the ecologist can often arrive at an explanation of the subjective factors of a problem. In observing different rates of disease, suicide, crime, and delinquency in different aggregations, the task is to study the setting in which the aggregates find themselves. If you can place pins or dots on areas of crime, the whole problem begins to take on new significance. Thus one would discover that there are almost no car thefts in certain areas of a city simply because there are very few cars; that there is a low birth rate in a given district because there are few women of childbearing age living in that vicinity. In Los Angeles County, California, the fact that tuberculosis deaths occur more frequently in the northern than in the southern sections of the county where the disease is generally contracted may be easily explained by the fact that the sanitariums for these patients are clustered in the north (Figure 2). Of course most social problems are not so easily diagnosed. Whether the ecologist is studying illness, prostitution, hospital patients, or narcotic traffic, his problem is to plot where the people originate and compare this data with where the occurrence takes place. In this way he discovers important clues to vital questions. His task is to demonstrate

Fig. 2. Tuberculosis deaths and cases in Los Angeles County by hospital areas, 1944–1945
how he can explain many social problems by marshalling data on the area’s atmosphere. By studying areas of crime, delinquency, suicide, family disorganization, unemployment, or low education he acquires an understanding of the problem. The area explains in great measure the types of institutions, the social atmosphere, and the type of community. By concentrating upon the non-consensual forces the ecologist acquires considerable insight into the subjective aspects of human problems.

![Population pyramid](image)

**Fig. 3. Population composition in a better residential district of Kansas City, Missouri, 1940**

A first step often used in ecological analysis is the construction of a population pyramid which reveals the relations of age, sex, and race groupings for the area in question. Population peculiarities are more pronounced in some parts of cities than others. Suburban people and those of the better residential districts resemble the general population in composition (Figure 3). On the other hand, the “zone of tran-

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8 A population pyramid is a graphic device for portraying the age and sex composition of the area of study. Racial and ethnic characteristics are often included as well. The male population is represented on the left side of a vertical axis, and the female population on the right. Age intervals—usually five or ten years—are marked off on the vertical axis. Bars to the left and right indicate the percentage of the total population constituted by the males and females within each age category. Thus a bar running left from the 5-9 age interval on the central axis for a distance of four percentage units indicates that 4 per cent of the population are boys within the ages five through nine. Sometimes the horizontal lines within the pyramid are omitted, leaving only the silhouette of the diagram against the base and vertical axis.
sition," a term assigned to the deteriorated residential area adjacent to central business districts, is peopled almost entirely by men and has few women or children (Figure 4). Areas of multiple dwellings and apartments usually have the greatest predominance of women and relatively few children.

![Graph showing population composition in the blighted homeless men's district of Kansas City, Missouri, 1940](image)

**Fig. 4.** Population composition in the blighted homeless men's district of Kansas City, Missouri, 1940

Recent attempts have been made to explain the economic stresses within cities as a consequence of voids or underrepresentations in the occupational distribution (Figures 5, 6, 7, 8). Paul Bates Gillen feels that an occupational index is an excellent indicator of the quality of a city:

The occupational index is a basic measure of overall worth of a city, and also indicates levels of specific governmental functions. The device has considerable versatility and a high degree of dependability. It includes many characteristics of people, not only their more obvious concerns such as income, health, education, housing, and the like, but also something of their attitudes, hopes, fears, ambitions, and frustrations. All that a city does by way of government or through the encouragement of the work of voluntary agencies is based on the people and, most importantly, upon how they earn their livelihoods. No consideration of any kind about a city can get very far away from the occupational distribution. . . .

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Figs. 5–8. Occupational profiles of four cities


By assigning weights to the various occupational categories Gillen was able to calculate statistically the quality of cities. Those cities with the highest scores were, in Gillen’s words, “the most worthwhile,” i.e., marked by an abundance of people who are “progressive and creative.” Figure 9 shows the occupational profiles of the high-score cities and the low-score cities in each of four size groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group I</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100,000 and over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group II</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>50,000 to 99,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group III</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>25,000 to 49,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group IV</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>10,000 to 24,999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 9. Occupational distribution profiles for cities ranking at the highest and lowest ten scale points on occupational scores by city size groups


Gillen’s basic assumption is that “good people with money make a city good.”

These preliminary demographic exercises give the ecologist early clues as to death and illiteracy, density, marriage ratios, housing and occupational needs, and so forth. These data are just as important as those which receive such wide current attention: unhealthy climate, lack of food and clothing, low or high intelligence scores, factors which often turn out to be proximate causes or symptoms of social disorganization.

Following these demographic studies the ecologist usually proceeds to dynamic aspects of population aggregates by studying ecological processes as made possible through mobility and technology. In this way he may realize the objective of his field: the establishment of scientific generalizations concerning the cycles and processes of human aggregates.
SOME ECOLOGICAL FINDINGS

Faris and Dunham\textsuperscript{10} made an ecological analysis of mental disorders in Chicago in the late 1930's in which they discovered that the incidence of the chief psychoses are related to spatial organization of the city dwellers. Their findings were:

1. Cases of mental disorders, as plotted by residences of patients previous to admission to public and private hospitals, show a regular decrease from the center to the periphery of the city, a pattern of distribution previously shown for such other kinds of social and economic phenomena as poverty, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, adult crime, suicide, family desertion, infant mortality, communicable disease, and general mortality.

2. Each of the chief types of mental disorder has a characteristic distribution with reference to the differentiated areas found within the large modern city. Each of the following psychoses has its highest rate of incidence in the indicated type of local community: (a) paranoid schizophrenia in the rooming-house districts of the city; (b) catatonic schizophrenia in the neighborhoods of first immigrant settlement which have a high proportion of their population foreign-born or Negro who are the most recent newcomers to the city; (c) alcoholic psychoses in rooming-house and certain immigrant areas; (d) dementia paralytica in lodging and rooming-house districts and Negro communities; (e) senile psychoses and arteriosclerosis in districts with the lowest percentage of home-owners.

3. There is a high degree of association between different types of psychoses as distributed in different urban areas and certain community conditions as follows: Paranoid schizophrenia with percentage of hotel residents and lodgers; catatonic schizophrenia with percentage of foreign-born and Negroes; manic-depressive psychoses with median monthly rentals; alcoholic psychoses with per cent of population on relief; dementia paralytica with distribution of vice resorts and with venereal-disease rates; senile psychoses with percentage of home ownership; senile psychoses combined with arteriosclerosis with percentage of population on relief and with per cent of population of native-white parentage.\textsuperscript{11}

In making this analysis Faris and Dunham succeeded in localizing the problem in space and thereby made a significant contribution to


\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}, Introduction by Ernest W. Burgess (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, copyright 1939 by the University of Chicago), pp. ix–x. By permission.
knowledge concerning selected types of mental disorders. Their sociological findings have been criticized on the ground that the ecological facts do not support the subsequent sociological conclusions. However, the ecological analysis does appear sound. It represents a first study to show a striking relationship between community life and mental life.

In 1933 Walter C. Reckless made a study of commercialized vice in Chicago in which he pointed out the spatial position of the areas of sexual demoralization. By plotting the location of vice resorts on a map he was able to define the natural area of commercialized vice. He pointed out that the very nature of the enterprise made natural segregation inevitable. The area draws to it the patrons in search of satisfactions which the Puritan tradition in American culture labels as immoral. Reckless' study indicates that the presence of vice in the downtown areas of American cities is brought about in large measure by the unimpeded functioning of ecological forces. He correlated the vice areas with the natural zones of the city as defined by Burgess (see Chapter XIII). He described the downtown area as the vicinity of the hotel and cabaret where the anonymity and restless mobility of the inhabitants encourage the courtesan. In the next outer zone, the area of transition, the brothel, the lowest type of sexual exploitation, is located. In the third area, that of the workingmen's homes, an unorganized type of prostitution of a clandestine variety was found. In the fourth zone of the apparently respectable apartment houses was situated the "call flat," attracting patrons of a higher socio-economic class than the ones who frequent the second-zone brothel. In the fifth zone, which is remote from the central business district where community control is weak, the roadhouse which caters to sex flourishes. Consequently, the areas of commercialized vice adapt themselves to the natural areas of the city. Such ecological techniques make it possible to ascertain roughly the types of disorganization to be found in certain sections of the community. A person's position in space provides quite definite clues into his social definitions, expectations, attitudes, and values.

Clifford R. Shaw made a study of the distribution and culture pattern of disorganized adolescents in Chicago and concluded that the delinquent's behavior is largely the function of his cultural and eco-

logical environment. By spotting the residences of youthful offenders in the juvenile court on a large base map, he discovered that they were grouped in certain characteristic areas, and that there were striking variations in rates of delinquency between areas, some having very high and others very low rates per capita (Table 1).

**TABLE 1** Rates of Delinquency in Chicago, per 100 Population of Same Age and Sex, in One-Mile Concentric Zones Encircling Central Business District *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZONE</th>
<th>5,159 MALE TRUANTS 1917-27</th>
<th>8,141 MALE DELINQUENTS 1917-23</th>
<th>6,398 ADULT MALE OFFENDERS 1924-26 a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Rate for Loop district, 5.2.


**TABLE 2** Juvenile Delinquency Rates by Zones from Center of City Outward in Seven Cities *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>NO. CASES †</th>
<th>WIDTH OF ZONES MILES</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>8,141</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>5,856</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>4,978</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1,238</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>1,291</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Cases were taken for the following years: Chicago, 1917-23; Philadelphia, 1927; Richmond, 1927-30; Cleveland, 1919-21; Birmingham, 1927-30; Denver, 1924-29; Seattle, 1926-29. The rates represent percentage of boys 10 to 15 years of age with juvenile court records.
Under the auspices of the National Commission on Law Observ-
ance and Enforcement, Shaw and McKay made a similar study of the 
distribution of delinquency in six other cities. Although the commu-
nities showed marked differences in size, age, composition of population, 
and rate of growth, the pattern of delinquency in each of the cities was 
similar to that of Chicago, the highest rates being in the central zone 
with a decline in the rate as distance from the center increased 
(Table 2).

Ernest R. Mowrer in 1929 studied the distribution of different 
types of disorganized families in Chicago. The individual, he said, is 
more a product of his community than of his family. By adopting the 
concentric zone hypothesis of Burgess, he derived the following gen-
eralizations:

1. The non-family area is situated in the business district. There is 
almost no family life here whatsoever.

2. The area of the emancipated family is located in the rooming-house 
district and residential-hotel area. This family is one where the interests 
of both spouses center outside the home, where family disorganization is 
manifested by a high divorce rate.

3. The paternal family area is made up of foreign workers, immigrant 
colonies, and tenement dwellers. Due to their ignorance of the divorce 
laws and cultural-religious convictions there is a high rate of desertion. 
Divorce is almost non-existent.

4. The equalitarian family is made up of middle and professional socio-
economic groups. There are children here, but the families tend to be 
small. The fact that the suit for divorce is sometimes brought by the 
wife and sometimes by the husband reflects the maximum of equality 
between the spouses. The wife exhibits considerable interest in affairs 
outside the home.

5. Finally, in the maternal family area, the area of commutation, the 
wife becomes head of the family insofar as neighborhood relations are 
concerned. The husband is employed in the central business district and 
is therefore absent from home most of the time. There are many children 
per family here. Desertion is practically unknown but many of these 
areas show a relatively high divorce rate.\(^{13}\)

Calvin Schmid prepared spot maps of Minneapolis\(^{14}\) and Seattle\(^{15}\)

\(^{13}\) Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago: University of Chicago 
Press, 1929).

\(^{14}\) Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis 

\(^{15}\) Calvin F. Schmid, *Suicides in Seattle, 1914 to 1925: An Ecological and Be-
avioristic Study* (Seattle: University of Washington Publications in the Social 
to show that a high proportion of suicides in the center of the city are committed by individuals who have no permanent residence there, whereas the preponderance of suicides in noncentral residential areas are committed at the "permanent" place of residence. His maps suggest that a considerable number of potential suicides seek temporary residence in the hotels, lodging houses, and rooming houses of central areas. Because males predominate in the transient areas and, further, because males are more prone to suicide than females, the suicide rate in the central area tends to remain high.

In a study of the spatial distribution of divorced women in Philadelphia,^{10} Bossard and Dillon described how certain areas of the city take on symbolic significance and draw to them women who can most profitably gain by living in such locations. These investigators discovered that in seeking a location, divorced women find living space in areas of dense population characterized by activity, mobility, and anonymity, and areas where housing conditions make a certain independence of residence possible. Accordingly, Philadelphia divorcees avoided areas of sparse population, spatial isolation, and religious prejudice. Further studies of American cities are imperative before we can accept the Philadelphia findings as generally trustworthy. Bossard and Dillon state:

The divorced woman presents, then, essentially a study in social isolation. She seeks the distraction of city life, but selects areas where she may be socially isolated. She seeks escape in the crowd, not in the wilderness. She wants human contacts, but avoids prying eyes. She places a premium upon privacy, and finds it in a crowded apartment house. She seeks friends, not in the continued associations of a primary group, but in come-and-go relations with a mobile neighborhood. It is this characterizing search—for stimulation, coupled with secrecy, for contact, with relatively less communication—which seems to offer the basic key to the spatial distribution of divorced women in Philadelphia.^{17}

Unfortunately, most urban ecologists have accepted as final fact the hypothesis, implied in the early Chicago studies and the concentric zone theory (Chapter XIII), that most antisocial behavior originates near the center of our cities (and primarily accomplished by slum dwellers) and declines as one moves away from the center. If we


^{17} Ibid., p. 507.
knew how much “white-collar crime” belongs to the areas of high status, we might have to revise completely our theories of the ecological distribution of crimes in American cities. This is a part of the research that remains to be done.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, human ecology is a supporting research technique and point of view to aid the other social sciences. We have attempted to show that the academic quarrels among sociologists and human ecologists as to whether society (social forces) or community (symbiotic forces) should be uppermost in ecological analyses are spurious arguments. In reality every social group exists in a territorial, physical, and social-psychological bond. Community and society represent the abstract end-poles of a continuum with all social phenomena ranging between them. Human interaction in the city ranges from the division of labor to collective action, from group life conceived in its physical, aggregative aspects to psychical processes involved in the interaction of personalities. Therefore the job of human ecology is to depict and analyze objectively the spatial, temporal, physical, and technological bases of social life which arise out of the struggles and collaborative adjustments between human aggregations for economic and social advantage.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Studies the distribution of suicides within the subareas of Chicago and relates them to other local phenomena, especially to certain natural areas.

An outstanding inductive study of the spatial distributions of mental disorders in cities, with special reference to Chicago.

A good first textbook on the subject. Contains discussions of the basic concepts and findings in the field.

Plate 2. Traffic being stopped at river crossing, Chicago, Illinois
An article for the more advanced student designed to test a hypothesis of the relation between movement and distance, the latter as affected by "intervening opportunities."


A splendid statement of the newer interpretation of human ecology, which makes the community the core concept but which emphasizes the spatial, temporal, physical, and technological basis of areal social life.
The City and Its Geographic Base

The social structure of cities is built upon a geographic base. "Cities do not grow up of themselves. Countrysides set them up to do tasks that must be performed in central places."¹ Of all the stories of human adventure on earth none appears more dramatic and powerful than man’s struggle with land and climate, with mountains, rivers, and resources, together with the resulting social arrangements which he has made for himself in his attempts to ameliorate his environment and establish human communities. Inherent in this story of man and his physical environment is the everlasting problem of man’s adjustment to his habitat and resources and the consequent conditioning of his cultures.

ENVIRONMENTALISM

That we may understand the nature of urban life it is necessary to consider first, therefore, its physical characteristics. Climate, soil, and surface are materials out of which or by means of which the organization of cities has been made. Recognizing that what men do in a city is determined in the end primarily by man, the physical equipment of the area sets limits within which there is wider or narrower choice of activity, as the case may be. To some readers this observation may


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appear as quite obvious and hardly deserving of mention. However, the "environmentalists" of the recent and distant past have argued tenaciously in defense of the thesis that the natural environment controls or determines human life. Dr. Ellsworth Huntington probably did more work than any other modern student on the stimulating effects of the physical environment. While fully appreciating the importance of nonphysical factors, he assigned himself the task of measuring the influence of the physical environment, attempting to test, especially, the relationship between climate and the energy and activity of people. By plotting curves showing the output of piece-rate workers in selected factories of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, and after eliminating the effects of nonclimatic factors as much as possible, he then drew the curves which appear in Figure 1.

![Graph showing temperature and output over the months](image)

*Fig. 1. The effect of the seasons on factory operatives in Connecticut (solid line) and at Pittsburgh (broken line)*

(From Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, copyright 1924 by Yale University Press. By permission.)

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It appeared that the output was highest in the autumn, from the middle of October to the middle of December; not quite so high from April through June; low in summer and very low in winter. He made similar computations for workers in other states, always finding the shapes of the curves very similar. He adopted, therefore, the tentative conclusion that the weather of the spring months in New England is most suitable for work, that the weather of summer is less favorable, and that the weather of late winter the least favorable of all. To check his conclusions from another direction he plotted the death-rate curves for most of the eastern cities in the United States and found that they were the reverse of his curves of production. It seemed probable that more people die when their physical energy is at low ebb in late winter and midsummer. Thus we are given to believe that a stimulating climate influences man's wants and also his physical and mental activity in attaining these wants; it is a large factor in influencing the rapidity of human progress. In these areas, we are left to deduce, one may find the most prosperous cities.

Huntington's theory has been severely criticized by many investigators. Historians, geographers, and sociologists have pointed out certain inconsistencies between the theory and the facts in their fields. It seems probable that the climatic optimum for an industrial white civilization may not be the optimum for an agricultural civilization of some other race.

Other writers, including Montesquieu, Buckle, and Semple, have studied the influence of the physical environment upon man and his civilization. Many of the theories advanced by Miss Semple and others, such as the influence of the desert on the development of man's belief in monotheism, can probably never be proved or disproved. It should be remembered that one or more examples of environmental influence do not prove that a given factor always influences man in that way. Furthermore, several examples of the environment's failure to influence man do not prove that such an environment never influences man. Sufficient data have been gathered, however, to prove that environmental influences cannot be overlooked in trying to explain why a given people congregate and use their land resources as they do.

Modern geographers and human ecologists recognize the function, importance, and limitation of the physical environment in conditioning and molding human culture and society, rural, peasant, folk, or urban. Although not as powerful or invariable in its effects as some enthusiasts have insisted, it is nevertheless fundamental in its importance. It sometimes molds but more often conditions culture in various ways and varying degrees. However, there are always many aspects of culture which lie beyond its reach. With few exceptions, it offers to every people a series of opportunities which they may or may not use and sets up certain limitations beyond which their culture practically could not advance. It thus exerts a limiting rather than a mandatory influence. The restrictions that it tends to impose, however, grow weaker with every increase in cultural development. In the city, where man assumes his most effective control over nature, where he has learned to utilize natural laws for his own ends, his dependence on the immediate geographic conditions is modified. Succinctly stated, as the social heritage grows, the immediate geographic factors assume a less important role in the interpretation of life in modern cities.

Today, man alters the course of rivers and dredges out harbors that communities may be built and flourish. He levels mountains, turns valleys into lakes, and through irrigation makes deserts fertile. These are deliberate attempts on the part of man to push back the limits of geographic conditions. Changes in geographic environment are also unwittingly brought about by cultural factors. Likewise cultural forces increase the importance of certain geographic factors. For example, while the dust storms of the Middle West have at times turned sections of grazing land into deserts because of man's careless exploitation of the soil; while large cities like Chicago, New York City, and Los Angeles have suffered from severe water shortages because of growing populations and lack of planning, man has, on the other hand, made coal beds, oil fields, and hydro-electric energy assume an importance they never before possessed.

The shift of man's efforts toward the development of science and technology has thus transferred practically the whole process of social change to the cultural sphere. He nevertheless is still ultimately dependent upon his geographic environment. His advancement in knowledge has permitted him, however, to alter the natural aspects
of his environment and to create increasingly a cultural landscape of his own. Great cities are illustrations *par excellence*. Dr. Robert Platt, a geographer, writes:

The natural environment is not to be understood as a causal factor but rather as an all-pervading and all-enveloping condition of human life. The history of the world with all its complexity and the culture of the world with all its constituent varieties belong only in the environment of this world and its regions—even as living things, including man, are biologically conditioned in all their parts by their natural environment. To study the influence of natural environment on human life is like studying the influence of houses on housing or of farms on farming or of a tortoise shell on a tortoise.

It is not only environmentalism that should be discarded as a misleading approach to understanding but also the conventional concept of natural environment as a separate phenomenon clearly distinguished from cultural environment and from human beings themselves. Our natural environment can be understood by us only in terms of our life, history, and culture; and, conversely, our life, history, and culture can be understood fully only in our natural environment. Separate studies of natural environment may have analytical value, but only as abstractions made in full view of the indivisible totality.⁴

If, then, geographic factors facilitate social change and the clustering of human beings and processes, we cannot ignore them in studying the location and growth of cities. Geographers point out that the population is limited, in any given habitat, by the means of subsistence. When geographic changes occur that limit or deprive the population of necessary resources, and providing it is too costly to purchase and ship the raw or finished goods from distant regions, migration takes place. Old cities lose their populations and new cities appear in more abundant regions. This is interpreted as an attempt to adjust to the changing environment.

**MIGRATION**

Since primitive peoples were without an advanced system for the transportation of goods, their movements were guided largely by geographic conditions. They wandered in small bands without attach-

ment to the soil. These people found their movement hindered more by mountains, swamps, and deserts than is the case with modern man. River valleys and treeless plains facilitated movement. Thus we make the generalization: the geographic environment helps to determine the direction which migrations take, allowing for prediction of the size and composition of communities of the future. Migrations may give rise to ethnic mixtures and promote a composite type of civilization.

Huntington\(^5\) interpreted historic migrations in terms of climatic cycles. For example, alternating periods of dampness and desiccation in the great Lop Basin of Asia, east of the Caspian, are assumed to have been a major cause of European history. In one phase of a long cycle the rainfall was abundant enough to make wide areas fertile and to allow great populations to flourish in them. Then came increasing dryness until the rich regions were turned into desert and the people were forced to seek other lands. Thus at intervals waves of humanity were thrown into Europe and started the great movements which affected the course of history, its thought, economy, social organization, and number and size of cities.

Other illustrations of this kind can be adduced; but in general, it is difficult to explain the movements of peoples in terms of the geographic factors alone. There may be cultural factors, such as the development of new means of transportation, the desire for military conquest, or some official form of persecution leading to migration and the rise and fall of cities. When migration does take place, from whatever cause, the route taken by the migrants will be chosen with a view to avoiding geographical barriers, providing they cannot employ the use of air transportation to leap over these physical obstacles.

**SITE AND SITUATION**

The urban sociologist is not interested in the extreme uses to which the early environmentalists and some recent geographers have attempted to put their data. We are concerned with geography insofar as it limits and conditions the social life of urban communities. Those features of the natural environment to which people must adjust themselves as they seek to build great population centers are: (1) the nature of the climate in which they live; (2) the character of the

land surface, whether plains, mountains, valleys, or ocean fronts; (3) the character of the soil—especially in the formative stages of the community; (4) the presence or absence of fuel and other sources of power, forests, minerals, fish, and other material resources; and (5) geographical position with respect to other places and peoples. These geographic factors which lead to choice of a piece of land for community-building purposes may be further conveniently classified as to *site* and *situation*.

**SITE**

By the term "site" is meant the characteristics of the local environment, i.e., the immediate area on which a city is built. Probably the greatest importance of site lies in its influence on the city plan. Irregularities in topography result in either crooked streets or hills which handicap traffic. Unfortunately, poor planning of a city's streets on a hilly terrain will often result in street patterns which are laid down as though the country were flat, involving laborious travel either by foot, car, or trolley. San Francisco was platted in this way. A river flowing through the city congests traffic at bridge crossings (Plate 2) and industrial and commercial establishments will concentrate on its edges should the stream be navigable. If it is a shallow stream it may be the center of a long, narrow park. Level stretches in cities are often given over to the railroads, through-highways, factories, and office buildings, while the more rugged terrain provides favored sites for the better residential sections. Thus the amount of level land in and around the city often determines whether the city plan will be cramped or replete with parks and wide streets.

**SITUATION**

While site embraces the characteristics of the local environment, situation refers to the position of a community on the earth surface and is important because it often determines the relation of a site to the resources and human development of the rest of the region or world. While the site is a geographical fact determined by function and time, situation refers to the site in relation to larger total conditions or circumstances. To illustrate the latter concept, the temperate zones of the earth are, on the average, far more highly popu-
lated with cities than other zones (Table 1).⁶ Although to the inhabitants there seems something almost incongruous in the idea of a giant city in the tropics (one thinks of steaming Manila or stifling Calcutta as somehow unnatural simply because they are unbearable), but there is no inherent reason why tropical regions cannot attract urban populations. Their backwardness in this respect is a function of their backwardness in other respects. The Industrial Revolution arose in the temperate zone and has been spread by people whose cultures were adapted to a cool climate. These people have found it easier to exploit tropical regions, to draw away their riches to cooler lands, than to settle those regions and set up their industrial and urban civilization there.⁷

**TABLE 1  Climatic Distribution of World’s 100,000-Plus Cities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Large Cities</th>
<th>Population in Large Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER (MILLIONS)</td>
<td>PER CENT</td>
<td>NUMBER PER CENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>2,403</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperate *</td>
<td>1,577</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical *</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Tropical refers to all those countries and their large cities that lie wholly or largely between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. All other countries have been classed as Temperate.

The function of cities frequently changes in the course of time in response to changing demands made by the surrounding territory for which it serves as a center. Cities, like social institutions, tend through time to exist for reasons other than those which brought them into existence. A city site may be selected in the interest of protection from invaders, for military strategy, and only incidentally for commercial purposes. Paris and Copenhagen, for example, were begun on islands. Siena, Pistoia, and Viterbo, old cities of Italy, were located on hilltops and protected the surrounding territory, which in turn supplied food

⁶ From Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz, *The Pattern of World Urbanization*, Chapter III (unpublished manuscript). Reproduced by permission of the authors and The Macmillan Company.

and raw materials for the urbanites. Yet, as the military function diminished and commercial activity increased, such cities either made new adjustments or suffered decline.

When two sites have almost equally advantageous situations, the better site can be more advantageously developed. In those instances where a poor site must be used because of its excellent position there is a tendency to divert to some better site many of the normal functions of the city. This dual-city system is especially important in very hot regions. Massaua, Eritrea, on the Red Sea, for example, has a small population although it is the key port for Eritrea and much of Ethiopia. But owing to the high, humid temperature during most of the year, most of the people concerned with Massaua’s trade live in the capital city of Asmara, about one hundred miles inland and high on the Abyssinian plateau. The altitude of 7,000 feet makes far more comfortable living. Transactions between Massaua and Asmara are conducted by telephone, mail, cable car, and airplane travel.

Although Santos, Brazil, is one of the world’s great coffee ports, its workers who can afford to do so live in São Paulo, on the plateau in a pleasant climate, and commute to Santos daily. The site, therefore, dictates in considerable measure the mode of life to be carried on. The location of resort cities is usually determined by some attractive site. Mining cities will thrive adjacent to mineral deposits. In the Union of South Africa, the city of Durban is not only an important seaport but considered the resort city of South Africa because of its beautiful frontage on the Indian Ocean. Inland, Johannesburg with its great mineral deposits is known as the city of activity and work, certainly not a city noteworthy for leisure-time activity. Traffic between the two metropolises is heavy because of the interdependence. The respective situations of Durban and Johannesburg to each other have made the corresponding sites prosperous.

Situation or position is therefore usually much more important than site in determining the growth potential of cities. Because of poor situations many fine urban sites are either ignored or occupied only by villages. Yet many cities with excellent situations have grown up in spite of considerable disadvantages of site. New Orleans, for example, has had to solve serious problems of sewage disposal because much of its land is located below the level of the Mississippi River. Pittsburgh is handicapped from the standpoint of expansion owing to the small area of level land available.
One authority lists seven favorable positions or situations for city growth:

1. The head of ocean navigation on streams (Montreal, Bremen, Seville [Sevilla], Bordeaux, London, etc.)
2. The mouths of streams, if there is also important coastwise trade (New York, Shanghai)
3. The junctions of streams important in inland water commerce or whose valleys are the avenues of land travel (Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Albany, Manaus)
4. The ends of great lakes important in inland water commerce (Chicago, Duluth, Buffalo)
5. The crossings of important land routes, especially railroads (Madrid, Milan [Milano], Indianapolis)
6. Locations near power sites if they are easily accessible to raw materials and markets (Niagara Falls, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Birmingham [England])
7. Locations near bulky raw materials if power and markets are fairly accessible. (Birmingham [England], Birmingham [Alabama], Magnitogorsk) 8

Of course this list is not nearly exhaustive and almost none of the cities mentioned owes its rise solely to the kind of situation under which it is listed. Chicago, for instance, might be placed under items 4 and 5. Locations which comprise crossroads of highway traffic were visibly overlooked in the above list (Kansas City, Salt Lake City).

The advantages and disadvantages of the site are generally obvious, but the situation is usually of key importance. Excellent sites with poor situations often remain unutilized, as stated, but poor or mediocre sites are frequently developed because of excellent situations. Greater Kansas City prospers because of its situation rather than its site, being positioned in the midst of a tremendous cattle and grain market, actual and potential. Following from this comes accessibility to raw materials such as coal and iron. Also of importance is the city's crossroads position with regard to water, railroad, highway, and aircraft transportation. Kansas City is therefore in a strategic ecological position for commercial and industrial head offices inasmuch as administrators can conveniently transact business with cities in any direction in the United States because of its central position. Further-

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more, it is advantageously located with respect to the labor supply, attracting industrial personnel from the manufacturing region of the northeast and agricultural entrepreneurs from the more immediate farming region. Hence the Kansas City situation reveals much about the potential productivity and permanency of settlement, while the site is more important in laying out the city. The site includes fairly level and uniform topography which permits considerable freedom in planning. The surrounding area is also nearly flat, so there is ample room for expansion. The meeting of land, water, and airway routes provides a natural position of transshipment. The Missouri and Kansas rivers furnish an unlimited potential water supply so that the city's problem is to purify the water, not find it. The underlying geological structure provides a firm foundation for skyscrapers (although skyscrapers are not as necessary here as elsewhere since there is adequate space for expansion). The climate, with its comparatively extreme winter and summer temperatures, is to some degree a negative factor from the standpoint of site, although one might argue that trends in air-conditioning may make the climatic agent less important in future development.

These geographic conditions are quite adequate to account for the Kansas City aggregate, but it must not be forgotten that many non-geographic agents also enter into a complete explanation. Stringent tax rates, racial problems, and other manifestations of policy-making affect city size and prosperity. In a complete study of a current business situation these non-geographic items should be examined with the greatest care.

The Central Place Theory. A theoretical framework for study of the distribution (situation) of human settlements is provided by the work of geographer Walter Christaller.\(^9\) The theory in essence is that a certain amount of productive land supports an urban center. The center exists because essential services must be performed for the surrounding land. Thus the primary factor explaining Chicago is the productivity of the Middle West; its location at the southern tip of Lake Michigan is secondary. A city to thrive should be in the center of a productive area. If there were no Lake Michigan the urban population of the Middle West would in all probability be just as large.

\(^9\) Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland (Jena, 1935); also a paper (no title) in Comptes rendus du Congres internationale de geographie Amsterdam (1938), II, 123-37.
as it is now.\textsuperscript{10} The theory assumes that normally the larger the city, the larger its tributary area. Services performed purely for a surrounding area are termed "central" functions by Christaller, and the settlements performing them "central" places. Accordingly, an industry using raw materials imported from outside the local region and shipping its products out of the local area would not constitute a central service. Ideally, then, each central place has a circular tributary area with the city in the center. However, if three or more tangent tributary areas are inscribed in an area, unserved spaces will exist; the best theoretical shapes are hexagons, the closest geometrical figures to circles which will completely fill an area (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{11}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{hexagons.png}
\caption{Theoretical shapes of tributary areas. Circles leave unserved spaces, hexagons do not. Small hexagons are service areas for smaller places, large hexagons (\textit{broken lines}) represent service areas for next higher-rank central places.}
\end{figure}

By computing the average population of communities in a region, by measuring the distance between them and the size and population of their tributary areas in accordance with his hexagonal theory, Christaller recognized typical-size settlements. His findings were based upon research in South Germany (Table 1)\textsuperscript{12} and he concluded that the number of central places follows a norm (in distance) from largest to smallest in the following order: 1:2:6:18:54, and so forth.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 856.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 857.
### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Place</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Tributary Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISTANCE APART (KM.)</td>
<td>POPULATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market hamlet <em>(Martort)</em></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township center <em>(Amtsort)</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County seat <em>(Kreisstadt)</em></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District city <em>(Bezirksstadt)</em></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small state capital <em>(Gaustadt)</em></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial head city <em>(Provinzhauptstadt)</em></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional capital city <em>(Landeshauptstadt)</em></td>
<td>186</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christaller’s research, standing alone and as developed by American geographers and sociologists, demonstrates that population alone is not a true measure of the central importance of a city. A large mining, industrial, or other specialized function town might have a small tributary area and exercise few central functions.

The weakness in the hexagonal theory is that telephones were used as an index of a community’s central significance. Christaller claimed that telephones, since they are used for business, are a reliable index of centrality. Such a thesis would not be valid for most of the United States where telephones are common in homes (rural and urban), as well as in commercial and professional institutions. The theory, while attempting to provide an interpretation of settlement distribu-

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18 C. J. Galpin, *Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 34, 1915), the restudy of J. H. Kolb and R. A. Polson, *Trends in Town-Country Relations* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 117, 1933); B. L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies of New York State*, 1925 (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 493, 1929), and *Rural Population of New York, 1855–1925* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Memoir 116, 1928); Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (New York, 1932), esp. pp. 488–514, which contain references to many studies by Sanderson and his associates; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota*, 1905–29 (University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 269, 1930); T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1905 to 1931* (Louisiana State University Bull. 234, 1933); Paul H. Landis, *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations, 1901–1931* (South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 274, 1932), *The Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901–1933* (Bull. 279, 1938), and *Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900–1935* (State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 360, 1938). Galpin's epochal study of trade areas in Walworth County, Wisconsin, published in 1915, was the first important American contribution.
tion over the land as the concentric-zone theory (Chapter XIII) does for land use within cities, applies better to agricultural areas than to industrial districts, since the range of socio-economic control of cities today often reaches beyond regional and national boundaries.

**The Break-in-Transportation Theory.**¹⁴ Modern cities, complex as they appear, are in their true nature merely grown-up crossroads. The great retail, financial, and cultural institutions of the city are but counterparts of the store, the bank, the school, and the church, which are located at the crossroads because they are available to the greatest number of people.

Charles H. Cooley perhaps expressed more effectively than has anyone else the fact that great cities have tended to appear at the confluence of many different lines of transportation, lines created both by man and by nature, that population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation, adjusted, of course, to current military, trade, and religious considerations. By “break” Cooley meant an interruption of the movement at least sufficient to cause a transfer of goods. If this physical interruption of the movement is all that takes place, we observe what may be called a “mechanical break”; but if the physical interruption causes a change in the ownership of the transported goods, we have a “commercial break.” In either case, individuals are brought together for the purpose of participating in the activities necessary for the completion of the transfer. More people are required if the break is “commercial” (particularly if accompanied by a physical transfer of commodities) than if it is “mechanical.” A commercial city is the result. At such a point or break there necessarily arise, beside the machinery of transfer and storage, the highly organized personnel and the appearance of economic change. Furthermore, the wealth accumulated there draws together a relatively large and varied subsidiary population which provides the recreational, educational, medical, and other services for those carrying on the basic economic function. These subsidiary services are in ecological parlance called the “multipliers.” Cooley explains that the causes of these breaks are threefold: (1) the interruption may be due to political forces, e.g., a national boundary line; in early days, this was an important cause, but now because of such devices as shipping goods under bond, the importance is

diminishing, and these breaks are becoming points of temporary hindrance in the passage of goods and passengers en route to new areas; (2) the break may be due simply to the change from the "vehicles of a small and scattered movement to those of a large and unified movement," as for example the change from horse, wagon, or automobile movement to train or ship transportation; (3) the most important of these three causes are necessary physical interruptions: the junction of water transportation with land or air transportation. "This physical break exists wherever the technical apparatus of vehicles and forces has to be changed."

We recognize from the analysis thus far that geographic barriers, coupled with man-made means of transportation, have been and still are prime factors in the location of commercial cities and play important roles in the location and growth of more complex manufacturing cities. Some kinds of breaks allow for greater human concentrations than others. A simple ford will draw a greater aggregation than a break calling for the use, say, of a ferryboat with its delays. A rural community or small population may appear at a break in transportation where a wagon road crosses a railroad or where two or more wagon roads converge; the amount of commodities exchanged at these points may be small, however. Yet a seaport with excellent harbor facilities and connected with diverse and rapid routes of ingress and egress will attract a much more metropolitan aggregation. Chicago, in a strategic geographic situation, where converge great railroads, trucking lines, passenger car routes, as well as water systems via lake and river, has drawn to its vicinity those people engaged in the primary transfer of goods and ultimately manufacturing and service institutions which serve these primary functions. In this sense it is difficult to agree with Christaller's inference that Chicago would be a thriving metropolis with or without the converging lines of water, air, road, and rail transportation, most of which extend to the most remote regions of the United States.

Most of the large cities of the world are seaports, or are located on rivers which give them ready access to the sea (Figure 3, Table 2).

As modes of transportation have changed, so have the locations of cities been affected; as when railways in the United States made possible the development of such inland metropolises as Kansas City and Denver. There is always, however, a tendency for new modes of travel to follow old paths, so that most important transportation
Fig. 3. Twelve drawings of large cities situated on key rivers of the world.

Rivers: 1. (a) Yangtze, (b) Kialing. 2. Tigris. 3. Schelde. 4. Vistula. 5. (a) Ottawa, (b) Rideau. 6. (a) Havel, (b) Spree. 7. (a) Danube, (b) Sava. 8. (a) Rhone, (b) Saone. 9. Manzanares. 10. Volga. 11. Jumna. 12. (a) Rio de la Plata (River Plate), (b) Matanza.
centers remain such even when the means of travel change. While waterways were very important modes of travel, with cities thriving on their edges, today rapid air and land transport systems have reduced the importance of water travel. Cities have had to adjust to new patterns of communication.

**TABLE 2 Growth of Population in Deep-Water and in River Cities, 1900–1950, and Population Indexes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIES</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>POPULATION INDEX *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deep Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>102,479</td>
<td>1,970,358</td>
<td>1,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>44,633</td>
<td>596,163</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>285,704</td>
<td>1,849,568</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>80,671</td>
<td>462,400</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>381,768</td>
<td>914,808</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3,437,202</td>
<td>7,891,957</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>131,822</td>
<td>301,358</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>285,315</td>
<td>637,392</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City</td>
<td>163,752</td>
<td>456,300</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>204,731</td>
<td>367,359</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>451,512</td>
<td>676,806</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>575,238</td>
<td>856,796</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>325,902</td>
<td>503,998</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The index is computed by dividing the population of the given year (1950) by the population of the base year (1900). The index is 100 more than the percentage of increase. Adapted from John A. Kinneman, *The Community in American Society* (New York: copyright 1947 by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), p. 124. By permission.

The humble beginnings of the greatest American cities are evidence of their crossroads positions. New York was founded by the Dutch as a trading post to tap the fur trade to which it was central. It marked a crossroads of water routes, by Long Island Sound and by the Hudson, the Passaic, and the Raritan rivers, all of which centered on New York Bay. Pittsburgh, Albany, St. Louis, Chicago, and many other cities occupy sites which were central to their regions in the days of fur traders; for the same reasons they are important in these times of railroads, steamships, and aircraft, comprising crossroads determined by natural conditions (Plate 3).
London grew from a fort and a collection of miserable huts which sprang into being because there the most important trails of southeastern England concentrated on the last place downstream where the Thames was shallow enough to be forded. London actually began as a Stratford (street-ford). There are eighteen of these “street-fords” in England which still bear the name of Stratford. Since the places where rivers were fordable were few enough, roads often concentrated on these “street-fords,” and markets and fairs were held there and churches were built. When Britain was invaded by the Romans, they found the fords at London protected by stakes driven in the river and the “don” in the name “London” is supposed to be a corruption of the word “dun” meaning fort (Figure 4).\(^{15}\)

Of course not all the Stratfords grew to be important; their ultimate growth depended in great measure upon the important roads crossed at London, because of which (plus the fact that the city was advantageously located for trade with Europe, and later with the whole world via boat) it became the most important community in the

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empire. Furthermore, London is not only central to its countryside of England and the Continent, but it sits almost at the exact center of the land hemisphere of the world. Therefore, whether the world's goods were carried by primitive trail, Roman road, or railroad, by galley, sailing ship, or steamer, it was the greatest British city because it was at the "central place" to the greatest countryside.

The site of Paris was selected because of the easy river crossing provided by the island (Plate 4). Its growth is largely explained by its central position in relation to northern France, by its easy access to other areas over navigable streams, and by its political prestige.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, small commercial towns over the world made their appearance at places where people found it easy to come together from the surrounding country or to meet the ships that came from distant regions. Markets frequently grew up at cathedral towns where people came for religious purposes but stayed to trade. Market towns were usually found at the following places: (1) where there were firm shores close to a protected anchorage for ships; (2) at the heads of navigation on the rivers; (3) at important river crossings; (4) at either end of mountain passes or in the gaps between hilly or mountainous regions. Wherever the physical conditions made necessary a change in the means of transportation or the size of the load that could be moved in one conveyance, to such places people came to trade and small towns were established. Through a period of time, however, one community would be selected as the major focus of trade and finance. Here people find the greatest variety of goods, the rarest articles, and the greatest development of cultural institutions as well as the agencies which facilitate trade. To this one center are drawn the most able people because here are the greatest economic opportunities. As this one city becomes more and more supreme, not only traders and business people are attracted to it but also the "multipliers"—the artists, musicians, writers, and people of wealth who wish only to enjoy the social life or profit from serving those engaged in the basic economic function. This is what Mark Jefferson called "the law of the primate city"\(^\text{16}\) and to which con-

temporary human ecologists have assigned the concept "dominance" with its subforms: concentration and centralization.

With the impress of man's technology upon his geographic surroundings, the natural habitat is not sufficient to explain the growth and location of cities. Wilson Wallis ably remarked:

It is therefore almost meaningless to speak of the influence of geography upon history unless the civilization and the times are known. The seas which once isolated the British Isles have become highways to all parts of the globe not because the physical factors changed but because the civilization changed. In some regions rivers separate people; in others they are utilized as a means of communication; and for the same people their significance changes with changes in technology, trade and political relations. The influence of environment upon primitive cultures then can be discussed only in terms of the achievements of the respective cultures. Man can work only in and upon his environment, but the tools with which he shapes his civilization are not the creations of the physical environment. The environment furnishes materials for his houses, but man as the architect furnishes the plans. Hence in comparable environments man sometimes builds contrasting types of habitations, because in various places he selects different building materials and arranges them in different fashion. The primitive hunter is dependent upon game, but he is no less dependent upon his bow and arrow, his traps and his knowledge of the habits of the animals. In short, his culture makes his environment significant, for game is useless unless he has the tools and the skills to secure it. Every utilization of environment is indeed a culture achievement, an assertion that man to that extent is master of his environment; for the environment influences man only when and in so far as man reacts to it. . . .

Climate, soil, and surface are materials out of which or by means of which great urban centers are made. What men do in these cities, the cultural forms that they take, are, however, determined in the end primarily by man. The physical equipment of a geographic region sets limits within which there is wider or narrower choice of activity, as the case may be.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Noted for his challenging, sweeping generalizations, this geographer advances the thesis that a particular type of climate forms a necessary condition for high growth of civilization.

Lowie, Robert H., Culture and Ethnology (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1917).
In Chapter IV the author presents the thesis that culture is its own determiner; in Chapter III he attacks the theory of geographic determinism.

Reflecting the position of modern geographers, the author cautions that the natural environment can be understood only in terms of our history, life, and culture; the reverse if this statement is likewise true.

Examines the basic relationships of human beings to their environment as the foundations of social development.

A penetrating discussion of historical change as influenced by environmental and cultural factors.
Technology and the Location of Cities

Following the Industrial Revolution the location and growth of cities in Western civilization have been most strongly influenced by market and transportation factors. Numerous inventions have had the effect of encouraging new communities as well as fringe communities or suburbs.\(^1\) The automobile, electric railway, steam railroad, telephone, radio, moving picture theater, and chain store have been powerful movers in the establishment of great and small human concentrations, though, of course, not the sole determining forces. William F. Ogburn would not, perhaps, accept this qualification:

Technology determines where we live. Primitive man, depending chiefly on his hands to gather roots, nuts and fruits, and on clubs to kill game was a wanderer in small bands. When technology brought him his knowledge of planting seeds, he settled down in villages. When science added the plow and taught him the domestication of animals, he then lived in towns in large numbers. The boat, railroad, and factory brought the great cities.\(^2\)

The world trend toward urbanization is changing the entire cultural landscape of nations to the degree that urbanization has come

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to appear synonymous with the superlatives of technology. In the broader sense, technology refers to the totality of techniques, material and nonmaterial, used by people for the purpose of adaptation or modification of their bio-physical environment.

As long as population was small and technology poor, land-intensive (large amount of land per unit of product) techniques utilizing low-level skills were devised and used. As population pressure and technology grew, food production turned from land-intensive methods to trapping or hunting game with weapons. When technological growth drew ahead of subsistence requirements, or when population-resource ratios declined, men were able to turn to the development of industry which could supply the secondary wants. The stage was set for the appearance of large population centers. Thus we make the generalization: important determinants in the sequence of events which led to the release of human energy and skill from subsistence industries (agriculture) and to cities with their concentration upon the development of industry supplying secondary wants were (1) work attitudes and the growth of skill or "know-how" by the labor force in both agricultural and industrial pursuits, (2) income, (3) market factors, and (4) machine technology.

STEAM AND ELECTRICITY

As man has turned to developing new forms of energy (by energy we mean the capacity to perform work) other than that derived from his own muscles and from those of beasts of burden, the emergence of and growth of cities have been tremendously stimulated. Scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions have made possible the widespread use of power-driven machinery. Of these developments, none was probably more fundamental and revolutionary than the application of steam as a source of power for industry and transportation. The great innovations associated with the Industrial Revolution rested to a large extent upon the development of the steam engine.

The modern city in Europe and America is in large part the product of the steam age. The steam engine not only made possible a great increase in the productivity of human labor, but also revolutionized means of transport of raw materials and finished products. It released people from dependence upon the immediate vicinity in which they lived. Because steam is most cheaply produced in large quanti-
ties and must be used close to the point of production, it has tended to concentrate people into larger centers where they could most conveniently carry on industrial production.

To steam there soon was added a new source of power in the form of electricity. Whereas steam has had a concentrative effect upon cities, electricity is exerting a dispersive influence upon manufacturing and upon the distribution of residences. The internal combustion engine which led to the automobile has accentuated this trend, and the airplane promises to inaugurate even greater changes in the same direction.³

Other factors of prime importance in the development of cities are to be found in the perfection of modern methods of water supply, the storage of food, and the disposal of sewage and refuse. The dense concentration of human habitation, characteristic of the city, called for improvements in modes of living over more primitive conditions of life and for the development of modern medicine, hygiene, and sanitation to control contagious diseases and to reduce the hazards of living. Before the advent of modern medicine and sanitation, deaths in cities of the Western world regularly exceeded the births. Despite a large rural birth rate, therefore, which furnished the recruits for the waves of migrants that flocked to the cities, the cities could not have grown as they did had it not been for the improvement of the changes of survival under the hitherto adverse conditions of urban life.

THE THEORY OF EXTERNAL ENERGY

In the preceding chapter we described the outmoded position of the environmentalists or geographic determinists who believed that everything in the universe may be described in terms of geographic forces. The more popular deterministic position today is the conception of "progress" and change as being the consequence of technological forces. The most zealous of this group are those who espouse the belief that "everything in the universe may be described in terms of energy," ⁴ as put to use through man's discoveries and

inventive genius. This claim is based upon two assumptions: (1) the material, external world supplies the significant tools, weapons, and other materials by which man obtains food, shelter from the elements, and protection from his enemies; and (2) the inner resources, of which myth-making, dancing, singing, and the like are illustrations, satisfy human needs in such a constant fashion that in the development of cultures these inner ideational and social forces may be omitted as important considerations. Accordingly, the material, mechanical means with which man exploits the resources of nature should receive central attention. Thue these determinists are prone to preface all their generalizations or laws with the statement: "All other things being equal. . . ."

Leslie A. White of the University of Michigan provides the following generalizations:

Other things being equal, the degree of cultural development varies directly as the amount of energy per capita per year harnessed and put to work.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Other things being equal, the degree of cultural development varies directly as the efficiency of the technological means with which the harnessed energy is put to use.6

These generalizations, in turn, lead to the law:

Culture develops when the amount of energy harnessed by man per capita per year is increased; or as the efficiency of the technological means of putting this energy to work is increased; or as both factors as simultaneously increased.7

The underlying assumption of White and others of the "cultural evolutionist" school is that evolution and progress are for all essential purposes synonymous, that in the history of human culture, progress and evolution have gone hand in hand.

5 "Actually," says Leslie White, "the satisfaction of needs from 'inner resources' is not wholly constant; there may be music, myth-making, etc., regardless of technology. A man's club is still a man's club, whether the underlying technology be simple and crude or highly developed. But, since the overwhelming portion of cultural development is due to technological progress, we may legitimately ignore that small portion which is not so dependent by regarding it as a constant."—"Energy and the Evolution of Culture," *op. cit.*, p. 337.


Therefore, according to these observers, since all living beings struggle to live and perpetuate their respective kind, they have harnessed more energy per capita per year. Thus wind and water and fire are harnessed, animals are domesticated, plants cultivated; steam engines are built, elevators and steel are invented until human aggregations of great density are allowed to live comfortably together in a man-made setting. Consequently energy for culture-living and culture-building is augmented in quantity and efficiency, and culture “advances” as new and better tools are invented. Since in the beginning of culture history, man had only the energy of his own body under his control and at his disposal for culture-living and building, and since wind, water, and fire were but rarely used as forms of energy, “the amount of energy at the disposal of a community of 50, 100, or 300 persons would be 50, 100, or 300 times the energy of the average member of the community. Since one ‘man power’ is about one-tenth of one horse-power, we see that the amount of energy per capita in the earliest stage of cultural development was very small indeed—perhaps 1/20th horse-power per person.”

When man achieved maximum efficiency in the expenditure of energy, then his culture could develop no further; only through new sources of energy could cultural development continue. As nomadic, pastoral life gave way to the sedentary life that goes with agriculture, the arts and crafts, the accumulation of wealth and surpluses and urban life appeared. White writes:

The sequence of events (in cultural progress) was somewhat as follows: agriculture transformed a roaming population into a sedentary one. It greatly increased the food supply, which in turn increased the population. As human labor became more productive in agriculture, an increasing portion of society became divorced from the task of food-getting and was devoted to other occupations. Thus society becomes organized into occupational groups: masons, metal workers, jade carvers, weavers, scribes, priests. This has the effect of accelerating progress in the arts, crafts, and sciences (astronomy, mathematics, etc.), since they are now in the hands of specialists, rather than jacks-of-all-trades. With an increase in manufacturing, added to division of society into occupational groups, comes production for exchange and sale (instead of primarily for use in tribal society), mediums of exchange, money, merchants, banks, mortgages, debtors, slaves. An accumulation of wealth and competition

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for favored regions provokes wars of conquest, and produces professional military and ruling classes, slavery and serfdom. Thus agriculture wrought a profound change in the life-and-culture of man as it had existed in the human-energy state of development.  

An eminent physicist, a Nobel prize winner, Robert A. Millikan, writes:

The changes that have occurred within the past hundred years not only in the external conditions under which the average man, at least in this western world, passes life on earth, but in his superstitions . . . his fundamental beliefs, in his philosophy, in his conception of religion, in his whole world outlook, are probably greater than those that occurred during the preceding four thousand years all put together. Life seems to remain static for thousands of years and then to shoot forward with amazing speed. The last century has been one of those periods of extraordinary change, the most amazing in human history. If, then, you ask me to put into one sentence the cause of that recent rapid and enormous change I should reply: "It is found in the discovery and utilization of the means by which heat energy can be made to do man's work for him."  

Like the geographic determinist, the energetic evolutionist attributes social change and "progress" to a single cause and hence is guilty of falling into the particularistic fallacy, attributing all social phenomena to a single cause and forgetting that human beings, as individuals and as groups, are themselves dynamic participants within the causal order. The simple determinists often speak of human behavior in the plausible but misleading language of stimulus-response, a notion which implicitly attributes the dynamics of behavior to the environmental factor that is named the stimulus. It is a modern form of the old conception that mind is a tabula rasa, a clean slate, until the "impressions" of the outer world are recorded on it. The environment (geographic factors, energy, inventions, or any other one external factor) calls the tune and the organism plays it. Such a view fails to comprehend the interactivity of the multiple factors within the causal complex. Man is not a mere agent responding to the stimuli of energy, geography, or some other external "force." He is neither master nor slave but a neutral agent. The technological and geograph-

9 Ibid., p. 344.
ical "determinate" does not concede to the conscious agent any initia-
tive, any efficacy. Indeed, if "all other things are equal" (and this is
the bone of contention) one might accept the determinist position
often expressed in anthropology, geography, as well as in religion,
psychology, and sociology. Since, however, all other things are rarely,
if ever, equal in the human realm, we can only point to the "more
or less" heavy impress of one or the other causative factors upon
human conduct and community-building. Always man's control over
his external surroundings is limited. His actions, however, do change
or at least condition his environment insofar as he is capable of
controlling it. In the final analysis, therefore, modern man as a partici-
pating force among other forces meshes with the total external situa-
tion. He not only can intervene to change the course of events, he
can do so in any one of several different ways. The *mode* of interвен-
tion, within certain limits set by the situation and by the means he
commands, is open, is not predetermined by anything external to
himself. Within these limits he chooses in terms of his interests and
attitudes.

With these important observations we can better understand why
each city is always different from every other; why man, through
using his wits, releases the energies under his control to build super-
highways in one city and limits the height of its buildings, while in
another city he turns to elevators and skyscrapers, park building, air-
conditioning systems, or radiant heat as his expression of what is
comfortable and desirable as an "urban way of life."

"CARRYING POWER" AND THE LOCATION
OF CITIES

In the cattle business, men know through long experience just
how many head of cattle may be supported on a square mile of
various parts of a region in average years. This is referred to as the
"carrying power of the range." Furthermore, geologists calculate very
accurately the "carrying power" of streams, i.e., the maximum load
of silt that may be carried by a river, measured in terms of the swift-
ness of the stream and its depth. Likewise a carrying power for the
"range" for man may be measured, for he too must obtain food and
water from the earth. Most of his requirements must be obtained
near home, or at least paid for with goods or services produced there.
The elements of physical environment, including position, soil, climate, vegetation, minerals, and other resources, largely determine the maximum number of people that an area can support. Densely populated areas are found usually in favorable environments. But not all favorable environments are densely populated because man does not always choose to take advantage of all his opportunities when factors of time and cost enter heavily into the picture. Thus by comparing a population map of the world with maps showing the various aspects of the physical environment, it is possible to make certain rough correlations. Some areas are too cold—as Greenland and the high Tibetan plateaus; some are too dry—as the Sahara Desert and central Australia; some are too rugged—as the Andes Mountains and the Himalayas. Other regions suffer from swamps, sour soil, great fluctuations of temperature, remoteness from other economic areas. Thus the geographic factor sets limits upon habitation. The environmental extremes will support at most a sparse human population.

However, the carrying power of the land for modern man can only be stated definitely if considered in relation to the technical knowledge available at the time. For example, if an area of natural grassland produces one hundred tons of cattle food annually, it might be made to produce two hundred tons by adding fertilizers. As a result, twice as many cattle, and perhaps twice as many cowhands, could be supported on the land. The carrying power is tremendously increased by the use of new techniques, or by realizing hitherto unused aspects of the environment.

Cities may be said to appear and grow when the situation makes them good places for performing a multitude of industrial, commercial, and financial services. These advantages could not be utilized until routes and vehicles developed. With the growth of modern transportation, people who settled on the urban sites were able to exchange their services for food and raw materials. In this exchange economy with its advanced means of transportation and communication, the carrying power of a site need not be limited by its food-producing ability.

After the Industrial Revolution and the steam engine (patented in 1769), the iron bridge (first built in 1779 in England), the application of steam to the manufacture of cotton textiles (in 1785 at Manchester, England), and the steam railroad (first opened in 1825 in northeast England), these new technologies made it economically
desirable and physically possible for large numbers of people to live together in cities. Before the era of the railroad and the steamships, food could not be brought to any one place in sufficient quantities to support millions of specialized nonfood-producing urban people.

Hence within a relatively short period of time the significance of the physical earth with respect to the distribution of people fundamentally changed. The changes in the factors which have fixed the routes of travel and transportation have affected the relation of people to land and the relation of people to people. They are still in the process of appearing.

The history of the location of American cities may be divided into three eras, roughly conceived: (1) the period which we shall call the water and coal era, (2) the steam and railroad period, and (3) the automobile and highway period.

**RIVER AND COAL ERA**

Man’s role in the building of cities tends to be cumulative; it may be either accidental or deliberate. But in either case the development is likely to gain so much momentum that he loses conscious control and has little choice but to conform and adjust himself to the changing nature of things as best he can. For instance, he initiated a definite economic program in the United States in establishing cities along coast lines or navigable rivers, since the industries could thus profit from the available water power. Some cities have remained important industrial cities, but as the use of water power for manufacturing has decreased, these cities are in jeopardy. What happens if the industry changes from water power to coal? Should the large investment in the cultural heritage of the community be a strong tie, the industry is not likely to move away providing it can make a reasonable profit by relying on the more outmoded form of energy. Indeed, the social psychology of urban location and city survival enters into the picture and cannot be ignored. Local traditions and folk habits will frequently tie an industry to an area when it might gain from a new location in the presence of a more abundant and perhaps cheaper form of energy.

However, the early, large industrial cities originated at or near the sources of good coal. In the preindustrial society of Europe and America, industrial cities (and there were manufacturing cities before
the Industrial Revolution but none on the scale of the modern era) were generally built to serve a small market and were protected not so much by tariffs as by high costs of transportation. With the application of steam power to manufacturing, the presence of accessible coal for the first time in history became a factor in the location of manufacturing centers in places which earlier could not have supported such a large-scale economy because of the lack of a large enough market close by.

First came the iron and steel industry. Coal is the raw material used in the largest volume in most regions of steel-making; for this reason it is usually less costly to operate a large-scale steel industry near the coal fields than near the sources of any of the other raw materials that are used. Directly or indirectly related to coal are many other kinds of manufacturing industries utilizing by-products of semimanufactured products. The great industrial cities of the present day include many different kinds of manufacturing, all in one way or another enjoying an advantage from location to coal.

The location of ocean ports, too, has been affected by the technologies of transportation. Generally, it is desirable to establish ports for seagoing vessels as far inland as possible. Many of the larger commercial cities of Europe were located originally at the heads of navigation for sailing ships. Places like London, Paris, Bremen, and Hamburg are now beyond the reach of large ocean liners; so they make use of out-ports such as Southampton, Le Havre, and Bremerhaven. Smaller ships can still reach all of these large cities, but the river ports are too crowded to accommodate more than a small fraction of the huge volume of shipping of the modern era. Professor Ogburn remarks:

With the development of the boat, however, these aggregations of population cluster around the rivers and sea coasts and may become so large that they are called cities. When the population amounts to ten thousand or more, organized social life becomes quite complex. There is usually some military organization in cities. Economic life is highly differentiated on the basis of division of labor. Trade becomes a source of economic well-being of the cities, and there are often-time found hundreds of different kinds of organizations.\textsuperscript{11}

Plate 3. Pittsburgh, Pa. the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers meet here to form the Ohio river, above
Plate 4. Paris from the air—La Cité Island with Notre-Dame. Palace of Justice at lower end of island
Technology and the Location of Cities

In the history of American cities this first prerailway era extended from colonial times to about the middle of the nineteenth century. Human settlement during this period was confined, for the most part, to areas accessible to navigable water; i.e., to the Atlantic seaboard and the main river systems east of the Mississippi. McKenzie reports:

... As late as 1850 over 90 per cent of the population of the United States resided east of the Mississippi River and the great part of this east of the Alleghenies. During this river regime, settlement was of a segmentary character; the various units as determined by geographic conditions had but slight economic or social relations with one another. Settlement was also primarily rural in character; almost four-fifths of the 23,000,000 inhabitants of the United States in 1850 resided in rural territory in communities of less than 8,000.  

THE ERA OF STEAM AND RAILROADS

The second period of settlement in the United States began about 1850 with the expansion of the railroad. By 1870 railroad construction had extended westward, first to the river centers of settlement previously established, and later into new frontiers beyond the Mississippi and to the Pacific Coast. By 1900 all the main outlines of the present railway net had been established. This net has been closely woven near the great cities. Away from these centers the fabric has a looser weave, until outside the chief areas of settlement only long, isolated tentacles have been extended. The railroad is a distinguishing trait of Occidental culture, and its distribution is an excellent measure of the spread of that culture and the breakdown of esoteric loyalties. Freed from the dominance of river transportation, human settlement in the United States spread under the influence of railroads westward across the continent. This westward flow of human populations was directed and controlled by the opportunities offered in the way of soil and other natural resources. From 1870 to 1900, a thirty-year period, more than 495,000,000 acres were added to the cultivated area of the United States, an area equal to the land area of Great Britain and Europe, excluding Spain. While the railroad facilitated population movement, raw materials were the drawing forces in the appearance and growth of new communities, since these new

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materials could now be readily obtained and sold to distant markets. As late as 1900 agricultural products comprised 66 per cent of all foreign exports from the United States. Since that time, however, their ratio has diminished rapidly.

Gateway cities arose at entrance points to producing regions and functioned as centers for the collection of basic products from surrounding settlements and as distribution points for manufactured goods brought in from outside territory. These gateway cities were the points of ecological dominance over tributary territory, each region and configuration of cities, villages, and towns being tied together along the emerging railroad lines. The basic pattern of modern community settlement in the United States may be said to be heavily conditioned by railroad development. From the period 1850 to 1930, no less than 42 of the 93 cities of over 100,000 population became officially incorporated, pointing to the concomitant appearance of the institution of the railroad and large cities. Five of the 42 cities began their official careers since 1890.

After 1890 the city began to play a new role in the evolution of settlement in the United States. Access to raw materials became less important, and manufacturing came into its own, concentrating populations and wealth in ever-larger cities. The cities became the great market place as they demanded raw materials for their growing industries and specialized types of agricultural products for their growing populations. Thus cities more and more determined the location and rate of growth of rural settlement insofar as the latter could gain by using adjacent cities as market outlets. New frontiers arose chiefly in areas from which products could be obtained to supply the domestic city market. Older areas of rural settlement began to recede in response to the economic forces originating in metropolitan centers. Accordingly, as the nation grew in population and wealth, the city acquired an increasing range of economic and social functions which it performed not only for its own local inhabitants but for the rural settlements as well.

The American city has made a transition from being a strategic transfer point to becoming a metropolitan economy in its own right, i.e., a concentration of the trade of a wide area on a single city. While the radii of the area, dominated commercially by the pre-railroad towns, had rarely been more than a score of miles, the radii of the area dominated by a metropolis are generally well in excess of
a hundred miles. The metropolis itself is the center not only for the area of the local trade but also for the trade between metropolitan units. Further, as the economic life in great cities such as Chicago and Detroit has grown more complex, the political life has assumed greater roles with the result that these cities are political as well as economic metropolises, suggesting that political and economic forces work in the same direction.

The structure of the metropolitan economic unit is made up, first, of the metropolis itself with its bankers, merchants, warehousemen, transport officials, and other specialized men of business; and secondly, of the district of the hinterland with its towns and villages, its countryside of farms, forests, streams, and mines. The metropolis and its hinterland are integral parts of the metropolitan units, but they are not constant in the areas which they occupy. While the metropolis itself widens its confines with general economic development, the hinterland decreases in size. Greater Chicago grows while its hinterland is being nibbled away by Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Kansas City, and the Twin Cities.

The railroad permitted large metropolitan communities to embrace the trade of wide districts. This requires that we conceive of the metropolitan economy in terms of its function rather than its size or structure. It is the gathering place for the products of that district. As a point of dominance it is also the place from which wares already concentrated from many lands and sections radiate to the whole hinterland as well as being the nexus through which the hinterland normally trades with other metropolitan units. Thus it is more economical for a few dealers in a metropolis to specialize in the inter-metropolitan trade, which is usually wholesale, than for traders located in small towns in the hinterland to maintain connections and credits with distant parts.

With the coming of the railroad the metropolitan unit supplanted the town unit of former times. There have been three general stages which sum up much of the economic life of this country: village economy, town economy, and metropolitan economy. Each unit in its era has been a unit of production, a center of trade. As we pass from one stage to another we see not only a greater general division of labor, but a larger surplus and store of goods and more immunity from distress and famine. As communication lines between metropolitan centers have increased, these great cities, in fact, have in turn
specialized, until the "national economy" is an economic system marked by specialized metropolitan centers, each with important roles to play for the maintenance of its own economic life and for that of other regions as well.

Not until 1860–1880 did the first great era of railroad expansion occur. In this period the leading roads of the east together with transcontinental lines were established. During the short span of two decades, railroad trackage more than tripled, reaching a total of 93,000 miles in 1880. Railroad facilities continued to grow in a phenomenal fashion until the war days of 1914–1918, when a peak was reached with approximately 265,000 miles in operation.

THE HIGHWAY AND AUTOMOBILE ERA

Modern economic regionalism came into its own after 1920 under the influence of motor transportation with its internal combustion engine. The phenomenal growth of motor cars in the United States still appears far short of its much discussed saturation point. According to the Automobile Manufacturers Association, a new high was reached in 1951 when 51,913,965 vehicles were registered, including 42,682,591 passenger cars and 9,000,913 trucks. Compare this total with approximately 9,000,000 registered vehicles in 1921 and 22,000,000 in 1931, and it is evident that the automobile has become an amazingly popular means of transportation.

