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Urban Society

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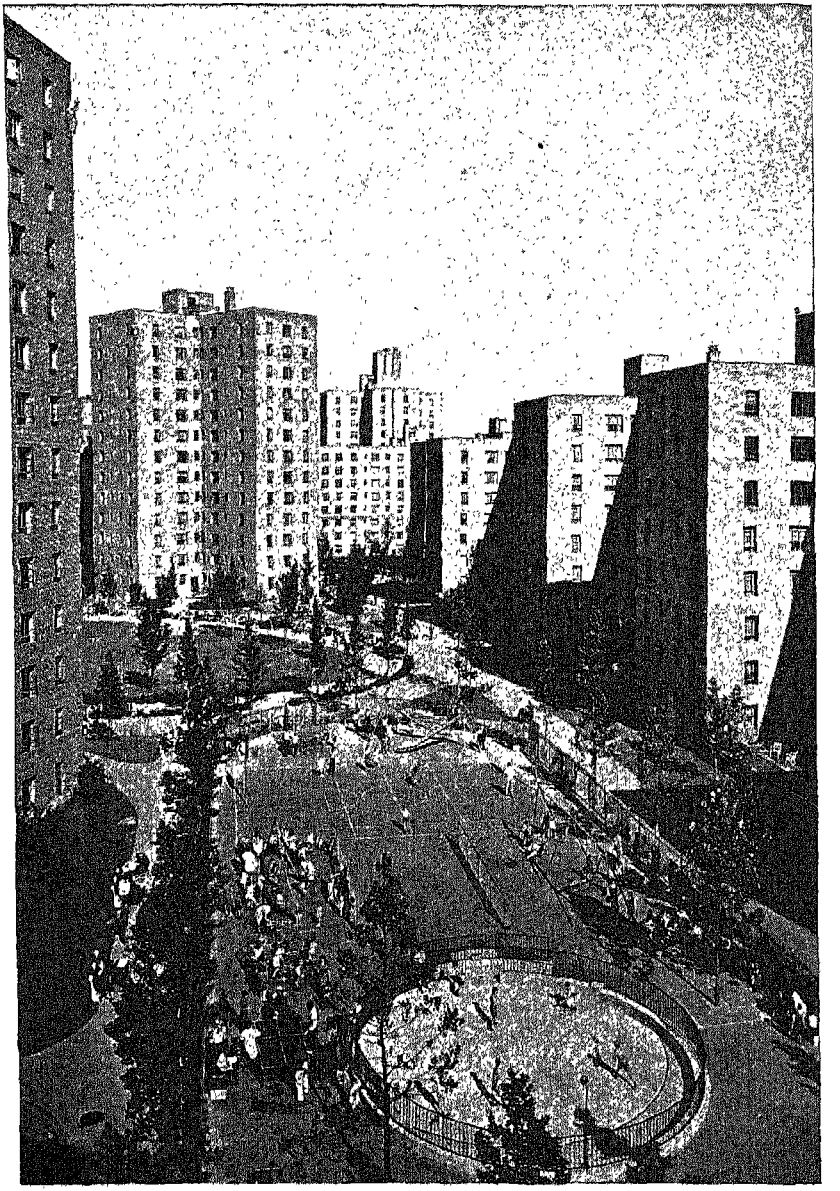
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Parkchester, a community of 130 acres in the East Bronx, is planned to

Urban Society

SECOND EDITION

by NOEL P. GIST
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

and L. A. HALBERT
VICE-PRESIDENT OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

EIGHT years have passed since the preparation of the first edition of URBAN SOCIETY. Momentous changes have taken place in the world during this brief period. These changes and the problems accompanying them have continued to stimulate the interest of sociologists in the multifarious phenomena of city life. At least the appearance of an extensive literature, both scientific and philosophical, is evidence that the urban community is being profitably used as a laboratory in which to conduct sociological investigations. The numerous researches that have been carried on, as well as surveys of a more practical slant, have provided a wealth of materials which are now available both to social scientists and social planners. Perhaps one thing that may be stated with certainty is that the research materials have made possible a degree of refinement and maturity of sociological theory that did not exist a decade ago.

Yet it must be emphasized that sociologists are far, very far, from an adequate understanding of the city. Indeed some aspects of the community are practically untouched so far as theoretical analysis is concerned. So pervasive is urban culture that a *complete* sociology of city life would by its very nature be a complete sociology of modern civilization. It is for this reason that a textbook on urban sociology must be regarded as tentative rather than final.

The present edition represents an effort to bring the volume up to date through (1) the inclusion of new data and (2) the clarification and elaboration of existing theoretical materials. Approximately half of the book is new. Separate chapters on the metropolitan region, population trends, political organization, and housing have been added, and several other chapters have been thoroughly revised in the light of recent developments. Three of the chapters in

the original edition have been omitted, while two others have been combined. The general plan of the book has remained much the same.

It is obvious that in a book of this type use has been made of the materials and ideas of numerous individuals. To mention all of them in the prefatory remarks might be a courteous gesture but would add nothing to the value of the text. The authors are nevertheless grateful to those persons who, through their writings and researches, have contributed to the field of urban sociology and therefore made possible a textbook designed for the use of students. Proper acknowledgments of this indebtedness have been in footnotes throughout the body of the book. Especial appreciation should be expressed, however, to Professor Seba Eldridge, of the University of Kansas, for his careful editing of the revised manuscript.

NOEL P. GIST
L. A. HALBERT

October, 1940

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PART I

THE RISE OF URBANISM

I

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN COMMUNITIES

WAYS OF DEFINING CITIES

DIFFICULTY OF FORMULATING A DEFINITION. The organization of human society is characterized both by the sparsity and the congestion of persons as territorially located. This fact is so much a matter of common observation that the terms, COUNTRY and CITY, have been applied as a matter of convenience to the two most apparent forms that human distribution has taken. Yet an examination of the distributive aspects of society soon indicates that there is no sharp dividing line between country and city: country life shades imperceptibly into town life, and towns vary in size and degree of urbanization so that the line between the town and city cannot be distinguished except as arbitrary limits are established for classificatory purposes. There is a common cultural thread running through country and city alike.

VARIETIES OF DEFINITIONS. Nevertheless the two terms do represent different ideas. There is a difference between the townsman and the man from the country, and both are fully cognizant of this difference. Between the social life and organization of the people who are distributed over a wide territory and engage in agriculture, on the one hand, and the organization of the life and activities of those who are clustered together in towns and engage in manufacturing and trade, on the other hand, there is a notable difference. In order to indicate specifically what the differences consist of, the following points are considered:

1. Density. How close together must people live to establish city life?
2. Numerical size. How many persons are required to make a city?

3. Territorial limits. How may one determine where the city ends and the country begins?
4. Legal status. What acts of government are required to give a community legal recognition as a city?
5. Occupations. Is every agricultural community rural and every non-agricultural community urban?
6. Organization. What is the difference, if any, between the ways in which people are organized in the city and in the country?

DENSITY OF POPULATION AN URBAN CHARACTERISTIC. The word CITY or TOWN is usually applied to areas in which dwellings are close together. Density of population becomes, then, a basis for urban classification. Some students of population, however, classify the inhabitants as AGGLOMERATED and SCATTERED, instead of making a city-country classification. The agglomerated population includes the people who live in houses that have yards and are separated only by streets or parks, while the scattered population consists of those that are living on farms. The difficulty involved in such a classification arises when it becomes necessary to determine when a yard expands into a farm. During part of the nineteenth century, however, both France and Italy classified their population as agglomerated and scattered. In early censuses England classified her people under several categories, according to the distance between their houses, but this plan has now been abandoned for a different system of classification.

The mere fact that people live closer together in one section than in another may not indicate anything as to their occupation or their social organization. For example, in France and part of Germany and in other European countries the small farmers live together in little villages and go out to their farms daily, whereas in the United States the farmers of the same class live on their separate tracts of land. A farmer who lives in a village is perhaps as much of a farmer as one who lives on the soil he cultivates far removed from any of his fellows. A German *Dorf* or a Russian *mir* is as much rural as an American township with farmers living a mile apart.

Jefferson suggests that the closeness together of the people on the

land may be used as a criterion for rating a certain territory as urban or rural, but he insists that the conception of a city is not satisfied unless certain characteristics of city life appear.[1] "The high price of land that characterizes cities comes of occupation so close as to make competition for ownership. The improved paving, lighting, and policing all depend on the gathering of numerous taxpayers into a small space. The better theaters, concerts, libraries, and schools are possible only because a great number of potential patrons are gathered together." [2] Weichel, cited by Jefferson, gives the following table of correspondence between density of population and occupations:

Table I

SUGGESTED CORRELATION BETWEEN DENSITY OF POPULATION AND THE TYPE OF ECONOMY OF A GIVEN REGION [3]

DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE	TYPE OF ECONOMY
0 to 8	Hunting and fishing
8 to 26	Grazing and forestry
26 to 64	Beginnings of agriculture
64 to 192	Agriculture
192 to 256	Beginnings of industry
256 to 381	Agriculture and industry
381 to 512	Industry predominates
512 to 2,560	Industrial towns or suburbs
2,560 to 5,120	Centers of small cities
5,120 to 12,800	Centers of moderate cities
12,800 to 25,600	Centers of large cities

Obviously it is not always possible to indicate the limits of density for different occupations. Agriculture may exist, for example, where the density is more in keeping with other types of economic activities, as both Jefferson and Weichel recognize. Jefferson concluded that it is useful to assume that a density of 10,000 people per square mile is indicative of a city. Willcox has proposed that all territory settled to a density of less than 100 per square mile be rated as rural; that territory containing from 100 to 1,000 per square mile be con-

1. Jefferson, Mark, "The Anthropogeography of Some Great Cities," *Bulletin American Geographical Society*, 41: 542–544 (1909).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

sidered as village; and that territory having more than 1,000 persons per square mile be rated as urban.[4]

The fact that centers of population exist gives concreteness to the city concept, but mere density of population does not make it urban, and sparsity of population does not prevent a district from having a social organization of an urban character. Actual physical distance between people does not determine their social organization. Some people who are employed in New York City live fifty or a hundred miles from their work. Physical proximity was formerly necessary to urban forms of organization, but this is not wholly true today because means of rapid transportation and almost instantaneous communication have reduced the mile of today to the equivalent of a city block a hundred years ago. Yet in spite of modern inventions density of population does have a certain significance. People who live in close proximity are usually more dependent on each other for the necessaries of life, and out of this interdependence there tends to develop a social and economic organization that is urban in its characteristics.

Numerical Size of a City. Whenever a center of population receives a name it becomes a distinct community in the minds of the people who live in it or visit it. By the time a center of population comes to be recognized as such it already has such a number and variety of functions and social relationships as to approach the form and structure of an urban community in its most elemental stage. The number of inhabitants in a given region ordinarily influences the nature of the activities and organization of the persons who reside or work in the area. In densely populated areas there is usually a greater social differentiation and complexity of organization than in sparsely populated areas. Yet this criterion applied arbitrarily may be misleading. A village that lies juxtaposed to a manufacturing city may resemble the city in its social and economic organization much more than it resembles the country, and the inhabitants may be as

4. Willcox, Walter F., "A Definition of 'City' in Terms of Density of Population," *The Urban Community*, edited by Burgess, E. W., p. 119 (1926).

urban in their interests and attitudes and points of view as those who actually live within the bounds of the larger city. Using the numerical basis as a criterion, a young manufacturing area, a small harbor, an old village, and a residential suburb may all be classified as rural districts when in reality they are not rural at all. The density or sparsity of population in any country or region may also influence the social organization within the town or city and determine its relations with the rural area surrounding it. A Dakota town of 1,000 persons located on the sparsely settled plains of a prairie state may have more of an urban organization and exercise a greater influence on the rural people in that territory than a town of 5,000 or even 10,000 in the valley of the Ganges or the Yangtze whose rural populations are crowded together in a never-ending struggle for sheer existence.

Whatever may be the objections to the numerical basis for the classification of districts as rural and urban, the scheme has been generally accepted, although not all students or countries employ exactly the same criteria for rural-urban classifications. As early as 1846 France officially chose 2,000 as the minimum number of inhabitants necessary for an area with an agglomerated population to be classified as urban. This standard was approved by other countries and in 1887 was adopted by the International Institute of Statistics. Until 1910 the United States Bureau of the Census classified as urban all agglomerated areas of 8,000 or over, but beginning with the 1910 census the minimum was changed to 2,500. However, recalculation of the urban population on the 2,500 basis was made as far back as the 1880 decade. In Belgium the minimum number for an urban community is 5,000; in Egypt, 11,000; in Japan, 30,000. Argentina leaves the decision of classification to local authorities. In Soviet Russia a community is classified as a city if (1) more than half the population is engaged in nonagricultural pursuits and if (2) at least 500 of the inhabitants are employed in industry or 2,000 are engaged in commercial undertakings.

It has become customary to refer to the area occupied continuously

under urban conditions and constituting a single large business community as a METROPOLITAN DISTRICT. More and more students are coming to recognize as the important unit the metropolitan district rather than merely the central city. The term GROUP CITY has been used by Jefferson to designate certain great agglomerations or conurbations that would constitute a single city were it not for arbitrary political boundaries that cut them up into several cities.[5] The political lines that separate various sections of these urban areas from one another are obviously arbitrary; the entire district constitutes as much a social and economic unit as if it were all within the same political boundaries and governed by the same political organization. New York City, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Detroit are examples of core cities that are surrounded by many suburban satellites, each independent politically.

GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF CITIES. It is difficult to compare cities and arrange them in classes according to population for the reason that the area which legally constitutes a town or city may not coincide with the district that is covered by a relatively dense population. In some countries the census units are townships, and under such a system city territory may be combined with rural and an average density arrived at that has no particular sociological significance. Because of the fact that different parts of the same city may be reported in different townships, neither the true size nor density of the cities is reported. In the United States incorporated towns are reported separately from the rural territory except in certain parts of New England. In three of the New England States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, the towns are not incorporated, nor are they in any way politically distinct from the rural areas, until they reach a population of at least 2,000.[6] As a matter of fact it is the practice not to incorporate the larger towns as cities until they attain a population of ten or fifteen thousand. Conse-

5. Jefferson, Mark, "Great Cities of the United States, 1920," *Geographical Review*, 11: 438 (July, 1921).

6. The township in New England is the unit of classification. Townships may contain several good-sized villages or towns, or they may be strictly open country.

quently many New England townships with considerable populations have been classified as rural.[7]

In this country there seems to be little uniformity with respect to the kinds of areas included in larger cities. Kansas City, Missouri, for example, includes within its legal area many acres of farm land and many persons who are engaged primarily in agriculture. Its boundaries were made much larger than the actual city in order to include within the city limits the drainage area that was necessary to get the proper grade for its sewer system. On the other hand, Boston is surrounded by much densely populated territory that constitutes a real part of the city in every way except politically. Boston includes only a small portion of the district occupied by the people under urban conditions of density while Kansas City includes most of such territory and more besides. Official statistics therefore do not always present an accurate picture of what exists.

Because of the wide variations in the structure and functions of cities it is not always easy to determine the territorial extent of the region that is usually considered metropolitan. In this country it was customary until recently to include within the metropolitan area the entire district up to the ten-mile limit beyond the city's political boundaries, with necessary variations for city or town lines, or other civil divisions, in which the population was at least 150 per square mile. For the smaller cities this gave a fairly accurate indication of the metropolitan district, but for the great cities of the country it was obviously inadequate.

Accordingly the Bureau of the Census re-defined the metropolitan district to "include, in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile, and also, as a rule, those civil divisions of less density that are *directly* contiguous to the central cities, or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil divisions that have the required density." [8] While there have been no clear

7. The U. S. Census Bureau recognizes this discrepancy, however, and modifies its figures to conform to the actual situation.

8. *Metropolitan Areas*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1932, pp. 5–6.

definitions worked out for a metropolitan district, the one framed by a special committee representing several chambers of commerce, namely, "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," has been accepted tentatively by the Bureau of the Census. Using these criteria in the 1930 census the Bureau defined the boundaries of 96 metropolitan districts, each with an aggregate population of 100,000 or over. As a result of these new standards of measurement, and also of the population increase in certain centers, 11 new metropolitan districts were added to the list that existed in 1920. (FIG. I.)

LEGAL STATUS OF CITIES. In popular parlance a town or city means a political unit with municipal functions. Naming a town, defining its boundaries, and proclaiming it a political entity is a tangible procedure that is easily understood by the average person. Consequently people are usually more interested in the legal status of a city than in trends and processes that are less apparent. In this country cities derive their legal status from the respective states in which they are located, with the one exception of Washington, the national capital. The states usually make a four-fold classification according to the numerical size of the population, and then prescribe different degrees of power and different forms of administrative machinery for the several classes. In Missouri, for example, five classes are recognized by the general laws of the state, as follows: first class, 100,000 or over; second class, 30,000 to 100,000; third class, 3,000 to 30,000; fourth class, 500 to 3,000; villages, 500 or less. Germany early made the following four-fold classification according to size: *Landstädte*, 2,000 to 5,000; *Kleinstädte*, 5,000 to 20,000; *Mittelstädte*, 20,000 to 100,000; *Grossestädte*, over 100,000.

Cities are not automatically given legal status; but wherever population of a sufficient size is clustered closely about a given center the inhabitants of the area may, by certain voluntary acts, have their community given a legal status, either as a village or as a classified city. Whenever villages or cities acquire the necessary increase in population they may be advanced to the next class by a vote of the

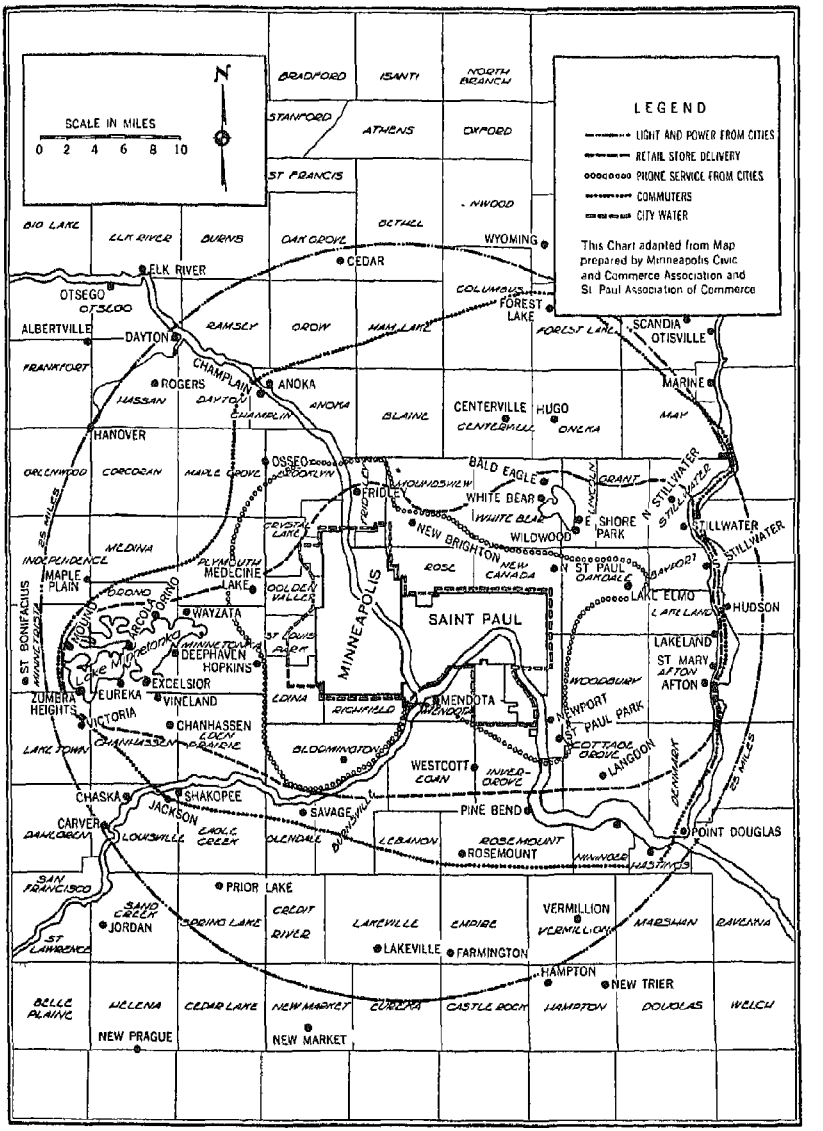


FIG. I. The Minneapolis–St. Paul Metropolitan District, 1930. Note the lines indicating the territorial extent of different metropolitan services. (From Calvin F. Schmid's *Social Saga of Two Cities*)

citizens at an election. The number of classes into which cities are divided in different states varies, as do also the population limits for each class. In any case, however, they tend to be subordinate to the state and derive their powers from the state in which they are located.

Just as custom and usage have been responsible for differing conceptions of cities and towns, which have led to differences in legal status occupied by them, there are likewise different conceptions of the city in different countries. In England the word BOROUGH is equivalent to CITY in this country, while the term CITY is reserved only for a borough in which a bishop has his residence. Municipal boroughs are created by royal charter, and such charters are rarely given to boroughs having less than 10,000 persons.[9] In France local self-government has not developed to the extent that it has in other countries. Although there are nearly 40,000 communes in that country, many of which are classified as predominantly urban, nevertheless the national government administers many local functions by direct authority. With the exception of Paris and Lyons, every commune has exactly the same powers and duties.

OCCUPATIONS AS INDICES OF URBAN STATUS. Tillers of the soil must necessarily distribute their occupational activities over wide areas; accordingly no great number of agriculturists can live together in the same town without being too far removed from their work for economy or convenience. Agriculture cannot therefore be the chief occupation for the majority of the population of any large city. Yet interestingly enough some of the residents of practically every city are engaged in agriculture. In Minneapolis in 1930, for example, 2,055 males were reported to be engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, or forestry. This was approximately 1.5 per cent of all the males gainfully employed. Approximately 3.6 per cent of the employed males of Los Angeles were similarly occupied the same year, while Jersey City had 0.2 per cent in the same group.

A greater percentage of persons in ancient and medieval cities was engaged in agriculture than in modern cities; indeed many

9. Harris, G. Montagu, *Local Government in Other Lands*, p. 173 (1926).

early cities had a larger percentage of their citizens engaged in agriculture than in trading or manufacturing. Vast agricultural activities were part of the city economy of centers like Carthage, and other cities, both ancient and medieval, maintained pasturage land for cattle and sheep as a recognized part of the urban economic activities. The mechanical revolution, especially the technological changes that have taken place in transportation, has sharpened the distinction between rural and urban economy.

Nor is it accurate to say that commerce and industry are peculiar to the city alone. Although it is true that the major portion of urban occupations are commercial and industrial in character, those activities are by no means confined to urban persons. Manufacturing has existed in rural areas even during the period of greatest industrial centralization, and there has been a noticeable shift of manufacturing industries to the country in recent years. And, as everyone knows, commercial activities have always been carried on to a degree in rural villages and trading centers.

Just as farmers often live in villages while actively engaged in their occupation, so do city people often live in the country and commute or drive daily to the central city to attend to their business. Their interests are urban rather than rural, and they identify themselves with the city in which they work rather than the country in which they live. Where they live is perhaps less important sociologically than what they do: their contacts and connections are what make them urban rather than rural. And the contacts and connections in either case are determined for the most part by the social organization—whether life is organized on a city basis or on a rural basis.

If the city has an occupational earmark it is the high degree of specialization that is found within its boundaries. Certainly one thing that differentiates the city from the country is the multiplicity of trades and professions found there in contrast to the occupational homogeneity of rural parts. The many kinds of jobs found in a modern factory are in a way symbolic of the divisions of labor in all occupational strata of the city. In the country the physician is usually a general practitioner with no particular qualifications in any special

field of medicine; in the city the physician is in many cases a specialist, an expert on the eye, the heart, the nervous system, or the digestive tract. In the country the legal profession is represented by a village lawyer whose interests are likely to be more numerous than his qualifications; in the city the lawyer, if he survives professionally, must specialize; he must qualify in a special phase of his profession if he is to secure a profitable clientele. Among the trades and crafts there are hundreds of jobs in the city that are unheard of in the country. The scores of occupations and professions reported by the census bureau are in the main urban rather than rural. The subject of specialization will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Social Organization of Cities. When people live in close physical proximity in densely populated communities they must of necessity become accommodated to each other and to the dominant cultural patterns of the community. Furthermore, as a means of self-protection, they must, as a group, set up systematic controls to curb the wayward or antisocial impulses of individuals who are also identified with the community. This extreme interdependence and necessity for corporate or communal action has made inevitable a form of social organization that is characteristic of all urban areas—at least all urban areas of the Western World. As the social organization becomes recognized and formalized by the inhabitants, as it is given the full weight of public opinion, it becomes a part of the moral order of the community: in a word, it becomes institutionalized.

It is these institutional aspects that constitute one of the distinguishing characteristics of the city; and it is with these features that urban sociology is particularly concerned. The city, however, is not a self-sufficient unit of society, nor is it a complete society within itself. Rather it is an organ, or perhaps a group of organs, in the social body: it differs from the country only in that the two represent different aspects of the whole social organism; it is like the country in that the organization of life in both is the expression of human nature. As the social organization of the city reflects the sentiments,

the attitudes, the interests of the persons who live within, or even outside, the community, so it in turn operates as a controlling device, directing and regulating the habits and activities of those who reside within its sphere of influence. The size of the city, its boundaries, its population, its density, its legal status are all of secondary importance; it is the social organization that gives the city its distinctive character.

In conclusion it may be said that certain fixed limits and standards have to be set for each class of cities. The main traits which stamp a community as urban are as follows: (1) density of population according to an accepted minimum; (2) definite territorial limits within which distinctly urban functions, such as maintenance of physical equipment, are carried out; (3) a subsidiary political corporation with powers to tax the inhabitants of the city and compel them to comply with city laws, and also with the duty of establishing and controlling the machinery to carry out municipal functions; (4) a population large enough to conform to the agreed standard for the class under consideration; and (5) the use of characteristic urban procedures and forms of organization in business, in religion, in mutual aid, in recreation, and in other forms of social life.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

Difficulties in Classifying Cities. Just as function determines the structure of the city, so does it also determine, to a large extent, the individuality of an urban community. The role the community plays in the social order in turn is determined by the major interests and activities of the people who constitute the urban population. No two cities are alike, just as no two persons are exactly alike; each possesses its own peculiarities and traits that set it apart from others. Chicago and Cleveland are both manufacturing cities, and both are lake ports in the Middle West. New York and Boston are commercial and industrial cities, with similar harbor facilities, similar institutions, similar people. But Chicago is Chicago and Cleveland

is Cleveland. Boston has an individuality all its own that distinguishes it from New York. Their differences are as apparent as their likenesses.

Yet many cities are similar enough to warrant a classification based on their dominant functions. Such classifications are only suggestive, however, for rarely in modern society does one find a pure type; rather one may expect to find a few important specialized functions in the modern city, with any number of minor ones. Cities that distribute goods may also manufacture them. Political capitals are frequently centers of trade and commerce. Health and recreation resorts are not infrequently administrative and commercial centers. Thus most of the cities with specialized functions may be divided into other classes with still more narrowly specialized activities. However, the following functional classification is offered:

1. Production centers
2. Centers of trade and commerce
3. Political capitals
4. Resorts for health or recreation
5. Cultural centers
6. Defense cities
7. Diversified cities

PRODUCTION CENTERS. Centers of production are of two types: primary production, based on extractive industries, and secondary production, based on the fabrication of raw materials into finished commodities. Sometimes a single city combines primary with secondary production, but ordinarily these two specialized functions are located in different cities. Centers devoted to primary production rarely reach great numerical magnitude; the number of inhabitants is limited in the main to those engaged directly in extraction of natural resources and a few others necessary to supply the needs of the primary workers. Agricultural, mining, fishing, lumber, and oil towns are examples of communities whose dominant specialized activity is extraction. Routes of transportation connect them with other larger cities, where the extracted products may be disposed of directly to distributors for immediate consumption or to industrialists for

manufacturing. These towns acquire a distinctiveness born of the activities and experiences of their inhabitants: a fishing village or a mining town is colored by the economic life of the community much as the personality of a fisherman or a miner is stamped with his occupational activity.

Centers engaged in the manufacture of commodities acquire, like the primary production centers, individualities of their own, although the fact that most of them engage in commercial and trading activities tends to make for uniformity and similarity. The reputations they acquire and the traditions they build up are determined by the principal product manufactured. The type of industry leaves its imprint upon the city as well as upon the personalities of the workers employed therein. Thus Detroit is famed for its automobiles; Grand Rapids for its furniture; Akron for its rubber; Pittsburgh, Gary, Youngstown, Chattanooga, and Birmingham for their steel; Elgin and Waterbury for their watches and clocks; Tampa for its cigars; Troy for its collars; Lawrence and Fall River for their textiles; Danbury for its hats. The whole social and economic fabric of these cities is shot through with the influences—in some ways not the most wholesome—of the dominant industries. Indeed in some of the manufacturing cities, such as the textile centers of the South, the industrialists not only dominate the community but they virtually control the destinies of the workers themselves.

In many manufacturing cities where there is marked specialization of activities a preponderance of workers are frequently employed in a single industry. Fall River, for example, had 87 per cent of her workers engaged in making cotton cloth in 1920; Brockton had 83 per cent of her employed persons in the boot and shoe industry; while Waterbury, the same year, employed 60 per cent of her working population in making bronze and copper products.[10] Hartford, rather ironically, employs most of its workers either in the manufacture of firearms or in the life insurance business. In contrast to these highly specialized activities in manufacturing centers, many cities show a wide diversity of manufactured products. While some

10. Smith, Joseph Russell, *North America*, p. 85 (1925).

cities boast of their achievements in specialized fields, others, mindful of the potency of publicity, make much ado about the variety of their manufactures and their value to the remainder of the world. The following statement by an energetic board of trade in an Eastern city illustrates not only the go-getting methods of modern publicity but indicates something as to the nature of the varied industries in that particular community:

> This morning you probably arose from a comfortable night's sleep on a New Britain spring bed; you put on some attire furnished with New Britain buckles, some attire woven on New Britain looms; you visited a clothes-closet fitted out with New Britain hooks to which you gained access by unlocking a New Britain lock, turning a New Britain knob, then allowing the door to swing upon New Britain hinges. At breakfast you used New Britain cutlery, drank coffee from a New Britain percolator, read your mail brought you from a New Britain letter-box, slitting the envelope with a New Britain penknife. You walked through a hall built by New Britain tools and made solid with New Britain screws, opened a front door which was prevented from slamming by a New Britain doorcheck, and jumped into your New Britain automobile, or into a carriage drawn by horses with New Britain trimmings, to go to your office warmed by a New Britain register.[11]

Centers of Trade and Commerce. The change from a system of barter to one of monetary exchange gave rise to a wide expansion of trade and the concomitant development of a number of social and economic institutions, one of which was the trade center. Through experience persons learned that trade relations could be facilitated by the establishment of market places or fairs, meeting places for tradespeople who sought to buy and sell goods or exchange their own commodities for other goods. These market places became nuclei around which many cities grew to large proportions. Incidentally great metropolises like Antwerp and Brussels still preserve their nuclear market squares although their original function has long since disappeared. These trading towns were always located at points

11. Quoted in Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 84. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

possessing a maximum of accessibility for commercial travelers and tradesmen.

Two important stages have been observed in the development of centers of trade and commerce.[12] In the first stage the commercial city serves as a point of transfer, or as a distributing center for commodities to be consumed in the immediate locality. London grew to greatness principally because it was the logical center of distribution for a teeming population in the industrial districts of southern England. In the second stage the city becomes an intermediary for national or international trade. Such cities are known as *entrepôts*. Instead of functioning as a distributing center for local regions, the entrepôt becomes a distributing point for commodities destined for areas far removed from its own immediate hinterland. Such cities are naturally dependent upon a complex system of transportation routes reaching to all parts of the world. Because of its favorable location with respect to routes of transportation, the city attracts commodities for distribution which might otherwise be sent directly from the place of production to the area of consumption. If a city is a distributing center for products destined for foreign countries, then it is known as a world entrepôt. New York City, London, Hamburg, Antwerp, and Amsterdam are examples of world entrepôts.

There are certain types of commodities that are especially suitable for this type of distribution. Ordinarily they must have high value, small bulk, and possess good keeping qualities. Such products as silks, drugs, jewelry, spices, and the like lend themselves well to entrepôt trade. Sometimes a city is so favorably located as to secure a monopoly on the distribution of certain commodities. For those commodities, at least, it may be considered a world entrepôt.

Some of the great commercial cities control and direct the distribution of certain commodities although the products themselves are never actually transported to the distributing center. The movement and final distribution of wheat grown on the plains of Dakota may be determined at New York City, although the wheat itself may never be sent any farther east than the Mississippi. Cotton

12. Smith, Joseph Russell, *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, p. 871 (1925).

grown in the South may be shipped from Norfolk to Liverpool at the direction of London distributors; from Liverpool it may be sent to Manchester for fabrication, thence to Sweden as a finished product. The business of purchasing the raw product, controlling the movement of goods, financing the manufacturing, and finally disposing of the finished product in a foreign land may fall, either directly or indirectly, to the lot of London financiers, although the product itself may never get closer than the English factory at Manchester. Similarly, New York financial and mercantile interests may control the growing of fruit on a Central American plantation, although the fruit is shipped directly from the plantation across the Atlantic or Pacific to foreign ports for consumption.

The rise of numerous entrepôt cities has resulted in the decline of other cities that had in their day a monopoly on entrepôt trade. New York is challenging London as an entrepôt city, while it is in turn being challenged by other cities like Hamburg and Amsterdam. The tremendous increase in the quantity of world commerce, the tendency toward the standardization of products to be distributed, and the development of adequate transportation routes for many cities that were once relatively isolated have meant, however, a decline in the importance of entrepôt trade. The commercial supremacy that was held in turn by Venice, Bruges, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London will perhaps never be realized again by a single city. The dominance of any single world entrepôt is passing.

Political Capitals. Before the industrial revolution virtually all the great cities of the world were political capitals, although many of them were thriving commercial centers. Indeed it was not a coincidence that many political and administrative centers were commercial cities with an expanding trade. The point of economic dominance was quite likely to be the logical center of political control, since accessibility, a factor in the determination of the location of the political city, was also one of the prime considerations in the location of the trading center. The expansion of trade and the important technological inventions and improvements that have accompanied the industrial revolution have tended toward a divorcement of the

political capital from the commercial capital. Although many capital cities such as London, Berlin, Paris, and Brussels may always continue to be identified with commerce and trade, other nonpolitical cities have enjoyed a rapid expansion because of their favorable locations on routes of international trade. In this country state capitals are rarely the commercial centers of the region in which they are located. With the exception of Boston, St. Paul, Atlanta, Columbus, Denver, and Indianapolis, no great metropolis has the distinction of being a state capital. With modern means of communication and transportation they can function efficiently even though the center of trade and commerce is miles away.

Fawcett has pointed out that there are five major types of capital cities.[13] First, there is the dominant node of a natural region in which the state capital developed—a "natural capital." Such examples are Paris, Cairo, Budapest, Belgrade, Moscow, Copenhagen, Mexico City, and London. Second, there is the principal frontier based on outlook, such as Edinburgh, Peking, Delhi, and Leningrad. The third type includes the principal places of entry, either of conquerors or of colonists, such as Calcutta, Melbourne, Dublin, Alexandria, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Sydney, and Capetown. The fourth type embraces the artificial capitals such as Washington, Ottawa, Canberra, The Hague, Madrid, Bern, and Berlin. The fifth type includes such capital cities as are located on the node of important trade routes although not necessarily on the focus of an important natural region. Examples are Istanbul and Vienna. To this list might also be added world capitals such as Geneva.

Cultural Centers as Types of Cities. Cultural centers, resort cities, and defense towns are numerous although rarely do they attain any great size. For many of the cities of the Old World the cathedral has played an all-important role. Indeed the cathedral and the market square have constituted the nuclei around which have grown large metropolitan centers. Even today, in cities like Cologne, Rheims, and Amiens, the cathedral occupies a centralized nuclear

13. Fawcett, C. B., "The Position of Some Capital Cities," *Geographical Teacher* (Autumn, 1918).

position in the city that has grown to large proportions. The many cathedral towns of England and the Continent are witnesses to the influence of religion in the origin and social organization of urban communities. Rome is a political center, but it is perhaps more widely celebrated to the rest of the world as the religious capital of the Catholic faith. Mecca became the holy city for the Mohammedans, while Jerusalem became the destination of thousands of pilgrims of the Jewish faith. Today Mecca and Jerusalem are symbols of religious faiths just as Rome symbolizes the Catholic Church. In this country there are notable examples of cities and towns that developed as religious centers. Salt Lake City is the headquarters of Mormonism; Zion City, near Chicago, is the center of the religious activities of the Dowieites; Benton Harbor, on the shore of Lake Michigan, is the seat of the House of David, a sectarian organization founded by a modern religious zealot.

Cities are frequently identified with outstanding cultural and educational institutions. Not a few college and university towns owe their existence almost entirely to institutions of higher learning that bring each year hundreds of students to their doors. Such university towns as Columbia, the seat of the University of Missouri, and Ann Arbor, where the University of Michigan is located, are examples. European cities sometimes owe their name and fame to educational institutions in their midst. Oxford is always identified with the famous English university of that name, while Heidelberg, a German town, is known more for its university and its famed scholars than for any other characteristic. The name of Oberammergau, a German town, is associated with the religious drama that it sponsors every decade. Lindsborg, the "Bayreuth of Kansas," is the center of musical festivities in a rural region settled chiefly by Swedes.

Carpenter has referred to certain types of centers as "shrine cities." [14] Some of these are religious in nature; some literary, artistic, or historic. The prestige that historic leaders or famous institutions lend to certain localities gives them a peculiar attraction for many people. Throngs of persons each year journey to Mecca,

14. Carpenter, Niles, *The Sociology of City Life*, pp. 39–40 (1931).

Jerusalem, the Vatican, Lourdes, and other shrine cities to express their veneration for great historic personalities or for individuals representing important religious institutions of the present. Benares in India is a city that is peculiarly holy, and for this reason it becomes a shrine,[15] as Lourdes is a religious shrine for the afflicted and crippled who would renew their health. In a similar way certain cities are cultural shrines. To Stratford-on-Avon, the birthplace of Shakespeare, flock great numbers of tourists to pay homage to the renowned English bard. A town of little commercial importance, its streets are bustling with activity during the tourist season in the summer months. Athens, Rome, and other historic cities that were in their day centers of brilliant civilizations attract students and tourists from all parts of the world.

Resort Cities. The activities of such cities as Atlantic City, Palm Beach, Monte Carlo, and Interlaken are largely concerned with providing recreation and amusement for the multitudes of tourists, pleasure-seekers, and denizens of the boulevards who are guests for a day. These are the so-called resort cities—cities of smart hotels and bathing beaches and mountain scenery, of bizarre amusement places and gambling palaces that sometimes rival a Versailles in splendor and luxury. It is a cosmopolitan crowd that is attracted to such centers—burghers escaping the work-a-day world for a brief respite, affluent nabobs with time weighing heavily on their hands, adventurers and demimondes with predatory inclinations, debutantes with their doting mothers, and stenographers with a week-end vacation for a fling. They are spenders, for the time being at least, and their spending habits make the city a scene of "conspicuous consumption." Their constant ingress and egress give the city an appearance of impermanence; their habits, their interests, their folkways color the city's institutions and determine the tempo of life. They give the city its individuality.

Health resorts find favor with persons whose declining health is cause for alarm. Rheumatic dowagers and fatigued business men with hardening arteries journey to Hot Springs or Aix-les-Bains,

15. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Carlsbad or Excelsior Springs, hoping, like Ponce de León, to find in the magic waters or the baths of mud the secret of youth and vitality. Tubercular patients start the long trek to mountain cities where climatic conditions afford an added advantage in the fight for health. Rochester, Minnesota, with a famous clinic and a world-wide clientele, is a health center of the first magnitude in this country. In such cities, health, like recreation, assumes the proportions of big business, and the activities in these respective lines stamp the city's social and economic organization with an individuality all its own.

DIVERSIFIED CITIES. Many modern cities are unspecialized, that is, they have a diversity of functions none of which is so important that it completely colors the social institutions of the community. Denver, for example, is not only a political capital but it is also a commercial center, a cultural center, and a health center as well. Reno, renowned as a mecca of divorce seekers, is a university as well as a gambling center. Being the largest city of Nevada it is also the center of commercial activities for that state. Springfield, a retail and shopping city for southern Missouri, is also a railroad center and an educational center.

As urbanism has increased, the development of varied interests and activities has served to accentuate the diversification of urban life and organization. These varied functions tend to become harmonized with each other and exist in a state of adjustment and interdependence, reflecting the state of adjustment of the various social groups that live in a symbiotic relationship with each other. While there are many factors that make for communal specialization, there are other factors, functioning in an opposite direction, that encourage diversification of activities. Many cities in this country have such a variety of activities that none completely dominates the life of the community.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Work out a comprehensive scheme of urban-rural classification that would make possible a clearer notion of what constitutes an urban community. Would it be possible to include a third division to take in

communities that have neither the size nor functions of the metropolis?

2. One student of urban sociology has been interested in the notion of communal maturation. Does the idea of maturity have any scientific value? What indices might be worked out to determine when a city "comes of age"?

3. To what extent are the large metropolitan regions, such as the New York or London districts, economically self-sufficient as compared to smaller centers dominated by a single type of industry or commercial activity? Do they tend to be more or less diversified? Compare the different functions in a metropolitan community with those of a smaller urban center.

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2

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF CITIES

IT WOULD BE A FRUITLESS UNDERTAKING to attempt to discover the origins of the urban community. The origin of the city, like the origin of civilization itself, is lost in the misty obscurity of the past. Certainly there is no date which represents the beginnings of the city, nor is there a single type of community which could truly be called the city in embryo. As long as man has been human he has lived in groups, and so far as we are able to judge he has maintained some form of communal life, although doubtless in some instances a most elementary form.

THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY. Archaeological investigations have indicated that even during the New Stone Age a rather complex type of community life had already developed in certain areas. Lake dwellings in Switzerland, for instance, provided the settings for a rather well-developed form of communal life. These dwellings rested on piles that had been driven into the bed of the lake, presumably for the purpose of providing protection against enemy attacks. Some of these lake communities were many acres in size and provided shelter for several hundred persons. At the site of what is now Parma, Italy, there have been unearthed some of the remains of a great lake-dwelling community some fifty acres in area and probably capable at one time of accommodating from three to five thousand persons. The Mayan peoples of Central America, the Incas of Peru, and the Aztecs of Mexico had developed a complex community life on this continent long before the coming of the white man.

CITIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. Classical archaeologists have presented us a fairly clear picture of the rise and fall of cities in the ancient world, particularly of cities located in the Mediterranean

basin. Although, as we have noted, rather complex forms of communal life developed very early in the history of the human race, it was not until the Mediterranean civilization flowered that really great cities came into existence. One of the earliest of these cities was Memphis, the capital of Egypt under the Old Empire, which came to its close about 2500 B.C.[1] Memphis was a walled city located on the Nile River about twelve miles from the site of the present city of Cairo. When the empire came to an end, Thebes was founded as the new capital—a city of a "hundred gates." Thebes was said to have attained a population of at least a half-million persons. During this period other cities of considerable size had developed in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Among these were Ninevah and Babylon, the latter coming to supremacy under Hammurabi. As the seat of government for a large area until it was destroyed by the Persians in 538 B.C., Babylon was probably the largest city of the ancient world prior to the rise of Rome. This great capital was actually a city state, with granaries and reservoirs capable of supporting a population of a million inhabitants. But whether the city ever attained this magnitude we do not know.

During the next ten centuries a number of great centers flourished on the rim of the Mediterranean. Tyre and Sidon, Phoenician seaports, were commercial cities, thriving on the trading activities of the maritime peoples of the eastern shores. One of the Phoenician colonies, Carthage, outstripped the mother cities in size and influence, attaining in the zenith of her career a population estimated to have been from 300,000 to 700,000. Carthage was both a commercial and a manufacturing center, with a sizable proportion of the population engaged in making goods which were to be exchanged for raw products.

A city, or πολις, of ancient Greece was a self-governing community having a complex social, economic, and political structure. Among the Grecian cities were Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Syracuse, and Miletus, each a city state with complete political independence and

1. See Munro, W. B., "City," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, pp. 474–482.

with a social system that differentiated it sharply from the others. Of these cities Athens not only was the largest but it also developed what is generally considered to be one of the most brilliant civilizations of the ancient world. As the city grew in size it divided itself into two parts, Athens proper, which encircled the Acropolis, and the port town a few miles distant. During the fifth century B.C. the city probably had as many as 150,000 inhabitants. Syracuse had something over 100,000 population; Corinth was slightly smaller; while Sparta, a city controlled by a military oligarchy operating on authoritarian principles, probably never exceeded 50,000 inhabitants.