As previously mentioned, the railroad laid the foundation for modern regionalism in the United States by creating a network of large cities serving as gateways or focal points in the integration of surrounding territory. These gateway cities drew the entire nation together into an interdependent but nevertheless single economic unity. The automobile and truck have not changed the main outlines of this railway pattern of settlement. The great economic forces in operation when the automobile was introduced compelled accommodation of this new means of transportation to the existing settlement structure. However, the gross effect of motor transportation upon American civilization has been quite as fundamental as that produced by the railroad. Beginning with wagon roads and city streets as the only routes of traffic, the motor vehicle has developed a system of surfaced highways adapted to its needs but in constant need of reconstruction as the density and pace of traffic increases. This new motor-highway
Technology and the Location of Cities

network which has been superimposed upon the existing pattern of settlement is developed most intensively around the margins of cities and has brought the city and surrounding territory within a common transportation system. In so doing, it has erased the boundaries and bridged the distances which formerly separated urban from rural territory, and has introduced a type of local community entirely without precedent in history, specifically the metropolitan region.

We arrive, then, at the generalization: the great concentrations of urban people engaged in the varied activities of commerce and manufacturing are closely related in their location and growth to the routes of travel and transportation. Obviously the kind of routes selected for horse-drawn wagons or the ports selected for the accommodation of small sailing ships are not necessarily the same as routes and ports which would be selected in an era of railroads, large ocean ships, and motor trucks. There are now instances where the existence of an established commercial center at a strategic junction of highway routes has forced the railroad to change its routes. Many are the examples of small market towns and county seats made decadent because of the shift of the routes of travel to other places.

The factors which lead to the selection of a particular route for a highway are numerous, and vary with the culture of the people. In general, men seek the shortest route from starting point to destination, but they swerve from the straight course to avoid obstacles. Some people, like the Romans, are accustomed to building very straight roads, and are deflected from the shortest lines only by the most serious obstacles; while other people’s roads wind this way and that in obedience to the slightest local advantages of travel.

Surface features are important controls in the patterning of roads. Highways conform to slight local advantages of grade or to stretches of dry soil. However, these geographic features are not the only controls. Man-made barriers condition the network of highways. In many regions the road patterns conform to an arrangement prescribed by the survey of land properties. Whether the property lines conform to the pattern of roads, or the roads assume a pattern determined by the survey of properties, depends on which of these two things came first. The main highways in Europe usually antedate the property lines, and, in fact, form the skeleton to which the latter are articulated. The secondary roads, however, are in many instances fixed in position by the land divisions.
Quite different is the pattern of settlement based on railroads. The route selected for a railroad may or may not follow a route previously selected for a road. By making use of cuts, hills, bridges, and tunnels, a railroad can follow a less devious course through hilly country than the highways, and it is deflected less by swamps and rivers. But because railroad grades cannot be so steep as those of roads, the rail routes are tied more closely to the major advantages of terrain than are the highways. Today highways are paying less attention to geographic barriers, by-passing towns and leaving them stranded.

**The Changing Pattern of Baltimore**

Fig. 1. 1850, after the first railroads  
Fig. 2. 1900, after the electric streetcar  
Fig. 3. 1936, after the automobile

**Highways and the Inner City.** In the following chapter, under the ecological concept of aggregation, the problem of defining the optimum city size in this age of automobile transportation will be examined. Suffice it to say that the railroads sets the main structural outline of American human settlement by making possible the transfer of products between distant regions. They brought entire settlement of the country into a single economic unity integrated through a system of gateway cities of varying importance. However, railroads have not materially changed the traditional pattern of life within the local community. Highways have made the most marked change in the configuration of settlement within cities. Railroads were used principally as intercity modes of transportation; the horse-drawn vehicle remaining in many instances as the chief agency of local traffic and travel until displaced by the automobile, truck, and bus. In regions of mild climate the automobile has had a greater impact upon the
inner life of the city than in northern regions, where the automobile may not be used with ease and safety as an all-round means of transportation. In Chicago, Detroit, New York, and elsewhere, the suburban train, streetcar, and elevated trains are adaptations of the inter-city train for city life. But in Los Angeles and Houston the car and highway are year-round modes of travel. By and large, however, local institutions and social relations persisted during the railway regime on much the same basis as in the previous era.

Highways and the Vast Metropolitan Hinterland. Motor transportation has functioned not only to affect the pattern of cities but has extended the horizon of the community and has introduced today a territorial division of labor among local institutions and neighboring centers which is unique in the history of both American and European settlements. It may be said that the motor vehicle has and will continue for some time to revolutionize the traditional pattern of local relations and affect institutional and cultural changes in a much more disturbing manner than that which resulted from the conspicuous developments induced by the advent of rail transportation. The urban center with metropolitan transportation has been able to extend the radius of its influence. Its population and many of its institutions, freed from the dominance of rail transportation, have become widely dispersed throughout surrounding territory. Formerly independent towns have become part of this enlarged city complex.

This new type of supercommunity, organized around a dominant market place and comprising a multiple of differentiated centers of activity, differs from the metropolitanism established by rail transportation in the complexity of its institutional division of labor and the mobility of its population. The territorial scope of the present-day metropolis must now be defined in terms of motor transportation and competition with other regions. A vast amount of rearrangement of population and institutions has in consequence been induced, a process which is still far from having attained an equilibrium. Why the central city remains congested is due in part to the fact that buildings rarely move with their occupants. It is easier to break a camp than it is for an owner to move a durable building. Many people have moved from the center out to the suburbs. Their vacant houses have been filled by others. It is a shift of population rather than a depopulation. An owner will sell a building for a loss before he will abandon it and lose all.

An outstanding analysis of migration trends in the United States, with special attention given to technological and economic factors.


Probably the most comprehensive and systematic study of the rise, structure, and problems of region dominated by a large city.


An examination of the social impact of technological change upon human habitation and way of life.


Treats not only the changes that have already taken place but also those that are likely to occur as the helicopter comes into general use. A good example of the difficulties of predicting social consequences of a single invention.
Basic Ecological Processes — VIII

The ecological point of view, though always qualified by cultural definitions, has proved quite helpful in understanding urban land use. While there are no fixed numbers of ecological processes, the broadest is *aggregation*. The most important subprocesses are (1) concentration and dispersion of services and aggregates, (2) centralization and decentralization, (3) segregation of populations into various distinctive areas, (4) dominance and gradient, (5) invasion of areas by groups, giving rise to succession of one group by another. These subprocesses of aggregation are made possible through *mobility*, referring to in-and-out migration, residential, commercial, and industrial sifting and sorting, plus daily movements within the city and metropolitan area in a more or less routine manner.

**AGGREGATION**

*AGGREGATION AS A STATIC TERM*

When the urban ecologist uses the term "aggregation" he is not generally referring to a mere statistical grouping, but to the distribution of the inhabitants of a given area into a characteristic demographic structure. Statical viewed, aggregation refers to population composition and as such falls primarily into the field of demography. The composition of human groupings yields conveniently to analysis by the use of the population pyramid, discussed in Chapter v. It presents the segments out of which the urban population is composed.
Fig. 1. Employment. Per cent in five occupation groups, Kansas City, Missouri, 1940
Fig. 2. Birth rate per 1,000 women, ages 15 to 45, Kansas City, Missouri, 1942
As mentioned in Chapter v, frequently the first step in undertaking an ecological analysis of a city is to present the composition of the overall aggregate along lines of age, sex, nativity, and occupation either by population pyramids or statistical tables. Then pyramids or tables are constructed for the smaller units of population. Variations in the proportion of adults to children, of males to females, of foreign-born to native-born are in this way more meaningfully presented. The central business district, for example, will tend to have a high ratio of females to males living within the shopping district and in the areas immediately surrounding it. Also in the center of most cities one invariably discovers almost all adults while on the periphery of the community fewer adults and many children are found. When population pyramids are drawn in successive tracts or zones of a community, the observer acquires insight into the ecological processes taking place and early clues concerning the modes of life characteristic of the district, and hence into the kinds of private and public control agencies which can best serve the inhabitants. Day-care nurseries and playgrounds, for example, would be useless institutions in districts marked by few adult females (with the attendant low birth rate) and children.

A supplementary procedure is to prepare maps showing the composition of the population as measured by occupation-type (Figure 1), income, the assessed land values, disease rates, birth rates of women in the reproductive age bracket (Figure 2), proportionate number of aged people and so forth.

**AGGREGATION FUNCTIONALLY CONCEIVED**

Unfortunately, the substantive distribution rather than the sequences of change have been studied in American cities in relation to aggregation and its subprocesses. For example, Shevky and Williams in their statistical indexes of urban areas in Los Angeles, and

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1 Italian students of population seem to have been the first to use the population pyramid as an index of movements and changes of population (see *Annali di Statistica*, series 2a, Vol. I, Roma, 1878). Émile Levasseur (*La Population Francaise*, Vol. II, chap. XV, Paris, 1891) was one of the first writers to discuss and develop the theoretical implications of the population pyramid, pointing out that there is a definite functional relation between age and sex groups.

Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag's four mathematical indexes of segregation in cities refer to the spatial distribution of Negroes, whites, occupation groups, or sex groups in the respective cities at a given time, but do not suggest sequences of change in such distribution. These materials might be empirically useful if the indexes were applied to the changing pattern of distribution of specific groups at successive moments over a period of time because they could be used as generalizations for prediction. Likewise, little attention is given to the underlying sequences of spatial change in such other studies as the Old Order Amish in Pennsylvania, the Molokans in Los Angeles, the Japanese in Los Angeles, and the Italian foreign-born in the North End of Boston. Charles S. Johnson in a study of patterns of Negro segregation described typical pattern of spatial separation of Negroes and whites in both rural and urban communities, but failed to trace changes in these patterns over a period of time. One concludes that the study of the process of aggregation, as manifest in the measurement of its subprocesses and as contrasted with the substantive results of this process, has been neglected by urban ecologists.

Of course common sense would dictate that in studying urban aggregations we must first focus on the locale and then study the ultimate sequences of change which occur. This involves the important distinction between site and situation (Chapter vi). Site refers to the immediate topographic arrangement while situation refers to the wider relations of things and conditions. Two essentials are worth noting in the selection of a given space for aggregate location: (1) the area must be one where life may be sustained; (2) the aggregate must be situated in a competitive or interdependent relationship to other sites for its sustenance. These conditions involve the differential advantage of one town versus another from the standpoint of production, trade, government, transportation, commodity exchanges, and socio-cultural advantages such as education and religion.

In urban ecology as in urban geography and economics, we have, unfortunately, theories of aggregate location based only upon pro-


duction. Advice can be given to practical men of affairs concerning
the best location for such industrial or commercial enterprises as
ship-building or steel production, but nothing very reliable is available
pertaining to the best locations for resorts, universities, religious insti-
tutions, art, medical centers, or, in fact, housing projects. There is
considerable need for ecological research to furnish city administra-
tors and planners with this knowledge. Is Washington, D.C., for
example, the best site and situation in terms of its governmental func-
tion? Is a sea coast, a position on the eastern seaboard, the best place
for this kind of enterprise? Probably not; this location is likely to be
more suitable for an industrial or trade community. Yet by law
Washington, D.C., permits only secondary industries in its midst, i.e.,
only service functions which cater to the central governmental process.
As a governmental aggregate Washington, D.C., might conceivably
better serve the nation through a more ecologically central position
measured in terms of time-cost from all surrounding population
points.

As to the location of industrial aggregations the three most signifi-
cant locational factors are: (1) presence of resources, (2) a labor
supply, and (3) a market. The labor supply and the market are never
imperatives so long as the aggregate or community has access to them
through effective communication lines. Modern communication sys-
tems have modified the necessary factors in the location of an in-
dustrial aggregate or city. Today the crucial question becomes: Does
it pay to have the resources shipped to you in a raw state or to have
them refined first and then sent to you? After the planner has an-
swered this important question he is prepared to go ahead in locating
and erecting his industrial community. Central, then, is the problem
of location to natural resources. Such proximity, calculated on the
basis of time-cost, must be studied in a cautious, skillful manner. For
example, is it better to concentrate the meat-packing function of this
country in the cities of Chicago and Kansas City, as it is done today,
or to move it to locations closer to where the meat is produced? In
Industrial leaders often change their thinking about location as they
consider the time-cost factors. In past decades they wanted to be
near a large population for the purpose of gaining access to a large
labor pool or a market, while today many industries move away from

6 Andreas Prebodl, "The Theory of Location in its Relation to General Economics,"
those cities where labor is, in their judgment, too well organized. The American cotton industry, moving to the South, has as one of its major incentives the escape from organized labor in northern cities with its demands for high wages, security measures, and more participation in managerial affairs. This escape may prove, however, to be only temporarily successful since organized labor eventually seems to catch up with these industrial flights.

From the above observations we must add two additional preconditioners to the three already listed, in our effort to round out the more important forces which induce gainful industrial site and situation: (4) physical or technological factors and (5) cultural factors as, for example, tradition, governmental types, taxes, and trade unionism. Each of these five preconditioners are mutually interdependent. While some physical facilities for industrial aggregations are provided by nature, more facilities for location today are technological, i.e., man-made. Transportation lines, heating systems, improved methods of cold storage are but three illustrations of technologies that play powerful roles in the formation of industrial agglomerations in space.

The cumulative cultural and technological forces at work in the urbanizing process not only function to maintain the community but tend to revitalize it and make it an automatic, going concern. The importance of a diversified technology coupled with multiple economic functions cannot be overemphasized in the creation of a relatively self-sustaining city. Chicago, for example, began as a simple trading town and existed as such from 1673 to about 1830. From 1831 to about 1847, the second period of Chicago's growth, the retailing function was added to the trading function. In the third period, from about 1848 to 1870, Chicago added wholesaling and thus became a commercial city. By adding manufacturing during the fourth period, covering the approximate years of 1871 to 1890, the city moved to metropolitan status. In the fifth and culminating era, 1891 to the present, Chicago, through the accumulation of all the processes that occur in the productive life of a community, became a well-sustained metropolis, a city with multiple functions, engaged in the production of automobiles, clothing, alloys, gadgets, as well as becoming the center of mail-order houses. Upon this diversified economic base the cultural institutions of homes, libraries, universities, museums, and recreational agencies were superimposed and allowed to serve and control the inhabitants. With this multiple economic base Chicago is
not usually as paralyzed in depression years as is, for example, Detroit, where one economic operation predominates, namely automobile manufacturing. Hence the cumulation of many functions maintains Chicago through successive crises. Mushrooming Los Angeles, at the receiving end of a vast nation-wide migration, is rapidly adding many functions to its economy. It first relied almost entirely upon its fruit industry, then added aircraft manufacturing, the moving picture industry, clothing manufacture, and finally steel and automobile production. Some critics argue that Los Angeles will probably never be suitable for large-scale industry because of the distance (translated into time-cost figures) from raw materials.

In addition to the cultural institutions which appear apace with the economic and technological growth of the industrial city, one must not overlook the so-called “multipliers,” for example, the medical personnel, public school teachers, transit operators, maintenance crews for telephone, gas, and electric systems, bankers, brokers, and lawyers. These are the groups not engaged in basic production, but serve in one way or another those who are so engaged. The multipliers add to the economic swell by creating greater economic diversity.

**URBAN AGGREGATE TYPOLOGIES**

Ecologists of the city, in their earnest attempts to simplify their knowledge of urban land-use and growth, have set up classificatory or theoretical community typologies. R. D. McKenzie furnished a widely accepted typology of communities in terms of their characteristic specialization.⁷ Distinguishing between basic and service communities according to the function of the key institutions, he listed first the primary-service community as constituting the preliminary step in the distributive process of a given commodity. For example, a community might be engaged in basic agriculture, fishing, mining, or lumbering. The size of this aggregate depends entirely upon the “nature and form of utilization of the extractive industry concerned, together with the extent of the surrounding trade area.” Second, McKenzie identified the commercial community as one that carries out the secondary function of the distributive process of commodities. It collects the basic materials from the primary communities and distributes them in the wider market. The size of this community depends

upon the extent of its distributive functions. Third is the industrial town which "serves as the locus for the manufacturing of commodities." Its size is not limited, says McKenzie. Its growth is dependent upon the scope and market organization of the industries which are located within its boundaries. Finally, McKenzie lists the community which has no specific economic base. Illustrations are recreational resorts and political, educational, and military communities. Their growth is dependent upon the prosperity and growth of the first three named communities, since they draw their economic sustenance from them.

Many ecologists feel that McKenzie's classification is an oversimplification of urban aggregates, since it emphasizes the economic factor exclusively, overlooking important variables such as climate (Los Angeles), religion (Salt Lake City), or politics (Washington, D.C.).

Harris and Ullman classify cities into three types in accordance with their roles as "suppliers of urban services for the earth":

1. Cities as central places performing comprehensive services for a surrounding area. Such cities tend to be evenly spaced throughout productive territory. For the moment this may be considered the "norm" subject to variation primarily in response to the ensuing factors.

2. Transport cities performing break-of-bulk and allied services along transport routes, supported by areas which may be remote in distance but close in connection because of the city's strategic location on transport channels. Such cities tend to be arranged in linear patterns along rail lines or at coasts.

3. Specialized-function cities performing one service such as mining, manufacturing, or recreation for large areas, including the general tributary areas of hosts of other cities. Since the principal localizing factor is often a particular resource such as coal, water, power, or a beach, such cities may occur singly or in clusters.

Most cities represent a combination of the three factors, the relative importance of each varying from city to city.

Perhaps a more suitable typology of cities, especially as it involves those of metropolitan status, is one showing transportation as the foundation for human concentration upon which industry, wholesaling, retailing, and housing for families follow in importance.

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A metropolis thus reaches fullest stature when each of these functions interlocks through interdependence.

As long as this typology does not mislead one to assume that transportation covers the most space since it is situated at the base of the pyramid, but that the picture is one of ordering urban processes in time, the scheme in its indicated proportions may be accepted to explain the growth of industrial-commercial metropolitan aggregates.

![Pyramid Diagram]

**Fig. 3. The pyramiding of metropolitan functions**

It should be understood, however, that as long as the relations between men in cities are fluid, and wherever these relations do not rest upon long-accepted and settled premises, any rigid typology will prove unsatisfactory. Conversely, where the relationships are definitely structuralized and embedded in mores, laws, and institutions, a community typological approach may be highly rewarding. In any case an adequate typology of urban aggregates must take into account the general types of situations in which the members find themselves as well as the modus vivendi that has grown up between the respective groups and individuals. From the standpoint of sociology and human ecology it is much more important to understand the nature and origin of the relationships existing between men and groups in cities than it is to know the marks that go to identify the respective communities. Once we recognize this fact, almost any distinctive characteristics of a human aggregate, whether they be physical marks of race, or linguistic, religious, cultural, or economic labels, can serve as criteria of urban communities. Then we can escape from the present tendency to construct inflexible typologies.

**OPTIMUM SIZE OF URBAN AGGREGATES**

At what point does an urban community reach its optimum density? Three factors, it would seem, operate to establish this density: (1) cost, (2) convenience, and (3) related services. That is, when participation in any city reveals signs of becoming too costly in dol-
lars and cents and too inconvenient in making quick contacts, and the customary services fail to satisfy, we may say that the community has passed beyond its zenith from the standpoint of serving its individual members advantageously and must recede to a more gainful density.

In the American city the automobile plays an important role in this respect, as a form of transportation which fosters the massing of human beings in space. So long as the use of this vehicle of movement is considered by the population as inexpensive and convenient we may assume that the degree of density which it creates is, at the moment, acceptable. A privately owned automobile in an American city of a million or more population usually proves to be costly, inconveniencing, and frustrating to the operator. Few drivers in great cities need be reminded of this fact. In the metropolis there is friction within limited space; this friction actually frustrates effective living. A private car in New York City is, in the main, useful only for getting the inhabitants out of the city to the hinterland rather than transporting them from place to place within the city limits. Taxicabs, trucks, buses, human traffic, narrow streets, and mechanical signals make automobile traffic very slow indeed.

According to a relationship between population size and area demonstrated for our cities as of 1940, the average city of 10,000 will have a radius of one mile; the city of 100,000 a radius of 2.3 miles; and the city of a half million 4.1 miles, on the idealized assumption of circular areas. For the so-called average urbanite, accessibility to the various functional areas of the city varies inversely with its radius. With increasing city size, walking to work and play rapidly becomes out of the question; automotive and mass transportation become indispensable. Melville C. Branch in a 1942 survey showed that the average resident of cities of over a half million lived 4.8 miles from work, and required twenty-four minutes to get to his job. In the cities studied, three-fifths traveled to work by mass transportation media, and three-tenths by auto. In cities of 5,000–25,000, the median distance to work was only 0.8 of a mile, the journey to work required nine minutes. Fewer than half of the residents interviewed utilized automotive and mass transportation. Respondents in large cities expressed more dissatisfaction than those in small cities over parking

facilities and the distance their children had to travel to high schools. In cities of over 15,000, some form of local mass transportation is apparently required, since virtually all cities of this size have streetcars or buses. A fragmentary survey in 1942 indicated that in cities of 25,000–100,000 about four-fifths of vehicular passengers arriving in the central business district traveled by car, as against only two-fifths in cities of over a half million; the remainder in each case arrived by mass forms of transportation. In cities over 100,000, families spend more than four times as much for nonautomotive transportation as families in smaller cities.

While the statistical data are not adequate for a thorough cost analysis of transportation, the unequivocal indication is that the advantages of time, expenditure, and convenience all lie with the moderate-sized or small city.

Out city patterns of transportation would be decidedly different today if we had anticipated fifty years ago the role the automobile would play in contemporary urban life. Such vision would have resulted in space in the center of cities for parking, broad streets in the centers coupled with narrower thoroughfares on the peripheries, rather than the reverse as we see it today. These mistakes have been accumulating through the decades. Now city planners are becoming keenly aware of the fact that it is most difficult to re-route the heaping effect of technological devices (which go to identify the metropolis) to new ends. The very weight and force of the present patterns of land-use and modes of existence tend to justify in the eyes of urbanites the irrational location of human facilities.

The reader should keep in mind that in studying the optimum size of cities explicit recognition should be given to a variety of interests,

15 The aircraft industry, concentrated in Southern California, is irrationally located from the standpoint of proximity to raw and processed materials. The advantage of this location is that of climate which allows for out-of-doors employment, permitting great savings on costly buildings. This one advantage is probably not sufficiently gainful to warrant the location of this industry in this region. Nevertheless we have come to associate aircraft manufacturing with Southern California as a "properly" situated industry.
all having just claims as criteria, and not all mediated in any obvious manner by purely economic factors.\textsuperscript{16} Matters of health, public safety, municipal efficiency, education, public recreation, retail facilities, church and family needs, among others, all enter into the picture. For in the final analysis the problem of proper city size originates in the realm of values and ultimately eventuates in action.

Military as well as civic leaders in the United States are asking anxious questions about the optimum size of the city aggregate in this new age of atomic and hydrogen explosives, not to overlook bacteriological weapons. Thus far urban ecologists have not supplied a satisfying answer to these practical administrators, pointing out that Americans would be changing the pattern of their way of life, the very thing they hold most dear, if they drastically changed the size and arrangement of cities for the purpose of minimizing human and material destruction in the event of attack. Any new city, constructed arbitrarily pursuant to a program of forced decentralization, would be built of necessity adjacent to the old vulnerable cities because of the need for access to (1) natural resources and (2) transportation facilities. Hence the notion of building new and thriving cities in areas remote from old centers of transportation and resources is not warranted. To visualize a city attempting to re-establish itself in a new environment minus the routine, traditional patterns of communication is to picture a complete disorganized society. Population decentralization and dispersion must be carried out more gradually and more subtly. Since it appears that human beings will not change their place of residence or work through fear of bombings, they might be induced to relocate for reasons of lower taxes, new job opportunities, or more pleasant recreational and health surroundings. Whatever the new enticements may be, they must be genuine and exciting inducements. People do not want to move out of cities to remote areas where there are no job opportunities or comfortable public services. To disperse an urban aggregate, therefore, a government must first decentralize industry with its attendant job opportunities.

In the final analysis, the problem of determining the optimum size of urban aggregates involves the necessity of weighing the wishes of men. Planners who would set limits to the size of human clusterings must ultimately face the question: What price is an urbanite willing

to pay, what sacrifices will he make in cost, convenience, and services, in order to remain in his present location, or to move to some new area? The values, hopes, and fears of men must always be consulted for the purpose of ascertaining the optimum size of urban groups. Armchair, ivory-tower planning of the location and size of populations invariably ends in defeat and frustration for all concerned.

**MOBILITY**

Urban society is a masslike society not merely because of increased aggregates but also because the people are unattached, floating, without roots in the soil of the social order. This setting relates people in an anonymous light; groups come to speak for individuals rather than the individual for himself. A true expression of this is the migratory worker who has no claim on anything to give him rights and status. He has no permanent job, no organization, therefore no services to bank upon because of his mobility. While the city is a social structure set over a geographic and technological base, its component parts are competing, conflicting, and accommodating individuals and groups in various degrees of unstable equilibrium. There is an everlasting shifting of persons and groups in space. Hence physical or ecological mobility is fundamental in the attempt to understand the social organization and spatial configuration of urban people. Mobility is the key to the interpretation of modern communities. In contemporary society mobility is not just a mere incident but is a cause of almost every form of social change, functioning to regroup persons and institutions. Such movement affects deeply social stability. However, only when horizontal mobility is accompanied by intensive vertical mobility, i.e., rapid movement between strata in the sense of social ascent and descent, is the belief in the general and eternal validity of one’s own thought-forms shaken. Vertical mobility is the decisive factor in making persons uncertain and skeptical of their traditional view of the world about them.\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) A further distinction should be made between social and ecological mobility. The former refers only to changes in social position—horizontally, as a person enters new social groups or leaves old ones of similar level to the new, or vertically, as he shifts from stratified social class to class. Ecological mobility in contrast refers only to changes in spatial position. The two types of mobility are, of course, closely interlocked. One’s position in the social scale strongly affects one’s ecological position in space. The task of the urban ecologist is to acquire sufficient knowledge about man’s spatial mobility to permit him to say: “Since you are located here on the spatial scale you are probably there on the social scale.”
Spatial mobility is a measure of change of ecological position, an index of expansion, invasion, and succession, and is measured in terms of (1) frequency of movement and (2) number of human and institutional contacts. Extreme mobility is a characteristic peculiar to metropolitan cities. McKenzie said that mobility may be considered as the pulse of a community: "Like the pulse of a human body, it is a process which reflects and is indicative of all the changes that are taking place in the community, and which is susceptible of analysis into elements which may be stated numerically." 18

There is always a tendency for greater movement within a city in prosperous days, with associated unrest and instability, while in periods of depression urban populations tend more toward inertia and permanence of residence. T. Earl Sullenger, in three research projects on intra-urban mobility in Omaha 19 over a period of some twenty years found among other things that the average mobility for the period covering 1927, 1928, and 1929 was 20.9 per cent. For the period 1935, 1936, and 1937 this had decreased to 13.4 per cent. For the period 1942 to 1945 the average mobility had increased to 20.4 per cent. The first and third periods included eras of prosperity, while the second era was marked by an economic depression. The highest rate of mobility appeared repeatedly among those engaged in clerical and sales occupations. Sixty-two per cent of those census tracts in which there was a large percentage of these workers showed a high rate. The lowest mobility rate was among the skilled workers. The unskilled workers likewise had a low mobility rate. The percentage of moves per tracts in which unskilled workers resided was approximately 20 per cent lower than the city's average. Those persons following professional or managerial vocations had about the same rate of mobility as the workers.

Sullenger found the highest rate of mobility in the blighted areas of Omaha. The average rate was one out of every eleven families for the city. The rate of mobility in the better residential areas approached nearer the city average, with one out of every ten families. It was found that the rate among Negroes was lower than the rate among whites. In the three tracts which comprised 52–89 per cent Negroes,

the average was either the same or lower than that of the city. Among foreign-born whites the rate of mobility was low. As the rate increased the percentage of foreign-born whites decreased. In six of the eight tracts in which the ratio of foreign-born whites was one out of seven families, the moves approximated the average for the city. Sullenger writes:

Foreign population is generally stable unless some social or economic maladjustment is involved. Italians, who are among the most recent immigrants, had a high mobile rate, which took a marked drop after a decade of adjustments. Czechs, who are among the oldest immigrants, maintain the lowest mobile rate.\(^{20}\)

The close relationship between old-age dependency and mobility was found to be significant. The census tracts having the highest number of aged persons receiving relief also had a high rate of mobility, while those having few old people on relief had a low percentage of moves.

The conclusion of this extensive study of mobility in Omaha was that the highest rates of horizontal mobility were found in areas of instability, unrest, dependency, and crime, that when horizontal mobility was accompanied by an ascent on the ladder of vertical mobility, stability generally followed; for the majority of those who rise on the vertical scale are the home-owners. Thus the key point of importance is that intra-urban mobility may contribute to the well-being as well as to the disorganization of the city. Its social significance may be far-reaching in either direction. This is not to infer that home ownership causes low mobility, but that those with interests of a sedentary character are likewise home-owners and disinclined to move frequently.

**MOBILITY AND TECHNOLOGY**

The high degree of human communication in our cities is made possible by technical devices, such as the telephone, streetcars, and the automobile. While the urban ecologist has no intrinsic interest in these technical devices, they become an object of study as factors

\(^{20}\)Ibid., pp. 562–563.
entering into the problem of mobility of the city population.\textsuperscript{21} Thus high mobility, as made possible by a stimulating technology, is closely tied up with social and ecological instability. Land values become an excellent index to mobility and therefore to social integration, since they reflect the relative degree of community activity. Louis Wirth says:

The mobility of a city population incident to city growth is reflected in the increased number of contacts, changes of movement, changes in appearance, and atmosphere of specific areas due to succession of population groups, and in differences in land values. Mobility implies not mere movement, but fresh stimulation, and increase in number and intensity of stimulants, and a tendency to respond more readily to new stimulation. The process by which the city absorbs and incorporates its own offspring or foreign elements into its life, and what becomes of them, may be referred to as the metabolism of city life. Mobility is an index of metabolism.\textsuperscript{22}

A city without buses, streetcars, subways, elevated trains, railroad and bus terminals, boulevards, airports, or other facilities for mass transport would be regarded as not having fully matured. These physical appurtenances, assuming immense size, are taken for granted in the city, and they are indispensable for carrying on the routines of living. As the steam engine helped to create an industrial revolution, the automobile might be said to have created a mobility revolution. The introduction of this new invention revolutionized not only travel but changed everything from business cycles to social courting. The effects of the automobile on ecology have been most impressive. The automobile assisted in the loosening up of urban centers. The industry of auto manufacturing grew like a weed, the root being the large urban centers like Detroit; and the shoots spread out all over the country through the media of gasoline stations and repair garages. Not only were cities and towns linked by highways, but the highways themselves created business fronts and people moved to live along these banks of income and transportation.


\textsuperscript{22} In R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, et al., \textit{The City} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, copyright 1925 by the University of Chicago), p. 211. By permission.
MOBILITY AND DECLINE OF PRIMARY ASSOCIATIONS

Spatial movement is intimately tied up with social disorganization in the city. The frequent changes in residence, from one hotel, home, or flat to another, or from one city to another, are often so frequent as to make some urban areas almost pathological. Least disturbing are the daily movements to and from work and the pendulum movements of city dwellers from home to points of amusement, adventure, or excitement, a phenomenon conceptualized under the term "routinization." This also includes the daily ingress and egress of people whose occupational or leisure-time activities carry them beyond the bonds of the city in which they reside.

Thus the rate of mobility invariably affects social relationships. A high rate of spatial mobility, with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and demoralize the person. It upsets or prevents traditional controls based upon informal sanctions. It promotes individuation, in the extreme a kind of erratic behavior, rather than social organization. In an unstable neighborhood marked by frequent residential change, life tends to decline because individuals and families have insufficient time to become socially established and thereby develop an interest in persons living near them. Indifference rather than intimacy or even conflict of interests becomes the standard of relationships. This is characteristic of apartment house districts and areas of unattached men in and around the central business districts. The traditional neighborhood with its similarity of interests or common occupational and social activities must be sought out in less mobile urban districts.

Spatial mobility, along with the impersonal, categorical contacts between people and the dominance of economic values, have combined to make social interaction in cities largely a matter of cold calculation. When transportation facilities are crude, the economic, religious, political, and recreational organization must necessarily be primary in character. Physical isolation and tribalism, familism, and feudalism have gone hand in hand. As new techniques of communication have appeared in the past few hundred years, Western peoples have experienced a continuing shift from small-scale, primary forms of group life toward larger-scale, secondary modes of association focused in the city. The person, through these greater contact oppor-
tunities, claims membership in the greater society. Mobility links him geographically and intellectually with a wider social world.

COMPETITION

Much has been written by urban ecologists on the importance of competition in the ecological framework of the city. Professor Park named two basic processes that underlie and organize all human life: competition and communication.\textsuperscript{23} Competition was viewed by Park as the preliminary organizing process which connects man with man and animate with inanimate nature in the struggle for existence. He believed that, as a result of competitive relations, men distribute themselves functionally over the landscape. Competition is an abstract, impersonal, nonsocial process, he said, which not only distributes men in space but also acts to organize them into groups through communication. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
Competition operates in the human (as it does in the plant and animal) community to bring about and restore the communal equilibrium, when, either by the advent of some intrusive factor from without or in the normal course of its life history, that equilibrium is disturbed.

Thus every crisis that indicates a period of rapid change, during which competition is intensified, moves over finally into a period of more or less stable equilibrium and a new division of labor. In this manner competition brings about a condition in which competition is superseded by cooperation.

It is when, and to the extent that, competition declines that the kind of order which we call society may be said to exist. In short, society, from the ecological point of view, and in so far as it is a territorial unit, is just the area within which biotic competition has declined and the struggle for existence has assumed higher and more sublimated forms.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

To examine human beings within this framework of competitive cooperation was, according to Park and his associates, the task of human ecology. Obviously these ecological theorists overemphasized the role of competition in the organization of human communities,

ignoring from the ecological standpoint the influence of social evaluation, of cooperation, or of culture generally in the sifting process of human beings. Unwitting competition is not all-powerful, operating by laws which reside outside of the realm of the socio-cultural complex.

Competition as described by Park was not actually a social process because it was placed on a biotic level. It was a matter of being unaware of one’s competitors owing to the absence of a system of symbolic communication. In modern community life, unwitting biotic competition has yielded to conscious competition and collaboration. Man modifies biotic competition through moral as well as legal restrictions. Malthus on population and Adam Smith on the wealth of nations are classic examples of viewing the world as a product of unwitting competition.

The movement of people from place to place in the city must be studied in the presence of volitional, purposeful, and personal factors, and not as mere accidental and incidental features of biotic processes and impersonal competition. Unconscious competition is rapidly becoming a minor element in the distribution of people and institutions. Man no longer competes with his fellows in a blind, groping fashion but through his wits, through shrewd, deliberate planning. This occurs in such deliberate acts as city zoning, immigration laws, tariffs, and restrictive covenants. Human policies, prejudices, and interests, arising out of sporadic or permanent consensus, are potent factors in the distribution of men and their institutions. Biotic competition has therefore given way to conscious competition rising from the fact that man, as an urban creature, lives by his wits rather than by instinct or tradition alone. The result is the emergence of the individual as a unit of thought and action. Men no longer compete simply for advantageous position in the economic order. They compete also for status, power, and prestige. Their relative position in space reflects the degree of success to which they have achieved their objectives. The notion of unconscious competition was greatly overworked, therefore, by early ecologists of the city. In urban society there is a certain minimal agreement among men and groups as to the cherished rewards of life, rewards which are not in every instance economic. The recognition that modern people live by hopes, fears, and expectations which organize and control their activities, that they have become conscious, thinking competitors, is a departure from the position of early eco-
logical theorists who visualized an abstract ecological man motivated by physiological appetites and governed in his pursuit of life's goal by competition with others who sought the same thing because physiologically they were like him.\textsuperscript{25}

**CONSCIOUS COMPETITION AND PRIMARY RELATIONS**

The pattern of conscious competition has always had a place in the primary as in the secondary community. Commonplace is the struggle for wealth, profitable location, status, and other marks of power. With the appearance of a money economy and commercialism in American life, the small community resident has become more and more aware of the importance of competition. To make a good farmer or small-town merchant one must be on his toes. One feels compelled to adopt the urban ways of taking risks and seeking profits. In the early American period, when a self-sufficient economy was the chief pattern of farming, the competitive spirit along economic lines was less evident. Cooperative barn-raising, planting, harvesting, and other mutual-aid enterprises were common among neighbors. These traits of primary-group life tend to disappear in the face of anxious concern to escape failure by showing a cash profit at the end of the year.

**SUGGESTED READINGS**


A pilot study to show the importance of different forms of transportation in the maintenance of the major functions which the central

\textsuperscript{25} In the judgment of James A. Quinn: "It is perhaps unfortunate that the term 'competition' has come to be widely accepted in sociology as synonymous with the ecological type of relation. In the first place, many instances of impersonal ecological interaction involve cooperation rather than opposition. Allee demonstrates conclusively that animals unconsciously cooperate with one another either by lessening environmental dangers that threaten the others or by increasing the resources on which others depend.\textsuperscript{26} Some of his illustrative examples involve direct cooperation and not merely the broader 'competitive cooperation' that Park and Burgess recognize. In the second place, the term 'competition' is needed to designate a sub-type of opposition that occurs at both ecological and social levels. For these two reasons this book does not use 'competition' as synonymous with ecological interaction."—James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology* (copyright, 1950, by Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York), p. 298. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

\textsuperscript{26} Warder C. Allee, (1) *The Social Life of Animals* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1938); (2) *Animal Aggregations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); (3) *Animal Life and Social Growth* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1932).
business district performs for the metropolitan area. In contrast with census materials it is a first attempt to measure the location of people during daylight hours.


This study, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, concludes that it is not easy to get away from atomic bombs regardless of the size of the city.


A short statement of the difficulties in defining the proper size of a city. Duncan thinks the small to moderate sized city is most suitable for Americans.


Chapters IV and V discuss urban aggregation and the metropolitan district as an aggregation unit.
DOMINANCE

Dominance is one of the important concepts in the human ecology of the city. As used by most urban ecologists it refers to the controlling position of one or more human units or functions among competing or collaborating elements. We might say it involves the idea of the survival of the fittest, survival depending not simply upon economic factors but upon social, political, geographic, and technological forces as well. Unfortunately it has been used primarily as a device to explain the pattern of the community rather than its repatterning. That is, it has been used as a static rather than a dynamic concept, demonstrating that all the spatially fixed aspects of a community's structure, such as roads, factories, and homes, become integrated into fairly permanent patterns, certain of these functions dominating in one area while others are subordinated.

However, in a growing city one gets only the illusion of stability. If all other forces were equal, which they never seem to be, then we would observe a permanent community pattern. But since this is not the situation we must avoid conceiving of the concept of dominance in the urban setting as a static idea. In this writer's judgment the idea of dominance should be used to show how a community grows up, how it shapes and reshapes itself in time and space.

Those who have used the concept in their urban research state that the ecological center of the American city is invariably the market place, which, as the prime center of community dominance, acts as a central vortex of the community. There we find retailing and comple-
mentary service institutions such as banks, brokerages, and cafes, plus regional institutions of a specialized character. Owing to the persistent pressure to locate in the center of economic dominance, the population of a growing city will invariably take its cues from this central point and expand outward from it. Those parties who can enjoy the greatest net profit from the central location can pay the higher price for the land or for its rental. The dominance of this central area, where the greatest numbers converge during the day, actually conditions the growth and differentiation of outer areas by its strong influence; this influence must be measured by the distance of this center from interdependent utilities, calculated in terms of time-cost, and not by physical distance alone. Dominance has thus become an inseparable part of the theory of concentric zones and sectors to be explained in Chapter XIII.

Undoubtedly the most penetrating study of economic dominance is that of Don J. Bogue's *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study of Dominance and Subdominance.* Following the usage of the concept as laid down by R. D. McKenzie and N. S. B. Gras, classical ecologist and economist respectively, Bogue is concerned exclusively with sustenance activities, demonstrating quite convincingly that the metropolis has a definite structure and pattern with regard to which the various parts of the society stand in relation to each other.

Selecting sixty-seven American metropolises and using raw data for population, manufacturing, wholesale trade, retail trade, and services from the Sixteenth Census (1940) of the United States, Bogue reports the following findings, among others.

**URBAN-RURAL COMPOSITION OF THE HINTERLAND POPULATION**

With increasing distance from the center of the metropolis to the periphery of the hinterland, the proportion of the total population which is urban decreases, and the proportion of the population which

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4 Bogue, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
Fig. 1. Urban-rural composition of the hinterland population by distance from the nearest metropolis and size class of the metropolis. United States, 1940
(Source: compiled from Sixteenth Census of the United States.)
is rural-farm increases. The proportion of the population which is rural-nonfarm does not follow the same pattern in the metropolitan communities with large central cities as it does in those with small central cities. As shown in Figure 1, the proportion of the population which is rural-nonfarm steadily increases with distance for metropolitan regions with large central cities. For metropolitan regions with small central cities the proportion of the population which is rural-nonfarm steadily decreases with distance from the central city to about sixty-five miles and then increases again.

**STRUCTURE OF RETAIL TRADE**

Dr. Bogue's major findings concerning the pattern of retail trade in American metropolitan communities may be summarized as follows:

1. The function of retailing is widely dispersed throughout the hinterland. . . . The central city functions primarily as a major shopping center for its own population and suburbs, and as a source of specialized goods for a limited trade territory. There is evidence that, to a distance of about 45 miles, the retail establishments of the central city are used as sources of supply to satisfy at least some portion of the total needs of the population. Beyond this point the hinterland appears independent, to a large extent, of the retail activities of the central city.

2. Intermetropolitan sectors tend to be more specialized, at all distances, than other sectors, which may result from a retailer preference for locations which provide ready access to two or more central cities.

3. The metropolitan position of a hinterland city seems to be a more important factor than its size in determining the intensity of retail specialization.

4. Rural areas and minor cities provide the bulk of their retail requirements locally, but become heavily dependent upon an urban center if one is present.

5. From whatever angle the retail structure of the metropolitan community is viewed, the metropolis plays only an indirect role, that of acting as a factor in the size and location of principal hinterland cities. This indirect influence of the metropolis seems to be identified with those factors which make for decreasing frequency of urban places with increasing distance, in the presence or absence of a major intermetropolitan route, and in the general accessibility of one part of the hinterland to another.6

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STRUCTURE OF WHOLESALE TRADE

1. The central city is several times more specialized in wholesale trade than is any hinterland area. It is also more specialized than are most hinterland cities. In fact, a very high degree of specialization in wholesale activities, when accompanied by greater than average specialization in the other activities, appears to be one mark of the metropolis.

2. The large central cities are more specialized than the smaller classes of central cities. Large hinterland cities are more specialized than small ones. Counties containing cities are more specialized than counties containing no cities. From all angles, there is evidence that an urban location is preferred. The dispersing of wholesale trade into small cities and rural areas seems to be practiced only when service to the more dispersed retail and service establishments appears to require it.

3. With increasing distance from the metropolis, the principal hinterland cities become progressively more specialized. At the greatest distances the "other areas" are also more specialized. Some of this specialization is due, undoubtedly, to the larger average trade area of hinterland cities with increasing distance. Yet the extreme specialization of the central city indicates that the metropolis performs wholesale functions for a wide area. Retail and service establishments over a very wide area appear to depend upon the wholesale establishments of the metropolis as a source of supply. The scope of this dependence appears to decrease with distance. For some wholesale activities, however, almost complete dependence upon the wholesale establishments of the metropolis is necessary throughout the entire metropolitan community.

4. Cities in intermetropolitan sectors tend to be more specialized in wholesale trade than do cities in other types of sectors. Local sectors are much less specialized than are other types of sectors.\(^7\)

STRUCTURE OF MANUFACTURING

Bogue found that although manufacturing specialization is no less patterned with respect to the metropolis than are retail trade, wholesale trade, and services, the elements of the pattern differ considerably from those of the other sustenance activities.

1. At the core of the metropolitan community there is a zone which is 25-64 miles in radius, within which high levels of manufacturing specialization can be attained by individual principal hinterland cities and even by

Fig. 2. Specialization in manufacturing—rural areas and cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants. Per capita value added by manufacturing of counties, with cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants excluded, classified by size of largest city contained and distance from the nearest metropolis. United States, 1939–1940
small cities and rural areas. Outside this zone, specialization in manufac-
turing decreases very rapidly with increasing distance.

2. Although the metropolis itself is highly specialized in manufactur-
ing, it is little more specialized, if at all, than are the individual city and county units within the inner zones. This is true in spite of the fact that these zones include large concentrations of rural-farm populations, which are combined with the other populations for the purpose of computing many of the per capita indexes.

3. The level of manufacturing specialization is higher in class A and B metropolitan centers (metropolises where the central cities are large) and at all distances into their hinterlands than is the level in class C and D central cities and their hinterlands (metropolises with smaller central cities).

4. Intermetropolitan sectors are no more specialized than are sub-
dominant sectors, and both are much more specialized than are local sectors.

5. The larger hinterland city tends to be more specialized in manufactur-
ing than do the smaller hinterland cities, but there is no great consis-
tency in this tendency. A location inside or outside the inner zone of manufacturing specialization seems to be of much greater relative im-
portance.

6. Manufacturing in small cities and rural areas occurs on an extensive scale only in the vicinity of cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants.\(^8\)

**STRUCTURE OF SERVICE\(^10\)**

1. Service establishments tend to cling to urban centers to a much greater degree than do retail trade establishments. Compared to the areas surrounding them, both central cities and principal hinterland cities are more specialized in services than in retail trade. The degree of specialization is related to the size of the hinterland city and to the size of the central city.

2. With increasing distance from the metropolis there is a gradual decrease in service specialization in each zone as a whole. With increasing


\(^10\) Dr. Bogue (*Ibid.*, p. 164) adopted the following seven major groups of service es-
tablishments as being distinct from retailing functions:

- Personal services: bakeshops, laundries, etc.
- Business services: advertising agencies, etc.
- Services allied to transportation: warehousing, etc.
- Automotive repair services: repair shops, parking lots, etc.
- Other repair services: radio, typewriter, electrical, etc.
- Custom industries: welding, cabinet-making, bookbinding, etc.
- Miscellaneous services: interior decorating, etc.
distance from the metropolis, however, the hinterland cities tend to become more specialized in service functions. The other areas tend to maintain or to increase slightly the degree of their specialization with increasing distance.

3. Cities lying in intermetropolitan sectors tend to be more specialized than cities lying in other types of sectors.

4. Rural areas and small cities either depend heavily upon the principal hinterland cities for a large proportion of their services, or consume far fewer services per capita than do residents of larger cities. The dependence of the outlying areas upon urban places is confirmed by a steady increase in service specialization with increasing size of largest city contained, and a rise in per capita values for cities whose radii of trade territory become larger with increasing distance.\(^{11}\)

Dr. Bogue's study is unquestionably of great importance to the urban economist, financier, and geographer, and is of some significance to the urban ecologist by way of showing the organization of the metropolitan community as a balance held by the center. However, the ecologist is more interested in processes, i.e., how urban space is re-used through time as invasion and succession processes proceed.

**GRADIENT**

The concept of gradient is a corollary to dominance. Ernest W. Burgess defined gradient as "the rate of change of a variable condition like poverty, home ownership, births, or divorce, from the standpoint of its distribution over a given area."\(^{12}\) Basically, gradient is the measure by which we ascertain the degree of dominance which a center exercises in successive zones out toward its periphery. Gradients reveal the pattern of dominance; therefore, the degree of increasing or decreasing intensity is the measure of the gradient. By combining this concept with the other concepts of invasion and succession we gain an understanding of how the dominance-gradient situation operates. Figure 3 presents the gradient of juvenile delinquency from the center of Chicago to the periphery, as measured by Clifford R. Shaw and his collaborators.


Fig. 3. Delinquency rates in representative mile square areas in Chicago, 1927. Reproduced from Clifford R. Shaw and others, "Delinquency Areas"

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, copyright 1929 by the University of Chicago, p. 69. By permission.)
Their data show the percentage of all males 10 to 16 brought before the courts during a year period. In one area near the Loop, 37 per cent of all boys were involved. At the outer fringe of the city few were apprehended for delinquency. Shaw and his colleagues conclude that rates are high near the center of the city because population is mobile, community life is disorganized, social controls are few and ineffective, and patterns of adult crime and family disorganization center there.

To study the gradient of a function we begin with the point of greatest dominance, the area marked by the highest proportionate incidence of the phenomenon to be measured. As we move away from this central and generally unstable point we are made aware of increasing stability or balance, the gradual alteration of the function denoted in the central area. Thus gradient is to imply a measure of receding dominance. The principle underlying this pattern is that a great many physical, economic, and cultural characteristics are correlated both directly and indirectly. By studying the gradients of delinquency, disease, automobile accidents, or family disintegration in specific communities, the accumulated data will be of immediate practical value to social agencies dealing with these problems. Once statistical procedures are applied to this concept, once the concept is worked out into quantitative terms, civic and social agencies will not only possess an objective criterion of community conditions but also, which has hitherto been almost entirely lacking, an objective standard for the measurement of the efficiency of their work. Such ecological knowledge will contribute to the present efforts to make civic and social efforts less romantic and more effective.

In studying gradients pertaining to such phenomena as home ownership, poverty, divorce, desertion, delinquency, population ratios, or ethnic affiliations, one is actually studying the spatial evolution of a particular function—the development in terms of the degree of equilibrium, stability, and dominance, specifically, the spatial history of a natural area. This type of research, of which the Bogue study is an example, is a matter of denoting the influence of a function over a surrounding settlement, observing how it varies with distance outward. To the student interested in applying this concept to a particular function it is suggested that he select a series of census tracts or enumeration districts which cut across the zones of the city from the central business district outward to the most peripheral tract or dis-
trict. Select perhaps twenty census units along a five-to-nine-mile radius, measuring the frequency of the phenomenon of interest (non-voting, birth rates, crime, race conflicts) from the center of the city outward. Keep in mind that the data must be based upon frequency per given quantity of population. The rates of frequency per one-thousand population is the most common ratio calculated.

Woodbury uncovered evidence of the gradient character of trade in the Chicago region by studying the amount of front-foot space per thousand population devoted to business purposes in various cities as one moves outward from the central city. He found that the amount of business space increased from 42.5 front feet per thousand population for cities located in the 20–30 minute time zone from the central business district of Chicago, to 84.3 front feet for cities more than two hours’ distance from the metropolis. He concluded that “the ratio of business frontage to population increases with increased distance from the central city. In other words, the size of the business district varies inversely with the accessibility of the central business and shopping district of the region.”

SEGREGATION

The selective process which reveals the tendency of like units to form into clusters, these units tending to be quite similar in economic strength and in terms of various likes and dislikes, is called the segregative process. In the city we are conscious of hundreds of small, apparently isolated clusters of individuals and institutional types which in reality make up the substructure of the community’s broader areas or zones. For instance, we are all aware of automobile rows, second-hand store districts, shopping areas catering principally to buyers of female wearing apparel (in Kansas City one such district is called “petticoat lane”), wholesale districts, hobo stems, slums, and “gold coasts,” all appropriately placed like sections of a jig-saw puzzle. As natural areas they draw into their respective spheres those persons and functions which are appropriate to them and repel those which are hostile or alien. For example, a sixty-dollar a week clerk may prefer to live on the Chicago Gold Coast, but quite obviously his

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income will not permit it. He is more likely to occupy a kitchenette apartment or a modest room in a low-income area. Also, minority and racial groups become aware of the prejudices directed toward them and thus avoid contacts in areas which might lead to derision, criticism, or discrimination. The logical recourse is to cast one’s lot with those persons located in a hospitable area. Foreign immigrants are invariably at a disadvantage in finding a good location. Since buildings have a tendency to outlast original occupants, individuals with meager means are obliged to live in the less desirable, deteriorated areas. Immigrants, as they arrived in waves in this country, usually found themselves with the same occupational opportunities and thus were drawn to the same general socio-economic areas of American cities, which points, in turn, to the fact that people sift according to occupations. Little ecological training is required to recognize areas of the unskilled with low wages, districts inhabited by the skilled and semi-skilled, as well as areas occupied by bosses, professional people, administrators, and the wealthy. The occupational areas are further delineated by linguistic bonds, traditional sentiments, and politics.

Segregation is therefore a matter of pointing out the concentration of types of population, physical structures, and utilities within a natural area. The popularized meaning of the term has tended to distort this fact, referring to racial, ethnic, and economic identifications and concomitant friction with outsiders. That is, the common understanding of the term is that of a condition of forced action by somebody or some group against somebody else or against another group. It must be made clear that segregation may proceed upon any base. People will divide on the basis of economic, occupational, and religious as well as upon convenience grounds. They will cluster into areas on the basis of common trades. The aristocracy of a city will often cluster residentially around golf courses, an amusement which identifies them. Each community tends to identify its elite by various measures, one of which is exclusive location. Through a period of time lower socio-economic groups will inherit all of this prestige-bearing area, as the elite seek in turn higher status locations for residential purposes. This sifting, segregating process is constant, retarded here and accelerated there by sentiments and human policies as reflected in ordinances, restrictive covenants, and land speculation, among other things. For example, we commonly hear politicians refer to certain wards or precincts of a city as being Republican or Democrat. This segregation
of political types is by no means due to the texture of the soil in these respective areas but to the clustering of people with similar life chances. The political ward and precinct reflect this clustering in its political manifestations. Segregation, therefore, is not simply the forced clustering of people as commonly held; it has voluntary aspects often developing unwittingly or according to a plan. Jewish Ghettos in large foreign cities were voluntarily created long before they were compulsory.\textsuperscript{14} And when the compulsory aspects of these camps were abolished they continued to exist as voluntary groups. They exist in part today on the basis of such voluntarism. In the United States, segregation of Negroes in the urban North has been in operation despite the claim by many white citizens that they are less prejudiced and discriminating than Southern whites. Negro discrimination in the North, as contrasted with the South, is not simply a matter of comparing degrees of intensity, i.e., more segregation versus less segregation; it is a matter of different types of segregation. In Southern cities, segregation is generally forced, marked by physical segregation coupled with situational social nearness. In Northern cities, however, the reverse situation tends to prevail: one of social segregation but physical nearness. That is, in the North, Negroes and whites rub shoulders on commuting trains, in department stores, and in one another’s residential districts as they pursue their work. Housing segregation is but a consequence of social segregation. The attempt in the North to reinforce residential segregation by law was never quite successful. The various governments have not reinforced white public policy on segregation. In the South, while formal measures are effective in producing and maintaining social and physical segregation, they are less effective than the extralegal measures based upon the cleavages of interests.

Therefore, in measuring physical distance between people the ecological cannot ignore social distance.

\textbf{THE FUNCTION OF EMPTY SPACE}

Unoccupied space frequently serves to separate contiguous but potentially antagonistic peoples who otherwise are interdependent. Nicholas Spykman, in discussing the sociology of Georg Simmel, wrote in 1925:

\textsuperscript{14} Louis Wirth, \textit{The Ghetto} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).
Another spatial expression of specific sociological formations is the use of empty space for the purpose of expressing neutrality. Primitive peoples often laid waste a small strip of land between their territories and agreed that neither of the two groups was to enter that borderland. They relinquished the advantages which such an occupation would have in the case of an offensive for the advantages which accrued from the non-occupation by the opponent for their own defensive. The empty strip between them was the spatial expression of a relationship of armed peace, which might be formulated in the words: If you do not harm me, I shall not harm you.

The neutrality of empty space obtains a different significance if, instead of merely separating the groups, it is used for positive services. Its function can be, not only to separate, but also to unite the groups. Meetings of individuals which cannot take place on the territory of either group may be arranged to take place in a neutral area. The neutral area in primitive times is the uninhabited region between the territories occupied by the tribes. It is the place where the trading is done and where individuals potentially at war meet under conditions of peace. And the existence of that unoccupied empty space is the most characteristic expression of their peculiar relationship of potential antagonism.¹⁵

Transferring this observation to the ecology of the modern city we make the generalization: physical barriers and empty space function as social barriers. In the city the back fence, the alley, and the thoroughfare serve as man-made physical barriers between potentially antagonistic peoples. We observe how urbanites are inclined to communicate socially with others across a street rather than with people residing in the rear of their own geographic block; hence social and physical segregation takes place in the same locale (Figure 4). From this we may conclude that more friction will generally ensue from hostile groups looking across at one another on two adjacent geographic blocks than if they resided on opposite sides of the same block, divided merely by an alley or fence. Countless are the cases where two warring ethnic or racial groups discover themselves in social contact with one another at the moment that an intermediate buffer group, peaceful with the antagonistic groups, withdraws.

In such an instance, what is the character of this new battleground? What we may think at the outset to be a Negro block, in contrast with

a white block, often proves erroneous, since geographic units do not always embrace homogeneous groupings. City planners and civic leaders, upon recognizing this fact, are faced with the problem of establishing effective barriers in the effort to minimize overt conflict between the two contiguous, hostile groups. Community leaders may take one of three plausible steps to offset or minimize overt conflict: (1) re-establish a new buffer group between the two hostile forces,

![Diagram](image1)

**Fig. 4. The City block socially and geographically perceived**

![Diagram](image2)

**Fig. 5. Hypothetical situation showing two hostile groups in conflict upon withdrawal of a buffer group**

this group acting as a social barrier through being cordial to both sides; (2) erect an artificial barrier in the form of a high wall, canal, or parkway minus crosswalks, recognizing that physical barriers tend to become social barriers; (3) permit each hostile group to occupy mutually the same vacant intermediate geographic block but on opposite sides, separated preferably by an artificial barrier. Since racial and ethnic conflict is usually the consequence of actual or threatened invasion, city officials should have prior knowledge of potential conflicts in areas as described above and should have programs of actions established well in advance to cope with such eventualities.
To study segregation in the city is to visualize, therefore, the deliberate as well as unwitting struggles between groups as they seek to occupy their optimum location. Through this process groups and institutions find their "niche" in the interwoven aggregate of the city. This optimum position is determined by occupation, income, religion, political affiliation, education, and other indices of social standing. In other words, through observing the location in the community where a person settles, we gain early insight into his conceptions of ambition and success as well as his chances for achieving them. Land values coupled with rents function effectively as a primary determinant in limiting choice of position in the community. It is in this sense that the area selects and segregates. Areas come to take on physical, social, geographic, economic, and psychological characteristics. Whatever may be the reason for the original segregation, this tendency becomes cumulative. That is, one area trait tends to reinforce another. Religion may, for example, reinforce politics, which in turn may reinforce recreation. Thus by removing one trait we may observe the influence of this event upon all the rest of the areal traits. For example, we know that the church is affected in slum areas when the growing generations move out as a consequence of realizing new economic opportunity. The church in consequence becomes marooned as to numbers as well as in leadership. In South Chicago, church edifices have contained successive religious groups. When the ethnic origin of a church disintegrates, the church itself is in jeopardy.\textsuperscript{16}

The economic factor plays a primary role in selecting persons for one location or another in the city, but is not the only selector. When we recognize that a person is an individual with a status and role in society, we may expect him to reside, work, and play in areas which cater to his and others' conceptions of himself. Some areas are marked by occupation (homes for train porters, meat packers, college professors) others by race, age, sex, or nationality. Some zones are marked by a combination of these attributes; e.g., Hyde Park in South Chicago stands in contrast to the downtown Ghetto by its Jews of upper-income, non-fundamentalist leanings in Judaism, and those seeking to minimize the Jewish stamp wherever possible. It is in this manner that areas act to sort and sift human beings, each area drawing into it persons as well as utilities that are in accord with it and

repelling those who are not congenial, driving them toward more hospitable natural areas of segregation. The result is a tendency toward homogeneity, an eventual shift from an accommodative level of interaction to a more cultural plane of relationships. Distinct human and institutional types ultimately appear. Individuals and institutions, it may be said, enjoy the privilege of choosing their position in the community only insofar as their types or functions are compatible with those types and functions which characterize the locations in which they seek to locate. The privilege of choosing a position in the community assumes, of course, the presence of more than one acceptable area. Thus we visualize a reciprocal situation, the person selecting his location on the basis of his vocational interests, intelligence, personal ambition, race, sex, and other attributes, while at the same time the area draws him to itself upon his exhibiting the required characteristics. By examining the process of segregation, therefore, we are studying the manner in which natural areas come into existence.

**DELINEATING THE NATURAL AREA OF SEGREGATION**

One of the tasks of the human ecologist is to demonstrate the importance of defining cities as well as areas within cities functionally and historically and not statically or arbitrarily. We have already said that to conceive of the human community only as an aggregate of individuals in time and space is to strip it of all its meaningful aspects; that no one ever looks at the community as a sheer aggregate in time and space. The human community is complicated by many cultural factors. Numbers, or sheer aggregation, must always be qualified by standards of density. Whether we are talking about the number of people per acre, city, block, or room, we find it necessary to consult the wishes of people. How many people should live on an acre of ground, in an “average” city, in one room? Density depends upon the kind of habitation, i.e., the type of space. In other words, space for what?—this becomes the criterion for measuring the dimension of human aggregates. We observe, for example, an inclination by city planners to look upon population density as something to be avoided. The housing problem is visualized in terms of congestion. Yet a brief inspection of residential districts of our large cities will reveal that the most comfortable life occurs in the most heavily populated areas,
namely the skyscraper apartment zones. Actually the density of the slum is low in comparison with the density in the so-called "Gold Coasts" of American cities. This distorted conception of density as something which is bad and undesirable may be attributed to the notion that there is only one kind of density, namely ground density. Yet in the city we have still another kind of density, namely floor density. There are more people per square acre in most "Gold Coast" or "Town House" districts than in the slums because the former contain tall buildings whereas the latter contain structures rarely extending more than two or three floors above the street. Consequently one must measure slums primarily in terms of ground density and measure business districts and fashionable skyscraper apartment areas by floor density. There is considerable need for ecological research of cities in terms of these different types of congestion. In fact, it seems surprising that there is no revealing study on the size of the human community under different conditions of natural habitat or technological development. Inasmuch as the relationship of numbers to space is fundamental to urban ecology there is great need for studies of the habitat in relation to the way the community grows up. Unfortunately this has been ignored in empirical research.

Administrative versus Natural Areas. Because ecologists find it fruitful to define urban space instrumentally, it becomes necessary for us to distinguish between natural and administrative areas of segregation. Ecologists have long been aware of the fact that the incidence of social problems and the intricate network of social interrelationships conform only by accident to arbitrarily delimited areas. Only by accident do the influences originating in Los Angeles, New York City, or Chicago stop when reaching the respective administrative city, county, or state boundary lines. Administrative areas only rarely coincide with ecological or natural areas. Furthermore, to look at the landscape alone, as is done in the study of plant and animal ecology, would lead us astray concerning the establishment of human areas. The human ecologist means by "landscape" its use for transportation, industry, dwellings, or parks, specifically—use for a socially accepted purpose.

Thus the problem is to distinguish between areas as we arbitrarily set them up and areas as they naturally or historically evolve. In the city, for example, residential areas do not conform to the neat lines of precincts, wards, boroughs, and other political and administrative
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boundaries. An administrative area implies "arbitrariness." It resists modification. A common way of establishing large administrative areas is to draw the boundary lines along mountain ranges or around valleys or watersheds. These are lines which have been set up originally by nature and adopted by man. If the lines do not conform with these nature-made boundaries, then men have been prone to draw arbitrarily straight lines ignoring oceans, rivers, and cultures. Our administrative boundaries for cities, counties, and states, furthermore, remain in existence for such long periods of time that people cultivate deep sentimental regard for them and sense a decided thrill or feeling of depression when crossing over them, with the result that in this sense the administrative area tends toward homogeneity. When a tourist passes into California, by noting the appropriate road sign (though posted in a wind-blown desert) he may have prompt images of movie stars, palm trees, and fruit groves. Some have ventured that this tendency may be explained by the different colors used by cartographers to designate different states on a map. Whatever the explanation, administrative boundary lines, statically conceived, long ago outlived their broader practical usefulness. These traditional borders function in the twentieth century to the disadvantage of American communities from the standpoint of effective administration. Chicago, for example, spills into Indiana and Wisconsin insofar as economic, social, and cultural influences are concerned. Chicago, like many other cities, is situated near a state boundary line; the explanation rests in the fact that those characteristics which make up our metropolitan centers were determined when water transportation was strategic. The waterway became a convenient boundary for states as well. Thus cities in America are frequently gateways to political states. These political lines, while originally intended to keep the social, geographic, and political as well as economic phenomena in a state of balance, now inhibit free human movement. All this is not true with plants and animals which move wherever they please. Human beings erect guards to keep others from crossing invisible boundary lines; although disease, famine, unemployment, and crime, as well as family disorganization, do not fit into these static administrative patterns. These phenomena have patterns of their own, and shift in accordance with the total conditions of life.

Urban ecologists have, accordingly, developed the techniques of base maps, spot maps, and rate maps for the accurate exploration and
delineation of the actual incidence and distribution of human factors. Unfortunately, our census data tend to picture the human community as a political administrative unit, giving the impression of human settlement in accordance with the places where people sleep rather than their more important day-time locations. Census data marshaled on this basis give a false impression of the economic and social entity which constitutes a metropolis. Human ecology seeks to contribute a more realistic picture of human settlement, for the benefit of those persons and agencies concerned with social control and planning, by defining areas functionally. Actually, we need as many areas as there are problems of analysis; but since this would obviously lead only to greater confusion it is more appropriate to outline a few natural areas which embody sufficient space and human life to allow for effective control.

This distinction between administrative and natural boundaries points to the fact that the ecologist is concerned with complex factors. Technological, social, economic, political, and moral controls are recognized as decisive elements and functioning on a level of interdependence. The natural area is defined by the range of these actual functions—functions which are constantly in flux. Administrative areas, however, are defined by law and are relatively static. Social planning and community organization become confused and ineffectives because the two areas are not made to coincide. City planning eventually reaches its limit in the corporate sense of the term, and under modern conditions is forced into the larger field of the region, an ecological area which reaches far beyond the limits and jurisdiction of any one municipal corporation. Empirical studies by ecologists have succeeded in pointing to the theoretical as well as the practical usefulness of the natural area approach through tracing the reach of the newspaper, stock exchange, and professional organization, together with health, welfare, educational, governmental, and cultural institutions.