The greatest city of ancient times was Rome, which had a population variously estimated to have been from 250,000 to 1,000,000 persons. Because of certain limitations on the facilities for feeding the Roman populace, a million persons probably represented the maximum number which could have occupied the city. Furthermore, a population of a million would have meant a density of at least 200,000 per square mile, since the district inside the Aurelian wall was less than five square miles in area. If Rome had had a density equal to that of modern Paris (88,000 per square mile) it would have had a population of about 400,000. Most historians, however, place the population figure considerably above this point. At any rate, the city developed a thoroughly urban system of community life. It was probably the best-governed city in the world; its public utilities system involved marvelous feats of engineering and municipal administration; it was the political center of a far-flung empire. But it was not to endure. The decline of the Roman population, as well as the disintegration of its social system, began in the fourth century A.D. By the fourteenth century it was only a straggling town of 17,000.

THE MEDIEVAL CITY. After the Roman Empire went into an eclipse there was a long period of cultural and economic stagnation during which time cities ceased to flourish. This was the so-called Dark Ages. As Munro points out, the disintegration of social and economic life after the collapse of the Roman Empire demonstrates

what is likely to happen to an entire civilization when the city disappears.[2] From the fifth to the tenth centuries European cities declined. Trade languished. Intellectual life was at a low ebb. The glories of the cities of ancient Rome and Greece faded farther and farther into the dim past. Misery and squalor among the masses were undoubtedly widespread. The blackout of civilization was almost complete—but not quite.

Beginning with the eleventh century certain signs of revival appeared. Cities along the Mediterranean were the first to feel the effects of renewed commercial activities, occasioned particularly by the Crusades. Florence, Genoa, Venice, Pisa and other cities of the Italian peninsula were among the first to enjoy the benefits of the renaissance in trade. Along the northwest coast of Europe and in the Baltic area city growth increased under the stimulation of commercial intercourse. In central Europe the growth was slower, although even here the revival of trade and the increased efficiency of agriculture made possible the emergence of cities from the condition of paralysis characteristic of the Dark Ages. There is some danger, however, of attributing to economic factors the sole credit for urban growth during the medieval period. Mumford shows how the monasteries functioned throughout this era to preserve and transmit numerous aspects of the cultural heritage.[3] It was in the monasteries particularly that the arts of manufacturing, husbandry, and decoration flourished or were preserved. The great fairs of the Middle Ages laid the foundations of international capitalism and, like the Crusades, tended to stimulate commercial activities and indirectly the growth of cities. Some of the cities of northern Europe banded themselves together for mutual aid and protection, thereby opening the way for further economic development. The Hanseatic League was perhaps the most famous attempt at organized cooperation between cities.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL CITY. Mumford points out that after the sixteenth century the cities that grew most rapidly were those hav-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 476.
3. Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* (1938).

ing a royal court, "the source of economic power." [4] Political capitals grew out of all proportion to the provincial cities, and frequently at the expense of the latter. Whereas medieval Europe had witnessed the multiplication of cities, the post-medieval period was characterized by the tendency toward great agglomerations of population at the seats of political power, which were at the same time the centers of economic power. City building, as Mumford shows, became a political phenomenon, "a means of consolidating power under royal control." The invention of heavy artillery made the old fortified cities highly vulnerable because the walls that were once so effective in defense no longer were capable of protecting the urban populations against attack. New modes of defense had to be provided. The discovery of America and the opening of a new all-water trade route to the Far East gave an impetus to urban growth all along the rim of the European continent. The stage was now set for the great events that were to follow.

With the coming of the industrial revolution the economic bases were established for a new type of city—the manufacturing center. Indeed it may be said that the industrial revolution provided the foundations for a new type of civilization in which the whole fabric of social life would be altered. Steam power harnessed to the factory machine made possible the production of ten gadgets where only one had been produced before. If industry could turn out an increasing quantity of finished products, commerce could dispose of them. With the increase in industrial output and the intensification of commercial activities, more and more workers were needed to tend the machines or to perform the sundry tasks related to business and trade. The success of the economic system that was now in the process of developing depended to a considerable extent on an available labor supply, or rather on an oversupply, since cheap and contented labor as well as an abundance of workers was necessary for the uninterrupted operation of the economic system. Therefore the heavy influx of country folk to the great centers was welcomed by the entrepreneurs, provided the workers were willing to labor long

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 2.

hours at low pay and to engage in no activities that would interfere with the sacrosanct laws of competition.

To feed the maws of the ever-enlarging industrial machines located in the great cities nations began to look beyond their own boundaries for new sources of raw materials and to adopt imperialistic policies of expansion in order to exploit more effectively the natural and human resources of far-flung lands. This period of industrial expansion was also accompanied by a surge of peoples to undeveloped lands in order to provide raw materials for the machines. Millions of acres were explored and exploited. Hides, furs, timber, metals, and cereals were sent back to Europe to be converted into finished products and sold on the market. To facilitate the processes of industry and trade came new forms of economic organization, particularly the joint stock company, which served not only to provide the needed capital for industrial and commercial undertakings but also to enlarge the scope of activities and to centralize the control of such activities in the hands of a few "men of vision." Government was viewed as an instrumentality to protect the entrepreneur and his property and to guarantee his freedom of enterprise.

Geographical Changes in Urban Development. It must be realized that the social, economic, political, and technological factors facilitating the growth of cities did not remain constant for any given area, nor were they necessarily of equal influence in the expansion of any particular city. Far-reaching changes in the ancient and medieval world, as in more recent times, operated to destroy cities as well as to build them, to retard their rate of growth as well as to accelerate it. Not only did the growth of individual cities tend to be irregular, but the development of urbanism in different geographical areas was by no means uniform. In one period of history the Mediterranean basin provided the geographic setting for the world's greatest cities; in another, the scene shifted to the coastal areas of northwestern Europe. The geographical shifts of urban "leaders" since 1500 therefore reflect the great changes that have occurred in the world since that time.

In 1500, for example, Constantinople was first among the largest cities of Europe; Paris was in second place; Naples third; and Venice fourth.[5] Within a century Paris and Constantinople had exchanged positions and London had moved to ninth place in the world's urban firmament. Naples and Venice still held the same relative positions they had occupied in 1500. By the beginning of the nineteenth century London had forged ahead to occupy the ranking position among cities; Paris had slipped back to second place; and Constantinople had declined to fifth position. In 1800 Naples still held tenaciously to third place by maintaining commercial supremacy among the maritime cities of the Mediterranean, but the nineteenth century saw her star go into an eclipse as the great trade centers of northwest Europe grew in size and influence. The same lot fell to Venice, once the great entrepôt of the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Venetian mariners held a monopoly of Mediterranean trade; their ships plied every known channel, bringing to Venice choice products from the Levantine seas and goods from Africa and the western coast of Europe. It was not until the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route that the leadership of Venice began to decline; and it was this same trade route that caused the star of Lisbon to loom brightly on the commercial horizon. The Venice that had ranked fourth among the cities of the Western World in 1600 had slipped back to fourteenth place two hundred years later. Lisbon, ranking tenth in 1600, had usurped the Venetian position by the beginning of the nineteenth century, only to see the commercial supremacy she had attained challenged by the growing cities in northern Europe.

City Growth in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. One of the most significant social phenomena of all time has been the unprecedented growth and expansion of cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not only have larger and larger individual cities arisen as the years have passed, larger for every decade since 1800 than ever existed in the history of the world before, but the percentage of the population living in cities has been steadily

5. See Weber, Adna F., *The Growth of Cities* (1899).

increasing in all the countries of Europe and America during this same period. Europe has changed from 3 per cent urban to more than 50 per cent. Many of the great industrial nations like Belgium and England are preponderantly urban. In 1800 the United States had an urban population of 210,873, comprising 3.97 per cent of the total population of the country. A hundred years later the urban population had grown to 30,380,433, approximately 40 per cent of the total. In 1790 there were six cities in this country with a population of 8,000 or more; in 1880, the number had increased to 285. In 1920 there were 2,254 cities having a population of 2,500 or over; during the following census period, ending in 1930, this number had reached 2,710.

The modern phenomenon of rapid urban expansion began in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. While England and Wales are known to have had 50.08 per cent of their population classified as urban by 1851, France had only 25.5 per cent of its population in urban communities the same year. The rapid urbanization of the population began in France earlier than in Germany; in Germany earlier than in Austria; and earlier in Austria than in Russia.

Urbanism received an impetus in Europe before it did in the United States. In 1901 the urban dwellers constituted approximately 77 per cent of the total population of England and Wales. By 1931 there was a slight increase, the city population constituting 80 per cent of the total. In 1899 only 27 per cent of the people of Germany lived in cities, but by 1920 this figure had increased to 64.4. The United States was predominantly agricultural for a considerable period after the turn of the twentieth century. In 1890 her urban population was slightly over a third of the total number of inhabitants. At the opening of the present century the percentage had increased to 40; in 1910 it was 46; in 1920, 51.4; and in 1930, 56.2. (See Fig. II.)

No other period in the history of the world has witnessed such huge agglomerations of human beings. As a consequence of the industrial and agrarian revolution, thousands changed their habitat from the open country to the cities whose circumstances destined

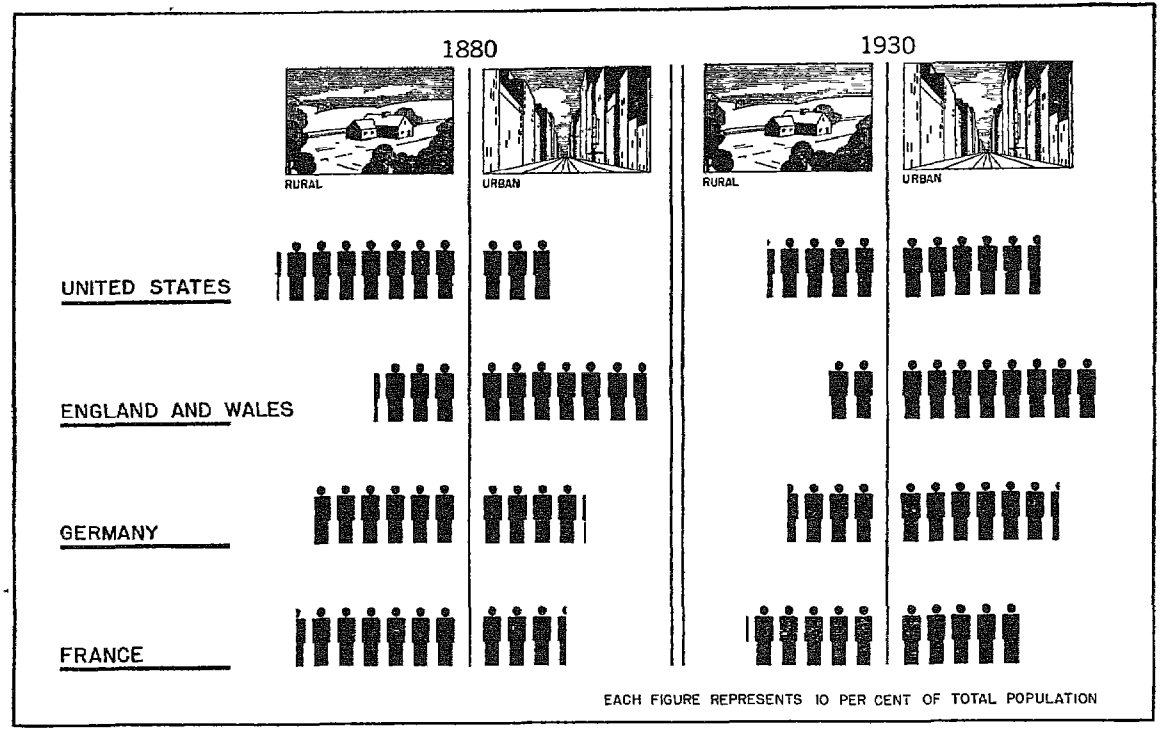


FIG. II. Proportion of Rural and Urban Population in the United States, England and Wales, Germany, and France for 1880 and 1930. (Courtesy National Resources Committee)

them to become great centers of commerce and industry and of art and learning. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Berlin was an insignificant town of 20,000; at the outset of the World War in 1914 it had passed the three million mark, and by 1935 it had reached a population of four million. In Greater London more than eight million persons occupy a territory of 443,449 acres. Paris has over three million persons, not including the two million outside the metropolitan police district. Even more remarkable has been the growth of certain large American cities. In 1860 Los Angeles was a country town of less than 5,000 persons. Forty years later, in 1900, it was still a rather unimposing city of 100,000. By 1930, however, it had seen a meteoric rise to the ranks of a metropolis of the first magnitude; an increase of more than 1,000 per cent had placed it above the million mark. New York City has persistently held the lead it gained in the early years of urban expansion in this country. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had surpassed its rivals, Boston and Philadelphia, by topping the million point. At the close of the century its population numbered three and a half million persons, and by 1930 that population had doubled, incidentally outnumbering two to one the population of any other American city. In the metropolitan district of New York some 11,000,000 persons carry on their daily activities—the largest agglomeration of persons in an area of similar size that the world has ever witnessed.

Table II

46 WORLD CITIES IN THE MILLION CLASS, RANKED ACCORDING TO SIZE AT LATEST CENSUS REPORT OR ESTIMATE [6]

CITY	POPULATION	ESTIMATED RANK
New York City	10,901,424	1
London	8,575,700	2
Tokyo	6,274,000	3
Paris	4,903,500	4
Chicago	4,364,755	5
Berlin	4,242,501	6
Moscow	3,663,300	7
Shanghai	3,489,998	8
Osaka	3,213,000	9

6. Data from *Statesmen's Yearbook*, 1938, and U.S. Census reports for 1930.

Table II (continued)

CITY	POPULATION	ESTIMATED RANK
Philadelphia	2,847,148	10
Leningrad	2,776,400	11
Los Angeles	2,318,526	12
Boston	2,307,897	13
Buenos Aires	2,290,788	14
Detroit	2,104,764	15
Pittsburgh	1,953,668	16
Vienna	1,874,130	17
Rio de Janeiro	1,711,466	18
Peiping	1,556,364	19
Calcutta	1,485,582	20
Budapest	1,421,397	21
Canton	1,367,380	22
Cairo	1,307,422	23
St. Louis	1,293,516	24
Tientsin	1,292,025	25
Sydney	1,267,350	26
San Francisco	1,240,094	27
Montreal	1,233,623	28
Warsaw	1,232,531	29
Liverpool	1,196,000	30
Cleveland	1,194,989	31
Bombay	1,161,383	32
Rome	1,155,722	33
Barcelona	1,148,072	34
Hamburg	1,129,307	35
São Paulo	1,120,405	36
Glasgow	1,119,900	37
Milan	1,115,848	38
Manchester	1,100,000	39
Nagoya	1,082,814	40
Kyoto	1,080,592	41
Madrid	1,048,072	42
Mexico City	1,024,068	43
Nanking	1,019,148	44
Birmingham	1,018,800	45
Melbourne	1,016,500	46

Population figures for most of the cities in the foregoing table are based on census surveys or estimates made during the 1930's. Since nations vary not only as to dates of taking census enumerations but also as to methods of conducting census surveys, the rankings must of necessity be considered approximations, subject to a considerable margin of error. Data on American cities are for the metropolitan district rather than for the city proper, while for some

of the other cities the figures relate to the central city and exclude the suburban developments. This tends to give the cities of the United States a somewhat higher ranking than they would have if only the central areas were included. But the distortions are probably somewhat more apparent than real; for many cities of the world the central areas contain most of the population of the entire community, since suburban development has not advanced as far as it has in this country. If only the core city were included in presenting population data for cities in the million class, St. Louis, for instance, would be omitted. Yet anyone who is at all familiar with St. Louis knows that the suburbs of that city are quite as much a part of the larger community as the central city; therefore to exclude the adjacent areas in giving population figures for the metropolis is to distort the true picture of the community's size.

Because of rapid and sometimes catastrophic changes taking place in the modern world, census figures which are quite valid for a given year may be misleading at a later date. During 1939 and 1940 such cities as Nanking, Shanghai, Madrid, Barcelona, Warsaw, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels were subjected to ruthless military attacks—which resulted in sudden population shifts. The wholesale evacuations from Warsaw during the German *Blitzkrieg* in 1939, for instance, obviously reduced the size of the population of that city almost overnight. Whether the city will regain its former status and continue to grow is a matter of conjecture. During the siege of Madrid, on the other hand, the city's population was swollen by the influx of nearly a million persons fleeing from the Fascist fury. Naturally we do not know if the city's population will be reduced to its pre-war size. All we can say is that the peace-time population figures for these great cities have undoubtedly changed significantly in recent years, some increasing and the others declining. Another source of error in population statistics for certain cities lies in the questionable methods of census enumeration. Published data on cities in China and South America, for example, are probably little more than reasonable estimates.

Although urbanism is further advanced in some countries than in

others, it is apparent from an examination of Table III that cities in the million class are rather widely distributed throughout the world. The 46 giant cities are located in 19 different countries, with all of the six continents being represented. The following table shows the world distribution of cities in the million class:

Table III

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES AND CONTINENTS OF CITIES IN THE MILLION CLASS

	NUMBER		NUMBER
EUROPE	17	ASIA	11
United Kingdom	5	China	5
Germany	3 [a]	Japan	4
Spain	2	India	2
Russia	2	SOUTH AMERICA	3
Italy	2	Brazil	2
Hungary	1	Argentine	1
France	1	AFRICA	1
Poland	1 [b]	Egypt	1
NORTH AMERICA	12	AUSTRALIA	2
United States	10		
Mexico	1		
Canada	1		

[a] Includes Vienna, incorporated into German territory in 1938.
[b] National status of Warsaw uncertain in 1940.

In 1801 there were but 21 cities in the world having a population of 100,000 or over. Five of these were in Italy, three in France, three in Russia, two each in the United Kingdom, Spain, and Germany, and one each in Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Denmark.[7] It is probable also that some of the Oriental cities had reached this mark, but the absence of census data at that time makes it impossible to give them a rating according to their numerical size. In 1939, there were 531 of these "great cities," with a total population of approximately 200 million, or about one-tenth of the world's population. With nearly half of its population living in large cities, Australia is perhaps the most highly urbanized of all the continents. North America has 24 per cent of the population in

7. Jefferson, Mark, "Distribution of the World's City Folks," *Geographical Review*, 21:460 (July, 1931).

cities of 100,000 or over, while Europe has 19 per cent of the population in cities of this size. Africa and Asia are the least urbanized in this respect.

The development of great urban clusters or conurbations has been one of the important characteristics of urbanism. In countries where industrialism and commercialism have been developed to a high degree the population has tended to concentrate in these intensely urbanized zones. Subordinate centers spring up around some great urban center representing the focus of industrial or commercial activity, with the result that a considerable region surrounding the center is transformed from an agricultural to a metropolitan economy. Two-fifths of the entire population of Great Britain is concentrated in the seven great urban conurbations of London, Manchester, Birmingham, West Yorkshire, Glasgow, Merseyside, and Tyneside.[8] The New York metropolitan district, with over 11,000,000 population, the Chicago district with upwards of 5,000,000, and the Philadelphia district of approximately 3,000,000 are examples of the unprecedented growth of great metropolitan areas—the real cities of the modern era.

Growth of Cities in the United States. In the United States urban growth received a pronounced impetus during the decade from 1840 to 1850, when the percentage of urban population for the country as a whole increased from 10.8 to 15.3, or nearly one-half. While this rate of increase has not been maintained, the trend nevertheless has been constantly in the direction of a larger proportion of urban residents. In 1790 no single city had a population exceeding 50,000, and it was not until 1820 that any city had as many as 100,000 inhabitants. The quarter-million mark was reached for the first time in 1840; the half-million mark in 1850; and the million mark in 1880. (Fig. III.)

It must be noted, however, that the urban trend was more pronounced in certain geographical sections than others. By 1850 the major patterns of urban settlement were fairly well established in

8. Fawcett, C. B., "The Distribution of Urban Population in Great Britain," *Geographical Journal*, 79: 101–107 (February, 1932).

Table IV

POPULATION IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE, WITH PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY LIVING IN THESE CITIES FROM 1790 TO 1930[9]

	ALL CITIES		100,000 OR OVER		25,000 OR OVER	
YEAR	NUMBER CITIES	% TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER CITIES	% TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER CITIES	% TOTAL POPULATION
1930	3,165	56.2	93	29.6	376	40.1
1920	2,722	51.2	68	25.9	287	35.7
1910	2,262	45.7	50	22.1	228	31.0
1900	1,737	39.7	38	18.7	160	25.9
1890	1,348	35.1	28	15.4	124	22.2
1880	939	28.2	20	12.4	77	17.2
1870	663	25.7	14	10.7	52	15.1
1860	392	19.8	9	8.4	35	12.0
1850	236	15.3	6	5.1	26	8.9
1840	131	10.8	3	3.0	12	5.5
1830	90	8.8	1	1.6	7	4.1
1820	61	7.2	1	1.3	5	3.3
1810	46	7.3	—	—	4	3.2
1800	33	6.1	—	—	3	2.4
1790	24	5.1	—	—	2	1.6

the northeastern section of the country, whereas in the remaining divisions urbanism did not really get under way until considerably later. In Indiana the population actually increased 600 per cent between 1810 and 1820, but it was not until 1840 that any community in this state was large enough to be classified as a city.[10] During this period other states in the Middle West and South were growing rapidly in population but with most of the people living on farms and in villages. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island half the population was classified as urban in 1850; New York was added to the list in 1870, New Jersey in 1880; Connecticut in 1890; and in 1900 Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California. At the turn of the century, therefore, only 8 states had more than 50 per cent of their population living in cities, with six of them located in the Northeast. In 1910, New Hampshire, Ohio, Maryland, Colorado, and Washing-

9. Adapted from McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 36 (1933).
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

ton were so classified; in 1920, Indiana, Michigan, and Delaware; and in 1930, Wisconsin, Missouri, Florida, Utah, and Oregon. Of the 21 states having more than half of the population living in cities in 1930, 6 were located west of the Mississippi River, 5 were in the

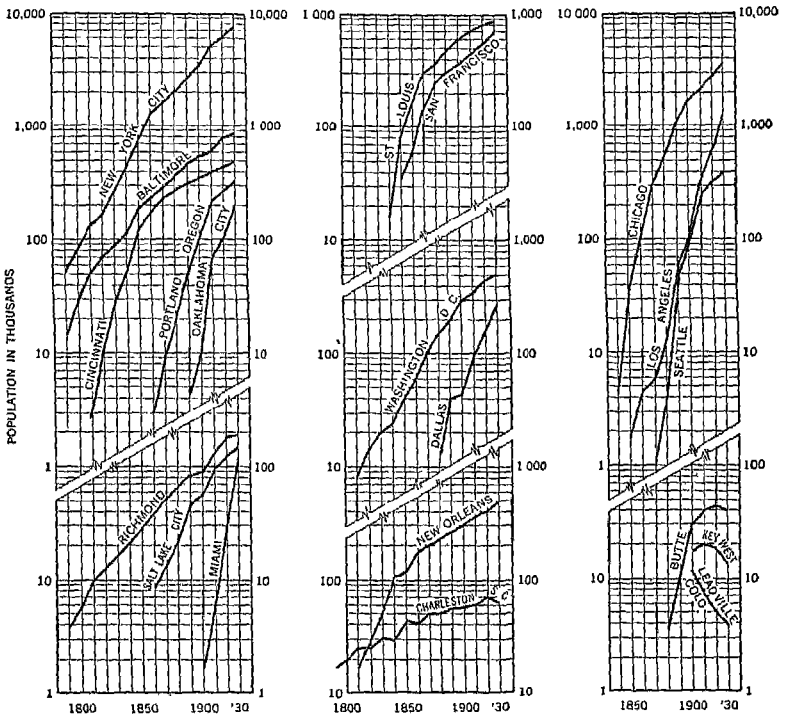


FIG. III. Long-time Trend of Population in 20 Selected American Cities. (Courtesy Federal Housing Administration)

area lying between the Mississippi and the Appalachian Highlands, and 10 were on the Atlantic seaboard. This lead in urban expansion which was early attained by the Northeastern States will probably be maintained in the years to come; indeed the urban population of the sparsely settled states will probably constitute an increasingly smaller percentage of the total urban population.

Table V

EXTENT OF URBANIZATION IN NINE MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920 AND 1930

	% URBAN 1930	% URBAN 1920	% CHANGE
New England States	77.3	79.2	− 1.9
Middle Atlantic States	77.7	74.9	2.8
East North Central States	66.4	60.8	5.6
West North Central States	41.8	37.7	4.1
South Atlantic States	36.1	31.0	5.1
East South Central States	28.1	22.4	5.7
West South Central States	36.4	29.0	7.4
Mountain States	39.4	36.4	3.0
Pacific States	67.5	62.4	5.1

VARYING RATES OF CITY GROWTH. Weber assumed that there was a regular progression in the rate of growth of cities, beginning with the villages and scattered population in the country and proceeding through the several classes of towns to the largest of cities. Levasseur, in France, came to a similar conclusion and early formulated the principle that "the force of attraction in human groups, like that of matter, is in general proportionate to the mass." That is to say, the larger the city the faster it tends to expand. A study by Williams indicated, however, that at the end of the last century London was not holding the primacy in rate of growth which it had held for fifty years.[11] Subsequent studies of urban growth indicate that there is not a regular progression in rate of expansion; instead, the great centers frequently tend to show a declining rate of increase.

The relative drawing power of the very large cities may have declined for several reasons. Mechanical inventions and technological improvements have transferred some of the advantages formerly held only by the great cities to urban centers with smaller populations. Electricity, modern transportation and communication facilities, and sanitary devices have offered the small city and town many urban attractions without the handicaps of the metropolis. Even in forms of social organization and opportunities for intellectual and artistic achievement the smaller city offers many of the same in-

11. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

ducements that are found in the crowded metropolitan center. There can be no doubt that the problem of rearing children in the great city is a serious one for many people; aside from the behavior difficulties that may arise, the actual physical surroundings are not always conducive to proper physical development.

STATISTICAL REPORTS SOMETIMES MISLEADING. Census reports of urban increases may appear to distort the actual picture. It must be borne in mind that during a census period of ten years an increase of five persons in a town of 2,495 places the community, for statistical purposes, in the urban class. In this way 2,500 persons are added to the urban category and 2,495 are subtracted from the rural class. It would be absurd, of course, to assume that the addition of five persons, or even five hundred, would result in an actual shift from a rural basis to an urban basis. If we consider the same rural communities in 1930 as in 1920, there was a population increase of 8.8 per cent, a slight gain over the 1910–20 percentage.[12] Similarly, if the same urban communities are considered in 1920 and 1930, the urban increase amounts to 23.1, slightly less than the increase for the preceding decade.[13]

Even these corrected figures require some interpretation. A considerable portion of the rural increase is perhaps due to the recent development of "acre-lot colonies" on or near the main routes of transportation leading to large cities.[14] To escape the traffic and congestion of the metropolis, city workers have migrated to this interstitial area; and while they are still identified socially and economically with the metropolis, they are officially listed as rural. This gain is therefore probably more suburban than agricultural. Certainly the rural gains in some of the eastern industrial states may be attributed partly to this trend; and taking the country as a whole the "acre-lot colonists" may account for as much as half of the rural growth.[15] Probably 10 per cent of the farm population as classified by the census bureau is actually engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.

12. Whelpton, P. K., "Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 36 : 879 (May, 1931).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 874. 14. *Ibid.* 15. *Ibid.*, p. 875.

This would amount to approximately two million persons who are rural by residence but non-agricultural by occupation.

Recent Trends in the Growth of Cities. The era of urban expansion is evidently drawing to a close. Just as the population as a whole is tending to taper off, so are the cities of the country approaching a stationary level—and in numerous instances actually losing ground. This sharp decline in the rate of growth of cities probably comes as a surprise or disappointment to many persons unfamiliar with population trends in recent years; even populationists a decade or two ago would hardly have predicted such unprecedented changes in the process of urban development. In 1940 the Bureau of the Census reported that the rate of increase of 315 cities over 25,000 in population had fallen from 25.3 per cent between 1920 and 1930 to 5.7 per cent between 1930 and 1940.[16] Furthermore, of the 315 cities upon which the preliminary census reports were based, 74 actually lost population during the decade ending in 1940 as compared with 19 in the preceding census period. Of the 241 cities gaining in population, 160 reported increases of less than 10 per cent; 53 increased from 10 to 25 per cent, 20 from 25 to 50 per cent; while only 8 increased by more than half.

On the basis of preliminary census reports in 1940 it appears that large cities are growing more slowly than small ones. A sample of 77 cities between 10,000 and 25,000 population had an average increase of 10.9 per cent during the decade as compared with an increase of 5.9 per cent for 39 cities between 25,000 and 100,000, 4.8 per cent increase for 61 cities between 100,000 and 500,000, and 6.1 per cent increase for 10 cities over a half million.[17] Of 82 metropolitan centers having a population over 100,000 in 1940, 25 reported actual losses; 43 increased by less than 10 per cent, 9 increased from 10 to 25 per cent; 4 from 25 to 50 per cent; while only one—Miami, Florida—increased by more than half. Of 11 great urban centers

16. Preliminary announcement of the population of specified cities, August 19, 1940. It seems probable that the final census reports will not vary far from these figures.

17. These figures must of course be considered tentative. At the time of writing this chapter (1940) only preliminary data had been reported by the Census Bureau.

having a population over 500,000, five reported fewer inhabitants than in 1930 and only one—Washington—had an increase greater than during the decade between 1920 and 1930. Detroit increased 57.9 per cent in the census period preceding 1930, but during the next decade the increase had declined to 3.2 per cent. Similarly, the rate of growth of New York City dropped from an increase of 23.3 per cent to 6.5 per cent during the same period, while San Francisco actually dropped from a rate of increase of 25.2 per cent to a loss of .8 per cent. Philadelphia, with an absolute decline of .8 per cent during the decade just ended, was the first city in the million class to lose population.

Of course these figures do not necessarily mean that the entire metropolitan community is declining in population. Undoubtedly much of the loss is the result of the movement of population to suburban areas. In St. Louis, for instance, the central city reported a loss of 1 per cent during the decade ending in 1940, but such suburban communities as University City, Kirkwood, Clayton, and Webster Groves continued to grow over the same period. This differential rate of population change is also true of other metropolitan areas, although the densely populated suburbs in the vicinity of New York City have grown more slowly than the central metropolis. The following is a list of the metropolitan communities over 100,000 which lost population between 1930 and 1940, arranged according to size:

CITY	PER CENT LOSS	CITY	PER CENT LOSS
Philadelphia, Pa.	0.8	Grand Rapids, Mich.	2.7
Boston, Mass.	1.5	New Haven, Conn.	1.5
St. Louis, Mo.	1.0	Flint, Mich.	3.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.	0.7	Springfield, Mass.	0.6
San Francisco, Calif.	0.8	Scranton, Pa.	2.1
Newark, N.J.	3.2	Kansas City, Kan.	0.5
Rochester, N.Y.	1.0	Camden, N.J.	0.8
Jersey City, N.J.	5.0	Cambridge, Mass.	2.2
Toledo, Ohio	3.3	Elizabeth, N.J.	4.5
Akron, Ohio	4.7	Somerville, Mass.	1.5
Syracuse, N.Y.	1.8	South Bend, Ind.	2.7
Worcester, Mass.	1.0	Utica, N.Y.	1.2
Youngstown, Ohio	1.5	Duluth, Minn.	1.2

The general impression that one gets from these data is that the historical trend of urban expansion is apparently being reversed, and the indications are that the decade between 1940 and 1950 will witness an even greater number of cities losing population than declined in the decade just ended. Numerous cities still listed in the "growing" column during the 1930–1940 census period were increasing only by a very slender margin. Such communities as Kansas City, Missouri, Cincinnati, Tulsa, Providence, and Peoria, to mention only a few, had an increase of less than one per cent during the decade. If the present trend continues these cities will be reporting population losses within a few years. Undoubtedly part of the decline is due to the falling birth rate; part is also the result of a decreasing number of farm and village migrants as well as the cessation of immigration from other countries. Probably fewer territorial annexations are now being made than in previous years. The possibility of unforeseen changes occurring in the future makes any prediction in this field somewhat hazardous. A general improvement of economic conditions in cities might open up new jobs for employable adults who have been stranded in villages and on the farms. This would tend to increase the urban population. Then, too, the urban birth rate might rise, and the increased number of babies would tend to swell the number of people living in cities. Should the bars be lowered for immigrants from abroad large numbers of persons would undoubtedly flock to American cities. But these possibilities seem rather remote. On the basis of available evidence it seems fairly safe, therefore, to conclude that the declining rate of increase of the urban population will continue, and it is highly probable that the number of people living in cities, especially large cities, will undergo an absolute decline.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Make a study of the growth of cities in the ancient world along the Mediterranean seacoast.
2. Secure all the information you can find on the development of cities in the Orient.

3. Study the Mayan civilization from the standpoint of the organization of life in the large communities developed by those peoples.

4. How do you account for the decline of the ancient city of Rome?

5. Select a sample of cities in your state and compute the rate of growth of each community by decades. What types of cities have tended to grow most rapidly? What changes have taken place in the rates of growth of different sizes of communities?

6. Write an account of the historical functions of the market place. In what forms has the market place survived in modern cities?

7. Find out the bases for classifying rural and urban communities in various countries of the world (in addition to the countries mentioned in the text). What changes in rural-urban classification would you propose for this country?

8. Using the 1940 census data, determine the number of cities in the United States that lost population during the preceding decade. Then consider some of the factors involved in this decline, classifying the cities according to size, location, and major economic activity.

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3

CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH

INDUSTRY AS A FACTOR IN URBAN EXPANSION

INDUSTRIALISM. Any interpretation of the growth of cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries must necessarily emphasize the industrial revolution as a causative factor. In an effort to exert a control over the forces of nature man has invented innumerable devices which in turn have influenced the social environment and thereby conditioned human behavior. The nineteenth century witnessed a marked broadening of the material cultural base. Mechanical inventions and technological improvements substituted the operation of mechanical devices for the processes of hand work, thereby tending to differentiate manufacturing as an industry from agriculture and to build up specialized industries that could be entirely divorced from the farm and household.

As long as industrialism was confined to man power there was no reason why concentration of population for industrial purposes alone should take place on a very large scale. Certainly the advantages of concentration were outweighed by a number of disadvantages: transportation facilities were not adequate for the distribution of fabricated commodities; sufficient food and shelter for a concentrated population could not be provided; the labor supply was inadequate, for workers were characterized more by their immobility than by their mobility. Even during the period when factories were operated by water-driven machinery the geographical location of the cities usually forbade any great expansion of industries. Only when the steam-driven engine came into universal use did factory production find economy in the concentration of workers in the industrial centers.

MANUFACTURING A STIMULUS TO CITY GROWTH IN ENGLAND. The period between 1821 and 1831, which was marked by an unusual growth of cities in England, was also a period of remarkable expansion in textile manufacturing. Both cotton and woolen manufactures increased continuously from about 1800, but it was not until 1817 that the new motive power became generally used in the cities, and there was a phenomenal increase in the importation of cotton after that time. The fact that the development of the factory system enormously contributed to the concentration of people in the cities of England was a matter of almost universal comment among historians. Although the growth of cities in that country diminished a little between 1831 and 1841, the greatest growth during the century came between 1841 and 1851.

The expansion of cities during this decade was influenced not only by the development of factories but also by the development of coal and iron mines in England and Scotland. The manufacturing city owed its existence perhaps as much to proximity to coal fields, as sources of power, as it did to raw materials for fabrication. As the industrial revolution in Europe and America gained headway, new labor-saving devices appeared on the market, and these in turn were instrumental in transferring all kinds of home industries to the factory and thereby accentuating the concentration of population in the industrial centers.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM DEPENDENT ON CONCENTRATION OF WORK. Even before the modern era of steam-propelled machinery industrialism was making itself felt in the countries of Europe. Persons who had hitherto found employment only as tillers of the soil were concentrating in towns and cities where cooperation was easier and where markets for their goods were available. Weber distinguishes four principal stages in the evolution of industry: first, the household or family system; second, the guild or handicraft system; third, the domestic or cottage system; and fourth, the factory system or centralized industry.[1] While the second and third stages were conducive to a limited concentration of population in towns and

1 Weber, Adna F., *The Growth of Cities*, p. 185.

cities, it was only in the fourth stage that the huge agglomerations of people in industrial cities took place.

The modern industrial town or city is, therefore, largely a product of steam power. By its very nature steam is more economical when applied to large manufacturing units concentrated within a small area. Consequently, the power-driven machine drew manufacturing out of the home and placed it in a centralized location where it could be carried on with greater economy. As the factory system expanded to meet the needs and demands of a growing population, more workers were needed to tend the machines and dispose of the finished products. Industrial efficiency in an era of power machinery meant an extension of the principle of social cooperation, and cooperation was best attained through the concentration in urban areas of both privileged class and proletariat. To the factories, then, flocked rural people, attracted not only by the novelty of city life but lured there also by the possibilities of greater economic rewards. Into the towns and cities they swarmed, crowding into the stuffy and unsanitary quarters near the industrial plants in such numbers that the houses were taxed far beyond their capacity. Today the tenement district so familiar to the industrial city stands as a grim reminder of the potency of industry, the builder of cities.[1]

During a considerable portion of American history the growth of cities has paralleled the development of manufacturing industries. At least the increase in the proportion of persons employed in industry has tended to follow rather closely the increase of population residing in cities.[2] Between 1900 and 1910 the urban population increased 38.8 per cent, while for the period 1899 to 1909 the gainfully employed factory workers increased 40.4 per cent. In the following decade, 1910 to 1920, the percentages of increase were 28.8 and 36.1, respectively. This was a period not only of intensive exploitation of natural resources but also of unprecedented expansion of industrial activities, made possible in part by (1) the introduction of new technological developments to increase the industrial output, (2) a rapidly growing population representing an increasingly

2. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 53.

larger body of consumers, and (3) a rising income level which enabled the masses to purchase the products of the industrial machines. For the most part the major industrial developments occurred in cities located in the northern and eastern portions of the country, since this area was not only close to the principal sources of raw materials but also to the center of the country's population. Cities getting a head start in the process of industrialization tended to have a surplus and fairly fluid labor supply, thereby creating a situation which attracted additional industries to the locality. Hence the industrial cities became increasingly industrialized: industrialism begat industrialism.

Industrialism as a factor in city growth has tended to diminish in recent years; at least the percentage of workers in manufacturing establishments has declined since 1919, whereas the proportion of persons gainfully employed in commerce and the professions has increased significantly. This does not necessarily mean that industrial output has declined, although such was temporarily the case during the depression years; rather it means, in all probability, that technological improvements have made possible a greater output with fewer workers necessary to perform the tasks. "Labor-saving" devices in many industries have decreased the demand for man power. The steel industry, to cite one example, has in recent years introduced new processes of production which, it is reported, will make possible the elimination of 85 per cent of the 100,000 workers who have found employment in this type of manufacturing. Such changes will undoubtedly affect the pulling power of cities on rural migrants and may retard the rate of growth of industrial communities, provided commerce and other types of activity do not furnish employment for workers who heretofore would have found jobs in industry.

Although the decline in the percentage of industrially employed workers may be said to have occurred in the United States as a whole in recent years, significant variations in rates of increase or decrease appear in different communities. In New York City, for instance, the number of wage earners decreased 11.3 per cent be-

tween 1919 and 1929, but the total population increased by 25.7 per cent during approximately the same period—1920 to 1930. While the population of Boston increased 12.8 per cent, the number of industrial workers declined 22.7 per cent.[3] Seattle-Tacoma increased in population 17.6 per cent but the number of persons employed in industrial establishments decreased 29.6 per cent. On the other hand, the number of workers in Toledo increased by 20 per cent as compared to an increase of 26.1 per cent of the total population. The increase in the proportion of workers in Dayton was only slightly less than the rate of growth of the population. As a result of the shift of certain types of industry from the North to the South, particularly the movement of textile manufacturing establishments, the proportion of industrial workers in Southern cities has tended to increase. McKenzie found that of 33 counties in which were located the principal cities of the South, only 9 had a decline in the number of workers from 1919 to 1929.[4] In ten of the counties the proportional increase in the number of workers was greater than the percentage of increase of the total population. The conclusion that may be drawn from these differentiated rates of industrial expansion and contraction is that industries in certain cities or regions will vary significantly in their influence on urban development.

It now appears that the movement of industry away from certain areas of New England will force some of the cities into an actual population decline, if it has not already done so, and that the industrial expansion now occurring in the South and Southwest may be an important factor in city growth in those regions. But one must guard against overemphasis of this trend. The evidence seems to indicate that the great industrial concentrations will remain comparatively unchanged so far as location is concerned. In 1929, 64.7 per cent of all industrial establishments, 74 per cent of all industrial employees, and 80.7 per cent of all salaried officers and employees were concentrated in 155 counties which contained the larger in-

3. Part of this decrease in New York and Boston is probably due to the re-location of industry in peripheral areas of the metropolitan district and cannot be attributed solely to decreases in the proportion of industrial employees.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

dustrial cities.[5] The value of the industrial output of these establishments represented 79 per cent of the nation's total.

COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS IN THE GROWTH OF CITIES

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. It must be remembered, however, that the growth of cities cannot be explained alone in terms of industrialism. Long before the day of the modern machine great cities sprang up and thrived on the shores of the Mediterranean: the Romans, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Persians had neither machines nor power, yet they built great cities, unequaled in size and splendor until the Middle Ages, when again great centers flourished, without steam-driven machinery to aid in the growth. If a simple explanation can be offered for the causes of urban growth during the pre-machine period, it lies in the magic word "commerce." "When, therefore, it is pointed out," says Weber, "that towns owe their origin to trade, that the commercial metropolis of today is the successor of the primitive market place established beside the boundary stone between hostile but avaricious tribal groups, that the extension of the market means the enlargement of the market center—then one will readily perceive the connection of the growth of industrial society to its present world-wide dimensions with our problem of the concentration of population."[6] If the market place was the heart of the early town, then commerce was its lifeblood. As the ancient and medieval town and city were dependent primarily on trade, the modern city by the same token has become the scene of commercial activities both national and international in scope.

The medieval town devoted to primitive manufactures and local trade could never hope to expand beyond certain limits. It was only the coastal and estuarial cities with an international trade that achieved large dimensions: the glory of Venice and the supremacy of

5. *Our Cities*, National Resources Committee, p. 2 (1937).
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

Milan and Lisbon were realities only because these cities were favorably situated for commercial transactions with other peoples of the Mediterranean and the rich producers of the Far East. The modern city, no less than the ancient or medieval one, is a product of commercialism. The advantages the modern city enjoys over its earlier counterpart lie largely in a more efficient system of transportation and communication. It is unlikely that urban growth would have attained its present dimensions had it not been for the mechanical inventions and technological improvements in the fields of communication and transportation, for the growth of world commerce is dependent in the main upon the efficiency of the devices for moving goods, transmitting ideas, and transporting persons.

MARKETING INSTITUTIONS, CHANGE IN BASIS OF CITIZENSHIP, COINAGE OF MONEY, AND RELATED FACTORS. A historical view of the growth of cities indicates a number of other factors that have contributed to urban expansion and at times rural depopulation. The development of the exchange or centralized market as an institution for commercial activities increased the economic efficiency of the people and stimulated commerce and industry, thereby affording an impetus to the growth of urban centers. While the working out of the original basis of the ancient city government was an important achievement, yet the shift from a hereditary to a geographical basis for citizenship was an aid in the assimilation of a larger number and a greater variety of types of people into the corporate body of the city. The removal, in later years, of restrictions which limited citizenship in medieval cities to members of the guilds was another contribution to the assimilation of all classes into a more harmonious organization. The organization of leagues and guilds during the Middle Ages did much to protect commerce from piracy and robbery and to standardize the procedure of internal and international exchange. This contributed much to the expansion of commercial activities and the growth of city populations. Likewise the coinage of money and the standardization of media of exchange fostered urban

concentration not only by furnishing a device for measuring with accuracy the values of articles of trade but by providing a permanent and imperishable form of property other than land.

Recent Commercial Expansion. Whereas industrial employment (but not necessarily industrial output) has been declining relatively for the past two decades, the reverse is true of employment in commercial enterprises. At least the census records show that every city of 250,000 or over had a larger percentage of commercial workers in 1930 than in 1920,[7] and there is no evidence that the trend changed during the decade ending in 1940. Although trade has always been an important factor in the growth of cities from the very beginning, commercial enterprises have undergone an unprecedented expansion in recent years, thereby providing employment for an increasing proportion of urban dwellers. This trend seems to have been due in part to the increased efficiency of industry in providing fabricated materials for consumers, to the improvement of transportation and communication facilities necessary for distribution of finished products, and to the development of new forms of commercial organization such as the corporation, the chain-store system, and large-scale financial enterprises. Most of the corporate organizations have their headquarters in the larger metropolitan centers; hence they have attracted large numbers of workers whose services have been necessary for the functioning of these mammoth enterprises. Much of the expansion of commercial organizations in cities has been made possible by a rising level of living, which means greater purchasing power of the masses, and by the increased amount of leisure time. Should the plane of living for the masses be elevated above what it is at present there is reason to believe that the expansion of commerce will continue and that commercial activities will provide employment for an even larger proportion of gainfully employed persons. So long as such expansion continues the economic foundations of city growth will be provided. Yet there is no assurance that the present economic organization, or one that may be anticipated in the immediate future, can be depended on to raise

7. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

the plane of living or even to maintain the level that has already been achieved. Severe economic depressions invariably reduce the buying power of the masses, paralyze industrial and commercial organizations, and in the final analysis affect the growth of cities. During the recent depression numerous cities actually declined in population because workers, unable to find employment either in industry or trade, returned to farms and villages where at least they had hope of security if not of a fortune.

THE INTERDEPENDENCY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. There has been noted a tendency for manufacturing establishments to locate at or near commercial centers, provided power and raw materials are available in suitable quantities. Manufacturing and commerce are complementary to each other: the manufacturer is dependent upon the commercial concerns for the distribution of his commodities; the trader is dependent upon the manufacturer for much of his wares; the two in turn are equally dependent upon consumers for the disposal of their products. Industry and commerce alike attract workers, for both are dependent upon man power for their multitudinous functions. The great centers of population, then, have developed where facilities and conditions for extensive trade are favorable and where industrial activities can be carried on with profit.

THE FACTORS OF COST AND EFFICIENCY IN TRANSPORTATION. While transportation and communication facilities are necessary for the commercial expansion of a city, the rates for transporting goods and transmitting ideas are conditioning factors in urban growth. Obviously, low rates of transportation tend to make for greater freedom in the movement of goods, and large cities are usually in locations where rates are sufficiently cheap to favor an extension of commercial activities. The era of railway expansion in this country witnessed an unusual concentration of population, partly because the railroad represented a cheaper and more efficient method of transporting goods inland than did the older types of conveyances. Water transportation is ordinarily cheaper than land; consequently the greatest volume of commercial activities and concomitantly the

greatest concentration of population are usually found in locations affording the maximum opportunities for transmarine traffic. Artificial barriers such as tariff walls tend to become retarding influences in the freedom of movement of goods and hence are frequently reflected in the retardation of commercial and industrial expansion of cities affected by these routes of transportation. In the United States, from 1870 to 1890, the greatest increase of population in the older sections of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota was in cities that were favored by privileged rates. The towns which were not benefited by these rates decreased in population.

More recently the automobile has come upon the scene as a factor in city growth and expansion. The average trading area for consumers has increased, with the use of the automobile, from 5 and 6 miles to 30 or even up to 150 miles. The rural stores are declining or changing in character because the functions once performed are now being assumed by the city with its greater efficiency and its greater variety of goods. Mercantile activities have thus tended to become centralized, and in this process of centralization they have, by offering opportunities for work, contributed to the growth of urban population.

Annexation as a Factor in City Growth. As American cities have increased in size the tendency has been for the population to overflow the political boundaries and settle in outlying districts. This trend has had the effect of depopulating the central city and thereby creating certain problems of municipal management, particularly the problem of offsetting financial losses resulting from the movement of taxpayers. In order to bolster up the city's financial structure municipal administrators have been inclined to look with favor upon annexation of outlying territory and the incorporation of adjacent communities into the political organization of the central city. There may, of course, be other reasons for the annexation of territory: the prestige that may accrue from the rapid growth of a city, or even the desire on the part of suburbanites to be politically identified with a neighboring metropolis. Whatever the reasons, most cities of metropolitan magnitude have followed rather con-

sistent policies of territorial expansion. Between 1920 and 1930, 46 cities having a population of 100,000 or more in 1930 annexed a total of 521 square miles, or an average of 11.4 square miles for each city.[8] In 35 representative cities a total of 625 annexations were made between 1850 and 1930, the average size of each annexation being 1.75 square miles. Since the turn of the century the number of annexations has tended to increase, although the average size of each annexation has declined. Between 1920 and 1930, 187 annexations were made, averaging .36 square miles; in the decade from 1880 to 1890 only 41 annexations were made, but the average was 5.90 square miles.

Cities vary widely in the degree of territorial expansion and the amount of territory acquired through the process of annexation. From 1910 to 1930 Los Angeles added 341 square miles, with 170 square miles being annexed in one year. St. Louis, on the other hand, has annexed no territory since 1876, at which time 43 square miles were brought within the political boundaries of the city. Although political expansion has been an important factor in urban development, cities have not incorporated new territory as rapidly as the population has overflowed into outlying districts. McKenzie lists 14 metropolitan centers which made no territorial annexations between 1890 and 1930, yet the percentage increases of the population living in "adjacent" areas ranged from 13.4 in the case of Worcester to 106.5 for St. Louis. There may be a number of reasons for this "lag," but probably civic pride on the part of suburban dwellers and their desire to escape some of the financial burdens imposed on the residents of the central city have been partly responsible for the failure of political expansion to keep pace with population overflow.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION AND CITY GROWTH

URBANISM AND AGRICULTURAL EFFICIENCY. Under any conditions it takes a certain amount of the earth's space to support a man, the amount depending upon the efficiency with which the natural

8. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 195. The following data on annexations are taken from the same source.

resources and soil are exploited and the methods of transporting and distributing the commodities that are produced for consumption. If agriculture is so inefficient that the full energies of the cultivators are needed to support themselves, then there is no surplus for an urban population. Cities can exist only when the population produces a surplus of things sufficient to release a portion of the people from the tasks of actually providing the elemental and basic necessaries of life.

If the husbandmen are able to produce enough food to support not only themselves but others, some of the population may be relieved of work on the soil and permitted to engage in different pursuits. In such an instance it is likely they will migrate to the city and become identified with urban peoples and urban activities. Their home-space may, therefore, be far removed from their sustenance-space. A country whose agricultural population is able to produce a large surplus of materials for consumption is likely to have an urban population far greater in proportion than one whose agriculture is inefficient and primitive.

The industrial revolution is usually conceived to be an urban phenomenon; yet it had its counterpart in an agrarian revolution that was created no less than the industrial revolution by the important mechanical inventions and technological improvements that were to play so significant a role in the redistribution of population in the entire Western World. While steam and electricity were being utilized to turn the wheels of factories in the great industrial centers, mechanical energy and scientific knowledge were also being applied to agriculture to increase the output of the farm and ranch. But while the revolution in industry and the expansion of commerce demanded more persons, the revolution in agriculture made it possible for fewer and fewer workers to supply the basic needs of an expanding population. The result was a gradual divorcement of men from the soil.

It has been estimated that in 1787, the year the Constitution was framed, 19 farmers were needed to produce a surplus sufficient to

support a single city person.[9] With such limitations on agricultural productivity it is apparent that an overwhelming majority of the population must of necessity be on the soil. In recent average years, however, 19 farmers can produce enough food to support 56 city and village residents of their own country and 10 additional persons in foreign lands. During the twenty-year period between 1910 and 1930, the output per agricultural worker increased 41 per cent as compared to an increase of 59 per cent in the per capita output of industrial employees. The Brookings Institution has devised an index for measuring the increase in agricultural efficiency during the twentieth century.[10] With agricultural production per male employed on farms in 1899 represented by 100, the output declined slightly during the following decade, increased to 112.1 in the five-year period centering on 1919, and again moved up to 143.1 during the years immediately preceding the depression. Perhaps the most striking increases in agricultural productivity occurred during the early 1920's when farmers were still hoping for a restoration of prosperity comparable to that of the World War period. From 1922 to 1926 production increased 27 per cent although crop acreage remained virtually unchanged and the number of agricultural workers actually declined. Between 1930 and 1935 production decreased by approximately 10 per cent, due mainly to unfavorable weather conditions. During this same period the farm population was augmented by a heavy influx of migrants who had left the city because of limited employment opportunities. Droughts and migrations from the city have therefore had the effect of reducing the average per capita output in agriculture.

TECHNOLOGY AND AGRICULTURE. This remarkable increase in agricultural productivity has been the result of no single factor but rather of numerous achievements in the spheres of technology, plant and animal husbandry, and social and economic organization.

9. Hendrickson, Roy F., "Technology: Its advance and Implications," in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, National Resources Committee, pp. 99 ff (1937).

10. *America's Capacity to Produce*, Brookings Institution, p. 38 (1934).

The introduction of extremely complicated machinery in agriculture has made possible an unprecedented production of various farm products with fewer and fewer persons necessary to do the actual work. The combine, or harvester-thresher, now widely used in the wheat-growing sections of the country, has displaced much of the manual labor formerly employed during the harvesting season. Two men, equipped with a tractor, combine, and a conveyance to haul the grain to the granary or elevator, can harvest a field of wheat as easily as could a dozen men at the turn of the century. On the larger farms two-, three- and four-row cultivators have taken the place of the single-row cultivator or the double shovel which was used a half century ago, while efficient corn-binders, drawn by a tractor, have superseded the man with a corn-knife. In the cotton-growing sections of the South the mechanical cotton-picker threatens to displace millions of workers who are now employed in harvesting the crop. If and when the machine is perfected to strip the cotton bolls as clean as human hands do the job—and evidence indicates that such perfection will likely be achieved—a single man operating a mechanical picker will probably be able to do the work of at least 25 manual laborers. Not only have these mechanical devices operated to release thousands of workers from the soil but they have made unnecessary large numbers of horses and mules that were formerly necessary for farming activities. According to Hendrickson, 9 million work animals were displaced by agricultural machinery between 1918 and 1932, while probably a million more were displaced in cities.[11] This has had the effect of releasing more than 30 million acres of crop land and pastures formerly used to produce feed for livestock. Much of this land is now being cultivated in the production of food for human consumption

Other Methods of Increasing Production. Although perhaps less spectacular, comparable achievements have been made in the fields of plant and animal husbandry. In the five years preceding the depression (1929) the number of dairy cows was about 5 per cent greater than in the previous decade, while during the same

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

period the production of milk increased 25 per cent.[12] Hybridization of corn has tended to make this crop more resistant to drought, disease, and insects, with the result that an increased productivity of 15 per cent is anticipated over non-hybrid yields.[13] Similar improvements have been made in varieties of wheat. New methods of crop rotation, fallowing, and cultivation, as well as fertilization of the soil, have made possible greater yields than in the past. The introduction of scientific methods of farm management, notably the work of the Farm Security Administration, has already eliminated much waste, and significant gains may be anticipated in the future. Widespread use of the motortruck for marketing purposes and the formation of new types of marketing organizations, particularly cooperative enterprises, have facilitated the disposal of farm products after they have been produced. Corporation farming in the Great Plains area, in the Southwest, and in the Pacific Coast region has through mass production methods reduced the costs of agricultural production. The Wheat Farm Corporation of Kansas City at one time cultivated 75,000 acres of wheat land, using 40 tractors, a fleet of trucks, and other forms of mechanical equipment. Such farms are the modern-day counterparts of the industrial establishments of the cities.

A stimulating, although probably exaggerated, statement of the possibilities of neo-modern methods of agricultural production has been made by C. W. Willcox in his *Nations Can Live at Home* and *Reshaping Agriculture*. The writer contends that on the basis of what we already know about "agrobiology" it is possible to maintain a high standard of living and at the same time eliminate four out of five persons now employed in agriculture. As judged by the most efficient industrial methods, he argues, agriculture has achieved only an 11 per cent efficiency; accordingly, if agricultural production were made as efficient as industrial production we could produce on 40 million acres what we grew in 1930 on 240 million acres. The

12. *Ibid.*

13. Salmon, S. C., "Plant Breeding and Improvement," in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, p. 110.

views of Willcox have been vigorously attacked by agricultural authorities as being gross overstatements of the possibilities of agro-biological methods. Yet agriculture is still relatively inefficient, though even with present methods we can produce more than we are apparently able to consume or sell abroad. It has been estimated that the most efficient half of American farmers produce about 85 per cent of the agricultural products; if this estimate is correct, then by stepping up the production of the more efficient half of the farmers by 15 per cent to maintain existing levels of productivity it would be theoretically possible to eliminate altogether the less efficient half. At least they would be unnecessary so far as providing a food supply for the nation is concerned.

Industrial Developments Affecting Agriculture. New developments in the fields of chemistry and plant physiology may contribute still further to the increased efficiency of our productive organization and thereby to the reduction of the amount of man power in agricultural activities. The rapid growth of the rayon industry represents a major triumph of the chemist over the lowly silkworm—and incidentally over the hand worker engaged in the production of silk. Already synthetic cotton, leather, and milk products have been produced in laboratories. An outstanding example of this achievement is the manufacturing of butter substitutes. Plant chemists have demonstrated the feasibility of producing vegetables in a solution of chemical compounds, eliminating the hazards of weather and soil conditions, and at the same time increasing the productivity of the plants. We should not assume, of course, that *Ersatz* products from the laboratory or factory will ever completely displace the products of the farm, since many, possibly all, of the synthetic materials derive their basic ingredients indirectly from the soil. But it may be confidently assumed that some of the chemical creations will be reasonably satisfactory, that they will be produced in large quantities, and that they will have some effect on present-day agricultural methods.

While scientific agriculture has made it possible for relatively fewer people to produce enough foodstuffs and other farm products

for the entire population, the results would not have been so far-reaching without parallel progress in the manufacture and preservation of food products. These processes are essential if food is to be shipped long distances and kept for long periods of time before it is consumed. Refrigerator cars and cold storage plants make it possible to send butter, meat, eggs, fruit, and vegetables all the way across the continent for urban consumption. Furthermore, such foodstuffs may also be kept some time after shipment before they are consumed. The extent to which people "live out of tin cans" has occasioned much comment and discussion in recent years. But whatever may be the social significance of this new mode of life the fact remains that the tin can and the refrigerator car have made urban persons more independent of their agricultural background than they would be otherwise. While there has been a tendency toward the decentralization of the canning industries themselves, the canned products—which in 1927 were valued at more than 500 million dollars—have made possible the maintenance of large urban populations. Herein lies a factor not present in the growth of ancient and medieval cities; even though other forces had been in existence to produce huge aggregations of population, limitations of the food supply would perhaps have prohibited the concentration of as many as five or ten million persons within the small areas represented by the greater metropolitan communities of the present.

The main conclusions that one can draw from this set of facts relating to agricultural production is that the agrarian revolution, so important a factor in the earlier growth of cities, is still quite as much a reality as in the past. So successful has been the application of scientific method to agriculture that the potential productive capacity of American farms is sufficiently high to release large numbers from the tasks of primary production if employment could be found in other types of activity. Paradoxically enough, however, approximately two million more persons were on farms in 1939 than in 1930, and since then the farm population has grown to an all-time record. The explanation of this unusual phenomenon is that the economic organization of cities has not been capable of providing

remunerative employment for all workers not needed in agriculture. This urban backwash, represented not only by migrants from the cities but also by large numbers of persons who have remained in the country because of limited opportunities in non-farm occupations, reflects the failure of our industrial and commercial system to expand continuously in proportion to the increase in agricultural efficiency. A more efficient economic system would certainly attract the surplus element from rural areas and thereby increase the rate of growth of cities over the rate which existed during the 1930's. Should a period of marked economic expansion occur, the cities would undoubtedly drain off large numbers of persons who are now stranded in rural areas. But whether such an expansion will take place in the immediate future is a matter of conjecture.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

THE LURE OF ADVENTURE AND EXCITEMENT. That the causes of city growth are basically economic is undoubtedly true: men have migrated to the city largely because of the attractiveness of the economic rewards. Yet there are other causes, possibly more significant than is ordinarily realized. Many instances may be cited of persons who have chosen a city environment in preference to a rural habitat even at the expense of their economic welfare. If an explanation of this phenomenon is to be found it probably lies in an examination of the wishes, attitudes, and impulses of persons who find an urban environment more satisfactory than the country. There are many persons who find greater satisfaction in an area of excessive psychic stimulations than in an area of comparative peace and quiet.

The city has always been the place "where things happen," where social processes are most intense and life most exciting as well as exacting. With its divergent cultural patterns, its kaleidoscopic changes, its hazards and its rewards, the metropolis offers a strange contrast to the homogeneity and monotony of the country—at least to the type of isolated rural environment that was so familiar before the advent of the automobile and similar urbanizing influences. It

was naturally to the city, then, that many persons turned; it was to the city that youth especially was attracted, what with its ambitions, its spirit of adventure, its restlessness, its desire for self-expression and recognition. For the minds that craved stimulation the city offered a peculiar and no uncertain lure; for those who were interested in intellectual and artistic attainment, either for themselves or for their children, the city was the logical habitat; even for those who would elevate their standard of living in order to enjoy the luxuries and comforts of life, the city was the only alternative to the country life that was drab and dull and in some areas backward almost to the point of sterility. Fanciful stories of the glamour and romance of city life fired the imaginations and impulses of country youths who had found their lot none too interesting. In a similar way the city, with its rather sinister reputation for wickedness and immorality, afforded a morbid fascination for the depraved and the delinquent who found irksome the conventional mores and regulations of a rural society.

Thus the Main Streets of American villages and towns have been invidiously compared with the Broadways and Michigan Boulevards whose name and fame have spread to every nook and corner of the land; and as Main Street has symbolized the uneventful existence of village and country life, so Broadway and Fifth Avenue have been symbols of the splendor and gayety of the American city, as no doubt The Strand, Champs Élysées, and Unter den Linden have been for the European metropolis. To such personal and social causes as these may be attributed part of the great exodus of persons from the country to swell the ranks of a concentrated and ofttimes congested urban population.

Escaping the Stigma of Rural Life. A certain social stigma has always been attached to residence in the country, paradoxical as this may seem in view of the fact that the country, as opposed to the city, has been assumed to be the prime source of virtue and goodness. Popular literature has been replete with caricatures of the farmer. He is, to many, the embodiment of uncouthness and credulity, devoid of all the desirable qualities ordinarily attributed to

human beings except, perhaps, honesty and good intentions. His behavior has been so portrayed by the cartoons and comic strips of the press and cheap magazines that he has become a stereotype, firmly fixed in the minds of sophisticated urban dwellers who have identified themselves with the "superiority" of the city. "Hayseed" and "country hick" in this country, and *kleinstadtisch* among the Germans, are terms of opprobrium that bear the trade mark of city fabrication.

Invariably the person tends to identify himself with his social surroundings, and his attitudes toward himself and toward others are determined, to a degree at least, by the recognition awarded his social group. The country person becomes conscious of the low esteem in which his own simple community and his rural culture are held by city folks. He reacts to these attitudes, and from the attitudes that he knows others have of him and his group he gets a conception of his own role—a conception that too often leads to a feeling of inferiority and a distaste for rural life and work. For this reason the prestige attached to urban residence has been an attraction to country people who have chafed under the odium of life in a rural milieu. And, interestingly enough, the larger the city the greater the degree of prestige. Mere bigness, in the social code of western society, is synonymous with greatness. It is a distinction to be a dweller of Megalopolis, a badge of backwardness to be a resident of Pine Bluff or Hickory Grove.

THE ATTRACTION OF URBAN FREEDOM AND URBAN STIMULATION. Opportunities for leisure time constitute an added attraction of the city. The farmer is chained to the soil; his personality is almost completely identified with his economic activities and the limited social groups of his environment; his work is of such nature that he rarely can separate his hours of freedom and recreation from his hours of toil. Not so with the city person. His work may be drab and uninteresting—he may be merely a robot, an automaton; but he is always conscious of the fact that there are hours of leisure that are his own, hours in which he may find surcease from the monotony of the day's work by engaging in exciting and stimulating forms of

recreation. It is the difference between the freedom of the city and the narrow confines of rural life.

The universal crave for psychic stimulations has been a powerful contributing factor in the growth of cities. Wherever cities have sprung into existence their pulling power has been enhanced by the opportunities they have offered for new and varied experiences. They provide intense stimuli to the mental and emotional faculties. Thus natural appetites for social experiences of an exciting and interesting nature are not only satisfied but conditioned to demand an ever-increasing amount of stimulation. So pronounced has this craving become that much of the labor and energies of the city are devoted to supplying artificial stimulations to jaded persons whose occupational and home activities are not sufficiently satisfying.

So it is that multitudes turn toward the city to enjoy the intoxicating experiences that only city life has to offer. Thousands drift each year to Chicago, to New York, to the great capitals of Europe, eager to forego the security of country life for the stimulating environment of the metropolis. Thousands of others already in the city, unable to overcome the magnetic fascination of urban life, prefer staying on even in misery and squalor to returning to the country where existence is less exciting and less romantic. "I would rather live in my hall-bedroom in New York than in any fifteen-room house in the country that I ever saw," a half-demented little seamstress, a denizen of the New York slums, once told the novelist Dreiser—and in revealing that side of her life she probably revealed the ties that bind millions of others of her kind to the great city.[14]

THE LAG IN RURAL CULTURE. The inadequacy and defectiveness of many rural institutions such as the church and school cause many persons to leave the country who might otherwise be satisfied with the rural environment. There is a pronounced lag between rural education and the type of educational facilities ordinarily found in the cities, and many rural parents, cherishing noble ambitions for their offspring in an age of democratic education, have left the soil and the agricultural village for the larger town or city in order to

14. Dreiser, Theodore, *The Color of a Great City* (1923).

enjoy the advantages of a more efficient educational system. Organized recreation in the city in contrast to unorganized recreational facilities in the country has likewise been a source of attraction to rural people. The urban amusement center, while not always providing wholesome recreation, has at least surpassed anything offered by the country, and has appealed especially, with some exceptions, to the rural mind so unused to the ways of city life. The lure of fabulous riches is a strong appeal to the country dweller, whose type of occupation has always limited his contacts and placed restrictions on the chances for the accumulation of great wealth. Even more practical considerations are frequently responsible for the uprooting of rural persons: old age, ill health, and physical disabilities have forced many to retire from active work in the country and move to the city or town.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATIONS

Migrants a Source of Urban Expansion. In most countries growth of cities has not been due to any one cause but usually to a combination of causes, although migrations have figured largely in the process. At no other time in history has there been such an influx of rural persons to the commercial and industrial centers.

Probably three-fourths of the persons who contributed to the increase of urban populations in the United States have been recruited from the ranks of rural migrants and Old World immigrants. New York City alone has a foreign-born population of two million persons. It has more Italians than the city of Naples, more Poles than Warsaw, more Irish than Cork. Its two million Jews, native and foreign-born, constitute almost a third of the total population. Two hundred thousand Negroes, many from the rural South, have crowded into its "black belts."

From 1900 to 1910, a period of rapid urban expansion, the increase in urban population was 11,826,000; and of this number 41 per cent were alien immigrants; 29.8 per cent were rural migrants; 21.6 per cent represented a natural increase in population; and 7.6

per cent came as the result of incorporation of new territory.[15] The following data are indicative of recent developments in population shifts:

Table VI

NET MOVEMENT OF POPULATION FROM FARMS TO CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES, 1920 TO 1939

YEAR	NET MOVEMENT
1920	336,000
1921	564,000
1922	1,137,000
1923	807,000
1924	487,000
1925	702,000
1926	907,000
1927	457,000
1928	422,000
1929	477,000
1930	212,000
1931	20,000
1932	− 266,000 (loss)
1933	281,000
1934	351,000
1935	386,000
1936	447,000
1937	288,000
1938	202,000
1939	258,000

Figures in the foregoing table were compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture [16] and represent only a careful estimate based on a fairly sizable sample taken each year. No actual count of the movements has ever been made, owing mainly to the difficulties involved in conducting such a large survey. While these figures are undoubtedly subject to considerable error, it is nevertheless probable that they represent reasonably close approximations. It should be observed that the term NET MOVEMENT does not refer to the total movement

15. Gillette and Davies, "Measure of Rural Migration and Other Factors of Urban Increases in the United States," *Publications American Statistical Association*, 14: 649 (September, 1915).

16. *Farm Population Estimates*, Bulletin, U.S. Department of Agriculture (January 1, 1940).

persons necessary for the present production with the number in 1920.

7. How are the automobile and motortruck affecting the growth of rural and urban communities in your county?

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THE LOCATION OF CITIES

To UNDERSTAND THE REASONS for the location and growth of any given city it is necessary to know something of the social and economic organization of the region, the geographic conditions of the area in which the city is located, the forms of transportation and communication, and the political and social history of the city. Cities do not spring up sporadically here and there; rather they are the products of interacting social and economic forces. Interaction may be affected, of course, by factors over which man has little or no control, such as topography, climate, soil, and resources, or by political and social factors such as artificial boundary lines, tariffs, transportation systems, and military or religious activities. Cities represent areas of maximum economic intensity in production or distribution. They exist usually in localities whose natural and social conditions are most favorable to the weaving of an economic pattern sufficient to meet the growing needs of the population. For convenience in this discussion the reasons for the location of cities will be discussed under two categories: first, the major factors centering around trade, transportation, and industry; and second, minor factors, including religion, military considerations, political organization, and the like.

TYPES OF TRANSPORTATION AND THE LOCATION OF CITIES

WATER TRANSPORTATION. Three successive forms of transportation, each more or less dominant in its own day, have exerted a profound influence on the growth and location of American cities: water, rail, and motor vehicle. In his analysis of urban development McKenzie has observed that the general spatial patterns of urban settlement were fairly well established during the period of water trans-

portation, which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.[1] Two principal water-highway systems were dominant routes of transportation. One of these, the Hudson River, Erie Canal, and Great Lakes system, served the Northeast by connecting the inland territory with the Atlantic Seaboard cities. The other was the Mississippi-Ohio-Missouri river system which oriented the Middle West toward the Gulf of Mexico through the port of New Orleans. At least 58 of the 70 cities on or east of the Mississippi River, which had reached metropolitan stature in 1930, were growing communities before 1850. Even the major Pacific Coast cities of today had become well-established centers before they were connected to the interior by rail transportation. The period of water transportation roughly approximated what has been called the era of sectionalism in American history. Although the system of water highways did provide the economic foundations for urban development by opening up new channels of trade, the rigid pattern of the natural routes set comparatively fixed limits to the number of contacts between the different areas. This enforced isolation tended to produce a sort of cultural provincialism or sectionalism.

The period of railroad construction began about the middle of the nineteenth century and lasted until approximately 1890. At the outset the railway lines were "feeders" to the water systems, connecting the cities that had been established during the period in which water transportation was dominant. With increased efficiency both in speed and regularity of movement, the railroads soon were able to divert much traffic from the water routes and accordingly contributed not only to the growth of the older cities but also to the economic penetration of areas untouched by the water systems. Whereas the Middle-West water routes were mainly in a north-south direction, the first railways were extended mainly in an east-west direction, following the shortest course between points. As population increased in unsettled or sparsely settled areas, towns and

1. *The Metropolitan Community*, Ch. 10. We have drawn heavily on McKenzie in this entire analysis of the role of transportation routes in the growth and location of cities.

villages sprang up along the railroad lines at points of intersection with wagon roads or other railroads. In states where the settlement process occurred fairly late in the historical development of the country, many communities were founded after the railroads were built. Kansas presents an interesting example. In this state the great majority of cities and towns are located on the main trunk lines which were built during the latter part of the nineteenth century and which were extended in an east-west direction. Other states in which the settlement process was well under way before the railroad era have numerous towns and villages that are completely isolated from railway lines. Late in the period of railway construction local railroads were built, many of which extended in a north-south direction to provide connecting links between the trunk lines and to furnish transportation facilities for communities that had been left in isolation during the earlier period of railroad construction.

Rail Transportation. As the railroads penetrated all areas of the country, thereby breaking down much of the isolation which had been characteristic of the period of water transportation, sectionalism gave way to a form of regional development in which the cities tended to play an increasingly important role in integrating the economic and cultural activities of the various geographic areas. These "gateway cities," as McKenzie calls them, were not only brought into closer economic and social contact with the older seaboard cities of the east but also with the smaller settlements with which they were directly connected by the railroad lines. Thus the large cities tended to become the economic and cultural foci of the areas in which they were located. The decline of geographic sectionalism was accompanied by the emergence of the metropolitan region.

Motor Transportation. The period of motor transportation, beginning shortly after the turn of the century, tended not so much to displace rail transportation as to supplement it—and to overshadow it. Regional developments, emerging during the ascendancy of the railroad, have become an increasingly significant aspect of our metropolitan civilization as the motor vehicle has brought the cities in closer and closer relationship to outlying settlements. Particularly

has the automobile been responsible for the phenomenal growth of satellite cities and towns surrounding the larger centers, and for the quasi-urban establishments that are strung along the highways that connect the great cities. The regional community is coming of age. The development of the region will be considered more fully in a subsequent chapter.

THE "BREAK IN TRANSPORTATION" THEORY OF CITY LOCATION. The analysis by McKenzie of the importance of different types of transportation in the historical development of cities in this country is not incompatible with the theory of city location as related to breaks in transportation. A good many years ago Cooley formulated the following principle: "Population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation." [2] The term "break" is used to indicate an interruption in or stoppage of movement of goods sufficient to necessitate a transfer or storage. If the transfer is purely of a physical nature, that is, if the goods are merely shifted from one type of transportation to another, or from a conveyance to storage facilities, the break is a mechanical one. But if the transfer involves a change of ownership, whether or not accompanied by a physical break in transportation, the break is commercial in nature. In either case, persons are brought together for the purpose of participating in the activities necessary for the completion of the transfer. If the break is a commercial one, and if it is also accompanied by a physical transference of commodities, then more persons are needed. Goods must be unloaded from one conveyance and placed on another or in storage facilities. If the commodities are bulky and heavy, this requires a considerable supply of human labor, not to mention other forms of power such as electricity or steam, or power derived from horses, mules, or camels.

Commercial breaks require workers to complete the financial transactions involved in the shift of ownership of commodities. Consequently it is at this point that financial institutions and houses of

2. Cooley, Charles Horton, "The Theory of Transportation," reprinted in a posthumous volume entitled *Sociological Theory and Social Research* (1930). This essay, submitted as a doctoral dissertation, first appeared as one of the publications of the American Economic Association, May, 1904.

exchange develop to handle the trade. The presence of these primary workers demands also the presence of secondary workers to supply the needs of those engaged directly in commercial activities. Hostelries are provided; eating establishments come into existence; recreational institutions cater to the leisure-time interests; shops and stores supply the personal needs of the workers; schools are established to educate the youth; political organization is effected. The more important the break in transportation, the more workers are needed for the essential duties of transferring the goods. Therefore more "secondary" workers are attracted to supply the needs of all others. Labor tends toward specialization; competition becomes "competitive cooperation" and is reflected in complex social organization; wealth is amassed; economic differentiation and social stratification become more pronounced. Commercial activities serve as a stimulus to production. Manufacturing develops to meet the needs and demands of consumers. Industry and commerce become complementary to each other. The result is the modern metropolis.

From this analysis it follows that transportation and communication have been, and still are, prime factors in the location of commercial cities, just as they also are necessary factors, although less significant, in cities devoted to production and fabrication. In commercial activities some places are more favorably located for trade purposes than others, with the result that they tend to become trade centers. These centers may take the form of a country village at a crossroads, where farmer and merchant meet to exchange farm products for manufactured supplies; or they may, on the other hand, become great entrepôt cities, the focus of steamship and railroad routes that stretch to the far corners of the earth. The location of these trade centers is limited to a great extent by geographic factors: by the topography of the land, by climatic conditions, by the nature of the soil and the quantity and quality of available resources —briefly, by any factors, physical or social, that affect the use and location of routes of transportation.

Where, then, do these breaks occur? Breaks in transportation tend to occur at junctions between land transportation and water

transportation, or between two different kinds of water transportation, or between two kinds of land transportation.[3] It is at these points that a physical transfer of goods becomes necessary; it is here also that a commercial break is apt to occur. The importance of the break depends upon the quantity and value of goods that are transported to this point and upon the personnel necessary to transfer or distribute the goods after their arrival. The rural village may be at a break in transportation where a wagon road crosses a railroad, or where two or more wagon roads converge, but the amount of commodities sent from or delivered to the community may be so small that the center can never become more than a dwarfed country town. On the other hand, a seaport with good harbor facilities and with gangliated railroad, steamship, automobile, and air routes going out in all directions may receive immense quantities of raw and fabricated products for transfer, for distribution, and for consumption.

Break Between Land and Water Transportation. Practically all the great commercial cities of the world have been located at junctures of land and water, where an important break in transportation occurs. Goods transported by land conveyances must of necessity be unloaded and reloaded on ships, or conversely, goods transported by vessels must be transferred to conveyances adapted to land purposes. Many of the great centers of commerce are located at points where there is not only a juncture of land and water transportation but also a break in water transportation.

New York City, for example, possesses a number of advantages that help make her the mistress of the Atlantic Seaboard. In the first place, she possesses excellent harbor facilities that are an attraction for ocean-going craft. She is located directly east of the Mohawk Valley, a natural gap in the Appalachian range. Through this valley run east-west railroad lines and the Erie Canal carrying commodities to the seaboard to be placed on ocean vessels and in return receiving articles of commerce that have been transported from abroad by water or have been manufactured in New York City

3. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

for distribution in the hinterland. Cheap water transportation not only to other lands but also to the vast agricultural interior of this country establishes the economic superiority and numerical greatness of New York City. New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, is likewise at a point where a transfer of goods must be made from river to ocean steamers.

ESTUARIES AS FAVORABLE PLACES FOR BREAKS. Many of the world's great cities have been located not on the seacoast but on estuaries of rivers or on bays or gulfs. Two reasons may be assigned for this: first, commercial seaports are usually as far inland as possible in order that exporters and importers may have the advantage of cheap water transportation; [4] second, natural indentations afford superior harbor facilities and protection from ocean storms. Antwerp is on the Scheldt, nearly fifty miles from the sea. Liverpool, with one of the finest harbors in the world, is near the mouth of the Mersey River off the Irish Sea, while London, the metropolis of Great Britain, accommodates ocean-going craft fifty miles up the River Thames. Glasgow dredged the River Clyde, constructed a commodious harbor miles inland, and is now one of the principal seaports of Europe. Hamburg and Bremen, Germany's largest ports, are located on the estuaries of the Elbe and the Weser, while Rotterdam, in the Netherlands, is situated near the mouth of the Rhine. Likewise, the history of Alexandria has been the history of the Nile; the Ganges has produced Calcutta; Shanghai has always been identified with the Yangtze; Buenos Aires and the Plata are inseparably linked together; San Francisco has been the commercial product of San Francisco Bay; while Baltimore and Philadelphia have grown large and powerful because their location on deep indentations has strengthened their trade relations with producing and consuming regions elsewhere. Montreal and Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, have excellent harbors; but Montreal, further inland, has long since outstripped its older sister city to become the leading seaport of eastern Canada. When Houston dug a canal to Galveston Bay some thirty miles away to provide a route for ocean steamers, she paved the way

4. Smith, J. Russell, *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, p. 860 (1925).

for commercial supremacy over her rival, Galveston, the older seaport on the coast.

Lake Ports as Types of Transportation Breaks. By the same token lake ports thrive as products and materials are brought to their gates for distribution and fabrication. Wherever the cost of transportation of large and bulky articles may be reduced by water carriage on lakes, such ports develop. These ports tend to be located at points where there is a break between lake transportation and railway or canal transportation, or at a point where rivers empty into lakes, thereby furnishing a connection between river and lake transportation. The phenomenal growth of Chicago, for example, may be largely accounted for by its favorable location with respect to movements of goods and people. Being near the productive agricultural region of the Middle West, and also within easy distance of rich iron and coal deposits, it became the logical loading and unloading point for commodities suitable for lake traffic. Flat-bellied lake barges laden with wheat from the agricultural hinterland or with ore from northern iron mines receive and deposit their burdens at the port of Chicago. Railroads connecting East and Northwest were forced to pass around the lower tip of Lake Michigan and to center at Chicago. The Illinois River and the Chicago Drainage Canal have made commercial relations with the cities of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico a possibility. It is no wonder, then, that Chicago has grown to greatness: it has become the world's largest packing center and a leader in the manufacture of steel; it is the world's greatest railroad center; it is the center of the mail order business—in a word, it is the commercial and industrial metropolis of the Middle West and as such dominates the economic and cultural life of the people of this section more than any other city except, possibly, New York. Perhaps Carl Sandburg the poet glimpsed this idea when he sang:

> Hog Butcher for the World,
> Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
> Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;
> Stormy, husky, brawling,
> City of the Big Shoulders.

The same forces that produced Chicago have contributed to the growth of other lake ports. Buffalo and Cleveland are lake ports that had been centers of canal transportation in their early development. As the Erie Canal was an important factor in the early growth of New York City, it was equally important in the growth of Buffalo, located at its western terminus. Here was an important break in transportation for lake shipments intended for New York City via the Erie Canal. Toronto, the second city of Canada; Detroit, the center of motorcar manufacturing; Duluth, the wheat port of the North; Milwaukee, a manufacturing and commercial metropolis near Chicago—all these are cities that owe their existence and their growth in part to their favorable locations on the Great Lakes. They have been adjacent to fertile regions, they have benefited by cheap transportation, and they have been logical points for breaks in transportation; consequently they have become the foci of trade routes from many directions.

River Ports as Breaks in Transportation. Previous to the advent of rail transportation, rivers constituted one of the most important means of conveying goods and passengers. Towns and villages were located on or near navigable rivers, whenever possible, and in many instances their transportation facilities were limited to traffic by river boats. Many of the early towns were located on the inner rim of the eastern coastal plain at the "fall line," where rapids and falls marked the limit of transportation. Not only did the fall line constitute a natural break in transportation, but the falls and rapids themselves were utilized for power purposes. In the New England States, manufacturers, with an eye for cheap power, harnessed the streams and used their energy to turn the wheels of textile machinery. Fall River, Lowell, Holyoke, and other textile towns owe their origin largely to these circumstances. These sites not only furnished cheap and abundant power but they also provided an outlet to the sea by river route for the manufactured goods. Minneapolis and St. Paul, at the head of navigable waters on the Mississippi, were favorably located for growth: they were near a region that abounded in products from forest, farm, and mine; they were

provided with cheap water power at the falls near the headwaters of the Father of Waters; they were a logical break in transportation for bulky goods to be transferred from land conveyances to river boats destined for the South.

Of course not all river ports are at the head of navigation. Some of the important river cities of North America and Europe are located many miles from either the mouth of the stream or the highest point of navigation. It must be remembered that it is usually not the river alone that makes the city; it is the river transportation in conjunction with other forms of transportation. Large river cities tend to be located in or near rich producing regions and the commodities are hauled by train, automobile, wagon, pack-horse, or human carrier to the river banks to be loaded on river craft, which represents a cheaper or more satisfactory form of transportation. Just as the great seaport tends to be located at the point farthest inland where large ocean vessels may go, so do large river cities tend to be located at points on the river nearest the areas of maximum production. Cities frequently thrive at the confluence of two navigable rivers. St. Louis, on the Mississippi, is located near the mouth of the Missouri. Mainz, in Germany, is at the meeting place of the Rhine and the Mosel. Sometimes cities are found at the outer bends of rivers if the land area is accessible, or again at points where crossings are made by ford, ferry, or bridge. Peoria, at a narrow place on the Illinois River, furnished in the earlier days an easier place for crossing than a point down the river.

Kansas City, founded in the period when the Missouri River played a more important role in transportation than it now does, was located on a wide bend of the Missouri River where the stream changes its course from south to east. Here the river was nearest the grain- and livestock-producing areas. Raw products from the hinterland could be loaded on river boats and sent to cities on the Mississippi or Ohio, or to New Orleans on the Gulf. With the advent of the railroads river traffic dwindled; but the city, fortunate in having a location near a rich agricultural region, and benefiting by the impetus received in the early days of river travel, continued to

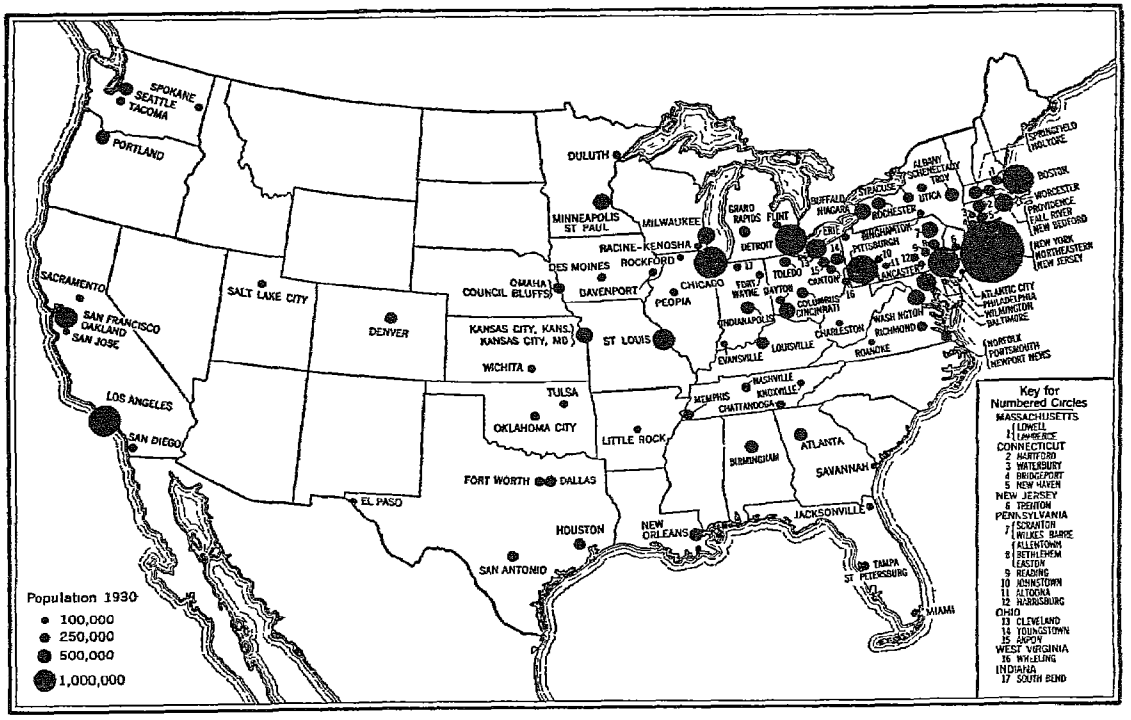


FIG. IV. The territorial distribution of the metropolitan centers of the United States in 1930. (Courtesy of the U.S. Bureau of the Census)

grow into the commercial metropolis of the Missouri Valley. Recent years have witnessed a revival of agitation for a water route to the sea.

Topography as a Factor in Location of Breaks of Transportation. The topography of the land is an important factor in the location of breaks between two kinds of land transportation. In the foothills of mountainous districts there is apt to be a break in transportation in which goods are transferred from one type of land conveyance, adapted to the plains country, to another type designed for mountain travel.[5] Mountains have long been obstacles to the expansion of human activities, perhaps in earlier days more than in an era of modern transportation. At any rate in populous countries with extensive commercial activities rows of cities and towns have tended to cluster around or near the borderline of mountain and plains. These commercial cities have developed at points where the system of transportation and the commodities to be transported must be adapted to new conditions. The main lines of traffic tend to keep outside the highlands but near enough to their base to take their resources and trade through local routes that follow the valley outlets. On this piedmont plain, where mountain and piedmont roads intersect, towns grow up, and some of them develop into cities if the trade is sufficient.[6] A girdle of cities from Milan to Zurich and from Vienna to Lyons encircles the Alps, and a similar line of towns and cities defines the base of the Appalachians, the Pyrenees, the Apennines, the Juras, and numerous other ranges.[7] Sometimes these cities cling closely to the foot of the mountainous areas, as in the case of Zurich, Denver, Pittsburgh; in other instances they are located farther down on the alluvial plain, like Atlanta, Richmond, Milan, and Munich.[8] Not infrequently these cities command important passes over the mountains, and if so, they become important breaks

5. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

6. Semple, Ellen Churchill, *The Influence of Geographic Environment*, p. 244 (1911).

7. Vidal de la Blache, Paul, *Principles of Human Geography*, p. 473 (1926). See also Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

8. Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

in transportation and perhaps even strategic military posts. The St. Gothard route connects with Lucerne on the north and Milan on the south, while the Brenner Pass is the connecting link between Munich and Verona.[9]

In the days of caravanserai, cities were frequently located on the border line between the desert and productive agricultural regions. Cities like Mecca owed their existence largely to this condition of transportation because they were located at a point where important trade routes crossing the arid hinterland met other routes stretching out into arable areas. Although Mecca is known more as a religious than as a commercial center, its existence is perhaps due mainly to its commercial activities. These border cities became havens of rest for weary travelers and tired beasts, recruiting centers for men and camels, and outfitting points for the long journeys over desert sands. If the desert regions bordered the base of mountains, the pronounced break in transportation as a result of the changed topographic conditions necessitated outfitting and resting points for the ordeals of mountain or desert travel. These borderline cities became, therefore, centers of exchange and transfer—commercial cities rather than cities of production—and they rarely if ever grew to any considerable magnitude.