Social planners are beginning to recognize that urban social problems are centered around populations in a functional, not static, manner. Economically, the metropolitan region, as a natural area, is not only the hope but the battleground of urban democracy. Sociologically, it is the center of intellectual behavior. The social planner properly trained in human ecology can draw up the lags and reduce conflicts by setting up regional controls rather than cumbersome,
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expensive city, county, and state controls.\(^{17}\) In this way benefits are
equalized in a democratic society. However, as arbitrary administra-
tive boundaries continue to define the economic lines between people
and processes, cities will continue to suffer in their resources and
land values owing to technological advancement. The wealthy,
through the use of the automobile and commuting train, are inclined
to live outside of the city limits, yet make their money in the city with
the result that the community receives no tax revenue from these peo-
ple who enjoy the greatest returns from working and recreating in it.
If the city is to survive as a unit of social, political, and economic life,
some sort of regionalism in government must be set up legally. Talent
is reaping the harvest of the city without contributing its obligations.
Cities more and more are becoming less self-sufficient. The budgets
are annually more difficult to balance. In one form or another, fed-
eral and state funds are solicited to maintain the city with its demands
for increasing services for its citizens. Because it no longer matters
where you live from the standpoint of enjoying urban conveniences,
because civilization invariably catches up with you, for cities to sur-
vive as economic-political units they require a new legal and social
definition, regionally conceived. Cities are demanding more functional
representation in county and state political matters rather than terri-
torial representation. Territory does not always define the problem as
well as the function. With electricity we have removed the last ves-
tiges of geographic determinism. We live in the realm of possibilities;
we can choose our way of life. Agriculture, for example, is in reality
an interstate commerce process. Local problems are becoming na-
tional in scope. A word of caution: one should not assume, of course,
that all local problems can be more effectively handled on the broad

\(^{17}\) On the surface, social planning represents a direct contradiction of ecology's
assumption that it deals solely with the "natural." Classical ecologists considered
economic competition as a determinant of space relations of man—that this arrange-
ment is "natural." Division of labor with its concomitant occupational, institutional,
and residential distribution was considered natural by ecologists because it stemmed
from competition. But why should service institutions be more natural in that sense
than as the result of human policies? Human ecologists will eventually have to face
reality and recognize the role that culture plays in affecting the division of labor.
They must include not only geographic units but also political forces and units.
Obviously geographic natural areas are not identical with political or administrative
areas; yet they are inextricably intertwined. Political groups are turning their atten-
tion more and more to natural geographic areas (T.V.A. and more local geographic
areas based upon problems of water needs, sewage disposal, grazing areas). For such
administrative bodies to control their desired programs prediction is needed, and the
ecologist can provide this information. Thus ecology does not establish the ends of
planning but puts in the details.
regional level. Broad control often proves insensitive to individual and community autonomy and problems.

In the past, owing to lack of communication, small populations developed unique little cultures of their own; there was considerable inbreeding. Localities tended to produce an esoteric universe-of-discourse and distinct social types. Distinctive dialects, customs, housing, and clothing emerged. But the effect of invention, especially in transportation and communication, has meant a diminishing of this distinctive influence of locality. Small localities have been made part of larger regions. There are, to be sure, local mayors, local police, and small stores still in existence, but increasingly important are metropolitan, state, and national police, chain stores, and branch banks. Statewide and regional organizations are becoming more common. Modern inventions have brought about cultural similarities of people formerly isolated and culturally unique. Thus there is no longer so great a need for political or economic representation on the basis of local areas—such as townships and counties. Democracy becomes unnecessarily expensive through maintaining these old institutions. There are, for example, about 1,500 units of government in the greater Chicago area, most of them having the power to levy taxes. There are 159 counties in Georgia and 105 in Kansas, most of which were laid out in the days of the horse and buggy. These counties, averaging about twenty miles across, may be traversed in less than an hour's time by automobile. A person can now ride to the capital city of his state in almost as quick a time as he could at one time ride to the county seat. Today many counties are unable to furnish the social services demanded by the citizens. The cost of county as well as city government is high. The state of Georgia might well be served with only 10 counties instead of 159. Correspondingly, many cities, because of increasing cost stemming in part from individuals residing outside the boundary lines but deriving their economic sustenance from the central city, might better serve their members by defining their political boundaries in terms of the reach of the socio-economic life. In some metropolitan areas, when the social organization has not kept pace with technological change, special regional districts for specific purposes have been set up, for example, traffic regulation districts, park supervision districts, and crime control areas, as well as water supply and sewage disposal districts. These special districts transcend city and county lines in many cases. On the whole, how-
ever, efforts to create adequate governmental units for metropolitan regions have been fruitless. Society is reluctant to alter its administrative areas despite the full recognition of the fact that the world tends to organize itself around pivotal centers. The world looks toward specific centers for its information, news, and tastes. Rome is the center of religious life for the Catholics. New York City and London are the centers of world finance. Paris and Hollywood are centers of fashion. For Americans, Las Vegas is an on-coming playground and divorce capital. With the increased tempo of human communication, many formerly dispersed functions now tend to become centered in one city, often for no logical reason whatever. Hartford in Connecticut is known as the insurance center, and Boston as the wool center. This regional tendency will affect the structuring of social life more and more in the future. Metropolitan regions will extend as far as the returns are profitable. One can, therefore, sketch the radius of a metropolitan region by noting how far the influences reach regarding wholesaling, retailing, commutation, crime, recreation, milk supply, newspaper subscriptions, or banking.

The crucial question therefore becomes one of finding out when, in the delineation of the natural area, we meet with diminishing control from the central point of dominance. Practically viewed, when is it unprofitable to extend an area? Where, for example, would you, as a business executive, establish your field offices or your assembly plants? Where would you, as an adviser to bankers and government leaders, establish new federal reserve banks? Precisely stated, you should place a central headquarters in the ecological center of the activity as you see it. Following from this define the outer boundary of the region. To trace the natural area of a city you might determine the breadth of retailing, wholesaling, and radio listening; determine the reach of bank deposits, newspapers, commutation, telephonecalling, distance of members from their clubs, the reach of museumgoers, church members, and university students from their respective institutions. Finally a rough line should be drawn through the center of the outer reaches of these dynamic factors, thereby yielding the natural area as a functional entity (Figure 6).

Three factors are involved in the delineation of natural areas:

1. *The center* of the area stands in relation to various parts of the region and its boundaries. The center and its financial institutions must dominate activities in the hinterland; for functions pursued in
Fig. 6. Tributary areas of Salt Lake City

(From Chauncey Dennison Harris, Salt Lake City, A Regional Capital (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), private edition. By permission of the author.)
these fringe areas are always in some way dependent upon the center.

2. The periphery is important in delineating the natural area because it indicates the degree to which the center exercises control. The periphery is not always a clear boundary. It is only relatively fixed, an exception being such natural boundaries as railroad tracks, viaducts, and rivers. The important point to be emphasized here is that boundaries are not the same for all purposes. Political boundaries are by no means situated in the same place as industrial, ethnic, crime, or disease boundaries. Furthermore, as fixed boundaries persist in time, they tend to function for reasons other than those which brought them into existence. That is, some areal boundaries might once have been the consequence of convenience factors but are now just the reverse, becoming barriers to desired communication. In other words, a boundary in one era may have a desirable outpost barrier, perhaps even an unwitting barrier, but in a later period may become a drag, an obstacle to desired ecological intercourse.

3. The flow of activity is the third factor in the delineation of the natural area of segregation, representing the interdependence of parts as well as the dependence of parts upon the center of the area.

The scientific investigator as well as the man of practical affairs should operate on the basis of the foregoing factors when attempting to delineate an area for economic, administrative, or research purposes. By looking for compactness of an area a person will be in a better position to exert effective control. He should look for continuity within the area, ascertaining whether one or several smaller areas operate as islands within his sector. These islands will be noted by their marked differences in culture, business, race, and so on. Since administrative areas do not take these factors into account, formal control agencies have difficulty exerting effective control. Sprawling Los Angeles, with its rough borders and island communities, provides an early clue to the fact that the city's administrators are experiencing difficulty in providing efficient service to inhabitants. Administrative areas should be made to coincide with human functions or processes. We are all well aware of the fact that the police in American cities, counties, and states have less freedom than the bandits they pursue, since the former are prohibited, more frequently than not, from crossing their own jurisdictional boundary lines. Finally, an investigator or planner should establish boundaries that actively and effectively
serve as boundaries. Borders should be set up which produce an optimum efficiency of control. The task is to draw boundaries that may be adjusted as human factors change, and such boundaries are generally not the most obvious barriers that may exist in nature. It is for this reason that a balanced and relatively homogeneous area is required.¹⁸

Therefore, in comparing the natural area with the administrative area, we make the important generalization that whereas the administrative area has definite boundaries and an indefinite center, the natural or ecological area has less clearly defined borders but a more definite center. One may discover, consequently, ecological voids or "no-man's lands" adjacent and between natural areas but not between administrative areas; these are areas denoting an absence of control or influence from distant points of dominance. This phenomenon is based upon the fact that natural areas come into being without deliberate effort at control. The administrative area is set up arbitrarily for control purposes, but fails to keep up with the changes of society. On the other hand, natural areas and social change are two aspects of the same phenomenon. The reason that administrative units change slowly is because they are tied up with vested interests. Legislators are not prone to change the boundaries of administrative areas unless it is politically advantageous to do so.

The city, therefore, turns out, upon close examination, to be a mosaic of minor communities, many of them strikingly different from one another, but all more or less typical. Large cities have their exclusive residential districts or suburbs, their areas of light and heavy industry, satellite cities, their slums, ghettos, and immigrant colonies. These are natural areas of the city. They are "natural" because they are not planned, and because the order that they display is not the result of design, but rather a manifestation of tendencies operating in the urban situation; tendencies that city administrators and men of influence seek to control and correct. At base, the structure of the city is clearly just as much the product of the struggles and accommodative efforts of its people to live and work together collectively as are its local customs, rituals, traditions, laws, public opinions, and the prevailing moral order. From what has been said, the natural area

¹⁸ Of course, one recognizes that complete homogeneity and absolute balance are incongruous. It is absurd, that is, to expect a balance in terms of having all kinds of industries in one area; one should have only those that are suitable for that particular locale.
serves an important methodological function; it serves as a frame of reference, a conceptual order within which human data gain a new and more general significance. The ecological organization of the human community becomes a frame of reference only when, like the natural areas of which it is composed, it can be regarded as the product of factors that are general and typical. Ecologists would be contributing little to knowledge if the statements that were made were nothing more than mere descriptions of events. The natural area concept allows us to make ecological knowledge systematic and general. The results of specific ecological inquiries should not merely increase the fund of information but enable the ecologist of the city to reduce his observations to general formulae and quantitative statements true for all cases of the same kind. In this manner human ecology becomes a scientific discipline.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, individuals and institutions enjoy the privilege of choosing their position in the city only insofar as their types of functions are compatible with those types and functions which characterize the locations in which they wish to locate. The privilege of choosing a position in the community assumes, of course, the presence of more than one compatible area. Thus we visualize a reciprocal situation, the person selecting his location on the basis of his vocational interests, intelligence, personal ambitions, race, sex, and other attributes, and at the same time the area drawing him to it upon his exhibiting the necessary attributes. By examining the processes of dominance, gradient, and segregation, we study the manner in which natural areas come into existence. R. D. McKenzie wrote:

As the community grows there is not merely a multiplication of houses and roads but a process of differentiation and segregation takes place as well. Residences and institutions spread out in centrifugal fashion from the central point of the community, while business concentrates more and more around the spot of highest land values. Each cyclic increase of population is accompanied by greater differentiation in both service and location. There is a struggle among utilities for the vantage-points of position. This makes for increasing value of land and increasing height of buildings at the geographic center of the community. As competition for advantageous sites becomes keener with the growth of population, the
first and economically weaker types of utilities are forced out to less accessible and lower-priced areas. By the time the community has reached a population of about ten or twelve thousand, a fairly well-differentiated structure is attained. The central part is a clearly defined business area with the bank, the drugstore, the department store, and the hotel holding the sites of highest land value. Industries and factories usually comprise independent formations within the city, grouping around railroad tracks and routes of water traffic. Residence sections become established, segregated into two or more types, depending upon economic and racial composition of the population.  

Although McKenzie wrote this statement over twenty-six years ago, before subbusiness districts began to compete effectively with the old central business district as points of population influence, he portrays the fluidity of movement yet the nonchaotic manner in which urbanites find their optimum location.

SUGGESTED READINGS

A penetrating study of social life in the major Negro area of segregation in Chicago.

A critical study of the natural area concept as applied to an urban subarea.

 Presents excellent maps showing expansion of the built-up area of the cities concerned. See especially pages 98, 103, 110, 115, 137, 157–159.

Mathematical and statistical techniques are applied to the measurement of residential segregation in cities. Some acquaintance with statistical methods is necessary. A good example of increasingly scientific procedures in the study of social phenomena.


A symposium on American regionalism in which historians, economists, geographers, political scientists, and sociologists, among others, participate. See especially Part v, "The Limitations and the Promise of Regionalism," pp. 377–419.


Shows the expansion of various types of service areas in the period between Galpin’s study (1915) and 1933.


Describes a technique of measuring the outward expansion of the city.


See pages 1–80 for discussion of the process expansion and the factors involved as applicable to Seattle.


An illuminating description of the Jewish area in Chicago.
CONCENTRATION AND DISPERSION

Concentration refers to aggregations in the large region which can be measured by the density of population. It is the product of natural increase (ratio of births to deaths) as well as the product of migration. Concentration is both a pattern and process. As a consequence of ecological dominance, it is a key concept referring to the tendency of an increasing number of persons to settle in a given area or region, describing, therefore, modern urban regionalism: the massing of human beings and utilities in areas favorable to the satisfaction of needs. Machinery and industrial techniques and their application to production, transportation, and communication are largely responsible for modern urban concentration. In its quantitative aspects concentration is a term which allows for distinguishing between certain geographic areas, between rural and urban regions, while in its qualitative aspects it allows for distinguishing between types of communities as a consequence of specialization and division of labor. McKenzie’s fourfold classification of communities in terms of their characteristic specializations (Chapter VIII) is an attempt in this direction.

Dispersion stands over against concentration. Both of these processes are tendencies resulting from modern increase in mobility. Concentration in one region usually implies dispersion in another. The movement from rural and urban regions in central and eastern United
States to the Rocky Mountains and Pacific coast regions is a case in point. We have noted how the steam engine was a basic technological force for urban concentration and how electricity now acts as a counteragent for dispersion. We may thus postulate that whatever facilitates the movement of people and utilities leads to dispersion; whatever retards the movement of commodities and people leads to concentration. Today high freight rates in certain sections of the United States, and high taxes or labor costs in other districts, force many industries to disperse and relocate. Likewise the automobile and rapid transit lines function to disperse urban populations over surrounding territory. Human desires and sentimental attachment to institutions and districts operate in differing degrees of intensity to offset or retard dispersion.

Thomas M. Pryor studied the factors in the centrifugal, concentrative movement of populations and drew the following conclusions:

The movement of population from the center outward results from the operation of two sets of factors: (1) factors which tend to pull or attract people out toward the rim and (2) factors which tend to drive people out. . . .

**Factors Which Pull or Attract People out toward the Rim**

The factors which pull or attract people out toward the rim of the city may be listed as follows: (1) improved transportation; (2) a rising standard of living, which expresses itself in terms of more spaciousness, exclusiveness, and freedom from noisy traffic; (3) influence of advertising and propaganda, both on the part of realtors and merchandisers of household devices; and (4) the conformity to fashion and social custom. . . .

**Factors Which Drive People Out**

The factors which drive people out may be listed as follows: (1) the expansion of commerce and industry, (2) the pressure of proximity to large ethnic or racial groups, (3) the noise and confusion of increased traffic, (4) the invasion of vice and its concomitant factors. . . .

Summarizing, dispersion refers to the spreading of population without relation to some nucleated center. Hence concentration and dispersion are reciprocal, each playing upon the other. Dispersion signifies a horizontal mobility of people from an area of concentration

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to a new area which is favorable to the satisfaction of needs. New advantages observed in other districts operate to foster continued or renewed mobility toward concentration somewhere else.

![Map of the Ruhr](image)

**Fig. 1.** Urban concentration in the Ruhr

The Ruhr industrial area has grown up within the last 100 years. It comprises a closely built-up industrial and mining district. Its origins lay with the primitive iron refining carried on in hills, where there were small deposits of iron ore, as well as charcoal for the furnaces and running streams to power the machines and the hammers. It was not until after 1850 that industry spread in any considerable scale from this early center into the area that we now call the Ruhr. It was attached by the beds of coal, much of which was suitable for coking and thus for the iron furnace. In the years 1850 to 1870 many steelworks were built. Local supplies of ore were soon exhausted and the Ruhr came to depend more and more on imports from foreign countries. As industry developed in this area, so the cities grew in size and importance. There are today three cities each with more than half a million inhabitants: Essen, Dortmund, and Dusseldorf. There are 14 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

**CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION**

While concentration deals with populations and institutional processes in a given area, centralization denotes the tendency of basic types of institutional services to locate at focal points of transportation and
communication. Thus centralization is a temporary form of concentration. It may be said that centralization, with its counterpart, decentralization, are refinements, generally following from concentration and dispersion. Hence concentration refers to a more regional aggregation, while centralization implies a congregation of people in a locality for a definite purpose, namely the satisfaction of specific interests, and thus is more of a sociological (consensual) term. McKenzie defines centralization as follows:

Centralization is the integration of human beings and facilities around pivotal points at which social, economic, and cultural interaction occurs most frequently. These focal centers are located where lines of transportation and communication converge. The center of community activities is associated with these points, inasmuch as the basic types of community agencies locate here. Centralization has been called the community-forming process. The whole diversified physical structure of the city takes form in terms of its operation, for the city tends to segregate specialized functions in a given competitive area.

In the competitive struggle specific types of activities are segregated into centralized areas according to their function and institutional strength; as such these activities act as repellant or attractive magnets in the city. . . .

Centralization is, therefore, the tendency of human beings to cluster at certain points for the purpose of satisfying such specific interests as work, play, business, worship, and education. The fact that people come together for the purpose of satisfying common interests affords a territorial basis for group consciousness and social control. To illustrate, American church administrators have studied the problem of the survival of congregations in certain types of communities, Everett C. Hughes reporting:

It is generally agreed that a local church flourishes best upon a stable group of families of the same religious background and economic standards, living in a fairly compact area. Departure from these conditions causes churches to decline, die, or to be changed in character. In meeting the secular crises resulting from changes in character of communities, churches of different denominations sometimes forget their doctrinal differences enough to cooperate or even to unite. This is not surprising in

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view of the finding of the Lynds, in their study of Middletown, that Protestant churches tend to vary more according to the economic class of their adherents than according to denominational lines. Sermons and church buildings are, within the limits of common religious belief, items in standards of living. In so far as this is true, churches are in competition with one another. When districts cease to be solid residential neighborhoods and become rooming house areas, slums, or foreign colonies the existing churches may survive by becoming missions, settlement houses, or club houses of the Y.M.C.A. type. In that case, they are generally supported by philanthropic gifts or by the mission funds of central denomination bodies rather than by the people who patronize them. One may advance the hypothesis that increase in mobility and in diversity of culture and decrease in the intensity of sectarian spirit of the population of a community all tend to make the continued existence of local churches precarious.3

Hughes' observation makes us aware of the social,—the consensual, in the concept of centralization. Although the trade function is central in the community-forming process, the functions of those cultural institutions of the school, church, and theater are types of interests which draw people together. Since the downtown shopping district is the most important point of centralization from the standpoint of community formation, some ecologists like to refer to "subcentralization" as the tendency for participants to cluster residentially around outlying points for purposes of work, play, worship, or education.

Whatever labels are used to designate the different forms of centralization in the city, the concept makes us aware of the fact that consensual and nonconsensual processes are closely related. A community will contain many centers of different size and degree of specialization, each area acting as a magnet, drawing to itself the appropriate sex, age, economic, and cultural groups. This specialization in space occurs not only in terms of location but also in point of time. At different hours of the day and night one is aware of waves of population moving in and out of areas reflecting different interests, such as day education, night schools, worship, recreation, and various kinds of work. The degree of centralization at any particular center constitutes a measure of its relative drawing power under prevailing cultural and economic conditions. One center in the community may

function effectively because of its size and importance in the urban region, as indicated by the prevailing land values. Another center may thrive because of one dominant interest such as work, business, or amusement.

While concentration operates as a countertendency to dispersion, centralization operates as a countertendency to decentralization. Decentralization is the movement of a people from the center to the outside of the city, but can also be interpreted as the breaking up of a city into new centers or, in fact, its disintegrating altogether. Unfortunately, these two sets of paired processes are so highly complementary that there has been a tendency for ecologists to use them interchangeably. Since the processes involve populations as well as utilities, the respective terms indeed tend to merge. Centralization loses much of its temporary aspects when the physical structures such as industrial, theatrical, and retail buildings locate in the same general vicinity, giving rise to a concentration of physical structures. That is, if we focus exclusively on the physical institutions minus the people and their interests, we are involved in the concepts of concentration and dispersion of utilities. But if we study the transition of the people and interests quite separately from the structures we are studying them in terms of centralization and decentralization—their movement in and out of various physical structures.

Summarizing, the terms centralization and decentralization suggest the social; we use them in talking about the community and its societal bonds rather than considering them from a demographic or aggregative standpoint. Dispersion refers to density ratio, while its counterpart, concentration, is at the opposite end of this density continuum. The central business district, conceived in its complex entirety, is an area of concentration, marked by high mobility and varying degrees of dispersion. It is not socially organized. Concentration refers to a more permanent grouping, while centralization, as a more sociological term, refers to a more temporary group characterized by group consciousness, collective action for the purpose of satisfying common interests. The difficulty in maintaining these distinctions arises, as we have said, when centralization involves utilities and physical structures.

Prof. McKenzie and others have used the concept "nucleation" to describe organized phenomena in contrast to some peripheral phenomena. This writer feels that the term is not too significant, centralization and decentralization being more explanatory terms.
There is constant decentralization taking place within American communities today. We observe a loosening of the inner density of cities as human beings and utilities move in the direction of the cities’ outskirts. We may anticipate a trend toward new communities in the form of decentralization of our supercities. As this process takes place we recognize that dispersion must be viewed as a preliminary to decentralization.

INVASION AND SUCCESSION

Invasion is the process by which new types of institutions or population groups gradually penetrate an area already occupied and displace the host institutions or population groups. In residential invasion two sets of people are brought together; usually there is a status difference between them. A residential succession may be said to have occurred only if the population which enters and establishes itself in the area differs in certain respects from the one which it supplants. The differences between the two may be economic, cultural, or racial.

As a fundamental concept in human ecology invasion-succession is made possible through mobility, referring to group displacement, and usually the displacement of a higher cultural group or land use by a lower group or use. Invasion expresses community growth as one area of segregation encroaches upon another, usually an adjoining area, and calls attention to the change of land use and type of occupant. When invasion reaches a point of complete change in population type or use of structures, invasion is concluded and becomes succession. The major effect of invasion is a break-up of existing population groups or land uses.

The introduction of almost any innovating element into the community may be designated as the initial stage of an invasion which may make for a complete change in the structure and organization of the territory. The introduction of a new mode of transportation,

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While each residential area has a status value in the eyes of the community, this is not to imply that residential areas might be ranked on one continuum from highest to lowest. The factors that affect the status value of any one area are complex; among them are the rent levels of the district, the ethnic or racial characteristics of its inhabitants, possibly the tradition that has become attached to it, the presence of prominent families in it, and so on. An area might assume its character from a number of such factors; e.g., it might be a low-class, native-white area or an upper-professional Negro area.
for instance, may transform the economic organization of a community and make for a change in population type. The establishment of a new industry, especially if it displaces the previous economic base, may also make for a complete change of population without greatly modifying the size of the community. The larger the residential community the better able are its inhabitants to accommodate themselves to invasions and to sudden changes in number of inhabitants.

Linked to the process of invasion, succession may be conceived as a natural consequence of types of occupants or land use which follow each other in predictable fashion. When light industry invades a residential area we may predict a further deterioration of building, successively lower rental groups, until the area passes over from residence to business, and when the time is opportune, to entirely new types of residence and population, as for instance, the transformation of a portion of New York’s East Side slum into a skyscraper apartment area, and again the transition of “Quality Hill” in Kansas City from an elite family area to a slum and thence (very recently) to a skyscraper apartment area. That is to say, lower economic or cultural land uses usually invade and displace higher uses, but now and then the latter invade and displace the former on those occasions when large governmental funds or private capital are brought to bear.

Almost any type of physical, economic, or social change within a community will condition or cause a movement of the population or institutions. Why does an area change its use, structure, and inhabitants? Why does a specific use shift its location? First of all, location is affected in part by nonrational competition, each against all. However, rationality and prevision play the significant role. That is, the human community involves both nonconsensual and consensual relations. At present ecologists are not in agreement concerning the role that nonconsensual and consensual forces play in the invasion-succession phenomenon or the sequence of change involved. McKenzie, for example, listed six conditioning factors of invasion:

... (1) changes in forms and routes of transportation; (2) obsolescence resulting from physical deterioration or from changes in use or fashion; (3) the erection of important public or private structures, buildings, bridges, institutions, which have either attractive or repellant significance; (4) the introduction of new types of industry, or even a change in the organization of existing industries; (5) changes in the economic base which make for the redistribution of income, thus necessitating change
of residence; (6) real estate promotion creating sudden demands for location sites, etc.  

Paul Cressey gives ten conditions which he believes may be associated with the invasion process:

... (1) desire for increased social prestige, (2) pressure of wife and children, (3) increased economic resources, (4) desire for better living conditions, (5) activity of real estate agents, (6) desire for home ownership, (7) pressure of vacant homes, (8) changes in transportation facilities, (9) desire to be near one's place of employment or place where employment is sought, and (10) movement of industrial areas.  

Harold Gibbard offers the following analysis of the factors that tend to initiate invasions:

... (1) change in size of the population aggregate in the community, (2) change in the racial or ethnic composition of the population, (3) development of a status hierarchy within the minority group, (4) commercial or industrial changes that affect the relative economic status of different groups in the community, (5) residential displacements in other areas, (6) taking over of residential property for business or recreational use, (7) obsolescence of neighborhoods, (8) establishment of large factories, and the consequent creation of employment in suburban areas.

**RESIDENTIAL INVASION-SUCCESSION CYCLE**

Any group which invades an established residential district may be classified as to its legitimate or illegitimate characteristics. The illegitimate group is one defined by the host community as representing unlawful forces—the underworld being the best illustration. The legitimate group is not looked upon as a violator of the laws but of the mores. It is branded as a radical or aggressive group which chooses either to ignore or overthrow the mores of the host community. In either case, invasion is a matter of people attempting to

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move upward socially to a "better" location and thereby acquiring new symbolic identifications. Dr. Gibbard writes:

... The course of areal transformation is usually least precise and most difficult to trace when the succession will produce only a slight change in the character of the area. It tends to be clearest when the identification which people have with their areas is strengthened by home ownership and when there is a wide status difference between the established residents and the invaders. Paralleling this, the status factor is least discernible when there is no wide difference between the invaders and the invaded; while similarly, it is most observable when a fairly stable residential area has been entered and when the social distance between the two groups is great. In any case, status motivation is but one of a number of elements that may be seen in the succession situation.⁹

Here, too, human ecologists are not in complete agreement concerning the stages of residential invasion, probably because concrete cases always vary from a fixed pattern. Professor Burgess names four stages of invasion, namely (1) the initial movement into the area, (2) the reaction on the part of the occupants, (3) the general influx of newcomers, and (4) the climax or period of complete displacement.¹⁰

In our own attempt to refine and amplify these stages, a six-stage schema is proposed, applicable particularly to northern United States:

Step A. Equilibrium in the district, marked by lack of awareness on the part of the inhabitants of any invasion by an alien group.

Step B. Disequilibrium arising from the flight of several upper strata members of the community. This flight is in response to rumors of invasion, these parties seeking to depart quietly into new status-bearing areas while salvaging as much as possible from their material holdings in the old area. The presence of invasion rumors gives rise to this quiet departure, the true reasons for leaving having been disguised behind motives which will not upset the balance of life in the area.

Step C. The creation of new restrictive covenants or reinforcement of dormant covenants following from these rumors. Generally when a community finds it necessary to reinforce its restric-


tive covenants through nuisance devices, the upper-level members of the community have already fled. In fact, front-line members of the invading group are by now hard at work anchoring themselves residentially in the host area. Nuisance devices in the form of anonymous messages, stench bombs, and fire bombs are at this point directed at the homes of parties who have established outposts in the vacated homes of the departed elite. The host members of the community who have not already fled have the choice of (1) allowing an orderly invasion-succession or (2) a disorderly one. Often they sell out to a lower group of their own ethnic identification, this group functioning as a buffer between the two hostile societies, thus allowing for an orderly succession. The buffer group discovers early, and to its disappointment, that the area has already lost much of its prestige value. This recognition subsequently becomes an invitation to the alien group to effect a mass invasion and eventually dominate the area.

Step D. The rush invasion by the in-migrants to exploit the outposts established earlier by members of their own group or by the buffer group. Those individuals at the forefront of the invasion are usually members of the aristocracy of their own group, enjoying sufficiently high income to purchase property in the area of the superordinate group.

Step E. Reintegration of the area as the alien group acquires cumulative power. Mass exodus of the old occupants takes place at this level. The newcomers apply new pressure upon the old and departing occupants. The success of this pressure is reflected in the establishment of a new aristocracy in the district.

Step F. Change of community status. The new occupants organize and dominate the area. Thus orderly succession and a new equilibrium has taken place.

Therefore steps F and A are fundamentally the same, step A comprising the more stable and completed aspect of step F.

**STUDIES OF THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF INVASION-SUCCESSION**

A widely held assumption is that when Negroes move into an all-white neighborhood the area tends ultimately to deteriorate economically and socially. The reasons frequently heard are: (1) The generally lower economic status of Negroes makes it difficult, if not
impossible, for them to maintain their homes and the neighborhood in the same manner as the former white occupants. In their struggle to maintain the respectability of the neighborhood, owners often find it necessary either to divide the home into a multiple dwelling or take in roomers. This in itself almost inevitably leads to slum conditions. (2) The lower cultural level of Negroes tends to break down neighborhood solidarity and reduces the neighborhood in respectability. (3) The differences in status, based upon race and the accompanying racial attitudes, tend to intensify the existing patterns of race conflict to the disadvantage of each group, especially the minority group.\footnote{Clifton R. Jones, "Invasion and Racial Attitudes: A Study of Housing in a Border City," \textit{Social Forces}, XXVII (March, 1949), p. 286.}

These false assumptions are often defended by real estate owners and speculators alike. Careful observation of the invasion-succession cycle will reveal that whenever Negroes move into an all-white neighborhood the area has already begun to show signs of deterioration, physical or social. In addition, the Negroes who move into an all-white area approximate the socio-economic level of the whites already inhabiting the area. Usually these newcomers pay more for the homes than do the entering whites. Clifton R. Jones, in a study of the transitional area of Fulton Avenue, Baltimore, with the physical characteristics being those in which "white persons of the middle and lower-middle socio-economic status live," made the following findings:

Although the houses in the Fulton Avenue Area to which Negro families moved were an improvement over their previous places of residence, they were in no sense in perfect condition when they occupied them. Seventy-five per cent of the homes were in need of one or more minor repairs; 43 per cent were in need of one or more major repairs. The minor repairs included replacing or repairing electrical fixtures, plumbing and heating facilities, floor repairs, painting, plastering, and the like. Twenty-five per cent were in need of complete heating facilities; 19 per cent needed plumbing fixtures and repairs; 47 per cent needed painting; 24 per cent needed floor repairs in one or more rooms; and 31.7 per cent were in need of painting and plastering in one or more rooms.

Under normal conditions it is likely that the former white occupants would have kept up their homes. But the restrictions on building materials, occasioned by the war, as well as the scarcity and cost of skilled
labor and materials, were prohibitive. Too, when Negroes began to move into the area in ever-increasing numbers it is quite possible that many whites held on to their property merely for purposes of speculation. Consequently no repairs were made except those which were absolutely necessary. This latter assumption is purely speculative, for no real evidence could be found that would prove its truth or falsity. The assumption does, however, appear to be reasonable and is worthy of consideration.

The cost of these homes of Negro families ranged from $3500 to $8500. Of 1942 families 23, or slightly less than 12 per cent, cost $3500–$3900; 34, or 17.7 per cent, cost $4000–$4499; 41, or 21.4 per cent, cost $4500–$4499; 18, or 9.4 per cent, cost $5000–$5499; 15, or 7.8 per cent, cost $5500–$5999; 9, or 4.7 per cent, cost $6000–$6499; 7, or 3.6 per cent, cost $6500–$6999; 8, or 4.2 per cent, cost $7000–$7400; 3, or 1.6 per cent, cost $7500–$7999; and 3 cost $8000–$8500. It will be noted that 66.9 per cent of the homes cost $4000 or over. Inspection of the homes and appraisal by experts from the Veterans Administration discloses that less than half the homes were worth that amount even at the present high level of prices. On the bases of tax assessments in 1940 the average value of the homes was $2350. Not a single home in the area had a tax evaluation of $5000 or above. In other words, these homes are now being sold to Negroes for as much as 150 per cent above the 1940 market value, and at least 75 per cent above the present market value. Real estate operators readily admit that they are buying homes now occupied by whites as rapidly as they become vacant to sell to Negro buyers at a much greater profit than they could obtain elsewhere.

It is a generally recognized fact that Negro home buyers are exploited. The exploitation is all the more vicious because at the present time there is no other area into which Negroes may move. Within the city limits fewer than ten new homes have been built for Negroes in the past ten years. Although homes for veterans are being built at an increasing rate, particularly during the past three years, Negro veterans are effectively excluded from such houses because of restrictive covenants. Whether or not the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, invalidating restrictive covenants, will have an immediate effect on a custom of many years is questionable. Comments of home buyers themselves are enlightening as to the economic difficulties they face. . . .

While the Fulton Area is only one case in point, it follows the general pattern of invasion. The observable differences from area

\[12 \text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 287–288.}\]
to area are usually differences of degree rather than kind, and to be explained in terms of the existing patterns of racial attitudes, which tend to vary from one community to another. The process is inevitable as the population expands and the socio-economic status of Negroes improves. It may, however, be retarded, or even stopped momentarily, where the patterns of racial segregation are more clearly defined. Hence the important ecological generalization: the economic and social status level of an area of invasion tends to stand relatively high in the eyes of the masses of the population type involved during the early stages of the invasion-succession cycle. Frequently those people who are eager to share the reputation of the first invaders try to follow them. The prestige of the first families provides an impetus for the continuation of the invasion. Occasionally one hears Italians and Negroes describe neighborhoods to which they are moving by identifying prominent people with these neighborhoods. However, it is seldom that the people thus attracted are able both to see and to confess the operation of this status pull.\textsuperscript{13} Professor Gibbard says:

The first invaders, in fact, are frequently able and willing to pay higher rental or purchase prices than were prevalent in the area before their entry; their offers of higher prices being intended to offset resistance to their entrance. Because of a knowledge of this practice among Negroes, real estate men sometimes quote higher prices to them than to whites. During the early stages of a succession, the exchange value of property frequently holds above the level previously obtaining.\textsuperscript{14}

In a preliminary report on a study begun in 1951, Luigi M. Laurenti submits some revealing findings on the effects of nonwhite home purchases on market prices.\textsuperscript{15} In San Francisco, during the period 1949–1951, Laurenti found that the bulk of all sales in his test areas, whether to whites or nonwhites, brought prices slightly above those in the control areas, except for two minor qualifications:

About 9 per cent of the sales to white buyers took place at prices which were between 12 and 22 per cent lower than those for comparable properties in control areas, whereas no sales to nonwhites fell in this range.

\textsuperscript{13} Harold A. Gibbard, "The Status Factor in Residential Successions," \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 835–842.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 835–842.

About 4 per cent of the sales of nonwhite buyers took place at prices which were between 22 and 26 per cent higher than those for comparable properties in control areas, whereas no sales to whites fell in this range.¹⁶

Laurenti concludes that any deterioration in market prices following changes in racial pattern cannot be shown. Transactions took place at prices closely corresponding to those in comparable all-white areas, although a small fraction of sales differed by plus or minus amounts which may have reflected unusual circumstances: (1) a premium price extracted from a nonwhite buyer anxious to get into that particular locality, or (2) a sacrifice price agreed to by a seller desirous of dumping a property in an area believed by him to be on the verge of rapid deterioration.¹⁷ While noting that nonwhite entry into formerly all-white neighborhoods is proceeding apace in such cities as Detroit and Chicago with no discernible repercussions ¹⁸ Laurenti cautions the reader in making sweeping conclusions because of the traditionally polyglot nature of San Francisco's population, a community which has produced somewhat unique racial attitudes as contrasted with communities which never experienced a nonwhite influx.

Louis Wirth made the following observations concerning Negro segregation in the United States and its effect upon property values:

The problem of segregation is essentially the problem of the freedom to move, to advance, to achieve equality by all the methods that are condoned in our society. When a community maintains residential segregation, that is a sign, generally speaking, of the cultural backwardness and

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 327.
¹⁷ Ibid., p. 325.
insecurity of the community. It is alarming to note that the pattern of racial segregation which used to be, for the most part, confined to certain sections of the South is now becoming nationwide. Furthermore, whereas it was once applied only to Negroes, it is now applied to other minority groups. In California it is applied to the Orientals. The insecurity which great masses of our people are likely to face in the coming years makes it probable that they will vent their spleen on somebody. Minorities, particularly the Negro, are likely to bear the brunt of it. We can be sure that we won't blame our own failure to plan for the difficulties we will encounter because of our lack of foresight.

One of the chief supports of racial segregation is the well-established myth that when a minority group invades, property values collapse. The fact is that when a minority group invades the territory occupied by a dominant group the property values are already down. The minority group, if it is held back, will be bidding this property up in order to get a foothold. When it gets this hold, the dominant group moves out, and absentee landlords allow the property to fall into decay. If property values decline, it is because of hysteria and physical neglect. It is highly gratifying that, after many years of theoretical discussion, a survey of this matter has finally been undertaken by the National Association of Real Estate Boards. The results in so far as they have been published show that Negroes make desirable owners and tenants, especially if the property is maintained and density and other occupancy standards are maintained.10

DIRECTION OF RESIDENTIAL INVASION

Perhaps carried away by his enthusiasm for the urban way of life, Dr. Harvey W. Zorbaugh once remarked that the city is the "most exotic and artificial flower of man-made civilization, a product not alone of man's brain, but of man's brain and man's will," then added, it "goes its own way indifferent to the will of its creator," yet displaying certain processes of growth typical of other cities.20 While the alleged exotic attributes of the city could be debated, we can support (though in less florid language) Zorbaugh's contention that the urban community grows chronologically and geographically through a process of invasion and succession. When there is a rela-

20 Park and Burgess (editors), The City, op. cit., p. 219.
tively high rate of mobility, groups of varying economic and cultural status tend to displace one another, lower socio-economic groups generally moving toward and into areas occupied by a group of higher status. Gradually the former group takes over the district occupied by the latter and brings its subculture or unique characteristics with it. It is a story of either an accommodative or competitive relationship between diverse groups for a more advantageous status position residentially. The following description of a final stage of mass invasion in Omaha would fit most any American city of comparable size and composition:

When the spot-map of moves “in” was made, it was found that the number of moves in census tract No. 48, located in the area known as “Dundee,” was so great that it was impossible to spot them and the area was shown in solid black. Until recently Dundee was considered an exclusive section. Analysis revealed that thirty-eight former single-family houses within eight square blocks of the area north of Dodge Street between Fiftieth and Fifty-second streets, had been transformed into multiple dwellings, each containing from two to six apartments—totaling one hundred and five apartments in the thirty-eight houses. Near-by property-owners protested the change by legal action, but lost. Invasion had reached the influx stage, and the rate of mobility grew excessive.21

Each residential move toward the fringe of an American city indicates, for the most part, a rise in the economic and social status of the family, demonstrating that vertical mobility is closely associated with horizontal mobility. Myriad are the cases where a Negro population has followed the moves of a white population of low status, which, in its turn, had previously followed or succeeded residents who were professional and business people. The process is almost constant in a growing city or one marked by the intrusion of alien population elements. Accordingly, one expects to find the home-building program much more extensive along the outer fringes of cities inasmuch as the upper socio-economic groups are constantly establishing new and remote status-bearing areas as the lower groups pursue them. At the same time it would be expected that the tearing-down of dwellings would occur at a higher rate in the zones nearer

the ecological core of the city. The highest rate of horizontal mobility generally takes place in the older, deteriorating areas; but, as the invasion moves toward the fringe of the city, more families move into dwellings which they own, and thus the move is accompanied by a higher rate of vertical mobility. This condition contributes to greater stability, less child dependency, fewer cases of old-age relief, and less repeated juvenile delinquency. In contrast, areas of high rates of horizontal mobility are usually areas of instability, unrest, dependency, and crime.  

**OTHER FORMS OF INVASION-SUCCESSION**

The invasion-succession process of retailing generally takes place in sporadic leaps. This is particularly true of retailing functions of an "exclusive" type. In New York City and Los Angeles, the writer has observed the shopping districts which cater to a more elite clientele to move outward from the central retailing zone by "leaps." The industrial function, however, moves more gradually, since it is closely dependent upon the more permanent service functions of railroading and warehousing. Like retailing, administrative functions in the community tend to shift in a non-gradual manner; this discontinuity being closely keyed to changing prestige areas. The factor of prestige plays an important role in setting different land uses apart. In Chicago, upon completion of a wide bridge across the Chicago river, the Near North Side took on a prestige-bearing label and drew to it the fashionable retailing stores previously clustered on the south side of the river. Here the tendency for space to take on gradually lower and lower uses was reversed. This change to a higher use was the consequence of deliberate group action. Prestige residential areas, such as the Gold Coast of Chicago, Fremont Park in Los Angeles, Federal Heights in Salt Lake City, and Johnson County in Kansas City, are able to postpone invasion of their districts only through erecting conspicuous physical barriers. These resistances must take the form of elite-bearing symbols on the part of the residents, such as the presence of high hedges, spacious lawns, custom-built cars, servants, and so forth, and the districts are further protected by zoning ordinances.

SUMMARY

Summarizing what has been said in the preceding chapters on urban ecological processes, mobility is the underlying process, functioning to initiate the other processes. Changes in transportation routes and new modes of communication act to alter the rate of mobility and therefore the contact of divergent human types. Cycles of growth or decline are initiated by the disturbance of the equilibrium in a community. While perhaps most students of human ecology assume the "classical" position that ecological processes are specialized forms of the unwitting, economically competitive process with reference to the spatial patterns which arise from the operation of this process, we have attempted in this chapter to stress the point that spatial patterns may arise, in addition, through the conscious, accommodative relations of men. Modern aggregates live in settings occupied as a result of human policies, various degrees of rationality, and intergroup consciousness. The physical configuration of aggregates cannot be satisfactorily understood in terms of pure symbiosis, viz., the possession of a habitat by different species of life whereby the survival of each species is facilitated by the presence of the other. The study of urban ecology in terms of simple, impersonal symbiosis constitutes a spurious endeavor. Human groupings in contemporary communities are aware of their neighbors, of the respective standards of expectations, of the definitions of ambition and success, these groups sometimes conflicting, at other times accommodating their differences, in order to pursue their way of life in a given area.

SUGGESTED READINGS


Studying the city of Columbia, Missouri, Gist shows convincingly that technology alone does not explain ecological change; economic and social psychological factors also presumably operate in the current decentralization trends.


A study in the centralization and decentralization of an ethnic group in the New York City metropolitan region. While written con-
vincingly to demonstrate the importance of the purposeful, personal, and volitional in ecological processes, the economic and technological dimensions are also recognized.


Traces the ecological history of American Chinatowns. A case study in concentration and dispersion (the Chinatown as a "Ghetto") and invasion-succession (involving technological, economic, occupational, demographic forces).


A description of occupational invasion-succession involving ethnic and racial migrants to a mining city. Shows the importance of culture in the ecological process.


The concentration and dispersion of New Haven Italians is traced to show how socio-cultural forces both hinder and facilitate residential movement.


A study in ecological concentration. Shows that nonwhite migrants to cities, more than white migrants, tend to be single persons or childless couples. An example of how the city sifts its population by age, sex, race, place of origin, and employability.
The goal of this chapter is to show the relationship of land values in a city to the way land is used. Because land values condition the distribution of persons and institutions in the city they are excellent indicators of future settlement patterns, hence our hypothesis: land values (especially when coupled with rental values) are powerful determining influences in the segregation of local areas and in the determination of the uses to which an area is to be put. In fact we may state unequivocally that land values are so potent a selective factor that urban ecologists find in them a very accurate index to many phases of human life. They are important because they offer a relatively reliable clue to the forces that are determining the occupational and cultural organization of the community. By the aid of land value data it is possible to express in numerical and quantitative terms so much that is socially significant. Land values determine not only the composition of the population in specific areas but determine the type of buildings to be erected; what structures shall be razed and what buildings repaired. We must refrain from concluding that land values answer all the problems raised about human life in the city, but they do constitute an excellent indicator. The intent in these pages is to explore the importance of land values as an index and not to concern ourselves too much with those forces of a consensual type which operate to distribute human beings and utilities, recognizing, of course, that land values themselves arise out of the appetites,
fears, and hope of men. We are interested, in the main, in land prices from the standpoint of what they do to sort and sift the population.

The bulk of the literature pertaining to urban land values may be classified under three headings: (1) instructions on how you should conduct real estate, insurance, and brokerage businesses, special consideration being given to real estate and personal property, estates, landlords, and tenants, real estate titles, and rights of property-holders; (2) those problems which concern economists and real estate people involving economic rent, land tenure, taxation, and the unearned increment; (3) theoretical aspects of commerce as embodied in textbooks. There exists only a meager amount of literature on the subject of land values and consequent population distribution, the problem which interests us. Although urban ecologists seek to set up generalizations concerning the locational processes of human aggregates as they take place in an orderly and consistent manner, thus far they have gone little further than recognizing that land values, since they reflect movement, afford one of the most sensitive indices of mobility.¹

LAND VALUES: CAUSE AND EFFECT

Two salient factors account for land values: (1) soil fertility and (2) location and position of land. In each case, to be sure, it is necessary for us to be aware of the objectives of human beings, a matter of discovering what men want to use space for. Land is used differently in different areas. In the rural world, fertility of the soil is given first attention in assigning value to land because agriculture is the primary occupation. What the soil can produce is the key question. Yet in the city we find an altogether different situation concerning the dimension of space, since land is not tied up with land productivity or soil fertility. What transpires above land in the form of interdependence is important. In rural America land is constantly responding to urban measures of value. That is, soil fertility is not the sole determining factor of value. Accessibility of agricultural products to the market is very important. This latter index involves the cost of transportation as translated into time-cost dimensions.

¹ See, for example, Calvin F. Schmid, "Land Values as an Ecological Index," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, IX (March, 1941), pp. 16–36.
To illustrate, we seldom see grain fields adjacent to a city because there is better use for this land, such as its use for flowers or readily marketable vegetables. Certainly agricultural space near the city would be better for those two uses rather than for grain, even should the soil prove better adapted for grain. The explanation rests in the fact that flowers and vegetables and not grain have a ready market. Grain must be processed. Therefore the position of agricultural as well as grazing lands is very important (as measured in terms of time-cost) when the problem of assessing value to land is concerned. Further, with new technological innovations coming upon the scene every day, there is a constant reshuffling of land use, hence of land values. For example, with better refrigeration there is no need for meat-packing houses to be situated near the cities—their markets. It is more rational to erect these institutions nearer to freight lines or to cattle. Freight costs in any case cannot be ignored. Therefore, in studying the dimension of space the central question becomes: Where is the optimum place to carry on an economic function, taking into account those extraneous factors such as electricity, location of schools and shopping centers, types of neighbors, location of wholesalers, retailers, and processors?

In studying the ecology of land use we become ever more impressed with the fact that separate studies of the rural and urban worlds are false starts. The “rural” may originally have been understood solely in terms of soil fertility, the relations of man to nature; but today the country is becoming a business instead of a place to live and sustain life. Rural America, with its tillable land, must now be comprehended in terms of interdependence with urban functions. It is no longer a simple society where people just live off the land. Now cash crops are displacing subsistence farming. In California, farming is big business for the most part. And the South is undergoing a revolution with the cotton picker, a machine which may conceivably consolidate cotton-growing and affect large populations. Those laborers who are thrown out of work owing to this and other inventions will surely migrate to other areas in search of employment. The United States Census Bureau reports that one of the most striking results of the 1950 Census is the evidence of a wide-scale movement of nonwhite population out of the South. Largely because of migration during the war years, the number of nonwhites in the North and West increased about 50 per cent between 1940 and 1950.
The South's nonwhite population was practically stationary. Much of the movement of nonwhites has been away from farms in the South to urban places, both in the South and elsewhere. In Los Angeles, the Negro population rose from 63,000 in 1940 to 133,000 in 1946. The distributive effect of technology upon human beings and their institutions will be, without question, as impressive in the future as it has been in the past. Machines which plant, harvest, and process agricultural products will upset the equilibrium of human aggregates in space.

Urban land areas acquire differential values in terms of the use to which the land is put. This use is determined by the geographic contour of the land and its position. By position ("situation") we mean more than relative accessibility to rivers or fertile valleys; we mean position in relation to railroads, highways, and any local facility of communication, plus such other special utilities as coal-mining areas, sources of water power, and so on. In short, by position is meant nearness to either desirable or undesirable land uses. Land for white residence, for example, is sharply affected in value by its nearness to railroad terminals, Negro black-belts, noisy, noxious industry, or by its nearness to residences of community leaders, golf courses, or universities. In fact, "respectability" would seem to be measured by land values. Considerable caution should be exercised, however, when correlating land values with high and low status housing areas. Gist and Halbert infer that land value studies should be confined to nonresidential areas almost exclusively:

It may be observed in this connection that while land values influence the location of commercial and industrial establishments, there is no significant correlation between the socio-economic status of urban residents and the price of the land they live on. Paradoxically, poor people may reside on expensive land, and rich people on comparatively cheap sites. Rents may be low on valuable land and high on sites that have a low front-foot valuation. The combination of high-priced land and low rentals is due in part to inflationary speculation growing out of the assumption that values will increase in the future when zoning is changed from residential to commercial or industrial. It is due also in part to the fact that residences in low-rental areas may yield a handsome return, thus enhancing, for the time being, the value of the property.²

Recognizing the limitations of the land value technique in studying residential areas, Homer Hoyt gives a striking description of the spatial distribution of land values in Chicago as follows:

If the land values of Chicago were shown in the form of a relief map, in which the elevations represented high land value, a picture of startling contrasts would be disclosed. In the center would be the Himalaya Mountain peaks of the Loop, but on all sides except along a high ridge running north along the lake there would be a descent into the deep valleys of the blighted areas. Gradually, as one went farther from the center, the elevation would begin to rise. Along the lake, both north and south, would be a high ridge which slopes down sharply as one goes west. Beginning 5 or 6 miles from the center of the city, there would be a plateau several miles wide encircling the city that is uptilted toward the lake, on top of which were high ridges a mile apart that culminated in towering pinnacles at each intersection. If a dollar a front foot in land value were represented by 1 foot in height on this map, the changes in elevation within the 211 square miles of Chicago’s area would be greater than differences in physical elevation in any part of the land surface of the globe, for the variation would be the same as from 5 to 50,000 feet above sea-level. Within a little over a mile one might drop from an altitude of 50,000 feet to one of 50 feet, and within a short block a person might fall from an elevation of 4,000 feet to one of 25 feet.3

Doubtless further analysis of the relationship of land values to housing is necessary before firm generalizations are proposed. However, when considering a specific land area for such a use as industrial plant construction, then important features of position come to the front. The capacity of adjacent areas to furnish a supply of labor is very important in assessing value to industrial land. Pittsburgh and Detroit are situated near the center of population settlement of the United States, locations advantageous for expanding industrial processes.

Urban space, it is safe to say, tends to acquire value in terms of the type of occupancy to which it lends itself best. When land ranks low in exchange value, then it is not in as great a demand, hence has a lower value. Exchange value is the only measurable value and therefore must be accepted as the statement, in terms of money, of the

3 Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, copyright 1933 by the University of Chicago), pp. 297–298. By permission.
worth of the land. Land, after all, goes to the highest bidder in a free economy, and the highest bidder is one who can make the land earn the largest amount of profit. The better the location, the more uses to which it can be put; hence the more bidders for it. Therefore the agencies which determine the value of land are anything that makes it desirable to others. At a given time, values in land compete with those of land advantageous for similar use, but since land changes from one use to another, the time comes eventually when the given property graduates from one of private use to public use, or vice versa, and competes there. When a residential block is invaded by a corner grocery, this new use eventually means that the adjacent space will cease to be suitable for high-status-giving residential use. And values take their cue, not from the sites of new homes on the block, but with respect to like locations for small stores. Hence the generalization: low land uses tend to invade and undermine high land uses.

Land is a very peculiar commodity in a city because it cannot be transported to a market; you have to go out to it. Thus, in the final analysis, location is the key to urban land values. However, this does beg the inevitable second question: location for what use? The answer is, location with reference to a productive use. And urban land is used for (1) building dwellings upon, (2) industrial plant building, (3) commercial establishments, (4) service activities such as fire stations, jails, parks, in short, public-use purposes, and (5) transportation. To eliminate streets, railroads, sidewalks, tunnels, and bridges would be to invite chaos in any city dependent upon effective communication for the maintenance of its pattern of life.

In American cities the highest land values are generally found at the points of greatest traffic, the points of greatest ecological dominance, the central business district. By tracing the variations in land values, especially where correlated with differences in economic rent, we have one of the best single measures of mobility and change in a city. Land values not only determine distribution, they are, at the same time, the products of distribution and population inasmuch as there is no value at all until there is a demand for an object. Sheer ownership of land is not the crucial item in the way urban land or any other kind of land, for that matter, is used. People will eventually dispose of their land if the price is right, resulting in everlasting ecological processes. Mere ownership yields no clues as to the use to which land may be put. The city is compelled to set up a hierarchy
Fig. 1. Assessed values per square foot, Los Angeles, 1944
concerning what land is best for industrial, commercial, residential, and communicative purposes. This division of land use usually is reflected quite accurately in zoning ordinances.

Values in land are an index to most of the phenomena of the community. *Land values respond to land use and at the same time operate to determine use.* They supply us with a quantitative measure of the configuration of settlement, hence insight into the nature of the people and their culture, their institutions, and their roles in the division of labor. We arrive, then, at the important generalization: *Price of land is determined by location through the nexus of function.* Urban ecologists are not interested in land as land, space as space. They are interested in land as clues to processes. They are concerned with (1) purpose and (2) value of land in the market. Space, we have said, is a peculiar commodity because it is fixed. Accordingly, people have superimposed processes above it with the result that space takes on symbolic significance. And because its value seems to be rather definitely correlated with population movements and with mobility generally, it hardly seems necessary to say that land values usually rise with the movement and increase of population. What is not so obvious is the fact that increased land values in any section of the city serve to bring about, in turn, a redistribution of population in the community as a whole. It thus appears that land values, which are themselves in large measure a product of population aggregates, operate in the long run to give this aggregate an orderly distribution and a characteristic pattern.

A land-value map may be relied upon as an important indicator of the relative desirability of land for various uses (Figure 1) inasmuch as it represents the price which the community has placed upon a unit of space and all of its various characteristics. Thus instead of meticulously describing each location as to its desirable and undesirable aspects and then attempting to reach a summary conclusion, we have a figure which is the result of that process in practice. Before this index is used in ecological prediction and city planning the following three complicating factors must be understood:

1. Fundamentally, land value is based upon income expectancy. Hence, much depends upon the person who estimates the future stream of income. Market values, an appraiser's estimate, and assessed values may vary considerably even though the same rate of discount is used. That land values vary from period to period is common
knowledge. However, the relationship remains substantially the same.

2. The market value of land represents the income that it will bring in its highest use. Consequently any given land value is not the price which all urban users could pay for it but only the highest. For example, commercial use usually is the strongest bidder for land in central locations, and the various kinds of commercial firms bid the prices up far beyond what either residential or industrial land users can pay. It is necessary, then, to determine what use is contemplated before land value can be correctly interpreted as an index of desirability.

3. Closely associated with both of the above complicating factors is a third and final one which is responsible for much of the difficulty experienced in redeveloping areas of blight. It often happens that the owner of land places a higher estimate of income upon it than does any potential buyer, and no market or exchange value exists. We find this occurring in slum districts. Nevertheless, if this land is to be purchased, the high estimate of the owner must be met. If for public use, the power of eminent domain offers no solution because of the tendency to base compensation upon the owner's estimate. To understand this disparity of income estimates which exists in blighted areas, it must be remembered that these districts are generally situated fairly close to the city's center where very high land values prevail. Also, the picture of a rapidly expanding city with enormous increases in land values still exists in the minds of most people. Finally, there seems to be little realization of the impossibility of redeveloping a single small unit of land in an area of blight. On the basis of present asking prices, private interests could economically develop these areas only for high-income groups, and it is seldom possible to make the area sufficiently attractive for them. The result of this condition is a stalemate and pressure upon various legislative bodies to grant subsidies so the land may be developed for families of lower income. If the private developers are correct in their income estimates, it would appear desirable somehow to acquaint the condemnation courts with the real value existing in those areas. The situation is not helped by the tendency of local authorities to place a high assessed value on these districts.

From what has been said thus far, to gain an understanding of the land value structure of a city and the causes of the variations in value,
it is necessary to study the community historically, to trace the manner in which each section of the city started to develop, and to show the direction of growth of different types of uses. Homer Hoyt in his study of land values of Chicago successfully traced the history of a metropolis through the presentation of land-value maps and charts in a time-sequence manner. Hoyt felt that the most important causes for the differences in land values fall under four headings: (1) the topography of the area, (2) the origin and direction of different types of uses (residential, commercial, transportational), (3) the points of settlement and lines of expansion of different races and nationalities, and (4) the extent of vertical as contrasted with lateral expansion of high land value areas. Hoyt’s list, it would seem, does not embrace enough of the factors operating to establish value to land. A great number of forces are present, some of which may be enumerated:

1. The population or rate of growth decidedly affects the value of land and the distribution of people. If the proportion of people living in cities diminishes instead of increasing, the possibility of growth is likewise limited. The rate of increase is based, in turn, upon two factors: the relationship of births over deaths (called the natural rate of increase) and immigration.

2. The location or situation of the community is important. A favorable location means that a city is able to attract industries and commercial establishments which in turn will support a growing population.

3. New and startling inventions attract great populations to specific communities, and give rise to increased competition for space, hence fluctuations in land values.

4. The climate plays a strategic role in land values and population distribution. The gentle climate of Los Angeles, for example, coupled with the inventions which gave rise to the airplane, the moving picture, and automobile, resulted in making Los Angeles a metropolis. Aircraft companies may set up their assembly lines and repair stations out-of-doors and thereby avoid the restricted space of an expensive building. Moving picture companies can shoot scenes out-of-doors with a minimum risk of losing money through bad weather, after personnel and equipment have been marshaled. The climate in South-

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4 Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1933), pp. 1–519.
ern California may be said to underlie industry and transportation as the foundation upon which the local cities and towns thrive. Structured above the climatic base, the region has added in succession agriculture, light industry, heavy industry, trade, finance, and professional functions.

5. Water is central in the distribution of people and the use and value of land. Whereas in Chicago the problem is no longer the quantity of water so much as its sanitary qualities, in Los Angeles the supply of water itself is central as the city continues to mushroom through human migration from eastern states. For agricultural, industrial, drinking, and sanitary purposes, water has become a serious problem in determining the future growth of Los Angeles and its environs. Land values reflect the presence of sufficient water. Recent proposals to use sea water for human use by removing its undesirable elements may mean that eventually water can be eliminated as a crucial factor affecting the concentration and patterning of human beings in cities of the world as well as land values.

6. The effect of the population distribution upon land values will likewise depend upon human preferences as to whether population groups will live in small homes or in large apartment buildings, which will depend, in turn, upon the size of the average family and social habits. When people modify their tastes concerning the manner in which they shall cluster, the value of land is affected accordingly.

7. The distribution of purchasing power between the members of the population and the proportion of income available for rent strongly affects the population and land values. Homer Hoyt writes:

While an expanding population is compelled to pay, for the added quarters, rents high enough at the outset to pay operating expenses, and a normal return on building costs, a stationary or declining population might not find it necessary to maintain such charges on existing buildings. Rents might then be determined as they are in depression periods by the amount of money available for rent payments after food requirements were met.\(^5\)

8. The tax burden affects the land values. The proportion of taxes levied on real estate, the rate of interest on real estate mortgages, and the rate of capitalizing net rents affect the long-run trend of land values. Changes in government policy on the taxation of industrial

Land Values

profits, higher income groups as well as lower economic groups, materially alter the configuration of settlement and the value of space. Local taxes represent a payment for municipal services and must be subtracted from the gross income. However, it should be understood that without the municipal services the gross income would be substantially less or nonexistent. Taxes are a burden only when they take more than they give.

From this discussion it should be evident that land values rarely, if ever, follow a definite pattern or cycle in the city, as some real estate people would have us believe. A cycle is often used to describe a wavelike movement of some factor from the trough to the crest and back to the trough again or from one crest to the next crest. The forces which affect the changes in land values are multiple, being influenced by general business conditions throughout the country, commodity price levels, value of money, and population shifts within the region as well as by peculiarly local conditions. For an individual to forecast the changes in land values he would have to determine not only the future population trends, rents, taxes, operating expenses, and capitalization rates but in addition the speculative manias, changes in human preferences, and governmental policies. Consequently, it is foolhardy to predict the future aggregate trend of land values in a city. The trends of growth of a past century are rarely, if ever, repeated or duplicated. Furthermore, land values in different sections of the city follow different trends. Areas developed for working-men’s homes, situated close to the central business district, later may acquire a high land value as sites for banks, office buildings, warehouses, or light industry. On the other hand, a fashionable residential district may be expected to decline as a location for mansions into a boarding house area and perhaps eventually a site for tall buildings. When

6 "It should be more generally recognized that intensive building development on certain plots of a city, with attendant abnormal increases in prices of these and often of adjacent plots, does not of itself increase the total value of all land in the city. Overcrowding the land with tall buildings is usually the result and not the cause of increase of population or wealth. Although excessive crowding together of offices, factories, shops, and homes may decrease the time and cost of necessary transportation within a city, it invariably causes an increase in costs of building construction and maintenance, including elevator service, city-wide fire protection, traffic regulation, health and social service, and many other accompaniments of urban congestion. The increasing costs of congestion are paid by the citizens of the city out of their total income; and insofar as net income is thus decreased, it tends to lower total wealth and land value."—Urban Planning and Land Policies, National Resources Committee, II (Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 270.
fashionable areas once become partially occupied with industrial or commercial buildings they rarely attain their former land value peaks. When new residential sections become filled with homes, people are no longer attracted to them, since it is easier to move to new unoccupied areas than to wreck any existing buildings. Thus, in relatively new residential areas, land values tend to sag as the buildings grow older. Eventually the original community migrates or is replaced by a lower socio-economic group. Frequently, however, advantageous locations built up as home sections later acquire even higher land values as sites for kitchenette-apartment buildings, as along the lake front in Chicago.

To make unqualified predictions concerning land use and land values becomes, therefore, a hazardous undertaking, since changing interests of people, new technology, altered prejudices and catastrophic events, among other things, modify anticipated trends or patterns. When we postulate the generalization: lower land uses tend to replace higher uses, we underscore the word “tend” inasmuch as the reverse situation occurs when large amounts of public or private capital are invested in deteriorating districts in the form of modern apartment buildings or commercial establishments. By the expression “high value use” is meant that use which brings in a large income from a relatively small area. It is the consequence of high specialization and competition for space. This is expressed in the values attached to the land.

We come, then, to the statement that those factors which make urban land valuable are relative. Economists supply us with their phrase “marginal utility,” which stresses the differential desirability of one piece of land as against another. We must be mindful of one qualification, however, namely, that the lands to be compared must be under consideration for the same function, i.e., to be dedicated to like uses. This brings the two pieces of property into the presence of the same common denominator. The term “marginal utility” connotes the competition that goes on between different pieces of land, in terms of their desirability to the potential purchaser. Since we are faced with the fact that the amount of land is a fixed fund, while the number of persons desiring it varies ceaselessly, we conclude that individuals find location in the city largely by competition. This does not mean that conscious adaptation or cooperation is never present. People seek locations where the ideals and mode of life of the host
group are harmonious with their own, or at least tolerative of them. Cooperation, or division of labor, operates to strengthen a group's position in the community. The central point, however, is that in most parts of the city there are many individuals seeking some one particular land area, and their subjective evaluations of this property are a most important factor of the market price. It is this phenomenon that makes the study of land values an important field of exploration by urban ecologists.

Summarizing, a city's land value pattern will tell many interesting stories and explain much that appears confused and illogical. A thorough knowledge of a city's land values is the basis for an understanding of the city's past, present, and future. It is upon this kind of understanding that a community must reconstruct and build for the future. Human ecologists rely heavily upon land values in establishing generalizations and propositions concerning the spatial and temporal relations of human beings in particular cities. There goes on forever a settling and displacing—a never-ending vacillating in space. And this shifting of human beings appears to have for one of its basic motive factors the physical base of the community. This shifting, we have indicated, is the consequence, in turn, of personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests. Infallibly these human interests tend to segregate and thus to classify the population of human communities. In this way a city acquires a spatial organization which is neither designed nor completely controlled, but certainly does not develop in a disorderly or chaotic manner. Through tracing the shifting land values we gain important insight into the shifts in the hierarchy of human values. It is in this way that human ecology enters into urban social behavior.

SUGGESTED READINGS

A textbook on urban land economics, which casts some light on spatial distributions.

Hoyt, Homer, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries [Distributors], 1933).
A monumental study of spatial distribution of land values and of changes.


———, *Social Trends in Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944), pp. 216–255. Describes the areal distribution of a variety of housing data. Maps are excellent.
In this chapter we are concerned with the different uses to which urban land is put. However, at the outset we must recognize that owing to the absence of an average or typical city we must rely again upon the "ideal time" definition (see Chapter II) of the city for the purpose of showing most lucidly the patterns and processes of land use.

THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Retailing is the principal function in the central business district, although there are other processes. Fundamental for the operation of retailing are the secondary functions known as the "multipliers" to the primary functions. Banks, cafes, barber shops, rest rooms, and money exchanges are illustrations of these multipliers which superimpose themselves upon the basic retailing role. Yet in addition to the retailing function, with its multipliers, one will find here the specialists such as the obstetrician, the roentgenologist, eminent surgeons, medical laboratories, and specialty shops which do nothing more than repair umbrellas, dolls, or electric razors. Here also are found the central governmental agencies where one must come to pay fines, apply for licenses, or bear legal testimony. These are functions which do not arise out of industry or retail trade but out of the strategic position to the whole region, drawing not from a specific group of people, a neighborhood, or family clientele, but from the vast metropolis and hinterland. The professional people in the central
district not only draw from the surrounding region directly but draw clients indirectly from other specialists. This applies not only to physicians but lawyers as well.

The central business district constitutes the ecological center of the city, since it is here that communication lines converge. It is not where the most people live but where most things happen, i.e., where the important decisions are made, where freight and passengers come together, where the most people cross a given point. Intensity of physical and ideational traffic is a key to the ecological center. The central business district is the spot where decisions are made which reverberate throughout the region, where impersonal relations are the greatest, where there is the least moral responsibility to others, where representatives of all groups converge. The ecological center is further characterized by great contrasts in type, where there are few taboos and rules. Yet at the same time it is where the ideational traffic is most intense. In consequence one finds here the greatest number of people converging, giving rise to anonymity, public discussion, mass behavior, boredom, excitement, and different degrees of concerted action.

In our civilization, land for commercial purposes is the most expensive because it is the most desirable. Whereas in antiquity the church generally dominated the town, in contemporary life the commercial activity is central. This shift reflects the transfer in human values from religion and the spiritual to the material, from the sacred to the secular, from rural to urban. It becomes a matter of consulting society to ascertain the hierarchy of those objects which are held most sacred and inviolate. And the land which houses the most precious social function carries the highest price. That is, the ease with which a market is attracted is the basis of land cost. New York City’s business district, Chicago’s Loop, and San Francisco’s Market Street carry on activities that draw a large market. The persons that move upon these districts come for reasons of a commercial or specialized nature, seeking legal advice, entertainment, a tooth extraction, the purchase of a second-hand automobile, or a fur coat. In consequence, there is great competition for occupancy space within this central location.

Retail stores are able to pay the high cost for the privilège of operating in the central area because they collect from the buying public the rent due the landlord, the rentals being necessarily limited in pro-
portion to the profits which the retailer can make. If a land-owner demands too heavy a share of the profits, the merchant either moves to a new location or fails in business. Hence the central district sifts out those retailing businesses which can best afford to pay high rentals. These institutions depend upon a rapid turnover of stock permitting a greater profit despite a narrow margin between cost and selling price. Merchants dealing in women's apparel, generally speaking, can afford to pay the highest rentals. Some observers might argue that women seldom allow the matter of price to interfere with their desire to own pretty frocks, hats, or shoes; thus the entrepreneur thrives from this tendency.

"Main Streets" in the American cities are surprisingly similar in the character and location of the stores represented. The big department store, catering largely to women's trade, will invariably be found at the heart of the business section. More than three-fourths of the shoppers to be found in a department store are women, and often the percentage is considerably higher. Consequently, department stores decorate their show windows and cases to attract the feminine buyer. Since women spend most of the family budget, stores catering to their needs, tastes, and whims can always pay the highest rentals.

Clustering close to these department stores will be found other large establishments handling exclusive lines of women's clothing, suits, and millinery. These stores like to settle in a location near big department stores which are heavy advertisers. Incidentally, men's shops usually assemble in a secondary location, often on the sunny side of a street across from the women's stores. As a rule men are perverse as regards fashions, and will not, in contrast to women, pay as high a price for clothes merely to be dressed according to the latest style. Men have fairly well-defined notions as to what they want, buying the same kind of shirts, hats, shoes, and toilettries year after year. Thus the margins of profit in men's shops are lower.

The "five-and-dime" stores are always eager to locate close to a large store doing a heavy volume of advertising, since this brings heavy traffic. Such stores seldom advertise, but depend upon trade attracted to the locality by other establishments. They always seek locations where pedestrian traffic is heaviest. They cater to all classes, races, and age groups, and depend upon volume of small sales and large turnover of their goods. Since they show big returns throughout the year they can afford to pay large rentals.
Other fancy rent-payers are the drug and cigar stores, particularly those of the chain variety, which may be found on strategic corner locations where pedestrian traffic is heavy, and where a large number of buyers can quickly and conveniently step in and make purchases. The owner of a cigar-store chain will pay well to have an expert count the people that pass a corner site where a cigar store might be erected. The owner will select the spot where people transfer to other trains or to other modes of transportation, i.e., the bottle-neck location which temporarily stalls the pedestrian. As keen rivals, the drug and cigar stores often pay, per square foot, the highest rentals in a large city.¹

Those commercial establishments requiring large space for the display of their goods, such as furniture and pianos, must necessarily seek cheaper locations where rentals in the aggregate for space used are not so high. These stores can use great areas of rear, inside, and upstairs space. The high rentals existing in many cities are driving these stores farther out from the congested areas year by year, thus creating outposts of new shopping districts.

Banks compete prosperously with retail establishments for choice street frontages because they are able to pay large rentals for space. In many cities the banking district is a unit in itself where row after row of the imposing granite structures house the leading financial institutions. In such districts where the use is purely for financial institutions little retail shopping exists and the desirability is not determined by the same factors which measure values in a retail district. Frequently the branch bank will be found in a more modernistic structure and within easy walking distance of key retailing stores, thus catering not only to the shopper but the proprietor who desires to make quick financial transactions during the day with the least time lost.

Retail values are usually highest on the main thoroughfare which runs direct from the highest-grade business district to the highest-grade residential section of a city. While there may be parallel streets which have a good type of trade, there is usually one key thoroughfare which enjoys the chief prestige and collects highest rents on that reputation. The fashion shops are often to be found at the farthest

¹ By way of contrast a grocery store would be more profitably situated at a point where there is no such mass transferring. A stable population, a neighborhood clientele, proves more profitable for this type of business.
outpost of these "gold strip" districts as they push outward in the
direction of the high-grade residential districts. Fifth Avenue in New
York, Wilshire Boulevard with its "Miracle Mile" in Los Angeles, and
the Gold Coast of Chicago are but three illustrations of this phe-
omenon.

Automobile show rooms generally cluster into natural areas of seg-
regation, frequently on the main street beyond the higher-grade retail
district, though later shifting to parallel and cross streets as rentals
increase on the principal thoroughfares. Due to keen competition,
there is a limit on the rental which can be paid by an automobile
sales agency.

Institutions of government, hotels, burlesque shows, legitimate
theatres, and opera houses, along with the cancer specialist, must sit-
uate in the ecological center of the community, since these are regional
institutions that appeal to the traveler or resident of the hinterland.
Those hotels situated in the outskirts of the community are usually
hotel-apartments or homes for the aged, having only a few rooms
available for transients. Regional churches are found in the ecological
centers. In Chicago's Loop may be found the famous Methodist
Temple, a regional skyscraper church catering to the traveler as well
as the detached man or woman living in the transitional area sur-
rounding the central business district. A few years ago the main street
of nearly every large city saw many corners occupied by fine places
of worship. Properly located at the outset, they became misplaced as
business districts expanded. The practice is now becoming general to
erect churches in purely residential districts upon local streets rather
than main thoroughfares. Fortunes have been made by congregations
owning sites in the path of business growth where land values in-
creased rapidly. The church which remains in the central business dis-
trict today is like its neighboring specialized institutions, catering to a
special clientele, but requiring heavy donations from wealthy bene-
farors to maintain its presence.

In every American city may be found the effects of commercial
invasion and succession. As business advances from block to block,
high-grade homes become rooming houses. One by one these are re-
placed by one-story business buildings. Then, as demand becomes
insistent, new and large permanent business structures are substi-
tuted. In the course of a few years, the character of building and
business occupancy in a city block may change several times.
The great demand to be situated in the ecological center of the community has given rise to a peculiar technology which allows for receiving the maximum return from the location. Elevators, escalators, revolving doors, underground and roof garages, express and local trains, elevated and subway trains are illustrations of this technology. Coupled with these innovations are clever policies worked out by store managers and planners in order to attract customers. One trick is to reduce prices of goods located in undesirable sections of the store—the basement and top floors. Another ingenious expedient is to place “slow” items on the right side of a declining escalator because shoppers have a tendency to turn right upon alighting from the moving staircase. Thus by studying the patterns of movement of shoppers, and employing the latest technological devices, stores may raise their profits and justify their presence in the central location of the city. Horizontal rather than vertical structures are generally occupied by store owners because they recognize that buyers prefer street-level shopping. Yet the reverse is the case with office buildings; height rather than horizontal structures carries prestige values for the tenant. Height allows the tenant and his client to escape the noise and noxious odors of the street. An office in a tall office building is somewhat akin to the seclusion of a suburban home. One will usually find that the highest rent payers in tall office buildings are found in those spaces situated between the fifteenth and fortieth floors for the reasons we have indicated. The National Resources Committee found:

In general, upward expansion is always at the expense of horizontal expansion. Where the upward expansion of a business district more than takes care of additional demand for commercial space, the commercial core of the city tends to shrink away from surrounding blighted areas, leaving an ever-wider swath of slums and blight. Although this may result in some deflation of excessively high speculative land values, the price of land in interior blighted areas is almost always still too high to permit profitable development of medium- or low-priced housing, even in multi-family buildings. A comparison of the assessed value of land and buildings in interior blighted districts of representative American cities with typical assessed values of land in other sections of these cities shows that, in all but exceptional cases, the only types of development that can be expected to clear and replace blighted areas, at present land prices and without subsidy, are high-class apartment houses and medium- or high-class business or commercial enterprises. In most cities, unfortunately, the
additional amount of land needed for these uses is only a small proportion of the whole and subject to limited expansion.\textsuperscript{2}

Space above the fortieth floor is less in demand because of the problem of access. Tall skyscrapers are usually erected in a pyramid-like design leaving progressively less space for elevator shafts, hence the problem of access to high-level floors.

In every case we must link urban location with function. Obviously the skyscraper is not a necessity in the small town. The skyscraper points to the fact that the urbanite exploits his “air-rights” as well as his “ground rights.” In Los Angeles, skyscrapers are absent because of an earthquake-wise ordinance prohibiting unusually tall structures. But we might add that the broad expanse of flat land in Southern California (not to overlook the Californian’s acceptance of the automobile as a necessity) with its multiple business and shopping centers has meant that “air-rights” are not used by these citizens.\textsuperscript{3}

The effect of intensive building development, especially the high elevator building, has been to increase enormously the possible income from a single lot and, consequently, to raise to fantastic heights the “ceiling” for possible speculative land values. High values and assessments of overdeveloped land may be reflected in increased asking prices and assessments of adjacent plots, even though there may be little probability of similarly intensive development there.

When city growth races ahead of improvements in local transportation, the lateral projection of the business area tends to be arrested in favor of a vertical extension of the city centered on the point of highest land values in the business district. The competition for space in this key position raises the land values well above what most functions can sustain alone. The skyscraper is frequently the consequence of a pooling of the rent-paying capacities, since only in this way are individuals able to maintain their choice location. The skyscraper is thus a specialized street stood on end. The Chicago Loop buildings, under the pressure of expanding business confined to a limited area, have tapped successively higher layers of air. By 1893 over 10 per

\textsuperscript{3}To further illustrate the urbanite’s interpretation of land in terms of use, we observe real estate people in growing cities demanding portions of the business income of their tenant rather than relying upon fixed rental from the land or structure, reflecting the shrewdness of these property-owners in recognizing the relationship of location to economic gain of tenants.
cent of the air layer from seven to twelve stories had been filled with buildings, and the highest towers extended to sixteen stories. By 1923, when the new zoning law permitted tower buildings that contained as many as forty-four stories, 37 per cent of the area from seven to twelve stories had been occupied, 17 per cent of that between twelve and sixteen stories, and over 6 per cent of that between sixteen and twenty-two stories.

Pedestrian traffic in a business district is considered the weather vane of all values. It is usually true that in the location where the greatest number of people pass during the shopping hours merchants are willing to pay maximum rents for store space, thus producing high returns to the owner of property.

Summarizing, the increasing degree to which the institutions within the ecological center becomes specialized is dependent upon the increase in size and complexity of organization of the commercial and governmental bureaucracies, the highly differentiated and rational character of the local, regional, and national organizations in the area. The pattern of land use in the central business district may be said to be due to the operation of certain general factors (those which made it the central business district rather than a residential or industrial area) and many factors unique to special functions and related groups of functions. The pattern is one which reflects primarily a competitive yet interdependent socio-economic structure.

**AREA OF STORAGE AND WHOLESALING**

Wholesaling as a function is situated outside of the central business district. Because of the need for large floor space, wholesale houses cannot operate at a profit by locating in the high-rent, central business district. Furthermore, wholesalers seek nearness to terminals rather than to retailers, thus prefer a location beyond the central business area; such a position allowing for quick access to retailers as well as terminals. Storage processes also localize on this fringe area of the central business district, as does light manufacturing. Because the area is quite centrally located it attracts such additional establishments as pawnshops and second-hand stores, restaurants and taverns, catering to a less discriminating clientele.

In this fringe zone, as in the central business district, the basic principle which explains the land-use pattern may be stated as follows:
those economic functions which establish themselves in an area are
those whose books, so to speak, can still show a profit after the
charges for site rent have been subtracted from the gains which accrue
by virtue of their location at these strategic communication and trans-
portation centers. Likewise, the noneconomic enterprises may func-
tion gainfully in these central areas by reason of the fact that they
constitute the centers of community and transportation in the com-
unity. Thus the patterns of land use in these areas may be seen as
the spatial counterpart of selective functions and group of functions,
which under the competitive and cooperative conditions of a given
economy, could most efficiently maintain their dominance by a posi-
tion here. Labor, in order to be performed, requires a place where it
can be performed. As the division of labor in a community becomes
more and more complex (itself an essential aspect and index of a
more and more complex economy) the loci necessary to its perform-
ance inscribe on the land in these areas certain patterns of use which
are successively more differentiated or specialized.

Wholesalers of groceries who deal in nonperishable foods can
spread out in the intermediate parts of the cities, their exact locations
depending on the convenience of customers.\textsuperscript{4} Wholesale offices that
route orders but do not handle the commodities themselves usually
locate in office buildings near the central retail district. Manufacturing
wholesalers, who together determine prices and styles, cluster to-
gether near their merchants’ customers; or, if their trade originates
chiefly in the hinterland, they locate close to passenger terminals and
hotels.

\textbf{INDUSTRIAL LAND USE}

The texture of the soil, the climate, the length of the growing sea-
son obviously are of little importance when considering land for
industrial purposes. Those factors which are basic to factories are two-
fold: (1) accessibility to labor supply and (2) elements in the cost
of production, i.e., the tax rate in the community, the cost of land,
public laws pertaining to zoning, building size, transportation, and
nuisance involving smoke, noise, and odor. A twofold problem con-
fronts the industrial planner concerning plant location. First, heavy

\textsuperscript{4} Robert M. Haig and Roswell C. McCrea, “Regional Survey of New York and
Its Environments,” \textit{Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrange-
bulk industries must locate in the center of the region if they are producers of such items as steel, aircraft, automobiles, or glass, in order to have strategic access to raw materials. The need in these cases is for ground space more than floor space because when an object must be hoisted the cost of manufacturing rises. One exception might be the chemical manufacturing process where the raw materials are placed at a high elevation and the ingredients allowed to trickle down. In essence, however, we may say that bulk industries seek strategic regional position with ample ground space and proximity to railroads or other forms of transportation for the delivery of raw materials. Second, industries are pressed to locate within or adjacent to a community for residential and commercial reasons, not to overlook the importance of access to a large labor pool. Only with mining, dams, and oil processing do we find relative isolation from large communities. These concerns find it necessary to build the community around the plant. Yet in spite of such action these concerns have considerable difficulty with their employees because workers have the tendency to organize and resist company paternalism and prefer to separate physically and socially their work-day world from their home environment. They like the freedom of selecting their jobs as part of their way of life, and therefore seek employment where there are sufficient neighboring industries to give rise to a competitive relationship between employers for their services.

With regard to industrial location within or adjacent to the city, industries locate either very near to the central business district or on the remote outer fringe. Whereas heavy, bulk industry is situated on the edge of cities, the lighter manufacturing is generally located closer to the ecological center. Millinery companies, for example, establish themselves near the business districts because of the wish to gain access to retail outlets and the fashions. They locate on the second or third floors of buildings situated reasonably near to the shopping center, or occupy an entire building likewise strategically located. The heavy manufacturer, as in foundries, steel mills, bridge works, car shops, and machine shops, by moving to the outskirts of the city can obtain cheaper land on which to erect one-story buildings which permit continuity of operation with its attendant economies. There is also an advantage in tax-savings by moving beyond the city limits. Furthermore, heavy and ponderous machinery and furnaces must be located upon substantial foundations. Because of the size of
the products manufactured much space is necessary for the storage of materials used by a plant. Such industries cannot occupy high-priced land on account of the prohibitive cost.

If possible, the heavy manufacturer will build among industries already located in some outlying district in order to participate in the cooperative interindustry organization established for the purpose of resisting complaints of property owners in the vicinity and to gain from cooperatively established police and fire agencies. Furthermore, by such a move the bulk manufacturer enjoys the advantage of a flexible layout of ground and plant; he can expand his plant to suit his needs without encountering streets, alleys, and networks of telephone and pipe lines. He finds most advantageous the direct connection of his plant with a railroad siding, an advantage for the speedy and economical shipment of goods. With the advent of the motor truck and the establishment of freight depots outside of the urban central retail district, it is no longer necessary for manufacturers to be within horse-and-wagon hauling distance of a downtown freight station.

Light manufacturing can be carried on successfully with less ground-floor area. Therefore many such enterprises occupy buildings of several stories, covering relatively little ground-floor space. These industries usually do not require large and heavy machinery; the articles are stored in smaller spaces, and the materials required are usually not bulky. Hence higher-valued land may be utilized profitably if in the particular case it has commensurate advantages of good labor supply and transportation facilities.

Many civic administrators, particularly those concerned with zoning problems, reveal their short-sightedness when they hold too strictly to the dichotomy between light and heavy industry. From the standpoint of the common good, which, after all, is the primary concern of planners, it would be better if this differentiation were forgotten and the simple distinction between nuisance and non-nuisance-bearing industries were used. After all, new technology now permits some heavy industries which were formerly public nuisances, to be located within dwelling areas. For example, meat packing houses may now locate much closer to residential areas since bad odors which accompany the processing of meat can now be largely eliminated. Zoning ordinances, however, have generally failed to adjust to these technological changes.
AXIATE THEORY OF URBAN GROWTH

Sensitive to the power that commerce and industry exert upon residential land use, Charles J. Galpin emerged with the idea of an axiate structure of the community, showing how the city radiates from the center as the spokes from an axle, and ultimately transcends political boundary lines (school districts, townships, and counties). The axiate concept of city growth recognizes that density accumulates around highways or lines of travel and that commercial and industrial establishments incessantly push residential land-users outward along those main thoroughfares until time-cost factors force the latter group to disperse to areas close to secondary routes. Hence the theory describes the patterning of industrial and commercial land-users, whereas the concentric zone hypothesis (Chapter XIII) is an account of residential location. Noting the axiate development in Chicago, Homer Hoyt combined Galpin’s theory with the Burgess concentric zone hypothesis and established the widely accepted sector theory of urban growth (Chapter XIII). Dr. Robert E. Park commented concerning the necessity of combining the axiate and concentric patterns in order to gain a full comprehensive picture of urban growth patterns:

... The axiate or skeletal structure of a community is determined by the course of the first routes of travel and traffic. Houses and shops are constructed near the road, usually parallel with it. The road may be a trail, public highway, railroad, river, or ocean harbor, but in any case, the community usually starts in parallel relation to the first main highway. With the accumulation of population and utilities the community takes form first along one side of the highway and later on both sides. The point of junction or crossing of two main highways, as a rule, serves as the initial center of the community.

As the community grows there is not merely a multiplication of houses and roads but a process of differentiation and segregation takes place as well. Residences and institutions spread out in centrifugal fashion from the central point of the community, while business concentrates more and more around the spot of highest land values. Each cyclic increase of population is accompanied by greater differentiation in both service and location. There is a struggle among utilities for the vantage-points of position. This makes for increasing value of land and increasing weight of buildings at the geographic center of the community. As competition

for advantageous sites becomes keener with the growth of population, the first and economically weaker types of utilities are forced out to less accessible and lower-priced areas. By the time the community has reached a population of about ten or twelve thousand, a fairly well-differentiated structure is attained. The central part is a clearly defined business area, with the bank, the drugstore, the department store, and the hotel holding the sites of highest land value. Industries and factories usually comprise independent formations within the city, grouping around railroad tracks and routes of water traffic. Residence sections become established, segregated into two or more types depending upon the economic and racial composition of the population.\(^6\)

From Park's observations we learn that with the introduction of the railroad and modern means of communication, the axial pattern of community growth is a consequence, which, in turn, accelerates dispersion. In time the center functions as a regional center, losing much of its importance as a retailing vortex. In Los Angeles, the relatively slow forms of mass communication have for some time delayed the now rapid dispersion of population throughout the region. As faster highways and automobiles have come into use, however, the central area of dominance has begun to lose its importance, the population increasing in density on the remote reaches of the center. Human and institutional aggregations tend to cluster along the more improved transportation routes. With the vast program of regional parkways underway, we may expect a further acceleration of urban dispersion and new and larger suburbs and satellite communities forming on the outer edges of the central city, areas attractive for industrial operation as well as for residential privacy. We may speculate that as the population masses against the natural barriers of the ocean, desert, and mountains, the upper economic groups might conceivably turn to new technology in the form of air-conditioning and sound-proofing, and build structures in the currently blighted central districts, thus reversing the outward trend.\(^7\)

\(^6\) Park and Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, copyright 1925 by the University of Chicago), p. 73. By permission.

RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

More land is used for residential purposes in the American city than for any other. Land used for streets usually ranks second. Harland Bartholomew found, on the average, that of the total occupied space in the sixteen "self-contained" cities he studied, ranging in population from 8,697 to 307,808, the land was used as follows: single-family residence, 36 per cent; two-family residence, 2 per cent; multi-family residence, 1 per cent; commerce, 2 per cent; light industry, 3 per cent; heavy industry, 3 per cent; railroads, 5 per cent; streets, 34 per cent; parks and playgrounds, 6 per cent; and public and semipublic uses, 8 per cent.\(^1\) Of course, the variation from city to city is great. Bartholomew provides the following ranges: 27 to 52 per cent for all types of residences combined; 1 to 4 per cent for commerce; 2 to 6 per cent for light industry; 1 to 5 per cent for heavy industry; 3 to 8 per cent for railroads; 21 to 59 per cent for streets; 1 to 19 per cent for parks and playgrounds; and 1 to 15 per cent for public and semipublic uses.\(^2\) These figures indicate that the more extreme variations occur in relation to parks, playgrounds, and public uses, which depend upon the periodic decisions of administrators and voters. Land for residence, commerce, industry, streets, or railroads, which depend more directly upon ecological processes, show a smaller variation.

In suburbs, land for residences may greatly exceed land for trans- 
portation, as Table 1 illustrates.

**TABLE 1 Percentage of Privately Controlled, Developed Area Occupied by 
Three Types of Urban Land Utilization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF CITY</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>COMMERCE</th>
<th>INDUSTRY AND RAILROADS</th>
<th>TOTAL PRIVATELY CONTROLLED DEVELOPED AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SELF-CONTAINED CITIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoxville, Tenn.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Angelo, Tex.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft. Worth, Tex.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Girardeau, Mo.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento, Cal.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose, Cal.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Mo.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar Rapids, Ia.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsa, Okla.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoria, Ill.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson City, Mo.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio, Tex.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troy, Ohio</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binghamton, N. Y.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To obtain a realistic picture of the ecology of urban residential land utilization, one must remember that there is always a disequilib- 
rium, a reshuffling of residential space due to city growth, obso- 
lescence, and technological advances. The familiar Burgess theory of 
centric zones of the city was directed at portraying the city as an 
expanding entity and not a static community.

The basis of residence values is both social and economic. Land for 
homes goes to the highest bidder—the wealthy selecting the locations 
which please them, those of moderate means living as near-by as pos-

ible, and so on down the scale of wealth, the poorest workmen taking 
the final leavings, either adjacent to such nuisances as railroads, docks, 
and factories, or far out of the city. Having selected a district, the
wealthy make it their own by erecting attractive residences, making good street improvements, restricting against nuisances, and finally, of chief importance, living there themselves, the value of residential land varying directly according to the social standing of its occupants and the distance from the ecological center measured in terms of time-cost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND USE</th>
<th>AREA IN ACRES</th>
<th>PER CENT OF TOTAL LAND DEVELOPED</th>
<th>PER CENT OF TOTAL CITY AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single-family dwelling</td>
<td>1,451.50</td>
<td>53.32</td>
<td>45.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-family dwelling</td>
<td>68.30</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple dwelling</td>
<td>124.38</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial use</td>
<td>148.69</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light industry</td>
<td>23.57</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy industry</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad use</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and playgrounds</td>
<td>49.65</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and semipublic use</td>
<td>64.66</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets and alleys</td>
<td>767.81</td>
<td>28.17</td>
<td>23.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,722.27</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vacant land</strong></td>
<td><strong>496.82</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,219.09</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Beverly Hills, California, as an elite residential community occupied by movie stars and industrial, commercial, and social leaders of the Los Angeles vicinity, is vigorously dedicated to continuing the present land-use pattern marked by a high amount of owner-occupied single-family homes. Zoning regulations are diligently enforced to block the invasion of multiple dwellings, commerce, and industry. Such measures operate, however, only to postpone for the time being the inevitable change in land use. Eventually the present residents will feel obliged to seek better neighborhoods elsewhere as "unscrupulous" persons sell out to parties who intend using the land for lower uses. Thus the character of the entire city will eventually undergo a slow modification. This may be difficult to visualize now, in this elite community of new buildings and homes. Yet this is the all-too-customary history of residential areas. The appearance of blighted districts is already observable in several sections of this fashionable community.

Thus residential properties are distinct from business districts as are manufacturing areas when values and methods of valuation are concerned. What is desirable for the location of residences would be distinctly disadvantageous for the business of a merchant. While most persons seek homes in districts where nature affords some elements of natural beauty, or in areas which subdividers have laid out artis-
tically, business turns aside from or destroys such natural beauty spots, seeking level areas on which to build.

Land for residential purposes is attractive and valuable because of the presence or absence of certain desirable or undesirable features. There are many classes of property, ranging from the highest to the lowest type of occupancy. Single residences are placed in the best location, although apartments which indicate an intensive residential use of land, not individual in character, are able to pay higher prices for, and earn profits upon, land in choice residential districts, if such use is permitted. In metropolises where zoning is quite general, apartments and duplexes are required to locate in districts assigned for such purposes. The presence of multiple dwellings, such as flats, terraces, apartments, and double houses, destroys much of the privacy and beauty of a single-family residential area (although these structures may prove to be more functional) and decrease the desirability of a section for high-class development.

The most important dimension in understanding residential land use is the relationship of residence to income. And income is coupled with other factors such as proximity to such service facilities in the community as shopping centers, police and fire stations, schools, and churches. Income is linked, furthermore, with status factors; who will be tolerated by whom being the crucial question. This involves the status relations of national, racial, and cultural groups. All these and other elements go into residential land use. Consequently in dealing with residential space we encounter two sets of phenomena: (1) the physical structures as individual units and as composing an aggregation or community, and (2) inhabitants and their relations to each other and to the group as a whole. These two types of phenomena are by no means mutually exclusive and must be studied together. For example, the rural house in America is a reflection of the styles, economy, and social organization of its community. The urban house, however, is characterized by the discontinuity of behavior among its occupants. The urban residential structure eventually outlives its occupants and its relation to the adjacent property, a condition which is more important in understanding the urban dwelling than the rural dwelling. By and large, house types in the United States are adapted to the life cycle of the family. When we speak of a house we are talking about a family, as a general rule. The fact that kitchenette apartments have not been constructed in large units in our American cities
demonstrates how housing reflects the whole family cycle. The kitchenette apartment has risen out of conversions from other types of housing, from the dividing up of larger homes. In the expanding city, wealthy families have been moving to the outer rim of the community, leaving the white elephant mansions or home-nurseries behind as derelicts. Enterprising people have been converting these structures into kitchenette or small family units. In fact, there has been tremendous exploitation in this conversion process. Zoning and building regulations are evaded as poor and temporary changes in electric wiring, plumbing, and fireplaces are made. These structures make up the future slums of the growing or expanding city.

Human habitation is not only related to income and status factors but also to the place of work, and may be considered a third factor or merely an additional consideration under (2) above. People generally want to live in a place reasonably close to their jobs. But the predicament is that in the inner zones of the city only the wealthy can afford to buy property. Consequently, the poor live near their jobs by renting, with the result that there is often no local spirit of organization in the local community. There is absentee ownership. The area is controlled by police and city services and not by the consensus of the local aggregate. This explains the social problems in the fringe areas of the central business districts of our great cities. Urban habitation generally is not worked out rationally with respect to the place of work, but with respect to other conditions of life—shopping centers, recreation facilities, and transportation advantages.

Time and expense thus become crucial factors in the location of homes. The prospective buyer must take into account the entire round of life plus the reputation of the atmosphere of the community, i.e., degree of crime, ethnic tensions, stigma of a Bohemian quarter, in calculating the high or low prestige of the district. One technological change may alter the desirability of an area and consequently its land values. In New York City, for example, the central residential areas rose in land value when the trains were placed underground. Greenwich Village is now a higher-prestige residential area, in contrast with its past. Elite residential areas in the center of our cities exist (1) because of childless couples preferring to live near work, recreation, and cafes, and thus seeking small dwelling units in scraper apartments, and (2) families resisting the impulse to follow the flight to the suburbs, preferring to endure the intense urban
living and enjoying the anonymity which goes with a central location. These latter families desire not only prestige but nearness to urban facilities.

RESIDENTIAL LAND USE VIEWED HISTORICALLY

Residential areas do not develop at random, but, like other kinds of urban land areas, develop historically. For planning commissions to set aside specific residential blocks for particular occupational groups, erecting structures which they feel will appeal to these specific groups, upsets the historical residential balance of any city. In fact such arbitrary zoning rarely succeeds because people always seek to live alongside those above their own station in life. They wish to associate with those people with whom they aspire to identify themselves. The actual situation, historically presented, may be stated under four headings:

First, the wealthy enjoy the initial choice of residential space. Whereas in decades past the small wealthy family resided in old mansions, now they are inclined to prefer the new apartment house or apartment-hotel. This small family seeks such housing because it carries with it the services of professionals—maid service, janitors, bellhops, and clerks. There is no necessity for employing servants. The Gold Coast of Chicago and the Town House district of Los Angeles serve as illustrations of this tendency. These districts are close to the central retailing district. The wealthy enjoy the prestige of the area and nearness to the amusement and cultural institutions in the city’s center. However, the larger wealthy family, especially if the children are young, tend to locate in the suburbs. They want acreage and wish to select their neighbors—which means they want neighbors like themselves or neighbors who emulate them (for prestige rises out of associations or alleged associations and not simply out of one’s past; people forget the past quickly). Thus the family, examined from the standpoint of membership and age, becomes an excellent clue as to where the wealthy reside.

The large, suburban, wealthy family finds commutation one of its most important problems, since it is time consuming and adds to the cost of living. Generally the train is preferred to the automobile because it is an all-weather form of transportation, assuring reasonably

prompt movement between place of work and place of residence. Thus we make the generalization that routine, stabilized services and forms of communication contribute to an understanding of land patterns, not only residential, but commercial and industrial as well. In Chicago as in Kansas City, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and most other great cities, the population has followed after the wealthy and community leaders who have sought choice locations in the hinterland. The automobile has functioned in great measure not only to pull the population outward from the centers of cities but likewise has made life so unpleasant in the central areas that human life is virtually pushed away from the ecological centers. In Los Angeles, as the wealthy continue to enjoy the privilege of making first selection from home sites on the ever-extending periphery of the city, the local government has felt obliged to extend the services of water and power supply and police and fire protection over vast and remote areas, with the result that the elite are now situated in canyons and valleys, on mountain tops and at distant beaches. From the standpoint of land use, the wealthy, as a demographic group, do not represent an important group inasmuch as they constitute less than 7 per cent of almost every city's population. But from the standpoint of keeping the city financially solvent through taxation plus the magnetic pull which they exercise over lower-income groups, the wealthy are an exceedingly important group.

The Sector Theory of Urban Growth. Homer Hoyt has been so impressed by the effect of high-grade residential districts upon the configuration of settlement in American cities that he has postulated the sector theory of urban residential growth based upon the following nine general tendencies: (1) High-grade residential growth tends to proceed from the point of origin along established lines of travel or toward another nucleus of buildings or trading centers. (2) The zone of high-rent areas tends to progress toward high ground which is free from the risk of floods and to spread along lake, bay, river, and ocean fronts, where such water fronts are not used for industry. Elevation is a chief factor which complicates and distorts the zonal or axiatic patterns of urban formation. In Montreal, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Salt Lake City, the elevations introduce this new dimension into urban residential patterning, the wealthy situating not on the edge of the city but following along high elevations. Correlated with this tendency is the factor of weather. High ground is preferable in areas marked
by stormy, potential flood weather. Since the wealthy enjoy first choice of residential location they monopolize these high elevations. The present writer feels that social-psychological rather than climatic forces are more important in accounting for this tendency. (3) High-rent residential districts tend to grow toward the section of the city which has free, open country beyond the edges and away from “dead end” sections which are limited by natural or artificial barriers to expansion. In Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and Kansas City, residential growth has moved in the direction of open country, slowing down as it encountered man-made or nature-made barriers such as bodies of water, mountain ranges, railway lines, or outlying towns. (4) The higher-priced residential neighborhood tends to grow toward the homes of the leaders of the community. In this context we should point out again the unfortunate tendency by ecologists to think of the distribution of people as a natural result of unconscious competition. Segregation of social types in residential areas can be deliberate as well as nondeliberate. Likes and dislikes, human preferences, operate to segregate human beings in residential areas as they function to segregate business and industrial processes. The unwitting competitive process proves frequently to be a minor element. Areas become associated with socio-economic prestige; they take on certain status-giving qualities. Such areas become an asset and are capitalized upon. Community leaders are quick to buy up land of the slightest elevation and make the area an elite residential district. The mountain slopes in Los Angeles have become the commanding sites for the most magnificent homes of millionaires. Lower socio-economic groups express the hope that some day in the future they may move into the districts of the community leaders or within sufficiently close proximity to claim membership. That is to say, the social psychology of prestige is fundamental here. It is always of great importance who moves into a district first, since these pioneers give the land its prestige value. Zoning ordinances are conscious devices intended for the purpose of segregating functions and to maintain a certain character in specific areas. Some areas, indeed, may become empty vacuums if the zoning ordinances bring no positive results. The zoning device can regulate the use and conversion of buildings to be erected or occupied in the future, but it must always sanction what is already there. Thus, if a zone has been designated as a business zone and it does not succeed as a business area, it will remain vacant, often for an extended period
of time. In consequence local people will try to institute pressure to rezone the area to stimulate occupancy. As mentioned earlier, in most cases rezoning is from a higher use to a lower use; yet in the process of transition the trend may be reversed. Thus zones are never simply workingmen’s or commuters’ zones; no zones remain permanent from the standpoint of a particular use, whether the zones evolve naturally or as a consequence of city planning. (5) Trends of movement of office buildings, banks, and stores pull the higher-priced residential neighborhoods in the same general direction. The independent variable in the interaction between the growth of upper-class residential areas and the movement of office buildings, banks, and stores is very probably the former, according to Hoyt. However, the movement of the latter may accelerate the rate of growth of an upper-class area. (6) High-grade residential areas tend to develop along the fastest existing transportation lines. Fast transportation lines allow for easy access to the job. Thus homes are situated near transportation lines allowing for quick egress and ingress. (7) The growth of high-rent neighborhoods continues in the same direction for a long period of time. In Salt Lake City, Miami, and Minneapolis, one observes long, continuous movement in the same direction. Only under unusual circumstances are the trends reversed or interrupted. (8) De luxe high-rent apartment areas tend to be established near the business center in old residential areas. This refutes the Burgess inference that outward extension of land uses is not only inevitable but irreversible. Few are the cities that do not have an elite residential district, usually composed of tall hotel-apartments, situated near the central business districts. (9) Real estate promoters may bend the direction of high-grade residential growth. Of significance here is that real estate promotional activities are exemplar of volitional behavior. Ecologists seem to have been reluctant to recognize that real estate promotion has been a form of volitionary activity long in practice in urban areas.

The generalized effect of these nine tendencies, according to Hoyt, is a sector pattern of urban residential development. Hoyt, by combining the axiate and concentric theories to create his hypothesis and gathering his data from real-property inventories of 142 American cities, maintains that high-rent areas tend to be located on the outer

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fringes of one or more sectors of the city, and that in some sectors the low-rent districts assume the shape of a cut of pie, extending from the center to the city's periphery (Figure 1). The pattern of American cities, according to Hoyt, takes the shape of an octopus, the tentacles extending in various directions along transportation lines. The high-rent areas move outward along one sector as the cities grow. As the

Fig. 1. Shifts in location of fashionable residential areas in six American cities, 1900–1930. This chart, with the fashionable residential areas indicated by solid black, depicts graphically the sector theory of city growth as formulated by Hoyt. According to this interpretation, residential areas tend to assume the form of sectors rather than concentric zones. (Federal Housing Administration)
upper-income groups abandon property, people of lower economic status move in. The relocation of high rental residential areas represents not only a withdrawal before rising land values, but also an escape from the inconveniences generated by congestion. The extent of the removal is thus associated with the ability of population to pay the costs of transportation to and from the center.

Second, whereas the wealthy enjoy first access to residential space and thus become a key group in residential succession, a larger group is the middle-income group. These people have the small businesses; they are the professional people, by and large. There are a few managerial families included in this group as well. This middle group seeks living areas with fair security, small amount of nuisances, and reasonable access to the central business district. They want some spaciousness as well as new and modern community facilities. That is, they want an up-to-date repair garage in their district as well as modern fire, police, park, and school facilities. The upper category of this large population exhibits the American bourgeois spirit and locates in the newer areas, occupying the new apartment buildings near the outer fringes of the city, territory fairly dense with apartments but loose enough spatially to satisfy the desires of this group. Rent, operating through income, is a most important factor in the distribution and segregation of these familial units. Those with comparable incomes are drawn to similar locations and consequently cluster together in one or two selected apartment areas within the community.

Third, the lower middle-income group takes its place behind the above mentioned groups in having access to choice residential property. This group is made up of mechanics, craftsmen, and the fringe of the lower professional groups, i.e., managerial people such as foremen and craft workers. These are practical, steady workers with incomes higher as a whole than those of white-collar workers. This is because they are better organized. They live in a more scattered pattern throughout the community, but locate quite near to the major industries within the city’s center. In older cities this group is found living in the two- and three-floor structures with fewer than four rooms.

Fourth are the people with the lower incomes. They may be found residing in the slum areas of cities and also in the outer belt between the apartment houses and open country. Those who live on the edge of the city are people who have followed heavy industry to the out-
skirts and who characteristically seek to couple industrial labor with a fertile plot of land. This outer residential area is commonly described as the "cottage area."

**HOUSE TYPES**

Associated with the above description of residential land use based upon economic status, are five housing types. The house types offer clues to the types of social life which characterize the areas.

*First*, starting in the center of the city, we find the ecological orbit of the community which is almost devoid of residential habitation, except for hotels and lodging places. There is almost no night population in contrast to the daytime population.

*Second*, in the adjacent slum district may be found the old mansions that have been converted into small units following the departure of the wealthy owners for more prestige-bearing areas. This is the great conversion district—a conversion to lower use. It signifies the close relationship between human values and rentals. The land is held for speculative purposes, in anticipation of a widening of the retailing function of the central business district. The assessed valuation may be low, but the speculators attach fantastic market prices of their own to the land. These speculators anticipate that as the business district expands the assessed land values will rise, overlooking frequently the fact that the horizontal expansion of the central business district has been changed to vertical expansion in the form of tall elevator buildings. This use of air space or floor space is often the very consequence of the exorbitant prices of land in the outer zone owned by the speculators.

Owing to the speculation potentials in the slum district nobody materially corrects the problem through erecting suitable apartments or industrial structures. The only recent development observed in this section of American cities has been the apartment-hotel for small, wealthy families. But the effect of this sporadic building is small in such a vast area. This zone is one of great violations of ordinances and high rate of catastrophes involving fire, crime, and disease. The area is characterized generally by conversion from industry to multiple-housing units. Slums generally arise when the original use of the structures is no longer suitable for the purpose intended. Here gravitate those people whose life expectations are about the same, particularly
the poor, the illiterate, the diseased, the immigrants, and other minority groups. It is the least advantageous place to live. In those cases where a person's economic status rises, or his aspirations advance, he moves out as quickly as possible. Ecological succession is the consequence, each lower group constantly invading and dominating the adjacent outer area. In the slum an ethos of moral indifference toward the local community prevails; it is a type of area that gives rise to political bossism and machine politics. The floating population here is easily herded together by local political bosses. It is a slum not only because of a high rate of mobility, but also because the individual occupants are so keenly conscious of their living in it. This awareness by individuals and separate ethnic groups precludes a broad organization for concerted action. Consequently it is an area of highly institutionalized services; the city falls heir to administering the area through its police and social welfare agencies.

The difference in land values between this deteriorated area and outer fringes is not to be measured by the number of people alone, for the races, nationalities, and groups dwelling in this blighted area are the lowest in the social economic scale. As people are not concentrated in large tenements in these poor areas, but are thinly dispersed in single-family dwellings or small apartment buildings, their low individual purchasing power is not overcome by their aggregate mass. Therefore one observes a low level of rent and high percentage of loss in collecting that small amount, a heavy rate of deterioration of property caused by waste, neglect, and vandalism. These factors reduce land values in these transitional areas occupied by hobos, seasonal workers, criminals of native American stock, and the lowest classes of Mexicans, Negroes, and other minority groups. This is a decided "valley" in the land value curve between the central business district and the outer residential areas that indicates the location of the sections where the buildings are mostly over fifty years old and where the residents rank lowest in rent-paying ability and highest in criminal activity.5

Not only are the buildings in this area of another era but likewise are the streets. The slums have become the thoroughfares of the cities, being slow and narrow and resulting in congestion of automobiles, railroads, and trucks. This means hazards and disorder. Consequently

5 Consult Clifford R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1929).
the slum, as the place where there is great congestion of human and conveyance traffic, is an area of toleration for deviant kinds of behavior, cultural or criminal. It is the home of the nonconformist, the revolutionist, the outcast, the artist, the economically depressed, plus cells of integrated racial and ethnic groups.

This is the area which is the object of those who want to redevelop the city and solve its problems. In fact, one often gets the impression that these sincere people feel that by one master stroke the problems of a growing city could be eliminated through concentrating on the slums. Usually the public housing which they sponsor is negligible in its effect because it is developed as uncoordinated individual projects. This area is greatly neglected by private enterprise since it feels that the profit in housing is to be had in the fringe areas of the city. In consequence the burden of maintaining the district falls upon the public. And the cost is twofold: First, it is costly to the people living there because it stunts their lives. One cannot calculate the effect upon the lives of both adults and children. Second, not only is the area costly in human lives and social welfare, it is costly in plain cash. It is a place of exploitation. There is a great amount of investment in the slums which neither public nor private groups are willing to write off. The public takes a great loss in the investments in streets and schools, since they are not fully used. And public agencies often stand in the way of redevelopment, one housing authority refusing to lend money for buildings in the slums because the risk is too great, while another agency encourages building in outer areas where land is more valuable.

Third, the area of workingmen's homes is situated next to the transitional zone, described above. One finds very little conversion of buildings here. It is an area once inhabited by fairly prosperous people but now occupied by the poorer class through succession. There is little remodeling because the area was built originally as a multipledwelling section. Containing from one-fifth to one-third of the city's population, it is here that is found the most effective community organization, with the exception of the suburbs. Consequently such voluntary groupings as boy and girl scout troops are perhaps the least needed here as therapeutic agencies, although usually they are found in the greatest number in this section of the city as auxiliaries of churches. While in the slum one is made aware of the voluntary groups of the gang and underworld variety, where the political boss
takes the place of the social service agencies in great measure, in the workingmen's area the occupants are participants in their own organizations. In time, however, the apathy and undesirable aspects of the slum eat into this next area, blight conditions establishing firm bridgeheads in this adjacent zone.

In large industrial cities this area constitutes the neighborhood of second immigrant settlement. The people who live here wish to live near (but not too near) their work. In the older American cities the boundaries of this area may be roughly determined by plotting the two-flat dwellings of frame construction. On the street floor lives the owner, and the second floor is occupied generally by his tenant. While the father works in the factory, the son and daughter generally have jobs in the central business district during the day, attending the dance hall and motion picture theatres in the "bright-light" area at night.

Fourth, the area of better residence is situated beyond neighborhoods of second-generation immigrant settlement. It is the area, however, where the sons and daughters of the parents living in the next inner zone aspire to live upon marriage. As the zone for businessmen, professional people, clerks, and salesmen, it is characterized by converted single homes or new apartment-house and residential hotel buildings. Here are found, at strategic points, local business centers of ever-growing importance often called by ecologists "satellite loops." As a constellation of business and recreational units, the "satellite loop" or sub-business district includes a bank, one or more United Cigar stores, a drugstore, a high-class cafe, an automobile display row, and a so-called "super" motion picture theatre. Upon the addition of a dance palace, some taverns, and a smart hotel, the satellite loop becomes an influential business and recreational center attracting a city-wide attendance, drawing off the customers and profits from the near-by satellite loops, and ultimately taking on functions of a more specialized character (Figure 2). This phenomenon is the consequence of increased modes of public communication in the metropolis.

In this zone men are outnumbered by women; independence in voting is frequent; newspapers and books have wide circulation; women enjoy sufficient equality with men that they are frequently elected to state legislatures from these districts.

Fifth, the area of commutation is the district beyond areas of better residence and comprises a ring of encircling small cities, towns, and hamlets. In great measure the wealthy have clustered here in large
homes and estates. These small towns are, in the main, dormitory suburbs since the majority of men residing in them spend the day at work in the central retailing district, returning only for the night. Consequently the mother and wife become the center of family life, representing the family in local affairs. If the central business district is predominantly a homeless men's region, if the rooming house district is the habitat of the emancipated family, if the area of first-immigrant settlement is the natural soil of the patriarchal family transplanted from Europe, then the zone of better residences with its apartment houses and residential hotels is the favorable environment for the "equalitarian" family, and the commuters' zone is without question the domain of the matricentric family.6

Fig. 2. The dynamics of subbusiness districts in the large city

This pattern of residential zones, based on the house type and degree of repair of the structures, might be carried even beyond the commuters' zone, whose outer boundary is ordinarily understood to be coterminous with that of the metropolitan district—this is the great hinterland.

Professor E. W. Burgess should be given considerable credit for performing and encouraging the research which gave rise to the above residential classification of cities, well organized in his "concentric zone hypothesis."

Concentric Zone Hypothesis. Dr. Burgess, in studying the ecology of Chicago, suggested the concentric zone hypothesis as an ideal-

typical pattern of community growth. This is the popular conception of urban growth patterns among sociologists and laymen alike. This hypothesis establishes specific zones within the city, indicating that each inner zone tends to invade the next outer zone. This aspect of expansion is the invasion-succession sequence discussed earlier. The hypothesis rests upon the assumption that the economic as well as cultural and political life of the city centers quite naturally in the downtown section. Through the antagonistic and yet complementary process of concentration and dispersion each function finds its optimum location in space. The direction and rate of expansion in the center of the city acts as the initial force for the basic shifts of the outer residential areas. The transition is never fixed; the rate of shift depends upon the rate of growth of population and the addition of new functions in the community. Eventually, through the constant shifting of population types, residential areas become differentiated in terms of value. The value is based upon (1) accessibility to the center calculated in terms of time-cost and (2) intensity of traffic. Beginning at the center of the city, Burgess indicates the residential tendencies as follows: (1) the area on the fringe of the center, usually made up of the slums, (2) the area of workingmen's homes, (3) the area of apartment houses, and (4) the area of single homes—the commuters' zone. There is always this circular zone tendency unless it is affected by topographic features such as lakes, mountains, and rivers, or by unique cultural factors such as early dominance of an inner or outer district by some ethnic or socio-economic population type or by some peculiar technology. If a railroad or highway, for example, should enter at one point of the city there we will find density concentrated. It is in this manner that the circular plan is destroyed. Chicago as the laboratory which produced the concentric zone theory is marked by a relatively simple local topography—absence of hills or large rivers—permitting the natural growth pattern to take its shape in an easily recognizable form. Furthermore, it is a pattern of growth for an industrial community. Cities of other types have been studied and found to have their own ecological patterns. A governmental city does not behave as does an industrial city, nor does an

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old city that has long ceased to grow. There is no need to be surprised that New Haven, for example, does not have the same pattern as Chicago or that the arrangement differs in the shore resorts, such as Atlantic City, Asbury Park, Ocean City, and other boardwalk strips. There will be characteristic ecological features of different types of cities, and all these will change with future developments.

The central idea in the concentric zone hypothesis is that the competitive process applies everywhere, that human function which commands the greatest interest enjoys the central position in space. And land values, since they reflect movement, afford one of the most sensitive indices of mobility of populations from one zone to another. This typical pattern is affected by the approach and numbers of in-roads. Density around an in-road may partially cut itself off from the rest of the community and form a satellite town, i.e., a subcenter with duplication of the functions of the main center. In Southern California the communities of Pasadena, Hollywood, Long Beach, and Santa Monica, among others, have become satellite towns of Los Angeles City. Traffic congestion has become so intense and inconvenient in the Los Angeles central business area that people dislike driving into it. Likewise, the proximity of another community deflects the local community, as demonstrated in twin cities where rapid expansion in the intermediate areas is the consequence of the proximity of the two major communities. Both cities often find their centers of dominance deteriorating as people and institutions find it advantageous to locate equidistantly from the rival aggregates.

The zonal hypothesis is therefore an ideal-typical pattern of urban growth. It assumes that all other things are equal, i.e., that no distortions or catastrophic events will disturb the community's concentric growth. Dr. Burgess is well aware that in human life all forces and interests are never equal in strength, that there is no absolute circular structuring of cities. Nevertheless, this ideal-type of community growth is not completely out of imagination but is an exaggeration of events in the community. By employing this pattern the urban ecologist acquires clues concerning meaningful action as well as causal action in the human community, particularly the industrial city. No community grows just like this hypothesis indicates, yet the plan allows for contrasting realistic types of growth. McKenzie has stated correctly that the arbitrary concentric circles are useful only for purpose of com-
parison, that they do not show the details of expansion because growth is usually very uneven in different parts of the territory falling within a zone. The contour lines in the realistic city are rough rather than perfectly concentric. Rarely do human elements move outward from the center at an equal rate. Thus the concentric zone hypothesis is an abstraction and serves the urban sociologist much like the concepts of the perfect circle, vacuum, or ideal friction serve the physicist.

By combining the ideal type axiate, sector, and concentric theories of urban growth (Figure 3), we come closest perhaps to approximating the pattern of growth of an industrial community.

Numerous are the cases where cities do not originate at one center alone. In such cases the concentric zone hypothesis is again not a true reflection of reality, since each center tends to build its own concentric configuration until its outer zones collide with the adjacent growth patterns, whereupon a struggle ensues for definition of land use (Figure 4). One can see this very clearly by studying the life of some of the older European cities, as well as that of Oriental cities, where the tendency to concentrate the leading stores, banks, offices, and so forth is not so marked as among our own. In Paris and Naples, for example, a large proportion of the people do not take their spatial cues from the central business district. This is also true of London. Thompson writes:

... The fact is that in these older European cities which were generally built up of rather distinct units that were themselves old, the separateness of these units has never been entirely effaced, so that they still
retain an individuality and an economic and social independence which can scarcely be found in any of the quarters of the more recent industrial and commercial cities.  

In concluding this analysis of residential location the student should be reminded of the limiting factors to human settlement, namely that human policies and tastes operate to alter the ecology of residential location. For example, there has never been a free market when it comes to selecting a home. The buyer must make a compromise between what he wants and what he can get. Further, not only is there no free market in housing but the buyer must deal with zoning ordinances, building codes, and tax rates. Also, we must not overlook taboos, prejudices, and public pressures and how these limit the rational location of dwellings. People are forced into different areas because of other people's unwillingness to let these applicants live near them—even when they have the money and desire to improve the local structures. The consequence is less and less incentive to build by both parties—the discriminated and the discriminating—since each party dislikes the other.

LAND FOR TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER PUBLIC USES

Land is used not only for commercial, industrial, and residential purposes but for transportation, parks, libraries, fire and police stations, and other public uses. Human communities cannot function without these land uses.

Streets are public thoroughfares, maintained and controlled by the community. The urbanite not only travels on the streets, but lives beside them and actually in them. The pattern of land use for commercial, industrial, and residential purposes is highly affected by the way streets have been laid out. Very few cities have changed very fundamentally their street designs, despite the invention of the automobile and its call for fast, wide thoroughfares. The widespread use of the automobile came about gradually. It was not foreseen. Proper streets and terminal facilities were not provided to accommodate these numerous vehicles. Excessive congestion on parts of the street

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system and inadequate parking facilities interfere seriously with the full use and enjoyment of automobiles, and has prompted expensive surveys of vehicular traffic en route to the city centers. With the completion of contemplated freeway or traffic-way systems in our cities we may expect more rapid movement of traffic, although the amount of car use can be expected to increase. The design of city streets clearly has not kept pace with the design of new automobiles and their wide demand.

There are three general types of street patterns. The checkerboard system is a familiar pattern whereby the city is platted in uniform squares or rectangular blocks. Such a design secures regularity, straight lines for transit and buildings, and frontage for houses on each side. But the disadvantages are as numerous as the advantages. It is impossible, in the presence of this pattern, to find a short cut between places situated diagonally across town. Frequently the square blocks become virtual dumping grounds for rubbish accumulated by the residents of each block. The blocks are often too small to allow for new streets to be cut through them for the purpose of faster transportation and new structures. In Salt Lake City, a community planned by its founder Brigham Young, the city blocks give a design to the city which impresses the visitor. However, from an airplane an individual would be astonished at the unsightly rubbish dumps in the center of most blocks, tightly embraced by homes. The checkerboard system of streets, furthermore, is generally laid down without consideration for noise, sunlight, or traffic. The back alley frequently becomes the place where social life occurs rather than the formal front yard where the hazardous traffic runs. Furthermore, all streets are designed as through-streets. Only recently have there been serious attempts at blocking off alternate streets for playground, park, or local traffic purposes.

In considering land for streets, a straight line according to the compass is not always the shortest distance between two points, especially if they lie on opposite sides of a hill. A winding approach saves energy and enhances beauty. In an earlier chapter we pointed out how San Francisco is badly arranged in this regard; the steep hills appear to have been ignored or forgotten by the designers. The streets are arranged in the checkerboard or gridiron pattern as on a flat plain.

A second design is known as the diagonal or radial system, a pat-
tern which has been generally superimposed over the checkerboard system for the purpose of expediting travel. Sometimes these streets are constructed as afterthoughts, like the boulevard from the Public Buildings of Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Sometimes they are survivals of old turnpikes; and sometimes they are an essential feature of a plan, as in Washington D.C. Cutting a town on the bias has the disadvantage of cutting land into undesirable shapes for residential, commercial, and industrial structures.

A third street design is known as the circular pattern, having as its function the facilitation of traffic circulation through and around various sections of a community. It further serves to connect outlying points and thus forms a continuous route for driving and sight-seeing. The girdle of boulevards linking the parks of Chicago, and the Ringstrasse of Cologne, illustrate this circular pattern.

The Trend to City Freeways. A fourth and newest design for urban transportation is the super traffic-way or freeway system. The billion dollar superstreet program now under construction in the Los Angeles metropolitan region is receiving nationwide attention and is worthy of consideration here as a case study. As a ten- to thirty-year program of construction the system upon completion will enable private automobiles, buses, and trucks to travel uninterruptedly at a 55-mile-an-hour limit through the 900 square miles in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area (Table 3). Eventually other freeways will hook up with the master intersection or “loop” surrounding the downtown business district. In all, 613 miles of freeways are planned, all multiple-laned. A single lane of parkway will carry 1,500 automobiles an hour at an average of 35 to 40 miles an hour, compared with 500 to 700 cars an hour at the average surface speed of 15 to 20 miles an hour. Perhaps a subway or elevated system, started thirty years ago, might have solved some of the complex traffic problems and altered somewhat the spread of Los Angeles’ business districts in all directions, but since city planners feel that it is too late to contemplate underground transportation they are seeking through a system of superhighways to remove the traffic congestion in and around the central area.

TABLE 3 Freeway Specifications, Los Angeles Metropolitan Region

Freeway: A highway to which abutting properties have limited rights of ingress and egress.

Cross Streets: None on same grade as freeway.

Wire Fence: To be erected along curbs of surface freeways to prevent jay walkers, pets, etc., from entering traffic.

Existing streets: Not to be made part of system.

Demolition: Within 5 years 3,400 buildings and 17,000 persons will have to be moved to permit construction.

Widths: 3 lanes (12 feet wide) each side of center.

Grades: 4 per cent per 100 feet in cities; 6 per cent in mountains.

Alignment: Radius not less than 2,000 feet (1,200 feet in mountains). Sight distance (length of forward visibility), 475 feet.

Speed: Average 45 miles per hour (allowable 55). Ramps: 25 miles per hour (allowable 35). No slow drivers: no “cutting in and out.”

Cross section: Raised or separated center strip with walls or fences to eliminate glare from headlights.

Parking: No parking anywhere on parkway. Eight-foot-wide emergency parking space located just outside edge of curb.

Landscaping: Ground cover, trees, and shrubs to absorb sound.

Ramps: Too many retard flow of traffic, yet too few limit service. Average: about every half-mile.

Deceleration lanes: 300 to 1,000 feet before each ramp.

Interchange structures: “Clover leaf” permitted if no intersections of “on” and “off” traffic. System includes four-level structures, three-level structures, “Y” intersections, and “pretzel” intersections.

Downtown Loop: Freeway pattern to converge on central business district where an elevated “loop” will encompass the district. Intended to eliminate traffic congestion at this hub.

Service drives: These are out-highways parallel to freeways. Purpose: to eliminate dead-end streets. Will not be continuous.

Traffic load: A single lane of parkway will carry 1,500 cars per hour at average speeds of 35 to 40 miles per hour, compared with 500 to 700 cars per hour at average speeds of 15 to 20 miles per hour for surface street traffic.

Total plan: 613 miles. Estimated ultimate cost: $939,599,000. To be paid for entirely by State out of gasoline funds.

Urban ecologists have no intrinsic interest in the freeway as a technical device; it is an object of study as a factor entering into problems of mobility of the city population. They are interested in the automobile and the freeway because they comprise routine, stabilized services and forms of communication and thus play a key role in the problem of land use. While in northern American cities the train is widely used by suburbanites as an all-weather form of transportation, in Los Angeles, with its moderate climate, the automobile is firmly entrenched as the year-round form of travel (Table 4). Some wag has said, “if all else fails, Angelenos can make a living washing each
other's cars." Individuals interested in the problem of land-use are often prone to become excited over the experimental forms of communication as exemplified in the airplane and helicopter. The airplane has not changed significantly the city pattern of land use and we may not expect the helicopter to alter greatly the urban configuration. In contrast, human populations move in the direction of extending stable service functions, such as extending water and sewage mains, fire, police, and telephone service, as well as all-weather, rapid highways to places of residence and employment. In Southern California, the new freeway system may be expected to make vast changes in the living arrangements of people, further accelerating human dispersion away from the old central business district and forcing new human and institutional realignments in space.

**TABLE 4** The Relation of Population to Automobile Ownership in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION OF LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN AREA</th>
<th>REGISTERED AUTOMOBILES</th>
<th>PERSONS PER AUTOMOBILE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>504,131</td>
<td>36,146</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>936,455</td>
<td>180,624</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,190,900</td>
<td>842,528</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,785,643</td>
<td>1,160,124</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3,704,000</td>
<td>1,424,800</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950*</td>
<td>4,500,000*</td>
<td>1,750,000*</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960*</td>
<td>7,500,000*</td>
<td>3,000,000*</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimated.

Note: Eighty per cent of the passenger miles in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area is by automobile. While there was one car for every 2.6 persons within the city of Los Angeles in 1947, this compares with one car for 1.9 persons in fashionable Beverly Hills, the island incorporated city completely surrounded by Los Angeles City. These figures stand in contrast to the national ratio of one car for each 5.9 persons.

Like other cities of Western society, Los Angeles City was built around the market place, and the freedoms of the latter institution have permeated the social system with political and social functions ranking below the trade function. This is the spot in most cities where one can sense the pulse of the community—the minimum of moral responsibility between groups yet with a maximum of interdependence. This is now only a half-truth with respect to the central market place
of Los Angeles City. For many years this area has been suffering from the aggressive competitiveness of outlying business districts located both within and without the city limits. The rapid growth of population, coupled with the wide use of the automobile, has meant a centrifugal rather than a centripetal movement of human beings and utilities, until now we observe vigorous land speculation in the canyons, valleys, mountain tops, and distant beaches. In some cases business or shopping functions have followed the populations into new residential areas, while in other instances the reverse is true. A comparison of the 1940 census tabulations on Los Angeles City with the 1946 special enumeration shows an increase in population for selected outlying census tracts of the city measuring as high as 350 per cent in the five-year period. By contrast twenty-four centrally located tracts sustained losses ranging from .02 per cent to 7.2 per cent. The general picture in the central and middle areas of the city is one of decrease to 25 per cent increase. The population increase of neighboring cities has paced or even exceeded the phenomenal population growth in outlying Los Angeles City.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES</th>
<th>BALANCE OF COUNTY</th>
<th>COUNTY TOTAL</th>
<th>DOWNTOWN % OF TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>$41,970</td>
<td>$14,050</td>
<td>$56,020</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>106,400</td>
<td>35,824</td>
<td>142,224</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>73,000</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>107,000</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>65,033</td>
<td>142,733</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>134,900</td>
<td>154,200</td>
<td>289,100</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>184,700</td>
<td>327,300</td>
<td>512,000</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949 (est.)</td>
<td>169,900</td>
<td>301,115</td>
<td>471,015</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The preference for location beyond the limits of the parent city results from three factors: (1) high cost of public services, high taxes, high cost of land, and crowded conditions within the city; (2) prestige which goes with living on the rural-urban fringe; and (3) the advantages to be derived from a sense of participation in the life of a small, homogeneous community where impersonal relations are minimized. Mobility, as made possible through technology, is the key to realization of these preferences. It is an index of expansion, invasion, and succession, and is measured in terms of frequency of movement
How Urban Land Is Used

and number of human and institutional contacts. The relative inaccessibility to the central downtown business district by automobile has justified the appearance of multiple competing districts throughout the region. Rather than the sites of a corner drugstore, a barbershop and a beauty salon, a movie theater and a tavern, these centers contain the finest department stores, movie palaces, and furniture and appliance establishments as well as offices of physicians, attorneys, and other professionals of county-wide reputation.

The downtown business district maintains dominance over the region only with respect to railroad terminals, wholesaling, institutions for homeless men and transients. Wholesaling is held at this point because of dependence upon the railroad. Banking, insurance, and brokerage firms show indications of decentralizing. The supermovie palaces and fashionable shops have already fled the old market place. Thus, instead of one central business district, which as a center of ecological dominance once conditioned the growth and differentiation of outer zones by its strong influence, we observe a situation characterized by multiple, competing units of dominance, some located within the city proper, others situated beyond its boundaries. Some of these centers are becoming areas of specialization with respect to one or more regional functions. Because the problem of automobile congestion in the intermediate and outer areas of the city is, by comparison with the central business district, almost insignificant, the business centers of Pasadena, Miracle Mile, Glendale, Burbank, Beverly Hills, Hollywood, Crenshaw, Culver City, Westwood Village, and Westchester, among others, enjoy prosperity at the expense of the "isolated" central business district. Although these outlying centers began humbly, many of them now display more color, more glamour, and greater selection of certain lines of goods than the central shopping district.

The new freeway system may be expected to make serious inroads into the prosperity of these shopping centers, not because of any sudden revival within the old market place but because of the sudden appearance of new business and shopping centers farther out at those junctions where the freeway traffic either intersects or connects with the old street pattern. Real estate speculators are at this early date enjoying great profits at these points, which suggest the new patterns of human habitation to come. Thus, like the decaying central business district, the now prosperous community centers in the intermediate
Fig. 5. Proposed freeway systems: Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee
areas of Los Angeles City stand to suffer as the population follows this new form of communication to points beyond the central city boundaries.

Unless it is intended as a speedway for hot-rod drivers, tourists, and Sunday excursionists, the “octopus” freeway pattern (Figure 5) represents a billion-dollar gamble to save not only the central business district but the city itself from ultimate bankruptcy. Little if any attention has been given to the likelihood of declining land values and economic decay in the intermediate districts of the city. With an area comprising only 11 per cent of the total county, Los Angeles City furnishes 55 per cent of the ad valorem property tax base of Los Angeles County.10 Thus the unincorporated urban areas and smaller cities of the county are being furnished urban services at the expense of the taxpayers of the parent city without having to maintain themselves as incorporated units with charter obligations such as Los Angeles has. Relying upon real estate taxation for its basic source of revenue, Los Angeles faces annually a deficit in the presence of a constantly expanding budget. Every metropolis which relies upon the relatively inflexible real estate taxation system will ultimately go bankrupt owing to the arbitrary administrative boundaries and the increasing mobility of man. In Southern California, a fictitious community has emerged which has not yet been included in law, namely the Los Angeles Metropolitan Region. It represents an acute factor in local government.