Economy of Region an Influence on Urban Location. In modern times the type of economy of a particular region as well as the topography of the land must be taken into consideration if the location of the city is to be understood. Local wagon roads or railroads of a particular region, say a grazing area, a lumber region, or a mining district, may focus at a convenient point where longer transportation routes are accessible. These regions tend to be fan-shaped or circular, the local roads reaching from the periphery to the center. The focus or center of the region then becomes a break in transportation where goods are transferred from local conveyances to vehicles destined for longer distances. Almost every county seat town in an agricultural region, at least in the Middle West, is, after a fashion, an illustration of this principle. Roads radiating out

9. *Ibid.*

in all directions from the center are used to convey such farm products as eggs, cream, grain, vegetables, and livestock to the local dealers who purchase them, transfer them to trains or cross-country trucks, and send them to larger centers many miles away. In turn the longer roads are used to convey manufactured goods to the town dealers who, as middlemen, effect a physical as well as commercial transfer of the commodities to the local consumers. The destiny of these towns depends upon the quantity and value of the goods that are received at and sent from this point, for both value and quantity are factors that determine the importance of a break in transportation. These country towns are frequently the political headquarters of the county, but their location and growth have been, for the most part, economic rather than political. While topography is an important factor in determining the location of breaks in transportation, because it necessitates, frequently, a change in form of transportation, nevertheless these changes—shifts from one type of vehicle to another—may occur even where there is no topographic influence.

Breaks Due to Social Factors. Occasionally the break in transportation is due more to political or social factors than to physical conditions. A political boundary between countries may necessitate unloading and reloading in order to satisfy the demands of customs regulations. These artificial breaks in transportation, as opposed to natural breaks, have tended to become obstacles in the way of commercial relations between nations. Ordinarily the cities thus arising do not grow to any great magnitude, or if they do, it is because of reasons other than political, for the break here is usually a physical one rather than commercial. Sometimes these breaks due to political reasons are made at points where topographic conditions necessitate a natural break. Basel, at the head of navigation on the Swiss-German border, is an example. As Cooley points out, however, the importance of political boundaries as breaks in transportation is diminishing due to the fact that economic necessity has favored the shipment of goods under bond directly across boundaries to interior receiving points.

THE LOCATION OF PRODUCTION CENTERS

No Pure Type of Production Center. Manufacturing or production cities are less sensitive to transportation facilities, less dependent upon the road for their growth and development, than are commercial cities. Yet it must be remembered that there are few pure types: commercial cities, primarily the product of the road, become also manufacturing centers, as in the case of New York and Chicago, while cities engaged primarily in production and manufacturing have their commercial activities. Scranton, Pennsylvania, for instance, is more than a mining center, although that is the basis of its urban status; a portion—a minor portion—of its population is engaged in trade or exchange in supplying the needs of the workers in the mines.

Coal Deposits as Attractions for Cities. Many great production or manufacturing cities are located near or above mineral or coal deposits, routes of transportation playing a minor although important role in the development of the region. "Coal—in small or large quantities—is like the protoplasm around which develop industrial construction, circulation, and life." [10] Some manufacturing cities like New York and London are sufficiently powerful to attract coal to them; others, like Essen in Germany, Newcastle and Birmingham in England, Cardiff in Wales, and Birmingham in the United States are located at or near rich veins of coal. These cities have grown because of their relation to the coal fields rather than because of their location on routes of transportation. Indeed, they have attracted to them routes of transportation and communication, and have added commerce and trade to their primary task of unearthing coal and manufacturing articles for commercial purposes. The mere names of American towns liks Sheffield, Bessemer, Irondale, Ironton, Carbondale, Carbonville, and Coal City suggest something of their origin. Mining towns like Picher in Oklahoma, Wilkes-Barre and Scranton in Pennsylvania, and Pittsburg in Kansas frequently

10. Brunhes, Jean, *Human Geography*, p. 387 (1920).

spring up near deposits of coal or mineral with little regard for transportation routes, although their growth eventually depends on their ability to export their mined products. Cities are frequently located at the point of maximum accessibility to more than one product of the earth. Birmingham, the largest manufacturing center of the South, is located in a region that produces coal, iron ore, and limestone, three necessary ingredients for the making of steel. The site of an Alabama cornfield in 1870 is now covered with the blackened and besooted structures of steel foundries of a city that numbers a quarter of a million persons. Gary, a suburb of Chicago, would never have been selected for the mills of the United States Steel Corporation had it not been within reach of the iron ore of Michigan's Upper Peninsula and the coal of the Illinois fields.

Oil and Minerals as Stimuli to City Growth. Cities like Tulsa and Fort Worth, in the heart of the oil belt, owe their location and growth, for the most part, to the oil industry. Wherever oil wells are located in abundance, cities and towns begin to spring up; workers are attracted by the industry; and routes of transportation are constructed to provide for the outward movement of the products of the area and the inward movement of machinery and other supplies. If the oil supply is permanent, the town or city becomes stabilized; social and economic organization is accomplished; and ancillary commercial activities are introduced as an adjunct to the principal industry. Such a city is Tulsa. In the early years of the oil industry Tulsa became a "boom" town, the center of oil operations in Oklahoma. From an agricultural village of 1,500 in 1900, its rise was meteoric: in 1920 it had a population of 72,075, and in 1930 it had grown to 141,258. As the industry passed beyond the stage of crowd excitement, the city showed increasing signs of stability. In the decade between 1930 and 1940 the city gained only 492 inhabitants, representing an increase of .3 per cent. Although it has remained a prominent focus of control of the oil industry in the state, it has also become an important financial and shipping center for the area around it. In northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, towns have been located on the beds of iron ore; indeed, the whole Mesabi

iron range is being transformed into a region of mining towns. Hibbing, a country trading center in Minnesota in 1900, has grown into a mining town of 15,000. In the Pacific Northwest the fishing industry was responsible for the location of many towns. On the Columbia River, where salmon and other fish abound, canning factories have sprung up, giving rise to towns inhabited by workers who are employed in the fishing industries.

Whenever the resources around such towns and cities are exhausted a decline in population usually sets in. And although they rarely pass completely out of the picture because there are still minor functions to be performed, they do become mere skeletons of their former selves. The moribund copper- and silver-mining towns of the West possess only vivid memories of boom days when hopes for wealth and permanence ran high. Similarly, oil towns and mining communities have become paralyzed when their principal economic base has been disturbed through the depletion of resources.

SOCIAL FACTORS DETERMINING LOCATION

Religious Influences. Social factors not strictly in the realm of the economic played important roles in determining the location of many of the earlier cities. Religious sects located at certain points have attracted others of the same faith, or even out-group persons who have found satisfaction in identifying and allying themselves with the cause of the militant sectarians. Since sects have thrived in social and spatial isolation the cities founded by them have usually been removed at first from the main roads of travel. Salt Lake City, founded in the nineteenth century by the Mormons, is an example of a city whose site was selected by a sect wishing to isolate itself from the annoyances and persecutions of the out-group. The Mormons intrenched themselves in the western wilderness and there, undisturbed by their religious enemies, laid the foundations for what was later to become the urban hub of the Great Basin. The Mormons were fortunate in their selection of the site. Water from mountain streams was diverted into irrigation ditches to transform the desert

region around Salt Lake into a land of plenty. When, in 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was completed, Salt Lake City, the Mormon center of the country, was well on its way to becoming an important commercial city of the West.

Some writers have attributed the origin and location of early Greek cities to religious influences. Many of the first human agglomerations were located around a nuclear focus, the center being a temple or shrine or even a natural topographic formation that possessed for the people religious significance. Whenever these religious centers are located on or near routes of transportation or in productive regions, commercial activities tend to develop in addition to the religious activities.

Political Factors. Political considerations have determined the location of many cities. One of the characteristics of the ancient political capital was a central location with respect to the distribution of population. Before the modern era of rapid transportation and communication, accessibility was one of the prime factors governing the location of administrative cities. Even in modern political states, there is a tendency toward a centralized location of capital cities, provided there is a uniformity of topographic and climatic conditions, even distribution of population, and fairly equal transportation facilities in every direction.

The national capital, Washington, a product of design more than natural growth, a city without significant manufactures or commerce, was founded at a time when the country was only a small fraction of its present area. At the time of its founding it was fairly centrally located so far as its political control was concerned. With the territorial expansion that followed in later years the location of the city was less favorable than formerly; yet the impetus received by virtue of its early political history has perhaps insured its permanence in its present location. Many state capitals in this country were located more with regard for the distribution of population than for political boundaries. Topeka, Kansas, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Cheyenne, Wyoming, were located in the more densely populated sections of their respective states, which happened to be in the

eastern or southern portions, rather than at central points. Other state capitals such as Columbus, Ohio, Jefferson City, Missouri, Springfield, Illinois, and Atlanta, Georgia, are centrally located. In these states topography and climate are fairly uniform.

Military Considerations. Localities were frequently selected with a view to defense during the period of early urban growth. Natural topographic formations were in these instances important determining factors in the location of urban sites. A site that afforded both transportation facilities and protection was usually the most favorable for urban location. Many of the maritime Grecian cities were located at the head of deep indentations in the coast of Greece, positions that afforded a maximum of protection from invading hosts and at the same time were accessible to the routes of commerce on the Mediterranean. Edinburgh, Scotland, held a position of military vantage before the modern era of internal peace. At the summit of a precipitous hill a royal castle, fortfied against invaders by thick walls and numerous cannon, looked down on the surrounding valleys while the princely occupants lived in comparative safety. Not far away, at Leith, on the Firth of Forth, ships could ride at anchor as they received goods for other ports or emptied their holds of commodities destined for Edinburgh or near-by cities. But as military protection became a less important factor in the growth of a city, Edinburgh played a declining role in the commercial life of Scotland, while a little to the west the port of Glasgow, on the estuary of the River Clyde, forged ahead to become one of the leading maritime cities of the British Isles.

Military considerations have continued to be less significant in the location of urban centers. Although many of the great cities are fortified against attack, their growth has not been due primarily to any protection the fortifications afford. Military fortifications are planted at numerous strategic places along the coast and on boundary lines in this country and Europe, but in most instances they have not grown much beyond the stage of a military camp.

Health and Leisure Time as Factors. In the modern era cities have been located in places whose climate, soil, and topographic

conditions make them desirable as health or recreation resorts. Some of these are coastal cities, with bathing beaches and boardwalks; some are mountain resorts, famed for their scenery and their mountain air. Health resorts are to be found in the Catskills and in the foothills of the Rockies, or at places where there is an abundance of waters with curative mineral properties. These are centers of consumption rather than production or trade.

Labor Supply. Still another factor in the location of modern cities is the labor suply. Manufacturers tend to move into areas in which labor is both abundant and cheap. In the northern New England mill towns labor, through years of experience in the textile industry, has become class-conscious. It has learned the value of organization and through its unions has made demands on the mill owners for higher wages and better working conditions. The militancy of the unions and the intransigeance of the employers have resulted in wasteful strikes and prolonged shutdowns. To avoid this conflict textile manufacturers have shown a tendency to locate their establishments in towns and villages of the South, where a plentiful supply of "cheap and contented" labor from the hill country is available. Such towns as Gastonia and Marion in North Carolina, and Elizabethton in Tennessee, are mill centers of this type. Their growth has been due largely to the availability of raw products and labor.

ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS AND ALTITUDE

Climate. Just how important has been the role of climate in the location of cities is not completely clear. Early cities were, for the most part, located in regions having mild temperatures. All the great capitals of the ancient world—Rome, Athens, Alexandria, Constantinople, and others—were far removed from the rigors of northern climes. Cornish has attempted to show by means of an isothermal map the northern frontiers of ancient cities.[11] On the map of Eurasia an isotherm stretching from the coast of Holland across the wide

11. Cornish, Vaughan, *The Great Capitals*, p. 72 (1923).

expanse of seven thousand miles to the east coast of China and connecting points, with an annual mean temperature of 50 degrees Fahrenheit, constituted, in general, the dividing line between the urban civilizations of the south and the non-urban civilizations of the north. Although his discussion is not altogether conclusive, it is suggestive of the importance of climatic conditions in determining the growth and location of cities. Interestingly enough the past few centuries have witnessed a phenomenal growth of cities in northern latitudes. As man advances his control over his natural environment it may be that the frontier of urban centers will be pushed much farther north than it is now.

ELEVATION. To what extent does elevation determine the location of cities? The answer to this question is not altogether clear, although it is true that few cities are found in the higher altitudes. Of the 688 cities in this country having a population of 10,000 or over in 1930, only 43 were located more than 2,000 feet above sea level, and of this number only two had a population that exceeded 250,000.[12] On the other hand, 283 cities were found in altitudes from 500 to 1,000 feet above sea level, and 280 were in altitudes from 500 feet above to 500 below sea level. Thirty-four of the 36 cities with a population of 250,000 or more were located at or less than 1,000 feet above sea level. This tendency for urban centers to seek the lower levels is perhaps due to the inaccessibility of places of high elevation rather than to the effects of high altitudes. Since the city is dependent on routes of transportation, and since the main routes of travel are to be found for the most part at low altitudes, particularly along rivers and sea coasts, it is to be expected that the cities would be located at points of low elevation. Resorts of various kinds, or cities centered around some type of primary production, may thrive high in the mountains; but the location of commercial cities that owe their existence to the exchange of commodities must necessarily allow for the movement of goods and people.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN SITE AND SITUATION. The foregoing dis-

12. Winid, W., "Distribution of Urban Settlements in the United States," *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 48: 198 (July, 1932).

cussion has been centered on the location of cities with respect to their geographical environment. However, there are two kinds of situations, namely, site, or topographical situation, and position, or geographical situation.[13] Modern cities are perhaps more responsive to location than to site. A commercial center may be located on the estuary of a great river although the site is not particularly favorable to city growth and development. If the city is favorably enough located, modern engineering skill may be utilized to overcome the topographical handicaps that militate against normal expansion. Kansas City, for example, with a location favorable for commercial development, has been forced to grade down hills, fill up gulches, and cut through streets at enormous expense in order that the city may function efficiently as a commercial center. Early cities perhaps emphasized site more than modern ones because of the necessity of providing for military defense. Such cities as Cadiz in Spain, Edinburgh in Scotland, Carcassonne in France, and Siena in Italy were originally located on hilltops for defensive purposes. In many instances such towns outgrew their original bounds and the population spilled over the sides of the hill and into the valley below; in other instances such cities gradually declined in size and influence until only a few vestiges are left to tell the story of urban habitation.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. A shift of population in this country toward the "rim" of cities located on bodies of open water seems to characterize urban expansion at present. Secure data for European cities to ascertain the extent to which this trend is evident there. What explanations may be offered for this phenomenon wherever it exists?

2. Write the history of an urban community, showing the factors that seem to be responsible for its geographical location and for its growth.

3. Make a study of types of water transportation of the cities of the United States, indicating, for different-sized communities, the numbers and percentages reached (1) by ocean and lake transportation, and (2) by river or canal. How many have no water transportation?

13. Aurousseau, M., "The Distribution of Population," *Geographical Review*, 11:568 (October, 1921).

4. Show the distribution of cities in the United States that are primarily production centers. What percentage of workers engaged in primary production would you say is necessary for a city to be classified as a "production center"? What is the role of transportation in the location of these cities?

5. Study the historical background of a number of prominent European cities. What has been the role of commerce in determining their locations? Of political factors? Of military considerations? Of religion? Of climate and topography? Of what importance are each of these factors at present?

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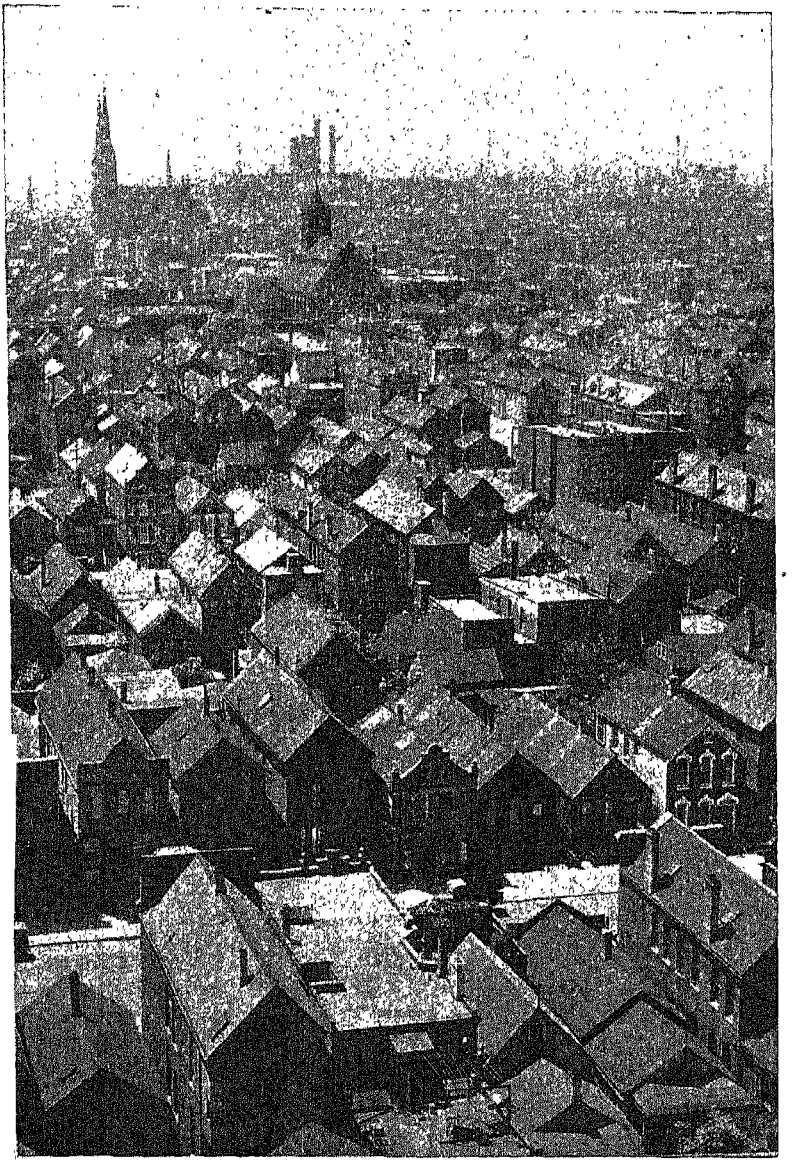
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PART II

THE CITY IN ITS ECOLOGICAL SETTING



This excellent view aptly illustrates residential congestion in Chicago. (*Chi-*

5

THE METROPOLITAN REGION AND URBAN DOMINANCE

DIVERGENT INTERPRETATIONS OF "REGION." In recent years the concept of REGION and the developments pertaining thereto have attracted the attention of students in the various fields of social science. Sociologists, economists, and political scientists have been primarily concerned with the analysis and description of regional developments, whereas planning experts, government administrators, industrialists, and financiers have been more interested in the practical application of regional information to their own special problems. It is not surprising, therefore, that different approaches to the study of regionalism have been made. There are demographic regions, geographic regions, literary regions, governmental regions, metropolitan regions, and so on. Even the anthropologists have utilized the idea of the region in their concept of CULTURE AREA.

Some of the theories and interpretations of regionalism emphasize a comprehensive and nonspecialized type of region. Lewis Mumford, for example, views the region as a "complex of geographic, economic, and cultural elements," [1] and Odum and Moore [2] tend to follow this point of view. "One must not confuse the region," says Mumford, "which is a highly complex human fact, with arbitrary areas carved out to serve some single interest such as government or economic exploitation. The country within fifty miles of a metropolitan center is not a region just because it is a convenience for a metropolitan advertising agency or newspaper or planning board to call it so." [3] On the other hand, the specialized type of region has

1. Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 367.
2. Odum, Howard, and Moore, Harry E., *American Regionalism* (1938).
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

been studied by numerous investigators. The METROPOLITAN REGION is one of these types.[4]

In its structural and spatial aspects the metropolitan region consists of the metropolis and its surrounding settlements; functionally —and this is more important—the region is a complex web of economic, cultural, and political relationships that bind these settlements and the larger metropolis into a regional unity having a dominant center and subordinate parts. While topographic or climatic factors certainly affect, or at least limit, regional developments, the metropolitan region as it is here conceived is essentially a cultural phenomenon. It is the product, to a great extent, of newer methods in transportation and communication—the automobile, the transport truck, rapid transit public conveyances, the newspaper, the radio, the telephone. For it is by means of these technological facilities that the subordinate settlements have become more closely integrated with each other and with the larger nuclear center.

Certain writers emphasize homogeneity as an essential characteristic of the region. If one approaches the study of the region—say from the geographic point of view—it is perhaps more or less inevitable that homogeneity of physiographic conditions be considered the yardstick of regional delineations. Such a point of view, admittedly a legitimate one, tends to place emphasis not only upon intraregional similarities but also upon interregional differences. It seems to us, however, that homogeneity is not an adequate criterion of the metropolitan region except in so far as there are certain uniformities of structure and of processes characterizing regional developments. If the metropolitan region is characterized by anything at all, it is by the heterogeneity of its population, its resources, and its activities, rather than by its homogeneity.

THE RISE OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION. Metropolitan region-

4. Mumford and Odum both criticize the concept of metropolitan region as being too narrow and arbitrary. That it is a restricted view of the region we readily admit. But we must insist that the relationship between the city and its hinterland is an important aspect of modern urbanism and as such should be presented in a study of urban sociology. If other writers wish to put these data in a more comprehensive conceptual framework relating to regionalism, there certainly can be no objection.

alism in this country has been manifest in two ways: first, by the amazing development of subordinate communities within the immediate orbit of the metropolis, and second, by the orientation of these and more distant communities around an urban center to assume the form of a more or less integrated unity. In 1930 almost half (48.2 per cent) of the population of the United States lived within a radius of 20 to 50 miles from the cities having a population of 100,000 or over.[5] Thirty years previously less than two-fifths (36.9 per cent) of the entire population was so distributed. Some of the spatial aspects of this phenomenon will be discussed in the chapter dealing with suburbanization and decentralization.

It is, however, with the interrelationships of the communities, and particularly with the interaction between the metropolis and the remainder of the region, that we are especially concerned. The increasing interdependence of the regional parts, and of parts and whole, has become so pronounced that even the casual observer is aware of the changes that are taking place. Perhaps this awareness is indicative of the development of a regional consciousness. At any rate, the rural or small-city resident knows, if he stops to reflect, that his community is geared more closely than ever before to the big city, that he has become increasingly dependent on the central metropolis for certain types of services and commodities, that his thinking and daily habits are influenced by the stream of ideas that is flowing outward from the city and by his own experiences when he visits the metropolis. If he belongs to the great class of newspaper-readers, he may subscribe to a metropolitan daily and have it delivered at his doorstep; if he wants to consult a medical specialist, attend a theatrical production, go to the circus, visit a public library, buy furniture or a new suit of clothes, or sell something that he has produced, he may find that the central city offers greater opportunities or has more adequate facilities than his own community. Even if he chooses to do none of these things, he may nevertheless be aware that his chances for securing a job or holding the one he has are influenced by institutional changes in the metropolis. Should he be a merchant, a

5. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 19.

physician, a hotel proprietor, a preacher, or a manufacturer, he can hardly escape being affected by his metropolitan competitors. If the metropolite is less conscious of regional developments than his "hinterland" neighbor, it is undoubtedly because the social and economic changes in the region, especially in the rural portions of it, have not affected so profoundly his personal life.

While the basic pattern of urban settlement was laid down during the period of water transportation, it was not until the era of railroad development that something resembling the metropolitan region began to emerge.[6] Railway lines extended outward in different directions from the main cities, thus bringing the larger centers into a closer economic relationship and thereby providing a greater degree of integration for the entire national economy. On the railway lines that usually extended from one large city to another were located towns and villages, and by virtue of the improved facilities of transportation these communities were brought more closely within the economic and cultural orbit of the great centers. Thus the form and character of the metropolitan region began to emerge, manifest mainly by the rise of dominant commercial and industrial centers and the development of tributary settlements in the so-called hinterlands. The reciprocal relationship between the larger centers and the subordinate communities was not uniform for the entire hinterland: many towns and villages not touched by railroad lines were relatively isolated, even though they did not escape entirely the influence of the dominant city. Moreover, the pattern of railway lines resembled not so much a network as a wheel with the spokes radiating outward from the hub in different directions. Therefore the outlying settlements, while becoming more closely integrated with the dominant community and the emergent regional economy, tended to be isolated from other subordinate communities which were located on different radial transportation routes.

With the widespread adoption of the automobile and transport truck came an era of land-road development. Not only have motorcar roads been constructed to extend from one large center to an-

6. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140.

other, sometimes running parallel to the railroads, but local routes have been developed to fill in the transportation gaps present in the axiate railway pattern. Every large city is now the center of a veritable network of motorcar routes, some of them radiating outward from the central community, some encircling the city, and others connecting the subordinate settlements that lie within the sphere of influence of the metropolis. Even communities in remoter parts of the hinterland are commonly located on or near motorcar routes that make the metropolitan center more accessible. Thus it is clear that the automobile and the hard-surfaced highway have been important factors in the development of an organic regional unity and particularly in the creation of what McKenzie calls the metropolitan community.[7] Towns and villages that were once relatively independent and isolated are in the process of being incorporated into a larger functional unit, and outlying communities and farming areas have been brought more closely within the economic and cultural orbit of the dominating metropolitan center. The increasing volume of automobile traffic between the metropolis and the subordinate communities, as well as between the different subordinate settlements, provide an objective criterion of the process of urban regionalization as it is now taking place.

The days of geographic and political sectionalism are definitely of the past. Yet the process of regionalization is not complete: the influence of the metropolis has not penetrated all portions of the hinterland alike; and, as Odum and Moore point out, there are still many communities and rural areas so culturally isolated or so diversified in their relationships with different metropolises that they can hardly be called a part of any metropolitan region.[8] The region may therefore be conceived as being in the emergent stage.

An analysis of the process of regionalization indicates that while the motorcar and concrete highway have made possible an organic regional unity, there are numerous ways in which intraregional relationships may be manifest. We have previously mentioned newspaper circulation, shopping trips to the city, and a wider territorial

7. *Ibid.*, p. 143. 8. *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

sharing of recreational activities centering in the city or suburban community. But there are other indices. Public utilities are not only provided for many of the smaller communities, but some of these utilities, such as the telephone and the telegraph, tend to bring the center and its subordinate parts into closer relationship. In some metropolitan regions general recognition is given to the existence of common communal problems. Thus in southern California a number of cities have combined to form a metropolitan water district.[9] In California the courts have upheld the right of cities to construct sewers, acquire water rights, provide utilities or transportation facilities, or furnish playgrounds beyond their political boundaries.[10] Thus legal recognition is given to the economic and social realities of the metropolitan region, though in general political organization has lagged behind the social and economic changes inherent in regional developments. Truck-gardeners and other producers transport their commodities daily to wholesaling or retailing establishments in the city, where they are distributed to the local population or sent out by the wholesalers to more distant points. Department stores provide delivery service to patrons both within and beyond the city, and many of them offer inducements to shoppers by paying transportation costs or furnishing parking facilities for those who drive their own machines.

In a study of rural trends in Wisconsin Kolb and Polson recognize the reciprocal influence of city and country in that state. While comparable studies have not been made in all other states, it may nevertheless be that their conclusions are valid for the remainder of the country. They say:

> Urban centers taking the form of cities and metropolitan units are claiming more farm and also more village or town patronage for special merchandise, for specialized hospital and medical care, and for certain forms of recreation. In addition to direct contacts of families with their

9. Cottrell, E. A., "The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California," *American Political Science Review*, 26: 695–697 (August, 1932).

10. Crouch, W. W., "Extra-territorial Powers of Cities as Factors in California Metropolitan Government," *American Political Science Review*, 31: 286–289 (April, 1937).

institutions, urban centers are exerting an increasing influence through control of such local town agencies as chain store, chain bank, milk marketing, and motion picture distribution. These more indirect forms of contact and control have come largely since 1913. Mail order contacts are mainly for standardized products in which price determines the purchase.

Running through the whole analysis is the thread of specialization and interdependence. Service centers in the county, whether the primary crossroads and neighborhood centers, or the larger town-country community centers, were found to be reorganizing and readjusting in order to perform the services for which they are best fitted. In the present competitive situation of freer communication and travel, there is no alternative open to them. In doing so they are becoming increasingly interdependent with urban centers. This process, however, cannot rightly be called urbanization of country and small town territory any more than ruralization of urban territory. Urban institutions and agencies are likewise changing their methods in order to occupy their expanding contact areas. City centers are even more dependent upon rural society than are country centers upon urban society for their food supply and for the replenishment of their population.[11]

URBAN SUBREGIONS. While the present interpretation of the metropolitan region has been in terms of the interrelationships between a dominant urban center and the smaller units of settlement comprising the so-called hinterland, it is apparent that within the larger regions there are urban subregions that have many of the structural and functional features of the more inclusive regional developments. Around every community, whether large or small, there develops a trade area and an area of non-economic participation in communal affairs. Galpin long ago observed this phenomenon in his study of relations between Wisconsin towns and the surrounding areas. Since it was apparent from his investigation that the town and its related hinterland comprised a functional whole, he gave the name of "rurban community" to this miniature subregion. In every metropolitan region there are numerous cities, some of them quite sizable ones, which have tended to carve out subregions of their own.

11. Kolb, J. H., and Polson, R. A., *Trends in Town-Country Relations*, Research Bulletin 117, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin (September, 1933).

Around these communities have been oriented many social and economic activities of the local area. The dominating influence of the smaller communities and the spatial extent of their trade and service territory depend in part on the distance from the metropolis: those farther removed from the center undoubtedly exert a greater influence on their adjacent areas than the more specialized suburban communities within the immediate environs of the great city. To illustrate: Mankato, a small city in Minnesota, falls within the metropolitan region of the Twin Cities; yet it is far enough from the metropolis to have a greater degree of independence than, say, such suburban cities or towns as South St. Paul, Stillwater, Excelsior, or Edina. Mankato is the trade and service center of a rather extensive agricultural area. Residents of the adjacent territory read its newspapers, attend its churches and schools, patronize its businesses, and otherwise participate in many of the communal activities. In turn, the economic and cultural life of the community is greatly dependent on the people in the immediate trade area. While the residents of Mankato or the surrounding area may go to the Twin Cities for certain types of service or commodities, the smaller city is not only more accessible to them but it can also provide many things quite as adequately as the metropolis. Nevertheless, certain local institutions, particularly the economic ones, may be highly dependent on the metropolis, so that the influence exerted by the great city may be more indirect and therefore less apparent.

Competition and Accommodation between Cities. While there are rivalries between as well as within regions, many of the earlier jealousies and feuds between cities have faded out. Many smaller cities whose ever-zealous leaders once carried on a vigorous campaign designed to outdistance their competitors and raise their own communities to the metropolitan class have long since abandoned their grandiose dreams of greatness and accepted the "fate" of subordinate status within the dominion of a larger community. Savannah, Missouri, a small town of 2,000, was once a rival of St. Joseph, having aspirations of becoming the metropolis of northwest Missouri. But it has been so far outdistanced by its more successful

competitor that it has settled down to an acceptance of a rather unimpressive position of subordination to its neighbor, which is now approaching metropolitan stature.

Scores of communities have been forced by necessity to redefine their relationships to other cities. This has been particularly true of satellite cities which have become reasonably well adjusted to the metropolis in a social and economic way, although inclined to resist encroachments on their political independence. Evanston, Illinois, for instance, hardly considers itself a rival of Chicago; yet its citizens, while accepting the close social and economic ties with the metropolis, are extremely jealous of their political independence and are apparently prepared to resist all efforts at political annexation to Chicago. Some satellite communities have attempted with varying degrees of success to erect barricades against the overflow of "undesirable" elements from the adjacent metropolis or against the outflow of certain urban customs and folk practices.

Interregional Coordination. Rivalries between the larger metropolitan centers, in the view of McKenzie, is only a temporary stage in the development of an interregional economy.[12] Some cities, already firmly established in a position of regional dominance, are attempting to maintain this relationship; others, growing more rapidly perhaps, are struggling to extend their territorial influence and to challenge the dominance of other rival centers. While the regions will perhaps always be in a state of temporary disequilibrium, at least to a degree, the trend seems to be *in the direction* of an increasing equilibrium achieved through a sort of interregional and intraregional division of labor. As population approaches or reaches a stationary level, as natural resources become more intensively exploited, and as regional planning becomes a part of our program of national development, it would appear that certain forms of competition between cities may decline, or at least that many communities may be forced to depend to a greater extent on their own regional resources, both physical and cultural.

But regions are not little nations in the making. The earlier river-

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

valley sectionalism of isolation, self-sufficiency, and conflict is giving way to a regionalism tending toward coordination of the different parts into a more or less integrated whole. This integration is made possible in a number of ways: by the overlapping of regions, by the cultural and economic penetration of some cities far beyond their own immediate hinterland, by the reduction of the time-cost-distance factor through increases in speed and in better coordination of movement of goods and people,[13] by the maintenance of freedom of competition not only between cities but also between regions, and by the development of large centers which have tended to become national as well as regional headquarters.

Of 1,589 national organizations listed by McKenzie,[14] 610 were located in New York City, 283 in Chicago, and 142 in Washington. In 33 additional cities the number of head offices ranged from 48 to 3; and 21 cities each had the headquarters for a single national organization. It is apparent from these figures that a good many cities, perhaps all in the million class, are superregional as well as intraregional in their influence. Similarly, a single industry in a given city may distribute its products not only within its immediate region but in other regions as well. Automobiles from Detroit, firearms from Hartford, furniture from Grand Rapids, textiles from Fall River, and shoes from Boston are bought from coast to coast. In these ways, at least, these cities become national in their influence. New York City is the national headquarters of fashion and finance, the hub of the nation's system of radio communication and publishing activities, the art capital of the United States. Chicago is the transportation center of the country, while Washington is a national news center as well as the national political headquarters. In Europe, London, Paris, Berlin, and other cities are likewise national centers. McKenzie is of the opinion that the great supercenters in this country function as an integrating influence on regional and national development. The growth of industrial and commercial enterprises

13. Cottrell, W. F., "Of Time and the Railroader," *American Sociological Review*, 4: 190–198 (April, 1939).

14. *Op. cit.*, pp. 163–170.

of a national character, together with changes in transportation and communication, have tended to integrate the different regions with each other as well as to increase, in certain ways, regional interdependence.

THE FACTORS OF TIME AND COST. The relation of the metropolitan center to the surrounding region is based not so much on physical proximity as upon distance computed in terms of time and cost. Time-cost distance is a variable, depending largely upon the nature of the transportation and communication facilities and the costs incurred in their use. In general, distance computed in terms of time and cost is decreasing, although the actual spatial relationship of cities to their regional hinterlands remains unchanged. Nor are these time-cost factors applicable only to the movement of goods or people; ideas also flow in channels of lowest cost. While the time element has been largely eliminated through electrical transmission of ideas by telephone, telegraph, and cable, the element of cost still remains.

These costs that are incurred in communication between cities as well as between cities and their surrounding areas are important factors in regional developments. Not only do they have an important bearing on competitive relationships between cities but they also serve to limit the degree of interaction between the metropolitan center and outlying settlements. Regions that are favored with low rates for the shipment of goods or the transmission of intelligence may prosper, while other areas, not so favored, may decline as a result of their inability to compete with centers more advantageously located. In the first instance there may be a phenomenal growth of population, but in the second the region may suffer a decline. A region favored by time-cost distance may find its interests —economic, social and political—bound inseparably with those of the urban center to which it is subordinate. To protect certain regions the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the days of railroad construction, found it necessary to prohibit the policy of allowing rebates to regions or cities whenever such discrimination would retard the normal development of other areas.

The remarkable changes in speed of land transportation in recent years have tended somewhat to offset the low costs of inland water transportation. Regions once relatively isolated from other areas now find the distance reduced to a fraction of its original figure. Air transportation, as yet relatively undeveloped, will still further reduce the time-distance, although cost-distance may be greater than for other means of transportation. Just what effect the airplane will have on regional development is still largely a matter of conjecture. But since the airplane is likely to be used mainly for long-distance flights, in contrast to the relatively short hauls of the motortruck, it may hasten the interdependence of different regions and cities and therefore serve as a unifying influence for the nation as a whole. The recent development of national and international automobile highways is not only contributing to the unification of regions but is also serving to tie the different regions more closely together into an integrated economic and cultural pattern.

Other Related Factors. While time-cost-space distance is undoubtedly of great importance in regional development, there are other significant factors influencing relations between the metropolis and the remainder of the region. One of these is the buying power of the people. Persons in the low-income class probably purchase most of their supplies from local merchants, but those in the middle- and upper-income levels tend to travel farther for some of the things they buy, particularly specialty goods such as clothes, furniture, or jewelry. Reilly observed that families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year usually satisfied all their needs in cities of less than 100,000 unless they lived in small communities in which the variety of offerings was limited, but that families with incomes over $3,000 tended to travel considerable distances for certain types of commodities.[15]

Another factor affecting intraregional relationships is the relative size of communities. We are inclined to the view that, other things being comparable, the smaller the community the greater is the

15. Reilly, William J., "Methods for the Study of Retail Relationships," *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 2,944, p. 40 (November, 1929).

proportion of outside retail buying. This is particularly true when small communities are located within a reasonably close distance from larger centers. Reilly, basing his conclusions on studies made in Texas, states the proposition somewhat differently: "If City A, with a population of 50,000, has about 5,000 customers outside the city, City B, with a population of 100,000, typically has about 10,000 customers outside the city, and City C, with a population of 250,000, typically has about 25,000 customers outside the city." [16] Whether such a neat formula applies to all sections we do not know, but it is a matter of common observation that large cities enjoy much prestige, that many hinterland folk journey long distances to buy certain types of commodities, and that the display of goods purchased in the city apparently adds to the prestige of the owner. On the contrary, city folk do comparatively little retail buying in the smaller communities, and the goods that are purchased may have little prestige-value.

How Far Does the Region Extend? Although the metropolitan region is here interpreted as a functional unit, it nevertheless has a spatial or territorial setting. The very conception of dominance, which is inseparable from the idea of metropolitan regionalism, implies, as McKenzie points out, both a territorial center and a rim. It is therefore not only a matter of the *way* in which a city exerts its influence over the outlying areas, and vice versa, but also the *territorial extent* of these areas for specific types of influence. Because there are numerous ways in which the city and the subordinate parts of the region are tied up with each other, the spatial area involved in one type of intercommunal relationship may not be the same as for another form of relationship. Metropolitan regions are not distinct political units, nor are they isolated socially and economically from outside influence. For this reason the periphery of the region can never be sharply defined: regions not only touch each other, but they also interpenetrate. Although the outlines of the region may be arbitrarily delineated for purposes of analysis or administration, there is always a marginal area which may be influenced fairly

16. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

evenly by two or more dominant centers and which therefore may belong quite as logically to one metropolitan region as to another.

Perhaps this question may be still further illuminated by viewing the spatial aspects of metropolitan influence as a sort of continuum. It is generally true, although not necessarily so in every case, that the influence of a dominant urban center tends to diminish in direct proportion to the distance from the city. Undoubtedly the areas most affected by the metropolis lie within the immediate vicinity of the nuclear center. At least this is probably true of economic influence. As the distance from the metropolis increases, a point is reached (which actually may be quite a wide belt) where specific influences of one metropolis may be equaled by those of another. Since metropolitan centers are constantly competing with one another, each jockeying for advantage and attempting to extend its sphere of influence as far and effectively as possible, these marginal areas are never constant in space. The history of metropolitan regionalism in this country is replete with examples of interregional competition, the result being that the territorial limits of each region have tended to undergo a change. St. Louis, for example, once dominated rather completely a vast area in the Mississippi Valley, but Kansas City, Chicago, and other cities have so extended the territorial limits of their influence that the St. Louis region has been reduced in size.

The territorial extent of the metropolitan region bears no necessary relationship to the size of the dominant center. The Twin Cities, for example, with less than a million people, represent the nucleus of an area that is much larger than the metropolitan regions of Boston or Philadelphia, although both of the latter cities are more than twice as large as the Minneapolis-St. Paul combination. The eastern portion of the country is characterized by a considerable number of large cities, each of which has tended to carve out a sort of regional empire for itself. But because of the number of centers and the competition between them, the areas dominated by each of the metropolitan nuclei are relatively restricted in size, although the number of people and institutions within each region may be greater than for some of the larger regions of the Middle West and Far West.

In general the eastern regions have a greater density of population and more intense industrial activities than the regions west of the Mississippi Valley.

The National Resources Committee, in its 1935 report on regionalism, suggests [17] possible regional divisions based on metropolitan dominance, although the authors themselves are inclined to view the metropolitan region as too restricted for broad planning programs. (See FIG. V.) Using maps showing the 96 metropolitan areas of 1930 and 43 areas of newspaper circulation, the committee grouped the smaller territorial units together and assigned them to larger regional divisions. The "headquarters" cities of these large metropolitan regions included Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Denver, Minneapolis-St. Paul, St. Louis, Dallas, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Such a procedure was obviously and admittedly an arbitrary one, and therefore has the faults of such a method of regional delineation. For one thing, we have insufficient data on metropolitan regions to warrant the construction of such neat regional boundaries. In the second place, to limit the number of regions to 17 is a gross oversimplification of regional developments. What merit is there, for example, in selecting St. Louis as the regional metropolis of one area and ignoring Kansas City when the latter city is an important nuclear center of a large tributary region? Why should four entire states and portions of four others be assigned to Atlanta, when New Orleans is represented as having no regional significance at all?

What the map does illustrate, however, is the tendency for regional developments to ignore state boundaries. Chicago, for instance, is assigned a region which includes all of Iowa and portions of Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. To Boston are assigned Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and portions of Vermont and Connecticut.

17. *Regional Factors in National Planning*, p. 158, National Resources Committee (1935). Cf. Odum, Howard, and Moore, Harry E., *American Regionalism*, Ch. V.

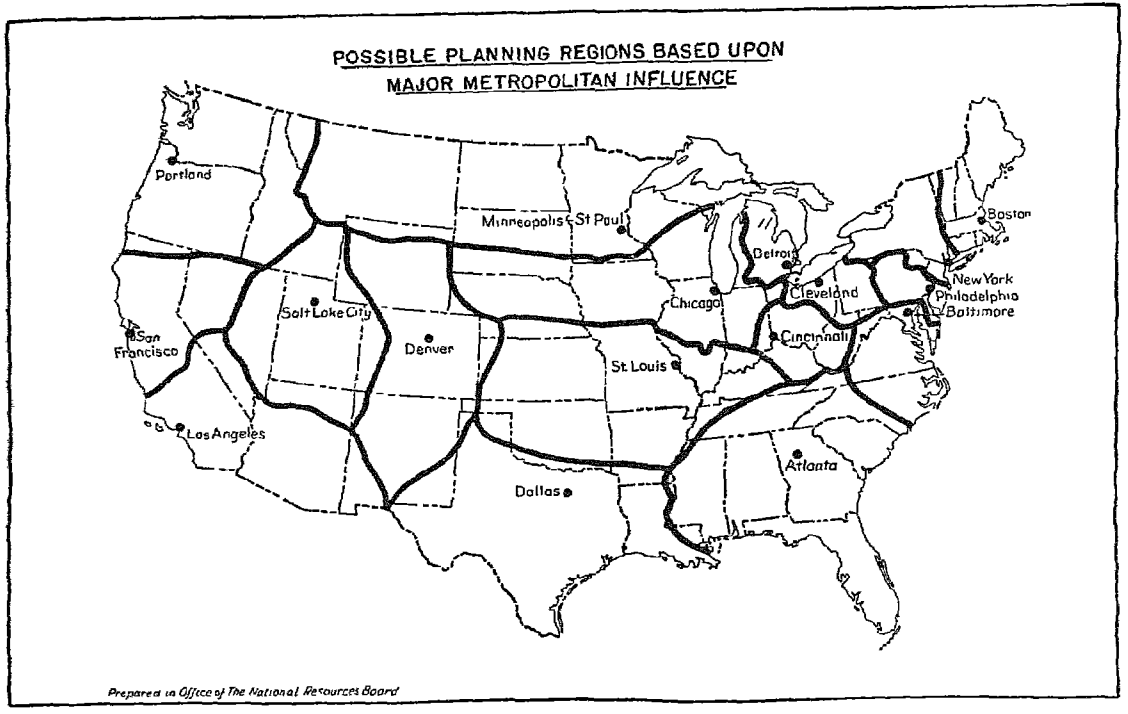


Fig. V. This graphic presentation of metropolitan regions of the United States is suggested by the National Resources Board.