If Los Angeles City is to survive economically it must force some sort of regionalism in government (perhaps making city and county synonymous) and drastically modify its tax structure, feasibly taxing people at the source of their incomes rather than by place of residence. The ordinary citizen of Southern California long ago recognized that it no longer matters where he lives from the standpoint of enjoying urban conveniences, for civilization invariably catches up with him. There is a need for a new legal and social definition of the city, regionally conceived. City planners cannot stave off bankruptcy by building new superhighways. For each new highway leading to the edge of the city, the greater is the human and institutional exodus and the greater is the tax burden of those who remain.

Too much present-day planning is focused upon transportation

10 Bureau of Governmental Research, Coordinated Public Planning in the Los Angeles Region (Los Angeles: University of California, June, 1948), p. 142.
lines which are designed to facilitate escape from the city into peripheral districts. This approach is motivated too frequently by a desire to circumvent rather than solve the leading problems of contemporary city life. The movement of families into the rural-urban fringe does not represent a desire to escape anything that is inherent in urbanism as a mode of existence. Rather it is a desire to retain the urban way of life and yet avoid some of the incidental disadvantages conceived as temporary. If city planners and civic leaders are serious about retaining the “solid taxpayers” within their communities, thus keeping their governments on a sound financial footing, they must cease running after these people in the form of extending their highways, pipelines, and other stable service facilities. Such steps are a circumvention of the more immediate problems involving taxation systems, nonvoting, blight, slum life, noise, noxious odors, and so forth. On the positive side, the Los Angeles freeways will solve some of the problems of congestion and traffic fatalities; on the negative side, by connecting two points of dubious benefit to the central city, namely the old market place and the hinterland, the system is not warranted, and will produce more problems of readjustment than cures. Only through imaginative replanning of the physical and social life can Los Angeles City, or any other metropolis, induce the return of people and institutions of income and leadership that have fled.

To be sure, Los Angeles cannot rebuild its community from the bottom up; it cannot completely scrap the structures that are already developed. Nevertheless it is faulty planning, a lack of awareness of actual conditions, to build structures which will be obsolescent upon their eventual completion. In fact they stand in the way of rational development. Under present conditions of city life, the freeways of Los Angeles represent a one-way street to central city bankruptcy as the city’s most valuable assets, its taxpayers, are about to be dumped in increasing quantities into the eager arms of neighboring cities. A physical improvement can often be dispensed with or drastically modified when a community is willing to face the problems with which the physical improvement is designed to deal.

In American cities land for parks has been patterned quite as irrationally as street systems. Until about 1880 the communities of the United States paid little attention to parks or playgrounds. And when they did, they created ornamental parks of little use. Yet city mayors extolled their efforts by referring to their green plots as a “return to
nature," perhaps reminding the urbanites nostalgically of their rural past. Today vehicular traffic charges through and around these parks, producing noxious fumes, noise, and hazards for those who would like to recreate in these places. Swimming pools and tennis courts are all-too-absent; in consequence people can do very little when they safely arrive at the community parks. Unfortunately, our urban public improvements for parks and other recreational facilities have been planned by units and not systematically planned in conjunction with other units, i.e., making each improvement a part of a bigger pattern. Thus land for public use does not always add up to something from the standpoint of public welfare.

SUGGESTED READINGS


This paper, read before the 1923 meeting of the American Sociological Society, is Burgess' first formal publication of his concentric zone hypothesis.


A forthright criticism of the concentric zone hypothesis based on an inductive study of New Haven. The author concludes that the concentric zone hypothesis is incorrect.


Describes the growth of suburbs in the United States by functional types, using 1930 and 1940 census data. Suburbs grew more rapidly than any other type of community, but residential suburbs grew faster than other kinds of suburbs.


Relying on Real Property Inventories in several cities to evaluate and modify the concentric zone hypothesis, Hoyt proposes a sector theory of residential location as the chief modification.


Studies the adaptation of certain types of Protestant churches to various areas of the city.

The author measures the degree of participation by fringe area residents in the social life of Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. He makes six general conclusions.
PART III

Personality and Groups—Social Psychology and Social Organization

“People can become greatly attached only to a society which takes account of their longings for connection with each other. . . . This groupism, which rests not on obvious emergencies but on the vague disquietude of lonely individuals, is probably strongest in America, where people appear to be most vocally concerned about the problems of group participation and belongingness.”

—David Riesman
Mass Behavior and Personality

In the preceding chapters on the ecology of the city we were concerned with physical space, observing how land takes on symbolic qualities, sifting and resifting populations in terms of race, income, occupation, politics, education, and so forth. In this and the succeeding chapter we are concerned with psychic space, i.e., the urban personality and its relation to other men and groups. While physical space conditions the psychic relations of urbanites, the reciprocal is likewise true. By psychic space is meant the distance between individuals in terms of how they conceive of themselves as belonging together in groups and communities. Something has happened to the personality traits of the urbanite as he has created his own social setting. Through increasing mobility the city man is only partially committed to different groups and areas in terms of his immediate interests or problems, with the result that he becomes hard to know, is often called cold and indifferent by his more rural counterpart.

Sociologically, personality is a product of the cultural and social environment. The human being comes into the world as an individual, acquires statuses and roles and becomes a person—a socialized self. Hence personality grows out of human contacts in social groups. Man as such is not born human but acquires a human nature slowly and laboriously, in fruitful contact with his fellows. Through communication, social interaction, man builds upon his original nature and acquires a cultural heritage and personality. Hence, in the words of
Louis Wirth, "As the life of the group changes there appears a host of new social types, mainly outgrowths and transformations of previous patterns which have become fixed through experience."¹ As a product of the social and cultural environment, then, personality will vary with variations in social environment; a rural personality will be somewhat different from an urban one. Contacts in the city are largely impersonal while in the country they are personal, so we obviously expect different kinds of personalities to stem from these two types of interaction. Sorokin and Zimmerman write:

... Only an infinitesimal part of the persons with whom an urban individual interacts are personally known to him. The greater part of them are only "numbers," "addresses," "clients," "customers," "patients," "readers," "laborers," or "employees." As a rule, all are more or less unknown personally to the corresponding individuals. The very multitude of people with whom an urbanite is in contact; his own and their mobility; and the large area of his system of interaction make direct knowledge of this multitude impossible for him. They remain for him kinds of "human abstractions," or mere special agencies for definite kinds of interaction. Their whole Gestalt or personality remains unknown. Hence, the extraordinarily large place in the urbanite system of interaction occupied by the totality of indirect relations.

Somewhat different is the same aspects of the interaction system of the typical rural individual. He has a relatively narrow area for his system of interaction; a limited number of individuals with whom he interacts; and a less number of indirect communications. All these lead to the fact that face-to-face relations (with his family, minister, teacher, neighbors, etc.), compose a much larger part of his whole system of interaction than of a typical urbanite. The human beings with whom he interacts are concrete in body and flesh. He touches, smells, sees, and hears them. For this reason, they are, in a less degree, abstractions for him than for an urbanite. And the whole living personalities or Gestalts of those with whom he interacts are known more thoroughly to him than is the case of the urbanite.²

While kinship, territory, tradition (custom), and sentiment comprise the more important bonds in the rural world, one observes interests, contracts, laws, and status in such endeavors as education and

occupation making up the urban bonds. In more general terms the
relations between people in the country are comparatively simple
whereas in the city they are comparatively subtle. As illustrated in
Figure 1 here, in the rural community one finds overlapping of
functions, meaning that everybody tends to see everybody else in
every activity. But in the city you find segmentalized interests; a
man’s associates on the job are usually kept separate from his recrea-
tional, religious, or educational companions.

FORMS OF RURAL-URBAN SOLIDARITY

While the city and the country have been described as representing
opposite poles of life, it does not follow that they are separate. As
civilization has advanced, the city and the country have grown ever
more interdependent; people who live remote from cities use their
services, are affected by their functions, and come to share their
problems. Because the populations of cities are in large measure recruited
from the countryside, we should not expect to find abrupt and dis-
continuous variations between urban and rural modes of life and
types of personalities. Our urban institutions and ways of living and
the outlook characteristic of the urbanite still bear the vestiges of the
rural atmosphere from which they sprung. For the purpose of meas-
uring the transitions from one mode of life to the other, sociologists
have conceptualized, in the extreme, the contrasts between rural and
urban behavior. Ferdinand Tönnies conceptualized the contrast be-
tween simple and complex communities by speaking of Gemeinschaft
(community), where the bond between people is based upon kinship,
and Gesellschaft (society), where the relationships are voluntary and
specialized. Tönnies was describing life in a simple agricultural village,
a Gemeinschaft, over against life in cities.³

Henry S. Main described the transition between closely knit socie-
ties and larger concentrations as comprising change from status rela-
tions to contract relations:

³ Ferdinand Tönnies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft und
Gesellschaft), translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis (Chicago: Ameri-
can Book Company, 1940).
The movement of progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. . . . The Individual is steadily substituted for the Family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. The advance has been accomplished at varying rates of celerity, and there are societies not absolutely stationary in which the collapse of the ancient organization can only be perceived by careful study of the phenomena they present. But, whatever its pace, the change has not been subject to reaction or recoil, and apparent retardations will be found to have been occasioned through an absorption of archaic ideas and customs from some entirely foreign source. Nor is it difficult to see what is the tie between man and man which replaces by degrees those forms of reciprocity in rights and duties which have their origin in the Family. It is Contract. . . . The status of the Slave has disappeared—it has been superseded by the contractual relation of the servant to his master. The status of the Female under Tutelage, if the tutelage be understood of persons other than her husband, has also ceased to exist; from her coming of age to her marriage all the relations she may form are relations of contract. So too the status of the Son under Power has no true place in the law of modern European societies. . . .

The word Status may be usefully employed to construct a formula expressing the law of progress thus indicated, which, whatever be its value, seems to me to be sufficiently ascertained. All the forms of Status taken notice of in the Law of Persons were derived from, and to some extent are still colored by, the powers and privileges ancienly residing in the Family. If then we employ Status, agreeably with the usage of the best writers, to signify these personal conditions only, and avoid applying the term to such conditions as are the immediate or remote result of agreement, we may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract.4

A similar contrast was made by Emile Durkheim when he spoke of mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.5 The former refers to the status of “Gemeinschaft” or the type of relationship based on conformity and similarity within the group. Primitive group behavior is characteristic of mechanical solidarity, since the separate individual in this type of society is a mere cog in a machine—without effective

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resistances to the social mode of life. He is repressed and contributes little if anything to the modification of the way of life of his group. Durkheim pictured the primitive society made up of rigidly defined customs and symbols. The division of labor is elementary and is characterized by integration rather than cooperation—an important Durkheimian distinction. The term "organic," however, referred to modern industrial society. This is a society of specializing individuals in cooperation but under the watchful and guiding hand of the greater social mind. Durkheim insisted that in this industrial world it is necessary for the individual to be released sufficiently from the greater binding social organism in order to find his level of free specialization. However, the individuals are at the beck and call of society. The individuals are in cooperative interaction, hence the emphasis is shifted from the supremacy of the society to the dynamic cooperation of the individual. The organic society thus stresses individuality while at the same time emphasizing integration.

Professor Robert Redfield contrasts the "folk society," as an ideal type, with modern urbanized society, pointing out that such a conceptualization permits a more meaningful study of actual conditions:

[A folk society is] ... small, isolated, nonliterate, and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call "a culture." Behavior is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical, and personal; there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the categories of experience, and the familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular; the economy is one of status rather than of the market. These and related characterizations may be restated in terms of "folk mentality." In studying societies comparatively, or one society in the course of change, with the aid of these conceptions, problems arise and are, in part, solved as to the necessary or probable interrelations of some of the elements of the ideal folk society with others. One such relationship is that between disorganization of culture and secularization.6

Communities which are marked by resistance to change and by ceremonials and traditions have been called "sacred" in a nonreligious sense, while the term "secular" emphasizes rationality, analysis, and

planning, and frequently opposition to stereotypes. These terms are very commonplace in the language of rural-urban sociologists, the "sacred" referring, of course, to the folk, peasant, or rural pattern of life while the "secular" denotes conduct in highly individualistic urban cultures.

THE CITY AS A MASSLIKE SOCIETY

We have said that the central problem in urban sociology is: How do people develop consensus, agreement sufficient to control themselves and their surroundings? Working from the premise that it is consensus that makes an aggregation of men into a society (Figure 2), and that consensus in urban America is increasingly at the mercy of those who control the mass means of human communication, then the control over these instrumentalities is a key problem for sociologists because they give rise to political, economic, and social power. If we assume that cities are the hubs of mass, industrial societies, we are led to examine mass characteristics.

WHAT IS A MASS?

Louis Wirth outlined seven characteristics of a mass. First, a mass society includes large numbers, in contrast with smaller aggregates with which we are familiar through the study of rural, peasant, and preliterate societies. Second, a mass is made up of aggregates of people widely dispersed over the face of the earth as contrasted with compact local groups of former eras. Third, a mass is heterogeneous in that it includes people living under widely variable conditions. In cities we are aware of different cultures coming from diverse strata of society, occupation differences, hence a great array of interests, standards of life, and degrees of prestige, power, and influence. Fourth, a mass is an aggregate of individuals marked by anonymity. This is indicated

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by the great audience of radio listeners, movie-goers, and newspaper readers, and now television viewers. These people, observes Wirth, are exposed to the same image but are not aware of who the fellow members of the great audience are. These anonymously related people are usually aware of the fact that they are part of a mass as reflected in such phrases as "those of us opposed to television," or "Fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong." These are bandwagon references substantiated by public opinion polls. This leads to the fifth characteristic, that the mass does not constitute an organized group. That is, while comprising an inert "glob of humanity," the mass is without recognized, persistent leadership and a well-defined program of action. When it acts collectively it does so only in those temporary or explosive forms as in mob or crowd action. Sixth, the mass has no well-defined customs or traditions, institutions or rules, which govern the actions of the individuals. By this absence of informal control the mass is open to suggestion; it is unpredictable. Seventh, the mass consists of unattached individuals, or, at best, individuals who, for the time being, behave not as members of a group, playing specific roles representative of their position in that group, but rather as discrete entities. Wirth observes that in modern urban industrial society, our membership in each of the multiple organizations to which we belong represents our interests only in some limited aspect of our total personal life. To quote him in detail:

"... There is no group which even remotely professes to speak for us in our total capacity as men or in all of the roles that we play. Although through our membership in these organized groups we become articulate, contribute to the moulding of public opinion, and participate more or less actively in the determination of social policies, there remains for all of us a quite considerable range of ideas and ideals which are subject to manipulation from the outside and in reference to which there is no appreciable reciprocal interaction between ourselves and others similarly situated. It

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8 Although the mass society is oriented around the city, the notion of urbanism should probably not be used synonymously with the former. The mass society extends beyond the areas of high population density. It includes as its participants all those who partake of its meanings and values and who employ its stereotypes. When rapid and mass communication is available it includes members of small communities as well as urbanites. Philip Selznick says of the mass: "It would be idle to look for some definite point at which society may be called a mass, but the symptoms are identifiable: widespread alienation, a general cultural leveling, the compulsive search for substitute sources of security, and susceptibility to propagandistic and organizational manipulation." (Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LVI [January, 1951], p. 325).
is this area of life which furnishes the opportunity for others to entrap us or to lead us toward goals with the formulation of which we have had little or nothing whatever to do. Hence, all of us are in some respects characterized in our conduct by mass behavior.⁹

The city, as a masslike society, has mass forms of communication. Public communication has gradually displaced crowd communication; laws and regulations and codes have displaced sentiment and tradition. The urbanite lives among great numbers of people widely dispersed not only within the city proper but over the earth, in contrast with compact local groups of former days. To the traditional modes of communication—rumor, gossip and personal contact, the school, forum, and pulpit—have been added the mass media of communication, consisting of the radio, the motion picture, television, and the press. The latter are giant enterprises dependent upon and designed to reach a mass audience. To reach this anonymous audience these enterprises are tempted to reduce their programming, whether it be that of entertainment, education, or appeal to action, to the lowest common denominator. It is believed that in this way the greatest number, if not everybody, will be interested. The problem, then, is mass patronage. The concentration of mass forms of communication in a few hands has serious implications for an urbanized society. By giving people access to alternative views, mass communication opens the door to the disintegration of all existing social solidarities, while, at the same time, creating new ones. These forms of communication can make or break consensus on subjects of labor versus management, capitalism versus socialism, religion versus secular morality. The products of mass communication can make masses restless and mobilize them for action. The movies, radio, and television can instill a fighting faith or will to reconciliation. Since mass forms of communication can do all these things, they warrant the serious attention of the sociologist of urban behavior. Mass communication is rapidly becoming, if it is not already, the main framework of the web of urban life. Adolph Hitler used it to arouse and control great urban masses in accordance with his objectives. A fifteen-minute television or radio broadcast in support of some social objective can do more perhaps to influence public thinking than many weeks of lecturing by a school teacher or minister. In this sense the radio, television, and motion

picture are displacing the school and pulpit as the center of mass education. If further statistical studies bear this out, efforts must soon be made to balance the use of the radio, motion picture, and television for entertainment purposes as a means of dispelling ignorance, since these are very powerful means of building consensus in an urban milieu which calls for prompt decisions by the leaders. Close controls over these mass media would appear necessary because the concentration of these powers in a few hands—whether through press associations, newspaper column syndicates, radio and television networks, or motion-picture combines—may create great imbalance in the presentation of divergent, especially minority, views. The free and universal access to factual knowledge and balanced interpretation which underlie intelligent decisions may in this way be easily censored by special interest groups in control of these media.

**AFFILIATIONS AND THE PERSON**

We often hear about the urban man’s complaints that he does not share in the policies of his government, church, business, and other institutions. He feels little when he sees how big power groups such as labor unions, big corporations, and political machines use the newspaper, radio, television, and movies to influence opinion. The urban man of modest income and influence complains that it is not just a case of needing freedom of speech, that you require this freedom plus several thousands of dollars to make yourself heard via mass communication channels.\(^\text{10}\)

**The City Man as a Stranger.** In the first place, an urban man feels and is insignificant because of the very size of the community in which he lives. He knows those with whom he deals in only a categoric way. His relations with other people are very indirect and impersonal. When he joins an organization, whether it be a union, an industry, a church, or a school, he complains that the organization controls his life; he does not sway the organization by being a member. Yet the city man knows that without group affiliation he amounts to nothing. Nevertheless, by such remarks as “they do this,” “they do that,” rather than “we do this” or “we want that,” the urban man is express-

The sentiment that decisions that are being made by institutions to which he belongs are not particularly his decisions. In this sense he feels as a stranger in his own community, a migrant although rooted to a locality. The city, in fact, is conceived by insiders and outsiders alike as a conglomerate of strangers: people who do not know one another, who have no identity, but must seek to acquire it in order to emerge from anonymity.\textsuperscript{11} In every city in the Western world there are districts or street neighborhoods where people know one another and acquire status by which they recognize themselves as others see them, but in the densely populated apartment house districts these intimate associations often have little opportunity to develop; the women around the washing machine still know one another only by their place and face. The scattered cells of neighborhood life, while very evident, do not make the city. One's place in the community spatially has been strongly challenged as the urbanite has become disassociated from the neighborhood through numerous, segmental affiliations identified by time rather than space. Witness how the tall apartment building has made the city man into a person marked by his disassociation from property ownership; his acquaintance with his "neighbors" is meager because his identification with his apartment is chiefly in terms of sleeping and perhaps one or two meals. Most other activities and interests are localized in other physical establishments. That is, there is a tendency for the individual to be released from a place in the community, to be released from physical boundaries, thus permitting him to pursue goals and affiliations in many diverse directions.\textsuperscript{12} The orientation becomes increasingly one of time rather than place. \textit{One's location in space merely conditions for the moment the values and roles to be recognized}. One's place becomes, in this sense, a period of time. Julie Meyer writes:

\ldots The underlying feeling is one of marching with time, and, in its intensity and power to determine the way of life, it equals the feeling of belonging to and being rooted in a place. That is, the city substitutes time for place as the basis for social relationships.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{The Concept of Place and Public Opinion.} Public opinion in the city is becoming increasingly an abstract idea. Meyer writes that public


\textsuperscript{12} See George Simmel, \textit{Soziologie} (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 686–87.

\textsuperscript{13} Meyer, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 480–481.
opinion is an opinion expressed on an issue and so expressed that it is considered representative of the opinion of people in a given locality. Hence the orientation of public opinion is toward place. We speak of public opinion in the Midwest, the East, the Deep South, but rarely of public opinion in New York, Los Angeles, London, or Paris. The mobility of urban life means a disorientation toward the community. Meyer observed that on the occasion of the United Nations considering the establishment of its headquarters in Westchester County, New York, public opinion in Westchester was against it. When the United Nations finally moved to New York, this move was neither favored nor disapproved by public opinion in the city.\textsuperscript{14} While there is considerable doubt that a city may be characterized by the presence of over-all public opinions, it nevertheless is the central point for the formulation of issues around which public opinion will crystallize in other places. The nature of urban life with its multiple contacts of people and institutions and the resulting clash of ideas gives rise to the city as a fountainhead of never-ceasing issues. Newspapers, radio, and television programs carry these issues to communities anchored in space where public opinion germinates. That is, the city becomes the “disk-thrower” to public opinion, in the words of Meyer. Indeed, public opinion is activated by groups. But because urban groups speak less and less as genuine agents of the members, what appears as public opinion is pseudo public opinion sponsored by administrators via the mass media of communication. The relationship between the member and his groups in the city is not sufficiently intimate to arouse mutual identification with the crisis as defined by the leaders.

**Time and Provincialism.** The absence by city people of roots in one place with established patterns has nourished the resentment of some rural people. The newcomer, the man from the city, is likely to be defined not as a stranger but a “suspicious character.” Ruralites sense that the pulse of the city is geared with the tempo of time, that the city welcomes change. Consequently city people, as agents of change, are interpreted as a kind of menace to the established values and ways of life of the countryside. The sociological researcher from the big city university is more often than not looked upon apprehensively by small-town people for fear he is intent upon proving something which will upset the balance of life in the town.

Nevertheless, the country with its towns does imitate city manners

\textsuperscript{14} *Ibid.*, pp. 480–481.
and styles of appearance which demonstrate urbanity, the modern against the backward, the world against the backwoods. Hence the city man, as stranger to himself and others, can be an object both of admiration and resentment to the same people and for the same reason. While seeking to preserve the established small-community values and way of life, rural people concomitantly do not like to "appear backwoodsy." Therefore the community collectively symbolizes resentment toward most of what the city stands for, while the individual may favor the city. Instead of cherishing place, as brought out by the initial inquiry, "Where are you from?" (ascribed status), the rural man emulates change and the freedom of the person to acquire status through personal achievement (earned status). The privilege of escaping tradition and ties to old affiliations excites the rural man in the United States. Perhaps these two social systems can endure side by side in the same society, but questions are being raised as to the social advantages of a bipolar culture.

VALUES AND ROLE-PLAYING

Because mass behavior is usually very unpredictable, the individuals who compose the mass likewise tend toward unpredictableness.\(^{15}\) The urban person is no exception. He has no well-entrenched local culture to control him; only segmentally is he tied to groups which control and guide him. Thus the city man finds himself (in more sociological jargon, finds "social reference") by associating himself with prevailing stereotypes.\(^{16}\) LaPierre and Farnsworth describe the function of stereotyping as follows:

In an effort to avoid the time and errors involved in the working out of adjustments to strangers on the basis of trial and error, we stereotype them. This consists of putting a person into a simple personality "type" and treating him in terms of the "known" type attributes, rather than attempting to treat him in terms of his actual, but unknown personality. From some element of his behavior, from his physiognomy, from his dress, or from some mannerism, we "type" him and proceed accordingly. Thus, perhaps only because Cousin Jane is short and fat rather than tall and lean, we decide that she is the old maid sort who has a sense of

\(^{15}\) We must recognize, however, that community disorganization does not presuppose that each individual within it is equally disorganized. Conversely, community organization and individual stability are not in a one-to-one relationship.

\(^{16}\) Of course, stereotyping is not confined by any means to urbanites.
humor and likes to be teased. We proceed to treat her as a humorous, teasesable person until experience teaches us that she is literal-minded and sensitive.

Stereotyping is the use on the individual level of the same process that is involved in the classifying of people into in-groups and out-groups. It results in treating the individuality attributes as though they conformed to some pattern of typicality.

Although two people upon being introduced simultaneously to a new acquaintance may not put him into the same stereotype, their sets of personality stereotypes may be much alike. We have developed more or less fixed, conventional preconceptions of the nature and variety of human personalities. Nowhere is this fact more clearly indicated than in drama, fiction and the motion pictures.\(^{17}\)

Hayakawa says:

Stereotypes are traditional and familiar symbol clusters, expressing a more or less complex idea in a convenient way. Every culture is rich with them; and popular humor, cartoons and moving pictures play endlessly on the stereotypes existing in the public mind. Ninety-nine out of one hundred cannibals in comic strips are shown boiling a missionary whole in a large cauldron.\(^{18}\)

There are several consequences of stereotyping which cannot be overlooked. First, if experience contradicts the stereotype, one of two things happens. If the man is no longer plastic, he throws down the contradiction as an exception which proves the rule, discredits the witness, and manages to forget the matter. But if he is still curious and openminded, interest in novelty comes into play, and the picture is allowed to be modified.\(^{19}\) Secondly, stereotypes can be misinformation about different categories such as policemen, bankers, or bellhops. As Hayakawa says, "The danger of stereotypes lies not in their existence but in the fact that they become for all people some of the time and for some people all the time, a substitute for observation. The remedy for this situation is the factminded person who will look at this particular politician, for example, and react to the actualities of this politician's personality and peculiarities." \(^{20}\)

For the most part, urbanites do not first see, and then define; they

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\(^{20}\) Hayakawa, op. cit., p. 156.
define first and then see. They imagine many things before they experience them. And these preconceptions, unless education has made them actually aware, govern the whole process of perception. Certain objects are designated as familiar or strange, and emphasis is placed upon the difference, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the somewhat strange as sharply alien.\textsuperscript{21}

\textit{THE OUTER SELF—ON BEING SOPHISTICATED}

The city, socially, represents a new form of human association, a relatively large, densely concentrated aggregation of heterogeneous individuals living for the most part under conditions of anonymity and indirect control. There is no urban personality as such. Personalities vary from area to area and from occupation to occupation, but collectively they are in striking contrast to most rural personalities having distinctive traits that set them apart.\textsuperscript{22} Physical nearness coupled with social distance makes it necessary for urbanites to cultivate reserve and to disguise inner feelings. "Sophistication" is the common term applied to people who acquire facility in this regard. The ability not to be "taken in" by others and wholesome skepticism are among the highest virtues in the city. Visible density of numbers adds to the impersonal character of city life, enhancing the looseness of membership. Streets, service facilities (water mains, bus lines, sewage systems, and the like) only extend the loose ties inasmuch as they hasten the physical dispersion of the population. Urbanity and mobility hence become positively correlated. Numbers and physical objects, of course, do not alone make the city; it is also characterized by the city man's knowledge of lack of personal relations with those with whom he comes into contact. All the person knows about others are their faces and their places. Individualization rather than socialization becomes the key to the explanation of conduct. Definitions of ambition and success, the crucial differences between urban men, are rooted more in individuals than in primary groups. Hence the city man with his freedom of action figures he can try many avenues to success; his chances are varied and, in fact, often depend upon sheer luck. This is quite opposite to the rural prototype where ambition is limited and visible.

\textsuperscript{21} Lippmann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 81.
Sophistication is impossible without an audience—and a special kind of audience where social contact is both temporary and segmental, a kind of relationship characteristic of secular city life. The urban condition of population density related impersonally means a maximum of human interdependence for survival yet concomitantly a condition of mutual exploitation: every man using every other person as a “door mat” or stepping stone to power and status. Hence the city man’s dictum is: “Don’t be taken in; don’t be a sucker; be resis-tant.” An ideology of interpersonal exploitation is part of the philosophy of urban individualism, giving rise, in turn, to disguising of personal motives in order to gain followers. A well-known technique of ward politicians is to make generous gifts to the poor at Christmas time in order to pose as altruists. In this way politicians enjoy the maximum of freedom without interference from the social laws or mores of society in the pursuit of more remunerative causes. While in form the city tries to curb selfishness, the individual is in a position to circumvent the rules through disguises. The emphasis by political parties, business groups, and others upon “service before profit,” upon love of country, liberty, and freedom is often a matter of disguising material ends in ethical terms. By the use of newspapers, radio, and television, the real or alleged moral sides of human goals are presented, and in this way people are recruited to support a cause, genuine or false. Essentially this is what makes up societies in the urban world and demands serious sociological research.

**Paper Membership.** In the presence of a disguising, euphemistic, masslike society, there is always a residue of fluid, unorganized individuals who fall prey to dynamic leaders and fascinating slogans funneled through the mass media of communication. Owing to the specialization in modern city life, the citizen is in a position to obtain only partial knowledge of the groups and personalities that solicit his support. Consequently he is easily victimized if he is not cautious. Life in the city would be, by comparison, very simple for the urbanite (and urban sociologist) if everyone belonged to that group which genuinely stood for the interests of the members; then the city would be rational and orderly. The segmental relations of men, i.e., the participation in groups with only specialized parts of the generalized personality (the religious side of the churchgoer, the legal side of the lawyer, the competitive side of the businessman), foster the participation in enterprises that in many instances work to the detriment of the member.
Hence the generalization: *urban people do not always conduct themselves in the light of what they appear to be most interested in.* By reason of this segmental participation in groups, this “paper membership,” urbanites hang together by the slenderest threads. Personalities take on esoteric qualities, since personality differences rather than likenesses are emphasized for those desirous of recognition and distinction. There is, in fact, a fostering of difference, of “off-the-beaten-path” nonconformity among members of the city. Selznick writes:

In its most obvious sense, segmental participation refers to the partial commitment which a man may give to organizations in which he has a limited interest and which do not affect him deeply. In extreme but not unusual cases, membership is of the “paper” variety, and the members themselves are easily manipulated by a small core of leaders and their supporting cliques. The mobility of the membership is usually low, however; and, in order to create a mass organization, the leaders must attempt to activate the ranks. Thus, to take an extreme case, it makes little sense sociologically to speak of a large “book club” as a mass organization. And those trade-unions whose members’ relations to the organization are limited to the checked-off payment of dues are not mass organizations.28

**Materialism and Personality.** Georg Simmel explained the cool outer self of the urbanite in terms of the materialism of city life.24 In the city, where the market place is socially and spatially central in the life of the inhabitants, men’s values are fused with the means of economic exchange, money. This calls for reserve and for being called “cold and heartless” by small-town people. The mutual strangeness and slight aversion between city people tend to enhance suspicion at closer physical contact rather than social intimacy. “Aggressive” is the common label attached to the stranger who seeks to strike up a conversation. In fact, the whole urban structure of communication rests upon an extremely varied hierarchy of sympathies, indifference, and aversions of the briefest as well as of the most permanent nature. Indifference, says Simmel, is considered by the urban citizen as a protection in his world marked by fluid and changing human contacts. Reserve, therefore, with its overtones of hidden aversion is a cloak

behind which the city man seeks personal freedom. This "business men's society" is an aggressively exploitative, profit-making world where the money economy and the dominance of the intellect are intrinsically connected. They share a matter-of-fact attitude in dealing with men and things; and, in this attitude, a formal justice is often coupled with an inconsiderate harshness. The urbanite is indifferent to all genuine individuality, says Simmel, because relationships and reactions result from it which cannot be exhausted with logical operation. While in the city, man lives by his wits, in the country there is a distrust of intellectualism and an emphasis on pure action due, perhaps, to that crude materialism which develops when one's problems have to do, almost exclusively, with physical obstacles and desires. While in the small rural town the broad knowledge of individuality invariably produces either a warm interpersonal relationship or extreme hostility, behavior which is beyond a mere objective balancing of service and return, in the metropolis the individual is working with people that he does not know. The modern city is so highly dependent upon the market place, says Simmel, that unknown purchasers enter into the exchange situation, yet remain outside of the producer's actual field of vision. Through this anonymity the interests of each party take on an unmerciful matter-of-factness; and the intellectually calculating economic egoisms of both parties need not fear any deflections because of the imponderables of personal relationships.

While there is undoubtedly considerable truth in Simmel's claim that the metropolitan money economy, by displacing the last survivals of domestic production and the direct barter of goods, has also transformed the human personality, he has described the rural and urban worlds as extreme poles of life, a description which hardly fits accurately modern America or, for that matter, Europe.

**THE INNER SELF**

While no two urbanites react exactly alike to stimulation they do have one thing in common: outwardly they appear to react to their social surroundings with their heads instead of their hearts. That is, they are inclined to exhibit a mask of indifference if not boredom while underneath often suffering from the neurotic agitation of their segmental, role-playing world. In considering the interrelations between the person and his social environment it becomes evident that
there are two sets of facts and problems to be considered. We are con-
fronted first by the continually increasing tension between the inner
personality of the individual and the social roles he is expected to
play in the city. Second, the social-psychological mechanism discussed
above operates in such a way that city people disregard more and more
the inner personality of individuals, taking into account only the ex-
ternal roles they are bound to play. City people tend to neglect, even
ignore, in one another their individual, personal, intimate character-
istics, responding only to the human characteristics which are related
to occupational roles. Consequently the city man is submerged in an
atmosphere of estrangement within which all those personal and inti-
mate factors are excluded which constitute in reality the core of his
emotional life. In the metropolis there is no need to keep private
aspects of one’s life hidden; they remain automatically hidden. De-
prived of personalized, intimate contacts, most urban human relations
function in a kind of empty way. The impersonal and reserved way
of behaving is more generally than not a facade which conceals the
suffocated desire for self-expression and response. The “sophisti-
cate,” as the aloof, reserved urbanite, is the product of human effort
to adjust to an urban materialistic scheme of life characterized by a
multiplicity of norms and roles.

Broadly, three ideal-types of urban individuals may be identified.
One type tries to cope with his surroundings by tending to keep aloof
in order to preserve the integrity of his personality. He is, so to speak,
isolated within himself and accepts by an act of resignation the es-
trangement between his inner personality and the social role as an
inescapable condition of his life. The second type of individual is
represented by those who are free from any significant tension between
the inner personality and the roles to be played in society. This kind
of person accepts the world of roles as the only valid pattern of life,
relinquishing any desire for a deeper self-expression. He has no inner
personality which is in revolt against the segmentalized world of roles.
The remaining generalized personality type might be called the “un-
sophisticated man,” one who accepts the peculiar world about him as
a meaningful pattern of life but is nevertheless unwilling to discard
the deeper meaning of life which consists not in playing successfully
social roles but in being “one’s self.” It is this person who is the real
victim of the atmosphere of estrangement and anonymity in our mod-
ern metropolises, the eventual schizoid personality of his generation.
Although the secular world of the city liberates man from the traditions of the past, allowing him to aspire to great heights of achievement, it is nevertheless not a cure for the individual's deeper personality problem. Whereas in the sacred, simple society the worst that occurs is a schism of values, allowing the person to take one side or the other, in the metropolis the individual is living in the presence of multiple definitions of proper conduct. Indeed, the secular world does break down esoteric primary loyalties and thus allows a man to recognize and pursue his obligations to the broader community, but it does not follow that this new pattern of morals integrates his personality to the point of allowing him to enjoy the fruits of this new freedom. In this sense it would appear that he faces the difficult task of mastering the complicated entity of the city or perishing under it. The human personality becomes increasingly disorganized in proportion to the contradictory social roles it is called upon to play. Values and meanings become ambiguous, since the content of social roles makes it difficult to satisfy the needs of affection, security, confidence, and friendship.

FINDING CONSENSUS IN THE CITY

THE CITY AS AN ETHNIC GROUP

The picture in cities is one of complexity. The problem is one of finding and expressing common interests both from the standpoint of personality and community integration. The tendency of urban people is to talk at each other (often, in fact, past each other) rather than with each other; the presence of specialized groups engaged in parallel activities without knowing it leads to a socially disconnected though economically interdependent city. Rather than city-wide allegiance or consensus we find group, class, or sectional allegiances. Beliefs stem from this phenomenon of physical nearness but social remoteness, beliefs which are difficult to discover by both the investigator and participant. In the main those attitudes and beliefs which seem to identify the urban community as an ethnic group are: (1) indifference to one's neighbor—"live and let live" is the attitude of the urbanite; toleration, not conflict, is the norm; (2) taking change as normal; (3) a weak tie to one's occupation, in contrast with the farmer and his work, i.e., there is a transitory attitude toward the job; (4) ready adjustments to conflicts and catastrophes, economic and social,
which are conceived as being beyond one's control (business cycles, breakdowns of government, revolutions); (5) recognition of division of labor as the social bond; the awareness that differences between people rather than likenesses, as characterized by specialization of activity, the using of other people's services for your own ends, makes for community organization; (6) the conclusion that obligations to others are therefore segmental rather than borne by a complete self.

In consequence of the diverse social and economic composition of the city, consensus is not so much agreement on all issues, or even on the most essential substantive issues among all the members of the community. Consensus is the established habit of intercommunication, of discussion, debate, and compromise. Wirth believed that it is the "toleration of heresies, or even of indifference, up to the point of 'clear and present danger' which threatens the life of urban society itself." 25 The sense of group identification and participation in the life of the city, the willingness to allow our representatives to speak for us, faithfully and sometimes unfaithfully, comprises the foundation upon which consensus rests. It is supported and maintained not only by the ties of interdependence but also by a set of institutions which embrace the settled traditions of the people, and the norms and standards that they imply and impose. As stated, mass communication is the key device through which these norms and institutional prerogatives are kept alive, reinforcing the communication by personal contacts.

TECHNIQUES FOR INDUCING URBAN CONSENSUS

The principal channels through which consensus is reached in the city are: debate, discussion, persuasion, education, parliamentary procedure, negotiation, diplomacy, bargaining, adjudication, contractual relations, and compromise. These are the more important means for arriving at a sufficient degree of agreement among urbanites to make the ongoing life, despite the differences in interests, possible. Through violence and fraud, pseudo-consensus may be obtained which in authoritarian regimes is a precarious basis of social cohesion, for in such regimes there is just an appearance of consensus whereas in urban democracies tolerance of divergent views based upon the ultimate agreement to disagree allows for a participating, genuine consensus.

Wirth indicates five ways that an urban society may induce consent. First, police power or superior force may force acquiescence. This force need not at all times be exercised, but may be held in reserve for occasions when it is absolutely necessary. In the city the sociologists must always pose the question: For whom does the police force speak? A police force rarely speaks for everyone in the community, for if it did criminals plus honest citizens would be equally "protected." As it is, some urban functions receive more control than others. Quasi-institutions or "rackets" receive varying degrees of protection or control by the police power, since they are never fully sanctioned by the community.

Second, consensus may be reached through identification with great heroes or leaders. This leadership may result from force, law and authority, the sacred sanctions of religion or tradition, or the real wisdom of the personality of the leader himself. The selection and function of leaders in the urban as well as rural worlds reflect the ideologies and beliefs which prevail. In the country the individual competition for leadership is, by comparison, minimal. The leader, that is, claims to be a spokesman direct from the people, a social fact which functions to hold the group together internally. Whatever the sources of leadership, they may be reinforced by propaganda and education and thus come to have a symbolic significance far out of proportion to the original sources.

Third, just as leaders and force and authority serve as instruments for building consensus, so ideas and ideals and the symbols with which they become identified can create cohesion in an urban group. Radio and television, not to overlook the newspaper, have become the media through which slogans, popular stereotypes, and symbols ("stars and stripes," "hammer and sickle," "four freedoms") have created and maintained consensus. Mass communication lends itself particularly well to the dissemination of these symbols on a scale hitherto thought impossible. For despite the differences in race, religion, politics, color, age, and sex, urban citizens become potentially exposed to the same symbols. The "symbol manipulators," e.g., the columnists and writers, the movie actors with their scenario writers, the Winchells, Pearsons, and Fulton Lewises, are the powerful people in an urban setting who frequently succeed in arousing the population to a fighting spirit one day and to a wish for compromise.

or reconciliation on another. These are the modern-day intellectuals, no longer associated with the “free professions” but a part of corporations, unions, and social movements. Some have more power than others through their personal prestige to force their sponsors to present their contentions even though they may differ with their sponsors’ policies or editorials. Sometimes these people are publicity agents who take up a cause not simply because of a conviction, but because they are working for the cause that pays the most. However, these are the individuals that ask questions about human values, urban, rural, economic, political, or what not. It should not be surprising if the policies and surveys they propose should reflect the viewpoint of their patrons. The advertising man in great measure has displaced the corporation lawyer and CPA in the way of public prestige and influence insofar as he makes the slogans which make or break organizations. He defines the values for urbanites (and many rural people too) ranging from the best skin lotion to the attitude to be displayed toward communism, racial groups, military heroes, or politicians. Thus the new urban intellectual of the radio and television, the moving picture, and newspaper is on the producing side although frequently in a subordinate place in the commercial or political hierarchy of his urban setting. Nevertheless because of his apparent profundity he is placed in a position of great public trust.

Fourth, tradition is a potentially strong instrument for urban consensus. The social heritage of a people from a common culture, from a common history, from mores which can make anything seem right, true, good, and beautiful makes it possible in the last analysis for any group to think of itself and act as a community in a “we” sense. This is the important substratum upon which force and authority, law, religious sanctions, propaganda, and education can be used effectively. Urban secularism, the disintegration of local cohesion and unique cultures, is the consequence of movements of population and the contacts of people from the ends of the earth, not to overlook the opening of world markets and the spread of modern technology. Urban sophistication has displaced naïveté as the prime virtues of the city man. Secularism carries with it skepticism toward all dogmas and ideologies, a reluctance to accept things on faith or authority. Rationality and “personal rights” displace faith in the city. In consequence considerable interest has been taken by those who make a living at persuasion in discovering through scientific means what the interests,
prejudices, and appetites of urban people are and how they might be manipulated by appropriate appeals.

Fifth, public opinion is a powerful force in the shaping of consensus, overlapping as it does with the instrumentalities already mentioned. We have suggested that in the city there is rarely a public opinion as such since there are many publics. In other words, in the city we find a variety of constituent groups, occupational, economic, racial and ethnic, and religious. Each of these groups nourishes its own interests, delegates its own powers and leadership, and forms its own political and corporate organization. These groups are not loose aggregations of men but often united groups with organized views on issues that exercise an impact upon others who are in positions to make decisions. However, in the city we are conscious, first, of human beings as affiliated with a variety of organized groups, each of which represents only a segment of their interests, and second, of a large proportion of urbanites quite unattached to any stable group. This latter group makes up the “unorganized mass” in the city. Decision-making in the city is placed in the hands of the “organized mass.” Such segmental membership in groups precludes the presence of an over-all public opinion, and involves only group opinion in which those with power, prestige, and strategic position best articulate their sentiments. All other members “go along.” This “fragmentary opinion” has displaced public opinion.

The problem for applied urban sociology is one of inducing the bystander in urban social and political issues to recognize his personal and social obligations through participation in community problem-solving. A nonvoter or “disinterested” bystander never caused the controversialists to keep the peace or tyrants to refrain from tyranny.²⁷

SUGGESTED READINGS


A first-rate effort to apply the sociological concept of the stranger to that of the city.


This research demonstrates that the ideal types, sacred and secular, call for the idea of a continuum between the poles. Suicide, not crime, is an outstanding attribute of secular societies, while crime is more characteristic of depressed folk groups.


Redfield draws a picture of the contrast between the modern city and the folk society.


Selznick takes the view that as a society takes on mass characteristics it becomes increasingly vulnerable to political manipulation. The presentation, unfortunately, is couched in unnecessarily heavy language.


An outstanding fact-finding study of the degree of social participation by urbanites in the social, economic, and political life of their metropolis.


Recognizing consensus as the central concern of sociology, Wirth dissects the force of mass communication and signifies in turn its central position in the consensus-making process today.
Marriage and the Family -- XV

Recognizing that the "modern American city family" is an abstraction when we see the wide variations according to race, region, social class, and ethnicity, we will, accordingly, focus our attention here upon the broad middle-class urban family and its relation to the social setting in which it functions. The present chapter is not concerned with the "problems" of the urban family (usually defined in terms of current moral issues) or with deviations from proper family behavior. The discussion will deal with the functions of the family, its organization, and the forces which appear to support this structure. The underlying, all-pervading theme will be, as with the preceding chapters, the historical changes, i.e., the processes involved.

THE GREAT PARADOX

Many Americans have been apprehensive of the urban trend of family life, for it means individualization at the expense of institutional stability; it means a smaller family; a decline in national population if carried beyond a certain point, and eventually, perhaps, the decline of the city. Most important, many are concerned because it means a decline in the effectiveness of the family as an influence in social control, the breakdown of moral standards, the disintegration of fundamental primary-group virtues, the decline of religion, and the loss of many other values that are considered of great importance in our society. However, we should recognize at the outset that something is gained in the presence of this individualization of family mem-
bers. In this highly mobile age, independence of thought and choice of action are essential to a functional morality. The maintenance of a high standard of living demands a more rational type of mores than prevails in more undeveloped areas.

In urban United States the changes in the family have constituted a vast experiment in democracy; hundreds of thousands of husbands and wives, parents and children, have participated in it. Couples refuse to follow the marriage pattern of their parents, preferring to work out new designs of family living. These new patterns are not the result of pluralistic behavior but collectivistic. Through discussion by young people, new conceptions of living have developed as portrayed in literature and observations of new value systems in day-to-day living. In this sense the apparent disorganization in the urban family should not be conceived as bad but as a preliminary step in family reorganization. Much of what is termed the “instability” of the American urban family arises from the shift to the democratic companionship type from the old-time rural family of this country and the transplanted Old-World family forms of immigrant groups. The present danger in the adjustment process rests in the fact that the family institution intertwines age and sex relations, and as we observe increasing pressure by society to break the family down by means of channeling age and sex into divergent outside institutions, there is considerable danger of enhancing personality disorganization. Although we may have urban souls we still have animal bodies, and must plan for the development of the species. That is, how far can we do away with the family and still hold up the interaction of the species? Some one institution must function as the home port, the balance wheel, of the person’s various urban roles and statuses. In the large cities the family has lost or found greatly modified most of its earlier functions. The problem is to reconstitute the old family arrangement in the new setting in such a form as to promote social solidarity and personality integration. The great paradox between the wish for unity and security on the one hand yet diversity and individual freedom on the other can be understood only by studying the city family in process.

Authorities on family living seem to agree that urbanites are faced by an extreme crisis, and that only some rational reordering of social and individual factors can reduce present confusion. The urban family has generally come to be regarded as swiftly passing from “institution to companionship,” from an organized group governed by rules or
Mores to a "democratic" mutual adjustment in which "free" individuals seek to satisfy their own emotional and ego needs. A portion of the evidence of this transition will be examined here.

DISINTEGRATION OF FAMILY BONDS

Dr. William F. Ogburn observes that the traditional American family was held together by six bonds: economic, protective, religious, recreational, educational, and social status. Through factor analysis he shows how these bonds have tended to disintegrate in the modern city family. He describes how the economic function of the home has gradually been lost as the factory, store, laundry, and bakery have encroached upon the domain of the family. Religious bonds have been severed as religion has been taken outside the home or abandoned altogether. The traditional family religious functions, consisting of ceremonials, family prayers, reading of the Bible, grace at meals, and so forth, seem to have been declining in urban communities. Protection has been increasingly in the hands of outside agencies. A police force protects us from physical violence; life insurance and accident insurance policies offer economic security quite independently of the family. Recreational bonds have lost their hold as civic, commercial, and school recreational activities have increased. While some recreation continues in city families, commercial recreation has been made into a profitable business and attracts urbanites in increasing proportions. Television, on the other hand, bids well to be more of a family affair than radio listening because it requires cooperative group use. There is a tendency for the various family members to have their own radios, so that this is more of an individual than a family activity.

Education has gradually shifted to include younger and younger ages. The kindergarten and nursery schools have lessened home responsibilities. We now read of a prenursery school movement, perplexing as it may sound. Social status once was transmitted through the family, but in urban society a youth can escape the reputation of his family and be rated on the basis of his own earned qualities.

The popular sociological view is that affection has become the main basis of marital choice and family endurance. When love flies

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out the window, divorce is the expected course of action. By and large the family is not looked upon as an end in itself, but an instrumentality for personal gain. In the city, family life is not as necessary as heretofore in daily living because there are other institutions to substitute for it. Hotels, cafes, laundries, recreational activities, institutes, religious groups, and lodges all are present in the city to care for the unattached person. He can spread himself out very far, because he lives in a setting where traditional institutions have been broken down and their processes assigned to specific categories. Even immigrant families that settle in our metropolitan centers fail to maintain their solidarity. Recognizing that ecological segregation of immigrant families tends to strengthen the bonds of kinship, the very fact of population growth within the immigrant group eventuates in the tendency for the familial communal organization to break up by reason of new affiliations, the possibility for anonymity, and spreading out of members spatially and economically.

A recent textbook on the family exemplifies the view that affection remains as the root of modern family organization. Entitled *The Family: From Institution to Companionship,* it states its main thesis as follows:

The basic thesis of this book is that the family has been in historical times in transition from an institution with family behavior controlled by the mores, public opinion, and law to a companionship with family behavior arising from the mutual affection and consensus of its members.\(^2\)

While this theory is fundamentally true there is danger of misinterpreting it to mean that the modern mores no longer have an interest or stake in marriage and family living, a false assumption. Kingsley Davis, outspoken in his opposition to the affection-companionship theory, argues:

\[\ldots\] The present writer disagrees with this formulation on two grounds. First, the theory that mores, public opinion, and law are ceasing to control family behavior. But this is sociologically impossible. Marriage and family relations are socially defined. They are institutions. (There is a difference between even modern marriage and a liaison.) It is therefore impossible for the family to exist without normative control. If the modern

family emphasizes companionship, it is not because the mores no longer have anything to do with it but because the mores have changed. We now have a different normative system with reference to the family, and a different social setting in which the system is applied. Second, the theory under discussion implies that the institutional functions can disappear (and the family thus cease to be an institution) but that the so-called affectional functions can remain as strong as ever. But affection is not based on thin air. If marriage does not somehow involve the partners in common activities—functions—apart from sexual intercourse, it cannot hope to produce a satisfactory companionship or attain any stability. In short when the social functions of the family are all lost, affection within the family and in fact the family itself, will also be lost. One cannot be retained without the other. The instability of modern marriage clearly shows that it is becoming deficient as a source of emotional security.

There is one function remaining to the family that is clearly institutional and incapable of being shifted to any other institution without a revolutionary change in society. This is the bearing and rearing of children. The current emphasis on companionship and happiness in marriage has lost sight of the main social function of marriage. If marriages were not for the purpose of having children there would be no purpose in them at all, because companionship could be had without the formalities of wedlock.

As a matter of fact the main concern over divorce in our culture is a concern over the children. In our small family system the child of divorced parents has nowhere to turn except to one parent or the other. In contrast to a culture with a joint family system, our culture cannot provide a stable domestic milieu that continues after divorce. Divorce is therefore more serious for the child among us than among most cultures.³

Why does the urban sociologist emphasize marital happiness? The answer, he feels, is that there is nothing else in modern marriage to underscore. The institution of marriage and family life, like other affiliations in the city, comprises merely another agency where a specialized part of the self is in active participation. It means much to one person while to others it means very little. Like other urban institutions here is an arena in which some people seek what they most want while for others it is merely a casual or an incidental thing. Charles H. Cooley observed that a person enters into an institution only with a trained and specialized part of himself. There is the objective, inquiring side of the scientist, the legal part of the lawyer, the ecclesiastical part

of a church-goer, the business part of a merchant, the affectionate, devotional side of the wife or husband.

Wedlock has so far lost its connections with the rest of the social order that it has become merely a vehicle for sexual gratification and companionship. Outside this sphere it has no significance that would give it an enduring stability. If it is an economic partnership, it is weak; it is hardly a political alliance, a communal matter, or a religious sacrament. A divorce by urbanites no longer interferes seriously with a person’s main activities. For purposes of companionship a new marriage may serve better than the old; at least the urbanite is disposed to think it is worth a try. To paraphrase the words of several college seniors who, upon announcing to this writer their impending marriage upon graduation, remarked: "You ask do I love him [or her]? I think so. But if I discover later that we aren't in love, that we are bad companions, I can always get a divorce!"

Worth noting are the development of scales for predicting "happiness" in marriage, the search for premarital factors of personality traits and experiences which will correlate with later self-ratings of marital adjustment. The two best-known studies of urban, middle-class families in this field reach approximately the same conclusions.\footnote{Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., \textit{Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage} (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939); Lewis Terman, et al., \textit{Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness} (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938).}

The major findings of the Burgess and Cottrell study are as follows:

1. For this sample rural background is a better risk than urban.

2. The cultural level of the husband's family is more important than the wife's. The man, but not the woman—as judged in this study—may marry below his economic and educational status. Also, divergence of church affiliation did not seem very important, at least in the first six years of married life.

3. In contrast with husbands, wives have to make the greatest personal adjustments in wedded life. Theory to the contrary, a thoroughly accepted equalitarian pattern between the spouses did not appear in this sample.

4. An only child is a poor risk compared to those who come from families with more than one child. Where both spouses are "only" children the probabilities for failure are increased.

5. The affectional contacts of the child in his own family definitely condition his later love life in marriage. Of special importance
is the strong love of son for mother and of daughter for father. If these attachments to the parent of the opposite sex are satisfying, the individual will tend to fall in love with someone like the loved parent in temperamental and other qualities, and on the whole this will tend to make for a happy marriage.

6. Likeness in socialization is important. The attendance of both at Sunday School beyond their 18th year, and of the husband at church two or more times a month, were found to be good prognostic signs. The possession of friends of both sexes by both spouses was another indicator of success. Also, there was a high positive correlation between higher education and marital satisfaction. Apparently long engagements and approval of the match by both parents are predictive of success. To be married by a minister is likewise associated with better chances of marital satisfaction. The most satisfactory age of marriage for the woman is about 22 years, for the man between 28 and 30.

7. On the other hand, economic status was less important than the authors had anticipated. While moderate income is slightly correlated with marital success, it is not significantly so. As to occupation, women teachers had the highest predicative scores of the wives; and of the men, chemical engineers, professors, ministers, and athletic coaches were considered better marital risks than laborers, traveling salesmen, or mechanics.

8. The sexual adjustment in matrimony is not a matter of sheer biological urge or adaptability but is qualified at every point by social-cultural conditioning.

Perhaps the best way of bringing out the significance of these various factors for urban, middle-class marital happiness is to show how they have (or have not) operated in the lives of a young married couple. The reader is invited to apply the Burgess-Cottrell conclusions and any other insights he may have to the following true "case study" of a modern urban marriage in the United States:

EDITH AND RICHARD PETERSON 5

Edith Chase and Richard Peterson were married in the summer of 1944, during the war. They had known each other only a short time when the wedding took place in a small town in California where Richard was

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stationed and Edith was attending college, her home being in nearby Los Angeles. Their marriage was hasty because Richard was expecting momentarily to be sent overseas. A handsome couple, very much in love, and enjoying the same superficial things, such as dancing and sports, they apparently did not consider underlying differences in ideals, standards, and ultimate aims in life which were sure to affect the marriage relationship.

The young couple had a little more time together than they had expected, but before many months, Richard's overseas orders came, and he was given a brief leave. He and his bride decided to spend the leave time at the home of Richard's parents in a small town in Iowa. Edith, accustomed to a constant round of parties and theaters for entertainment, found the quiet atmosphere of the Peterson home rather dull. Her own parents were fun-lovers, young in their ways, "going out" frequently, or spending their evenings at home playing cards or listening to swing music. The Petersons, an older, more dignified couple, shared diversified cultural interests, and Edith was amazed to find that Richard was content with an evening of conversation devoted to Bach and Beethoven, Shakespeare or Freud, names which she had not heard mentioned outside of a classroom. Mr. Peterson, a scholarly old man, was also interested in local history, and Edith found his long stories tiresome, in spite of his keen sense of humor and his charm of manner. She expressed some resentment, in talking to her husband, concerning the fact that most of the precious leave time was being monopolized by relatives.

Richard went overseas, and soon after, Edith's baby was born. She complained in letters to her mother that she must have this ordeal alone, and added that Richard would never appreciate what she was going through. After his return, their second child was born within the year, the two being born barely a year apart. During the latter part of Richard's absence overseas, and the time during which he waited for his discharge, Edith was at the home of her parents, where the care of the baby, and later of the two babies, was uncomplicated by housework or cooking. Even in tending the babies she had frequent relief, as her mother was always willing to keep them or arrange for their care while Edith was out.

The first serious break between Edith and Richard occurred when he told her, soon after his discharge, that he intended to return to college. His schooling had been interrupted by the war, and he was eligible to complete it under the G.I. Bill. Edith seemed stunned at first, then raised vehement objections to the proposal. She said the idea was ridiculous and selfish on his part, and that she would never consent for him, a father of two children, to "waste his time going to school." Richard argued stoutly
at first, but finally subsided into stubborn silence. When his wife burst into tears, he left the room.

The next day he took his wife to a movie and bought her a small present. Then he again brought up the subject of his education. All his life, he explained, he had taken it for granted that he would go to college, and he could not think of going out into the world without at least a bachelor's degree. Edith retorted that none of her family had gone to college, and they all had done well. College life, she admitted, was a gay time with its dances, sports, and fraternities, but a man with a family should settle down to serious business. Richard said she would, of course, share in any fun college life afforded, since she and the children would live with him at college. College would mean better earnings and more security for them later on, he insisted. Couldn't she try to understand there was something more than the frivolous side of college life, or the financial security it aided in achieving? Couldn't she realize that a man might have to seek new knowledge, the kind only higher education could provide? She replied that she could not, and that if he shared her love for the babies, he would not talk such nonsense, but get a job. Going to college would mean two years of skimping, while jobs were plentiful and wages were high. She had no intention, she added, of seeing her children denied the little luxuries she wanted them to have. Richard reminded her that besides the G.I. allowance, he had a small personal income from a grandfather's estate which would help. He further argued that the future of the children would be much better assured if their father prepared himself for a profession, and that small sacrifices would mean little to them now, as mere babies.

Richard finally won out on this point, and returned to college. Edith, however, set the condition that he go to school near her home, so that she could be near her parents. She also tried to persuade him to supplement their income during the two years by taking small amounts systematically from his savings, in order to maintain the standard of living that conformed to her ideas. They failed, however, to reach an agreement on this point in the beginning, and started life together as a family for the first time, with this important question hanging undecided between them.

In the university town, Edith and Richard were successful in renting a fairly nice duplex apartment, and they immediately became close friends of another student and his wife, Alice and John Woodson, who lived on the other side. Alice and John were an unusually well-adjusted and happy couple, and were distressed to see, as they soon did, that Edith and Richard appeared to be riding toward serious marital difficulties. Their attitudes toward each other when the four were together showed less and less affection and more and more evidence of frayed nerves and constant bickering.
Nothing of this sort was mentioned between them, however, until one day when Edith stormed into Alice's kitchen while the children were napping.

"Give me a light," said Edith, taking a cigarette, "and let me talk to you. I simply have to talk to somebody or I will go crazy. Dick and I have been at each other's throats again today, as you could probably hear."

Embarassed, Alice denied that she could hear her neighbors quarreling. But Edith persisted.

"I simply don't know what to do, I can't live with a mean stingy man. It isn't possible for me to go on with Richard, but I haven't any place to go. How can I support two children?" She put her head down on the kitchen table and began to sob almost hysterically. Alice expressed sympathy and patted her shoulder.

"Please don't expect me to say anything, Edith, except that I'm awfully sorry to see you having trouble. You go home so often, you must talk about this to your family."

"I can't," said Edith. "I have tried to, but they say we must work it out for ourselves."

"And I expect they are right at that," said Alice firmly, although from what she had seen of Edith's family, she suspected that their attitude was motivated by a fear of being involved in anything unpleasant.

"You just don't know what it is like to be questioned about every penny. I know you and John think Richard is perfect, he's so easy-going and pleasant in public. Nobody knows but me what he is really like. He thinks I am the most extravagant woman on earth. Today it was the grocery bill, but it's always money, money, money. I'm so sick of hearing about it I could scream. And the groceries, of all ridiculous things! As if we could eat less or something. I'm going to feed my children, whether he likes it or not. If we can't do it on what he has, why doesn't he get out of this place and go to work like other men?"

"It's a little hard for men to understand food prices, the way they are now. Why don't you get Richard to shop a few times and maybe he will realize that we can't help it if the bills seem ridiculous?"

"Oh, he has shopped. It doesn't do any good. He simply has it in his mind that I'm extravagant, and he is too stubborn to change. Anyway, if it isn't groceries, it is something else. You should have heard him when I came home with the bedroom curtains—and they were a wonderful buy, as I told you at the time. That's the day," and Edith set her lips in a hard line, "that he went to the bank and had the account put in his name only."

"Do you mean that you're not allowed to write checks any more?"

"That's right," said Edith. "Richard just doesn't think I have sense enough to be trusted with a checkbook. I don't know what he expects me
to do." Edith looked as if she would begin to cry again, but at that moment she heard the children waking up, and had to run to her own apartment.

When John returned in the afternoon, Alice repeated the conversation to him.

"It's none of our business, of course," she said, "but it would be such a tragedy for them to break up when they have those precious children. And they both have some very good qualities, too, although, they do have some pretty bad differences to overcome."

"Well, it's obvious they aren't happy together," said John. "Richard hasn't really talked to me, but he certainly doesn't show much affection for Edith. And he is awfully close with his money. Of course, like all of us, he has to be—but I happen to know what his income is, and I think he could afford a few little luxuries for the family. Remember the night we asked them to go dancing with us and they refused? He told me later that they couldn't afford it, what with a baby sitter and all. Well, we had to have a sitter, and I think they can afford an occasional outing as well as we can. After all, Edith is terribly tied down."

"She is," Alice agreed. "I really don't think she looks well either. All this is getting her down. But she is so unreasonable about some things that it is hard to sympathize with her. And she is extravagant in many ways. It's simply unfortunate that they are such opposites on that important score. But he should never have gone so far as to forbid her to write checks."

"No, there must be some other way. You simply can't build a successful marriage by that way of handling things."

The next afternoon John reported to Alice that Richard had talked to him that day between classes over a cup of coffee.

"I'm at my wit's end, John," Richard said. "Edith and I hardly speak, except to snap at each other. She is so hot-tempered and nagging that I hardly dare comment on the weather. Last night I went to the library where I could study in peace, and when I came in she actually accused me of being out drinking somewhere! I'll tell you, a man can't live under a strain like that. I'm afraid it's going to affect the children, too, although both of us are careful not to be unpleasant before them."

"Look, Richard," said John, "are you sure this is absolutely all Edith's fault?"

"How do you mean?"

"Well, it can make a girl pretty nervous to have a lot of pressure put on her about money. Maybe Edith is unreasonable about things because of that basic difficulty—added to the fact that she is awfully tied down, and works pretty hard with no household help."
"I try to help her all I can with the children," Richard protested, "I think she's peeved at me because I didn't have the babies!"

"Well, after all, you didn't," John said with a laugh. "Seriously though, the babies were rather close together, and probably quite a strain on Edith's health, as well as a pretty sudden rush of responsibility for such a young girl. I'm not trying to take Edith's side, because Alice and I both feel that she is largely in the wrong. But I do think you ought to make some allowances."

"But how can she manage to spend so much?" Richard said in exasperation. "I can't help but complain when she spends money like water, even if my complaints do make her nervous."

"Well, look, Richard, you know that I know what your income is, and it's about the same as mine. I happen to know that Edith couldn't spend a prodigious amount, because you haven't got it!"

"But we spend every cent that comes in! We aren't saving anything!"

"Ye gods!" exclaimed John. "Who is? In school with two children, and prices what they are? Look, Alice does all the buying for our family, and it's very seldom there's a cent left over at the end of the month. If there are a few dollars left, I feel like giving her a pat on the back—and we generally go out and splurge on something extra we've been wanting for the kids or ourselves.

"I figure this is the most meager time of our lives, and it's pretty hard on these young girls, who, after all, are bound to think now and then that they might look nice in a fur coat, and that it might be fun to be fixing up a house. Besides, you told me that you had a pretty nice little nest-egg put away already."

"Yes, and what a mistake I made when I told Edith about that," Richard said grimly. "I was trying to encourage her about the future when I insisted on coming to college, and told her I had a bit put away—partly my savings and partly what granddad left me—to start out on afterwards. Now she wants me to take twenty dollars or so from that every month to supplement our income. She says, sarcastically as she says everything, that if I'm going to work such wonders with this precious degree of mine, we won't need the money later as much as we do now."

"Well, maybe she's right," said John. "There couldn't be any better use for the money than saving your marriage at this critical stage. Remember, while you and I—and Alice, incidentally—think nothing is more important than an education, Edith doesn't feel that way. Right or wrong, she feels that she is giving up the best years of her life for a thing she doesn't even feel is important! That would be frustrating, to say the least."

Richard crushed out a cigarette and shook his head. "John, you seem to have such a clear outlook. I'm all muddled on this thing, and can't
seem to see anything but my own side. I wish you’d tell me what
to do.”

“I’ve talked far too much already,” John replied ruefully.
“No—no, for heaven’s sake, man, I need some advice. I just don’t know
where to turn.”

THE FAMILY IN PROCESS

AUTHORITY PATTERNS

The farm family is generally more patriarchal than the urban. Al-
though the wife in the rural family is more subordinate to her husband
than the urban wife, the husband is in turn more responsible to the
wife, the parents to the children, the children to the parents, and the
children to one another. This close relationship between members of
the rural family does not necessarily indicate repression, however.
The paternalistic system in the rural family is constantly being broken
down owing to numerous forces. Machine technology permits greater
individualization of rural family members and new opportunities to
participate in community activities. The fact that many family group
tasks are done individually has a definite bearing upon authoritarian
patterns. Nevertheless the farm home still places great emphasis upon
the family unit whereas the urban home places great emphasis upon
individual interests and expression.

CARE OF THE AGED

The absence of the spare bedroom in new homes is indicative of
the urban view that the family should not only be spared the burden
of caring for relatives but the aged as well. The aged are not usually
considered an intrinsic part of the family. In the traditional family the
aged gradually relinquished activity and control in the home or on the
farm. Because food and space were abundant, the aged could con-
tinue, until bedridden, to perform some useful activity. Community
and religious sanctions were so uncompromising that any alternative
to the aged living with their gainfully employed children was un-
thinkable. The change in values results in part from new pressures
placed upon adult children. The costs of maintaining an urban home
are paid with money and not by direct production on the home site.
These costs are usually heavy. Recreational activities cater to age
groupings and not to family units. Hence married children are caught between their own self-interests and a group of obligations stemming from tradition. Parents are made to feel unwanted as if they had been dumped on the ash heap of society. Yet if a common home is established, the two generations psychologically trample on one another's toes. Consensus is difficult to develop concerning the proper roles of both parents and adult children.

As several studies have indicated, aged parents are tending to absorb the same new values as their children, preferring to be independent and not burdens upon their offspring. As the aged continue to increase in number (it has been estimated that there will be 26 million Americans sixty-five years of age and older by 1980) we may anticipate more vigorous political action by the aged to reclaim a birthright they feel is presently denied them. On the other hand, as the number of aged entering homes for the aged mounts year by year, we may see the day that the "old folks' home" becomes a respectable institution in our society.

**CHANGING ROLES IN THE HOME**

**Children.** Children are a severe economic liability to married couples. A child at one time served three predominant interests of his parents. While young he worked on the farm (or in the factory during the earlier days of the industrial revolution) and thereby added to the family income. He provided his parents with economic security during their old age. Finally, he carried the family name into the future. This last interest still persists but demands intensive sociological research for the measure of its importance to both parents and children.

**The Wife.** The role of the wife is an important aspect of city life. In the urban family, some 24.5 per cent of all married women living with their husbands in a recent year were gainfully employed, whereas only 19.6 per cent of all rural-nonfarm and 19.8 per cent of all rural-farm wives were in the labor force. Of those who work, the majority continue to be employed in "women's work" or in new fields which pay little and do not confer much prestige. The difference in family

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life becomes even more pronounced when it is noted that most gainfully employed wives in rural-farm and rural-nonfarm areas are engaged in agriculture, in which capacity they remain in and about the home. Gainful employment in the city family, on the other hand, usually means that the wife must go out to work and stay there for the balance of the working day. The role of the wife who works in an office or factory is different from that of the wife who manages a farm and remains in the home. The behavior of the middle-class urban wife has been transformed by the transfer of the production function from the home, the introduction of domestic labor-saving devices, the decrease in the size of the family, the increase in commercial recreation, and the gainful employment of women in commerce and industry. Her process of adjustment is often without plan. She often acts in ways not considered proper or desirable in terms of her traditional roles.

The Husband. The husband has changed his behavior less drastically than the wife, performing the basic economic function that has characterized his role for thousands of years. Men who are not "strivers" and "good providers" are still defined as partial failures by their intimate associates, at least in their role as husbands. Although lack of success in the competitive scheme is frequently the result of forces beyond the control of the husband, the negative sanction of "lazy," "shiftless," "a failure" generally still applies.

The modern middle-class husband is not as active in the transmission of the social heritage to his children as was the case in former times. Children, especially male children, are obliged to learn much of the male role from a woman—i.e., the mother. The father no longer dominates the instruction of his son in the techniques of getting a living and in the mysteries of being a man. Margaret Mead argues that the ultimate effects of this situation upon the personalities of middle-class children are not now fully apparent, but they may find later expression in subtle, but unmistakable, modifications in personality structure.7

CULTURAL VARIABILITY IN FAMILY LIVING

In spite of the emergence of mass society as an accompaniment of industrialization and urbanism, in spite of the uniformities induced by machine technology, science, and world-wide systems of commu-

7 Margaret Mead, Male and Female (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1949).
**TABLE 1 Tentative Sketch of Secular and Sacred Family Systems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECULAR PATTERN</th>
<th>SACRED PATTERN</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Middle-Class Urban-American Family)</td>
<td>(Agricultural French-Canadian Family)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Currently patriarchal but giving way to collaborative authority by husband and wife.

2. Specialized agencies (school, church, factory, hotels, clubs, drugstores, laundries, cafes) have taken over former family functions.

3. Women are freed more from household drudgery and involuntary child-bearing.

4. Family members work at diverse occupations. Individualism is the key.

5. Family members belong to groups not held in common by other members. Affiliations based on sex, education, professional interest, etc.

6. No primogeniture. Children are equal although wealth and occupation are not readily advantageous to the youngest offspring.

7. Individual participation in outside groups with specialized parts of the personality suggests different status levels within the family group itself.

8. Family is not, by comparison, an economic unit. Family does not produce the fuel, labor, or clothes. Food preparation takes place for the family group only twice daily.

9. Weak bond between family and relatives as witnessed by the absence of the spare bedroom in new city homes. Family cannot support or foster relatives. Affection is the basic bond.

10. Presence of differentials in social mobility between husband and wife. Husband may rise and wife remain in the status position enjoyed at time of marriage. The reverse is likewise prevalent.

1. Absolutely patriarchal.

2. Specialized agencies not yet in full effective force. In fact the church is an outside force for holding the family together.

3. Women are in a subordinate role and involved in drudgery and nonvolitional child-bearing. Children are an agricultural asset.

4. All members work on the same farm. Group individualism is the key.

5. Members participate in outside groups on a family basis.

6. A kind of primogeniture. Small size of farm prevents dividing it up into equal portions, hence eldest son inherits the property.

7. Family is given a definite station in life as to class irrespective of individual skills and interests of members.

8. Family produces most of its own food, fuel, often the clothing, and labor for members.

9. Strong factional feuds often run through kin groups. Kinship is the basic bond.

10. The wife's mobility is almost identical with the husband's. The idea is to keep the family intact.
nication, there remain striking differences among cultures in the North American Continent. This is a fact which naive persons looking for, or soon expecting, a stable, harmonious family system often overlook. While it is easy though often misleading to divide complex cultural data into two parts, there is some basis in fact for assuming that, in the by and large, the two most significant familial systems today are the stable, authoritarian on the one side and the secular, individualistic on the other.

Table 1 is a tentative and brief approximation of the modal sacred and modal secular family patterns among civilized North Americans.

Burgess lists six trends in the contemporary American family:

1. Urbanization, not merely in the sense that the proportion of families living in cities is increasing but that rural as well as urban families are adopting the urban way of life;
2. Modifiability and adaptability in response to conditions of rapid social change;
3. Secularization, with the declining control of religion and with the increasing role of material comforts, labor-saving devices, and other mechanical contrivances like the automobile, the radio, and television;
4. Instability, as evidenced by the continuing increase in divorce, reaching in 1945 the proportion of one for every three marriages;
5. Specialization on the functions of the giving and receiving of affection, bearing and rearing of children, and personality development, which followed the loss of extrinsic functions, such as economic production, education, religious training, and protection;
6. The trend to companionship with emphasis upon consensus, common interests, democratic relations, and personal happiness of family members.8

It is clear that we do have a new kind of family system, centering upon city life, far different from the familistic systems of stable agricultural societies. It is clear, too, that both kinds of systems have certain basic similarities. Burgess says the basic functions are three in number: (1) passing on the biological heritage, (2) transmitting the cultural heritage, and (3) providing a primary agency for socialization. Kingsley Davis organizes these functions under the four headings: (1) reproduction, (2) maintenance, (3) placement, and (4) socialization of the young, noting that these functions have many

ramifications and can be broken down into a host of subsidiary functions.\(^9\)

The problem of the city family involves the whole of a changing society, many of whose aspects are judged in terms of value-judgments evolved in an earlier and stable society. While certain aspects of family behavior are viewed almost universally as problem behavior, interest groups differ concerning the possible steps to eliminate them. The generally acknowledged problem elements are: (1) the increase in the number of families broken by divorce; (2) the growing ideological differences between parents and children; (3) the smaller size of the family; (4) the decrease in close family ties; (5) the loss of many of the things the family used to do; (6) the mobility of the family in space; (7) the increasing number of women working outside the home.

These problem elements run counter to the social values of many Americans, values by which behavior has been widely judged. These values arose during the long centuries when the family was largely rural or small-town in character, when the family performed a variety of basic institutional functions, and when the status and roles of the members were clearly defined and recognized. The size of the family, the exclusive tie of married women to the home, and the expectation that marriage was to be terminated only by death also characterized the times.

Sincere persons who wish to revive the family of colonial or pioneer days are doomed to frustration because they are attempting to apply a rigid set of past values to a social situation that has permanently changed. Our institutions do not exist in a social vacuum but are the product, in the main, of the social setting in which they function. In view of the transitory character of the times the only way to keep the family institution intact is to change it. Because the urban way of life is a persistent threat to traditionally established social values, increasing urbanization is widely defined as a social problem in itself by those who proclaim that man is made for marriage and family life, denying the secular assumption that marriage and the home were made for man.

Should marriage become increasingly unstable and the core functions of the family performed less adequately, eventually a new form of integration between the small family system and the social order

Marriage and the Family

may appear. But it is difficult to predict exactly the form such integra-
tion will take.

SELECTED READINGS

As referred to in the chapter, the author conceives of the family in
process.

An able article on the extent, trends, and significance of the employ-
ment of married women in the United States labor force.

An illuminating article on the quantitative aspects of different stages
in the family cycle.

Koos, Earl Lomon, Families in Trouble (New York: King's Crown
Press, 1946).
Examines the impact of crises on families in cities, showing the
significance of family organization.

Rose, Arnold M., "Interest in the Living Arrangements of the Urban Un-
attached," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIII (May
The need for adequate living arrangements for unattached people in
cities, including their requirements for housing and also for eating,
recreation, and clothing care, is studied.
CITY CHURCHES

The urban church, like the urban family, is in transition. Functions previously controlled by the church are now shared by other organizations—clubs, occupational groups, recreational institutions which have no religious sponsorship. City playgrounds, parks, libraries, museums, movies, theaters, bridge clubs, and professional sports provide fuller facilities for social and play activities than the churches can provide. Most church leaders probably would not welcome back these functions if they were offered them since they recognize that other groups can perform these services and controls better than they.

What, then, is the function of the church in the city? Some churches in the downtown business areas of metropolitan communities have given up their denominational characteristics and dedicated themselves to the needs of the near-by homeless, transient men. Here the pastor is a specialized person giving assistance to the "socially and spiritually dispossessed" with the aid of social workers and even psychiatrists. He is intent upon helping men and women to reorganize their spirits, regain self-confidence, in a changing, unpredictable social setting. Thus psychiatric assistance, moral reinforcement, and economic aid, comprise the central functions of many of the downtown nondenominational churches.

The nondenominational or "Community Church" has gained wide
acceptance in the city. The emphasis here is upon reason rather than rituals. Religion here is defined as something to be sought after rather than to be transmitted. The members come to church not simply for the purpose of holding on to a body of religious doctrines and passing them on to their children but come to learn religious ideas, interpretations of life which will allow them to adjust more comfortably to the tensions and unpredictablesthes of the day. Hence it becomes the responsibility of these nondenominational community church leaders to understand the urban setting with its demands for rationalism and acceptance of experimentation and to adjust the beliefs and rituals of their churches in such a way as to be consistent with the knowledge of the day.

This equally concerns the denominational churches. For it is in the city where schisms of religious ideologies occur, where the minister or church leader finds himself in the presence of the critical member who feels that it is his moral and scientific responsibility to theorize and speculate on religious behavior and overthrow any superstitions in the group. The urban church, therefore, finds itself in the presence of a critical, reflective membership, more rational in their behavior than traditional. Whereas in the primitive and more rural environments men spoke by authority because they spoke of God and not of man, where God was the master of men's fates, where God was the first consideration, in the urban setting nothing exists in its own right, no institution survives for its own sake. The urban man asks: Is religion good? If so, good for what? He feels that he has been liberated psychologically from the control of sacred institutions of the past. He has created a man-made world of instrumentalism. The pulpit, he feels, is not the only place to obtain moral guidance. Thus urban church leaders find themselves in the same paradox in which family leaders find themselves. The only way to preserve an urban institution that it may better serve the community of the future is to change it. The urban church, as with other institutions that are undergoing adjustments, is constantly being thrown up for recasting not only through the pressure of the particular membership but through the outside demands of other institutions who threaten to challenge the prerogatives of any institution, be it family, church, government, school, or business. To resist completely the making of necessary modifications is to invite the dead hand of the past to reach out and destroy the institution. The city church has the responsibility of adjusting its
creeds, its set of beliefs, to new knowledge and viewpoints, otherwise it cannot effectively communicate and aid those most in need of spiritual advice and religious experience. Religion is rarely an isolated part of life, but by its very nature embraces many aspects of the human personality.

Just as insurance policies against old age, sickness, accidents, and unemployment have undermined the role of social work and church philanthropy, now the church no longer has much to say about medicine. Art and music have been increasingly differentiated from religion. And as secular education is no longer assumed by most churches, government and nationalism are setting themselves up as competitors to the church. The government now has its sacred books (constitutions and other sacred documents), its saints (Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson) and its temples (shrines and capitol buildings) with the result that many people look beyond their churches to the temples of government for spiritual and practical guidance. Ogburn and Nimkoff write:

Nationalisms are, then, similar to religions. Each has a higher power toward which loyalty and reverence is required. Both have sacred writings, mythologies, theologies, rituals, ceremonies, and pilgrimages. But there are differences. Nationalism has no house for worship, nor any holy day like Sunday. Nor is the reverence in nationalism of any very mysterious nature. There is little concern with the unknown in nationalism as there is in religion. So there is room for those who do not wish to call nationalism a true religion, or even a religion at all. Nationalism, however, has become sufficiently powerful that the various religions may find it a staunch adversary in the future. . . . .

While in small communities people are more socially oriented, for they feel secure in the close ties that obtain within the family and community, in the city, with its impersonality of contact and its loosely integrated family life, the situation is quite different. Thus many churches, in making the difficult adjustment to the city environment, have tried to meet the challenge of urbanism by adding those functions which might promote individual and group integration. H. Paul Douglass in 1926 (a study which now should be repeated) found thirty-three activities, exclusive of preaching, in 357 Protestant

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city churches and indicated how many other new functions have been added that appeal to urban populations (Table 1).

**TABLE 1 Activities of 357 Protestant Churches**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization or Activity</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday school</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' aid or guild</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's missionary society</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people's society</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus choir</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General social events</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's organization</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy scouts</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission study classes</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized welcome</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra or band</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' club (not scouts)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' club (not scouts)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerts</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl scouts or equivalent</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers' or parents' organizations</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women's organizations</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic club</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnasium classes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing classes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic science classes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment office</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music classes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting nurse</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health classes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English classes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic classes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day nursery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensary or clinic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics and economics classes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The great expense of these new functions must be taken into account in any consideration of what the urban church may be expected to do in the way of adding new responsibilities. Competition may ultimately relieve the church of most of the added functions. In fact, the low percentage of Protestant churches which sponsor the bulk of
activities listed above marks the difficult adjustment to the urban environment.

In the United States the more isolated rural farmer is rarely the initiator of religious movements. But with the emergence and growth of towns and cities, rural religious traditionalism is threatened. It is in urban environments where schisms of religious ideologies occur; new movements and denominations appear. One finds here the intellectual who wants to theorize or speculate on religious behavior, to destroy "superstitions"—the simple bonds between nature (the rain, soil, and fertility) and deities. Thus when a rural society becomes urbanized and the urban members define how religious behavior shall be conducted, ruralities have difficulty meeting the requirements of membership, of following the norms and precepts as laid down. The more rural Protestant church is concerned with performing routine functions, often ceremonializing them, whereas the more urban church is concerned with preaching the gospel. Consequently in the rural church folk beliefs frequently encounter conflict with technology and agricultural advancement born of the city. Further, the growth of heresy is generally stymied by traditional conservatism, i.e., opinions in opposition to the commonly received doctrine do not receive a sympathetic hearing. In the urban church such conservatism is generally lacking, by contrast, conflict of ideas often being encouraged.

Gist and Halbert appraise the urban influences on religious organization as follows:

The city church, like other forms of social organization, bears the imprint of its environment. First, there is a tendency toward specialization and departmentalization. The multiplicity of divergent denominations in the city, and the increasing division of labor within the church itself, are indications of this trend. Second, the church shows a tendency toward a corporateness that is characteristic of other forms of social organization. Although there are still innumerable ritualistic and credal differences between religious groups, many of the sectarian barriers which at one period of their natural history almost completely isolated the churches from one another have been modified by the socializing effect of urban life. Finally, social stratification in the city is reflected in the structure and function of the churches—the types of persons they attract, forms of worship, social and religious values of the group, and relations with other organizations in the community.

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SELECTED STUDIES OF URBAN CHURCHES

A study of Protestant church membership and attendance in Madison, Wisconsin, by Louis Bultena indicated the absence of any statistically significant difference between the attendance of members of different occupational, economic, and educational levels. The same was true for the Catholics. Although economic, educational, and other factors affect considerably what church people will attend, such factors, according to Bultena, do not seem to affect appreciably the total amount of church attendance. While few statistics on church attendance are available, Bultena feels that his data (Table 2) would seem to show that the Protestant attendances in Madison are somewhat above the average of the United States as a whole.

Concerning social classes and church memberships, Bultena found that “with respect to Madison, about equal proportions from the various social-economic classes belong to churches and their average attendances do not differ significantly.”3 He amplifies as follows:

It is often claimed that certain economic and occupational classes do not belong to church in nearly the same proportions as do other classes. Thus it is frequently supposed that church membership is chiefly a middle-class phenomenon and that laboring professional and “upper-class” people do not belong to churches in as large proportions as do the members of the “middle-classes.” Randall, in his The Making of the Modern Mind, states this view:

“The great body of industrial workers, for whose life religion has seemed increasingly to grow irrelevant, and to have no vital message, has for the most part directed its energies to making and enjoying a living; the majority without much serious questioning or searching of the heart or definite abandonment of religious beliefs, the more thoughtful minority with active antagonism, seeing little in religion but an ‘opiate of the people,’ a means of binding them to the existing social order with hypocritical growth of a tolerant indifference, a skeptical agnosticism, or a dogmatic atheism.”4

Our findings indicate that 31.2 per cent of the “professional people,” 29.1 per cent of the “business and civic classes,” 27.8 per cent of the

TABLE 2 Traits of Members of Madison Churches and Denominations 5

TRAILS OF MEMBERS OF MADISON CHURCHES AND DENOMINATIONS
(All data, except Cols. 7 & 8, are from our census interviews of individuals and families)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Total &quot;members&quot; included in our survey *</th>
<th>No. of males per 100 females †</th>
<th>Average number of church attendances per month ‡</th>
<th>Occupations §</th>
<th>Average school attainment of members</th>
<th></th>
<th>Average housing values ‡</th>
<th>Estimated seating capacities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>Average school attainment of members</td>
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<td>No-Church</td>
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<td>138.4</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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<td>Catholics</td>
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<td>77.3</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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<td>Jewish</td>
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<td>100.8</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>74.1</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>12.06</td>
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<td>Assembly of God</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
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<td>29.6</td>
<td>40.4</td>
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<td>Christian (First)</td>
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<td>86.6</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>46.0</td>
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<td>Christian Science</td>
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<td>25.4</td>
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<td>Congregational</td>
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<td>70.8</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>15.5</td>
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<td>28.9</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evang. (Bethany)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>Church Members</td>
<td>Weekly Attendance</td>
<td>Church Members</td>
<td>Weekly Attendance</td>
<td>Church Members</td>
<td>Weekly Attendance</td>
<td>Church Members</td>
<td>Weekly Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evang. (First)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evang. &amp; Reformed</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gospel Tabernacle</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauge Chapel</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>4389</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1338</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
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<td>Moravian</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1267</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Day Adventist</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>54.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unitarian</td>
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<td>67.8</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>15.2</td>
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<td>United Brethren</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>66.6</td>
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<td>Other Protestant</td>
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<td>75.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mormons</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spiritualists</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Non-Protestant)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,489</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Seating Capacity</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes formal members and affiliates identifying themselves with the churches. In each case only eighteen year olds and above are included. Sample is approximately half but varies from church to church.
† Proportions based on totals of Col. 2.
‡ In the census survey each individual was asked: "About how many times a month do you attend church worship services?"
§ Each gainfully-employed individual was classified into one of the following U. S. census categories: professional persons; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerical persons; skilled, and unskilled workers.
|| Each individual indicated his last year finished in school. An average of 11.8 would mean that the average member had not quite finished 12 years (i.e., high school) of schooling.
¶ An economic index was worked out by dividing the city and suburbs into 438 areas (in most cases a city block), then dividing the total assessor's residential valuations for each area by the total number of families in the area. Each individual represented in our sample was then assigned the average housing valuation for his area as an index of his economic status.

clerical group, and 32.5 per cent of the "workers" have no church affiliation.⁶

When considering the no-church people with respect to the years spent in school Bultena found that they make up about an equal percentage of each educational division. Similar results obtain when the no-church people are considered with respect to economic status:

... Thus 24% of the people in the $5,000–6,999 "housing-values" class do not belong to a church; 29% of the $4,000–4,999 class, 30% of the $3,000–3,499 class, and 33.5% of the people in the $800–1,999 class do not belong to a church. The tendency is for slightly more no-church people to come from the lower status brackets than from the higher—but the tendency is not statistically significant.⁷

As indicated by Table 2, above, however, there is considerable difference in Madison with respect to the make-up of membership as far as occupations are concerned. The most striking difference is between the Protestants and the Catholics in which the Protestants have nearly twice as many members from the professional class as do the Catholics. The Catholics have somewhat higher numbers from the clerical and labor groups. While the Unitarian church has 45 per cent of professional people and the St. Andrews Episcopal church has 46 per cent, there are several churches with no professional people at all. Other striking differences are shown with respect to the percentage of the gainfully employed members who are laborers.

Warner and Lunt in their Yankee City studies ⁸ were able to fit the thirteen churches into a class structure. In fact they noted that the two churches with the largest proportion of upper-class individuals had devised a method of limiting the number of persons from the lower parts of the class hierarchy. They found the following strata:

The Catholic and Methodist churches are predominantly lower class, the latter the lower-lower-class only. The First, Central, and Homeville churches are favored by the middle classes. St. Paul's and the Unitarian churches are favored by the upper and middle classes and avoided by the lower ones. The Christian Science Church is favored by the upper-middle-

⁷ Ibid., p. 386.
class. Upper-upper-class persons who attend the various churches in Yankee City are significantly predominant in St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and the Unitarian Church. They are significantly absent in the two Catholic churches, the Central Church, and the Homeville Congregational Church. Lower-upper-class persons attend St. Paul’s, the Unitarian, and the Central churches in significantly high numbers and are significantly low in the Immaculate Conception and St. Aloysius Catholic churches. . .

Upper-middle-class persons have a significantly high attendance at the First Church, the Central, Homeville, Baptist, Unitarian, and Christian Science churches. Upper-middle-class individuals are significantly low in attendance at the two Catholic churches and at one Protestant church, the Methodist. Lower-middle-class persons have a significantly high membership in St. Paul’s, First Church, and the Central and Homeville churches but a significantly low attendance at the two Catholic churches.

Upper-lower-class individuals attend the two Catholic churches in significantly high numbers, but are significantly low in attendance at all Protestant churches with the exception of the Methodist. Lower-lower-class individuals are significantly high in attendance at the two Catholic churches and the four Protestant churches including the Old South, Homeville, Methodist, and Baptist churches. Lower-lower-class individuals have a significantly low attendance at St. Paul’s, the Unitarian, Central, and the First churches.9

F. Stuart Chapin, by using statistical devices, measured “youthful vigor,” “social maturity,” and “compactness” of churches in Minneapolis and St. Paul. He found that churches with a high ratio of young persons tend to grow rapidly and to have compact parishes, whereas those with a complex and varied program grow slowly, have a wide scattering of constituents, and are older in terms of chronological age. The “socially mature” churches are the older institutions and tend to be located near the center of the city in areas marked by various forms of social deterioration, but churches with a high ratio of young persons are apt to be in districts considerably removed from the central zones. Whether Chapin’s data are valid for other cities is not known. However, from this systematic study it seems apparent that some relationship exists between the institutional pattern and the location and age of the institutions, as well as between the institutional pattern and the age and distribution of the members.10

The urban environment has, according to one investigator, made

9 Ibid., p. 359. Copyright 1941 by Yale University Press. By permission.
its impress upon the urban Catholic parish.\textsuperscript{11} Conceding that the parish is a network of family relations, Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., observes that actual participation is broken down into age categories, i.e., there are youth groups over against adult societies. More important, the urban parish in America "seems to steer a psychologically difficult course between the 'congregational approach' wherein the lay people run the Church, and the 'authoritarian approach' wherein the lay people are passive subjects of church administration." \textsuperscript{12} This situation brought about through the democratic ideology of the urban American culture, demands that in maintaining the social structure of the parish the social roles of the person-in-action be not neglected.

There are many social and health agencies which are operated by religious bodies in cities—the YMCA, the YWCA, the Hebrew Associations for young men and women, among others. These are not religious organizations in the sense in which they have been discussed here. The "Y's" and community centers have, in fact, come to be considered as social agencies rather than as religious organizations.

To identify the function of the urban church as a social institution with its religious sanctions is a difficult matter. The best resolution of this seeming dilemma is best stated by Douglass and Brunner:

All told, then, the church's function is determined, first by what the social group is and by the things which its nature requires it to do. Secondly, the church's function is determined by what its transcendental insight and relationships demand, and is interpreted, on the one hand, by accepted tradition and, on the other, by the innovating prophetic consciousness. Thirdly, the church's concrete functioning is the work of thoughtful experimentation which devises and sets before the church its practical program. It is the function of the church to be and to do all things which the the co-working of these threefold forces brings forth as its total expression in the modern world.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{CITY SCHOOLS}

The city has been described in this book as the home of rationalism and innovation, the point at which the greatest income and wealth of the nation tend to concentrate. It is not surprising, therefore, that

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 46.
generally the city provides most of the technical and higher educational facilities. Small towns usually lag behind in establishing professional and vocational schools, special schools for defectives, summer schools, and evening adult education programs. The status of education in our urban communities was quite clearly spelled out by the Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. A portion of the Committee’s findings are quoted below:

The strong public-school centers in the United States are found most frequently today among the small and middle-sized cities. The school boards in these cities are usually free from unwise forms of political interference and tend to be made up of competent citizens, although those citizens are frequently more representative of business and the professions than of other groups in the community. Administrative control is effective and the local tax base in most such communities is adequate to support a liberal measure of educational service without reliance upon any other source of support. The leadership by school administrators is in general as good as can be found in any phase of governmental service, and in many cases reaches a very high level. The classroom teachers in those cities typically are well prepared, are seldom without experience, and are both interested in their work and desirous of improving it.

Under such conditions, schools can give effective attention to stimulating the maximum development of the children. The courses of study are adaptable and can be adjusted to changing conditions. Textbook teaching is still the rule, but some use is being made of reading materials other than textbooks. Health, welfare, and non-commercial recreational activities are provided to some extent. School and community activities are frequently blended to provide a more inspiring curriculum and to achieve other values.

The school systems in the middle-sized cities are capable of much further improvement, but their great virtue lies in the fact that improvement is going on at a rather rapid rate. They have the necessary resources and enough autonomy for leadership to function. They may well continue to provide much of the educational leadership for America. Every effort should be made to encourage them to do so.

The school situation in the great metropolitan areas is often less satisfactory. Their wealthy and autonomous suburban areas have perhaps the finest public schools in the United States, but the large cities themselves present another picture. They unquestionably have the financial resources for good educational programs, and in many cases provide educational service at a high expenditure level. They suffer, however, from the chronic
handicaps of mammoth urbanism. In all cases they adapt to changing conditions only at a slow rate. They have not yet found techniques by which to instill a progressive spirit throughout the entire personnel of centralized school systems, each as large as those of many whole nations in other parts of the world. In some cases they suffer from the most flagrant applications of the spoils system and other phases of corrupt political action.

The least satisfactory schools in the United States are now to be found for the most part in rural areas. The rural schools are better than they were formerly, but under present conditions there is no prospect that the rural areas will be able through their own resources to lessen the wide gap between rural and urban levels of educational service.

The citizen has the right to expect that the public school will bring both to his children and to his community real opportunities for individual and social development. The following services are among those that should be universally available:

1. A well-planned program of general education for all children and youth, and also suitable preparation for particular vocations in accordance with the needs of the children and youth.
2. Instruction by carefully selected teachers who are competent and well prepared and who are interested in the development of community life.
3. Safe and sanitary school buildings adapted to a modern program of instruction and related services.
4. Suitable school equipment and instructional materials, including books and other reading materials adequate for the needs of the children.
5. Students aid when necessary to permit able young people to remain in school at least up to age 18.
6. Suitable opportunities for part-time and adult education.

The community facilities for educational and related services should include:

1. Adequate school and community libraries.
2. A broad community program for the protection of the physical and mental health of children.
3. Adequate provision of educational and related services for handicapped children.
4. Well-organized and competently staffed educational and vocational guidance services for all children and youth.
The organization of the local school system should be adapted to democratic methods and needs:

1. The school district or other local administrative unit, whether urban or rural, should be large enough to permit economical organization, effective supervision of schools, and a broad base for local taxation.

2. The board of education should be broadly representative of the entire community.

3. There should be competent supervision of instruction and other services through a staff with supervisory capacity and social vision.

4. The teachers should be encouraged and given opportunity to participate actively and intelligently in the development of educational and administrative policies for the school system; they should also be encouraged to participate in community activities appropriate for public servants.

5. There should be definite cooperative arrangements for the coordination of the work of the schools with that of other community agencies concerned with the health, education, welfare, and guidance of children and youth.

6. In rural areas, the school system should be as efficiently organized and as well supported as in urban areas; so far as feasible, school attendance areas should follow community lines.

7. Where separate schools are maintained for Negroes, they should be as well adapted to the needs of their pupils as are the schools for white children and youth.14

The rural farm population lags behind the urban population by more than one year of schooling.15 Despite the improvements taking place each year, about half of the rural farm population twenty-five years of age and over does not have as much as a fifth-grade education. There are still twice as many "functional illiterates" (persons with less than a fifth-grade education) as there are college graduates. There are half as many illiterates as there are high school graduates.16 The final solution to the rural school problem is in school reorganization in that it makes available the educational services that children need. Reorganization would also attract a better quality of leadership.

Iowa is a good example of one of the wealthier rural states having

15 See footnote, Chapter IV, p. 3.
a high proportion of poorly prepared teachers. In the school year 1947–48 Iowa ranked twenty-seventh among the states in income per school-age pupil; however, in the same year Iowa ranked thirty-seventh in average annual salaries for teachers. This apparent discrepancy may be attributable to the fact that 97 per cent of all Iowa schools are one-teacher schools, many with low enrollments. It is also interesting to note that 50 per cent of all Iowa’s teachers had less than two years of college preparation; Iowa ranked forty-eighth among the states so far as professional preparation of the teaching staff was concerned.17

While the school in the country may serve more of a community function than in the city, its capacity to serve the community is more limited. Only through the consolidation of many small school districts and the development of more modern consolidated schools have some rural areas been able to approximate modern educational standards.

Considering the fact that a large proportion of the young people educated in the rural schools later migrate to the cities and confront the competition and the problems of urban living, the urban community, too, has an interest in the improvement of rural education. This interest has been expressed partly through the willingness of urban areas to aid in the support of rural schools by equalizing educational opportunities through a more equitable allocation of the total tax revenue of the state or of the nation.

Adult education has not developed to any sufficient point in the urban areas, but it is still further advanced in the city than in the country—where it is almost nonexistent. Library services for adults, for instance, are readily accessible to urbanites, but, except in a few areas, have not until recently even been recognized as a necessity in rural areas.

Part of the difference in the quantity and quality of educational opportunities available in urban and rural communities is a reflection of the general tendency of city life to encourage experimentation, specialization, and professionalization. This condition is possible partly because of the relatively large numbers of people in cities. But these differences also indicate that the city has greater financial resources and is the place where pressure groups are better able to break down the resistance to changes in antiquated institutions and practices.

### TABLE 3 Urban-Rural Public School Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils enrolled per school building, 1940 *</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers per school building, 1940 *</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of teachers having 2 years or more of college, 1940 †</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number enrolled as percentage of population aged 5–17 years, 1940 *</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average days in school session, 1940 *</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average teacher salary, 1940 *</td>
<td>$1,937</td>
<td>$967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses (excluding interest) per pupil in average daily attendance, 1940 *</td>
<td>$105</td>
<td>$70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of school property per pupil enrolled, 1940 *</td>
<td>$405</td>
<td>$185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number enrolled as percentage of population aged 2–24 years, 1947 †</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population over 25 years old having less than 5 years of grade school, 1947 †</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population over 25 years old having 4 years or more of college, 1947 †</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median of school years completed for persons aged 20–24 years, 1947 †</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### THE CITY SCHOOL AS A STATUS-LEARNING DEVICE

It is common knowledge that children evaluate their classmates. They choose their friends, decide who is good-looking, who is a good fighter, who is a leader, who plays games well, who is teacher’s pet, among other judgments about each other. Undoubtedly the most penetrating study of the function of the city school as a status-learning device is that of W. Lloyd Warner and associates.18

The Yankee City school is conceived as an “arena” where the class distinctions can be learned and made by the children themselves, using as criteria the things they learn at home and from the school.

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“A child’s reputation among other children stems from a variety of sources: from his actual behavior; from what other people, especially parents and teachers, say about the child, and the way they behave toward him; and also from what older people think and say about the child’s family and their associates.” 10 The role of the school in helping the student to “find his place” in the community structure and in motivating him to higher position is brought out in the following quotations:

In Yankee City there is not so much effort made in the elementary school to try to teach the lower-class children proper middle-class behavior, because the class lines are more rigid. The principal of the Dorland School is always making allowances in behavior, expecting less refined behavior from lower-class children. He does it by using a parent’s standard of judgment. He punishes a child if he can expect an affirmative answer to the question: “Your father would be pretty mad if he knew what you have been up to?”

Distinctions in social status are less finely drawn among adolescents than among adults, thus allowing friendships to form more easily across class lines. School children of upper-middle-class social positions have an opportunity to participate intimately with those of higher social status. Some middle-class individuals do not continue to participate with upper-class individuals in adult life; others, as they become adults, continue this participation and at the same time pattern their behavior after that of the upper class. Such persons tend to be those with personality traits which make readjustments relatively easy. They do not settle back into conventional patterns of middle-class behavior in which their parents trained them.

The school, besides purveying knowledge to the children, keeps or helps to keep the children in groups according to social class. Thus, children learn to like being with people of their own class or higher and to dislike being with people of lower classes especially if the social distance is great.

It is to be always kept in mind, however, that besides tending to bring children up to “know their place” the school also gives to those who want them, and can use them, the techniques for upward mobility. The most essential requirement for this mobility is the ability to participate with those higher without being noticeably different, that is, “knowing how to behave.” There are some attributes which are of special value for upward mobility. We find, for instance, that the good athlete, the talented musician, the brilliant student, or the pleasant personality can more easily get ahead. In addition, the teachers and the others who run the school sys-

10 Ibid., p. 85.
tem, generally being middle-class, tend to present many of the proper
techniques to those who would or could use them. They do this by teaching
polite behavior, chaperoning trips to the big city, and setting an example
at local social affairs.

Status factors are important in the classroom. They help mold the life
career of the growing child. They load the dice for or against him in
accordance with his family’s position in the community. But they are not
the only factors which operate, since lower-class children do climb.

One of the functions of the school is to encourage a moderate amount
of social mobility from the lower strata. At the same time the school acts
to preserve the existing status differences among the majority of children.\(^{26}\)

The evidence from the Yankee City schools demonstrates that the school
reinforces the class standards in the general community, from an early
period in the child’s life through high school and into college. Most lower-
class children are placed in the lower academic sections and higher-class
children are put in the higher sections in elementary school. When they
leave elementary school, most of the A section children elect high-school
courses that are preparatory for college; few of the B and only a small
number of the C section do. In high school the same tendency continues;
the lower classes take commercial and general courses and the upper and
upper-middle classes take college-preparatory work.\(^{21}\)

SUGGESTED READINGS

Davis, Kingsley, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company,

Under the heading “Education and Educational Theory in Modern
Society,” Davis poses the question of how far our schools should go
in emphasizing achieved status and condemning ascribed status and
still allow for the survival of our modern society.

Kincheloe, Samuel C., *The American City and Its Church* (New York:
Friendship Press, 1938).

A somewhat popular presentation of the impact of cities on their
churches and the functions of the church in the urban environment.

“Progress Report of the Metropolitan School Study Council, A” *Teachers
College Record*, Oct., 1948.

A group of articles analyzing the objectives, organization, program,
and accomplishments of this experiment in the improvement of urban
schools.


Warner, W. Lloyd; Havighurst, Robert J.; and Loeb, Martin B., *Who Shall be Educated?* New York: (Harper and Brothers, 1944). An interestingly written statement of the school’s place in our status system, how the attitudes of teachers and school administrators as well as the curricula affect and help to perpetuate “our class order.”
Finding Success in the City — XVII

MACHINES AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

A most significant characteristic of Americans is that we firmly believe that there must be equality of opportunity for all and a chance for everyone to have his turn at bat. The belief means that the system must provide for the rise of men and their families from lower to higher levels, or, to say it in the jargon of the sociologist, "vertical social mobility" must continually function in the lives of men if their system is to be democratic and successful. In other words, they believe that man, by applying himself, by using the talents he has, by getting the skills that are necessary, can rise from lower to higher status and his family to rise with him. At the core of this American Dream, therefore, is the opportunity for social mobility for everyone. When the principles of vertical mobility are not operating, there are troubles ahead not only for those who do not experience it but for everyone. And the city constitutes the balance wheel of the American Dream by the very presence of a multiplicity of occupations and statuses plus the added opportunities of playing the game more effectively here through their presence. Here is where frustration and hostility develop when the channels of mobility are blocked or not made clear. (Downward mobility, by the way, is something more feared than anything else in our status system). The recognized channels of social rising are occupation, entrepreneurship, education, talent, sexual attractiveness and marriage, and the demonstration of skill in a variety of social and technical activities.
In the city, the hub of the money exchange economy, we assume that it is necessary only to accumulate material wealth for a person to increase his own status. This is a partial truth. Those who acquire more money, engage in a superior occupation, or achieve control over any other source of social power must always transform it into other highly valued symbols and conduct acceptable to the superior levels in order to achieve the desired social acceptance for social advancement. Recognizing this qualification, money and occupation remain as the most powerful instrumentalities for vertical mobility.

The traditional routes to success have been the way of entrepreneurship, beginning at the bottom of an established firm and working one’s way to the top; or educating one’s self for higher position in one of the professions or in business enterprise. However, there are strong clues to suggest that the great urban working population is failing to rise through these channels, so popular in the nineteenth century.

Professor W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low have produced evidence to support their claim that the industrial worker can no longer expect to advance and achieve success with anything like the same probability as did his father and grandfather. Studying a shoe factory in New England, they write:

. . . . No longer is it possible for him [the individual technological worker] to start in low-skilled jobs and progressively prepare himself for higher-skilled jobs. The loss of this opportunity to the worker is mainly attributable to two related trends in modern shoe manufacture. One is the tendency toward greater and greater division of labor, which means that individual jobs are broken into two or more components which are thereafter performed by different individuals. The other trend is toward increasing mechanization of the technological processes which tends more and more to make the workman perform routine operations. These developments are interrelated and reinforce one another.

Watching the shoe operatives working in the techniques of shoemaking, we could not fail to recognize that as new machines were installed in the factory more and more of the tool-using function of the operatives was absorbed by the machine and the job of the operative became more and more routinized. Real craftsmanship lost its usefulness as the operatives who had much freedom of action in tool-using techniques were forced to conform to a set pattern of behavior attuned to the rhythm and tempo of the machine.¹

The effect of this is to prevent social solidarities from developing between workers or to lessen whatever solidarity has developed prior to mechanization. Mechanization is, for this reason and others we shall mention shortly, valuable to management as a means of control over workers. While machine processes were adopted by shoe factories primarily to reduce costs and to speed the processing, the machine has other great advantages over the human worker from the managerial point of view: its performance (barring breakdowns) can be predicted with certainty, and a machine presents no problems of a disciplinary nature. The forces which govern human behavior are little known, and the maintenance of productive activity is always more or less problematical when management has to deal with socially integrated groups of workers. Control problems are simplified, therefore, on two counts through mechanization: (1) machines are easier to control than human beings and (2) mechanization tends to disrupt the social solidarity of the workers, who thereby become easier to control than they would be if they were able to maintain close social relations during working hours.²

Warner and Low illustrate the result of the leveling of jobs which has occurred through the division of labor and mechanization in Figure 1.

Hierarchical arrangement of jobs in the days of handicraft shoemaking. The individual's security and prestige increased as he progressed upward from job A to job D.

The upward pointing arrows imply the preparation an individual got by working in one job for doing the next higher job in the hierarchy.

The lack of arrows connecting the jobs $A_1$ to $D_1$ implies the fact that working in one job does not prepare the modern operative to do any other job.

Fig. 1. The result of the leveling of technological jobs in the shoe factory. From Warner and Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, op. cit., p. 81. Copyright 1947 by Yale University Press. By permission.

² Ibid., p. 78. Copyright 1947 by Yale University Press. By permission.
Elsewhere, Warner insists that at the present time the routes to success in industrial United States are not so open as they once were and that in certain industries the chances for the workers to move out of the status of worker into the lower rungs of management have almost ceased to exist.\(^3\)

The efforts by management and workers to rank technological jobs in a status hierarchy for establishing wage differentials give the workers a sense of false security and prestige, a belief that their jobs are still ranked skilled operations in the presence of an actual breakdown in the skill hierarchy. Education, says Warner, has become the principal route for those who are socially mobile. The social and economic system is being blamed rather than lack of individual initiative for the blockage of upward occupational, hence social, attainment. To re-establish faith by the worker in the American Dream, Warner insists that the success channels, particularly those of occupation and education, be kept open.\(^4\)

**THE URBAN LABOR FORCE**

**SKILL AND WEALTH**

The character of our urban labor force is changing. Machines are constantly eliminating the need for human muscle power (Figure 2).

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Finding Success in the City

Man has all but ceased to be a lifter and mover and become primarily a starter and stopper, a setter and assembler and repairer. With the persistent adoption of self-controlled machinery, his direct participation in the production will be narrowed even further. The starter and stopper will likely disappear first, the setter and assembler going next. The trouble-shooter and repairman of course will keep their jobs for a long time to come; the need for them will even increase, for the delicate and complicated equipment of automatic control will require constant expert care. Perhaps we will not need as many inventors and designers; electronic machines being designed may increasingly eliminate human errors.

The proportion of unskilled labor has declined greatly in recent decades; it is down to less than 20 per cent. Meanwhile the numbers of semiskilled have risen, and they now constitute over 22 per cent of the labor force. This nation-wide trend has slowed down during the past decade, however. Now we shall probably see an accelerated rise in the proportion of skilled workers, clerks and professional personnel, who already make up 42 per cent of our working population.

If automatic machines largely take over our industrial production, will there be enough jobs, skilled or otherwise, to go around? Admittedly the possibility of eventual unemployment cannot be excluded on a priori grounds. If capital investments were to increase rapidly while the need for manpower dropped, the resulting rise in capital’s share of the annual income would cause drastic unemployment. Whether labor will be able to maintain or improve its relative share of the national income in the presence of a reduction in the amount of capital needed for each unit output coupled with the installation of automatic machinery is something which invites conjecture.

Of course an increase in industrial productivity need not lead to involuntary idleness. We are all aware that the number of years and hours that an average worker spends at making his living has been steadily reduced. The average work week has been shortened from 67.2 hours in 1870 to 42.5 hours in 1950,\(^5\) reflecting a deliberate decision by Americans, and principally by the more urban occupational groups, to enjoy an ever-increasing part of their rising standard of living in the form of leisure. Certainly, if we had kept to the 67-hour week, we would be turning out a considerably greater amount of goods than we actually are.

### TABLE 1 Per cent Distribution of Experienced Workers† by Occupation and Sex, United States, April, 1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</th>
<th>BOTH SEXES</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Workers</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Semiprofessional</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and Farm Managers</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers, and Officials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>except Farm</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Kindred</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen and Saleswomen</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives (Machine)</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Service</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborers and Foremen</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Laborers</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Experienced workers includes all workers, employed and unemployed, who had held a job for two weeks or more in 1950.

### TABLE 2 Percentage Distribution of Employed Workers by Social-Economic Groups and by Decennial Periods, United States, 1910–1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUP</th>
<th>1950 †</th>
<th>1940 †</th>
<th>1930 †</th>
<th>1920 †</th>
<th>1910 ‡</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfarm</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and semiprofessional</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers and Foremen</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operators and Managers</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.
† Data are for Labor Force. Include all experienced workers 14 years of age and over. All social-economic groups are not directly comparable to those for preceding years.
‡ Data are for gainful workers, 10 years of age and over.
The man versus machines controversy blazes on. Karl Marx made of "technological unemployment" the cornerstone of his theory of capitalist exploitation. John Stuart Mill came to the conclusion that, while the introduction of machinery might (in most cases would) benefit labor, it would not necessarily do so always. The answer depends upon the circumstances of the case, in particular the wishes of men. And today this is the only reasonable point of view one can maintain.

**ECONOMIC STATUS AND POWER**

Aside from the factors of skill and wealth as discussed above are those of (1) economic status and (2) power. The control of wealth gives some individuals power to command others' services and to influence the actions of others. How to get votes is to some degree not divorced from the amount of wealth involved. Bluntly stated, many men are sold like advertising. Some individuals, however, enjoy power and status by appointment, as witnessed by the presence of selected persons in governmental and industrial bureaucracies, the opportunity for such appointment resting as much upon tradition as upon the sweat of one's brow. In private enterprise power is due to wealth of inheritance (ascribed power) or through the acquiring of wealth (earned power).

**Status and Power of the Urban Wage Workers: An Historical Sketch.** The wage workers or "proletariat" form a category of population which came into being parallel to the bourgeoisie (those with private property interests) in England and later on the Continent. Both are the products of capitalism and urbanism. In antiquity work was performed by special groups, not by the proletariat but by slaves or serfs. A *slave* relationship implies ownership by a master. It signifies total control of life, body, and labor plus a corresponding attitude by the master. There is always an attitude of pseudo-fatherhood. The element of protecting one's "property" is basic here. Hence the slave had a certain security and placed claims upon his master, conditions which the proletariat never had. Serfdom implies a certain freedom,

\[6\] See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* on wage labor.
an independent proprietorship, and the giving of a proportion of labor products to a master. In England serfdom was based on segmental ownership over the serf, i.e., the master could not command a man's total life. Also the master was not free to transfer the serf owing to the fact that the serf went with the land. These subordinated people owed military allegiance to the Lords, but the development of the nation-state brought about a change in this respect. Since the land on which a man lived was no longer as important as heretofore, a new social system was invariably to arise. A wage worker is one in a position to take employment voluntarily and relies only upon his wages for sustenance. Wages are here sustenance. So the laborer can never rise appreciably above the status of laborer because he is unable to accumulate capital wealth. He cannot amass excess property, but only sell his labor. This condition was unknown in earlier civilizations where, in the main, each person had a place, a stake, in society.

These free laborers, the proletariat, arose in England from stable positions of claims upon the land to a high and dry position where their services were no longer required as agriculturalists; hence they flocked to towns where there were new risks of selling their labor. Many became voluntary soldiers, then finally obligatory soldiers in a situation much like serfdom. When accumulation of capital was necessary to set up a shop, the laborer was more helpless than when he was an apprentice learning the trade.

The opposition to the wage system came from various sources such as the Church, which condemned interest profit as sinful. Alien were the entrepreneurs, the bankers. Developments by outsiders were almost inevitable because few of the native people had sufficient venture capital. As the pecuniary society evolved, marked by a money exchange rather than a barter system, impersonal relations between men became the accepted form of interaction. The poor and the workers became synonymous. The wage earner became a familyless person, a mobile worker in search for sustenance. By the Elizabethan Age (about 1602) the wage earners were regarded as vagabonds, no longer having any destination in life.

The first reactions of these urban people who had increased in numbers (principally because of better sanitation and productivity) were the public demonstrations and riots, collective efforts to take vengeance upon machines which they thought deprived them of their sustenance. Power machinery had expanded productivity and had

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mechanized human labor. There had developed a proletarian ideology—a self-conscious group with a revolutionary program. Economics (often called the "dismal science") began to give a rationalization to the situation through the "iron law of wages," i.e., that man could only hope for bare existence when relying upon wages because there was a fixed amount of income for the laborer and a fixed amount for the employer. From this rationalization politics became involved in the social structure; the state came to take a hand in people's economic struggles and eventually became an instrumentality for controlling the employer. It was a struggle of the franchise.  

As the proletariat developed in other countries and as the shift from agriculture to industry continued, the relation of the classes to one another brought about great changes. The proletariat were struggling to claim rights from the bourgeoisie. There were three classes: the landlords, workers or proletariat, and bourgeoisie. Ultimately the bourgeoisie and the landlords became identified with one another.

This development from serfdom to an industrial urban proletariat level was experienced in two developments: (1) the separation of men from the land, and (2) expansion of overseas trade, industry and urbanism. Then followed the revolutionary stirrings of the 1820-40's, bringing about a strengthened proletarian self-consciousness. This was manifest in Marxism, which gave the group its slogans: "You have nothing to lose but your chains" (which was right). The development of the urban proletariat as a class cannot, therefore, be looked upon merely as involving a set of emerging objective conditions, e.g., those giving rise to the poor, illiterate, and so on, but as an organic state of mind which brought about revolts.

As trans-Atlantic migrations took much of the surplus of the proletariat away from Europe, such movements acted as a safety valve against uprisings. The demand for industrial workers placed labor at a premium. Trade unions developed, although they were somewhat insignificant. They were factors in making government into a service state for free education, subsidies for the poor, cultural activities, public works, and the like. In fact until 1900 the labor organization was frowned upon as a conspiratorial society. The survival of business paternalism in the 1880's and 1890's in the form of insurance systems

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and housing programs of the companies was used to defeat the trade unions. These were weapons to undermine free collective bargaining, and also to impede the upward mobility of workers who had so much invested in companies.

At the turn of the century in Europe and England the landlords, the feudal aristocracy, had to take in the bourgeoisie class in order to survive. And as more people bought themselves into nobility this class became weakened in prestige (for when everyone is in fashion no one is in fashion). By the middle of the nineteenth century writers were revealing two kinds of proletariat: (1) the petty proletariat and (2) the “gutter” proletariat. The gutter proletariat became the “scum” of the urban industrial system—the scabs, spies, and so forth, operating as such because of their desperate lack of status condition. They were a burden on the working class. The vagrant migratory workers are still with us.\(^{10}\) Newly industrialized Negroes and immigrants are also in the same category.

**THE WAGE-EARNING CLASS TODAY**\(^ {11}\)

Subjectively the cohesion of a class depends upon (1) homogeneous interests and performance of its members plus (2) clarity or fuzziness,


\(^{11}\) The meaning given the concept of class varies considerably from one sociologist to the next. One group—primarily theorists—asserts that there are no social classes in American communities if social classes are defined as discrete groups perceived by the average individual. A second group—primarily men with a background in community research—insist that social classes are an indisputable reality observed by the ordinary citizen in the typical American community. For those taking the former view see: Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1948), p. 305; George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), especially p. 232; Pitirim Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947), especially pp. 277-278.


Your author joins with the former group in the sense that the status structure of the communities must be conceived as a continuum in which the status of families varies by small degrees from those with the greatest prestige to those with the least, with no significant gaps or lines of division recognized by the members of the community. An individual’s or family’s affiliations may cover a relatively wide range of so-called “classes” permitting only a profile of class position. Some affiliations (such as recreation groups, country clubs, residential groups) represent petitions by a climber to rise when in reality the individual is on probation. See Gerhard E. Lensi, “American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LVIII (September, 1952), pp. 139–144.
as the case may be, of principles in opposition to its opponents. Objectively, the bases for class stratification are (1) the nature and amount of income (which includes occupation) and (2) the mode of life conditioned by the income.

In the United States the population of urban workers is generally looked upon as a broad permanent class embracing a population of semiskilled and white-collar workers. These two groups are segmentalized as to (1) wants-necessities and (2) wants-prestige factors—good homes, clothes, cars, and so on. Let us consider briefly the subgroup of semiskilled workers in terms of these two wants.

The ideology of the semiskilled workman, like that of other economic and profession groups, is practical and supported by strong emotional convictions. It is rooted on the one hand in ideals of American traditions, and on the other in his daily experiences. He accepts uncritically his Christian and democratic heritage and subscribes in the main to the capitalistic economy. He believes in property rights and in free enterprise and takes for granted the efficiency of the American economy, its mechanized industry, corporate organization, and absentee ownership. With respect to the profit system, he is more critical, but only when it seems to be unreasonably high and when wages are low. Ordinarily he is loyal to American institutions and quite as conservative as are Americans in other economic groups.

Insofar as this laboring man’s philosophy of justice is different from the other economic groups it is because of the distinctive character of his way of making a living and the experience which he shares with other members of his group. In addition to being a loyal American citizen accepting the standards and beliefs of the American economy, he is frequently a member of a trade or industrial union and develops loyalties and beliefs peculiar to those of the group with whom he associates intimately and with whom he aspires for recognition and for his daily bread. Here he develops fears and prejudices which are later shaped into beliefs and conceptions of economic justice. If individual methods conflict with the collective method of his organized group he is for the occasion, at least, ready to sacrifice the individualistic traditions. He will even prefer state control to free enterprise when it seems to be to his advantage. In other words, semiskilled laboring men are quite as capable of rationalizing their behavior as are the businessmen. They have little difficulty in proving, when occasion demands, that they are the real producers, have priority claims
to the goods produced. This is their form of radicalism. Persons come before property, the union before corporations; human welfare has priority over the claims of institutions. The inconsistency here is between thought and action, not between the fundamental American ideals. These beliefs are not, of course, scientifically based. Laboring men are not, as a rule, economists. This is universally true and compels acknowledgment. Yet all have a philosophy on which they bank. In the presence of an issue which concerns them vitally they resort to fundamental principles which they call their rights, namely: (1) the right to a decent standard of living; (2) the right to work and to participate creatively in industry; (3) the right to organize and work collectively to secure and advance their common interest.

These principles are not fixed concepts but moving ideals and to be realized only by the laboring men's own efforts. Neither natural law nor the good will of the employer can be depended upon to achieve the goals. In these matters the semiskilled people are realists of the common sense type. There is no fixed limit by nature or any system of economic justice that tells them how far they may go and what method they may employ in securing their objective. They can get in wages an amount which their bargaining power can secure. And they feel ethically entitled to what they can get. Their way of thinking in this matter is not essentially different from that of the employing group, nor are they particularly less ruthless in the methods employed. As the modes for production are improved and as they acquire greater bargaining power, they expect more and a greater variety of the goods of life. And so also with respect to the other rights. It will not be simply a matter of securing and holding a job, but of participating creatively in industry, and sharing cooperatively in management. These principles, to be sure, are not fully grasped by the laboring masses, the unskilled and skilled included, nor are they conceived as fixed goals by labor leaders. Implied through action they simply indicate the direction that the idea of economic justice is taking. They give unity and meaning to the many issues that arise in the struggle.

OPPORTUNITY FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

As a broad socio-economic class, the urban working population may be expected to show increasing signs of self-consciousness, a proletariat-type sentiment, as they recognize the increased difficulty of
Finding Success in the City

rising out of their present positions. (The nineteenth century is generally viewed as a period marked by a “temporary suspension of the rules of economy” with its growth in the number of independent proprietors; the era of rags to riches). Today the vertical ladder is more difficult to climb. Private owners of business are not so numerous in proportion to the population of the gainfully employed. The wage workers find their most fruitful routes of social and economic ascendancy in government jobs and higher education. Thus the desire to rise in the urban social system is quite a different matter from the opportunity to rise. The degree to which the working population is achieving its expectations is variously explained in three research studies, described below.

According to Natalie Rogoff, the skilled and semiskilled manual occupations seem to be at what might be termed the fulcrum of the occupational hierarchy. The flow of movement into these categories corresponds to the average for the occupational structure as a whole, suggesting that the rewards are about equal to the barriers to mobility in these manual positions. Miss Rogoff reports that skilled and semi-skilled workers are also relatively indifferent to the social origins of the men who enter them. Skilled work is the most unstable of all occupations, as defined by the rate of occupational inheritance. Tables 3 and 4 will show that almost 50 per cent of the population analyzed by Rogoff, both in 1910 and in 1940, had entered skilled or semi-skilled work; it cannot be assumed, therefore, that mobility into them was “sluggish,” in absolute terms; rather, such movement was only at moderate frequency and was evenly distributed among men coming from all social origins. From her research, Miss Rogoff concludes that the channels to social mobility afforded by the contemporary occupational structure are about as easily traversed now as they were at the beginning of the century, at least insofar as the data on Indianapolis is concerned. The pessimism of W. Lloyd Warner, summarized earlier, is not fully warranted, implies this investigator. However, she did find that occupational mobility has been working to the detriment of the youngest members of the active population, and to the advantage of those already well into their careers.

13 Barriers to mobility may be self-imposed, e.g., the businessman’s or professional’s son who would not consider working in a factory.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Semiprofessional officials</th>
<th>Clerks and salesmen</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semiskilled</th>
<th>Protective service</th>
<th>Personal service</th>
<th>Farming</th>
<th>Son's Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiprofessional</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, managers, officials</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and salesmen</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective service</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal service</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sons of all fathers</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of sons</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>1,869</td>
<td>3,280</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Son's Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiprofessional</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, managers, officials</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and salesmen</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective service</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal service</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons of all fathers</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sons</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A recent study by Lipset and Bendix,\textsuperscript{14} revealing that from the job histories of 935 respondents in Oakland, California, the majority had unstable occupational careers, casts some doubt upon the assumption that present occupational position is a relatively permanent measure of position in the social hierarchy (Tables 5 and 6).

**TABLE 5** Average Number of Changes in Job, Occupational Group, and Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHANGES MADE IN EACH TEN YEARS IN LABOR FORCE</th>
<th>PERSONS CHANGING JOBS</th>
<th>PERSONS CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</th>
<th>PERSONS CHANGING COMMUNITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–1.9</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2–3.9</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4–5.9</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and over</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 6** Percentage of Time Spent * in Present and in Other than Present Occupational Groups, † by Present Occupational Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ‡</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN OTHER THAN PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiprofessional</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-white-collar</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-white-collar</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Time is calculated as a percentage of total job history. Thus, if a person spent fifteen out of twenty years in the labor market as a professional, but five years as a

### TABLE 7 Percentage of Time Spent in Occupational Divisions Other than Present, by Present Occupational Group and Division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Occupational Group and Division</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Time Spent in Manual Occupations</th>
<th>Percentage of Time Spent in Nonmanual Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiprofessional</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-white-collar</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-white-collar</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All nonmanual</td>
<td>343*</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All manual</td>
<td>314*</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These figures include 15 business executives and 3 manual (odd jobs) workers not shown separately. (All of the tables in this article reporting proportions of lifetime career patterns are based on males, aged thirty-one years or older. The younger workers in our sample are not considered in such tables.)

This research further revealed that social mobility largely goes on within manual and nonmanual occupations rather than between them.

A salaried employee, then 75 per cent of his career was spent as a professional, 25 per cent in other than the present group. "Percentage of Time Spent" refers to the average of these percentages for all members of an occupational group.

† A man who has worked one out of three years and one who has worked ten out of thirty years in lower-white-collar jobs have both spent 33 per cent of their time there. By limiting the group to males thirty-one years and over, such discrepancies are minimized.

‡ The occupational strata first introduced by Alba Edwards and used here in a modified form are illogical. People are classified alternately by length and complexity of training and by type of remuneration (professional), by property-owner (own business), by employment status and type of work done (white-collar, salesman), and by degree of skill (manual labor). Yet this absence of logic is justified by convention: people distinguish the occupations of others in terms of these criteria. We added to them the categories of "semiprofessional" in order to take account of the many occupations (such as nursing, personnel work, etc.) whose members aspire to or have acquired semiprofessional status. Also, we distinguish upper- from lower-white-collar so as to enumerate business executives separately from their secretaries; and we list "salesmen" separately because neither the Fuller Brush man nor the insurance salesman can well be fitted among the salaried white-collar employees.
A majority of the 935 respondents had held occupations in both categories at some time in their careers, though most shifts were temporary. The study also indicated that mobility into the nonmanual group on the part of the manual workers is largely movement into self-employment (Table 7).

This table indicates that a temporary change from one to the other category occurs with considerable frequency. Significantly, the temporary crossings occur more frequently downward than upward. "Workers," write the authors, "may well feel that their chances of a rise in socioeconomic status are slight. Yet those in the middle and upper brackets of the occupational hierarchy may continue to insist that ready opportunities for social and economic advancement exist, because from 40 to 80 per cent of their numbers have at one time or another worked in the manual occupations. . . ." 15

A study in 1945 by Richard Centers of occupational inheritance 16 revealed that, considering the urban population as a whole, 71 per cent of fathers had sons whose present placement is at their own or an immediately adjacent level (Table 8).

### Table 8 Percentages of Fathers in Various Urban Occupational Strata Having Sons Whose Occupational Level is Relatively Similar to Their Own

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL STRATUM OF FATHER</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
<th>CATEGORIES INCLUDED AS RELATIVELY SIMILAR IN EACH CASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large Business</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Large Business and Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Large Business, Professional and Small Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Professional, Small Business, White Collar and Farm Owners and Managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Small Business, White Collar, Farm Owners and Managers and Skilled Manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>White Collar, Farm Owners and Managers, Skilled and Semi-Skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Skilled, Semi-Skilled, Unskilled and Farm Tenants and Laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Semi-Skilled, Unskilled and Farm Tenants and Laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Strata</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Ibid., p. 495.
Finding Success in the City

Centers reports that whereas substantial proportions of sons in nearly every stratum had fathers whose occupation was skilled labor, comparatively small percentages of sons in other than the unskilled stratum had fathers who were unskilled, and likewise few sons in any stratum had fathers in either the large business, the professional, or the white collar strata (Table 9).¹⁷

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL STRATUM OF FATHER</th>
<th>AVERAGE STEPS AWAY OF ALL SONS’S OCCUPATIONAL POSITIONS * †</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large Business</td>
<td>-1.625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>-1.414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>-.751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>.747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>2.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Strata</td>
<td>.222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The hierarchy of occupations is, from top to bottom: Large Business, Professional, Small Business, White Collar, Farm Owners and Managers, Skilled Manual, Semi-Skilled, Farm Tenants and Laborers, Unskilled Laborers.
† A plus sign indicates average steps above the father’s position. A minus sign indicates average steps below the father’s position.

As a class the urban working population is fairly fixed, persons rising out of their position principally as a consequence of the upper classes not reproducing themselves. Through community health programs, public housing, and education, however, the general status of the working class, the level of life, has moved upward. Hence the “class struggle” as portrayed by Marx and Lenin has not materialized. Civil service job opportunities have been an additional safety valve to offset such a struggle. The labor movement, as it has become identified with political parties, has further enhanced the security and well-being of the workers.

Job Preference. The amount of economic returns has always been important in job choosing. Engel’s law states that as the family income goes up, the proportion spent on food goes down because it is a stable commodity. But the proportion spent on rent is increased as the income goes up. This phenomenon makes for the drawing of economic class lines. Obviously expenditure patterns differ in different strata of our society. The amount spent on “cultural” things depends upon the cultural tradition.

The nature of the work is an additional factor in job preference and appears on the subjective side of the problem. While there are no reliable studies to support our contention, we submit the hypothesis that the greater the responsibility in the job, the greater the personal risk involved, the greater is the desire to have the job despite its fatiguing nature. These occupations permit greater personal freedom coupled with a difficulty in classifying the person into work or status categories. In urban sociology we need to set up a measuring stick dealing with services in ratio to wealth returns, studies of jobs people seek to avoid. What are the effects of hazardous jobs, e.g., those of policemen, window-washers, tree-trimmers, firemen, steeple-jacks, subway groundhogs, skyscraper riveters, and so on upon job selection? What jobs bear traditional stigmas of capitalistic origin? We cannot overemphasize the importance of considering the impact of casual job experiences on subjective appraisals of opportunities and on the presence or absence of subjective class identifications.

THE BUSINESSMAN AND HIS MOTIVATIONS

The social psychology and the social standards of men in business are not essentially different from those of other economic groups. Like all human beings, that is, businessmen want the necessities of life—security, opportunity to participate in the affairs of the community, some sort of recognition. They share with others the standards and customs of the community in which they live. Any effort to point out distinct mental traits is, of course, made without disregarding the great body of human qualities common to all. The distinctions are derived from the circumstances in which the businessman is placed and the peculiar manner in which he makes his living. These distinctive traits are slight, to be sure, but nevertheless important. They are important because they determine how and why and to what end
business is run. They are important because of the strength of the
businessman, socially as well as economically.

Businessmen frankly confess: "We are not in business for our
health. We are here for what we can get out of it." Whether in trade,
buying or selling, production, the organizing of capital and labor, the
industrial and business leaders claim profit as their motive. It is the
principle beneath the entire economy, the force that makes the wheels
go round. Henry Ford has been quoted as saying: "Our whole creative
expression, all the play of our facilities seems to be centered
around material production and its by-products of success and
wealth."

The meaning of the profit motive varies widely, of course. For the
corner grocer, the owner of a dry goods store, the hotel keeper, the
dairyman, the laundryman, the owner of a shoe shop, and the thou-
sands of enterprises in which the owner is both manager and workman,
profit is a very concrete affair. His business is not only his way of
making a living, but is his social calling, an integral part of his life's
work. For the big businessman who is not worried about the necessi-
ties of life—his immediate material and cultural needs—profit is a
sort of criterion by which he measures his financial strength and skill.
It is a gauge by which he compares his ability to play the game with
other men in business.

Historically the businessman's ideology is deeply rooted in the tra-
ditions of democracy. It reflects the metaphysical, psychological, and
social philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It fol-
lowed the traditions of the English school of thought rather than those
of the French. It is a philosophy in which the individual rather than
the group is the main concern. The businessman follows the lead of
John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill rather than the
theistic conception of reality of Calvin or the naturalistic view of
Rousseau. As a businessman he deals with men as workers, as buyers
and sellers, and as competitors. He is concerned with men’s motives,
beliefs, and standards rather than with the laws of nature as such. His
conception of the world about him is rooted in an individualistic
psychology.