Regardless of the procedure followed in mapping metropolitan regions, it is clear that political boundaries will be largely ignored, though it must be remembered that they have been limiting factors in regional developments and that they must inevitably be recognized in the practical aspects of any regional planning program. Interstate compacts or agreements have represented formal recognition of regional developments and the presence of certain regional problems that bear no necessary relationship to existing political boundaries. Regulation of milk production and distribution in the Chicago region, for instance, is not so much a problem for any particular city or state as it is a problem for a region and can be handled effectively only on a regional basis, though perhaps employing the political or legal machinery of existing political units.

Regional Specialization. The rise of the metropolitan region has been characterized by specialization and differentiation as well as by integration and coordination of the various regional parts. We shall discuss later how certain areas within the metropolis tend to be specialized in function: for example, areas in which are located light manufacturing activities such as textiles or garment making; areas of heavy industry, such as packing plants and steel mills; areas devoted to financial transactions; commercial subcenters located in various parts of the city. Outlying communities and areas have likewise tended to become specialized. Immediately surrounding the metropolitan center is an open-country zone devoted largely to poultry husbandry, truck-gardening, cultivation of flowers and shrubs, production of small fruits and berries, or the raising of dogs and other pets. Beyond this area of intensive farming is the milk shed—the dairy farms which supply the metropolis or other adjacent communities with dairy products. Frequently this is an area also of considerable diversification in farming, since forage crops are necessary in the dairy business.

In highly industrialized regions community specialization has become pronounced. As McKenzie points out, many industries are operated on an assembly-line basis; the different parts are manufactured in separate establishments scattered throughout the region,

then transported to an assembly plant where the finished product is turned out.[18] The automobile industry in the Detroit region is an example of this increasing specialization and interdependence. The actual manufacturing of automobile parts is done in specialized factories located either in Detroit or scattered throughout the region in Southern Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, or Illinois. The finished product, the automobile, represents an assemblage of these different parts from various manufacturing establishments in the region. Thus the "automobile industry" really consists of a large number of different specialized industries scattered over a considerable area and closely integrated with each other and with the central assembly plant. This coordination of industrial output within the region is made possible by modern methods of communication and transportation. "The transportation channels along which the different units are conveyed to the assemblying factory," says McKenzie, "might almost be considered as extensions of that factory's assembly lines, as the intake from the trucks and railways is about as sensitively adjusted to the time factor in production as is the speed of the belt lines within the factory itself. Moreover, the entire process is directed and controlled from central offices, most of which are located in the city of Detroit." [19]

NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION AS AN INDEX TO REGIONALISM. Various studies have been conducted with the view of ascertaining the nature and extent of the metropolitan region. No single influence, we take it, can be used as a complete measure of regional development; rather the region reflects, and is an outgrowth of, a composite of factors and reciprocal influences. The spatial pattern of newspaper circulation, for instance, may represent a single index of regionalism and of the social and economic organization characteristic of the region. In a study of newspaper distribution in the metropolitan region of Chicago, Park found that urban centers were pushing outward their sphere of influence through the channels of the press, and that while farmers were still content to rely upon the local newspaper for their news as they rely upon the town for their groceries,

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 79. 19. *Ibid.*

the residents of the larger satellite cities were turning to the Chicago journals in preference to the local papers.[20] In this respect, at least, the larger communities within the region of Chicago were becoming more dependent upon the metropolis for their information about persons and events. But while the metropolitan papers tend to have a relatively large circulation in the larger subordinate communities, newspapers published in these satellite centers do not circulate in the metropolis, except perhaps among a few subscribers who want the "home-town news."

The pattern of newspaper circulation tends to take the form of a gradient, the number of subscribers declining fairly regularly in direct ratio to the increase in distance from the metropolis. These gradients of declining newspaper circulation, as Park points out, are perhaps a fairly accurate index of the degree of influence of the metropolis; or, stating the matter somewhat differently, of the degree of dependence or independence of the subordinate communities. In the towns that hover around the edge of Chicago the metropolitan dailies are read almost exclusively, or at least in addition to all local papers. These communities fall within the commutation area of the metropolis, and since the residents are closely identified in numerous ways with the larger community, it is not surprising that they turn to the Chicago dailies for their newspaper reading. Even within a 50-mile radius of the city the bulk of the daily papers are Chicago journals, although the percentage tends to decline as distance from the metropolis increases.

An unpublished study of the circulation of the *Kansas City Star* shows substantially the same results.[21] By dividing the total population in each Missouri and Kansas county by the number of subscribers in the county, a circulation ratio was derived. The area of most intense circulation, that is, the counties having a ratio above .100, was, as one might expect, immediately adjacent to the metropolis. This area included 8 Kansas counties and 12 counties in Missouri.

20. Park, R. E., "Urbanization and Newspaper Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35: 60–79 (July, 1929).

21. From study made by F. Quentin Brown under our direction.

The area of moderate circulation, which was limited to the counties having a ratio higher than .01 but less than .100, included most of the remainder of Kansas (with the exception of 13 counties near the Colorado line and Sedgwick County, which is influenced by the metropolitan newspapers of Wichita) and the western half of the state of Missouri. The area of insignificant circulation, including the counties having a ratio less than .01, was obviously so remote from the metropolis as to be relatively little influenced by its newspapers. Queen found that newspaper circulation in the metropolitan region of St. Louis tended to display similar gradients. The ratio of newspaper circulation to population was 0.2321 within a 25-mile radius of the center of the city, 0.0999 in the zone from 25 to 50 miles out, 0.0482 in the 50- to 100-mile zone, and 0.0214 in the zone from 100 to 150 miles distant.[22]

Another method of studying newspaper circulation in its regional aspects is presented by McKenzie.[23] He and his collaborators selected the Federal Reserve banking centers, main and branch, together with a few additional cities, and then collected data to show the territorial extent of the circulation of a morning newspaper published in each of the cities. The territory "assigned" to each city included the area in which 50 per cent or more of the circulation of morning metropolitan newspapers came from that city. The entire country was then divided up into 41 newspaper circulation areas, each including a dominant metropolis and a "newspaper-reader" hinterland. While this method of studying regionalism is obviously imperfect, it does provide a cultural index of regional developments and metropolitan dominance. (FIG. VI.)

Data on newspaper circulation undoubtedly constitute significant indices of metropolitan influence and regional development. But an index does not explain; it merely indicates. What we need now is more information concerning the functional character of the newspaper and the nature of the influence it exerts, if any, by way of

22. Queen, S. A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City*, p. 249 (1939).

23. *Op. cit.*, Ch. 8. The materials published by McKenzie are summarized from an extensive study conducted by R. E. Park and Charles Newcomb.

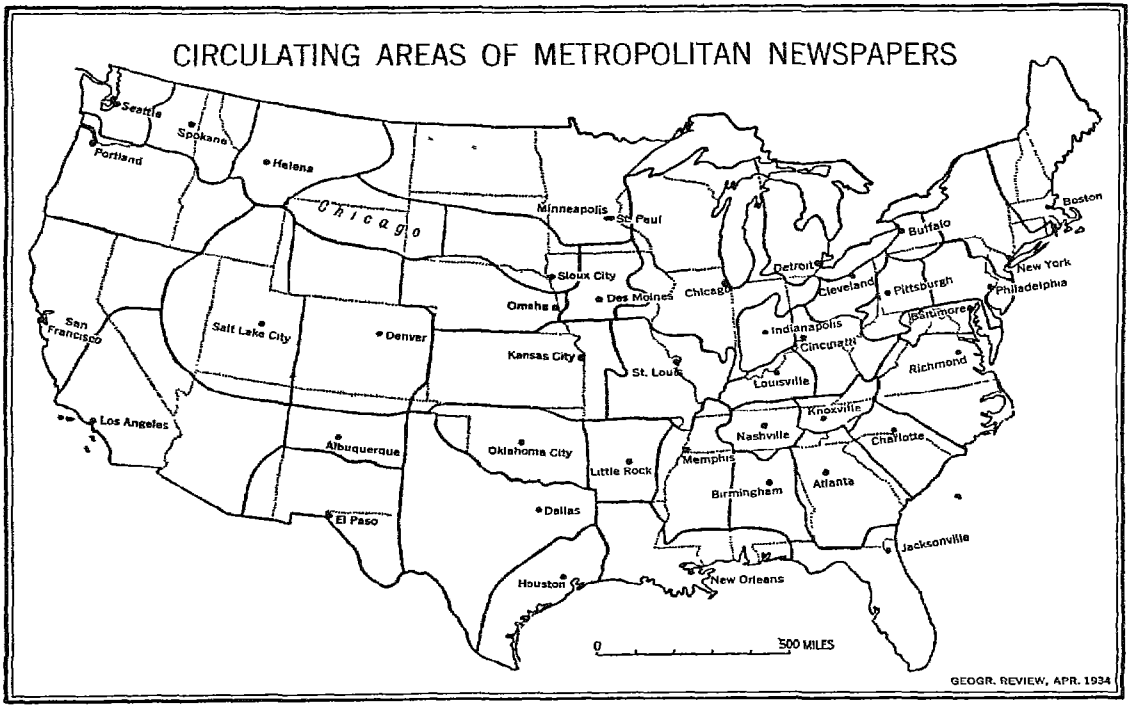


FIG. VI. McKenzie's newspaper circulation areas, which are suggestive of regional developments. (From *The Metropolitan Community*)

spreading metropolitan culture throughout the region and shaping the attitudes and habits of its hinterland readers. Moreover, we should know if there is any correlation between the regional circulation of metropolitan newspapers and other factors relating to urban dominance. Does the trade territory of a metropolis, for example, conform to the area of metropolitan newspaper circulation? In a study of retail-trade territories in Texas, Reilly found that circulation of city newspapers tends to diminish at about the same rate as retail strength, and that newspaper circulation from two large cities in an intermediate city or town approximates, usually within 10 per cent of accuracy, the relative amount of retail business each of the larger cities has in the smaller community.[24]

As Reilly points out, however, it does not necessarily follow that either newspaper circulation or retail trade controls or regulates the other; rather both are made possible by a complex and interrelated set of factors, including transportation and communication facilities, density of population, purchasing power and buying habits of the consumers, nature of the business institutions, recreational and intellectual interests of newspaper readers, topographic conditions, and so on. It would be highly profitable, both from a theoretical and a practical standpoint, to know if the Texas data are valid for other parts of the country.

HARTSOUGH: STUDY OF THE TWIN CITIES. One of the earliest and at the same time most significant analyses of metropolitan regionalism was made by Miss Hartsough in her study of the Twin Cities as a regional market.[25] The author emphasized particularly the economic interdependence of the Twin Cities and outlying settlements within the orbit of the metropolis. This interdependence was shown graphically by delineating on a map the areas that were tributary to the nuclear center. This included the grain area, the livestock area, the jobbing area, the Federal Reserve banking area,

24. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16–19.

25. Hartsough, Mildred L., *The Development of the Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market* (1924). The study was made under the direction of N. S. B. Gras and reflects essentially his point of view concerning the development of the metropolitan economy. See especially his *Introduction to Economic History* (1922).

and the smaller cities that were either commercial or industrial tributaries. As would be expected, these different areas did not coincide with each other at all points; but a composite map did show fairly clearly the region in which a high degree of interdependence existed between the Twin Cities and their hinterland. This region included all of Minnesota, northwestern Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and part of Montana.

As one index of metropolitan dominance the author cites the dependence of the region on the banking institutions of the Twin Cities. Many of the smaller banks in the region purchase their securities from the larger banking houses located in Minneapolis or St. Paul, and some of them invest their surplus funds in the metropolitan institutions. Large-scale industrial or commercial enterprises in the region are more than likely financed by Twin City banks. In recent years the rise of chain banking systems has increased the financial dominance of the Twin Cities. The head offices of the chains are located in the central metropolis, and as a result of the control exercised over the economic life of the region through the subordinate member banks there has been an increasing interdependence of the metropolitan banking institutions and those in the outlying areas.

THE METHOD OF KOLB AND BRUNNER. Using a somewhat different research technique from any employed heretofore, Brunner and Kolb conducted a study of rural-urban relationships and reported their findings to the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.[26] Eighteen cities ranging in size from 20,000 to more than a half-million persons were selected for the study.[27] The plan of studying rural-urban relationships in these particular areas was to plot concentric zones around the cities, make a comparison of

26. Brunner, Edmund de S., and Kolb, J. H., *Rural Social Trends*, Ch. 5 (1933). Cf. Ch. 7, *A Study of Rural Society* (1935), by the same authors.

27. Six of the cities had a population less than 100,000, but only three less than 50,000. They were: Binghamton, N.Y.; Columbia, S.C.; Des Moines, Iowa; Fargo, N.D.; Fort Worth, Tex.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Lincoln, Nebr.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Montgomery, Ala.; Nashville, Tenn.; Pine Bluff, Ark.; Portland, Ore.; Richmond, Va.; San Francisco, Cal.; Springfield, Ill.; Toledo, Ohio; Wichita, Kan.; Williamsport, Pa. The total population of the cities represented about 10 per cent of the nation's population.

certain social phenomena characterizing the different zones, and observe the changes that had occurred between the years 1910 and 1930. Concentric zones were plotted on a county basis. The county in which the city was located was designated as the "city county"; all counties bordering on the city county were classified as "tier one counties," and so on to the fourth tier. The study included a total of 347 counties, or about 19 to each urban center. Several hundred indices were used in the study, although in their published reports only a comparatively small number are presented. These include fertility rates, age composition, sex ratios, marital status, ratio of children to women of childbearing age, type of farming, proportion of children attending school, proportion of land in farms, average acreage of improved land per farm, amount of tenancy, percentage of farms mortgaged, value per acre of farm property, value per acre of farm crops, and the value of dairy products.

When the data for the 18 areas were analyzed several significant gradient patterns stood out. It was clearly apparent that: (1) the ratio of children under 10 to women of the reproductive period tended to increase with distance in the first three tiers of counties, but declined in the fourth tier; (2) the birth rate tended to increase with the distance of the county from the city; (3) the ratio of males to females increased in proportion to distance from the city—although when the rural-farm population was considered separately the ratio was "substantially independent of distance from the city county"; (4) the percentage of farms devoted to dairying tended to increase with distance in the first three tiers, declining rather sharply in the fourth tier; (5) the percentage of truck farms declined for the first three tiers, but showed a slight increase in the fourth tier; (6) the percentage of poultry farms declined for all four tiers while the proportion of stock farms increased with distance in all four tiers; (7) the proportion of persons in school both in the age groups 18–20 and 7–13 showed a tendency to decrease for the first two tiers of counties and then to increase in the third and fourth tiers; (8) the farms tended to increase in size with the increase in distance from the city; (9) the proportion of farms oper-

ated by owners decreased with distance; (10) the proportion of farms mortgaged tended to increase in the first tier, remain stationary in the second, and increase sharply in the third and fourth tiers; (11) the value per acre of farm land declined consistently with distance; (12) the value per acre of all farm crops declined with distance; and (13) the value per acre of dairy products tended to decline for the first three tiers and increase in the fourth.

Certain tentative generalizations may be derived from these data. The rural portions of the city county and the first tier of counties are devoted mainly to truck-farming, fruit-growing, and intensive dairying. These forms of agricultural activity necessitate (or at least are accompanied by) greater compactness of communities, smaller farms, and a higher density of population than are found in the more remote tiers. As distance from the city increases agriculture tends to become less specialized and more diversified, though the general trend appears to be in the direction of greater specialization for all areas. For the area immediately contiguous to the city the population shows those characteristics which are usually associated with urban people: namely, low birth rates, fewer children per family, and a high percentage of persons in the productive age groups.

Such data as have been presented in the Brunner and Kolb study presumably indicate certain conditions and trends that are characteristic of regional developments. What they do not show, except by implication, are the specific influences of the city in bringing about these conditions and trends. The authors emphasize, and quite correctly, the interaction between city and country, and from their data conclude that the terms RURAL and URBAN can no longer be considered valid dichotomous distinctions; rather the differences are matters of degree, "measurable by gradations out from any city center." [28] It would be profitable indeed to continue research along these lines, extending the scope of inquiry to larger metropolitan centers and perhaps also using smaller spatial units of measurement, say townships instead of counties. Such investigation should also

28. *Recent Rural Trends*, p. 143.

consider more thoroughly the *functional* nature of regional developments, particularly the interactional relationship between the city and the outlying parts of the region.

SMITH: GRADIENTS OF DELINQUENCY AND RELIEF. Following closely the method of Brunner and Kolb, Mapheus Smith undertook to study the frequency of juvenile delinquency in relation to distance from selected urban centers in Kansas.[29] In answer to the question: Is there a tendency for delinquency rates to increase or decrease as distance from the central city increases? Smith concluded, on the basis of evidence assembled in the study, that the rates tended to decline through three tiers of counties, after which there was an increase. He also noted that in so far as Kansas cities were concerned, size of the central community had no apparent effect on the rates in the tier counties. This method of study could probably be applied successfully to the major metropolitan regions of the country. Using a similar approach the same author conducted a study of "relief intensity gradients" for thirteen cities located in California, Nebraska, New York, and Virginia.[30] Two specific methods were employed. The first made use of tier counties as a territorial basis for computing relief rates. In the second method concentric zones were inscribed around the focal cities and the counties assigned to the different zones. In both methods the percentage of population on relief tended to decline in the immediate vicinity of the central city, then to show an increase. For the tier-county method the average for the 13 city counties was 15 per cent, followed by rates of 10.9, 11.3, 12.3, 14.7, and 12.1. In the case of the concentric zone method the rates were 15.1, 11.1, 10.9, 14.7, 14.6, and 14.1. As the author concludes, the data suggest that the central cities influence rates in adjacent areas, but there is no way of knowing the exact nature of this influence.

29. Smith, Mapheus, "Tier Counties and Delinquency in Kansas," *Rural Sociology*, 2:310–322 (September, 1937).

30. Smith, Mapheus, "Relief Intensity Gradients," *Social Forces*, 16:208–223 (December, 1937). The cities included in the study were Los Angeles, San Francisco, Lincoln, Omaha, New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, Syracuse, Utica, Richmond, Norfolk, and Lynchburg.

LIVESTOCK SUPPLY AREAS AS A REGIONAL INDEX. In a study of the supply area of the Chicago livestock market Duddy and Revzan have provided a single index which may be used as one measure of a metropolitan region.[31] They selected those counties which marketed 50 per cent or more of their livestock—cattle, hogs, sheep, and calves—in Chicago, then plotted on a map of the United States the supply area of this city. The cattle supply area, for instance, included the northern half of Illinois, most of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Indiana, a small portion of southeastern Minnesota, a tip of northeastern Missouri, and about half of Montana. In the case of hogs the supply area was roughly the same, except that only a small portion of Montana was included. By the same method, livestock supply areas were plotted for St. Paul, Sioux City, Denver, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Joseph, East St. Louis, and Wichita. A composite map of these supply areas for different types of livestock shows the extent of one type of economic relationship. In a subsequent report the same authors presented data on the marketing areas for livestock received at the Chicago market.[32] Part of the livestock received at the Chicago terminal markets is immediately slaughtered, but much of it is sent on to packers in eastern states. These "deficit areas" are dependent on the Chicago market for their food supply. Three-fourths of the slaughter cattle, for instance, moved east of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh line, while less than a fourth moved to the east north-central states.

OTHER METHODS OF STUDY. Still other methods may be employed in the measurement of metropolitan dominance and the identification of metropolitan regions. McKenzie found that the number of toll-telephone calls per 100 inhabitants declined as distance from the city increased.[33] Chambers of commerce and other organizations have been interested in defining primary and secondary trading areas for local communities, although the studies for the most part

31. Duddy, Edward A., and Revzan, David A., *The Supply Area of the Chicago Livestock Market*, Chicago University Studies in Business Administration. (1931–32).

32. *The Distribution of Livestock from the Chicago Market, 1924–29* (1932).

33. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

have been fragmentary and uncoordinated. Trucking radii, which show the distances metropolitan commercial establishments send their commodities by truck to retailers or direct consumers in the region, or the distances farmers haul their salable produce to metropolitan markets, represent significant indices of regional developments. The Columbia Broadcasting Company has carefully defined the "listening areas" for radio stations, many of which are located in the larger cities. Certain department stores have kept records of the residential locations of their out-of-town purchasers and have therefore been able to delineate the retail trading areas of their own particular establishments.

The wholesale marketing area extends even beyond the retail territory. Jobbers and wholesale merchants distribute their products to retail establishments by means of fast motortrucks, operating usually at night, or by means of fast freight trains. Most of the larger centers have warehouses for the regional distribution of commodities. Merchandise is shipped in large lots directly from factory to warehouse, from which smaller shipments are made to the retailers within the trade area. The distance of these shipments is determined by a number of factors, but particularly by the time-cost element and the competition of other cities. It is McKenzie's opinion that in the majority of cases the territory covered is limited to the distance a truck can travel in delivering its load and returning to the city in the course of a working day or night.[34] However there is such a paucity of information on this matter that little more than a guess can be made. One Chicago company maintains a daily delivery service to retail establishments in 125 cities within a radius of 30 or 40 miles of the Loop.[35] Because of the demand for greater efficiency in marketing there has been in recent years a definite increase in the speed of movement of goods from wholesaler to retailer. Fast overnight freight trains, traveling at the speed of passenger trains, have been provided to compete with the truck in long-distance hauls.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

35. Plimpton, R. E., "The Motor Truck in Distribution," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, 7: 280–281 (August, 1931).

These trains carry commodities that are relatively light and compact. Manifestly this fast transportation service has the possibility of expanding the territorial influence of a metropolis and of strengthening the economic ties binding the different parts of a region together.

The Atlas of Wholesale Grocery Territories, published in 1927 under the auspices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, shows the trade areas of 183 wholesaling centers of the United States. Trade areas receiving the bulk of their wholesale commodities from one or more communities within the region were plotted on a series of maps, thus indicating roughly the territorial extent to which the cities and the rural hinterlands are related in this particular way. One of the interesting things brought out is the way in which the trade areas cut across political boundaries. In the tri-state area of Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, several trading areas are delineated, but not all of them conform to state boundaries. The Toledo area, for instance, includes two counties in southern Michigan in addition to several counties in northwest Ohio. Detroit has a relatively small area comprising twelve counties, whereas Saginaw, to the north, includes 21 counties in its wholesale area. The southeastern portion of Ohio falls within the trade areas of Parkersburg and Wheeling, both West Virginia cities.

The foregoing analysis of metropolitan regionalism forces one to the conclusion that regional developments in this country have not, for the most part, been the result of consciously directed forces working toward a common end. It would, of course, be an overstatement to say there had been no planning, no direction, of economic and cultural forces. Indeed there has been a great deal of planning, particularly by commercial and industrial enterprises. The emergence of metropolitan regionalism is in a sense the product of social and economic planning of one kind or another: every economic organization, for example, represents some form of plan. Yet there has been no planning for the region *as a whole,* no integrated effort to produce the phenomenon of regional development. Rather, the multitudes of plans, piecemeal and relatively uncoordinated, have

in their totality produced a general trend which we recognize as the metropolitan region. The question of regional planning will be considered in a later chapter.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Compare the concept of REGION as it has been developed by different schools of thought. Consider, in this connection, the points of view presented in Odum and Moore's *American Regionalism.*

2. Regionalism as a field of study has developed more fully in France than in most other countries. Survey the literature on French regionalism and compare the points of view of the regionalists of that country with American sociologists interested in the subject.

3. Examine carefully the regional philosophy advanced by Mumford in his *Culture of Cities.* How does his position compare with the point of view advanced in this text?

4. What limitations can you see to the concept of metropolitan region as a frame of reference for studying urban development?

5. Select a rural community falling well within some metropolitan region and study the ways in which this center has been drawn more closely to the larger city. How have the habits of the rural people been affected by these developments? How far do the rural people travel to the larger cties, and why do they make trips there?

6. What is meant by saying that the metropolitan region is in the emergent stage? If this statement is correct, what future developments might be foreseen?

7. If the automobile has been an important contributing factor in the development of metropolitan regionalism, what would likely be the effects of the airplane should the latter be widely adopted as a mode of transportation?

8. New York City is perhaps more of a national than a regional city. In what ways does it exert an influence on the nation as a whole?

9. Regional developments tend to ignore political boundaries. Show specifically that this statement is true.

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6

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF THE CITY

THE THEORY OF ECOLOGY

PLANT, ANIMAL, AND HUMAN ECOLOGY. Human beings array themselves in a certain fashion over the face of the globe. The forms of this spatial distribution of peoples are not accidental, but are the results of definite causal forces. The study of the spatial distribution of persons and institutions has been designated HUMAN ECOLOGY, a term borrowed in part from the botanists and zoologists. Warming, Adams, Allee, Wheeler, and others have indicated how plants and animals distribute themselves in communities and other segregated areas as a result of the processes of competition and selection. The location and distribution of plants and animals—their position with respect to each other—is no more accidental than the distribution of human beings; the same processes of competition and selection determine the spatial patterns and arrangements of all living forms, from the humblest plant or animal to civilized man in his complex urban environment.

Human ecologists, taking their cue from the plant and animal ecologists, are concerned with the scientific study of the "spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment." [1] The effect of *position* on personality and social institutions is one of the chief concerns of the human ecologist.

COMPETITION, COOPERATION, AND SYMBIOSIS. Since competition is present in all forms of life, whether plant or animal, it naturally follows that in the continuous struggle for existence the competi-

1. McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City*, by Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W., and McKenzie, R. D., pp. 63–64 (1925).

tive process plays an important role in determining the distribution of individuals as well as groups. In human society the competitive process determines both the horizontal and vertical distribution, that is to say, the territorial and social distribution of persons. But through all this competitive struggle for existence there is another element added, cooperation. Not only do all forms of life compete with each other for place, position, but they actually cooperate with each other after a fashion and thus live together in a symbiotic relationship. Such a relationship might be designated competitive cooperation.[2] In symbiosis, which means literally "living together," different species live in territorial and social juxtaposition to each other. Sometimes they are mutually beneficial; at other times their relationships are parasitical in nature; frequently they are in open competition albeit they are satisfactorily accommodated to each other. For example, ants and aphids live in a symbiotic relationship which is essentially that of mutualism. Both ants and aphids are partially or entirely interdependent for their existence, although in the final analysis they are competitors. Ferns and trees are usually mutually beneficial, the fern protecting the roots of the tree and thereby preserving moisture, and the tree protecting the ferns from the hot rays of the sun. Some plants live as parasites on other plants, deriving the elements for their existence from the plant on which they depend but in no way contributing to the success of their "host."

Symbiosis in an Urban Area. This analogy between plants and animals cannot, of course, be carried to the extreme, because animals possess the power of locomotion which enables them to move about in space, an attribute not characteristic of the plant. Human beings possess not only powers of locomotion, but as a result of their psychic development they are capable of changing their natural and social environment to suit their needs and fancies. Thus the problem is made vastly more complex. Nevertheless, the principle of symbiosis applies to human relationships, for all persons,

2. Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 507 (1924).

in their spatial distribution, live in a symbiotic relationship with other persons, and different groups are symbiotically related to one another. Symbiosis, in human society, is based on differences—differences in race, culture, economic status, religion, philosophy, and so on. As society becomes increasingly complex, as division of labor becomes more pronounced and population denser, the greater the differences and the more significant are the symbiotic relationships that develop. People who compete with each other must also live together, must accommodate themselves to each other.

Urban society is organized as much on the basis of differences as of likenesses. As the size of a city increases, the greater is the division of labor and consequently the more variations there are. Physical and social mobility, both characteristic of a complex urban environment, contribute to the division of labor and the increase of differences. In the city, persons of low economic status must live with persons of wealth and affluence, and although the social distance between them may be great, they cooperate with each other sufficiently to constitute different integral parts of a communal whole. The lower group circulates in its own social world, which is ecologically and territorially removed from the world of the socially and economically élite. The Jews, representing a culture alien in many ways to the dominant culture of America, retire to the ghetto and there live in a relationship of symbiosis to other cultural and racial groups, making a satisfactory accommodation to each other and to the members of other groups about them.

> . . . It is because the contacts between the larger and the smaller, between the dominant and the subordinate groups, are confined to mere externals that they [the Jews and non-Jews] are able to live so close to each other at all. In such cases human groups manage to live side by side, much like plants and animals, in what is known as symbiosis. . . . Unlike the ghettos of old, these new ghettos do not need a wall or gates to keep the various species of man apart. Each seeks his own habitat much like the plants and animals in the world of nature; each has his own kind of food, family life, and amusement.[3]

3. Wirth, Louis, *The Ghetto*, pp. 283–284 (1929). Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

What is true of the Jews in their ghetto also applies to the other groupings in an urban area. The Negroes in the "black belts," the Orientals in their Chinatowns, the Italians in their Little Italies, all live in symbiosis with the social, economic, cultural, and racial groups about them.

The city becomes, then, a patchwork of ecological units, these units being spatially distributed according to the trend taken by the processes of competition and selection. It is not an accident that certain persons in the city live in slums and others in the "gold coasts," that some live in areas dominated by a particular culture while others live in areas populated by a certain race. In the competitive and selective process the individual tends to be drawn to the area in which he can compete most advantageously. If because of some handicap he is unable to enter into competition with his fellows successfully, he is relegated to certain areas where he finds his own cultural, economic, or racial level. If, on the other hand, he is more successful he tends to drift into areas that represent higher levels of economic attainment—in other words, into areas of maximum rather than of minimum choice. It does not necessarily follow that individuals are sorted out in this selective process according to their innate capacity to compete with others, the inferior being shunted into the slums and the superior attracted to the fashionable residential sections. As a matter of fact there are many forces of great potency over which the individual has little or no control, and his failure or success in competition and his ecological position with respect to others may or may not be due to inherent capacities or limitations. Nor does residence in an immigrant area or a racial belt betoken inferiority. The inhabitants usually drift to such areas because it is in such positions that they are more likely to make an adjustment that is favorable to successful competition.

Human Ecology Based on Interaction. The term "ecology" as used by sociologists connotes social interaction between persons. Wherever human beings are in competition with each other—and they are everywhere—there may be said to exist the process of

interaction, although this interaction may not necessarily be preceded or accompanied by social contact.[4] "The units of the ecological order jostle each other for position in space and time, but ecological interaction is characteristically external. It is interaction without contact." [5] The entrepreneur is in competition with his employees, who in turn are in competition with each other, although the competitive relationships in the two cases may take different forms or patterns. In both instances, however, there may be said to exist social interaction between the competing units, and the outcome of the competitive struggle may and does determine to a great extent the nature of the ecological patterns taken by the community. If the employees unionize and succeed in their struggle for higher wages and better working conditions, they may move to better residential districts and their children may attend schools where there are many opportunities for self-advancement. If they fail in their struggle they may drift into areas of deterioration because of their enforced penury.

In areas of excessive physical and social mobility, such as are found in modern cities, social interaction between competing units takes on a multiplicity of patterns. The city is predominantly an area of secondary relationships. Wherever there is high mobility there is change, rapid change, in types of human relationships and human interactions. And whenever the forms of human interaction change there is an accompanying change in the ecological organization of the area. So it is that the city is in a constant state of flux; the ecological patterns of the city change more rapidly than those of the country, largely because the city is an area of high mobility. Mobility, as pointed out by McKenzie, is an index, a measuring rod, of ecological change; "it is represented in change of residence, change of employment, or change of location of any utility or service." [6] Park and Burgess go even further and say that mo-

4. Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 506.
5. Dawson, C. A., and Gettys, W. E., *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 280 (1929).
6. McKenzie, R. D., "The Scope of Human Ecology," in *The Urban Community*, edited by Burgess, E. W., p. 170.

bility measures not merely the social contacts gained through travel and exploration—through physical movement—but the stimulation and suggestions that come to persons through the media of communication.[7] In either case, the city is the area in which there is a maximum of physical movement and psychic stimuli, made possible by the new and improved means of transportation and communication. These new devices, found mostly in urban areas, speed up the mobility of the population and thereby affect most profoundly the ecological as well as the social organization of the community.

Whereas the nature and extent of social interaction tend to determine the form of the ecological patterns of the city, the spatial patterns themselves in turn partially control and determine the situations in which contact and interaction take place. Areas that are isolated, whether because of physical or cultural barriers, have a retarding effect on social interaction between the residents of the areas and the outsiders. The city is veritably a "mosaic of cultural and social worlds," and the person who becomes fully identified with one of these worlds, possessing its own characteristic sentiments, folkways, and mores, is barred from complete participation in the experiences of outside groups. While these miniature cultural universes are necessary and inevitable as devices for effecting accommodation, they frequently slow down the assimilative process because of the barriers to social interaction. On the other hand it is in these areas that the traditional culture of the newcomers is preserved and perpetuated, and long after individual members of the area have become assimilated and moved out into new districts the area may still retain much of its original color. In a highly mobile area, where contacts are numerous and assimilation is relatively rapid, the cultural walls surrounding these areas tend to crumble and the inhabitants either become submerged in the culture of the dominant group, or else are displaced by an invading group having different mores and institutions.

7. Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

ECOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF THE CITY

THE "ESSENTIAL ORDERLINESS" OF THINGS. At first glance the city impresses one as being an area of confusion, of chaos. Things seem misplaced. Skyscrapers tower over dilapidated hovels. Beggars live on high-priced land. Impoverished families of despised races often live within hailing distance of the financial aristocracy. Highly mobile people live alongside the immobile. There is a perplexing babble of strange tongues. Everything is in a state of flux. The city at one date is different from the same city a year later. People come and go, apparently in a helter-skelter fashion, constantly moving from one part of the city to another. Businesses spring up overnight and either prosper or perish in the urban environment.

But the confusion may be more apparent than real. At least some of these anomalies are cleared up when the basic processes and patterns are disclosed. There is order as well as disorder. In the spatial distribution of population and institutions definite patterns or configurations may be discerned, although for certain phenomena no uniform ecological arrangements are exhibited. But whether the distributive configurations are uniformly patterned or manifest in a crazy-quilt effect, the causes of the phenomena lie in the interaction of individuals and groups existing within a cultural and geographic environment. Thus to comprehend ecology of the city it is necessary to take cognizance of psychological, social, economic, political, and geographic factors which in their interrelationships may function either causally or by way of setting limitations upon spatial changes. A geographic factor such as the topography of land does not operate as a *cause* of social phenomena; rather it sets certain limitations on human activities or provides certain conditions under which they may take place. But it is important nevertheless. Such psychological factors as, say, prejudices or attitudes may become powerful motivating influences in human conduct and may therefore be considered causal or de-

termining factors in the ecological distribution of individuals and institutions.

THE THEORY OF URBAN CONCENTRICITY. In a significant paper on the theory of urban expansion Professor Burgess has insisted that the modern city tends to assume the pattern of concentric zones each having certain characteristics that distinguish it from the others.[8] This theory of urban concentricity was formulated on the basis of studies made in Chicago; therefore it may or may not be applicable to all cities, perhaps not even to all urban communities in this country. Indeed it has been argued that the theory is a gross oversimplification of the spatial patterning of Chicago itself. Of course these concentric zones, as the proponents of the theory admit, are idealized concepts; no city, not even Chicago, conforms absolutely to the theoretical scheme. Physical barriers such as rivers, lakes, hills, and gulches tend to distort the even and uniform expansion of the community. Lines of transportation such as railroads and automobile roads also tend to cut the city into smaller sections and thereby modify the trend of expansion. As these conditions vary in different cities, each metropolis assumes certain characteristics and peculiarities of its own. In the following paragraph we shall present briefly some of the characteristics of the five "zones" featuring the Burgess hypothesis, then indicate certain limitations of the scheme. (FIG. VII.)

a. *The Central Business District.* The first or inner zone comprises what is commonly called the CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT. It is the area of most intense communal participation. Here the towers of the modern skyscraper rise high above the ground. Department stores and cheap variety emporia, hotels and restaurants, theaters and motion-picture houses crowd together to meet the needs of downtown shoppers or a transient population. It is essentially an area of retail trade, of light manufacturing, and of commercialized recreational activities. In Chicago it is called the

8. Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of the City," in *The City*, by Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, p. 51.

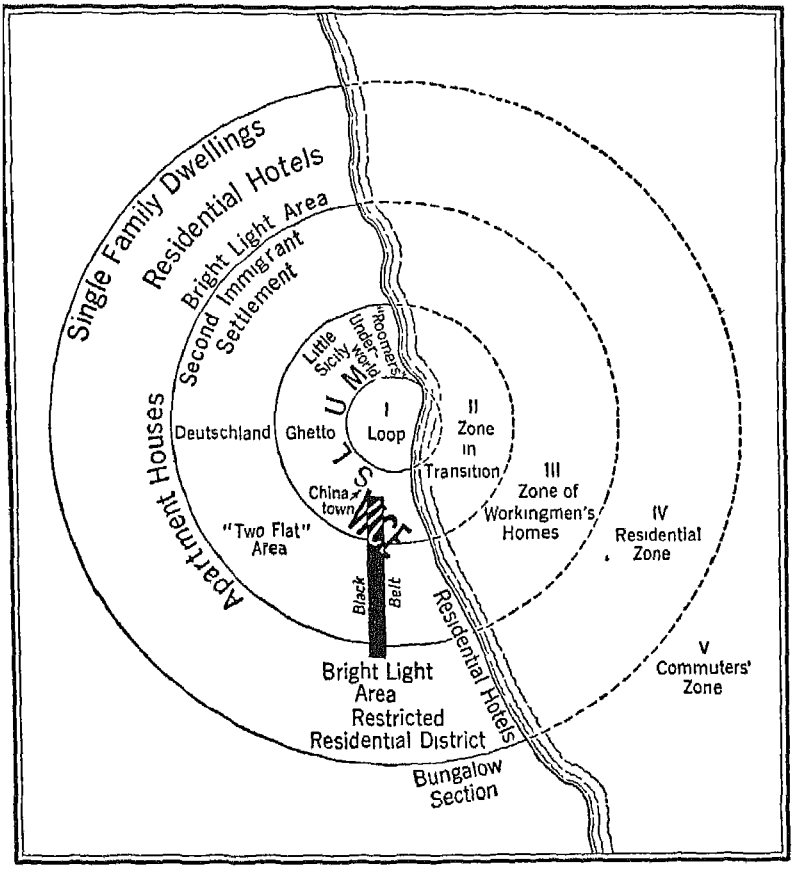


FIG. VII. *Professor Burgess's conception of the concentric zone principle of urban expansion as applied specifically to Chicago. The chart shows also the segregation of different cultural and racial areas of Chicago. (Courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)*

"Loop"; in New York it is the "Uptown" and "Downtown" areas; in Pittsburgh it is the "Golden Triangle." For cities of this country at least, the central business district occupies a relatively small proportion of the entire area of the community.

b. *The Zone of Transition.* The area immediately surrounding

the business district has been designated by Burgess as the area of transition, so named because it is in the immediate path of business and industrial expansion, which gives the district an ephemeral or transitory character. Unlike the business district, which is a non-residential area for the most part, the "zone of transition" tends to be heavily populated, although in recent years the movement away from this area has resulted in a declining population in the central zones of most if not all the cities of the country. It is an area populated by the lower-income classes, by Old World immigrants and rural migrants, by unconventional folk and social pariahs.

c. *The Zone of Workingmen's Homes.* The third zone in Burgess' scheme is designated the area of workingmen's homes. Superior to the slum area in its physical appearance, but falling short of the residential districts of the professional and owning classes, this area is populated largely by workers whose economic status enables them to have many of the comforts and even some of the luxuries the city has to offer. "In Chicago it is a housing area neither of tenements, apartments, nor of single dwellings; its boundaries have been roughly determined by the plotting of the two-flat dwelling, generally of frame construction, with the owner living on the lower floor and a tenant on the other. While the father works in the factory the son and daughter, typically, have jobs in the Loop, attend dance halls and motion pictures in the bright-light areas, and plan upon marriage to set up homes in Zone IV." [9]

d. *The Zone of Middle-Class Dwellers.* Beyond the area occupied by the working classes is a broad zone populated mainly by the privileged classes—the professional people, the owners of small businesses, the managerial group, the clerical forces, and so on. Many are hotel and apartment dwellers; others live in detached residences with spacious yards and gardens, combining the rustic qualities of rural life with the advantages of urban existence. Mag-

9. Burgess, E. W., "The Value of Sociological Community Studies for the Work of Social Agencies." *Social Forces*, 8:483 (June, 1930).

nificent apartment houses spring up in the area, and with their comforts and luxuries attract opulent urbanites who are willing and able to spend princely sums for housing and personal services.

e. *The Commuters' Zone.* On the outer periphery of the city is the area of the commuter. Beyond the political boundaries of the city satellite towns and suburbs cluster around the metropolis, existing in a sort of symbiotic relationship to the larger city. These towns and hamlets, dubbed by some writers as "bedroom" towns, may house the workers by night but are largely vacated during the working hours after the daily trek to the center of the city has started. Just as the center of the city tends to empty itself of its working population in the evening, so does the commuters' area tend to empty itself of its working population in the early hours of the morning.

Criticism of the Concentric Zone Theory. Probably no hypothesis of urban expansion has been more widely accepted than the scheme presented by Burgess in 1923. Many students of the city have apparently viewed it not so much as a hypothesis which must be tested by field investigations in many cities but as a final verdict in the theory of urban ecology. On the basis of ecological studies conducted in recent years it has been possible to present a more adequate appraisal of the hypothesis, although even now only comparatively few cities have been studied from this angle. Every person familiar at all with the large city is aware of the existence of a central business district and of a deteriorated area, usually known as a slum, which encircles the inner area. He also knows that the better residential areas tend to be located somewhat farther out from the business district.

In certain of its broader aspects the Burgess hypothesis seems to be validated by common observation as well as scientific investigation. In numerous details, however, doubts may arise as to its validity. Ecological studies conducted by Queen in St. Louis appear to validate the hypothesis in a general way, although as Queen points out the "scheme simplifies and distorts the actual pattern of

a particular city." [10] The central business district in St. Louis, for instance, is near the Mississippi River, considerably east of the geographic center of the city.

In Rochester, Bowers and Fry carried on an ecological study to test the concentric zone hypothesis, concluding that in spite of the small number of indices used and different methodological techniques employed the results give "considerable empirical support for the Burgess hypothesis." [11] The research procedure involved the use of ten indices, which included families on relief, juvenile delinquency, families under care of the protective department of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boy Scouts, foreign-born population, size of families, average birth rate, average crude death rate, and tuberculosis cases. The 88 census tracts of the city for each of the ten indices were ranked according to size, rank 1 being given the census tract with the lowest ratio, with the exception of the Boy Scouts, in which case the ranking was reversed. The ten ranks for each census tract were then added together and the composite totals were listed in order of size and divided into five classes. These classes included "above average II," "above average I," "average," "below average I," and "below average II," this schematic arrangement giving a general indication of the degree of social organization or disorganization. The composite map constructed from these indices does show something of a concentric pattern, although with marked distortions. One tract classified as "above average I" is located near the central business district next to tracts that are classified as below average, and another area labeled as "below average I" is situated at the western edge of the city.

While the results of the study are interesting and perhaps significant, the method of selecting ten arbitrary indices having no necessary relation to each other, and then on the basis of these

10. Queen, S. A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City*, p. 256.

11. Bowers, Raymond V., "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, N.Y.," *American Sociological Review*, 4: 189 (April, 1939).

indices classifying the different areas of the city according to social adequacy or inadequacy, is not altogether convincing. Why, for instance, should a high percentage of foreign-born or a low percentage of Boy Scouts or a high birth rate or large families be indicative of social inadequacy or social disorganization? Even if the composite map does show some resemblance to the concentric circle scheme, the method employed raises some doubts about the validity of the conclusions. This study is summarized at considerable length to give the reader some idea of the methods involved in testing the hypothesis and also of the difficulties encountered in working out sound methodological techniques.