Thorstein B. Veblen, writing at the beginning of the century, en-
deavored to account for the businessman's philosophy of life, as well
as that of the laborer, in terms of the activities in which each group
was engaged:
There is an appreciable and widening difference between the habits of life of the two classes; and this carries with it a widening difference in the discipline to which the two classes are subjected. It induces a difference in the habits of thought and the habitual grounds and the methods of reasoning resorted to by each class. There results a difference in the point of view, in the facts dwelt upon, in the methods of argument, in the grounds of validity appealed to; and this difference gains in magnitude and consistency as the differentiation of occupations goes on. So that the two classes come to have an increasing difficulty in understanding one another’s convictions, ideals, capacities, and shortcomings.¹⁸

The distinctive character of businessmen’s ethics pointed out by Veblen, but perhaps overstated, may be accounted for by the circumstance in which they are placed and the peculiar manner in which they are compelled to carry on business. They are required to engage in sharp competition with skilled competitors, and find a situation in which the observing public is not too friendly, at least not always sympathetic. They are compelled to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself. The game is to outwit one another. In contrast with the members of labor unions who generally fight shoulder to shoulder against opposing groups and share each other’s success and failure, the businessman stands alone except as he organizes a strong corporation which functions as a single business firm. The method adopted as essential precludes any strong sense of brotherhood or mutual helpfulness. Professor Cooley, again overstating the actual situation, writes on this point:

The ordinary business or professional man hardly feels himself a member of any brotherhood larger than the family; with his wife and children about him he stands in the midst of a somewhat cold and jostling world, keeping his feet as best he can and seeking a mechanical security in bankaccount and life insurance—being less fortunate in this regard, perhaps, than the trade unionist, who has been forced by necessity to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with his fellows and give and take sacrifice for the common good. And much the same is true of scholars and artists; they are likely not to draw close enough together to keep one another warm and foster the class ideals which lead the individual on to a particular kind of efficiency; there is a lack of those snug nests of special tradition and association in which more settled civilizations are rich.¹⁹

Of course businessmen in recent years have tended to form into groups. The Rotary Club, Exchange Club, and Lions Club are examples of businessmen’s organizations. However, these are not fighting groups in the main. Outwardly social in purpose and in method, they provide relaxation from the tension of the struggle. Inwardly they lend in some measure to the competitive game.

The men of great business success catch and hold the attention of the American people, first by their strength and power of control, and secondly, by their dramatic way of playing the game. The first is, of course, the more serious and calls forth the deeper social concern. The second calls forth the playful spirit of entertainment in catching and holding attention. Even the latter is effective in creating attitudes and shaping business ideals. If their performance is skillful and clever and entertaining, it is accepted by the audience as they accept the role of the hero in a play. The great financial manipulators of the last century played both roles, of hero and villain, without the public seeming to care which it was. The operations of John Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and John Jacob Astor on the stage of business were watched like the gestures of the great artists on the theatre. The public was quite as much interested in these men as showmen as in their personal characters.

While the businessman does not have the knowledge of the men of science, or the social judgment of the men in the professions, or the skill of the engineers or the mechanics, he has the power and the ability to organize and put those men with their qualifications to effective use. All who lead in business or political matters or who have social, educational, or religious enterprises to promote must reckon with him, for he is the man of economic strength.

**EMPLOYERS AS EMPLOYEES**

Peter F. Drucker, of New York University, feels that the employer of today is, characteristically, not an individual but “the corporation” or “the agency.” To him our society is emerging in the image of the corporation; industry is converting our society from one of contract to one of status. Drucker’s observations are fairly well summarized in the following quotation:

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Fifty years ago the people who were employed— even then a very large and significant part of our population, if not close to an actual statistical majority—worked predominantly for an employer. Of course a great many people still have an employer today. But in the large organization—and in a good many smaller ones—that is, in the qualitatively, socially, and morally decisive realm, people, while they work for a “boss,” do not work for an “employer.” The boss is himself an employee who in turn works for a boss—and so does the next boss and the next and the next. In the entire organization there is nobody who is not himself an employee working for a boss.

This is a change of tremendous social importance. It means, in the first place, that this employee society is a hierarchical system—a system in which everybody is related to people through his relationship to a strictly impersonal, strictly objective, strictly abstract thing, the “organization,” the “corporation,” the “government agency,” etc. It means, second, that this is a society which is based on, and ruled by, status.

A little over a hundred years ago that brilliant Irishman, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, coined the famous epigram that the course of Western history over the preceding century had been “from status to contract.” We can today say that the course of American history—if not of Western history altogether—during the last fifty years has been “from contract to status.” In the place of the personal relationship between employer and employee based on a contract which obligated the employee to contribute to the employer’s goal—a goal defined in terms of property interest primarily—we now have a social system in which the relationship of people to one another is defined by their relative status in respect to a goal and purpose which lies entirely outside all of them, though they are all subordinated to it and cooperate toward its fulfilment. To be sure, the relationship of each individual member to that abstract being, the organization, the corporation, the government agency, is still based on contract, that is, on a voluntary agreement between two parties considered, at least for purposes of law, as equal, independent, and mobile. But the relationships within the organization are all based on status. And it is status therefore that rules and governs the employee society.\(^{21}\)

The uncritical thinker may be led to believe, from Drucker’s remarks, that all working relationships have been reduced to the rulership of impersonal management; he may fail to observe that employees in the urban scene participate in more than one status system, that no one group can be called a ruling group in urban industrial society. There is, in the words of James B. McKee, “no single locus

of decision-making but rather a number of loci, each differently structured. Within the corporation is one, within the community are several, and there are other significant ones within the larger society. . . .” 22

McKee’s observations are based upon his study of social life of Lorain, Ohio. He writes:

Take the problem of status. Drucker simplifies the stratification of society by reducing it to a single dimension, that of employeeship. The varied pattern of status and role which the sociologist long has struggled to represent adequately now becomes so much inaccurate as irrelevant, for it is only the social relationships derived from large-scale organization which constitute the “socially decisive” realm.

In Lorain, Ohio, a steelmaking city of 50,000, a steel mill provides more than half of the local jobs. If one proceeds to view the status system of Lorain by the dimension of employeeship, there are at least three functional strata. The upper stratum consists of the managers of the industrial, banking, and utility firms, the owners and operators of the larger local business enterprises, and a small group of upper professionals. The middle stratum consists of the small retail merchants, the white-collar and supervisory employees, and the lower professionals. The third stratum, numerically the largest, is the working class, most of whom are steelworkers. These three strata could, of course, be divided into substrata.

But in the social life of Lorain this is not the only important dimension of status; there are also race, ethnicity, and religion. The original settlers of Lorain were from New England, and their descendants constitute an “old-stock American” group. When the steel mill was established, it brought immigrant labor into the community; the major groups were the Polish, the Hungarians, the Italians, the Germans, and the various Slavic groups from what is now Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. About 65 per cent of the local people are either the foreign-born or their children. Furthermore, they are not randomly distributed throughout the three functional strata but are grouped in the second and third, the lower-middle and working-class strata, especially in the latter, constituting more than three-fourths of the steelworkers.

Besides the above, there is another status group made up of Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans. This is lowest-prestige, occupying most of the lowest-paid jobs. It is, in effect, a fourth stratum.

Sixty-five per cent of the community is Catholic, and another 6 per cent

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is Orthodox; less than 30 per cent is Protestant. Neither are the religious groups randomly distributed throughout the status system. . . . . These ethnic, religious and racial clusterings in the functional strata are significant in the organization of the community and the distribution of power.\textsuperscript{23}

Professor Drucker's thesis that our urban society is returning to a hierarchical system in which the relations of people are ordered by their status as employees is, according to Nelson N. Foote,\textsuperscript{24} insufficient to describe our society. Professor Foote, in studying industrial unionism in Detroit, reports that labor itself is becoming professionalized; progressively developing careers are becoming available to all. Labor unions have assumed the job of protecting the individual's interest in his job and establishing standards of performance. Foote states:

A close examination of what is going on within the great corporations of our industrial cities discloses their personnel to be diligently engaged in activities which make any notion of a return to a static and stratified order more and more incredible. Such an examination, likewise, makes incredible the notion—however widely held and acted upon by sociologists and those they influence—that a static array of strata, differentiated into ranks of status, currently exists in the industrial community. A selection of findings, from a study to be reported upon in full, can be employed to demonstrate these counterassertions. . . .

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 366–367.

falling far short of demand. But, strictly speaking, to speak of the professionalization of labor in Detroit is to describe what is happening to the laboring men themselves. By every criterion of professionalism which sociologists would take as valid, they are becoming professionalized.25

Professor Foote is cognizant of the trend in urban societies for every occupation to become a profession with the freedom and protection which professionalism affords, when he writes:

To summarize, the prospect of a society in which everyone becomes a professional—the equal of colleagues in his own, and the equivalent of members of other professions, despite unlimited qualitative differentiation—is that toward which advanced industrial communities seem to be moving. Its analysis has to be premised upon a developmental rather than a structural-functional point of view. . . .26

STATUS PROBLEMS OF URBAN MINORITIES
—JEWS AND NEGROES

The fact that the individual is a participant in more than one status system in our urban industrial society is vividly demonstrated in the field of minority-dominant relations. Because skin color and ethnicity are powerful symbolic factors in the selection of persons for ascent or descent on the socio-economic ladder,27 those who reveal the negative visible symbols of status are obliged to enter the institution of secular public education and compete tenaciously there in order that they may graduate into the "society of successful men." The absence of numerous powerful sponsors in the white-dominated economic institutions has forced the Jew and the Negro to advance along the educational path and use the auxiliary attribute of erudition as an instrument for entrance into the advanced economic levels of the urban community.28

Louis Wirth explains that the fascination which higher education and professional careers have had for the Jews may be traced to at least three factors: (1) the traditionalist scheme of learning cultivated as a social value for centuries and now translated into secular

26 Ibid., p. 380.
terms; (2) the relatively high degree of urbanization of the Jews; and (3) the lack of interest in or opportunity for entering other occupations.\textsuperscript{29} The will to survive as a people has made the Jews very adaptable to changing situations. This will to live is perhaps more convincingly manifested in the adjustment of Jewish education to changing needs and circumstances than in any other phase of Jewish social life. Jewish education until the Enlightenment consisted mainly of rote learning and moral interpretation of sacred texts. It remained medieval in spirit longest where the opportunities for participation in capitalist secular culture were most restricted. In more recent times the increasing migration of Jews to the urban areas of advanced capitalistic nations has tended to weaken the influence of religious education with all but the nationalist groups. For the most part, according to Wirth, Jewish learning now serves as only a supplement to the secular public education.

There probably is no people more unlike the Jews than the Negroes. The former have long been sophisticated, urbanized, and literate. Long immersed in the stream of Western civilization, the Jews have retained a profound consciousness of their separate identity and past. The Negroes in these respects are virtually exactly opposite. The Jews have no need for an urban league as do the Negroes, for the Jews, having grown up with the city, find urban life their natural environment. Whereas the Jews on many occasions faced their supreme problem in resisting assimilation, the Negroes only rarely have been permitted to assimilate. Whereas the Jews have inherited their communal organization, the Negroes have had to build up their community structure painfully and laboriously. The Negroes have no minority language, ritual, religion, and culture to speak of, for which they must seek toleration as do the Jews. It is interesting to speculate how much of the anomalous status of the Jews today is due to the progress of the industrial revolution and how different the contemporary position of the Negroes would be if they had been permitted to share in secular public education, industrial, commercial, and professional roles, privileges enjoyed to considerable degree by the Jews. The fact that the Jews are an ethnic people while the Negroes are called a race is of great importance in understanding the privileges of the former. The Jews, as a historic people, have a core of cultural

traditions to knit them together and enable them to face a hostile world with an inner sense of equality and with equanimity despite their dispersion over the earth. The greater visibility of the Negroes, on the other hand, furnishes a not always welcome basis of racial identity from which the individual cannot, even if he would, escape.

The fact that the Jews have, through the centuries of their dispersion and their struggle for recognition and survival, acquired certain unmistakable successes within the framework of Western urban civilization no doubt gives them an advantage over the Negroes, who have had to travel the road to Western industrial civilization more recently and in a much shorter time than the Jews. Hence urban Negroes have not until recently shared with the Jews those opportunities for public education and entrance into various social and economic institutions of the United States. The comparatively successful adjustment to urban life and the absence of marked visible differences in skin color have accounted in great measure for the success of the Jews in surmounting many obstacles put in the path of their progress. Unfortunately it is this very success which has made them the object of envy, hate, and persecution and which makes them vulnerable to the propaganda of organized anti-Semitism. While the contrast between the highly urbanized, sophisticated Jews and the Negroes is great, giving rise to varying degrees of intergroup hostility, the fact that both are minority peoples means that they have many common problems of adjustment and orientation. They have the consolation that they can travel at least part of the road toward happier adjustment to the world in companionship.

CONCLUSION

Among the primitives and peasant peoples the kinship order used to designate a man's position. A person was born into this or that clan and his life was planned accordingly; it was predetermined. In medieval European society groupism predominated over individual freedom. The Renaissance and the Reformation saw an upsurge of individualism which reached its European peak after the industrial revolution. Freedom of economic enterprise, freedom of religion, and freedom of speech were all part of this movement, city-oriented, which did so much to improve the social conditions of Europe, though of course it left much to be desired. Along with the growth of personal
freedom came the development of inner controls—the Protestant conscience—which effectively limited the exercise of personal freedom in ways which infringed on the freedom of others.

In the urbanized Western world today a man is required to "stand on his own feet" separately from his blood relations. Training, experience, selection are now involved which are primarily divorced from birth—although not entirely. Persons aspire and achieve in terms of their ambitions rather than their birth. Man, that is, has to earn status in the urban setting rather than be ascribed to it. Today the press, radio, and television play powerful roles in the development of status. They can give status and prominence to an individual, Negro, white, Catholic, or Jew, unskilled worker or professional man, whether he has earned it or not. Occupation, coupled with the objects which the accompanying income will buy, remains as the key differentiating factor between one man and another. Other distinguishing factors are race, ethnicity, sex, age, religion, and education.

Urban people, therefore, hang together by the slenderest threads. Personalities take on esoteric or very different characteristics. While aboriginal peoples did not differentiate activities, today urbanites live only part of their lives at their occupations. Occupations are understood to be of an exchange character. Life takes on a secular caste because of (1) men's segmental services to each other and (2) the demands placed upon the individual. While urbanites seek conventionality they likewise foster differences, attitudes "off the beaten path," nonconformity. In fact social acclaim comes through transcending the beaten path.

Urbanites tend to crystallize into groups in as many ways as men can differ, and it is the similarities of these groups that brings about various sorts of organizations. In fact we may venture the generalization that there are as many groups as there are ways of behaving. The sociological problem is: Which of these groups is effective or ineffective in giving acclaim or status? For example, red hair and age as bases of organizations are not stable. Yet hardly any activity is lacking in its potentialities for organization. Urban Americans organize quickly because they do not have the traditional factors that exist in Europe—no aristocracy of blood. The legitimation of status is based on factors other than tradition. It is a matter of nobody striving to be somebody. Americans organize more easily because they all began as nobodys—in fact we enjoy bestowing titles. Rarely do we find a mere
private in any organization—everybody is a king, at least a potential potentate.

The type of skills that Americans engage in, how our society is stratified by occupations, is as important as the old classification of people by wealth and income. The constant reshuffling of occupations, e.g., the breaking down of skilled work into semiskilled work, is reflected in the group, in the prestige one enjoys in the community. Also the mode of preparation for the job is significant status-wise, i.e., whether you were prepared through formal education or through informal education. We should add that secular public education has both minimized and established the barriers to higher attainment. The school is both a "rite of passage" for those who are in the system as well as a barrier for those not so fortunate. We say, "everybody cannot get into a college." Schools are used therefore as blocks as well as bridges to social attainment.

But the school is not the only agency which builds barriers and bridges. Property, income, occupation, and ideologies hold groups apart. Doctrines of superiority perpetuate barriers because the doctrines become beliefs—taken for granted until accepted as social facts. People use ideologies as weapons or instruments to combat other groups and ideologies. But we must ultimately return to the factual basis of status, particularly class status, as resting in socio-economic groups. We see this demonstrated in our factory system where the all-pervasive question is: Who is going to get the largest or smallest share of the income from production? The result of such an issue is conflict and stratification.

The problem of identifying classes enters around (1) the identification of group characteristics and (2) the analysis of group barriers and the crossing of these barriers—which may mean a change in social position. This second aspect of the problem involves (a) intraclass relations and (b) interclass relations (the criterion of class consciousness is the attitude of antagonism—struggle with another class. No struggle, no class!)

The writer believes that it is a falsification of reality to divide urbanites arbitrarily into upper or lower classes, because such a procedure does not take account of important affiliations which cover a wide range of statuses. We not only have mobility but variances of mobility. Status is a very complicated idea. You cannot set up a hierarchy of community status and say: "Here you belong on the
scale.” The urban man has various multiple statuses. All we can do as sociologists is draw a profile of position in the community. Sociologists are just on the threshold of taking apart the concept of social status by (1) studying the aspect of affiliations in groups and (2) studying the kind of prestige people enjoy by reason of belonging to some group. A central problem of the sociologist is: By knowing one of a person’s affiliations does it tell what other groups he will belong to? For example, a union man does not belong to an employer group; a northern city Negro is invariably a Baptist and not a Presbyterian or something else. By seeing one kind of affiliation we can often see other affiliations, permitting us to make generalizations about people. As stated above, we can only make out a profile—a description of a person’s socio-economic status.

On the question, Are our broad class categories becoming more visible, more rigid? we may note the following tendencies:

1. People in one given economic stratum cannot rise out of their position as easily as people in other strata. Wage workers are experiencing such difficulty. If, as some sociologists insist, the independent proprietor is disappearing, the wage workers can rise only through government jobs or formal education, with these agencies functioning as the great safety valves for revolution. From this dimension we may deduce that Americans are experiencing an increasing fixity of class position.

2. In the face of this lowered mobility (in comparison particularly with the nineteenth century) the status of the working class has moved up. Through public education, health and housing programs, unemployment and workmen’s compensation laws, and the like, the status of the worker, his level of life, has been raised. As a class the workers tend to be fixed, but as persons—especially with regard to children—they can rise into other broadly conceived classes. This is owing in the main to the upper classes not reproducing themselves, thus giving room at the top.

But this apparent tightening of the class lines in our industrial society is not as Marx and Lenin portrayed it—that the government is an instrument for subordinating the working class. Today it appears that labor unions are becoming identified with political programs and are acting as the self-appointed spokesmen of the consumer in politics. For when mobility slows down and class lines tighten—giving the impression of caste lines—this slowing-down stimulates class con-
Finding Success in the City

sciousness and consequent collective action to do something about it. While lower classes struggle to break down the barriers, the upper classes seek new symbols of prestige in order to strengthen their position against encroachment. Since the wage worker (defined as one in a position to take employment voluntarily and who relies only on his wage for sustenance) can never rise appreciably above the status of laborer because he is unable to accumulate venture capital, he cannot easily change his status in the economic structure. He can only sell his labor. He can, however, circumvent this predicament through using the vertical ladders of education and government civil service. Without these by-pass routes, he must turn to his union to professionalize him and open doors to better-paying jobs in other industries. Professor Warner, however, feels that the professionalization of labor only permits the worker to move along on the job and not up in the job.\(^\text{30}\)

The paradox of urban life today is that more and more people find themselves in a position where they have less and less control over their existence, yet find happiness despite their insecurity or helplessness. This greater happiness stems from higher standards of living among all the broad levels of our society—the whole structure has risen. While people are less self-sufficient they have a greater range, a greater choice of satisfactions. The specialization of urban life means an increase in the number of special groups which can serve people on their own socio-economic level.

SUGGESTED READINGS


Angell's data indicate that the city is a meaningful social system with the presence of common ends and values toward which people are oriented.


The major effect of unionism upon stratification has been the limiting of the authority of management at the place of work.

\(^{30}\) There are three means by which status can be gained by a group, or the privileges changed in an urban democracy: (1) by modifying the existing laws of title and inheritance of property (2) minimizing the felt inequalities through heavy taxation; (3) applying pressure to obtain more services from the State. It is in these three conditions that social movements get started and develop into a program of action.


Stone, Robert C. "Factory Organization and Vertical Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18 (February, 1953), pp. 28–35. From a study of four industrial plants, Stone concludes that college graduates enjoy a special competitive advantage in contrast with non-college people insofar as vertical mobility is concerned. He concedes that additional studies are needed if we wish to know the degree to which modern factory production functions to inhibit worker mobility.
Municipal Government: XVIII
Problems and Trends

The student of anthropology will tell us that in simpler societies there were generally no over-all power organizations, but that in complex societies the state is almost inevitable. Owing to the complexity of life, the group diversity, a city needs a government to referee the inevitable differences between men and to preserve order. More formally, the purposes of city government are: (1) the protection of the interests of the entire group or of particular parts of the group against other politically organized bodies and against subordinate groups, and (2) the preservation of order in the interest of the group in power or of the whole population. A municipal government must be brought into being to regulate relationships where custom and tradition are no longer adequate. Such conditions may arise by reason of the introduction of radical changes of any sort which disturb the existing relationships. Hence a government is established for the purpose of maintaining the status quo as it defines the term. New inventions, new ideas often bring on the breakdown of institutions of control so radically that the customary and traditional ways of adjustment no longer serve. On such occasions the government institution must step in to create new regulations between the various groups and order the conduct of individuals along lines supposedly better suited to the new situation. Strikes, lockouts, revolutions, as the outward manifestations of new economic, philosophical, religious, or scientific doctrines, often require raw force on the part

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of the police of the municipality to quell the uprisings and route human interrelationships into the "right" channels. Ultimately educational and propagandistic techniques of control are substituted.

Increasingly the function of the municipal government, whatever may be its form, is to supplement if not to supplant private individuals and organizations in the regulation and conduct of activities conceived to be of importance to the general welfare. Public education, fire protection, the care of criminals and mental defectives, control of public transportation, water, sewage, gas and electric system, i.e., those services which in the eyes of the community cannot be economically or fairly meted out to individuals, become the responsibility of the government.

New inventions, drawing closer together all parts of our country, creating new conditions which local government is incapable of handling, have brought about experiments or changes in the forms of urban democratic government, some of which will be discussed below.

FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Legally a city is a corporation, endowed with certain powers conferred upon it by the state which created it. The basis of the city's legal existence is a charter or a general statute passed by the legislature, which lists its powers and functions, describes its form of government, lists the officers and their functions, their term of office, and manner by which they shall be selected. The charter or statute provides for taxes, indebtedness, awarding of contracts, methods of accounting, purchasing, and so on. While some states grant their cities a choice of charters others grant charters on the basis of being "first," "second," or "third" class cities.

HOME RULE

Opposed to state control is the school of opinion that favors local autonomy. According to this doctrine, the state benefits by allowing its constituent parts liberty to work out their own welfare. Many states provides for home rule by their cities, twenty-two states having made such constitutional provisions and six permitting some degree of home rule. Within the provision of its charter, a home-rule city enjoys autonomy. Of 2,000 cities in the United States 646 now have
home-rule charters, granting them broad powers of self-government. However, in several states the cities are treated by remote control much like conquered provinces. As one mayor declared, “I cannot understand why the people of any city should not be permitted to govern themselves and experiment as they choose with plans or projects consistent with our forms of government, when such action will not affect other cities or towns, but only themselves.” 1 Persons opposed to home rule argue that state control operates as a brake to prevent ill-considered measures which might bankrupt the municipality and discredit the commonwealth. They feel that lax administration, with local connivance, may destroy the framework of government established by the state. Rural counties of many states defend this view, insisting that freeing great cities from strict legislative checks could upset the political balance and lead the state to ruin, and implying that the cities would assume indirect control of the state. Proponents of home rule for cities counter that cities must be free to develop a more adequate tax base, that state-wide laws do not provide a basis for operation flexible enough to provide solutions to the financial dilemma nor to take into account problems peculiar to a particular locality.

MAYOR-COUNCIL TYPE

The mayor-council type of city government is the oldest and the one generally found in most communities. Following the pattern of national and state governments, as a policy-making body the elected city council together with a group of administrative heads performs the executive functions of the government.

A distinction is made by political scientists between “weak” and “strong” mayor-council governments. As will be seen, the difference is largely one of degree. In the “weak” type, the council embraces much of the policy-making power. Appointments are few. Most of the members of the administrative boards and commissions are elected by the people. The mayor does not have the power to initiate budgetary and fiscal policy and his veto power may be overruled by the council. Providence and Bridgeport are examples of the “weak” mayor type of city government.

In the “strong” mayor type, the mayor is the dominant figure,

appointing department heads and removing them without consulting the council. He initiates fiscal policy and is, in fact and in law, the real head of the city. In New York, the mayor, for example, appoints and removes department heads as he deems best. He directs the preparation of the budget and a three-fourths’ vote of the council is necessary to override his veto of appropriation bills or loans. While his power is great, blame for failure cannot be shifted easily away from him. In New York State, the governor has the right to remove the mayor, but he must prefer charges and hold public hearings. As will be seen, the strong mayor form makes possible the concentration of administrative power in the hands of a single executive. Many political scientists argue that in an age in which the city is providing more and more services, responsibility should be concentrated and not diffused. Attempts are being made by some cities to set up forms of government which they hope will meet the challenge of the modern city more effectively. The commission and manager types of government have been established with the belief that these forms of government are better suited to the city of today.

**THE COMMISSION PLAN**

While other cities had already set up the commission plan of government, Galveston is usually credited with being the first city to adopt it. This form of government was introduced in a dramatic fashion in Galveston because of an exceedingly corrupt and inefficient city administration coupled with a tragic disaster which called for swift and efficient action. In 1900 a storm drove a huge tidal wave over the city. Seven thousand people lost their lives and millions of dollars’ worth of property were destroyed. When the city officials proved incapable of meeting the crisis a small group of business men took charge, provided food and shelter, prevented looting, and restored law and order. As city officials awarded contracts to their friends and continued to squander the city’s money, the Texas legislature passed a law abolishing the old mayor-council form of government in Galveston and set up a small all-powerful commission of five members. All legislative and executive authority was vested in its hands. From its inception, it was a pronounced success. A heavy accumulated debt was paid off, public improvements were planned and carried out, and a huge sea wall was built to avoid a repetition
of tidal-wave disaster. Five Texas cities soon afterward adopted the commission plan, as did New Orleans, St. Paul, Birmingham, Omaha, Jersey City, Newark, and Portland.

The commission form is not the same in every city. Its basic feature, however, is a board of five commissioners chosen by the people, elected at large. One of the five serves as chairman and is usually known as mayor. Each of the commissioners is put in charge of one department, namely, of public works, health, public safety, finance, or welfare. They formulate policy and appropriate money, and each is responsible for his own department.

The commission plan has its advantages, but it also has elements of weakness. There is just one governing body and it has the power to transact all municipal business, to pass ordinances, and to carry them into effect. There is less likelihood of friction and more harmony because the group is small. Also the voter has a better opportunity to see and understand his city government since he is not confused by a bewildering array of city officials. On the negative side, the commission plan advocates the principle of concentration of power. With five chief executives there is no actual single head to assume responsibility. It does not make provision for unified central control. Further, an expert in a particular field often finds it distasteful to run for an office which needs his service.

While there are no recent adoptions of the commission plan of city government, it rendered significant service in the direction of better municipal government by calling attention to the citizenry of the presence of graft and corruption in its midst and introducing improved methods of local government. This form reached its peak in 1917, with five hundred cities using it. Most cities today, if they give up their mayor-council type, generally adopt the council-manager plan.

COUNCIL-MANAGER PLAN

As in Galveston where a crisis caused by the inundation of the city made clear that a corrupt government could not meet an emergency, so in Dayton, Ohio, thirteen years later, a flood proved the helplessness of the city officials to cope with a severe crisis. A small group of business men took charge and brought speedy relief to the suffering from lack of food and shelter. Before the year was over, the council-manager plan was adopted. Although Staunton, Virginia,
should be given credit as the first city to set up the council-manager plan, its adoption in 1914 by a large city, Dayton, gave great impetus to the idea. Other large cities such as Cincinnati, Kansas City, Rochester, Houston, Dallas, Toledo, and Cambridge followed Dayton's lead.

Generally similar to the outline of a big business organization, the council members, instead of being the heads of departments, are the policy-making body as the board of directors is in a corporation. The council, like the board of directors, chooses a manager as chief administrator to carry out these policies. Once selected, the manager is in control as long as he holds the position, enjoying the right to select and direct his subordinates. He is responsible only to the city council. Frequently the manager is not a resident of the city. The mayor is usually retained, presiding over the council and performing most ceremonial and social duties. The council is usually small and elected on a nonpartisan basis by proportional representation. The council members in many cities have two functions, first, to make policy by passing ordinances and resolutions, and second, to select the city manager and hold him responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the city.

In large cities the manager is chosen chiefly for his administrative ability and is provided with experts of his selection as heads of the various departments. Civil Service regulations usually control the selection, removal, and advancement of these subordinate officers. The manager keeps the council informed in regard to city affairs and makes recommendations concerning its needs. While he attends the meetings of the council he has no vote. He is responsible for framing the budget, but the council is not bound by his recommendations. Hence the relationship between the council and manager is one of confidence, and when this no longer exists an effective working relation is not possible.

The council-manager plan has many advantages while the shortcomings are few. Like all forms of government, it depends upon the human element. The manager is always important in the success or failure of the plan. He must therefore be a capable administrator, have a good sense of public relations, and have ability to work well with his subordinates. William Bennett Munro declares: "The manager must also know how to deal with the press, the public, the city employees, and the local politicians. In a word, he needs the wisdom
of Solomon, the statesmanship of Moses, the patience of Job, the
courage of Daniel, and the hide of a rhinoceros.”  2 Such men are
not easily found and some cities are not always able or willing to pay
what they are worth. The plan has brought better accounting systems,
Improved budget techniques; it has put municipal affairs on a high
level of efficiency and honesty, raised standards, and reduced waste.
The spoils system generally has been able to obtain less under the
manager plan; however, there are instances where this form of city
government has been completely dominated by political machines.
The council-manager system in Kansas City was completely ruled by
a notorious political machine, with the result that the governmental
machinery was manipulated by spoils politicians. The consensus of
authorities in municipal government, however, is that the council-
manager or city-manager is usually more efficient than the older types.

TABLE 1  Years in which Council Manager Plan Became Effective in
Municipalities Operating under this Plan on December 31, 1950,
and Cities Abandoning this Plan *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ADOPTIONS</th>
<th>ABANDONMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908–14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915–19</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–24</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925–29</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–34</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935–39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

966  50

* Compiled from Municipal Year Book, International City Managers’ Association,
Chicago, 1950, 1951 and Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of

2 William Bennett Munro, The Government of the United States (New York: The
The most serious defect lies in the failure of the plan to produce political leadership, since the manager is not supposed to take part in politics. While the plan facilitates the attainment of better government it does not insure it. It is based on sound principles of public administration, namely the fixing of administrative responsibility. In 1950 there were 966 cities operating under the plan (Table 1).

PROBLEMS OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTS

As stated in preceding chapters, one of the important contemporary developments in our society has been the rise of the metropolitan region as the center of economic and social activity. With the growth of the large cities, smaller communities have extended their boundaries until they adjoin the city. Unincorporated areas have grown until the large city is surrounded. It is difficult to know where the central cities and the satellite cities begin. Functionally, a metropolitan area is physically, economically, and socially one urban unit. No exact boundary limits can be set for any given region, nor can any satisfactory standards be used to determine the metropolitan area which will satisfy everyone. Invariably, the suburbs, the outlying cities, towns, and villages are clustered. Descriptively, the metropolitan region is an area within which the conditions of manufacturing, trade, transportation, labor, and living, in brief, the daily economic and social life, are predominantly influenced by the central city. Some of the criteria for determining the boundaries of the metropolitan region are: city telephone service, electric power service, retail store deliveries, commuting service, mail delivery, sewer service, membership in social and athletic clubs, operation of real estate companies, and soliciting and collecting routes. Because these criteria may be interpreted variously, any formula or definition must be arbitrary. It is reported that on the occasion of the United States Census Bureau attempting to define the metropolitan regions of this country, it inquired from Chicago as to its social and economic breadth. The city fathers replied that Chicago reached as far south as the Caribbean Sea.3

The 1950 census reports that Americans are continuing their

3 See Chapter III on the techniques used by the Census Bureau to measure the "Urbanized Area" and the "Standard Metropolitan Area." The major objective of the Bureau in delineating these areas was to provide a better separation of urban and rural population in the vicinity of the larger cities.
shift from central cities to newly built-up areas, either on the outskirts of the city or beyond to contiguous districts, many of which are essentially rural. Nearly one-half (46 per cent) of the population of the United States was concentrated in the 157 urbanized areas, which contained less than 0.5 per cent of the land area of the country. The population in urbanized areas represented 72 per cent of the urban population of the United States. The combined population of the central cities of all urbanized areas was 48,377,240, or 69.9 per cent of the total population of the areas. The proportion of the population residing in the central city or cities, however, varied greatly between areas, ranging from a low of 28.3 per cent for the Wilkes-Barre Urbanized Area to a high of virtually 100 per cent for both the Beaumont and Amarillo Urbanized Areas. In 1950 there were 79 urbanized areas with 80 per cent or more of their population in the central city or cities, and 150 with half or more of their population in central cities.

From a density standpoint the population per square mile of land area for all 157 urbanized areas was 5,438. The density of the central cities was more than double that of their urban-fringe areas—7,788 as against 3,200. In six of the areas, however, the Brockton, Fall River, Fort Smith, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Stamford-Norwalk Urbanized Areas, the density of the urban fringe exceeded that for the central city. The density in the central cities varied from 1,414 for Duluth-Superior to 24,537 for the three central cities of the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Urbanized Area.

The automobile has permitted outward expansion of our cities and has enabled citizens to establish more intimate relations with surrounding towns, villages, and farms. As a result of this development, the central city faces many problems. Real estate values diminish and the city loses considerable taxable wealth, not to overlook skilled potential community leaders. Blighted areas are on the increase. Cities with the aid of Federal grants are making an effort to stem the tide. They are moving in the direction of slum clearance, rehabilitation of the blighted areas, modern housing units, parks, and playgrounds. Unfortunately government organizations have not kept pace with the rapid growth of our urban and metropolitan areas. Boundaries are

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5 Ibid., pp. 1–2.
fixed by law and the jurisdiction of the central city ends at the city line. Neither germs nor criminals show any respect for boundaries. Duplication and overlapping of services, with a great burden upon the taxpayer, are the consequence of numerous independent units of government within an urban or metropolitan area. New York City has an area of 289 square miles with a population of 7,454,995; the New York-Northeastern New Jersey region has a population of 12,296,117 within an area in excess of 5,000 square miles. It includes 286 cities, 14 counties, 520 school districts, and 141 special districts, making a total of 961 units of government. The Chicago metropolitan region has even more units. From the standpoint of gaining economical and efficient government there is a lack of coordinated planning of services for an area whose needs in many respects require a unified authority. In addition to the basic units of government—state, county, and city—there are numerous special taxing and administrative districts of all kinds, such as school, sewer, library, health, park, forest, preserve, water, and even mosquito abatement districts. Instead of simplicity and unity of governmental organization in the metropolitan or urban regions there is such a hodge-podge that it is difficult for the citizen to understand his government, much less receive the services which his taxes should make possible.

ANNEXATION AND CONSOLIDATION

Various devices are employed to achieve political unity in our large urban communities. One of these is annexation. While in early history this procedure was customary, in modern times it encounters the vigorous opposition of the area to be annexed in the forms of polls and general sentiment. Smaller communities do not like to lose their identity to become a numbered ward, nor do politicians wish to lose their jobs. Consolidation is another solution, a procedure which involves combining two or more local governments into a new unit which carries on the functions of the old but eliminates duplication. This is tantamount to a merger. If local units are willing and legally authorized, they scrap all the old agencies and merge their functions under a new government for the whole region. There seems little likelihood of such sweeping action today. Nonetheless, some changes have taken place; for instance, recently in Texas three oil towns consolidated, and a new and important city in the state may yet
emerge. In Virginia, three counties, two cities, and one town, believing that their respective local problems were better solved through collective efforts, joined hands and finances with apparently good results. Their joint projects were canals, bridges, tunnels, foster homes, teen-age club houses, reforestation, and consolidation of political divisions.\(^6\) Although largely unknown to most citizens, the many types of voluntary cooperation, ranging from very informal agreements among officials to more formal contractual arrangements among municipal corporations, have done much to ease the problems of integration in metropolitan regions. Leagues of municipalities and various regional or metropolitan planning associations have been effective in bringing about closer cooperation. Though such action may come slowly under democratic institutions, once the people have a clear awareness of their particular problems, solutions are found.

As might be anticipated, a chief reason for opposition to annexation, consolidation, or any other unitary supergovernment for a metropolitan region is the desire by suburban people to maintain control over their own local affairs. For this situation, a federal system has been devised whereby two levels of government are established in the metropolitan area. The top level consists of the metropolitan region to handle region-wide problems. The second level consists of local municipal governments, managing local matters. The difficulty rests in drawing the line between the two units of government.

**SPECIAL METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS**

An increasingly attractive, though partial, solution to the problem rests in creation of special districts, sometimes referred to as "ad hoc" districts. These districts exert control over special functions. When, for example, a city realizes that it requires a larger agency to cope with some particular regional problem, it asks the state legislature to set up a special district agency to deal with this problem. This need has given rise in Chicago to a Sanitary District, created to handle the disposal of sewage in Chicago and beyond, and a Cook County Forest Preserve to enable metropolitan residents to enjoy outer parks and forest preserves. Cleveland has a Metropolitan Park District and a Metropolitan Housing Authority. Los Angeles has its Metropolitan

Water District controlling water drawn from the Hoover dam and elsewhere. The great advantage of the special district is its expediency, nor does it disturb the existing governments.

**EXPANSION OF COUNTY POWERS**

Increasingly favorable attention is also being directed toward the extension of county authority. This program does not affect detrimentally the desires of local residents for self-government, at least not suddenly. Also abrupt changes in governmental units are not necessary and there is no need for an increase in the number of governmental units. Los Angeles and San Francisco have experienced considerable success with this streamlining technique. The county's functions include regional planning, often flood control, police and fire protection. The greatest number of new instances of expansion of county functions occurs in the field of public health and hospital operation.

**COOPERATION**

Informal cooperation, briefly mentioned above, is an extremely important method of coping with the problem of integrating the many governments of metropolitan regions. In police work, for example, many large cities maintain radio hookups with the suburban areas. The Chicago police exchange suspects with the police of Gary, Indiana. Nearly fifty cities in Michigan provide for protection to outlying communities for predetermined fees. Cooperation is frequent in such matters as the construction and maintenance of sewers, purchasing, planning, tax assessment, health administration, and provision of library facilities. Extraterritorial powers are given to cities whereby inspectors may check on the sources of milk, pure water, and cattle for slaughter houses. These privileges often require permission from state legislatures.

Some mention should be made of the recent cooperative relations between cities and the federal government. Until recent years, cities have had but few contacts with the federal government because urban government has been regarded as being within the sphere of state control. Of course the federal government has always had some direct and indirect relations with cities in the form of offering informational,
advisory, and technical services. The New Deal and World War II, however, brought in a host of new services. With the cities on the receiving end of the cooperative relations, we find more than a hundred agencies of the federal government performing important functions that materially affect the residents of the cities. To name a few of the agencies, the Bureau of the Census publishes an annual report on city finances as well as annual birth and mortality reports. The Bureau of Standards has prepared a series of comprehensive reports on planning and zoning. It aids in the preparation of weight and measure ordinances operating the largest testing laboratory in the country. City purchasing departments have made generous use of these services. The Federal Bureau of Investigation gathers statistics on crime, maintaining an elaborate file of fingerprint records available to local law enforcement officers. FBI agents cooperate with city police in the identification of handwriting, bloodstains, firearms, and other types of evidence. Through charges of income tax evasion, many who were successful in evading local authorities have been prosecuted by the federal government. Federal agencies enforce quarantine and drug laws, provide for the inspection of milk, meat, and various other foods. The United States Public Health Service has carried on fruitful research work in many fields and has cooperated with many related municipal services. Other agencies which render service to the cities are the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Fisheries, the Geological Survey, the Children’s Bureau, and the Bureau of Education. Most federal-city contacts are made through the medium of the states. At times, however, Congress will by-pass the states and give grants-in-aid or services directly to the cities for such things as highway and street construction, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, airport, hospital, and school construction. Though federal participation in city affairs is viewed with alarm by some, others greet this trend as a blessing, destined to make for higher standards of living in the United States.

WHAT IS THE COST OF RUNNING A CITY GOVERNMENT?

Most texts on urban sociology omit the treatment of public finance as a technical matter better suited to treatises on governmental accounting. A student should of course, turn to authoritative, technical
treatises for the details concerning the organization and forms of city bookkeeping. Our object here is to show how much it costs to run a modern city, and how the required vast sums are raised. There are strong indications that city governments are running into a serious dilemma: taxpayers annually insist on more and more services from their municipal governments but are concomitantly reluctant to provide the tax revenues to support such huge collective enterprises.

![Graph showing General revenue and General expenditure](image)

**Fig. 1.** General revenue and general expenditure of city governments, by 1950 population-size group: 1951. From “Summary of City Government Finances in 1951,” Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., November, 1952, p. 1

The data included in the following pages pertain to municipal corporations and their dependent agencies, and do not include figures for other local governments overlying city areas.

**GENERAL REVENUE**

In recent years an increased amount of attention has been given to the problems of financing government. In legislative halls, newspaper editorials, and around the cracker barrel, voices are being raised on
the question of distribution of taxable resources among the many units of government. In many cases the loudest protests against the rising cost of governments come from pressure groups who do not look to the general welfare of the community as a whole. In other cases serious consideration is being given to the problem of how we can continue our democratic way of life and at the same time secure economy and efficiency in the operation of our governments. A further question is being raised about the equitability of distribution of the tax income among all units of government: school districts, counties, cities, states, and nation.

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 2.** Per capita amounts of city revenue, by source: 1951. This comparison relates to the municipal corporations of the 481 cities in the United States which had over 25,000 inhabitants in 1950. Source: "Summary of City Government Finances in 1951," Bureau of the Census, November, 1952, p. 2

Perhaps the most consistent demands in this financial discussion come from city governing bodies who complain that cities in the postwar period are in a dangerous financial situation. Lacking the broad tax base of the state and nation, cities complain that their present revenue systems are incapable of producing income adequate to satisfy a growing demand for more and better services. City governing bodies are demanding more freedom from state supervision and regulation in order that they may be free to develop a more adequate tax base. Proponents of home rule for cities are in general agreement that state-wide laws do not provide a basis for operation flexible enough to provide solutions to the financial dilemma nor to take into
account problems peculiar to a particular locality. Of course there is no reason to assume that city finance problems are unique simply because city officials come forward with complaints that they are not receiving their share of the tax resources of the state. Officials of each unit of government have particular problems of financing.  

General revenues of cities include all those items which we normally consider governmental income: property taxes, license and privilege taxes, shared state taxes, fines and fees, charges for current services, trust fund receipts, and miscellaneous interest, refunds and other incidental income. Not included are new borrowings, special assessments, and utilities income.

**TABLE 1  Population of Cities over 25,000, United States, 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION SIZE CLASS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CITIES</th>
<th>POPULATION 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 1,000,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17,404,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excluding New York City</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9,512,493)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000–1,000,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9,186,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000–500,000</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8,241,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000–250,000</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>9,478,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000–100,000</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>8,930,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000–50,000</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>8,710,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>481</strong></td>
<td><strong>61,953,307</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local taxes of the 481 cities with over 25,000 inhabitants (Table 1) provided $3,187 million or about two-thirds of their total general revenue in 1951. This amount was up 6.4 per cent from the previous year’s figure. Property taxes supplied $2,416 million, about three-fourths of all tax revenue or half of all general revenue. Sales and gross receipts taxes—including selective excises such as those on gasoline, cigarettes and amusements, as well as general sales taxes—produced $466 million and other taxes $304 million in 1951. Through the years the upward trend in general revenue has been fairly similar among the several size groups of cities. However, amounts of general revenue average higher for the relatively large cities than for smaller municipalities. For example, total tax revenue of the five cities of over 1,000,000 amounted to $70.73 per capita

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in 1951, as compared with $42.59 for cities of 100,000 to 250,000 and $35.14 for cities of 25,000 to 50,000.\footnote{Summary of City Government Finances in 1951,} Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., November, 1952, p. 2.

Property assessment and taxation are extremely important to city governing bodies. But there are many restrictions and limitations which prevent city administrators from developing this tax base to the fullest extent possible. First is the fact that cities generally have no direct responsibility for assessment of property. Assessments are performed by county assessors, and the assessed value of city property is certified by the county clerk to the city governing body. At that point a second limiting factor applies. The rate at which property can be taxed is limited by state law. Cities may exceed the maximum rates only by applying to the appropriate state commission of revenue and taxation and obtaining its permission upon showing that the city will be unable to provide adequate services with the amounts which can be raised from property taxes under the levy limits. A third consideration is that property taxes are collected by county treasurers and turned over to the cities. These three factors indicate that there is a necessity for intergovernmental cooperation of the highest order if cities are to be assured adequate property tax revenue.

Although city officials sometimes chafe under the restrictions which remove from them control over property assessment and taxation, it is unlikely that any great degree of improvement would be accomplished by permitting cities to perform their own assessments. Also, assessments of city property by both county and city officials would undoubtedly result in an increased burden of taxes due to the cost of duplicating services. However, the fact that taxpayers usually receive only one tax bill which includes state, county, school district, city, and special district tax levies creates a situation of confusion to the taxpayer. The taxpayer objects to increased taxes generally without a clear understanding of the cause of the increase, or what unit of government has made the increase necessary. To overcome this problem, many counties send out special reports with the tax bills, which reports provide information as to the source and distribution of the property taxes.

A further fact that property is a rather inflexible tax base offers another problem to consider. When real estate is assessed only once every three or four years there is a lag in raising assessments to the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Total (481 cities)</th>
<th>Group I (5 cities of 1,000,000 or more)</th>
<th>Group II (13 cities of 500,000 to 1,000,000)</th>
<th>Group III (23 cities of 250,000 to 500,000)</th>
<th>Group IV (65 cities of 100,000 to 250,000)</th>
<th>Group V (126 Cities of 50,000 to 100,000)</th>
<th>Group VI (249 Cities of 25,000 to 50,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All general expenditure</td>
<td>$4,796,964</td>
<td>$1,830,901</td>
<td>$579,176</td>
<td>$830,139</td>
<td>$523,078</td>
<td>$613,086</td>
<td>$522,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>495,304</td>
<td>183,566</td>
<td>51,519</td>
<td>90,679</td>
<td>57,463</td>
<td>61,320</td>
<td>54,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>377,922</td>
<td>101,861</td>
<td>51,181</td>
<td>64,676</td>
<td>50,191</td>
<td>60,511</td>
<td>53,065</td>
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<td>Highways</td>
<td>541,506</td>
<td>164,275</td>
<td>74,049</td>
<td>93,340</td>
<td>69,884</td>
<td>74,359</td>
<td>68,905</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>516,942</td>
<td>171,659</td>
<td>75,238</td>
<td>87,183</td>
<td>63,079</td>
<td>74,433</td>
<td>61,501</td>
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<td>Public assistance</td>
<td>335,748</td>
<td>175,253</td>
<td>20,342</td>
<td>63,466</td>
<td>21,142</td>
<td>29,619</td>
<td>27,735</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other public welfare</td>
<td>85,402</td>
<td>57,310</td>
<td>12,472</td>
<td>11,969</td>
<td>3,109</td>
<td>5,532</td>
<td>3,488</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>800,366</td>
<td>287,459</td>
<td>2,355</td>
<td>125,894</td>
<td>78,020</td>
<td>130,040</td>
<td>89,188</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>66,305</td>
<td>17,745</td>
<td>9,098</td>
<td>12,812</td>
<td>10,387</td>
<td>10,494</td>
<td>7,816</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>394,941</td>
<td>168,693</td>
<td>44,010</td>
<td>87,899</td>
<td>40,989</td>
<td>35,477</td>
<td>38,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own hospitals</td>
<td>271,569</td>
<td>123,919</td>
<td>28,518</td>
<td>57,779</td>
<td>25,188</td>
<td>20,857</td>
<td>27,446</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>123,372</td>
<td>44,774</td>
<td>15,492</td>
<td>30,120</td>
<td>15,801</td>
<td>14,620</td>
<td>10,582</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>231,027</td>
<td>70,517</td>
<td>30,966</td>
<td>44,833</td>
<td>34,806</td>
<td>31,387</td>
<td>26,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General control</td>
<td>246,243</td>
<td>86,229</td>
<td>34,985</td>
<td>45,183</td>
<td>25,743</td>
<td>31,067</td>
<td>28,789</td>
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<tr>
<td>General public buildings</td>
<td>60,282</td>
<td>20,102</td>
<td>8,194</td>
<td>11,317</td>
<td>8,888</td>
<td>5,955</td>
<td>7,279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest on general debt</td>
<td>166,988</td>
<td>86,628</td>
<td>26,346</td>
<td>21,854</td>
<td>15,258</td>
<td>18,007</td>
<td>13,002</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other and unallocable</td>
<td>477,988</td>
<td>239,604</td>
<td>92,421</td>
<td>69,034</td>
<td>44,119</td>
<td>44,895</td>
<td>43,135</td>
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**1951 Amounts in Thousands**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1951 Amounts Per Capita</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77.43</td>
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* Ibid., p. 11.
level required by increased costs of urban government. In periods of rapidly rising costs, as in the immediate postwar years, the fact that cities are so dependent upon property taxation causes hardship that is not encountered by a unit of government that has a broader and more flexible tax base.

In recent years more and more attention has been given to the problem of providing a fair tax system for city governments. Some states provide that cities shall receive a portion of certain state taxes. The revenues to cities from this major source have increased to the point where cities depend upon state tax aid to provide approximately 10 to 15 per cent of their general revenues. Sales tax residue distribution and cigarette stamp tax allocations are three important shared revenues. Liquor excise taxes often rank high among the sources of shared tax revenues going to cities. Also the state highway payment for maintaining state highway connecting links through the cities is another source of revenue for cities.

![Per capita (dollar amounts)]

**Fig. 3.** Per capita amounts of city expenditure for various functions: 1951. *Ibid.*, p. 3
GENERAL EXPENDITURE

What does it cost to run a city? The year 1951 saw 481 cities in the United States with populations exceeding 25,000 spend $4,797,000,000 or $77.43 per capita for each of their 60,953,307 inhabitants for the operation, maintenance, and interest charges of their governments while they collected $4,813,000,000 in general revenue. In addition $1,412,000,000 were expended in capital outlays for the acquisition and improvement of public property. The outstanding gross debt of these cities was $9,975,000,000 or $161.01 per capita for each inhabitant. These are tidy sums for 481 corporations! These large expenditures signify the youth of American cities as they acquire extensive new equipment and personnel to meet their enlarging civic needs. Expansion involves costly development of property and administration.

EFFECTS OF DEPRESSION AND WAR

During the depression years, American cities made a slow comeback toward a sound financial condition. The economies effected during the depression years did, however, result in a depreciation of the fixed assets of local governments. Minimal amounts were spent for street repairs, new buildings, and the like. Federal aid projects served to compensate partially for the inactivity made mandatory by the economic depression, but by and large cities were more economy-conscious than they had been in the prosperous Twenties.

When World War II began, many cities were unprepared to cut back even further in their improvement programs. Their streets and buildings were not in as good repair as they might wish, due, probably, to the economy-mindedness of the Thirties. Five years of war shortages added to this dilemma. When the war ended cities found themselves with a huge backlog of capital outlay projects which needed to be undertaken. Owing to the fact that state laws prevented cities from building up surpluses during the war years, few municipalities were able to begin the task of rebuilding out of funds on hand. As a consequence, the postwar years found local governments in a situation which required that they borrow money, by issuing bonds,

9 These figures are exclusive of utility and insurance trust amounts.
in order that the work of improvement might begin. In order to issue bonds a city must hold an election so that a majority of the citizens may indicate such expenditures as necessary. The situation created is that cities find themselves having to pay off an increased debt burden at the same time that the cost of day-to-day services has increased. Figures 4 and 5 indicate the total bonded indebtedness of ten principal cities in Kansas 11 during War II and thereafter and the purpose of these bond issues.

Fig. 4. Total amount and purpose of bond issues, ten Kansas cities, 1943–1948

Fig. 5. Total bonded indebtedness of ten Kansas cities

In concluding this short survey of financial operation of American cities, several factors stand out sharply. First is the quick upsurge of new borrowings occasioned by the inability of cities to maintain a normal improvement program during the war. Psychological factors entered into this situation to some extent. During the war years, tax burdens were not felt so keenly by citizens whose income was rising rapidly. Then at the close of the war, when war savings could be spent for consumers' goods, came a corresponding demand for new improvements. Cities borrowed large amounts to undertake extensive improvements. More recently, all these factors have combined to cause an increase in demands for economy in government. But economy in

government is difficult to accomplish when prices continue to rise. Construction costs, living costs, and commodity prices all affect directly the cost of providing government services.

If economy in urban government is to be accomplished, certain decisions will have to be made as to which services can be eliminated. More services require more funds. Likewise, new capital improvement programs create debt burdens which will remain for decades as financial obligations to be paid. Thus it would seem that cities must expect rising costs of government if contemplated new services and new improvements are to be undertaken. Of course, some economies can be accomplished by improving the organization for administration, and all reasonable efforts to gain these economies should be made. However, it would seem that the most important task in securing the financial position of cities in the United States is long-range planning. Such planning should include determination of future functions, revenues, debt, and capital improvements.

In making such plans it is important to discover trends in city revenues and expenditures. The evidence in recent years indicates strongly that the property tax is decreasing in importance as a source of revenue for cities. This trend is to be expected and will probably continue. Several reasons may be advanced to explain this situation. The property tax may have been a valuable index of ability to pay taxes in an agricultural community where all wealth was derived from produce from the land. However, increased industrialization and the creation of new forms of wealth—money and credits—has taken, or is taking, precedence over the older form of wealth.

In cities particularly, there is a large group of people whose only source of wealth is their salaries. Cities have found it necessary to tax this form of income through an increased use of charges, licenses, fees, and the like. Similarly, the state has entered into the field of sales and excise taxes, and the amounts paid back to cities from these sources are becoming more important sources of revenues for cities. There are no indications that this trend will be changed, although any sharp increases in population will intensify the need for a commensurate increase in amounts received from non ad valorem taxes. This implies either a greater use of state grants to cities or a relaxation of the restrictions upon municipal use of the newer form of taxation.

Too often citizens vote for new expenditures but veto any attempts
to provide increased revenues. The cost of government, they believe, is expected to remain stable regardless of changes in the economic environment. This attitude is, of course, unsound and should be dispelled. Similarly, when it is shown that new methods of performing governmental services will result in savings, many people oppose the new methods because, it is felt, the "old ways are best." Thus both economic and social psychological factors combine to create problems in financing our city governments.

GOVERNMENT, VICE, AND CRIME

Antisocial behavior, so called, is an everlasting problem for civic government. Political leaders are always subject to attack and hearings for not stamping out some threat to the community's basic values. Mayor's are impeached, city managers discharged, and police chiefs demoted. But the problem of control of misbehavior goes much deeper than the administration of governmental agencies.

CRIME AND CONSENSUS

The student of urban sociology will never understand the maladjustments in city life by looking formally at the legal institutions of control. He must look beyond these agencies to the character of the underlying community ethos. Prostitution, crime, and political corruption in our cities are the products of existing social patterns and biological drives. Crime against property grows out of the violation of the mores which sanction private ownership. Prostitution is an inevitable concomitant of monogamous marriage and premarital sex taboos between men and women of the same social class. Political corruption is the result of the democratic process operating in a laissez faire economy in which financial success is placed above political honesty. Of course these are only partial explanations of the complex social problems which persist in our cities.

In 1899 Alexis De Tocqueville, in his Democracy in America, made the point that a society can exist only when a great number of men consider a great number of things from the same point of view; when they hold the same opinions upon many subjects, and when the same occurrences suggest the same thoughts and impressions to their minds. Briefly, he was saying that some minimum of agreement
Municipal Government: Problems and Trends

must exist before collective action is possible. Hence, in a large city, when men begin to lose their common understandings and expectations (since common understandings make up consensus) social disorganization exists. There is no society without an ethos, i.e., without shared values, objectives, preferences, and the well-founded anticipation of the members that all the others recognize the rules of the society and will abide by them. In the final analysis, then, an urban society is rooted in consensus (won agreement), or, more basically, in terms of common expectations—agreement on the future conduct of everybody, Without this consensus one would never know when a man might rob, rape, or plunder his neighbor.

Social disorganization increases in any community where there is no general agreement and individuals define important things in individualistic terms. That is, consensus breaks down under the impact of an increasing individualism. This breakdown may eventuate under the following types of conflict situations so commonplace in American cities:

1. Where formal law is at variance with tradition; for instance, where the use of alcohol is sanctioned by tradition but forbidden by law.

2. Where individuals belong to groups whose very basis of organization is in conflict with the larger society, from which the individual feels himself to be an outcast. This is obviously true in criminal gangs.

3. Where individuals belong to groups in which certain forms of conduct have different meanings and where there is a different emphasis in values than in the dominant society.

4. Where groups within the larger population sanction conduct which violates the mores or the law of the dominant society, to whose code they are also subject.

5. Where social life is very mobile and where culture is in a state of flux, such as in those areas of cities where there is no organized family or community life and where the social framework that ordinarily supports the individual in his conduct disintegrates or fails to function.

6. Where individuals belong to groups which are suffering from the incomplete blending of different cultural strains, such as a family in which father and mother belong to different racial or religious groups.
7. Where individuals belong to groups in which they find themselves dissatisfied and stigmatized, but from which they cannot readily escape into the group that they consider superior.

Some urbanites suffer emotionally from these conflicts while others accept them as a matter of course, experiencing no mental or emotional disturbance. Again, some persons, upon experiencing a conflict or collapse of their social worlds, will turn to aggressive behavior and are then branded as antisocial. Others turn to antisocial behavior because they have been nurtured to believe that such conflict is normal and that their aggressiveness is something quite natural and expected.

The therapeutic task of governmental agencies such as police departments, health agencies, and social work departments is to bring these individuals into a frame of mind where they can reflect upon the conflict and see it in the perspective of their total experience. Officers and offenders alike must be made to see that cultural conflict in our cities is very real. From the standpoint of developing urban consensus and thereby individual adjustment, the task of urban government is to support and initiate those planning programs whereby the urban man is not called upon to play fundamentally contradictory roles in his daily conduct. This may be achieved, among other methods, by migration and local relocation, by family, school, and vocational adjustment, and by supervised recreation of youth. Social changes in the urban environment foster the development of personalities which are at variance with the social norms, fuzzy or ambiguous as these codes may appear. When this deviation from the conventional brings the individual into conflict with his society, he is maladjusted to it.

"NORMAL" OFFENDERS

Maladjustment is not, however, an absolute trait; it is the possession of behavior patterns which are socially defined as unacceptable. Although the criminal is maladjusted to the larger community he may be effectively adjusted to the underworld society. Many criminals, delinquents, prostitutes, bootleggers, and gamblers are persons who respond to their social worlds—their social situations. They learn through tradition and folkways. And these traditions are passed on in their groups. Most delinquent crimes in American cities are performed primarily in groups. Boys operate in terms of bodies of
knowledge and other people behind the scenes. Offenders are therefore part of a cultural continuity—a social ethos.

If city governmental agencies wish to correct these "normal" forms of maladjustment they must help in building on the talents and attitudes of local people through sound planning programs and a sociological attitude toward the offenders. The prostitute, beggar, thief, even the homosexual to some degree, are persons to be conceived in their interrelations with the social organization, with the family, the neighborhood, the community, and the broader society. These people's conduct must be explained by those in authority in terms of human wishes, social attitudes, mobility and unrest, intimacy and status, social contacts and social interaction, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.

RACKETS AND THEIR CONTROL

Most observers are cognizant of how our city governments periodically "clean up" their towns of bootleggers, prostitutes, and gamblers when the community through its ministers, editors, teachers, and others feels that these practices have "got out of hand." After a time these racketeers are either freed from jail, fined, or transported to the city line and told never to return. Many sincere citizens complain of these half-way measures and demand more drastic action against public officials and offenders alike.

Why do these institutions, commonly referred to as "rackets," survive in our cities? If people create institutions yet condemn them because they are in opposition to social values, why are they not eradicated? In answer, there are certain types of collective activity, thriving on the heterogeneity of urban population, which never receive full sanction but which do show some of the features of established institutions. Prostitution, bootlegging, and gambling are three such activities or rackets. The racketeer sets himself up in business without public announcement and with no recourse to law or public opinion. Because of the presence of many persons who either (1) want to engage in the racket for the purpose of making a living, or (2) wish to function as patrons of these professionals, a buyers' and sellers' market comes into being. All this despite a formal law outlawing the activity!

Accordingly, a system of control emerges, unsanctioned by law
and the mores. In other words, the presence of a demand by a segment of the community establishes the institution in the face of opposing laws and mores. This small group of persons participating in these activities, who are at war with the mores, may be said to constitute a sect. The sect becomes a quasi-institution through making peace with the mores with which it is in conflict. That is, an attitude of toleration is encouraged because a portion of the citizenry demands that the activity be tolerated. By winning this struggle with the mores the racket still remains in conflict with the law (which maintains opposition “just in case the rackets go too far”).\textsuperscript{12} So long as these groups have not been approved by formal law they are always in a precarious state, hence the proper label: quasi-institution. Nevertheless prostitution, gambling, and bootlegging continue in our cities, and traditional modes of behavior have emerged to identify them and control their activities. They continue, therefore, as kinds of undercover institutions (1) tolerated by the informal society with its mores but (2) not tolerated by formal law.

Consequently, our legal officers cannot put “teeth” into anti-racketeering laws because the mores are reluctant to support the law. Accordingly, some of our civic administrators exploit this phenomenon through charging these quasi-institutions with “retainer fees”—a “protection racket” within the government itself.

\textbf{SUGGESTED READINGS}


A factual statement of the cost of running the forty-one largest cities in the United States. Includes interesting tables and charts. Good illustration of the data gathered by the federal government for use by city administrators.


\textsuperscript{12} The informal society attempts to keep racketeering “in bounds” through assigning the lowest status to the institutionalized prostitute, gambler, and bootlegger. In this way it is felt that the sacred institutions, particularly those of the family and marriage, are protected. In the case of the commercialized prostitute, this form of control, through forcing prostitution into clandestine forms, comprises an ironic form of community self-deception. Wives and daughters by engaging in hidden prostitution thus are permitted to maintain outward respectability.
Municipal Government: Problems and Trends


An authoritative, interestingly written analysis of practical politics in the second largest American city by an eminent political scientist who has had practical experience in city government.


Shows the confusion which ensues when there are too many governmental bodies trying to run one urban area. Contains recommendations for dealing with regional problems.


These investigators observed that in areas of high delinquency there is little provision for the promotion of civic-mindedness on the part of the adults or recreation for the children.


A fascinating report on the delinquent careers of five brothers, children of foreign-born parents. Their cases suggest the relationship between delinquency and the culture conflicts which often confront the immigrant family in the deteriorated and socially disorganized communities in large American cities.

Stene, Edwin O., and Floro, George K., *Abandonments of the Manager Plan*, University of Kansas Publications, Governmental Research Series No. 9, Lawrence, Kansas, 1953.

A study of four abandonments of the city manager form of government. The role of the "crackpot," the subtle maneuvers of "insiders," the chaos which results when an engineer, as city manager, encounters problems of human relations, the techniques of small groups in organizing an uninformed citizenry for action, all are spelled out in vivid cases and analyses. Good sociology.
PART IV

The Perspective of Control—City Planning

"There are no necessities, but everywhere possibilities; and man, as master of the possibilities, is the judge of their use. This, by the reversal which it involves, puts man in the first place—man, and no longer the earth, nor the influence of climate, nor the determinant of localities."—Lucien Febvre
City Planning As A Democratic Process

City planning is a term applied to the replanning of existing cities and towns as well as the planning of new towns. The basic principle is to increase the working efficiency of the city, i.e., to provide for the organization of the physical and institutional resources commensurate with its needs. The problem is to obtain the truth about the city with respect to its economic, social, and physical conditions, and with this knowledge endeavor better to estimate and provide for the future of the community.

Comprehensive city planning does not mean simply to pull down a city and rebuild it at ruinous expense and debt. Furthermore, it does not mean merely to make a city beautiful in a superficial sense. This is but incidental. The real motive is fundamental. City planning aims consciously to provide those facilities that advance the general public welfare in accordance with democratic precepts as the community defines them. This involves planning the city as a whole in order to furnish advantages that enhance community living.

THE CITY PLANNING MOVEMENT

The planning of cities is not a modern discovery. Centuries ago, cities were planned and built. Their remains can be found in Egypt, France, Iran, and China. Specialists still study these ancient communities, not to copy them, but because their physical patterns so
faithfully reflected the life of the time. The Greeks took pride in their public structures. For instance, the Athenians, at the time of Pericles, laid out in Athens orderly squares and liberal spaces and adorned the city with admirable buildings as emblems of the city’s greatness. In like manner the extension of the Roman Empire resulted in the conscious designing of cities with ample thoroughfares and fine buildings. Consider the picturesque fortress towns of the Middle Ages. Everyone who has read about King Arthur’s Court remembers the pictures of towers and battlements perched on rocky crags. But those who built them were not interested in being picturesque. The medieval town was one of the finest schemes for living and defense ever developed. Its hilltop location was inconvenient from the standpoint of ingress and egress but it was safer. Its walls were armor against catapults and battering rams. The houses inside were put close together because this meant that less wall had to be built. When artillery was invented the walls lost their usefulness and the cities grew beyond them.

Skipping a few centuries, our colonial villages were not arranged like medieval towns, yet they, too, suited the needs of the people who lived and worked in them. Because many of the early settlers were refugees from religious persecution, the church was their first thought. Life was hard and building was a slow process, and so the church quickly became more than a religious edifice—it also housed the town meetings, the nucleus of our democratic form of government. Near the church the houses were clustered, partly for protection, but chiefly because people in a new and empty land wanted to live close to each other. Such an arrangement made trading, handi-
craft manufacture, and social intercourse easier. The Common around which the shops, houses, church, and school were grouped was a social center, a parade ground, a grazing field, and it gave light and air—breathing space—to the community.