In a study of New Haven, Connecticut, Davie concluded that the Burgess hypothesis fell far short of applying to that city. After examining land utilization maps for a number of cities Davie also argued that the hypothesis had little value so far as those cities were concerned. He says:

> The hypothesis of the concentric zone pattern, therefore, clearly does not apply to New Haven. Nor does it appear to apply to the sixteen self-contained cities in which Bartholomew made detailed field surveys of land utilization. Nor does it apply to Greater Cleveland, where Green by analyzing social data by census tracts mapped the "cultural areas" of Cleveland and the four largest adjacent cities. Low economic areas, characterized by smaller incomes, fewer radios and telephones, fewer home owners, fewer one-family dwellings, more two and multi-family dwellings, more murders, houses of prostitution, juvenile delinquents, dependent families, unemployed, illiterates, and higher birth and infant mortality rates in proportion to population—low economic areas, while in general near the center of the city, are by no means confined there but are found in every zone. They are generally adjacent to industrial and railroad property.[12]

Davie's main criticism of the Burgess hypothesis is that it fails to take account of the factor of industrial and railroad utilization. Industrial activities, he notes, may be found in any zone, and this he insists is as true of Chicago as of other cities. An examination of

12. Davie, Maurice R., "The Pattern of Urban Growth," p. 159, in *Studies in the Science of Society*, edited by Murdock, G. P. (1937).

twenty zoning maps of cities of varying types and sizes located in this country and Canada disclosed: "(1) a central business district, irregular in size but more square or rectangular than circular, (2) commercial land use extending out the radial streets and concentrating at certain strategic points to form sub-centers, (3) industry located near the means of transportation by water or rail, wherever in the city this may be—and it may be anywhere, (4) low-grade housing near the industrial and transportation areas, and (5) second- and first-class housing anywhere else. These seem to be the general principles governing the distribution of utilities. There is no universal pattern, not even of an 'ideal' type." [13]

Burgess has given empirical support to the hypothesis by presenting social data which in their distributive patterns take the form of a series of gradients.[14] He showed that, in passing from the center or Loop district of Chicago to the periphery of the city, delinquency rates, sex ratio, percentage of foreign-born, and poverty tended to decrease, while home ownership showed a tendency to increase. Other investigators have found similar gradients in different cities.[15] In certain instances these gradients are uniformly continuous. This being the case, zonal boundaries determined on the basis of gradients must be arbitrarily drawn. As Alihan points out in a criticism of the Burgess scheme: "The zone can have significance only if it marks a distinction of gradients or between gradients. Otherwise, if the gradients are as continuous as the name implies, the zonal lines can be drawn indifferently at any radius from the center." [16]

The main conclusion that may be drawn from the criticisms of the Burgess theory is that it represents an oversimplification of the actual ecological development of the city. It overlooks, or at least minimizes, the fact that cities in their expansion patterns tend to

13. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

14. "The Determination of Gradients in the Growth of a City," *Publications American Sociological Society*, 21: 178–184 (1927).

15. See Fletcher, R. C., Hornback, H. L., and Queen, S. A., *Social Statistics of St. Louis by Census Tracts* (1935); Shaw, Clifford, *Delinquency Areas* (1929).

16. Alihan, Milla A., *Social Ecology*, p. 225 (1938).

assume an axiate design, with the population and institutions pushing out along main thoroughfares to constitute the "prongs" of a star-like formation. While Burgess recognized that topographic and other physical conditions are important factors in the distribution of population and institutions, it is nevertheless well to note that in certain cities, notably Duluth, the distributive patterns of population have been so distorted by geographical irregularities that little more than a semblance of a concentric zone design can be discerned, if indeed there is any at all. Furthermore, the population and institutions lining the sides of main arterial highways that cut squarely across various areas of the city are frequently so different from the people and institutions located in the same general area but somewhat removed from the thoroughfares that the principle of concentricity seems to be seriously violated. How much of the Burgess hypothesis will stand the test of ecological investigation in different cities is conjectural; but whether or not it is validated by further research it has been an important factor in stimulating interest in urban ecology and raising questions relating to ecological processes. It is a significant contribution even if it is eventually abandoned in whole or in part!

THE ECOLOGICAL PROCESSES

ECOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND SOCIAL INTERACTION. It was noted above that competition and selection affect all forms of life in the universal struggle for position in space. The ecologists have subdivided the process of selection according to the patterns of distribution that develop in time and space, and these tendencies toward certain patterns of spatial distribution have been designated ecological processes. McKenzie has identified six major ecological processes as follows: concentration, centralization, decentralization, segregation, invasion, and succession. These processes are in a way products of social interaction.

CONCENTRATION VIEWED AS A PROCESS. Concentration has been defined as the tendency of human beings to settle in a given area

or region.[17] Obviously cities are areas of extreme concentration, for it is in urban districts that the greatest density of population is to be found. This is not the place to discuss the multiplicity of causal factors responsible for the concentration of persons in urban areas. The factors are legion and are as complex as human nature itself. Suffice it to say that the industrial revolution has had a profound effect in the redistribution of population and the concentration of countless millions in the cities of the world. The rise of industrialism marked the passing of the domestic industries and crafts and the concentration of production and manufacturing in certain regions. New technological devices made possible greater and greater output, and with the concomitant development of means of transportation and communication as factors in the distribution of the factory output, came the demand for factory workers and others catering to the needs of the workers and their families. The degree of concentration within these areas depended, naturally, on certain fundamental factors: on their ability to compete with other areas, on the accessibility of raw materials, on the topography of the land, on facilities for transportation and communication, and on markets for the disposal of finished products. Whatever the causes of concentration of population, mobility is always involved.

a. *Density.* Concentration in many urban areas is characterized by extreme density of population. Isanthropic maps indicating density show that there is ordinarily a sparsely settled area in the business center of the city, owing, of course, to the fact that people do not generally reside within the area occupied by commercial establishments.[18] The area immediately surrounding the business district is usually congested; persons seeking to economize time and money congregate in the tenement houses and flats that characterize this

17. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

18. The U.S. Census figures are based on the residences of persons rather than the places where they are employed. It may be that the place of occupation is as important, if not more important, to the individual than the residence. At any rate, figures showing occupational concentration would be quite different from those showing residential concentration.

part of the city. Population tends to be more dense along the lines of easy travel and cheap transportation. Once a streetcar line or railroad is established the tendency is to use it more and more. In metropolitan areas apartment houses line the streets that are main arteries of transportation. The apartment house has made it possible for large numbers of persons to crowd into certain areas of the city, thereby creating serious problems of health, sanitation, and conduct.

b. *Dispersion.* The process of concentration is both positive and negative. Concentration itself represents the positive, dispersion the negative. Obviously, concentration in one area implies dispersion of population in another. The growth of great cities, as indicated in an earlier discussion, has been more the result of rural-urban and foreign migrations than of natural increases of population. As a consequence many agricultural districts have actually declined in population. Out of a total of 2,955 counties in the United States whose boundaries were not changed between 1920 and 1930, 1,220 had declining populations; for the decade preceding 1900 only 368 counties failed to increase in population. Presumably much of the rural decline can be accounted for in terms of the concentration of population in the cities. Of the 105 counties in Kansas, for instance, 90 declined in population between 1930 and 1940. Probably the majority of migrants settled in urban communities.

CENTRALIZATION. If concentration indicates the grouping of population and institutions in a particular area without reference to the ecological patterns that emerge or the functions that are performed, *centralization* denotes the distributive pattern of population and institutions in the area of concentration and the processes whereby these patterns appear. Queen and Thomas define centralization as the "drawing together of institutions and activities, i.e., the assembling of people to work rather than to reside in a given area." [19] Whereas concentration signifies the movement of people into an area for the purpose of satisfying all or nearly all their major needs and interests, centralization has reference to the move-

19. *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

ment of people into an area for *specific* interests or activities. Areas of concentration may be thought of as places of living as well as working or playing; areas of centralization as places devoted primarily to work or recreation. Areas of concentration tend to be more or less permanently occupied; areas of centralization intermittently so. Areas of concentration are larger and more inclusive—the city; areas of centralization are a part of the larger ecological grouping.

As an *ecological process*, therefore, centralization has reference to the congregation of certain community activities within a given area of the city and the drawing together of people who are interested in carrying on these activities or in utilizing the products or services of those who are so engaged. From this point of view we are concerned with the processes of social change and of spatial movement, with the functions of the institutions which have been assembled together within the nuclear area, and with the relations of these centralized institutions to the remainder of the city, to the metropolitan region, or to the nation as a whole. Since every institution must have a spatial setting, and since the function of an institution tends to develop and influence its structure, the spatial and structural aspects of the process of centralization are manifest in the *central business district*, the smaller, secondary, shopping areas located in various parts of the city, or industrial centers that attract workers to the manufacturing establishments.

THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT. It is the central business district that represents the focal point of commercial activities in the community. Not only is it the magnet to which are attracted many of the workers as well as the buyers but it is also the point of concentration of direction and control. The "headquarters area," as Anderson and Lindeman describe it, "serves the same function as does the office in the industrial plant: all the lines of control for all the other parts of the establishment and for its outside activities interact there, forming a strategic center of the web which unifies the rest of the city and binds the city to its hinterland." [20] Fac-

20. Anderson, Nels, and Lindeman, E. C., *Urban Sociology*, p. 74 (1928).

tories may migrate to the outer periphery or even into the hinterland, but the control of the industries likely remains at a point in or near the center of the city. The busy executive with telephone, telegraph, postal system, and messenger service at his disposal can plan and direct business service more efficiently in the center of the city than at the scene of the activity itself. It is such managerial functions as these that tend to make the center of the city a point of dominance rather than the mere aggregation of retail establishments and the convergence of transportation routes. "The city's center or area of dominance," says McKenzie, "is where intelligence is received and transmitted, where brains and ability concentrate, where the community is most alive." [21] It is the area of most intense communal participation.

One of the factors contributing to the centralization of control is the increase in the size of commercial and industrial establishments.[22] Mergers, combinations, interlocking directorates, holding companies, chain stores, absentee ownership—these are features of modern industry and business which have resulted in the separation of control and operation. This trend has not only contributed to the importance of certain cities as points of regional or national dominance, but it has also influenced the functions of the central business district or other areas where the industrial or commercial headquarters happen to be located. Centralization of control in business and industry has been a factor in determining the location of operation. Indeed it is probable that with more highly centralized control the selection of places of business or manufacturing, as in the case of location of chain store outlets or automobile assembly plants, has been done more efficiently than would otherwise have been possible. Centralized control and decentralized operation are inseparably related.

But centralization may also be manifest in the development of secondary business centers at different points in the city. Located

21. McKenzie, R. D., "The Concept of Dominance and World Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33:30 (July, 1927).

22. *Our Cities*, National Resources Committee, p. 39 (1937).

usually at the convergence or intersection of important transportation routes, these subcenters or satellite shopping districts attract various types of establishments that cater to the needs of the residents who occupy the contiguous territory. Here are to be found the small establishments that supply personal services or standardized articles of food or clothing: the drug store, the neighborhood grocery, the cleaning and pressing establishment, the delicatessen, the lunch room, the barber shop, the ready-made clothing shop. In or near these subcenters, especially the larger ones, are to be found the public dance halls and cabarets, residential hotels, moving picture theaters, and billiard parlors, all indices of the way the local residents spend their leisure time. Sometimes these satellite centers become so large that they rival the brightly illuminated areas in the heart of the city. But unlike the central business district, the subcenter is not likely to represent a significant concentration of control. It is a shopping center, not a point of dominance.

THE RETAIL PATTERN OF BALTIMORE. A study of the distribution of retail merchandising activities in Baltimore, based on data collected by the Census Bureau, compared the functions of the central business district and the outlying subcenters.[23] For purposes of analysis the city was divided into three zones: the central business district, comprising .19 per cent of the total area of the metropolis; the broad circular zone surrounding the central shopping district, representing 26 per cent of the total land area; and the outlying shopping district with 73.8 per cent of the total area. In the central zone were 748 establishments, responsible for 28.1 per cent of the total volume of transactions. By correlating data on retail business with other data on population the investigator was able to make a classification of the types of retail subcenters according to size and function. These retail centers were an index not only of the spatial distribution of the population but also of the income, density, and cultural and racial characteristics of the inhabitants. About two out of every five stores in the city were

23. Rolph, Inez K., "The Population Pattern in Relation to Retail Buying," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38: 368–376 (November, 1932).

located either in the central business district, in subcenters, or on "string streets," the remainder being scattered elsewhere over the community.

The functions of the central shopping zone and the subcenters of Baltimore are revealed in data on the distribution of specific types of retail establishments and the comparative amount of business done by each type. Although less than one-fourth of the clothing stores are located in the central zone, this district accounts for more than half of the total sales of wearing apparel. There were comparatively few furniture and household stores in the central zone, but they nevertheless did more than half of the business of the city. Similarly, one-fourth of the jewelry stores were centrally located, yet they were responsible for three-fourths of the jewelry business. Although only a small number of general merchandising stores were in the central district, more than two-thirds of the general merchandise business was conducted in this area.

So far as Baltimore is a typical city in this respect, the central business district is characterized by a definite retail pattern, dominated by clothing stores, general merchandising business, jewelry, furniture, and household goods. It is true, of course, that other types of business are located in this area, but they are not predominant. While food stores, automotive establishments, lumber and building concerns, restaurants, and drug stores are to be found here, they appear more frequently in the subcenters and "string-street developments" and do a greater volume of their business in the outlying zones.

Centralization and the Movement of People. The distribution of retail activities gives a clue to understanding the function of the central business district relative to the remainder of the community. Obviously, from the data presented here, residents of a city tend to travel to the central zone to buy certain types of specialized commodities. The drawing power of this area as indicated by the number of residents attracted, the distances they travel to do their specialized shopping, and the amount of money they spend give concreteness to the theory of centralization. But un-

doubtedly many persons travel a considerable distance to subcenters, particularly to the large secondary shopping centers such as Sixty-third Street in Chicago or the Country Club Plaza in Kansas City. The absence of data on the drawing power of secondary retail centers makes it impossible for us to present any specific conclusions. It is generally known, however, that most urban residents do at least a portion of their shopping in retail establishments located near them, either in secondary shopping districts or in scattered stores. One study of the shopping habits of approximately two thousand families living in a middle-class residential district of Seattle indicated that about 90 per cent purchased their groceries in their own neighborhood; 50 per cent bought their hardware from neighborhood merchants; and 70 per cent purchased their drugs from neighborhood stores.[24] The central business district, on the other hand, is visited by persons living *outside* the city as well as by residents of the community. Indeed, many of the business districts of suburbs and other satellite communities within the metropolitan region perform much the same function that secondary shopping centers perform in the city proper.

We have seen, therefore, that the process of centralization implies the movement of people to a focal point for the satisfaction of certain interests or the performance of certain responsibilities and duties. The drawing power of this focal point may depend on a number of factors, including spatial distance, transportation facilities, cultural interests and buying power of the people of a community or region, and the types of service or commodities available in the area. It is a two-way movement, an ebb and flow during the different hours of the day, but with the bulk of the movement being inward during the morning hours and outward in the late afternoons. So highly differentiated are the interests of the people who go to the central zone of the city that the movements might be said to assume the form of a series of waves, each wave being somewhat distinct from the others. As one wag has put it, at 7

24. McKenzie, R. D., "The Scope of Human Ecology," in Burgess, *The Urban Community*, p. 179.

o'clock in the morning go the workers, at 8 o'clock the clerkers, and at 9 o'clock the shirkers. We have observed the changing character of commuters on suburban elevated trains bound for the Loop in Chicago during the morning hours. During the very early hours the commuters are mostly workingmen who are employed in the central business district or in the industrial establishments located near by. Somewhat later are the salespeople and the clerical workers, with women perhaps predominating in numbers, although men are well represented. At a still later hour come the executives and other business folk, a considerably older group consisting largely of men. Finally there comes the parade of the shoppers, mainly women, who follow in the wake of the workers and return before the homeward rush in the evening begins. After the evening dinner hour another centripetal movement begins, this time consisting largely of pleasure-seekers bent on an evening of relaxation or excitement at the numerous institutions found in the central zone.

THE CHANGING POSITION OF THE CENTRAL ZONE. Centers of urban areas are frequently ephemeral in nature, changing their locus in response to the general shifts of population within the city. The central shopping district tends to move in the direction of the better residential districts. In Kansas City, Missouri, for example, the central business district has gradually moved southward, the same direction in which the shift of the general population has taken place. There is every reason to believe that as the city grows and the residential districts to the south are developed and more of the population is attracted to that area, the central shopping district will continue gradually to move in the same direction. In New York City the central shopping district has gradually moved northward in response to the general shift of population. In 1850 the district was located at Canal Street. Thirty years later it had moved to 14th Street. The next location was at 23rd Street. By 1900 it had reached 34th Street. In 1928 large stores had begun to cluster around 50th Street. The location of Central Park at 59th Street probably will be a barrier around which a further encroachment will not be attempted. The financial center

in New York City, now located in Wall Street, has, on the contrary, shown little tendency to move in the direction of population trends; and although certain disadvantages accompany its present location it is not likely that it will follow the march of the retail shopping center.

LAND VALUES IN THE CENTRAL DISTRICT. No analysis of the ecology of the city can be complete without reference to land values, their patterns and changes. Urban land values exist at all only where there is a demand for space, and there can be a demand for space only where there is a concentration or aggregation of population, or a possibility that such will exist in the future.[25] Values of real estate are of more than economic importance; they profoundly affect human relations at many points and in turn are affected by the movement and distribution of people and commodities, by race and culture, by standards and planes of living, and by facilities of transportation.

It is in the central business district that the highest land values are commonly found. Ordinarily the values tend to recede in proportion to the distance from the central district, although this recession is by no means uniform for such factors as topographical contours, transportation routes, subordinate trading centers, industrial developments, and the character and distribution of population in different sections of the city make for fluctuations and irregularities rather than for a uniform gradation. Hoyt observed that in 1926 the aggregate value of the land in the Loop district of Chicago was approximately a billion dollars, representing one-fifth of the total value of land in the entire city, an area one thousand times as great as the central business zone.[26] The peak value in New York City in 1927, $22,000 a front foot, was found on Broadway; on State and Madison in Chicago in 1930 the highest value was $24,700 a front foot.[27] Usually the declines from the

25. We do not have reference here to "land" values created by mineral deposits but rather by usage of the land itself.

26. Hoyt, Homer, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, pp. 336–337 (1933).

27. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 234.

major peak values are abrupt, although minor peaks tend to occur at retail subcenters in outlying parts of the city.

The invention of the elevator and the use of structural steel for building purposes have had an effect on land values. The skyscraper, the product of the twentieth century, represents the most intensive use of land. Located, usually, at or near the convergence of axial transportation routes in the center or subcenters of the city, the skyscraper tends to increase land values because of its high rental yield and its influence in concentrating the population in small areas. Yet the skyscraper is not the only factor contributing to intensive use of land in the central zone; indeed the skyscraper would be an economic liability were it not for the transportation systems that haul to the central zone each day thousands of persons who make use of the skyscraper's facilities. The urban transit system and the skyscraper type of building are complementary features of the urban community, each more or less dependent on the other for its existence under the present scheme of things. With lower buildings and less efficient transit facilities the scale of land values would probably be different from what it is.

Pedestrian Traffic and Land Values. In general, pedestrian traffic in the business district is considered the "weather vane" of land and rental values. The streets in which the largest number of pedestrians pass during the course of a day are considered to be the most favorable locations for certain types of businesses. Department stores, five-and-ten stores, men's haberdasheries and women's clothiers, drug stores, high class restaurants, and hotels are types of business dependent, in the main, upon pedestrian traffic. Accordingly these businesses are willing to pay dearly for the locations that will guarantee the maximum of pedestrian traffic past their doors.

This pedestrian movement is always responsive to certain physical and climatic conditions; like a stream of water, it may be influenced by obstructions which deflect it and change its course to a different direction. Cold blasts of wind in the winter and the scorching rays of sun in the summer are uncomfortable to passers-

by, as a shady street or a street protected from biting winds may be an attraction. Just as these conditions influence the onward flow of foot traffic, so may they be said to influence, indirectly, land values. Pedestrian traffic is capricious, whimsical; it may shift from one point to another as a result of certain physical changes that are made. And as it shifts the retail establishments tend to follow as near as possible its general course. Land values depend not only on the number of persons passing but on their purchasing power, their location, their tastes and interests, and their facilities of transportation. The percentage of passers-by who may become customers can be computed with a fair degree of accuracy if the various factors concerning their purchasing tendencies are known.

The volume of pedestrian traffic may reach, however, a point of diminishing returns. When streets become extremely congested, as does the corner of State and Madison in Chicago at certain hours of the day, the intensity of traffic proves a detriment to merchants located there, with the result that property has a lower commercial value than on other streets with less congestion.

Pedestrian traffic at night is always different from the daytime traffic. Night crowds are usually pleasure-seeking crowds, and they cluster in or near the bright-light districts of the theaters, the restaurants, and the cabarets. Another kind of traffic may be characterized as seasonal. In certain cities streams of travel flow along certain streets to docks, piers, parks, and resorts. The volume of traffic in these areas is determined almost entirely by climatic conditions, increasing in the summer and diminishing in the winter, and because of its fluctuation it does not attract stable businesses. Land values in such districts are not as high as the total volume of traffic would indicate, owing to the seasonal nature of the population movement.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Devise a method for studying the extent to which urban functions are concentrated within the central business district. Then apply this method to a specific urban community.

2. Select an urban community and make an ecological study of it for the purpose of testing the Burgess hypothesis. In what way, if any, does the hypothesis fail to apply to this particular city? So far as this community is concerned, would you say that the main features of the hypothesis were still valid?

3. Conduct a study of an urban community along the lines suggested by the Baltimore study of retail merchandising activities.

4. Find the land values at several different points in the central business district of a selected city. Then take a count of the pedestrian traffic at the points at different hours of the day. What correlation appears to exist between the flow of traffic and the values of land? Between the values of land and the height of the buildings at these points?

5. Secure data on land values in different areas of the city at two different dates. In what parts of the city have the values changed most? How has the shifting of population in the city affected land values?

6. Study the "natural history" of the central business district of some city. Indicate the stages of development in this zone. What changes have taken place in the location of the central district? What types of businesses are moving in? Moving out?

7. Make a study of the skyscraper as a phase of urban development. Indicate the extent of skyscraper building in the United States, the relation of the skyscraper to competition for space and land values, and the contribution of the skyscraper to the congestion of traffic. Has skyscraper construction reached its upper limits, or is it likely that even taller buildings will be built?

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7

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF THE CITY (CONT.)

DECENTRALIZATION

THE PROCESS OF DECENTRALIZATION. Whereas the daily ebb-and-flow of individuals tends to be the characteristic movement associated with the process of centralization, decentralization has reference to the general direction of population shifts involving a change of residence.[1] Residential change in a city may be either centrifugal or centripetal in direction; it may, indeed, be circular in character, a sort of milling about within a local area. We are here concerned with one of the major patterns of population movement—the centrifugal shift of families and individuals to the periphery of the city or even beyond the political boundaries. As early as 1899 Weber reported the tendency of the central zones of the city to decline in population and for the residents of these zones to move farther out to escape the congested areas.[2] Since then this general movement has been going on more or less continuously; and, as we shall presently see, it has had a profound effect on the ecological patterning of the city as well as on the character of life in the metropolis.

The process of decentralization is manifest not only in the movement of people but also in the shifting of institutions. Indeed the two, population and institutional movement, cannot be dissociated; each may operate as a cause or effect of the other, although not necessarily so, since there may be different causal factors involved. Specialized institutions devoted to commercial, industrial, religious,

1. In some ways the term DECONCENTRATION might be more applicable to the process which we are about to describe, but since "decentralization" as a concept has been rather widely used we shall employ it in our discussion.

2. Weber, Adna F., *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century.*

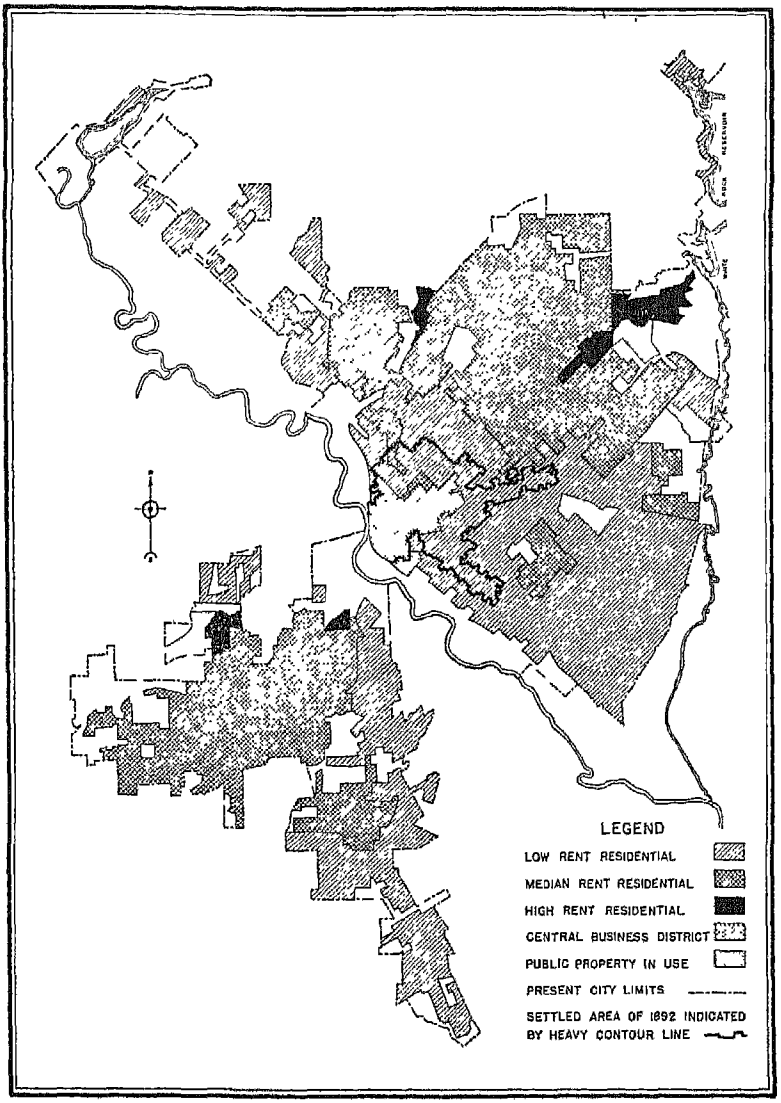


FIG. VIII. Territorial expansion of Dallas, Texas, from 1892 to 1934. Heavy contour line indicates settled area at first date. (Courtesy Federal Housing Administration)

charitable, or recreational activities may shift to locations more favorable for the types of function they have to perform; or, if starting anew, may locate in areas considerably removed from the central zones which in the early days of metropolitanism represented a marked concentration of institutional activities. (FIG. VIII.)

As we have noted in the discussion of centralization, certain types of commercial institutions tend to thrive in the central business district while others, specializing in convenience goods, tend to locate in or near the residential districts. As the population has shifted outward, secondary shopping centers have sprung up in these areas to serve the needs of the local residents. While we are not implying that these outlying subcenters are themselves necessarily examples of decentralization, they are omnipresent characteristics of areas that do exist as a result of the decentralizing process. Commercial subcenters are expressions both of centralization and decentralization.

INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALIZATION. Students of the city have tended to associate industry as well as business with the decentralizing process. One of the most comprehensive reports available of the movement of industry is to be found in the *Regional Survey of New York City and Its Environs*.[3] According to this report, the increase of factory workers on Manhattan Island (including light as well as heavy industries) was 44.8 per cent between 1900 and 1922, while the increase in factory operatives for the rest of New York City and its immediate environs was 114 per cent.[4] This is significant in view of the fact that the population for the entire area increased, between 1900 and 1920, 66.8 per cent. Of course it must not be assumed that all industries located near or beyond the periphery of a city have moved there from the inner zones. New industries springing up may locate in these peripheral areas if for no other reason than that competition for space in the central zones is so keen and land values so high as to make survival under such conditions a matter of doubt. Furthermore, zoning regulations frequently forbid the location of certain types of

3. Vol. I (1927–29). 4. P. 33.

industrial establishments within the central portions of the city.

The centrifugal pull, however, is not the same for all types of industry. Available evidence indicates that heavy manufacturing industry is more highly decentralized than light manufacturing, which is frequently found around the edge of the central business district in what Burgess calls the zone of transition. The authors of the New York survey submit a list of characteristics of heavy industries which may offer a clue as to the reasons for the movement away from the congested central zones. They are: (1) comparatively large size, (2) time or service factor unimportant, (3) large ground area per person required, (4) nuisance features frequently present (odors, noise, fire hazards, and the like), (5) specialized buildings required, (6) serious problem of waste disposal, and (7) large quantities of fuel or water required. Since it is probable that these characteristics are common to all parts of the country, it is not surprising, then, to find located on the outskirts of the city, or at least at a considerable distance from the central business district, such industries as meat-packing, petroleum-refining, smelting, automobile-manufacturing and assembling plants, sugar-refining, lumber mills, flour mills, and the like.

Light manufacturing industries, on the other hand, have not been affected so profoundly by the centrifugal trends. The New York survey reports the following characteristics of this type of industry, which, as in the case of heavy industry, indicate some of the reasons for the peculiarities of distribution. They include: (1) no specialized type of buildings required, (2) time or service factor an important element, (3) specialized, unstandardized, highly skilled work, (4) small ground area per worker required, (5) obsolete buildings suitable, (6) comparatively small scale, (7) close contact with the market required, (8) highly seasonal, fluctuating labor force, and (9) importance of style factor. Such enterprises as garment-making, printing, photoengraving, and the manufacturing of jewelry, candy, cigars, technical instruments, and cosmetics are usually located in fairly close proximity to the central business area.

As the report of the National Resources Committee points out, the factor of competition has been important in the relocation of industries.[5] Industrial establishments shifting from the center to the peripheral or suburban zones of the city may gain competitive advantages through the reduction of time and cost in transportation, through freedom from collective bargaining or from tax payments, through avoidance of regulations imposed by the city proper, or as a result of lower land values. This movement may be of definite advantage both to the community and the industry, since greater freedom of competition may result in added prosperity for the industry and therefore for the community. Furthermore, the removal of the industry to outlying zones may relieve much of the congestion in the central areas. The movement, however, may not be an unmixed blessing: If the industry moves beyond the political boundaries of the metropolis, the central city may suffer a heavy loss of tax revenue. Indeed the city may continue to render certain public services to the industry without receiving anything like a proportionate return in revenue.

Recent ecological trends in industry have afforded the basis for predictions that industrial decentralization would continue far into the hinterlands, thereby making possible a greater decentralization of population and consequently more desirable living and working conditions for those dependent on industrial activities. Certain imaginative enthusiasts have foreseen the time when industrial plants would be scattered throughout the countryside in smaller towns and cities, the result being, in their opinion, a more balanced economy for the nation as a whole, greater prosperity for the particular industry, and security and happiness for the individual worker. Available data on the trends in industrial relocation, however, offer little support for so optimistic a view. In a study of industrial decentralization based on employment data of the Bureau of the Census from 1899 to 1933, Creamer came to the conclusion that the centrifugal shift of industry has been mainly to the peripheral zones of the industrial cities rather than to out-

5. *Our Cities*, pp. 38–39.

lying regional hinterlands.[6] It is doubtful, he says, if cheap electricity will be an important factor in attracting industry to the countryside, since power costs for most industries are not large enough to be a determining factor in their location. He notes, however, that industrial "diffusion," that is, the type of decentralization manifest in "the development of counties of only moderate industrial concentration which do not contain a large city, and are not contiguous to the metropolitan centers," has been pronounced among the 200 industrialized counties of the country, but that wide "dispersion" into small towns and cities has been limited largely to the textile industry and the boot-and-shoe industry. So far as future trends are concerned he believes it is "more reasonable to expect that the industrialized counties of the future may number 250 instead of 200 than to look for any wide dispersion of industry."

This point of view is confirmed by the report of the National Resources Committee in which it is shown that in 1933 more than one-third of the wage jobs of the country were located in the principal cities of the 33 "industrial areas," that about one-fifth of the jobs were to be found in the peripheral zones of these cities, while only one-fourth of the jobs were in the nonindustrial, nonurban sections.[7] "There is," the report states, "no evidence of a marked dispersion of industry from the cities into the country." Furthermore, the Committee is inclined to the view that the number of industrial relocations is decreasing, though movement from the central to the peripheral zones of the city is still significant.

Studies of the type discussed above are valuable in that they give us a general picture of trends in the spatial relocation of industry. In order to fill in the details of the picture a series of systematic studies of industrial decentralization in particular communities and by specific industries might be conducted. A complete locational history of each of the industrial establishments of a given area since, say, 1900 would enable us to piece out the pattern of in-

6. Creamer, Daniel B., *Is Industry Decentralizing?* (1935).
7. *Our Cities*, p. 38.

dustrial distribution by providing concrete materials on the extent and nature of decentralization.

DECENTRALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS. Religious institutions are responsive to the needs of the people whom they serve and upon whom they depend for their existence; consequently forces that tend to disturb the communal equilibrium through the decentralization of population frequently make it necessary for some churches to shift their location. In Kansas City, for example, the population has for a number of years been moving southward, away from the business district. Likewise, many of the churches in the city have moved in the same direction. Denominations that once flourished in or near the center of the city have moved away from their earlier habitat in the wake of their members who had already fled the area. In his study of St. Louis, Douglass found the same tendency.[8] The movement of the churches in that city has been consistently westward toward the newer residential districts, the direction of the general drift of population. One Protestant church experienced three "migrations" during the course of its history.[9] The increase in length of the moves of this church—four blocks in 1850, 12 blocks in 1890, and two and one-half miles in 1912—seems to characterize migrations of other churches in the expanding city. In Chicago, according to Kincheloe, many Jewish synagogues of the near West Side have moved out.[10] Leiffer also notes the same tendency among the Protestant churches in Des Moines, a smaller city included in his study.[11] In Minneapolis, Schmid observed that the trend has been "a retreat before the expanding business buildings and a pursuit of the retreating residential districts." [12]

As Douglass points out, there are three alternatives for a church in a growing city: first, to follow its members who have moved to a different part of the city; second, to remain in the same locality

8. Douglass, H. P., *The St. Louis Church Survey*, Ch. 3 (1924).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
10. Kincheloe, Samuel C., *The American City and Its Church*, p. 93 (1938).
11. Leiffer, Murray H., *City and Church in Transition*, pp. 132–135 (1938).
12. Schmid, Calvin F., *Social Saga of Two Cities*, p. 51 (1937).

and attempt to draw its old constituency from a greater distance; and third, to remain and attempt to attract a new constituency.[13] The majority of the churches, however, have followed the path of least resistance and deserted the inner zones of the city. Those that are left marooned in the areas of deterioration are frequently the smaller organizations or the gospel halls that attract the underprivileged classes. The larger organizations that have elected to remain in the center have greater difficulty in functioning than those that have been pulled outward in the natural expansion of the city. The higher rate of mobility of the population in the central areas of the city makes it increasingly difficult for the church to develop an effective organization.

Decentralization and Land Values. The centrifugal movement of population and institutions has tended to cause land values to rise in the peripheral areas of the city, though the changes in value have depended on the specific uses to which the land has been put or the character of its occupants. Undoubtedly part of the rise in land values in the outlying areas has been due to promotional activities of real estate agents. In general the increases in land values seem to have been much greater in the outlying portions of the city than in the central zones. Between 1921 and 1930 the value of land in the Loop district of Chicago increased in value only 6.7 per cent, but during the same period the area lying between the Chicago River and Racine Avenue on the near west side increased 32 per cent in value, while the values of land on Cicero Avenue on the western boundary of the city increased 889 per cent.[14] This was a period, however, of urban land inflation. During the depression years prices of land declined precipitously, probably no single section of the city escaping the deflationary trend. But the sharpest declines were undoubtedly in the undeveloped or partly developed peripheral areas that had been staked out by realtors and sold at fabulous prices to urbanites aspiring to own suburban homes.

13. Douglass, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
14. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 237.

THE SUBURBAN MOVEMENT. Urban decentralization of population and institutions has been an important factor in the development of satellite communities near the periphery of the city—suburban towns more or less independent but in many ways strikingly subordinate to the large city around which they have clustered.[15] From 1920 to 1930, 85 metropolitan districts in this country showed a population increase of 24.9 per cent; the central cities of these districts increased in population 19.4 per cent; while the areas outside the central cities—the suburban zones—had an increase of 39.2 per cent.[16] In 1920 the outlying areas constituted 27.8 per cent of the total population of the metropolitan districts; in 1930 the percentage had increased to 30.9. There are, of course, wide variations from city to city. The following data for ten cities indicate the differences in percentages of suburban population:

Table VII

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION OF 10 METROPOLITAN AREAS LIVING OUTSIDE BOUNDARIES OF THE CENTRAL CITIES IN 1930[17]

CITY	PERCENTAGE
Boston	66.2
Pittsburgh	65.6
Los Angeles	46.6
Cincinnati	40.6
St. Louis	36.1
Philadelphia	31.5
Detroit	25.5
Cleveland	24.6
Chicago	22.6
Milwaukee	22.2

Data showing the increase or decline of population in various parts of the city or in adjacent territory have been gathered by McKenzie for the report of the President's Committee on Social

15. The term SUBURB is derived from the Latin words *sub* (meaning *under*) and *urbs* (meaning *city*).

16. The U.S. Bureau of the Census included 93 cities in the metropolitan class in the 1930 census. Since only 85 were in this class in 1920, comparable data for 8 of the metropolitan districts are not available. In 1940, 92 cities were in the metropolitan class, one less than in 1930.

17. Adapted from census data in *Metropolitan Districts*, 1932.

Trends. In four cities he found that the central areas declined in population, while outlying zones, both within and outside the limits of the metropolis, showed increases, sometimes very pronounced. The following table, adapted from McKenzie, indicates these trends:

Table VIII

POPULATION CHANGE BY CONCENTRIC ZONES FROM CENTER OF CITY OUTWARD, 1910–1930, IN THREE CITIES[18]

	PER CENT CHANGE IN POPULATION	
CITY	1910–20	1920–30
New York	17	23
4-mile zones:		
I	−6	−25
II	25	31
III	79	77
IV	58	277
V	11	13
Adjacent Territory	27	34
Chicago	24	18
2-mile zones:		
I	−23	−21
II	1	−10
III	39	11
IV	76	34
V	77	52
Adjacent Territory	79	73
Cleveland	40	12
2-mile zones:		
I	0	−27
II	29	−4
III	116	49
IV	290	102
V	69	95
Adjacent Territory	140	115

The suburban trend varies quite noticeably in different sections of the country. Douglass indicates, by regions, the percentage of metropolitan population which in 1920 fell outside the central urban area: New England, 45; Middle Atlantic, 34; Southern,

18. McKenzie, R. D., "Metropolitan Communities," in *Recent Social Trends*, 1:464 (1933).

20; Western, 18; North Central, 16.5.[19] It is apparent from these figures that suburbanization is most pronounced in the sections that are highly urbanized, the New England and Middle Atlantic States. These sections contain not only the largest proportion of urban dwellers, but also some of the largest cities of the country.

Benton Mackaye presents an interesting interpretation of the two countermovements of population in urban centers.[20] The inflow of population to the cities has resulted in an increasing pressure within the region, thereby forcing or squeezing the population into finger-like projections beyond the periphery of the city. The inflow of population thus results in a backflow. Caught in the current flowing inward are the factory and office employees; in the rebound, moving back like the rising tidewaters caught in a dam, is the population in search of suburban homes, located in the regions tributary to the main streams of population. The greater the inward flow, the greater the pressure; the greater the pressure, the more marked is the backflow, the movement upward and outward. These backflowing tidewaters form the satellite towns and the suburbs that have sprung into existence *pari passu* with the increasing pressure of population in the metropolitan centers.

Although, as we have observed, suburban areas have grown more rapidly than the central cities, it must not be assumed that all of this growth can be explained in terms of the centrifugal movement of urban peoples. Indeed many persons moving to the city go directly to the suburban communities rather than to the larger metropolis; consequently they are hardly involved in the decentralization of population within the metropolitan district. A study of 3,890 families in Evanston, Illinois, for example, showed that 47 per cent came from Chicago, 7 per cent from communities just north of Evanston, and 46 per cent from other localities beyond the metropolitan district.[21] So far as this suburban community is concerned, then, slightly less than half of the population could

19. *The Suburban Trend*, p. 68 (1925).
20. Mackaye, Benton, *The New Exploration*, p. 86 (1928).
21. Hinman, A. G., "An Inventory of Housing in a Suburban City," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, 7: 171 (May, 1931).

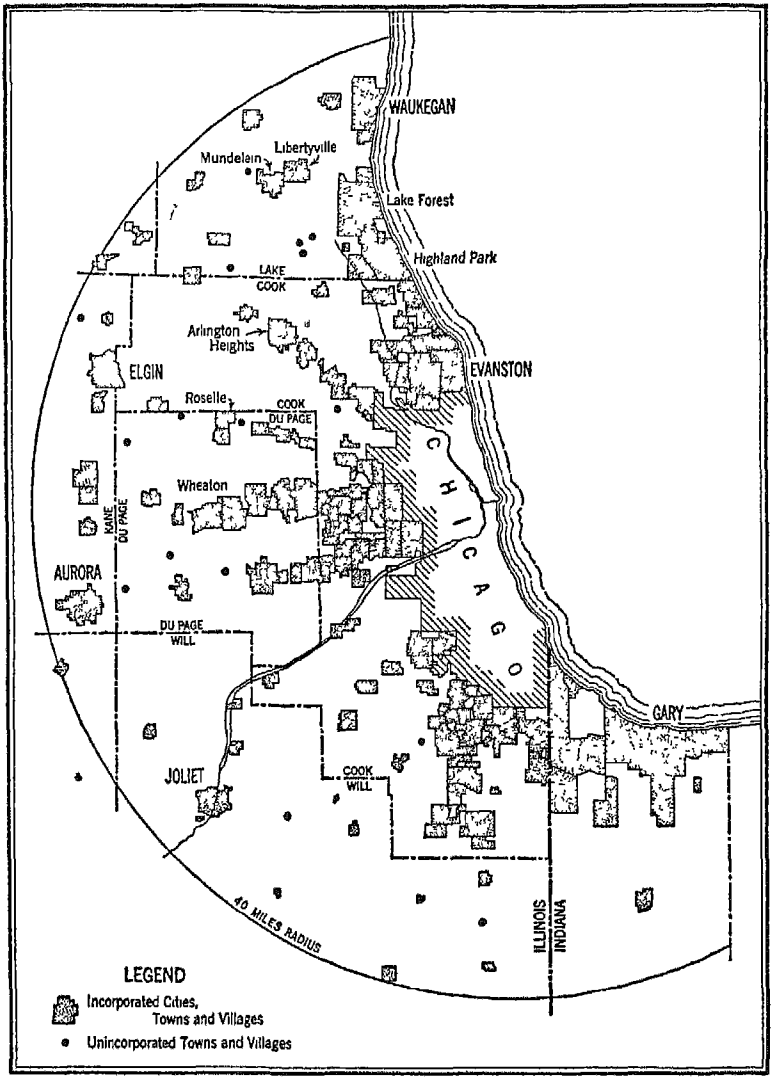


FIG. IX. The formation of chains or "strings" of suburbs in the region of Chicago. The tendency is for the metropolis to expand in star-like fashion. (Courtesy of the *Chicago Tribune*)

be accounted for in terms of decentralization. Since comparable studies of different types of suburban communities have not been made, there is no way of knowing if Evanston is typical in this respect. (FIG. IX.)

SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT IN RECENT YEARS. Although suburbs tended to grow more rapidly than core cities during the decade preceding 1940, the suburban population is nevertheless showing a much slower growth than in previous years. Numerous satellite communities which increased their population several fold during the 1920's had only modest increases in the following decade. Some of the suburbs are now actually declining in population. Just what factors are responsible for this change in the suburban trend is not altogether clear, but undoubtedly the declining birth rate has tended to affect suburban growth just as it has affected population change for the central cities. It is possible also that the centrifugal movement of population from the crowded urban centers has tended to slow down; the depression years probably witnessed the return of many suburban dwellers to the central zone of the metropolis. Another possibility is that the population has tended to flow into undeveloped and unincorporated areas on the fringe of the large cities, or into the highway colonies that line the main thoroughfares radiating out from all the great metropolitan communities of the country. But whatever the reasons, the days of suburban mushroom growth are apparently drawing to a close. The following is a list of representative suburbs and the rates of increase for the two decades, 1930–1940 and 1920–1930:

CITY	% INCREASE 1930–40	% INCREASE 1920–30
Miami Beach, Fla.	321.0	908.4
Clayton, Mo.	44.5	217.5
Glendale, Calif.	30.5	363.5
Wauwatosa, Wis.	26.0	264.3
Gary, Ind.	10.4	81.3
Royal Oak, Mich.	9.7	281.3
Hackensack, N.J.	6.8	39.1
West Orange, N.J.	4.8	56.2
West Allis, Wis.	4.3	152.2

CITY (*cont'd*)	% INCREASE 1930–40	% INCREASE 1920–30
Oak Park, Ill.	2.5	60.5
Maplewood, Mo.	1.4	70.3
Woonsocket, R.I.	−0.3	13.5
Malden, Mass.	−0.3	18.2
Pawtucket, R.I.	−2.2	20.1
Cicero, Ill.	−3.2	48.0
Elizabeth, N.J.	−4.5	19.6
Hamtramck, Mich.	−10.9	15.7
Bayonne, N.J.	−11.3	15.9

TYPES OF SUBURBS. There appear to be two major types of suburbs in American metropolitan areas, the suburb of production and the suburb of consumption.[22] As factories and other types of industrial organizations are crowded out of urban areas because of their inability to compete with other economic enterprises for space, they tend to locate in suburban districts and attract the necessary workers to them. Frequently residential colonies of workers develop near the industry in which they are employed, as in the case of the residential district of steel-workers near the steel mills in Gary, just south of Chicago. These suburbs are primarily areas of production, and are usually less dependent upon the metropolis than are suburbs that exist only as "bedroom" towns. Since the inhabitants of the industrial suburbs are mainly persons gainfully employed in the industries that hover near the gates of the city, there is relatively little commuting to the central area. As a result, these satellites tend to take on more of the characteristics of self-sufficing communities; persons are born there, receive their schooling in suburban schools, find employment in the suburban industries, and perhaps even live to old age without ever completely identifying themselves with the metropolis which is so near them.

The suburbs of consumption present a contrasting picture to that of the industrial suburbs. Both are, to be sure, residential suburbs, but while the residents of the industrialized towns earn their livelihood in or near their own community, with the result that there is a low rate of fluidity, the inhabitants of the suburbs of consump-

22. Douglass, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–86.

tion commute daily to and from the city, where they are employed or where they go to find amusement or pleasure. As the gainfully employed breadwinner departs early in the morning hours for the city, leaving behind the members of the family and others not employed in the metropolis, the area becomes, during the daytime, the domain of the "matricentric" family.

There seems to exist no particular uniformity in suburban pattern. On the contrary, there are numerous varieties, each suburban area being colored by the economic activities, the traditions, the sentiments, the folkways and mores of the population attached to it. There are suburban "gold coasts" that represent conspicuous wealth and social position; there are suburbs, drab and bleak and uninviting, that are haunted by poverty and destitution, areas in which the underprivileged, the weak, and the unfortunate eke out a sordid existence; there are suburbs populated by the socially unconventional and by segregated racial and cultural groups; suburbs of the aged, of the young, and of the middle-aged; suburbs in which males predominate in numbers and others which are predominantly female. Indeed, there is perhaps as much divergency and variety in these near-hinterland towns as there is in the city itself; and as each grows and expands it develops an individuality of its own, influenced by the type of industries and persons who move into it, and in turn influencing the personalities and social organization of those who take up residence within its boundaries.

SEGREGATION

THE PROCESS OF SEGREGATION. We have previously noted that the concepts of CONCENTRATION and CENTRALIZATION, while differing in their specific meanings, have reference to the assembling of people and institutions within a given area or region. But whereas concentration and centralization are characterized quite as much by the drawing together of *different* as well as *similar* units, SEGREGATION refers to the clustering in space of like persons or institutions. Individuals tend not only to gravitate to areas in which

they can compete more efficiently but to areas populated by others of similar race, culture, and economic status. So far as the individual is concerned, this segregation may be either voluntary or involuntary; but the fact remains that "birds of a feather flock together." It is almost axiomatic that individuals usually derive satisfaction from living and associating with others of their own kind; and even where they do not there is a likelihood they will be denied admission into the society of those who are different.

CAUSAL FACTORS IN SEGREGATION. There is nothing mysterious about the causal factors in segregation. So far as the economic basis of segregation is concerned, there is a tendency for each individual to select a residential area for which his income is adequate. A fifteen-dollar-a-week clerk may prefer to live on the Gold Coast, but quite obviously his income does not permit such luxury. Instead he is likely to occupy a kitchenette apartment or a modest room in a low-income area. Undoubtedly many immigrants are forced by economic necessity to live with other immigrants when their inclinations would be to move elsewhere. But there are psychological factors that also must be considered. If an individual finds association with others of his own racial or cultural group more satisfying to him, it is not only because of his attitudes toward his own group, but also of his attitudes toward outsiders—which unquestionably reflect the outsiders' attitudes toward him. Despised nationalities or races become aware of the prejudices against them and therefore avoid such contacts as might lead to derision, criticism, or discrimination. The logical recourse is to cast one's lot with others in the same situation.

NATURAL AREAS. As a consequence of this tendency of like individuals to become segregated in space the large city tends to become a sort of mosaic of little cultural or racial islands—areas, as Park has put it, which "touch each other but do not interpenetrate." These ecological clusters have been termed NATURAL AREAS because they are the results of a natural process rather than the products of a deliberate plan. Existing in a symbiotic relationship to other areas of the city, the natural area represents a type of

individual and collective adjustment the urban population has made to its social and geographic milieu. Products of competition and social selection, the areas become, then, relatively homogeneous, with a cultural or racial complexion that sets them off from other areas within the same community. Each area tends to select certain population types, this selection being based on economic status, racial characteristics, religious beliefs, moral codes, and the like.

In considering the concept of the natural area some writers have placed what seems to us to be undue emphasis on physiographic factors. Indeed Burgess goes so far as to say that "in the long run the movement and the distribution of nationality and other cultural groups in the city are determined by the natural units of its physical pattern." [23] While we quite agree that geographic conditions set limits upon the social interplay within a community, thereby profoundly influencing the formation of ecological patterns such as the natural area, it is quite another thing to say that the distribution of population is *determined* by geographical and physical factors. It is true, of course, that rivers, gulches, hills, swamps, lakes, and other topographic conditions, as well as streets, boulevards, railroad tracks, parks, and cemeteries, are always factors that operate to limit or restrict the distribution of population. Therefore it frequently happens that natural areas are also physiographically distinct, as in the case of Argentine, a Kansas City, Kansas, suburb which is bounded on the north side by the Kaw River and on the south by the precipitous river bluffs. But certainly not all natural areas can be so neatly delineated; in fact many social groups are ecologically segregated in space not because of any physical barriers but because of social distances that exist within the community. From our point of view, the natural area as a form of ecological patterning is primarily a social rather than a geographic phenomenon.

Since, as we have seen, segregation represents a natural tend-

23. Burgess, E. W., "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social Work in the Large City," *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work*, 1926, p. 510.

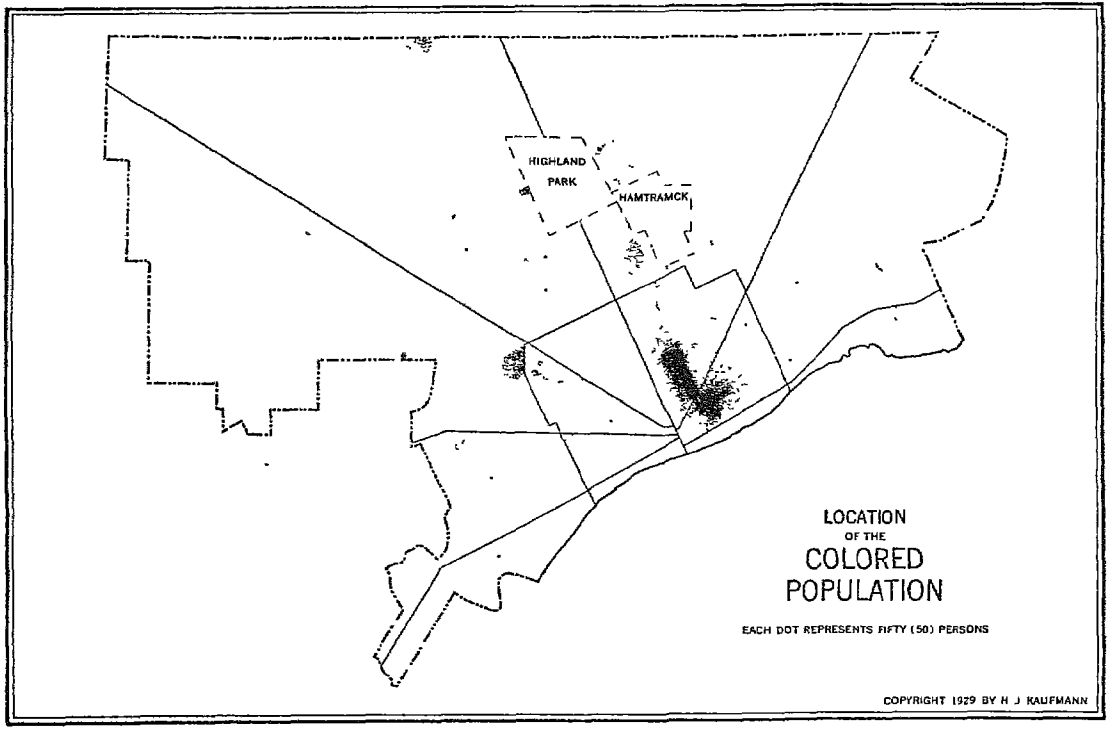
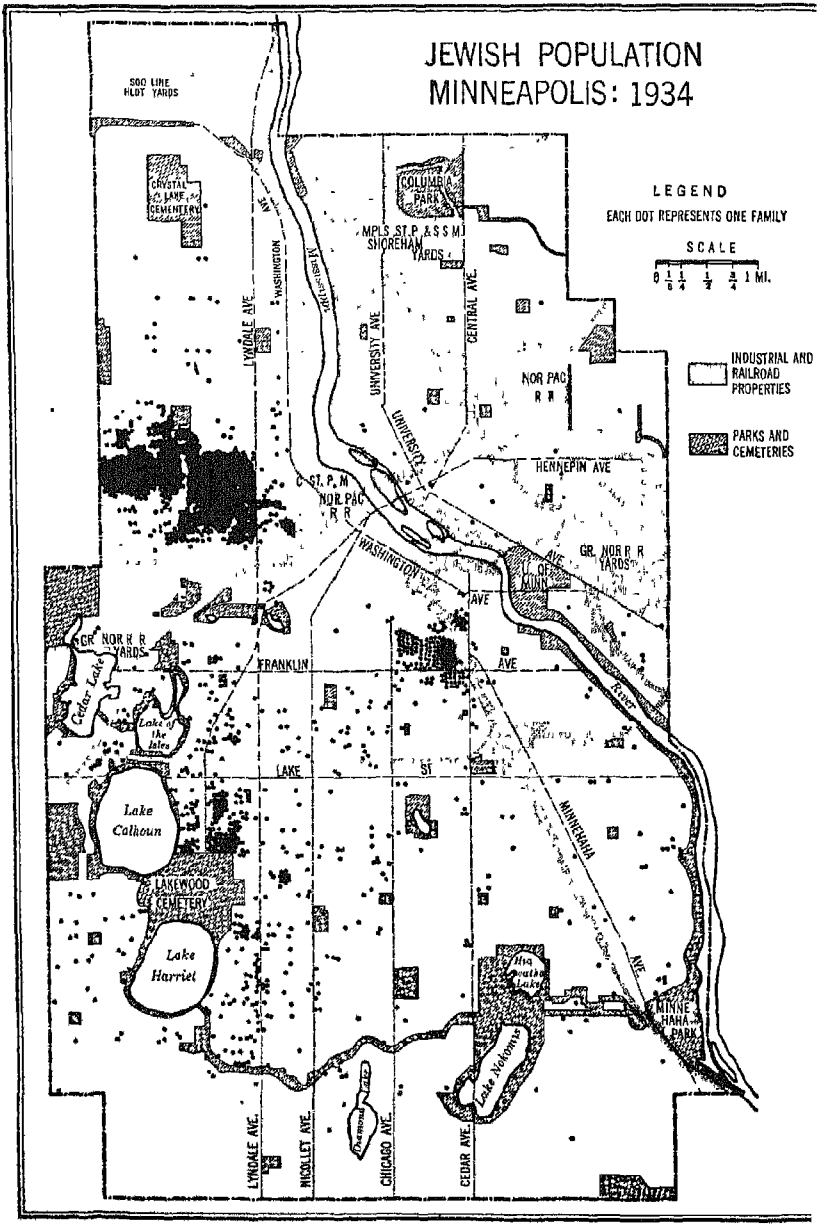


FIG. X. The segregation of Negroes in Detroit. The point at which the lines converge is the central business district.


JEWISH POPULATION
MINNEAPOLIS: 1934
LEGEND
EACH DOT REPRESENTS ONE FAMILY
SCALE
0 1/8 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 MI.
INDUSTRIAL AND RAILROAD PROPERTIES
PARKS AND CEMETERIES
SOO LINE HLDT YARDS
CRYSTAL LAKE CEMETERY
COLUMBIA PARK
MPLS ST P & S M SHOREHAM YARDS
LYNDALE AVE
WASHINGTON AVE
MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY AVE
CENTRAL AVE
NOR PAC R R
HENNEPIN AVE
C ST P M NOR PAC R R
GR NOR R R YARDS
U OF MINN
FRANKLIN AVE
Cedar Lake
Lake of the Isles
LAKE ST
Lake Calhoun
LAKEWOOD CEMETERY
Lake Harriet
MINNEHAHA
Hiawatha Lake
Lake Nokomis
MINNEHAHA PARK
Diamond Lake
MICOLLET AVE
CHICAGO AVE
CEDAR AVE

ency of folk with certain similarities to congregate in space, thereby separating themselves from others who are different in these respects, the formation of natural areas is inevitable so long as heterogeneous elements are found in urban society. It indicates, in brief, a way of life, characteristic both of rural and urban areas but particularly noticeable in the city. But neither the natural areas themselves nor the processes which produce them remain constant; changing human relationships are continuously altering the character of segregation. (FIG. X.)

As the foreign-born population becomes assimilated into the culture of this country, there will be a tendency for the children or grandchildren of this group to lose their identity with the areas in which their forebears lived. Unless the bars of immigration are again lowered—as does not appear likely at present—many of the so-called immigrant colonies will eventually disappear. But perhaps not all of them. Oriental immigrants to American cities—Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Filipinos, Koreans—show little tendency to escape from the segregated areas in which they live. Indeed in some cities these immigrant groups have developed a fairly complete and apparently satisfactory communal life within the structure of the larger community. European immigrants, on the other hand, have shown a tendency to break away from the segregated colonies after they have become assimilated and gained an economic foothold. Accordingly, many of them move away from the original area of occupancy to a second area of settlement and perhaps later to a third area even farther removed from the initial place of entry. But even with the assimilation of the foreign-born, social differentiation will manifest itself in other ways—through differences in religion, occupation, education, income, so that segregation on these bases may become just as significant in the ecological patterning of the community as differences in language and customs are now. (FIG. XI.)

INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF SEGREGATION. The discussion so far has had reference mainly to residential segregation, but it must be noted also that the process has its institutional aspects. Even casual

observers are probably aware of the tendency of certain economic establishments to locate in an area next to others of their own kind. As a result of this clustering, whole areas come to take on a peculiar complexion that sets them apart from other areas. There are streets and even entire blocks devoted to the automobile trade, together with other concerns that live, in dependent fashion, on the automobile business. There are financial districts, such as Wall Street in New York and LaSalle Street in Chicago, in which are located chiefly banking, brokerage, and similar businesses. There are districts in which are concentrated the theaters of the city and other concerns, such as restaurants and cabarets, that thrive on the patronage of theater-goers. The commercialist who asserts his economic independence by moving to a section of the city unfrequented by competitors may find that he is unable to keep pace with the establishments that stay in the segregated areas. What is true of certain commercial enterprises may be true also of individual specialists: physicians may strive to get as close to other physicians as possible by renting office space in a professional building; lawyers may seek offices in buildings housing other lawyers so that they may feed, as it were, off the same table—or out of the same trough!

As McKenzie has observed, there has been a tendency toward the building's as well as the street's becoming the unit for certain types of institutional segregation. "The tall building is like the old specialized street, stood on end." [24] Many of the buildings, as well as the streets, house complementary types of enterprises. Thus the Chicago Merchandise Mart, with a ground floor space of 200,000 square feet but with four-million square feet of rentable space available, houses more than a thousand wholesaling, manufacturing, and advertising firms. If these firms were scattered along the specialized street they would undoubtedly occupy many linear miles of space. The skyscraper office building, the professional building, and the skyscraper apartment are the modern versions of the old specialized streets.

24. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 224.

ARE NATURAL AREAS ALSO COMMUNITIES? Before this question can be answered, we shall first have to offer a definition of community. By COMMUNITY we mean a group of people who live in fairly close physical proximity to each other and who maintain and are served by a common set of institutions. Numerous writers have used the two terms interchangeably, particularly in describing ethnic or racial areas. In fact, says Park, "every natural area has, or tends to have, its own peculiar traditions, customs, conventions, standards of decency and propriety, and, if not a language of its own, at least a universe of discourse, in which words and acts have a meaning which is appreciably different for each local community." [25] By implication, at least, he makes the two terms synonymous. Wirth's analysis of the ghetto, Queen's studies of ethnic areas in St. Louis, Frazier's study of Negro areas, and Zorbaugh's description of the Near North Side in Chicago would indicate that ethnic and racial areas also take on the characteristics of a community. Frazier's studies of the ecological patterning of Negro areas in Chicago and New York City are particularly significant.[26] He found that while both areas assumed the characteristics of a community, they showed pronounced differences in certain respects. In Chicago the Negro area was dominated almost entirely by the ecological organization of the city; if it could be called a community it was certainly dependent on the larger community in many ways. The Harlem area in New York, on the other hand, "has shown a large measure of autonomy in its growth" and "has assumed the patterns of a self-contained city."

It is doubtful, however, if all types of natural areas could be classified as communities. Certainly the "hobohemias" of the great city are natural areas; yet so atomized are the relationships between the members of the "floating fraternity" that community life can scarcely be said to exist except in so far as it is superimposed

25. Park, R. E., "Sociology," in *Research in the Social Sciences*, edited by Wilson Gee, p. 36 (1929).

26. Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932). See also his "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43: 72–88 (July, 1937).

on the area by interested persons or groups from the outside. In the case of natural areas arising from economic factors, community organization may or may not develop, depending on the actual situation, particularly on the relations of the residents with the institutions of the larger community. Perhaps in most areas there are at least the beginnings of communal institutions even though there may never be a flowering of institutional life. Queen and Thomas point out that during the depression even the stranded and dispossessed population occupying the "Hoovervilles" set about to develop certain types of institutionalized communal controls.[27]

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Select an urban community and study the decentralization of industry in the area. What types of industries have tended to become decentralized? Trace the moves of a few industries over the past 50 or 75 years. Is industrial decentralization slowing down or becoming accelerated?

2. Study a suburban community from the standpoint of (1) its relationship to the central city, (2) its chief economic functions, (3) the character and composition of population, (4) the nature of its social, political, and economic institutions, and (5) the patterns of population and institutional distribution. Wherein does it differ from the central city and from other suburbs of the same region?

3. Compare the rates of growth of a selected metropolis with the rates for each of the satellite communities within, say, a 50-mile radius. How do you explain the differences in rates of growth (or decline)?

4. Compare the changes in land values of the central district of a large city with those in outlying areas. Has decentralization of population or institutions been a factor in these rates of change?

5. What are some of the economic problems of the central city that have been created by the decentralization of population and institutions?

6. Construct maps showing the segregation of population in a selected community on the basis of race, nationality, and economic status.

7. What changes are taking place in these NATURAL AREAS and what are the factors responsible for the changes?

8. Are the natural areas in your city also communities?

27. *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–305. The authors refer to the Hoovervilles as neighborhoods rather than as communities.

9. Find instances of enforced segregation in urban communities. Is segregation in your community entirely a voluntary process?

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8

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF THE CITY (CONT.)

INVASION AND SUCCESSION AS ECOLOGICAL PROCESSES. Students of plant ecology have found that plant communities undergo a process of displacement by other plants of different species. This displacement tends to take place in a sort of cyclical fashion, depending usually upon a number of factors, including climatic conditions, soil and topography, and the natures of the different species. In human society the process is much the same. In a social organization where there is a relatively high rate of mobility and where competition is not only economic but cultural as well, groups of varying economic and cultural levels tend to displace each other, to change their ecological position, as a result of competition and conflict.

Ordinarily the process of invasion is manifest when a group of inferior economic or cultural status moves into an area occupied by a group possessing superior status, gradually taking over the district and changing its "complexion" to match the culture of the invading element. However, the process does not always take the form of a displacement of a "superior" by an "inferior" group; ofttimes the reverse is true, the group occupying a superior position moving into a segregated area inhabited by persons of lower social and economic levels, thereby changing the outward appearances of the district.

TYPES OF INVASION. Invasions may be of two kinds: the movement of one type of population into an area occupied by another type—RESIDENTIAL INVASION; and the movement of certain institutions (commonly commercial and industrial) into areas that have previously been put to a different use—INSTITUTIONAL INVASION. Either type may occur without the other, but not infrequently the two

types take place concurrently, or one may immediately follow the other, as in the case of an industrial invasion being followed by residential changes of people who locate near the industries in order to be conveniently near the place of work.

While residential invasion always involves individual movement, the concept does not refer so much to the shiftings of individuals as to the movements of relatively large population groupings. Obviously such a movement is not the concerted action of a group; but as a result of numerous shiftings of individuals and families covering, usually, a considerable period of time, a group movement may be said to occur. Yet it is hardly as simple as this, for there are unquestionably numerous shiftings that run counter to the general direction of the prevailing migration.

General Movements of People. General movements of population are apparent in almost every city. In Kansas City the general shift of the population is southward, owing partly, no doubt, to the topographic features of the area. The Missouri River, forming the northern boundary of the city, is a natural barrier; and although a part of the population has hurdled the river, establishing a residential and industrial suburb in the flat bottoms to the north, the main movement has been toward the south, where excellent residential sites are to be found. In Chicago the lake constitutes a barrier to eastern expansion of the city; consequently population has been forced to move in other directions. These movements have taken place, principally, along or near main avenues of transportation. Immigrant groups, differing radically in culture and economic status, have moved out along these axial lines, displacing other groups, who in turn have continued this outward trend.

It frequently happens that an invading group is characterized more by its economic inferiority than by any racial or cultural traits. On Quality Hill, in Kansas City, Missouri, palatial residences of brick and brown stone are mute evidence of the halcyon days of the area before the general exodus of the socially elite. With the expansion of the central business district and invasion of light industry, accompanied by the influx of workers and transients, the original

occupants, alarmed at the intrusion of the newcomers with lower wages and lower standards of living, and repelled by the approach of industry, began their movement to the southern sections of the city. The old residents were prosperous burghers and professional folk; the newcomers were from the slums or the villages and farms of the Middle West. Whether the actual recession began before the invaders entered the area, or whether the recessive and invading movements took place simultaneously, we do not know; but the fact remains that the original population has been almost completely displaced save for a few persons who apparently have clung to the area for sentimental reasons. The Hill, once the choice residential district of the city, is now a rooming-house area, populated for the most part by transient lodgers and factory workers, shop girls and day laborers. The grand structures have become monuments to a far-reaching metamorphosis that has taken place; and the ever-present "room for rent" signs in the windows of the homes, now converted to rooming houses, are symbols of the ecological expansion of a growing city.

In general it appears that the centrifugal movement of population in the American metropolis is associated with increase in income as well as with the assimilation of immigrants into the culture of the larger society. Each change means new adjustments, with the result that many of the old folkways and customs are either materially altered or discarded completely for new practices. Cressey has used an ingenious method to indicate the distance cultural and racial groups have shifted in the city of Chicago.[1] By computing the median distance from the center of the city of specific population groups in 1898 and again in 1930 he was able to compare the extent of the centrifugal movement of the several groups. Since it is generally known that north European groups are more thoroughly assimilated than people from southern Europe, it would appear that the distance in 1930 from the center of the city would be a fairly good index of the degree to which the group has been assimilated. The following figures have been compiled from Cressey's data:

1. Cressey, Paul F., "Population Succession in Chicago, 1898–1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 59–69 (July, 1938).

Table IX

MEDIAN DISTANCE IN MILES FROM CENTER OF CITY OF NINE RACIAL OR NATIONALITY GROUPS IN CHICAGO, 1898 AND 1930

RACIAL OR NATIONALITY GROUP	1898	1930
Swedes	3.9	7
Old American Stock (white)	4.7	6.6
Irish	3.2	6.4
Germans	3.2	5.7
Czechoslovaks	2.7	5.3
Russians	1.6	4.8
Poles	2.8	4.6
Negroes	2.5	4.5
Italians	1.5	3.3

Just how many moves are made during the complete life history of a cultural or racial group would probably depend on the specific life conditions, including the level of living, major types of occupation followed, status of the group in the community, attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, congestion within the area, effectiveness of existing social institutions, and size, ecological organization, and topographic features of the city as a whole. Since each group lives under a unique set of social conditions and is therefore subject to a distinct set of influences, it is hardly possible to generalize on the frequency of moves. About all we know is that both Old World immigrants and rural migrants have tended to locate in the areas of deterioration near the central business district or else in industrialized areas near the periphery of the city, that as their economic status has risen they have tended to migrate to better residential sections, and that as successive migrations have taken place there has been a tendency for the segregated areas to disappear and the given population to become more widely scattered throughout the larger community. Since the assimilative process does not erase the distinguishing marks of race, so-called racial communities such as the "black belts" and the Chinatowns tend to retain their solidarity or at least their distinctiveness irrespective of what happens to the individual members.

Institutional Invasion. It is a common observation that the territory immediately surrounding the central business zone in a

growing city is in a process of change; land, used for residential or storage purposes, may be taken over, as the city expands, and used for commercial purposes. In other words, the area is in the way of being invaded by business. As the city grows and the business center presses farther and farther out, claiming the land once used for other purposes, land values rise far out of proportion to the value of the physical equipment of the area. Since the land is held primarily for its prospective appreciation in value, the buildings are often left unimproved, rents are lowered to attract temporary occupants, and the entire area takes on a character of disintegration until, finally, the process is complete and the district becomes identified with business and commercial activities. In this case the area of disorganization is not abolished but merely pushed farther out beyond the bounds of the expanding business section. In the growing city business frequently invades the area of light manufacturing, with the result that industrial enterprises are forced into another area.

But the central business districts of some cities are no longer expanding, and the time is probably near when the centralized commercial areas of most communities will either remain territorially stationary or else decline in size. The invasion by business or light industry of the adjoining areas will then cease. Land values that have been inflated in anticipation of a more intensive use by business or industry will likely decline, and the blight that is already so conspicuous in these zones will probably deepen unless collective efforts are made toward the reconstruction of the areas.

Invasion of an area by a given population type is of course something more than a movement of individuals or groups; it involves also the movement of culture traits and complexes—customs, traditions, folkways, institutions. Since human beings are invariably carriers of culture, every change of habitat has its counterpart in the spatial movement of certain cultural segments. However, population movement tends to precede certain types of social institutions, and it is usually not until a considerable number of invaders have become established in an area that institutions are brought in to meet their needs. Gibbard observed that in one Detroit area invaded by

Negroes the first commercial establishments were a shoe repair shop and a moving and transfer service.[2] The first institution catering exclusively to Negroes was a drug store, which in this district preceded by two years the establishment of a grocery store. Three years after the grocery store was started a barber shop opened. About the time the grocery store was opened a Methodist church entered the area. Later other churches moved in. As Gibbard notes, however, the group representing the invading minority does not usually patronize exclusively the institutions maintained by members of the group unless they are barred from patronizing other establishments.

Factors Initiating Invasions. Since population and institutional movements represent the spatial aspects of social relationships which in an urban society are extremely complex, it is reasonable to assume that numerous factors and conditions are associated with the invasion process, some functioning causally and others exerting a limiting influence. In both residential and institutional invasion, the struggle for a more advantageous position is a basic factor. But the immediate conditions or situations contributing to the invasion may vary from one locality to another, and the response to the existing situations may and does depend on the culture patterns of a given group—on the attitudes and values which the members of that group have acquired in their previous experiences. Cressey mentions ten conditions which he believes may be associated with the invasion process. They are: "(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." [3] Gibbard offers a somewhat more satisfactory analysis of the factors that tend to initiate invasions. They are: "(1) change in the size of the population aggregate in the

2. Gibbard, Harold, *Residential Succession: A Study in Human Ecology*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, pp. 206–207 (1938).

3. Cressey, Paul F., *The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago (1930).

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." [4]

SERIES OF INVASIONS IN A SINGLE AREA. A single urban area may witness a series of invasions within a relatively short period of time. The Near West Side of Chicago, for example, has been populated by a succession of racial and cultural groups, one group following on the heels of another. The district was settled first by the Bohemians, but when the Jews began to crowd into the area after the Chicago fire the original occupants, accustomed to spacious surroundings, forsook the region for more desirable quarters.[5] With the egress of the Czechs went also the Irish, who had occupied a portion of the area. But the Jewish residents had hardly become firmly intrenched in their new homes when the Italian invasion came. Between 1910 and 1918 more than half of the Jewish population, their security and status threatened by the ingress of a people with a different cultural background and a lower standard of living, moved to other parts of the city. The influx of hordes of Negroes into the area proved an added stimulus to the Jewish exodus. A considerable portion of the area that was once in the heart of the ghetto has become the "black belt" of Chicago, and with this change has gone all but a mere remnant of the culture of an alien people who had selected this site as their abode. In this area a large structure, once used by the Jews as a synagogue, has been transformed into a Negro Protestant church—a symbol of the far-reaching changes that have taken place. What the next invasion of this area will bring is conjectural.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 227.
5. Krout, Maurice H., "A Community in Flux," *Social Forces*, 5:273–282 (December, 1926).

RATE OF DISPLACEMENT A VARIABLE. The rate or speed of displacement is by no means uniform in any part of the city, nor is there, apparently, any uniformity as to the time involved in the process of invasion and succession for any particular group, except that the process tends to be accelerated whenever deep-seated prejudices and animosities are already present. In American cities there is a more violent reaction against Negroes and Orientals, due to certain fundamental social attitudes already existing, than there is against European groups similar to native Americans in race and culture. As a result of this antagonism and sharp resentment, the ingress and the egress, the movements in and out of the area, are apt to take place more quickly than when the invaders represent a culture and a race similar to those of the original occupants and against whom there is little or no prejudice. Sometimes the occupants stubbornly refuse to give way in the face of the advances of the invaders. The Irish, for example, have succcessfully resisted the encroachments of Negroes: no instance of the complete displacement by Negroes of an Irish community has been noted.[6] On the other hand, the Jews in Northern cities have given way easily to the influx of Negroes, and in cities like Chicago and New York large areas once occupied by a Jewish population have been taken over and transformed into "black belts." In contrast to the Irish groups the Italians offer little resistance to the invasion of Negroes. Negro and Italian districts are frequently found contiguous to each other, and occasionally the same area is populated by Italians and Negroes.

CONTIGUOUS AND NONCONTIGUOUS EXPANSION. In some instances a group may move into an area immediately adjacent to the one it has previously occupied; at other times the group may move into a district considerably removed from the place of original occupancy. Gibbard uses the term "contiguous expansion" for the first type of invasion, and "noncontiguous expansion" for the second type.[7] Residents of an area adjacent to segregated districts are likely to

6. Burgess, E. W., "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 140: 112 (November, 1928).

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

be apprehensive about an invasion from the immediate vicinity and may therefore attempt to prevent any encroachments on what they consider their rightful domain. Partly because the opportunities for movement into adjacent areas are thus limited, groups may be virtually forced to move into more remote districts. Students of the city have observed the tendency of certain immigrant or cultural groups to establish second- or third-generation settlements, each spatially removed from the area occupied by the original members of the group. Such noncontiguous expansion, as Gibbard observes, may reflect economic and social differentiation within the group, and may in turn be a factor in the assimilation and perhaps amalgamation of the members.

Stages of Group Invasion. Several efforts have been made to identify the different stages in the invasion-succession cycle. Burgess identifies four stages, including the initial movement into the area, the reaction on the part of the occupants, the general influx of newcomers, and the climax or period of complete displacement.[8] McKenzie limits the stages to three, namely, the initial stage, the secondary or development stage, and the climax stage.[9] On the other hand, Gibbard concluded from his study of Detroit that the invasion cycle was characterized by five stages, including invasion, resistance, exodus, re-integration of the area, and re-equilibrium. He notes, however, that not all residential invasions go through the complete cycle; that the sequential stages which he presents are something of an "ideal" scheme. Although differing in certain respects, these three theoretical schemes are essentially alike: the differences that do exist are probably due to the fact that the invasion process may vary in differing communities or among different population types. In the following discussion we shall follow essentially the four-stage scheme postulated by Burgess.

a. *The Initial Stage.* The initial stage is characterized by the movement of a small number of individuals or families into an area.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

9. McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City*, by Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, p. 75.

Frequently, though not always, this movement passes unnoticed by the original occupants. If the cultural and racial differences between the old residents and the newcomers are not great a considerable penetration may take place before the occupants are aware of it, or at least before there is a marked reaction to the invasion. Sometimes the first newcomers take special precautions to conceal their racial or cultural identity, thereby postponing the time when a reaction will set in against them. Most invasions start slowly, gaining momentum as time passes. In Detroit Gibbard noted that at least two or three years elapsed before a Negro invasion reached significant proportions, and in one area of that city it took about ten years for a nucleus of Negroes to become established.[10]

In the case of Negro invasions in Detroit there seems to be a tendency for the first newcomers to represent a higher social and economic status than the majority of their group.[11] Their presence in an area gives the locality a certain prestige and therefore tends to attract other Negroes who may be on a slightly lower level but who nevertheless aspire to associate with the more successful members of the race. As the movement into the area continues, the social and economic status of the incoming group tends to be lowered. Whether this is true of Negro invasions in other cities we do not know; nor do we have any evidence that this pattern is characteristic of the invasions of other population types.

b. *The Reaction.* Once the original occupants are aware of the invasion, a reaction may set in against the newcomers. The intensity of this reaction may be determined by a number of conditions, including the prevailing attitudes toward the invaders, the cultural or racial characteristics by which the newcomers may be identified, the degree of community or neighborhood solidarity existing among the older residents, and the extent to which the occupants are socially rooted by virtue of home ownership, acceptance of community traditions, or interest in community welfare. Almost always a Negro invasion is resented from the outset by white occupants, though the intensity of such resentment will vary from one cultural and eco-

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 178. 11. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

nomic group to another. An invasion of Jews, Poles, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and other cultural groups is often opposed, but if the first newcomers occupy a social and economic position comparable to that of the residents, little attention may be paid to the new arrivals. Indeed they may be accepted into the neighborhood or community life. This seems to indicate that the invaders may be opposed not so much as individuals but as members of a class which has been assigned an inferior status.[12]

Various methods may be employed to block an invasion, once it has started, or to avoid the possibility of an invasion occurring. One common device is the neighborhood association. These organizations, commonly called "protective associations," "civic associations," or "improvement associations," may have numerous functions, but one important function is likely to be the exclusion of individuals representing unwanted racial, cultural, or economic groups. As members of the neighborhood association, property owners enter into an agreement not to rent or sell to individuals who by specific designation are undesirable. In areas having a high percentage of home ownership and considerable *rapport* among the residents, such associations have proved to be more effective than in areas having a high population turnover. Such organizations, in fact, may not exist at all in a highly mobile area. In some states formal agreements between members of a neighborhood association have been declared invalid by the courts, but such restrictions are hardly applicable to "tacit" agreements by the property owners. Real estate companies also enter into agreements to protect certain areas against unwanted elements, but since such agencies do not ordinarily handle all the sales and rentals in a given district, they have been less effective than other forms of protection. A third method of protecting an area from outsiders, at least in slowing down the movement, is the erection of economic barriers through increasing prices charged for property. Gibbard observed that in one Detroit area the amounts Negroes paid for homes ranged from

12. Gibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

$1,000 to $3,250 more than the prices asked white persons, while in Chicago it has been estimated that the rentals increased from 20 to 50 per cent when Negroes moved into an area.[13] Similar increases have been reported in Buffalo and New York City, but whether this obtains in all cities we do not know.

The role of the social attitudes of antipathy and avoidance in speeding up the process of invasion is illustrated in the kaleidoscopic changes that occurred in the growth of Harlem, the Negro area of New York. This district of New York, once inhabited by whites, largely of Germanic stock, has been transformed into a colored area that houses the largest single aggregation of Negroes in the world. The original occupants have moved elsewhere, yet many of the physical characteristics of the old area still remain. Bercovici has told of the rapid metamorphosis of the area:

> The story of the passing of those houses into Negro hands is the story of Negro Harlem. Below the surface of that story is the story of the Negro migration from the South. When the 59th Street district around Seventh and Eighth Avenues was no longer able to hold the Negroes of the city, even after they had been sardine-packed, Harlem was in one of her periodical real estate slumps. The old-fashioned railroad flats, mostly dark and cold and uniformly built, were being vacated steadily for the better houses built in the Bronx and elsewhere. There was not a house but had several empty apartments. But the owners would not rent to Negroes. . . .
>
> In his eagerness to cover his carrying expenses, one of the shoestring landlords rented an apartment in the middle of the block to a mulatto family. By the end of the month the rest of the tenants living in that house had vacated their apartments. By the end of the following month the whole house was occupied by Negroes. They had been living packed four and five families in one apartment in the 59th Street Negro section before that. Tenants of houses adjoining, to right and left across the street, began to abandon the block. Before winter that whole block was a Negro block. And as the Negroes were not in a position to pay rents as high as the whites who had abandoned them, the houses were up for sale very soon. They passed into the hands of Negro owners and of such white owners as did not object to having Negro tenants,

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

expecting to increase their rents as soon as conditions permitted. In this respect the Negro owner has, like Emperor Jones, learned a thing or two from the white landlord.

The white population fled as if in dread of a contagious disease. Block after block was deserted by the white tenants. Negro realtors, seeing their chance, infiltrated in other blocks by buying a house and going in to live themselves. No one refused to sell. Dollars were dollars. Some of the strongest objectors to Negroes sold their houses. It was enough that one Negro family should come to live in a house for the whole block to be abandoned by them. And because of this invasion 138th and 139th Streets, and Seventh and Eighth Avenues, though distant from the steady biting in of the infiltering colored population, were being steadily abandoned. White people vacated in advance of the invasion. . . .[14]

Not infrequently invasions have been met with physical force or threats of mob violence. So far as we are aware, however, mob resistance to residential invasions in this country has been directed only against Negroes; opposition to whites has tended to take non-violent forms. Attempts have been made to drive out Negroes by blasting their homes, planting "pineapples" under their front porches, shooting through their doors or windows, threatening the newcomers with personal violence, and otherwise making life miserable for them. A study by Maurine Boie of social conflict arising from the invasion by Negroes of white territory in Minneapolis shows clearly the reactions associated with the movements of colored persons in one city. The following case is taken from the study:

In June of 1931, the owner of a bungalow house on the corner of — and — Streets moved out of the city leaving the disposal of his property to a real estate agent, Mr. Smith. The neighborhood is a "bungalow district." Most of the houses are reported to be occupied by the owners, who have invested their savings by building their own homes. There are isolated Negro families living within a few blocks of this particular house, but not within the immediate neighborhood. For some years the residents of this district have supported a community

14. Bercovici, Konrad, *Around the World in New York*, pp. 216–218 (1924). Reprinted by permission of Appleton-Century Company, New York, publishers.

improvement association, one purpose of which has been a mutual agreement not to rent or sell property to persons other than members of the Caucasian race. This agreement has been effected by contracts signed by property owners.

A Negro named Mr. Jones, a civil service employee and a World War veteran, was taken by Mr. Smith to look at the property. . . . Shortly afterwards, Mr. Jones signed a contract and made a down payment on the property. The neighbors observed the visit of Mr. Jones to the house and began to work out some method of inducing him not to occupy the house. After he had moved his family and possessions into the house, about June 25, the neighbors made various attempts to buy the property from him. To these offers Jones replied he did not buy the property to sell and that he intended to occupy it.

The next development was a series of demonstrations by the neighbors to show their displeasure, in the hope of inducing the family to move. Garbage and refuse of more unpleasant form were hurled on the lawn. Black paint was thrown on the house and garage. Signs were stuck on the premises reading, "We don't want niggers here"; "No niggers allowed in this neighborhood—this means you"; and the like. Mr. Jones took his case to a white attorney, who wrote letters to some of the neighbors, warning them against continuing these disturbances and advising them that if they continued, "steps would be taken which might prove expensive for them."

Small groups of neighbors began to go by in the evening, shouting jibes and taunts. July 8, about 9:30 P.M., Mr. Jones received an anonymous telephone call, advising him that a mob of 500 persons would storm their house that night, and warning them to get out. The matter was reported to the neighborhood police station and protection asked for. Frightened by these threats, friends of the family were called in and vigil maintained during the night.

These demonstrations continued, and by Saturday night of that week (July 11) the small groups of protesting neighbors had increased to a crowd of about one hundred fifty.

In the meantime, the colored American Legion Post, of which Mr. Jones is a member, took up the case and stated the annoyances to the city officials and asked for police protection. A conference of white and colored people was called. Each side stated its case. The whites were positive they wanted him out; the Negroes were positive he should not get out but have police protection. The meeting got nowhere.

After this unsuccessful conference, several hundred residents of the

neighborhood gathered for a noisy demonstration, irritated because they had no legal recourse and resentful of the attitude shown by the Negroes at the meeting (Tuesday evening). . . .

A mass meeting was called at the neighborhood school building, and conciliation was urged (by the civic leaders) . . . During the evening the crowd around the house had been increasing, augmented by curious spectators from all parts of the city, who were attracted by the newspaper reports and eager to see the show. The crowd grew so large and restless that a cordon of police was formed around the place. There was talk of burning the house; of killing and hanging the Negro.

The papers the next day again carried front page stories and that night a crowd of four thousand persons gathered. This was the third large demonstration. (Subsequently the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People entered the case, defended Mr. Jones' property rights, and the neighbors finally settled down to an acceptance of Jones as a neighbor; at least no further demonstrations occurred.) [15]

c. *The General Influx.* The third stage of the process is reached when the general influx takes place and is accompanied, or possibly preceded, by the rapid abandonment of the area by the original inhabitants. It is hardly correct, however, to say that the occupants are crowded out of the area; they go of their own volition, choosing to live in a different district rather than remaining and having as neighbors persons whom they dislike or consider inferior. Sometimes the dispersion of the occupants is motivated not by threatened invasions but by the desire to escape from an area that is already declining in attractiveness. Deterioration of the physical equipment, such as buildings or streets, or the development of industry in adjacent districts, may cause the area to decline in prestige as a residential section and therefore hasten the departure of the inhabitants. Their exodus creates a sort of social vacuum, and hard-pressed groups may immediately move into the vacated structures which are likely superior to the ones they have previously occupied. Thus, as Cressey points out, the usual sequence of invasion and dispersion may be

15. Boie, Maurine, *A Study of Conflict and Accommodation in Negro-White Relations in the Twin Cities Based on Documentary Sources*, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota (1932). Reproduced in Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (1937).

reversed, with dispersion preceding rather than following the influx into the area.[16]

d. *The Climax.* The final stage or "climax" takes place when complete displacement of the population has occurred. But the process involves something more than mere displacement of people; it involves also the social reorganization of the area. The receding group takes with it its own culture patterns, leaving behind, perhaps, certain physical properties that are immovable; the newcomers must perforce modify their own institutional structures to meet the needs of people living under a new set of conditions. Frequently these changes involve modifications of the family system, alteration of religious practices, and new forms of recreation and of earning a living. No doubt some of these changes, perhaps most of them, are not deliberately made but are rather the unplanned adjustments to new life-conditions. Cressey observes, for example, that among immigrants the patriarchal family system often gives way to a more democratic system, and religious orthodoxy is supplanted by more liberal forms of worship, when the group changes its ecological position.