In modern times, Paris is said to have been the first great city to be planned in the modern sense of the term.¹ Louis XIV had the Academy of Architects prepare designs for the orderly growth of the city. Likewise Napoleon I and Napoleon III continued the work on even a more ambitious scale to make Paris one of the most beautiful cities of the world.

As an organized and widespread movement, city planning reached its highest development in Germany, from which country it has spread to other parts of the world. Other European countries, especially France, England, Belgium, and Austria, have also made substantial progress in town and city planning. City planning in America came from France and England, while the concept of zoning was taken from Germany. ²

The most conspicuous examples of early city planning in our country are: William Penn's gridiron plan for Philadelphia in 1682; Oglethorpe's plan for Savannah in 1733; and the more elaborate plan of Washington, D.C. by L'Enfant in 1790. These plans, however, were not widespread nor continuous. In a real sense the city planning movement in the United States is commonly regarded as beginning about the close of the nineteenth century.

Special stimulus was given to the movement of city planning by the Boston Metropolitan Park Commission in 1892 and the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. Likewise at the beginning of the present century an effective means of stimulating the movement was secured by the organization of the National Conference of City Planning in 1909, a group which has served as a helpful clearinghouse for city planning ideas. Impetus was also given to the movement by the organization of local improvement societies: chambers of commerce and boards of trade. Furthermore, a great influence has been exerted in recent years by the rapid growth of American cities and a civic consciousness that cities cannot fulfill their functioning if allowed to grow in a very haphazard fashion.

There has also developed within the last two decades the idea of regional planning. Cities today are considerably interested in the unity of interests that extend beyond city limits.

The old-time city planning was largely the planning of physical arrangements. The new planning includes, along with physical accommodations, a wide range of social and cultural adjustments. It does not omit, as did the earlier type of urban planning, such fields as promotion of sound industrial development, municipal justice in its many phases, municipal housing, municipal working and living conditions, the health of citizens, full educational opportunity, respon-

sibility for the unfolding lives of youth on the city streets, and leisure-
time opportunities under new conditions with shortened hours of
labor. The once uncomfortable leisure of the unemployed now be-
comes the leisure-time opportunity of the whole community; and plans
are possible for its full utilization in life opportunities. The new urban
planning will be the acid test of urban research and invention.

THE PLANNED STATE VERSUS CITY PLANNING

Something is obviously wrong with the word “planning” when we
observe modern revolutionaries and reactionaries alike using the term.
Both groups attack and defend it. It is a fighting word, an emotionally
toned word which leads people who use it frequently to talk past one
another rather than to each other. Planning is frequently denounced
as regimentation, i.e., the planned state, and, if not this, it is given
the connotation of corruption and nepotism. Planning, when used to
mean a collective enterprise, is given a derogatory meaning which is
not attached to individual planning. Strangely, what is regarded as an
individual virtue, namely foresight—interest in the future and the
use of rational means of achieving objectives—is frequently con-
sidered collective vice.

In contrast with these views of planning, urban sociologists think
of the term as meaning the setting up of socially acceptable goals and
the presentation of effective means of obtaining these goals. The fear
by many people that planning of our social and economic life will
interfere with the development of free industrial society is groundless.
The very purpose of planning is to release human abilities, to broaden
the field of opportunity and make for greater personal liberty. Hence
we are here considering planning for freedom: democratic planning
wherein liberties are guaranteed. The only way that men can be free
is to make carefully planned choices and follow them through. Study-
ing sociology is of no great value to anyone unless it helps the citizen
to think about the community in which he lives and enables him to
help in the problem of planning a better world as he sees it.

In democratic city planning not everything need be planned in
order to have an orderly community. In fact in planned states, such
as the Soviet Union, there are wide areas of life left open to the
choice of the individual, such as choice of consumer goods, occupa-
tion (although somewhat restricted), and residence. In a democratic
community only a few areas of life must be controlled because the others will take care of themselves. When the general fiscal policy, the tax policy, the land policy, and the policy in reference to public services are controlled, there is little else urbanites need to regulate in order to make their communities conform to their ambitions.

Obviously the opposite of planning is no planning at all—a matter of letting nature take its course. Most everybody plans. The reactionaries, so called, are opposed to planning because they feel it would never stop once it got started, leading to serfdom. The majority of civic administrators, however, view planning to mean that men can intervene in the course of human events, that we know where we are going. It is an effort to achieve goals and is in contrast to improvisation, muddling through. Planning of a city involves collective action and its qualities are twofold: (1) self-conscious, deliberate action—not impulsive action—involving the selection of an obtainable goal; (2) deliberate selection of the most efficient, appropriate means, and in addition, the foreseeing of the goal in order to deal with the consequences.

WHERE ARE THE GOALS OBTAINED AND HOW ARE THEY RECOGNIZED?

But where does the planner find his goals? They arise out of needs, discomforts, anxieties, fears of the citizenry. These act as compulsions to alter a given situation. Some thinkers, such as Herbert Spencer and Friedrich Hayek, claim that we must never interfere with the obvious trends of things. This is the laissez faire point of view in its pure form. The contradiction involved in this view is that these same people would try to interfere with those who try to change things. If they are convinced that things will change anyway, then why try to change the changers? That is, if you believe in laissez faire you would leave the changers alone too.

The student of city planning must, of course, be concerned with change that is deemed necessary, which begs the question: What must we know to plan accurately? Three pieces of knowledge come

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4 Herman Finer, Road to Reaction (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1946); Margaret Wootton, Freedom Under Planning (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945).
to mind: (1) the difference it makes if you bring about the change, (2) recognizing your authorized power to make the change, and (3) recognizing your responsibility to anticipate what would happen if you did not interfere, i.e., need of a method of prediction.

As expressed above, the essential feature in planned behavior is self-conscious, deliberate effort to achieve a preconceived goal. This raises another crucial question, namely: In a democratic community, how do we recognize the goals? Fundamentally, ends or goals of a community have to be discovered. To be sure, in some social situations goals are quite explicit, e.g., an army has a clear aim, mainly to destroy the enemy. But it is not quite this simple to identify the aim for a city. The search for ends involves reconciliation with conflicting values prevailing in the area. One should keep in mind that ends or goals deal with two things: (1) doing away with what you do not like; (2) creating something that you do like. Thus the problem is: What are the basic assumptions about human conduct in democratic communities which must be kept in mind in seeking the ends for planning behavior? Seven assumptions may be indicated.

1. People do not express their ends clearly; they are usually implicit or inferred in action. They rarely are explicitly stated. The city planner is always confronted with this difficult problem when he goes into a new community.

2. People state their ends in general terms—they comprise a general plan and the planners have to spell out the meanings. For example, the term "liberty" in a constitution or city charter requires that successive generations of citizens argue about liberty to do what? "To do what?" is the specific problem, and the planner is called upon to put in the details.

3. People confuse means and ends. And ends are always moving further and further away from the group. Actually means and ends are intelligible only when viewed in the light of one another. Ends are just "sound waves" without some consideration of the means.

4. The same values do not have the same attraction to all people. The problem for the city planner is how to reconcile these different values within the same locality.

5. There are contradictions between the values themselves. For example, most Americans desire progress, i.e., they want to enjoy new science and opportunity, but they also want order. Such seemingly progressive institutions as labor unions have persistently fought
new inventions, some of which are the power loom, the steam engine, prefabricated housing, painting with spray guns, bricklaying with mechanical time-saving devices. The point to be emphasized is that while urban people speak out strongly for progress they also are made to recognize that this calls for a certain amount of disorder—a degree of maladjustment. Almost everyone desires freedom, but freedom calls for sacrificing certain securities. Urbanites cannot have freedom and security at the same moment and in the same place; it requires bargaining one off on the other. Most urban citizens will tell their planning bodies that they wish to improve their antiquated cities, but few people are anxious to pay higher taxes.

6. There is a necessity of assigning a system of priorities. A city must rank its wants in terms of urgency. Some cities establish wide streets and beautify their parks before sponsoring improved housing. That is, many cities prefer to plan more for the visitors and less for the local inhabitants. Other communities spend most of their income on schools and education before turning to the standards of living of their people. In this writer's judgment, this is planning in reverse. People must exist before striving for new ideals.

7. Finally, the achievement of any end will affect other ends and processes. The solving of one problem tends to create new problems in other spheres. Thus a city planner must always look beyond the immediate goals. The construction of superstreets to satisfy the desires of suburbanites disturbs the parking situation in the central business district. In Los Angeles, until recently, the parking problem was left to "others" while the planners built the superstreets. Building a cluster of tall skyscrapers creates a tendency to suck up all the good tenants in surrounding areas, thus turning this space into potential slum and blight (Figure 1). This is especially true when someone puts up a new, large office building where it is not needed. Tenants tend to move out of older but still good buildings, leaving them vacant. A few people profit temporarily through these expansions, but in the end everyone loses. This practice is wasteful because it destroys property values and breeds blight. One mistake such as this can start a neighborhood downhill. In London, the consequence of people building the wrong thing in the wrong place, in their enthusiasm to make money by building something on a piece of ground which they own, bred slums. In fact, blight got in its deadly work on sections of London long before the "blitz" came.
Citizens and planners alike must keep in mind that the social objectives of any community are not always “truth, beauty, and goodness,” but how to distribute them. In city planning, far-sighted citizens are challenged by the allocation of resources to areas and groups. It is precisely around this problem where controversies in city planning begin. The problem is: Who determines “need,” the “ability to pay”? Ultimately, therefore, the problem of planning is reduced to (1) the task of increasing goods and services and (2) the task of allocating them equitably in full recognition of the fact that whenever a community solves a problem it invariably creates a new one by disturbing the balance of life in some other area of life. Therefore planning calls for intelligent prevision, this, in turn, requiring that the planner have knowledge concerning the nature of urban behavior.

Ecological knowledge is a good case in point. Even when planning was primarily physical planning it paid some attention to the methods and findings of human ecology, but since planning has developed to include the economic and social designing or redesigning of the community, human ecology has found an even more important place in it. Planning, after all, aims at the optimum use of resources and the rational integration of community life. Thus the knowledge which the human ecologist has been able to obtain about the location of industry, the distribution, segregation, and succession of population, the areas of influence of social institutions, the interrelationship between the physical, technological, economic, political, and cultural aspects
of urban life, have proved that the field is indispensable. With its interest in spatial patterns and processes of change, it seems logical that human ecology should concern itself with local or regional planning and control. Unfortunately this is a subject which ecologists have been extremely reluctant to approach. They will eventually have to face reality and recognize the role that culture plays in affecting the division of labor.

THE SCOPE AND AREA OF PLANNING

A good approach to this subject is: How large should a planning project be? The sociologist of the city recommends that it be as large as is required to handle the problem. This point is made because of the tendency to think of the scope of planning in terms of fixed political boundary lines. We use rivers as boundaries, not realizing that an economic-social problem is frequently the same on both banks of the river. In fact, what may appear as a natural dividing line may turn out to be a social junction. Thus how to stake out the problem is the important question. We observe, for example, how large cities often use up most of the available water sources at the expense of the smaller adjacent towns.

The following six statements would seem to summarize the thinking of sociologists concerning the scope and area of planning:

1. By planning areas, viewed politically, we mean that there has been built up a division of labor as to local, state, and federal projects. The local scope reaches from the neighborhood to city and town and metropolitan regions. The state scope reaches rural areas, counties, and the state borders. The federal scope embraces the federal landscape. All three of these groups may use different methods because of different jurisdictions.

2. Planning by the range of the problem is the most fruitful way of attacking a community problem. That is, the city planner must follow the problem beyond the physical or political boundaries because the problem areas tend to spill over local political boundary lines. These problems may be solved or, at least, minimized by (a) the cooperation of planning areas and agencies and (b) by creating special districts. In many metropolitan regions a sanitary district, water district, or any other area is identified by the reach of the problem and includes many local cities. The Tennessee Valley Authority is a
kind of special district, although it has established certain rights by law for the public good.

3. Another way of defining the scope of planning is to identify the problem by the *breadth of the exhibited interest* due to the presence of an issue. Planning seldom takes place arbitrarily by reason of the nature of the problems. Recurrent disasters such as floods call for planning which may encompass not only the local victims but an entire nation of aroused citizens anxious to assist.

4. There is a tendency for city planning to take place when the community degenerates so universally that it tends to envelop the whole town. For example, the aging of residential districts tends ultimately to blanket the entire city if planning does not intercede. Thus *planning is in response to a general community breakdown*, i.e., when the community defines the problem as a social problem.⁵

5. For planning to take place in a city there must be a state of awareness on the part of the inhabitants that something can be done to minimize or stamp out the unwanted situation. An undesirable condition is not a social problem when the group accepts it as inevitable. For example, the aging process itself is not a community problem, while infant deaths are usually defined as problems. In other words, a city problem involves *knowing a remedy*; otherwise it is looked upon as inevitable and accepted with consequent resignation. It is this writer's hypothesis that the potential destruction of cities by atomic warfare has enlisted little community planning because urbanites feel that their cities might somehow escape an attack, and if attacked, destruction will be so sudden that prevention techniques would be futile.

6. The deviation from the norm must affect more than a small portion of the population and, further, must involve more than individual concern (this being an individual problem). The deviation must involve the *human resources of the entire city*, its laws, taxes, and administrative ability. When small groups are exercised over a threat to community group values or to their own private norms, their numerical and political strength is often insufficient to arouse successful planning action.

Urban planning throughout history has included whole communi-

⁵ A social problem may be said to exist when there is a deviation from an expected standard or norm and the people feel that through organized action they can eradicate the threat to their group existence.
ties bringing into focus the possible and the desired. It is not so much in the nature of the physical landscape that we must seek the criterion for planning an area but more in the history, tradition, technology, cultural development, states of mind, feelings of interdependence, and political boundaries that we determine the suitable lines for planning (Figure 2).

![Diagram of two communities](image)

**Fig. 2.** Sketch of social indices for planning as reflected in space

Planning must be oriented to the functional area rather than the arbitrary administrative area. The functional or natural area may be identified by a relatively definite center and indefinite periphery while an administrative area is characterized by an indefinite center but definite periphery. A planner must be cognizant of these two kinds of areas in measuring the reach of the planning responsibility. He asks such questions as: How far does the shopping center extend? What is the reach of wholesaling, retailing, banking, local newspaper reading, and so on? This is a matter of recognizing the limits rather than the center. The greatest waste in American cities as far as planning is concerned is in trying to plan something only to discover that it cannot be carried out. Administrators frequently discover that the controls over the problem lie outside the reach of their cities. Unemployment, disease, crime, and delinquency are cases in point. A city is rarely in control of prosperity or depression; the forces that operate are not bounded by political boundaries. The city planner’s task is, therefore, to determine where the locus of control lies. It may be in Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, or Wall Street. And it involves not only how far the problem extends in space but what the planner and his
community can do about it. This situation concerns small areas within the city as well. A planner must know just what he can deal with locally to obtain results. Certainly little can be accomplished in a small district of a city with respect to schools, health, and garbage disposal. Indeed, one will occasionally find locally strong political organizations that can get almost anything they want from higher authorities, but from the standpoint of general community welfare this situation usually involves taking something away from some other area or local district in order to satisfy the aforementioned political unit. This kind of planning results in short-lived benefits inasmuch as someone or some group will discriminate against the local power group later on. The problem, then, is to place planning in the matrix of its best locus. Water distribution or airports, for example, require the defining of limits and the working out of joint plans with many local areas within cities by means of cooperation or through setting up superauthorities.

**DOGMAS THAT OBSCURE PLANNING**

The city planning movement would not have the great difficulties which it encounters if it were not for the background of a large number of people who are concerned with the planning process. Reference is made to those individuals who have been trained to look only at physical planning. American cities have a heritage of people who are manipulators of physical objects, experts who are quite inclined to conclude their planning investigation by presenting the community and its leaders with a blueprint and perhaps a contract to sign. These physical planners generally control the policies of planning boards and frequently dictate the plans.

The student of city planning should keep in mind that planning of physical objects rarely ends the problem. The contribution of the social planner in city affairs is to demonstrate that the physical object (building, bridge, or street) merely allows the planner to carry out his task more effectively than he could have done it minus such construction. The charting of a city's future involves more than physical manipulation; it must be linked with social or economic problems. One must consider the problem situation rather than the immediate solution and study its relationship to other problems.
With these observations in mind three dogmas that obscure planning may be enumerated as they involve physical planning:

1. *The dogma of symmetry*: This is the idea that if you build a wing on one side of a building you must have a wing on the other side regardless of purpose. This has been a traditional professional psychosis and generally reflects the background of the designer, his school of aesthetics. Very little rationality is involved in this point of view.

2. *The dogma of means over ends*: The ends of planning are often forgotten because of preponderances of the means. For example, many planners do not ask what larger purpose a new bridge will serve, i.e., what improvement of life it would affect. From the standpoint of the greatest welfare for the greatest number of people there is nothing more important. Perhaps communities would not build many of the bridges they are now building (or even tear down some of them) if their leaders considered this point. Physical construction should be designed for people.

3. *The dogma that old art is the best art*: This is the doctrine that art should be based upon traditional aesthetic ideals. The result has been that much new construction has been termed “ugly” by urbanites who have modified their conceptions of beauty. Nevertheless, builders and planners will persist in constructing buildings previously established as beautiful, e.g., structures with headless horses, winged victories, and unicorns. In fact, many of the mistakes made by our forebears are still included in contemporary construction. Doubtless urban communities would enjoy a combination of beauty and usefulness if the following preliminary question were applied to all planning proposals: How can we achieve our objective by the simplest, most economical, and most direct way? Cities may expect the opposite of the desired function of reconstruction when they are obsessed with beautifying.

**THE MASTER PLAN**

The master plan of a city is the generalized idea of the ideal to which a community is moving in the pattern of living. Unfortunately most master plans are concerned exclusively with physical construction. California, for example, requires the following from all city planning groups:
It shall be the function and duty of each planning commission to prepare and adopt a comprehensive, long-term, general plan for the physical development of the city.

The master plan usually stakes out the important areas of occupancy involving industry, business, and residence. These areas are identified by paying special attention to existing streets systems. Only recently do we find master plans concerned with the location of schools, post offices, and playgrounds.

Three justifications of a master plan may be enumerated:

1. The master plan is designed to keep us from the day-to-day accumulation of mistakes which inhibit us from arriving at a goal. This is the most important function of the master plan. Inasmuch as the minute daily changes that occur daily in a city are cumulative, they should be made to add up to something which we want, which we deem desirable. If there is no community planning program, we are improvising—making the same mistakes over and over again.

2. A master plan allows the community to observe the repercussions of a change to other factors that enter into the problem. For example, a new skyscraper may cut off light and make for more congestion unless its design is closely controlled.

3. A master plan fosters recognition of the instrumental elements over against the goals. That is, the relationship between means and ends are more visible.

**STRATEGIC ELEMENTS IN THE MASTER PLAN**

Strategic elements in any master plan involve recognition of certain pieces of knowledge. Planners must know the relevant factors to maintain any situation and guide the direction of change. Knowledge concerning the market and consumption is necessary as well as the tastes and desires of the people. Likewise population trends must be known: (1) the vital rate, i.e., the relation of births and deaths—the natural rate of increase or decrease. This requires consideration of age groupings, sex ratios, opportunities for marriage. (2) In- and out-migration trends must be measured. Population composition is a prerequisite to making sound generalizations and ranks alongside income—the purchasing power—in setting up a master plan. The latter concern involves studying the money available for investment—are
the rates high or low? The planner in surveying the economics of the
city is actually studying the security of the town and opportunity.
Would people want to build homes in your city? Following this con-
cern, attention should be directed toward disease, crime, delinquency,
and traffic death rates as well as the agencies which are concerned
with controlling them.

Outside elements are also important in preparing a master plan:
war, business cycles, changes in technology (new highway programs,
beside radio and television facilities, airports), rural-urban balance
concerning price ratio of agricultural to industrial products. These
external elements when combined with the internal features tell us
the motives and appetites of men, considerations which are more im-
portant than the mere quantity of population, e.g., “There were
25,000 people in our city in 1940, 30,000 in 1950, and we expect
40,000 by 1960.” In drawing up a master plan we always come back
to opportunity—the planner begins and ends with opportunity—and
as such is working and arguing in a circle.

Planning is now turning to opportunities for gainful living by local
inhabitants, a matter of turning to the needs of the people. It was
formerly planned for tourists. People now express themselves for
playgrounds rather than ornamental parks. Consequently we are
seeing changes in the city with this new outlook, changes designed to
meet the desires of the masses. The whole community is entering
strongly into the planning picture setting the priorities. This is in con-
trast with the nineteenth century, when planning was sponsored by
a select group, the business men. The result has been less emphasis
upon the decorative, upon appealing to outsiders who might spend
their money in town. Nonproperty owners are expressing themselves
through labor unions, independent voters’ groups, and other mediums,
and are overpowering the real estate owners in establishing the ends
of democratic planning. This suggests that the masses may be gaining
control.

As community master plans are made more and more functional,
embracing physical as well as social ends of the inhabitants, the prob-
lem of determining whether a given activity should be individually or
collectively controlled is being hotly debated. Two principles deter-
mine whether the activity is to be individual or collective:

1. When the activity is concerned with the well-being of all so that
the community cannot run the risk of leaving it up to individual initia-
tive, the activity should be made a collective responsibility. Education has long been taken out of the hands of parents. Society felt this to be too important a matter for individual action. Hence this function proceeds irrespective of whether the individual can pay for it or not.

2. When a service can be meted out by units, a community may leave it up to the individual. For example, the distribution of coal, oil, water, and electricity are frequently left to the person. However, it is difficult to mete out police and fire protection, with the result that the community takes over.

As new services enter the urban scene, bitter conflicts often ensue as to who shall supervise. For example, recreation would have been unthinkable as a public enterprise several years ago. But the luxury of the few has gradually become the necessity of the many. As recreation now concerns the large mass of citizens, public interest and expenditures play a vital role. It was a struggle to get the high schools and colleges accepted by many communities as social responsibilities —and it is not yet over. More recently, the school lunch and student transportation have brought about conflict. Wisconsin, in cooperation with its communities, actually went so far as to trade farms with people in order to get them nearer to public facilities, hence saving the state vast sums of money in road construction and school bus service. Affected farmers profited because they got better land.

The master plan as a force for tying together means and ends, in making visible the instrumental elements over against the ends, has made for some minimization of physical planning of institutions and movement toward planning for services. Cities, for example, are gradually doing away with orphanages, asylums, and poor farms, and setting up in their places foster home programs and pensions for the old. Hospitals would soon be devoted entirely to the care of the aged if communities did not provide for the elderly in some other way. Many mental patients are being treated by psychiatrists instead of being confined by the community to asylums. All this requires the setting up of the desired objectives and planning for the range of activities. The proper authoritarian group is given the task of encompassing the problem, i.e., national, regional, state, or civic. Here lies the responsibility of planners: to define the range of the problem, outlining the objectives in terms of the expressions of the community. Stated in another way: Planning is not only concerned with the exploiting of local resources but is concerned with the equitable distri-
bution of those resources. This calls for defining of principles and placing the details in a master plan.

HOW SHOULD A PLANNING BOARD BE ORGANIZED?

Two fundamental problems obscure the task of planning board organization:

1. Where in civic government is the planning agency to be located? Should it be situated in the structure as a regular phase of government operation or should it be a separate agency from government—an advisory agency? The answer is contingent upon what we mean by government and planning. While government is organized in a hierarchical fashion (at least in form there is some rationality in government), we also know that having rationality in each department of city government does not mean organized rationality throughout the entire administration.

2. What does planning do in achieving the end values of the administration? Does planning involve the exercise of power? If so, planning is synonymous with government itself as found in the army, Russia, company towns. Since power is dispersed in our city governments (and more so in the federal government) who makes the decisions? Often citizens are obliged to wait for the outcome of the struggle between the various branches to decide who is going to exercise power on a given issue.

These two problems may be reduced to the question: To what extent is planning a matter of policy-making, or a matter of administration? By administration is meant the carrying out of policies. In our city, county, state, and federal governments we find decision-making frequently intertwined with administration. Planning is not always found in the expected place. Bureau chiefs and seemingly minor office-holders, as administrators, actually run the government. The elected department head often is not as powerful as his bureau chiefs. These chiefs can make or break a policy. This is the price Americans pay for the merit system—civil service administrators "learn the ropes" and exercise power out of proportion to the authority formally given them. This condition is the consequence of a man holding an office over a long period of time; he knows the "angles" and techniques of the job and becomes almost indispensable. In this way "minor" administrators become decision-makers as well as admin-
istrators. The fundamental tendency of all bureaucratic thought is to turn all problems of politics into problems of administration. The attempt to hide all problems of politics under the cover of administration may be explained by the fact that the sphere of activity of governmental officials exists only within the limits of laws already formulated. What Americans get is a kind of administrative, legalistic mind in the bureau chief or civil service administrator, who looks upon community problems as only temporary disturbances, seeking remedies by means of arbitrary decrees rather than meeting the situation on its own ground. We repeat, then, planning is not always found in the expected place.

**THE AUTHORITY OF THE PLANNING BOARD**

There are two points of view concerning the authority of a planning board or commission. Stated in terms of their diametrical opposition to each other, there is (1) the point of view that identifies planners with policy-makers and (2) the view that planners have no power except the power of advice; the power to let their plans become known. Those who hold the latter position claim that any planning commission must be barred from controlling, from making decisions, that it must have nothing to do with ends. The National Resources Planning Board under Franklin D. Roosevelt functioned in this second role—over against the Planning Board of Warsaw that had power to bring action.

Americans fear planners as policy-makers because such an arrangement, they feel, generates the appetite for more power and eventual monopoly over human affairs. This writer takes the point of view that the planning board or commission should have no power except the power of advice. An excellent arrangement is to insist, by ordinance, that all major programs of action under consideration by the city council, commission, or manager be submitted to the planning board for recommendations. Such is the working relationship between the City Planning Commission of Los Angeles and the City Council:

No ordinance, order or resolution shall be adopted by the Council authorizing, ordering or involving any of the following enumerated matters, unless and until such ordinance, order or resolution shall have first been submitted to the City Planning Commission for report and recom-
mendation concerning the relation of the matter involved to and effect upon any portion of the Master Plan of the City or any plans being prepared by said Department:

(a) the acquisition, establishing, opening, widening, narrowing, straightening, abandoning or vacating of any public street, road, highway, alley, square, park, playground, airport, public building site, or other public way, ground or open space;

(b) The location and appearance of any bridge, viaduct, subway, tunnel or elevated roadway for the use of pedestrian or vehicular traffic or any public building;

(c) The creation of districts or zones for the purpose of regulating the use of lands, density of population, the height, bulk, location or use of buildings therein, or the size of yards, open spaces or setbacks adjacent to buildings, or the changing, amending or altering of any such zones, districts or regulations.\(^6\)

No planning agency should be anything more than a fact-finding body. The board should be advisory. Indeed, routine administrative power of the planning board gives the illusion of power (this is the situation in Los Angeles), although it acts only as a deputized agent for someone with power.

The “power” of a planning board has to come from the special information and knowledge that it has. Its good judgment strengthens its power. It needs no power except that of getting data and making them known. This is nothing more than having power because others consult you, of having the mandate that others must consult you before acting—regardless of whether they heed your recommendations or not. If policy-making groups do not coordinate with the planning board, the board becomes just an irritable, fault-finding agency.

Centralization versus Autonomy. The fundamental clash between centralization of function and local autonomy represents a major barrier in the way of complete planning coordination. Large and small units of government sometimes fail to understand the problems of each other. Need for standardization of function is opposed by the desires of the different localities in an urban area or region. Technical, administrative officials working on the higher levels of government are met upon occasion with opposition by local elective officers more closely allied with the people.

\(^6\) From Section 97, Los Angeles City Charter.
The complaint by sociologists and political scientists is that planning is not done on the appropriate level. For example, a federal planning agency should not plan the architecture of buildings for all the areas of the United States. Each community has its own tastes and differences; the local people should be given some initiative in planning. The division of labor among planning boards in the United States has been about as follows:

On the national level, planning agencies have been attached to the executive branch. During the early years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration the National Resources Planning Board was the national planning agency. The board's task was to conclude its studies with the characteristic phrase: "This seems to us to be the best way to achieve the desired goal." Hence the board was a fact-finding agency.7

State planning agencies were born of federal aid. And when the funds have not been forthcoming the state boards have died. While they have had the function of research, they have had the powerful weapon of being in a position to mold public opinion. The conflict between centralized, coordinated planning and local autonomy becomes most apparent on the state level. The difficulties experienced by state highway divisions, for example, in securing local cooperation in the protection of rights-of-way, easements, and building sites have often proved most frustrating. The suspicion of the state on the part of localities carries over into other fields of state planning endeavors.

As a result, there has not been agreement among legislators as to the place of state planning. When departments have existed for state planning, the full authority of the law has not been effectively used by the departments because of lack of financial support and lack of staff, or because the real administrative powers continued to be vested in the line departments. A great part of the opposition to state planning agencies comes from state and local chambers of commerce which fear controlled government with a loss of individual rights. On the other hand, the professional planners favor legislation for a well-staffed state planning agency to coordinate the state departmental plans and work closely with the locally constituted planning agencies, particularly as a clearing house for information and development of a statewide conservation program.

7The United States Bureau of the Budget is not an official planning board. It makes studies but also has some power, reviewing budgets of all federal departments and indicating what functions should be carried on.
City Planning As A Democratic Process

County planning boards wish to think of themselves in the role of consolidating local planning groups within both incorporated and unincorporated communities. But county planning boards have their troubles. In metropolitan regions the desire of the towns and cities to maintain their individual identity as industrial, recreational, or residential areas looms large as an obstacle to complete planning coordination. Questions directed to elected city clerks and appointed city engineers of the forty-five cities in Los Angeles County consistently were answered to the effect that there will never be a consolidation of planning agencies in Los Angeles County. There are a few engineers who regard scientific efficiency of administration as desirable and advocate consolidation of planning departments to remove the local agencies from too close contact with “small-town” politics. There is some sentiment in urban regions in favor of a central research and statistical agency which would furnish certain much-needed standardized statistical and physical geographic information which could form a basis for locally determined policy. This would seem to be the important function of county planning boards. In highly urbanized counties the success of county planning boards will not be great until the local towns and cities overcome their feelings of suspicion that such bodies favor the key central city in their unification and standardization of planning policies. These smaller communities are inclined to feel that the county board is being used by the central city to control the surrounding cities with regard to the extension of governmental services, particularly recreation, transportation, and sanitation.

City planning boards occasionally have some power—the power to review and veto plans. But the veto is usually meaningless; it is simply a case of the board submitting its opinion. In metropolitan regions the central city planning board experiences frequent difficulties in making its master plan a reality because of the local autonomy of neighboring towns. Unincorporated urban areas and smaller cities are being furnished urban services at the expense of the taxpayers of the central city without having to maintain themselves as incorporated units with charter obligations such as the central city has. However, the central city officials know that, in order to achieve any degree of high standard technical planning, they must give virtually free technical advice to the small incorporated cities nearby, planning services which are borne at the expense of the taxpayers of the central city.
Laymen versus Professional Planners. While suspicions of "empire-building" persist as barriers between governmental planning groups, there remains still another obstacle in the path of complete planning consolidation, namely the conflict between the professional planners and the laity. Professional community planners, like any other technicians, are always subject to the danger of becoming ingrown in their outlook, of losing sight of the all-important human element involved in planning, and of becoming impatient with the slower-moving desires and ideas of the citizenry. The latter, on the other hand, lacking the technical skill and knowledge of the planners, may often prove stumbling blocks in the path of good planning procedures. Lay members of a planning board or lay ex-officio members are not readily welcomed by professional planners. In fact, only gradually is recognition being given to such "laymen" as political scientists, sociologists, geographers, and public relations men in local planning administration.

It is often difficult to reconcile efficient administration, as envisioned by professional administrators and engineers, with the "muddling" democratic process, because it takes time to crystallize public opinion. The desire to "get things done" conflicts with the slow-working democratic procedures. After a time, the planner may become impatient with the laymen and use expedient "practical" methods at his disposal to push plans through the required legal procedure so hurriedly that there is virtually no community participation. It is the moral as well as the legal responsibility of the professional city planner to use every method at his disposal to inspire large, active group participation to keep up the morale of his technicians, as well as the elective officials and citizens, through the passage of time necessary for public opinion to take effect.

The use by professional planners of professional "jargon" presents in itself an obstacle to coordination between the laity and the planning board. The more removed the planners are from the community level and the more specialized the processing of the plans become, the greater the tendency is to use planning jargon which is beyond the understanding of the lay commissions of the cities and the citizens themselves. As a result, true community participation in the discussion and determination of popular policy in coordination and planning for all of the political subdivisions tends to be reduced to passive audience.
FORMAL PROCEDURES IN CITY PLANNING

The steps to be taken by city planners in the planning process have been thoughtfully presented in the book, Action for Cities. The procedure is summarized as follows:

I. THE PLANNING PROCEDURE

1. Development of a sketch plan
   a. Within a relatively short period—in months rather than years.
   b. To be progressively refined from the first quick reconnaissance survey and the first drafts through later detailed drafts.
   c. Making use of existing data and knowledge—not involving extensive programs of new research.
   d. Through democratic collaboration—participation of informed citizens and outside consultants when needed, cooperation between public and private groups, and between local, state, and federal agencies.

2. Comprehensive planning
   a. In recognizing the interrelatedness of problems of population, economic activities, social patterns, physical arrangements, and planning action—giving new emphasis to the economic and social base so that physical arrangements will be planned to meet the requirements of the kind of economic activities and community life desired by the people.
   b. In relating the community to the region of which it is a part, and to the nation as a whole, so that the community will receive its full share from and will in turn contribute its full share to regional and national development.

II. THE PLANNING METHOD

1. Determination of goals—what do the people of the planning area want their area to become in the light of:
   a. Its possibilities—what could the area become if proper use were made of its resources—physical, human, economic, social, cultural?
   b. Feasible paths of development—what should the area become in the best judgment of those who have made a special study of community problems?

2. Determination of needs—what must be provided in order to reach goals, measuring:
   a. Existing conditions and facilities.
   b. Shortages of physical facilities and arrangements, and of programs of services.
3. Programs of meeting needs—how can the necessary changes, facilities, and services be provided in terms of:
   a. Time schedules—what order of projects and programs should be followed.
   b. Physical changes—new development, redevelopment of existing arrangements.
   c. Legislative, administrative, and financial means.
   d. Community organization and public opinion.

III. THE PLANS

1. A statement of community objectives answering such questions as:
   a. Size—smaller, larger, or stationary population?
   b. Economic base—the same or broader or narrower base? What existing activities should be retained, expanded, contracted, converted, abandoned? What new activities should be introduced? What relocations should be encouraged?
   c. Community living—what improvements are needed in the way of facilities, programs of services, kinds of community organizations?
   d. Physical arrangements—what arrangements in land use, central facilities, neighborhood designs? What areas changed, expanded, conserved?

2. Reports, charts, maps presenting what is to be done, when, by whom, and by what means, covering:
   a. Population estimates—size, characteristics and distribution.
   b. Program for economic development—steps to achieve maximum employment, with special attention to problems of demobilization; high levels of production; employment stabilization, high standard of living, and economic security; programs relating to the labor force; recruitment, training, counselling, placement; capital, entrepreneurial, and managerial requirements; policies for industrialists, businessmen, investors, organized labor groups to follow; programs for private and public development.
   c. Program for community services in housing education and cultural activities, recreation, health, welfare, community and organization, and institutional development.
   d. Programs for physical development—land use-transportation, and density plans; public work, and housing programs; designs for neighborhood units, central business, and other areas.
   e. Programs of planning action—programs of public and private action; legislative, administrative, financial tools; official and citizen organization.
1. Determination of goals—what do the people want?
   a. The possibilities—what could the area become if the resources were used properly?
   b. What should the area become in the best judgment of those who have made a specific study?
      1) Obtain reports, charts, and maps from experts on:
         (a) Population estimates, size, distribution, characteristics.
         (b) Data on community services—education, health, recreation, etc.
         (c) Reports and charts on the best use of physical development programs—land use, transportation, density, central business area.
         (d) Charts and advice on equitable division of labor—legislative, financial tools, citizen organizations, private groups.

2. Determination of needs—what must be provided in order to reach the desired goals?
   a. Existing conditions and facilities.
   b. Shortages of physical facilities and arrangements, and of programs and services.

3. Programs of meeting needs—how can the necessary changes be provided in terms of:
   a. Time schedules—the order of projects.
   b. Physical changes, new developments.
   c. Legislative, administrative, financial means.
   d. Community organization and public opinion.

4. Development of a sketch plan:
   a. Prepare a plan in short period of time, not months or years.
   b. Progressively refine this first quick reconnaissance through the means of detailed drafts.
   c. Make use of existing data—no new extensive research.
   d. Collaborate with citizens and outside consultants, public, private, federal agencies.

5. Comprehensive planning:
   a. Recognize the interrelatedness of problems of population, economic activities, social patterns, physical arrangements. Give special emphasis to economic and social base so that the physical arrangements will meet requirements of the people.8

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Planning for Civil Defense. Civil defense has been defined as the organization of the people to minimize the effects of enemy action against people, communities, plants, facilities, and other installations, to maintain or restore those services essential to civil life, and to preserve the maximum civilian support of the war effort. In view of the dangers which could arise out of atomic and other deadly methods of modern warfare, cities could become targets for destruction as much as military installations. What can a community do about civil defense planning?

A community, with the guidance of its planning commission, should first determine to what extent a civil defense program is needed and wanted. It should consider the several strategic factors which might make the community vulnerable to enemy attack in event of an emergency. Possible targets for attack would include:

- Defense plants
- Concentration of essential industry
- Important power installations
- Location of a key industry vital to the war effort
- Density of population
- Geographic location
- Important transportation centers
- Military installations.

Not all communities need a civil defense program. However, the degree of preparation will be determined by the presence or absence of such strategic factors as listed above. It should be borne in mind, also, that even though a community may not actually be vulnerable to attack, it may be called upon to assist other communities which are vulnerable.

After the need and desire for a community civil defense program have been determined, the Mayor may wish to delegate the job of planning to a Civil Defense Director, whose responsibilities would be:

1. To plan and direct civil defense operations which would take place in time of an emergency. This should include the assignment and instruction of leaders and keeping the organization fully staffed at all times.

2. To assume complete control of the community's civil defense operations in time of an emergency, when delegated by the mayor to do so.
The next step is to take an inventory of existing facilities and resources of major importance to city defense planning. The National Security Resources Board recommends that these be included:

- Water supply systems, including potential reserve supplies
- Means of communication when normal means have been disrupted
- Street and highway systems, including alternative routes and their usefulness for evacuation
- Means of transportation such as bus, truck, automobile, water, trolley cars, and subway
- Means for emergency shelter of evacuated persons
- Hospital and first-aid facilities
- Fire-fighting equipment
- Manpower resources available in connection with the foregoing.

If a survey of facilities and resources reveals the lack of certain important elements essential to the community's civil defense program, it may be necessary to provide auxiliary facilities which would be called upon in event of an emergency. For example, auxiliary police, firemen, nurses' aids, and rescue workers may need to be trained for emergency service. Advance arrangements may be required to provide emergency housing and hospital space for temporary use if the need arises. Also, because the hose couplings of one city seldom fit the fire hydrants of another (there are more than twenty sizes in common use) it may be desirable to provide adapters in advance of any possible conflagration.

Mutual-aid between communities enters into the picture. Through a mutual-aid program, several neighboring communities should determine their requirements for civil defense and their facilities available to support their civil defense program. Through mutual agreement, arrangements should be made whereby several towns and cities would lend assistance to any one of their number which suffered an enemy attack. State-enabling legislation may be necessary, however, to authorize these mutual-aid agreements.

CONCLUSION

City planning assumes that free societies and democratic governments—with their broad distribution of political powers—are not or need not be more helpless and wasteful than dictatorships. It is pre-
cисely because democracies cannot order the lives of their citizens without their consent that planning is more significant and more complicated in a democracy than in a dictatorship. In a self-governing society—as distinguished from an autocratic one—it is not a single individual or a small group that sets the goals, but the citizens themselves. The job of city planners in a democracy is to help the citizens choose more wisely by informing them of the implications and mutual compatibility of the various goals that are being considered. They point out the alternative means of reaching the goals. They point out the probable costs involved in resources and personal and cultural values. In a dictatorship the planner’s task is simply to implement the preconceived goals revealed by the top men.

City planning is not to be regarded, in a democracy, as the mere sum of physical planning, economic planning, and social planning. Planning must operate with the physical resources—natural and cultural—with the laws and institutions, and with the capacities, the attitudes, and interests of men. Of these only the physical resources are merely means; the others are means as well as ends. Many of our major urban maladjustments today seem to arise out of the fact that our economic and technological changes have outrun, outdistanced, the relatively slow readaptation of our institutions, ideas, and sentiments. Planning, since it emphasizes integration and the orderly pursuit of achievable social goals, is at least one promising alternative to violence and chaos.

Experimentation and successes in city planning reflect the phenomenal growth of the urban way of life. The objective in this chapter has been to describe the struggle of citizens, engineers, planners, and legislators to cope with the problem of bringing a livable environment out of modern city growth by that slow but sure process of trial and error, persuasion and compromise, characteristic of our hard-won, jealously guarded self-government.

SUGGESTED READINGS

The omission as well as inclusion of social health problems in community planning is discussed.


Replanning Through Zoning

The instability of urban land uses, the intrusion of industry and business into residential sections, and the high cost of building sites resulting from speculative subdivision practices are problems faced in every city not only by home owners and private investors but also by public agencies concerned with land use. The difficulties of acquiring land for large-scale projects are a troublesome hurdle not only for federal and state agencies engaged in housing construction or public institutions but also for cities, not to overlook private building corporations.

SHOULD URBAN LAND BE PUBLICLY OWNED?

At the turn of the century serious debate concerning the advantages and disadvantages of municipal ownership of all or most urban land was the outcome of cities seeking to improve the physical design of their environments. Some present-day planners still hold to the belief that urban communities can better pursue their democratic goals through municipal land ownership. The arguments for and against such a step are summarized below.

ADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Advocates of municipal ownership of land for housing purposes, public, semipublic, cooperative, or private, suggest several distinct advantages in city development which are absent under private owner-

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ship. First, municipal ownership could prevent speculative subdivisions resulting in scattered building developments far removed from city utilities, entailing high costs for connecting sewers, water mains, and streets, and for providing schools and police and fire protection. Second, municipal ownership could control private development by prohibiting the construction of buildings in rows, block after block, with few recreation areas, parks, or even vacant lots available for recreation or "breathing spaces." A city may select for building development only those areas of public land which can be most conveniently and economically utilized, both as sites in themselves and in relation to the present municipal utilities and facilities, including sewers, water, streets, schools, transit facilities, parks, and playgrounds. Third, public ownership makes possible the rapid and full development of a single community of limited size, instead of the simultaneous, partial development of a number of scattered, unrelated subdivisions. Expensive carrying charges, costly spotty development, and many square miles of dead subdivisions would thus be eliminated.

Three major aims of the advocates of the idea of public land ownership are: (1) to assist in the carrying out of city planning projects; (2) to keep land prices low or at least stable; and (3) to create great wealth of the community by securing the land-value increment. However, there is some evidence that instead of keeping prices low or stabilizing them, prices actually rise as a result of large purchases by the public. There seems to be a natural stimulus to the real estate market in a large purchase with good credit, the willingness to pay high prices, and the high prices demanded by the authorities themselves for land sold by them, especially vacant land. Also there is some question as to whether the public would greatly benefit in future years from these purchases through the increase in the value of this land reserve. Cities are not likely to grow in the future in the same manner in which they have in the past. And those people who would promote high-value residential areas are seeking space beyond the political boundaries, providing the city grows at all. Thus the first aim (to assist in the carrying out of city planning projects) seems to be the one objective which is not subject to considerable question. There is little doubt but that public acquisition may be used as an instrument

in minimizing the social and economic wastes involved in unused land. Although the best ultimate use for every vacant urban tract cannot be found immediately, it should be recognized that, like unemployed men, unemployed land, even if assessed at fair prices and not tax-delinquent, represents substantial social and economic losses to the community. For land as well as for men, useful jobs, whether temporary or permanent, are much to be preferred to unproductive idleness. Under public ownership of wider extent than that required for carrying out the city plan, our cities would even more speedily be supplied with public golf courses, parks, improved water fronts, tennis courts, swimming pools, and other recreational, cultural, and aesthetic opportunities. Also public acquisition of vacant land might tend to encourage timely development of the remaining vacant parcels in private ownership by removing competing building sites from the market. Large amounts of public land combined with stricter zoning control over private land could be used as effective aids to rational city development.2

Unless state and city governments have the foresight and courage to adopt rational urban land policies, the alternative might conceivably be a growing demand for the complete restoration to the people of the land ownership which, in the Constitutions of Wisconsin and South Carolina, for example, is guaranteed to them in the clause which declares that:

The people of this State, in their right of sovereignty, are deemed to possess the original and ultimate property in and to all land within the jurisdiction of the State.3

ARGUMENTS FOR PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

The case for private ownership of land may be put as follows:

1. Without the protection of ownership, men would not have spent their life blood in improving their property. The primary task in settling wild land on the frontier is undertaken only because of the assurance that what a man can clear and cultivate and build upon is his exclusively to have and to hold, or to sell or bequeath as he may desire.

2 Urban Planning and Land Policies, op. cit., p. 325.
3 In general, the law of any state is the common law of England, except as altered by the state or federal constitutions or statutes. Ibid., pp. 326–327.
2. Under public ownership, corruption and red tape would enter into the handling of land. Over and over again, it has been proved that private administration is superior to public, and land, above all, should be kept from the fate of governmental regimentation.\footnote{Ibid., p. 327.}

Such, briefly, is the argument for the private ownership of land. Those who take the opposite view, advocating that American municipalities proceed to acquire by constitutional means their entire underlying land, offer in support of their recommendations the following:

1. The land and the sea and the sky were created or evolved before man. When man finally came he found them waiting his use. He had no part in their creation, yet they are necessary to his existence. Without land, a man has no place to set his foot. Thus, we see the danger inherent in the private ownership of land. Those in whom land-titles are vested can exclude their fellow humans from the earth if they so desire; the others cannot even build a place to stand on. Therefore, there can be no inherent right to exclusive ownership; the land is the natural heritage of society, and every human being has a right to live upon it.

2. For a great many years valuable land has been largely monopolized. Ever since the disappearance of the frontier we have watched the growth of a property-less class living at the mercy of landowners. Wealth increases with scientific advance, but the holders of title to the surface of the earth are able, without rendering commensurate service, to deprive the great masses of mankind of their proportionate share of the fruits of their productivity. This is not pure theory. If one follows the history of wages in all countries, he will see that average wages, in proportion to the total national income, start downward simultaneously with the disappearance of the frontier. As soon as access to the land is denied, there is no choice for most men but to sell their labor to others for what they can get. Why has the wage structure of the United States been so far above that of other nations? Largely because we are a new country, and our frontier land has only recently been exhausted.

3. It is the duty of the State to protect the freedom and security of its citizens, and political freedom is empty without economic freedom. Private ownership of land has ceased to fulfill the purpose it once had of providing maximum economic security for all. Now the minority only is secure.

4. Urban ground rents, if not collected by the community that creates them, are certain to be collected by landowners who do not create them.

5. Forward-looking municipalities the world over are recognizing the need for increased land in public ownership, for recreation, low-rent housing, school sites, and other purposes, and we are making plans for adding
to their landholdings within, and sometimes beyond, their corporate limits.

6. Public administration of land would involve no insuperable difficulties. It is primarily a legal and fiscal problem. Public interest would be paramount, and contrary to the contentions of some, a great amount of corruption would be eliminated from government. Instead of speculative landowners absorbing much of the benefit of population growth and public expenditures, the returns on public improvements could be used to pay their cost or be put into more public improvements, with only the best interest of the community in mind.

7. If any city had owned, and retained from its inception, title to its entire site, that city would have been planned more scientifically, developed more rationally, and be less burdened with taxes than the ordinary city of today.

8. Ownership of both site and building is not essential to the development of land for business or residential purposes. Witness the extensive use of the leasehold system in many cities, the rents accruing, however, to private owners rather than to the communities that have created them.

9. Our present system of land tenure encourages the use in many cases of the less desirable land in a city, or of land outside the city's limits, while much desirable land within the city is held vacant or poorly improved for possible speculative gain.

10. Assuming the public interest to demand the retention, under proper controls, of our capitalistic system, there must be recognition of the fact that land-gambling is a parasitic trade, and rejection of the too common assumption that mere land speculators and jerry-builders should be permitted to rank with high-grade realtors, manufacturers, merchants, and bankers as members of the local business community.⁵

Notwithstanding the cogency of many of these arguments, it is premature to accept as conclusive the case for the public ownership of all urban land. However recognition should be given to the fact that the tenure and use of urban land are matters of urgent concern.

ZONING AS A COMPROMISE MEASURE

Zoning in the United States may be interpreted as a middle-ground procedure between the extreme positions outlined above, to be followed by the community to promote the general welfare. In the language of Arthur C. Comey, zoning may be said to be, among other

⁵ Ibid., pp. 327–328.
things, "the promotion of the general welfare through the differentiated regulation of the use of private property, properties similarly situated being treated alike, that is, placed in the same class or district with the same governing regulations." 6

The principle of modern zoning was adopted from the Germans. During the last half of the nineteenth century many experiments in municipal control and regulation were made in German cities, which always exercised rights over the use of land to an extent far beyond those of cities located in other countries. Property owners were compelled to submit to various sorts of restrictive practices. In 1916 the first important experiment in zoning in America took place in New York City, where an ordinance was drawn up to restrain certain practices and to serve as a control over future operations rather than to serve as a "cure-all" for existing conditions. Owing to the encroachment of light manufacturing establishments in business sections, it was discovered that retail trade was being steadily driven northward on Manhattan Island toward Central Park and that an area which was formerly the center of the city's retail business rapidly deteriorated in value through the encroachment of wholesale and manufacturing enterprises. Thus there was a steady drift uptown. Endless are situations similar to this, stories of the process of ecological invasion and succession. In order to delay or reroute the direction of invasion, city zoning was made to embody the following principal features: (1) limitations upon the height of commercial buildings; (2) regulation of the percentage of area a building may occupy on a lot, whether dwelling, apartment, or business block; (3) exclusion of trade and industry from essentially residential districts, different classes of which are definitely established; (4) segregation of apartment and tenement buildings into areas selected for them, usually close to thoroughfares; (5) barring of nuisance and seminuisance industries from all sections of the city except areas especially selected for their use; (6) permanent establishment of business streets on which commercial buildings can be erected and maintained; (7) definite selection of territories in which manufacturing of the heavier types may be conducted; (8) permanent establishment of set-back and building lines which may help in street-widening plans to be enacted in the future. In order to obtain some relief from congestion, some cities have amended their zoning

ordinances to require the provision of parking space in connection with all building enterprise. Faced with the urgency of protecting the future of the central business district, large cities over 100,000 population have been adopting such provisions. It has been estimated that some 23 per cent of the cities in this population group have some form of zoning for parking. Cities of lesser size with these provisions are: 3 per cent of those between 10,000 and 25,000; 7 per cent between 25,000 and 50,000; and 18 per cent between 50,000 and 100,000.7

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**Fig 1.** What happens in unrestricted neighborhoods. On the left is a typical city block restricted to the erection of residences only. On the right is a block in an unrestricted district where all classes of business may rush in and endanger property values and the balance of life.

Zoning, however, did not come into being minus the opposition of many groups and individuals. Following are some of the arguments supporting this resistance: (1) zoning curtails the growth of a city, putting it in a strait-jacket, thus destroying the individual initiative which has built cities in the past; (2) it denies the owner the right to direct the use of his own property and arbitrarily dictates its future utilization; (3) it confiscates property because it does not compensate the owner when the use allotted to land is for a different purpose than

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that to which it is being put; (4) zoning raises taxes for the home owner because it reduces the value of much downtown property; (5) residential districts now existing may be destroyed by the arbitrary act of a few men in charge of zoning bureaus; (6) it has a tendency to force rents higher than laboring classes can stand because fewer small buildings are erected for renting purposes, and larger ones are more expensive to construct because of restrictive conditions; (7) zoning is class regulation, controlled by politicians and demagogues; (8) it attempts to control the use of property in rapidly changing districts without consideration for the rules which control natural growth; (9) it is un-American because it restricts individual initiative and limits the free use of property.\footnote{McMichael and Bingham, City Growth and Values (Cleveland, Ohio, The Stanley McMichael Publishing Organization, 1923), pp. 320–321.}

Not until the zoning idea was well tested in the courts was it widely accepted as standard responsibility of American cities. Arthur B. Gallion writes:

After the early adventures in zoning property for specific uses it became increasingly apparent that this use of the police power to safeguard the public welfare could not stand by itself. The courts had upheld the right of a community to exercise the police power in legislating regulations governing the use of land. They had granted that a community has the right to determine its own character. Great conservative minds like Justice Sutherland had supported this right of the citizens, and there was a growing popular acceptance of zoning as a means to protect the interests of a community.

But the courts perceived the necessity for a community to appraise the use of all land within its political jurisdiction and give consideration to conditions in areas contiguous to it in order to determine properly the appropriate uses and provide a firm basis for the control of land use prescribed in zoning ordinances. The courts had found good reason for this view.

They had observed numerous abuses of the police power to establish arbitrary and discriminatory districts. In addition to the abuses previously described, there was a tendency to establish many small districts as a means to restrain the construction of some particular improvement or deny a use deemed undesirable in some existing structure. There are also cases in which a zoning ordinance was intended to create or protect a monopoly. This was illustrated in the small community of Atherton, California. With an area of 2,500 acres and 1,000 population, the entire
community was zoned for residential use with the exception of 1.1 acres which were improved with existing business and remained unrestricted. The court held the ordinance to be unreasonable since the town council, through its act of zoning, offered no evidence that the area was adequate to provide the needs of the community and allow for future population growth. It was therefore construed that the ordinance conferred special rights by establishing a monopoly for existing enterprise.

In order for the courts to have assurance that zoning districts were not arbitrarily determined, they required evidence that the various districts were related to an over-all evaluation of land use in the city. There was a growing insistence upon a "comprehensive plan" for land use to form a foundation for zoning ordinances, and the opinion of Justice Sutherland in the Euclid case clearly expressed the need for this evidence. In the fulfillment of this need the process of the Master Plan was evolved.

While the opposition by property owners to zoning was quite severe in the early part of this century, today the preponderance of argument favors the zoning of cities. Property owners, in fact, recognize how unrestricted districts generally give rise to an endangering of property values. Nearly 1,300 cities have adopted zoning ordinances since the first comprehensive act of 1916 in New York, and about three-quarters of the urban population are living in communities with this form of regulation. While half of the municipalities in the country are still without zoning ordinances, the popular acceptance of this form of control for urban development represents considerable progress. It is a paradox that cities, though strongly rooted in zoning procedures, continue to deteriorate and congestion increases. The power of ecological forces in our capitalistic economy helps to explain the limitations of zoning.

THE MECHANICS OF ZONING

Most zoning ordinances are telescopic in their classification of different kinds of zones. The uses of the more restricted zones are successively allowed in each of the less restricted zones. In an ideal zoning ordinance, however, the uses of the several zones would be mutually exclusive: residence, business, and industry, respectively, would each be confined to its own particular zone. It is our present concept of

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9 *In re White*, 195 California 516 (1925).
Fig. 2. Use—district map of the zoning ordinance in the City of Minneapolis
zoning that the intensity of land use recedes outwardly from the center of the city, with the provision that land zoned for one use may also be devoted to other uses of lesser “economic” intensity. Consequently, all land uses are permitted in the “heavy industrial zone,” and only industry is excluded from commercial zones while all types of dwellings are permitted therein. The sequence ends with the single-family zone as the only area reserved solely for its specified use.

The city of Los Angeles, for example, is divided into sixteen zones described as follows:

“A1” Agricultural Zone
“A2” Agricultural Zone
“RA” Suburban Zone
“R1” One-Family Zone
“R2” Two-Family Zone
“R3” Multiple-Dwelling Zone
“R4” Multiple-Dwelling Zone
“R5” Multiple-Dwelling Zone
“C1” Limited Commercial Zone
“C2” Commercial Zone
“C3” Commercial Zone
“C4” Commercial Zone
“C5” Business Zone
“M1” Limited Industrial Zone
“M2” Light Industrial Zone
“M3” Heavy Industrial Zone

A zoning map identifies all space in the city in terms of the assigned land uses designated above with the following two exceptions: (1) Land assigned for any given use may also be used for higher purposes, e.g., a block labeled “R3” (multiple-dwelling zone) may also be used for “R2” (two-family dwellings). Space calling for “C1” (limited commercial) also permits “R3” and so on. (2) By application to the Board of Zoning Appeals, exceptions to the rigid rule stated above are granted under a “conditional variance clause.” For example, the city frequently permits a filling station to be placed on a corner in a block for private dwellings; a permit may be granted to convert a garage to a private dwelling for the occupancy of household servants. The danger in a “variance clause” rests in the tendency to be lenient with applications for changes in land use, hence undermining the entire zoning program. The mixed zone, whether a recognition of
existing conditions or a deliberate method of treating present or prospective development, is to some degree an abandonment of both classification and segregation. In reality it is a partial abnegation of zoning, a surrender to unregulated building.

**SOME CONVENTIONAL FAULTS**

In addition to the faults which may attend "variance clauses," many cities have missed a real opportunity to promote their well-being by not excluding residences from some, if not all, of their heavy industrial zones. This is especially true of large cities where heavy industrial zones are large. The very reasons that make it desirable to exclude nuisances from residence districts apply with equal, if not greater, force when it comes to prohibiting the erection of new residential buildings in areas which are, in the main, to be developed with industries offensive by reason of the emission of odor, dust, gas, or noise. Such residence building virtually dooms the area as a future slum. Wholesome homes cannot be maintained in an environment having its character fixed by chemical plants, slaughter houses, steel mills, tanneries, and railroad yards.

Another fault is the practice of "transition zoning," as illustrated with the Los Angeles practice. The logic of this sequence is more apparent than real; it breaks down at the juncture between the zones of high-density residential and the zones of heavy commercial, industrial, and railroad property. Gallion argues: "Because the single-family dwelling is associated with desirable land-use in contrast with the multiple dwelling as a less desirable use, it is a paradox that transition zoning should force the greatest population density contiguous to the land-uses which provide the least desirable qualities for a living environment. There appears little logic to support the exposure of the greatest number of people to environmental conditions deemed undesirable for a lesser number." 11 Gallion recommends the use of open spaces—parks and playgrounds—as buffers between the areas in which the land uses are definitely separated in character and function. Such a procedure would provide a means to the gradual redevelopment of buffer spaces as permanently zoned open space.

Another serious fault is "strip-zoning" for commercial and "income" residential uses along all the principal and secondary highways

throughout the city, inviting traffic congestion which cannot be cor-
tected by the use of such devices as traffic signals. These thoroughfares
ultimately become quite impracticable as traffic arteries or shopping
streets.\textsuperscript{12}

**CONCLUSION**

From the evidence available the growth of cities has not been mate-
rially checked by zoning. If promiscuous growth is detrimental and
orderly growth desirable, and zoning laws accomplish the latter object,
then it seems that zoning, properly applied, would be beneficial rather
than detrimental to any growing community. Selfishness on the part of
a property owner who is determined to use his land for whatever
purpose he chooses, should not prevent the accomplishment of a zon-
ing plan, if the general interest of the community is thereby advanced.

Recognizing the ecological tendency for lower land uses to invade
higher uses, it is difficult to believe that zoning, in its general applica-
tion, can do other than raise real estate values, or, at worst, maintain
values over an extended period of time.

The Master Plan should be constructed to invite the development
of natural or ecological areas. It may indicate an area to be appropri-
ate for single-family dwellings, whereas the zoning plan may permit
a commercial use within specified limits to be developed as a shopping
center and contribute to the neighborhood quality of the area. A site
for a school and a park may also be provided within such an area.
Development of the precise plans should be refinements of the Master
Plan, their purpose being the creation of balanced community design.

Probably few persons appreciate what a profound change has been
brought about in the development of cities within a comparatively few
years through zoning. The banning of dark rooms by prohibiting
rooms without windows, or rooms with windows looking out upon air
shafts, regulating inner courts to permit the maximum of daylight,
requiring set-backs, limiting the percentage of a lot which may be
occupied, and location of accessory buildings, all contribute to the
well-being of an urban population. Not to be overlooked is zoning
which prohibits unlimited overcrowding of land. The proper time to
prevent undue population congestion is before it becomes either in-
tense or widespread. The fact that a fifty-family house has been built

where only a two-family house should have been erected has the effect of leaving twenty-four lots vacant, when they might otherwise have been improved, and of holding in abeyance the effective demand for them until the increased population again warrants the erection of a large multi-family house. City zoning is just entering into the problem of front-yard requirements, city planners noting how the front-yard, in this era of fast traffic, has become no longer a recreation spot but a green spot, with iron rails, for show purposes; the recreation taking place in the dingy, often, filthy back-yard or alley.

Thus, like a car which, after long service, needs partial or drastic overhauling, so zoning ordinances need a little servicing once in a while, or else they may in time be found to be "running on one cylinder."

SUGGESTED READINGS


A study of land used and needed for various purposes by "typical" American cities. Intended as an aid to scientific zoning practice.

Caplow, Theodore (editor), City Planning (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1950).

A selection of good readings on various aspects of city planning.


Present concepts and problems of zoning are outlined in clear, precise language.


Imagination and practicality are shown in this excellent summation of city planning. Two well-prepared chapters on zoning, its good points and its present limitations.
PART V

Conclusion
THE NATURE OF HUMAN ASSOCIATION IN RURAL AND URBAN LIFE

It has been claimed by some observers on rural life that conduct in the country is characterized by (1) self-reliance and personal endurance and (2) cooperation; that these are the characteristics in the rural community. This seems to be about as far as most rural sociologists have gone in their efforts to answer the question: "What is the nature of human association in the rural society?" Is it not, however, a contradiction to place these two characteristics side by side within the same small community? Indeed, harvesting, barn-raising, and marketing of cash crops all involve directly or indirectly cooperation. But the more these rural practices are carried to an extreme the more commercialization on a large scale takes place. That is, the larger the enterprise the more self-reliance yields to cooperation until we are led to the hypothesis that the larger the rural enterprise the more cooperation is required. Hence self-reliance becomes the characteristic of conduct of men in simple rural pursuits whereas cooperation is representative of larger enterprises calling for the participation of many men.

Furthermore, to say that rural people are self-reliant and cooperative suggests that urban people are not self-reliant and are mutually antagonistic—which is also contradictory. For in the city the idea of independence is present, emphasis being placed upon the separate individual. Cooperation does take place but between impersonal institutions, by and large.
In the view of this writer, association in the country depends more upon (1) kinship, (2) propinquity, and (3) tradition, while association in the city depends upon (1) personal interests, (2) cultural status as revealed through such indices as education and occupation, and (3) ideology. Hence the realism of contemporary rural-urban association is that in the country relations are comparatively simple and overt whereas in the city they are comparatively complex and subtle. As stated elsewhere, the social structures of the rural community tend to overlap and converge through somewhat unrestricted participation in schools, religion, economic enterprises, and politics. But in the city we find segmentalized interests. Cooperation becomes a matter of expediency. Of course, the rural community is becoming more and more segmentalized due to the effect of the urban way of life.

THE PROBLEM AND AIMS OF THE URBAN SOCIOLOGIST

In this newer urban environment the natural sciences have made broad strides in their efforts to obtain control over the external and physical universe. In the city we take our buildings, streets, conveyance systems, and water-supply lines for granted. Social science is now seeking by the same methods of observation and research to give man control over himself. Since in the city the problems of social control arose in their most acute forms, so it is in the city that the problem must be studied. A great share of this burden falls on the urban sociologist. As a social scientist he is interested in the whole complex situation and all the interrelationships that make up urban social life. He deals not with one but with all aspects of the urban social universe.

Therefore, like the broad field of sociology, urban sociology is a generalizing science. Its practical aim is to search out the determinants and consequences of diverse forms of social behavior found in the city. To the extent that it succeeds in fulfilling this role, it clarifies the alternatives of organized social action in a given situation and of the probable outcome of each. To this extent there is no sharp distinction between pure research and applied research. The difference is one between research with direct implications for particular problems of social action and research which is remote from these problems. Not
infrequently basic urban research which has succeeded only in clearing up previously confused concepts may have an immediate bearing upon the problems of men in society to a degree not approximated by applied research oriented exclusively to these problems. Students in the field of basic urban research, by clarifying apparently unclear and confused concepts in the sphere of urban behavior, are taking a necessary step toward devising effective programs for reducing intergroup conflict and haphazard land use in the city.

Therefore the ultimate aim of urban sociology is to show the urban citizen and civic leader how to promote adjustment and exercise control as far as may be possible. Because social change is in great measure an automatic process in the sense that it is conditioned by massive impersonal forces, man can alter its course only by learning about these forces and their mode of operation. In this way can the urbanite shape his own actions and produce more satisfying adjustments to the situation. By understanding the forces which shape the city and its growth, and adjusting to them through city planning, more order and direction can be given to urban existence; waste and maladjustments may be minimized and in some instances avoided.

Urban sociology is a complex and difficult field in which to work. As a place where relations between person and person, group and group are by and large accommodative, irrationality, strain, and tension are forces that are often as effective in the game of living as rules, rationality, or intelligent prevision. Thus the task is not only to portray a structure but to emphasize action, to study the elusive forces that contribute to a way of life which, by comparison with peasant life, is unstable and unpredictable. There was a tendency by many sociologists of the past to view the urban community as having a universal sameness rather than having great dissimilarities. Whatever aspects of an urban community we emphasize, a taxonomy of such a grouping (a classification of the characteristics) calls for more of this and less of that, e.g., one city will have more industry or less industry than a neighboring city, more resources or less resources, more old people than young. It is a falsification of the facts to look at contemporary cities as though they had square corners, a universal sameness.
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