SUCCESSION. The concept of SUCCESSION has reference to the stage of invasion in which displacement is complete or nearly so—the stage in which a different population type or a different set of institutions tends to predominate. Succession is therefore a part of the invasion process—the final stage or climax. Synagogues replace churches; churches replace synagogues, depending on which group is the invader and which is the invaded. Types of business change, just as types of occupants change. Only architectural survivals hark back to the cultural life of earlier residents. Bercovici notes such changes in his description of Syrian quarters in New York City:

> How people do transform the quarter they live in to suit their natural temperament and habits! These houses had all originally been occupied by good Dutch burghers a hundred years ago. It is not only age that has told on the houses, but also a different attitude of the

16. Cressey, Paul F., "Population Succession in Chicago, 1898–1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44:63 (July, 1938).

inhabitants toward them. The Dutch looked upon these places as homes, as permanent habitations for themselves and the future generations. The Syrian quite unconsciously considers every abode as a temporary housing tent. Successively these houses have been occupied by many nations. It was an Irish district not very long ago. Some Irish families of longshoremen still live there. Then the Italians followed, and were joined by a number of French families, Greeks, Armenians, always the late comers, and other Levantine folk from maritime ports, who settled upon their arrival here as near the Battery as possible—near the sea, to preserve a semblance of their habitats at home. Within these walls one occasionally sees traces of the different nationalities that have passed through. There is in one a wide wooden mantelpiece, Dutch as Dutch can be, made of the red pine which was so abundant near New York when these houses were built. In another house I have seen birds molded on the ceiling by some Italian inhabitant who passed on. A few French verses are carved with a knife on the door-sill of another house. From under the successive paints that have been applied on the walls protrudes the Gothic inscription of "God Save the King," painted in black letters.[17]

We have previously noted the social changes that occur during the course of the invasion process. For a while, at least, there is likely to be widespread social disorganization, depending, however, on the nature of the invasion. When complete succession occurs, the area may either continue in a state of disorganization or become stabilized, depending again on the character of the invasion process. Sometimes the incoming group sets up effective institutional controls, so that the area shows little evidence of serious disorganization; in other cases the invaders have not achieved a satisfactory adjustment to their new life-conditions and the area seems to be characterized more by its pathological character than anything else.

Invasions and Land Values. Invasions, whether residential or institutional, almost always affect the values of land, sometimes adversely, sometimes favorably. In turn land values may influence the movement of people and institutions. The influence on land values of an invasion by business, industry, or population group

17. Bercovici, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31. Reprinted by permission of Appleton-Century Company, New York, publishers.

depends on the particular situation. Commercial or industrial establishments may occasion an increase of land prices when they move into an area, though residential values may decline if the institutions detract from the attractiveness of the area as a place of residence. Undoubtedly much of the space surrounding the central business district is held at high prices in anticipation of a commercial expansion into the area, at which time the owners expect the land to increase greatly in value and therefore yield them a handsome profit. Where such expansion in the past has occurred profits have commonly been considerable.

In Chicago Hoyt found that the influence on land values of different racial and nationality groups was not the same.[18] Mexicans tended to have the most detrimental effect on land values, with Negroes next, and, in the order named, South Italians, Russian Jews, Greeks, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovakians, and North Italians. English, Germans, Scotch, Irish, and Scandinavians exerted the most favorable influence, as would be expected. Districts lying immediately adjacent to segregated areas occupied by low-income groups almost always reflect that fact in depressed land values. In certain districts deterioration sets in and land values begin to decline long before an invasion occurs. If the invaders occupy a low social position, their movement into the area undoubtedly tends to accelerate the downward trend of prices; but it is certain that the declining price level of land cannot always be attributed entirely to the invading group. In general the movement of all social classes in the city has been outward, with the invasions occurring as a part of this centrifugal flow. Threatened invasions by socially inferior groups have probably motivated many native-born white Americans to push outward to the peripheral zones, thereby indirectly contributing to the increase of land values in the outlying districts.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Trace the natural history of some well-defined area within a city to show the changes that have occurred in the use to which the

18. Hoyt, Homer, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, pp. 315–316.

land has been put and the types of population living in the district. Interpret these ecological changes as to (1) factors responsible for the changes, (2) approximate length of time in each cycle of succession, (3) the stages in each cycle, (4) the effect on land values of invasions, (5) the comparative rate of displacement in each invasion, and (6) the character of the economic institutions of the population groups invading the area.

2. Observe an area in which the inhabitants are in the process of being displaced by a different population group. To what extent has the invaded group offered resistance to the newcomers? What form has this resistance taken?

3. Find examples in your community of contiguous and noncontiguous expansion.

4. Visit an area in which the process of population displacement has been completed. What phases of the culture of the original occupants have been left behind?

5. Residential and institutional invasion may either occur together or separately. Discuss this statement, bringing out the relationships between the two phenomena.

6. Consult the literature of plant and animal ecologists on invasion, and compare their theories with those of the human ecologists. Should the human ecologists attempt to use the methods of investigation employed by the plant and animal ecologists? What makes their problem a different one in many respects?

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9

DISORGANIZED AREAS

LOCATION AND NATURE OF DISORGANIZED AREAS. If by SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION we mean the decrease of the influence of existing rules of behavior on individuals and groups, then there are areas within the city that show more disorganization than other portions of the same community. In previous chapters we have had occasion to refer to the AREA OF DETERIORATION, a disorganized belt lying adjacent to the central business district. Whether this spatial configuration is characteristic of all modern cities we do not know, but in our country probably all communities of metropolitan size, and certainly many smaller ones as well, manifest this peculiar pattern, albeit with numerous variations.

Because ecological theory has tended to focus attention on the so-called slum lying within the inner zones of the city there has been a tendency to overlook disorganized areas elsewhere and even to ignore the presence of disorganization in areas that are reputedly stable and well-controlled. In many large cities there are segregated "pockets" that are quite as much disorganized as the larger belt near the business district. Radial thoroughfares are commonly dotted with lower middle-class apartment structures that house a footloose population. It is in these areas that family life has been reduced to its simplest forms and neighborhood and community spirit has all but vanished. Beyond the political boundaries of the city, and therefore out of reach of the city's police, stretches a peripheral zone that becomes a sort of "no man's land" so far as law and order are concerned. This is the "roadhouse belt," an area to which are attracted certain institutions seeking the freedom of the countryside, yet catering to an urban clientele.

It would be a gross oversimplification to ascribe to all areas of

disorganization a single characteristic except to say that the traditional system of social relationships has been more or less disrupted. There are, for example, areas of homeless men in which all semblances of family and community life have disappeared so far as the members of the "floating fraternity" are concerned. There are areas in which delinquency and gangsterism thrive alongside a well-preserved patriarchal family system. There are areas in which divorce rates are high—areas having no homelessness, no crime, no commercialized vice. If, as frequently happens, a single area manifests several different symptoms or indices of disorganization, it does not necessarily follow that one is cause or effect of the other, or even that they are in any way related. On the other hand, the breakdown of traditional social controls in an area may be responsible for the emergence of several different patterns of aberrant behavior.

Within earshot of the central business district is the so-called slum. It becomes a sort of crossroads, a point of ingress for those going down the social and economic ladder and a point of departure for those going up and out. The movement in the slum is consequently in both directions, a centripetal and centrifugal movement. Among those who are coming in are the failures, the misfits, the unassimilated, the incapacitated, the impoverished, the rebellious; going out are those who have achieved a degree of success, who have become partially assimilated in the culture of the larger group, or who have staged a comeback after failure and penury had forced them into the area of last resort. It is an area of instability, of dramatic and kaleidoscopic changes, of physical as well as social deterioration. It is the city's chief problem.

In the larger cities swarms of Old World immigrants—in some communities as many as fifty thousand to the square mile—inhabit the zone, attracted by the cheap rents of the area or by the opportunity to associate with others of their kind. It is also in this area that the largest "black belts" are found. Southern Negroes, lured to the Northern cities by stories of wealth and prosperity, usually find themselves forced into the

slums of the metropolis, the only area to which they have access. Illiterate, penniless, unused to the ways of the city, objects of racial discrimination, the colored newcomers have long been identified with the areas of decadence in the modern city. The area becomes a catchall for social pariahs, a refuge for economic failures and dependents, a port of entry for rural migrants and Old World immigrants, a mecca for the unconventional and the delinquent. It is in this zone of disorganization and anonymity that exotic Bohemians and eccentrics, radicals and malcontents, find intimacy of association with others of their kind.

Delinquency Areas. A study of the distribution of juvenile and adult delinquents in Chicago has been made by Shaw.[1] The project necessitated spotting on social base maps the street addresses of some 55,998 persons, including 5,159 male school truants, 43,298 juvenile delinquents, and 7,541 adult offenders. Different age and sex groups were selected, and suitable periods of time were covered for each series of groups. After the location of the offenders was determined and spotted on maps, the rate by square-mile areas was computed for the entire city, and also rates along radials extending out from the Loop (the central business district) in different directions. In addition, rates were computed for each of nine one-mile concentric zones spreading out in semi-circular fashion from the Loop.

The study indicated that instead of a uniform distribution of offenders throughout the city there was a tendency toward the concentration of delinquents and criminals in certain areas, particularly the region immediately surrounding the central business district and the areas contiguous to industrial districts such as the stock yards and the steel mills of Chicago. This distribution obtained for various types of offenders, including male school truants, delinquent boys and girls who had been haled into juvenile court or who had been dealt with by probation officers, and adult male offenders. The fol-

1. Shaw, Clifford R., *Delinquency Areas* (1930). The study was made under the auspices of the Behavior Research Fund and covered a period of eight years, 1921 to 1929.

lowing table, adapted from Shaw, indicates for three series the delinquency rates per 100 population of the same age and sex.

Table X

RATES OF DELINQUENCY IN CHICAGO, PER 100 POPULATION OF SAME AGE AND SEX, IN ONE-MILE CONCENTRIC ZONES ENCIRCLING CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT [2]

ZONE	5,159 MALE TRUANTS 1917–27	8,141 MALE DELINQUENTS 1917–23	6,398 ADULT MALE OFFENDERS 1924–26 [a]
1	12.4	15.3	3.37
2	7.0	9.1	2.46
3	6.6	9.0	1.90
4	3.8	6.2	1.10
5	2.8	4.7	.81
6	1.5	3.5	.63
7	1.2	2.9	.52
8	1.3	2.9	.43
9	1.8	3.7	.43

[a] Rate for Loop district, 5.2.

A number of findings resulted from this study. The first, perhaps the most important, was that crime and delinquency were not evenly distributed over the city in proportion to the general population distribution, but rather tended to be concentrated in specific areas. Another conclusion was that rates of truancy, delinquency, and adult crime tended to vary inversely with the distance from the focal center of the city. In general, the nearer the central business district the higher the rates of crime and delinquency. Still another finding of the study was the similarity of distribution of rates of truancy, juvenile delinquency, and adult crime. The areas having the highest rates of truancy show also the highest rates of adult crime. (FIG. XII.)

The study showed also that the rates of delinquency and crime were indicative of a state of social disorganization and community and neighborhood disintegration. The high rates appeared almost invariably in areas characterized by physical deterioration and decline of population. Frequently they were areas of excessive mobil-

2. Shaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 90, 133.

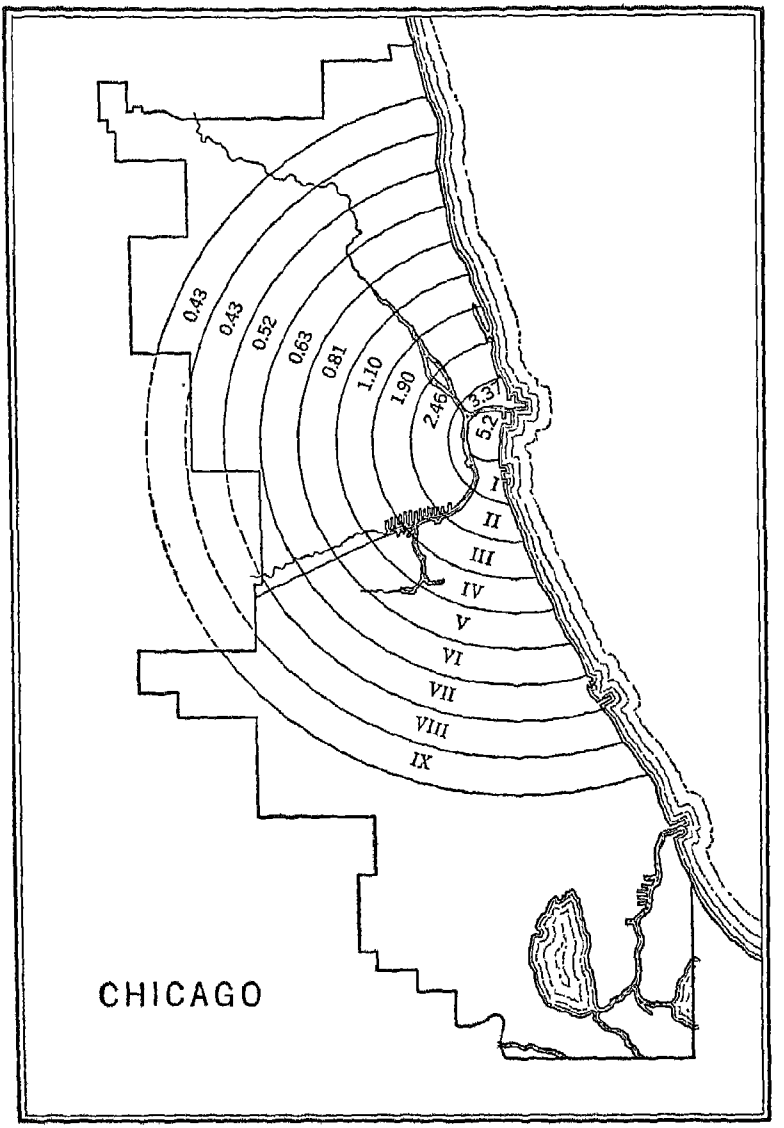


FIG. XII. Chart by Clifford R. Shaw showing rates of adult offenders by mile zones surrounding the Loop district of Chicago. Rates represent percentages of adult offenders in the total male population from 17 to 44. Data for 1924–26. See Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, p. 134. (Courtesy of the University of Chicago Press)

ity and of shifting populations, areas in which sentimental attachments and neighborhood ties were conspicuously absent. Some of the areas had high delinquency and crime rates running back through their entire history, even though there had been changes in the composition and character of the population as the city grew and expanded.

THE ECOLOGY OF DELINQUENCY IN OTHER CITIES. Under the auspices of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement Shaw and McKay made a similar study of the distribution of delinquency in six other cities. These particular communities were selected partly because they showed marked differences in size, age, composition of population, and rate of growth in recent years. The distributive pattern of delinquency in each of the cities was similar to that of Chicago, the highest rates being in the central zone, with a precipitate drop in the rate to the second zone and a decline in the rate thereafter as distance from the center increased. The following table shows the rates of delinquency in concentric zones in seven cities:

Table XI

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RATES BY ZONES FROM CENTER OF CITY OUTWARD IN SEVEN CITIES[a]

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

[a] 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.

3. *Report on the Causes of Crime*, 2: 140–188. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (1931).

Schmid's study of homicides in Seattle from 1914 to 1923 likewise indicates a concentration of criminals in the inner zones.[4] Of the 252 homicides committed during this period, 25 per cent occurred in a small area, four blocks wide and ten blocks long, near the center of the city. This area, with a population in 1920 of 6,863, 80 per cent of whom were males, had a homicide rate of 58 per 100,000. In the outer residential district, where lived some 81,000 persons, with approximately equal numbers of the two sexes, the rate was 1.5 per 100,000.

In his study of the spatial patterns of crime in Minneapolis Schmid reduced the data to specific types of criminal behavior, including automobile thefts, burglary, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, and felonious homicide.[5] He found the twelve different types and subtypes of crime were largely localized in a small area in the heart of the city. In ranking the ten highest tracts for each of the twelve different types of crime, three census tracts, located in or near the central business district, were included ten times, while two other tracts, also in the area of deterioration, were included nine different times. Certain deviations in distribution were noted. Robbery of taxicabs and streetcars, for example, tended to occur near the periphery of the city rather than in the central portions. Two tracts in a residential district on the north side of the city had a high rate of larceny involving stealing property from automobiles. When the rates were computed for concentric mile zones the usual pattern of distribution appeared, with the highest rates tending to cluster in the central zone and a decline in the rates occurring as distance from the center increased. This was particularly true of larceny in business establishments, which showed a drop from 350 per 100,000 population in the first zone to five in the sixth zone. In the case of felonious homicide the rate declined from 55 in the first zone to one in the sixth, while for burglary of dwellings the rates were 170 and 70 per 100,000 population for Zones I and VI, respectively.

4. Schmid, Calvin F., "A Study of Homicides in Seattle," *Social Forces*, 4 : 749 (June, 1926).

5. Schmid, Calvin F., *Social Saga of Two Cities*, pp. 334–345 (1937).

Even though social workers and other persons conversant with problems of city life have long known that certain areas were more productive of delinquency than others, these ecological studies have reduced this general knowledge to a greater degree of exactitude. How much reliance can be placed on the actual data we are not prepared to say. It is possible that the delinquency rates are not accurately indicative of the prevalence of crime and delinquency in certain areas. Do the apparent differences in delinquency rates for different areas really exist? Young persons living in the "area of deterioration," for example, are probably more subject to police control than boys or girls who live in a fashionable residential section. A youthful resident of the slum may acquire a juvenile court record for a certain offense, whereas the boy or girl whose home is on the "gold coast" and whose parents are affluent or influential may evade such a record even though the same offense is committed. Delinquency may be defined differently in different parts of the city, just as law enforcement takes on a different character in different areas. Arrests and juvenile court records therefore have limitations when they are used as indices of social disorganization. But so far we have had to depend on such information.

GANGLAND. Studies made of city gangs indicate that the gangster is not only a product of the city but, more significantly, of a certain section of the city. It is in the slum, in the disorganized areas of the modern city, that the gang finds its natural habitat. It is the areas of declining population, areas that are being invaded by industry and business, first-settlement immigrant areas in which the conflicts between the old and the new cultures result in a breakdown of the former social controls, that become the cradle of gangs and the habitat of gangsters. "In some respects these regions of conflict are like a frontier; in others, like a 'no man's land,' lawless, godless, wild." [6] In his study of 1,313 gangs in the city of Chicago, Thrasher found that gangland stretched in a sort of semicircle around the business district, an interstitial area wedged in between the throbbing life of the Loop district and the better residential districts beyond

6. Thrasher, Frederic M., *The Gang*, p. 6 (1927).

the deteriorated areas of transition.[7] These areas tend to be subdivided into "empires of gangland," in which the underworld life of each region is dominated and controlled by gangsters and gang-leaders who are habitués of the region. Adult gangsters govern the underworld of the region in feudal fashion, while juvenile gangsters, understudies of underworld characters who have won notoriety in gangdom, carry on a continuous warfare with police and with other gangsters who threaten an invasion of their territory or their status.

Gangland, as Thrasher points out, is invariably in an interstitial area, that is, an area that represents a break or a fissure in the social organization of the city. It is in these interstitial areas, regions that are social frontiers in the city, that gangs flourish; it is in these areas of slight social control that gangs became predatory and perverted, defying law and order on the one hand and similar predacious gangs on the other until the region becomes a battleground for gang supremacy.

Ganging is a natural process. Whether the activities of a gang are perverse or constructive depends upon the character of the habitat of the gang—upon the culture patterns predominating in the region and upon the sequences of situations that arise in the natural history of the gang. The gang is a form of adjustment that boys, and even girls, make whenever their family or neighborhood do not satisfy their major wishes in a conventional way. Consequently it is to be expected that areas in which family and neighborhood disintegration is marked and in which there is a serious cultural conflict between immigrant parents and their children will be the identical areas in which delinquency is most frequent and in which predatory gangs are the rule rather than the exception.

Areas of Vice. Prostitution and sexual promiscuity are forms of behavior usually tabooed by the community and the family. They therefore tend to exist in areas in which both family and community solidarity have declined, in which the two have ceased to function effectively as agencies of social control. In the city the patrons and promoters of commercialized vice seek areas beyond the pale of

7. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

community and familial controls; their practices, disapproved by conventional society, find favor in zones of extreme mobility and anonymity. Accordingly, they are usually found in the deteriorated regions immediately surrounding the business district, or in areas near or beyond the political boundaries of the city.[8] Because of the decadent character of a deteriorated area, the local community is usually unable to offer effective resistance to commercialized vice; consequently it becomes "the natural habitat" of the brothel type of prostitution. The peripheral vice areas, located in sparsely settled districts of the city or in the adjacent rural hinterland in which rural controls have disappeared, harbor roadhouses, taverns, and inns that cater to a clientele seeking adventure and sex thrills.

Prostitution in an unorganized form still exists in the business district: streetwalkers, pimps, and homosexuals prey upon transient visitors and unattached men who frequent the bright light areas at night. Assignation hotels and massage parlors, protected by their apparent respectability, sponsor a clandestine form of prostitution that legally is within the purview of the law.[9] In recent years, however, commercialized vice has tended toward decentralization; driven out of the city by the law, many prostitutes have moved into the apartment areas where their activities have assumed a semblance of refinement and conformity. With the change of mores brought about to a considerable extent by rapid urbanization, the social status of the prostitute has changed; instead of occupying a position completely beyond the pale of conventional society, she has been admitted to a status of partial acceptance. As her social position has undergone something of a change, so has her habitat tended to shift from the bright light areas and the slums to apartment house districts that have much of the freedom and none of the stigma of the inner zones. It is in the anonymity of these areas that the semi-respectable demimondaine can ply her trade and at the same time stay out of the clutches and even the cognizance of the law. Only the

8. Reckless, Walter C., "The Distribution of Commercialized Vice," in Burgess, *The Urban Community*, pp. 192–205.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

woman who is capable of feigning an air of decency can survive in such an area, however; others who are less adept at playing a role, or who are obnoxious or conspicuous in their disregard of social standards, find adverse sentiment an inducement to a return to the slum.

The most blatant forms of commercialized vice flourish in areas of extreme mobility. Reckless found certain factors to be good indices to the existence of vice. Among these factors are included the burlesque shows and cheap theaters, catering to the sex interests of the homeless man; crime and delinquency, the highest rates of which are in the areas of greatest mobility, poverty, desertion, suicide, and abandonment of infants. In areas of disproportionate sex distribution, of declining population, and of high mobility, commercialized vice in its multifarious forms is most likely to thrive, because it is in such regions that sex interests and sex desires may go unbridled with little or no control exerted either by the family or by the community.

Because of the clandestine character of prostitution it is not an easy matter to identify the individuals and institutions associated with this particular type of activity. A fairly accurate check may be made of prostitutes in areas where police control is so lax that the women and their agents ply their trade openly, but in districts having rigid restrictions and secrecy of behavior it is difficult to secure reliable data. For that reason it is possible that undue importance may have been attached to the inner deteriorated zones so far as the frequency of prostitution is concerned. In Minneapolis, Schmid identified several "vice areas," although he apparently had no way of determining the number of prostitutes or the frequency of their activities in the different districts.[10] These areas included the Gateway District or local "hobohemia"; the Seven Corners District, formerly the "red light" area; the central business district, characterized by streetwalking and questionable hotels; the roominghouse and apartment-house area lying southwest of the "Loop"; and a Negro area on the near north side.

10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 361–365.

THE "TOURIST" CAMP AND THE ROADHOUSE. In recent years a new form of sexual irregularity has made its appearance on the outskirts of certain large cities. We have reference here to the urban "tourist" camp, operated ostensibly for the benefit of transients but actually for city couples seeking a convenient place for illicit intercourse. One study of "tourist" camps on the outskirts of Dallas indicated that the establishments were operated almost exclusively for "couple trade." [11] Located beyond the political boundaries of the city, the camps were relatively free from police interference. Patrons were attracted not from the slums of the city but from the better residential districts of the community. Since the Dallas study is the only systematic investigation of which we are aware, it is not possible to generalize on the frequency of such practices in other communities, although unverified statements by numerous persons lead us to conclude that the urban "tourist" camp of this type is a fairly common institution.

Closely associated with aberrant forms of sexual behavior is the roadhouse. Located beyond the city limits, usually on or near the main automobile thoroughfares, the roadhouse, like the urban "tourist" resort, caters to individuals in the higher income groups. Some roadhouses are found in isolated spots completely removed from community life; others are located in smaller satellite communities which insure police protection in return for the lucrative license fees which proprietors are willing to pay. The suburban village of Morton Grove, in the vicinity of Chicago, for example, has attracted upwards of a dozen roadhouses, among them the ill-famed and ill-fated Dells, once the rendezvous of Chicago gangsters. In 1926–27 the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago conducted a survey of roadhouses in the Chicago area and found 171 operating in Cook County.[12] While some of the institutions were legitimately conducted, the majority of them engaged in some form of illegal activity, catering particularly to the lawless and criminal elements

11. Hooker, E. L., "The Urban Tourist Camp," *Studies in Sociology*, Southern Methodist University, 1936.
12. Reckless, Walter C., *Vice in Chicago*, p. 123 (1933).

of the city. In 32, or 19 per cent, of the 171 roadhouses, private rooms were available to guests for immoral purposes, and in 14, or 8 per cent, professional or semiprofessional prostitution existed. One investigator in the Chicago region classified the roadhouses as (1) the saloon roadhouse, (2) the roadhouse of gambling, (3) the roadhouse of prostitution, (4) the roadhouse of dancing, (5) the roadhouse of eating, drinking, and dancing, and (6) the picnic grove.[13] Whether the Chicago region is typical of conditions in other large communities we do not know, but the probabilities are that it is.

Areas of Homeless Men. Every large city has its area of homeless men. Just as the gangster is indigenous to a certain region within the metropolis, the natural product of a certain social milieu, so are the hobo, the tramp, and the bum identified with certain urban areas. The homeless man is a social outcast, a misfit; he is frequently demoralized and depraved, although occasionally he is an intellectual who has taken to the road for the sheer love of adventure and wandering.

In the city, where he finds surcease from the worries and tensions of the road, he seeks his own level away from the main currents of urban economic life. His habitat is "hobohemia," the "main stem," a segment of the so-called "moral regions" of the great city. If he is the product of a mobile and mechanized society, then his habitat in the city is also a product of the economic and social forces at work, of the processes of competition and selection. For "hobohemia" is a segregated area to which drift not only the unattached men rejected by conventional society but other denizens of the underworld and half-world who are also social pariahs—the prostitute, the dopey, the panhandler, the jack-roller, and the pimp.

The "hobohemias" of the modern city are to be found in the area of decay and transition skirting the central business district. It is usually an area of cheap lodginghouses and missions, of private employment agencies and radical bookstores, of pawnshops and barber colleges and second-hand clothing stores, of various political and

13. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

social institutions that cater to the needs, physical and spiritual, of the homeless man. In this isolated area, from which "respectable" business establishments have long since departed, the migrant males congregate by the thousands, some as permanent "residents," others as periodical visitors during the year.

Cities like Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, St. Louis, the Twin Cities, and others which are located on the main cross-country routes become the temporary rendezvous of homeless men in their ceaseless wanderings. Frequently on the outskirts of the cities, away from the din and congestion of the "main stem," the hoboes establish "jungles," or camps, which are stopovers or relay stations occupied intermittently by the men of the road. These "jungles" become social centers, hang-outs for stranded men. Usually they are located near railroads, or at the intersection of railroad lines, for accessibility is a point that is always considered.

THE SPATIAL PATTERN OF SUICIDE. A number of studies of the distribution of suicide have been made, all of them pointing to the conclusion that suicide rates tend to be higher in central areas of the city than in the stable residential districts. Cavan identified four suicide areas in Chicago: the central business district and the clusters of cheap hotels and dingy flats immediately surrounding it; the lower North Side, especially the roominghouse district and the area inhabited chiefly by homeless men and unattached women; the near South Side, an interstitial area lying between the Loop and the "black belt"; and the West Madison Street area, known in the parlance of the migratory men as the "main stem." [14]

In his studies of suicide in Seattle and Minneapolis Schmid observed that suicide rates show an unusual concentration in the business district and adjacent areas.[15] In Seattle, 901 suicides were committed from 1914 to 1925, and of this number 45 per cent were in the downtown section. Many of the suicide cases were transients who had drifted into the district from outside, while there was also

14. Cavan, Ruth Shonle, *Suicide*, p. 81 (1928).
15. Schmid, Calvin F., *Suicides in Seattle, 1914–1925*, p. 5 (1928).

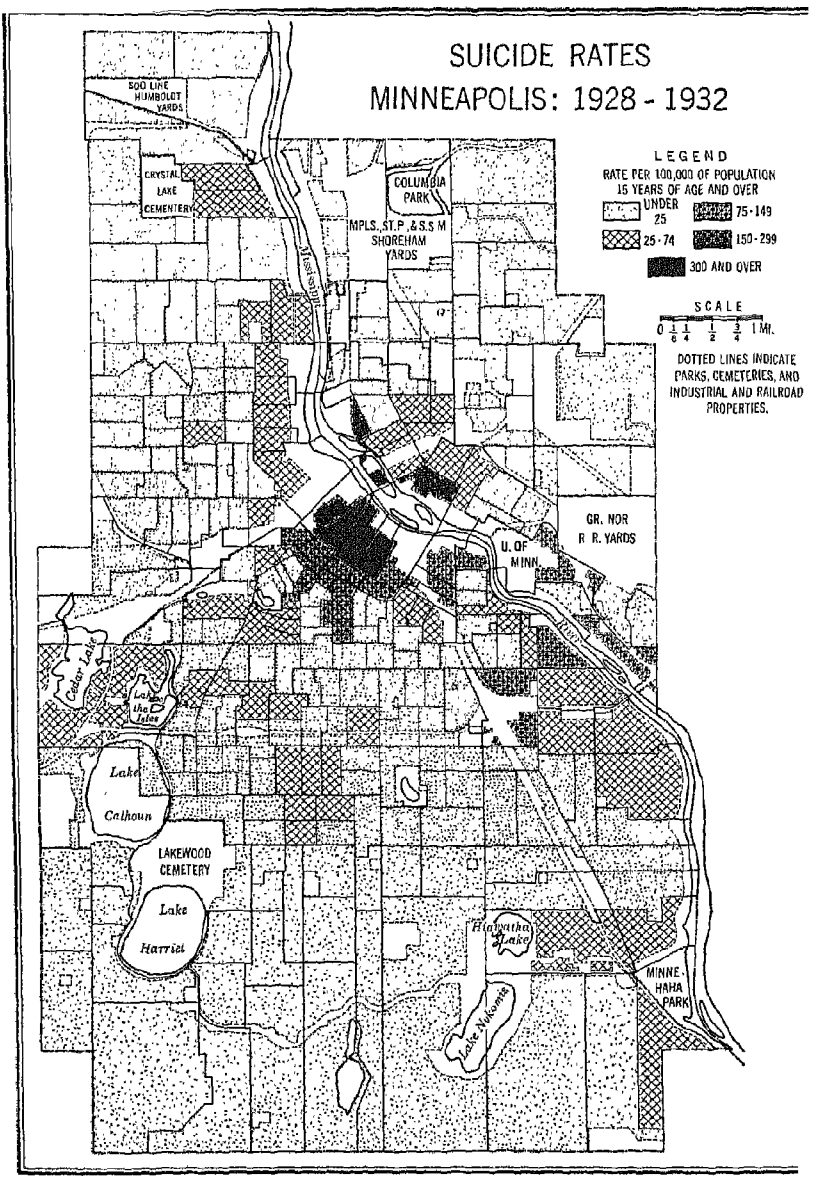


FIG. XIII. Distribution of suicide in Minneapolis for the period 1928 to 1932. The heavy shaded area is near the central business district. (From Calvin F. Schmid's *Social Saga of Two Cities*)

a large number of cases of self-destruction among the residents of areas of social disorganization. Much the same pattern was observed in Minneapolis.[16] (FIG. XIII.) For three enumeration districts comprising the central business district and contiguous areas the mean rate per 100,000 population 15 years of age and over was in excess of 300, whereas a large portion of the residential district had a rate less than 25. A study of patterns of disorganization in Honolulu by Lind indicated that suicide in that city conformed in general to the patterns of distribution of other social pathologies, "bulking heavily in the amorphous slum and lodginghouse areas and practically disappearing in the aristocratic residential sections."[17] There were, he noted, certain cultural factors that influenced the spatial distribution of suicide. The Japanese, for example, had higher suicide rates than other racial groups because self-destruction is still within the mores of that particular group regardless of place of residence. In St. Louis the major suicide area is located in the central business district and contiguous territory, and along the Olive Street axis extending westward almost half the distance across the city.[18]

Even though the spatial distribution of suicide conforms to a fairly well-defined pattern, there is nevertheless a wider distribution of this phenomenon than most other forms of disorganization. No section of the city is likely to be free of suicide; indeed in certain quality residential areas the suicide rate is sometimes high. Thus in St. Louis a census tract located in a residential section on the south side ranked eighth among the 128 enumeration districts, while another area located adjacent to Forest Park ranked twenty-eighth among all the districts.[19] In Minneapolis nearly fifty different census tracts had suicide rates from 25 to 74 per 100,000.[20]

THE ECOLOGICAL PATTERNING OF INSANITY. Researches conducted in Chicago by Faris and Dunham indicate that certain types

16. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities*, pp. 375–380.

17. Lind, Andrew, "Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," *American Journal of Sociology*, 36: 206–220 (September, 1930).

18. Fletcher, R. C., Hornback, H. L., and Queen, S. A., *Social Statistics of St. Louis by Census Tracts*, p. 36.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

of insanity manifest a definite ecological pattern.[21] After assembling data on 7,069 cases from the Cook County Psychopathic Hospital, 28,763 cases admitted from Chicago to the four state hospitals, and 6,101 private hospital cases, the investigators made an ecological and statistical analysis of the materials, computing admission rates for each of the 68 local communities in the city and preparing maps showing graphically the distribution of these rates. Not only were rates computed for the entire sample from each type of institution, but also for specific types of psychoses, including the different forms of schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychoses, alcoholism, drug addiction, general paralysis, and old age psychoses.

When the cases from the psychopathic hospital and the state hospitals were distributed according to the place of residence of the patients, the resulting ecological pattern indicated a tendency for the highest rates to cluster around the central business district, with a general decline in the rates as distance from the center of the city increased. On the other hand, the rates from the private institutions (which received, incidentally, only 17.5 per cent of all first admissions to hospitals) showed a tendency to concentrate in the better-class hotel and apartment-house districts. The differences in distribution of cases from the private hospitals and from tax-supported institutions are due, of course, to the fact that private establishments draw their patients from a higher economic level than do the public institutions.

Even more striking results were obtained when the distribution of rates was shown for specific types of psychoses. The rates for schizophrenia,[22] a common functional disorder, showed a marked

21. Faris, Robert E. L., and Dunham, H. Warren, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (1939). A subsequent study of the ecological aspects of insanity in Providence showed substantially the same results as the Chicago research, although the size of the sample was much smaller. Cf. Dunham, H. Warren, "The Ecology of the Functional Psychoses in Chicago," *American Sociological Review*, 467–479 (August, 1937); Faris, R. E. L., "The Demography of Urban Psychotics with Special Reference to Schizophrenia," *American Sociological Review*, 3:203–209 (April, 1938).

22. Common symptoms of schizophrenia are apathy, indifference to outside stimuli, delusions, hallucinations, impaired judgment, and a tendency to build up and live within a world of phantasy. The disorder is also known as *dementia praecox*.

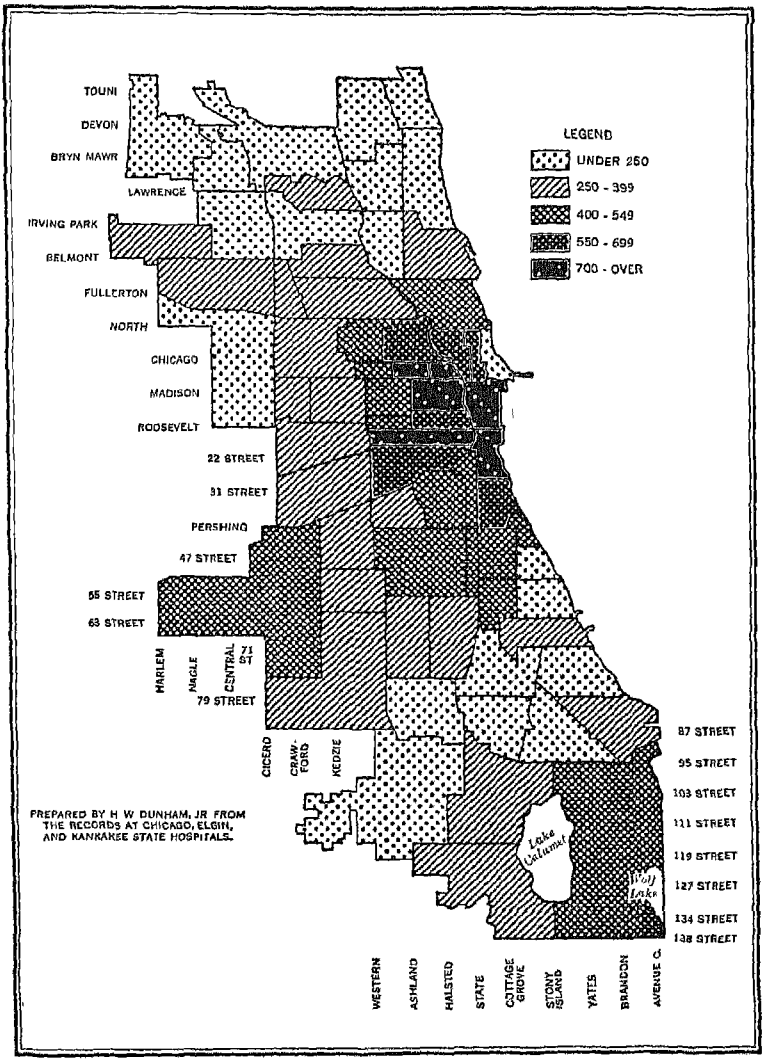


FIG. XIV. Distribution of schizophrenia cases in Chicago from 1922 to 1931. (From Faris and Dunham's *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*) Reproduced by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

variation in the city, with the highest rates in the local hobohemia, the roominghouse areas, and the central business district, and the lowest in Rogers Park, a high-class apartment district on the lake shore. In general the cases showed a tendency to concentrate in the disorganized area centering around the focal business district. Still further refinement of the rates was made by drawing radial lines to divide the city into five major segments, constructing one-mile zones for each segment, then computing the rates for each zone. In the central business district, for example, the rate of schizophrenia was 102.3 per 100,000 population aged 15 to 64, in the second mile zone falling in the northwest segment the rate was 60.1, in the third zone it was 34.8, in the fourth, 23.5, in the fifth, 22.5, and in the sixth, 18.2. The south segment, adjacent to the lake, showed rates, beginning with the second mile zone, of 84.1, 46.9, 32.6, 21.9, 25.4 and 27.4. In the words of Faris and Dunham, "schizophrenic rates decline in every direction as one travels from the center of the city to its periphery." [23] (FIG. XIV.)

When the rates for the manic-depressive psychosis were distributed a very different pattern emerged.[24] Rather it might be more correct to say that no distinct pattern at all could be identified. Although the highest rate in the city was found in a community near the center of the city, there were also communities near the periphery of the metropolis that had high rates. Indeed a map of the city showing the distribution of this particular malady gave a crazy-quilt effect, with no major division of the city being free of the disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to schizophrenia, no continuous decrease of rates occurred when distance from the center increased, except from the central district to the second mile zone. The rates, for example, of the south segment, beginning with the central business district, were, in order of mile zones, 13.2, 9.4, 5.9, 9.5, 8.1, 5.3, 4.4, while on the northwest side the corresponding rates were 4.7, 7.2, 6.8, 7.0 and 6.3. Even when the psychosis was differentiated accord-

23. P. 60.

24. The manic-depressive psychosis is frequently characterized by extremes of behavior and moods, ranging from elation and ecstasy to marked depression. There are, however, several types of this disorder.

ing to "manic" and "depressive" subtypes, the distribution of rates was much the same. It is to be noted, also, that the manic-depressive patients tended to come from a relatively high social and economic level, the median rentals for this group being $61.68 as contrasted with the median rentals of $33.45 for the schizophrenics.

When the schizophrenia cases were differentiated according to subtypes, including the paranoid, hebephrenic, catatonic, simple, and unclassified forms, some interesting differences in patterning appear.[25] The distribution of the paranoid and hebephrenic rates were similar to the distribution of the total schizophrenia cases, with a tendency to concentrate in the disorganized areas of the city. In the large Negro district marked variations appeared, high rates occurring near the central business district and low rates in the better residential section of the "black belt." The hobo and roominghouse areas had particularly high rates. For the catatonic type, on the other hand, a different configuration was manifest. Here the investigators found low rates in the hobo areas but exceptionally high rates in the immigrant districts. In the "black belt" the pattern was the reverse of that of the paranoid and hebephrenic types: low rates occurred on the north side of the area and increased as one moved into the better residental districts of the south side. In striking contrast, the hobo and roominghouse areas of this metropolis had low catatonic rates, while the Italian district on the north side had a much higher catatonic rate than either the hobo and roominghouse area or the fashionable "gold coast" section adjoining the lake. It was significant to note, however, that while the catatonic rates tended to

25. The paranoid type is characterized by a relatively fixed configuration of delusions of persecution and grandeur, by gradual development of the disorder, and by general apathy and indifference. Hallucinations and delusions are present in the hebephrenic type, but they do not center around a fixed system of ideas. In the catatonic type the development is rapid, in contrast to the paranoid and hebephrenic types. The catatonic patient vacillates between the states of stupor and excitement; delusions are present but hallucinations are not common. For the simple type there is a gradual loss of interest in the objective world, increased irritability, and apparent loss of mental ability. Delusions and hallucinations are usually not characteristic of this type. As one might expect, there is considerable overlapping of characteristics, and even psychiatrists are not always agreed on the diagnosis of individual patients or even on the general classificatory scheme. However, the types mentioned here are commonly recognized in psychiatric literature.

be exceptionally high in the Negro and foreign-born slum areas, the greatest frequency of cases occurred in the sections of these areas in which the population was somewhat mixed rather than in the sections inhabited entirely by members of a single racial or cultural group.

The distribution of persons afflicted with alcoholic psychoses, general paralysis, drug addiction, and the various disorders associated with old age was manifest in a pattern of concentration around the central business district, though drug addiction showed a much wider dispersion than the other diseases. High rates of alcoholism appeared in mobile areas as well as in districts populated by Negroes and foreign-born. The central roominghouse area had the highest frequency of drug addicts, but the community with the second highest rate was the hotel and apartment-house section of the north side. As one might expect, general paralysis showed the highest rates in the hobo areas, the roominghouse sections, and the disorganized Negro districts—areas which have the greatest amount of commercialized vice and the highest frequency of venereal diseases. For the senile psychoses the highest rates were in the Negro and roominghouse areas, with the foreign-born communities near the center of the city also showing a high frequency.

It is not within the scope of this discussion to consider the etiology of the various disorders and attempt an explanation of the different distributive patterns. For the functional diseases, at least, psychiatrists themselves are not agreed as to the causation, and for the peculiarities of ecological patterning nothing more than hypotheses has been proposed. There is at present need for continued research in cities differing in size, composition of population, and economic activities. That some connection exists between social disorganization and certain types of mental disorders, and that the ecological patterns that manifest themselves are in some ways related to the atomization of human relationships, seems to be a plausible hypothesis. But hypothesis it is and nothing more.

Distribution of Divorce and Desertion. If divorce and desertion rates are indicative of family disorganization, then it would ap-

pear that there is more disorganization in urban areas than in rural districts. The crude urban rates, however, do not tell the whole story of family disorganization in the city. There are areas in the city with abnormally high rates of divorce and desertion, while other areas are characterized by an almost complete absence of this form of disorganization. Large cities are composed of a congeries of smaller cultural worlds, many having divergent mores and social standards relative to family life and family relationships. There are distinct racial and cultural groups, groups occupying different economic levels, groups with high mobility and others with low mobility, groups accepting and groups rejecting the patterns of conventional society. These ubiquitous factors profoundly affect family relationships; they determine, for the most part, whether the family group is to be integrated or disorganized; they suggest reasons for the existence of family disorganization in certain areas and the absence of it in other areas.

In his study of family disorganization in Chicago, Mowrer attempted to classify the areas of the city with reference to the type of family life found in each community.[20] From this point of view the city was divided into five areas as follows: first, non-family areas, represented by the Loop, "hobohemia," Chinatown, Bohemia, Greektown, and the transient-hotel district; second, the emancipated family areas, including the roominghouse, kitchenette apartment and residential hotel districts; third, the paternal family areas of the proletariat and the immigrant, represented well by the Ghetto and Little Italy; fourth, the equalitarian family of the middle and professional classes; and fifth, the maternal family areas of the commuter, outlying districts characterized by single dwellings and spacious yards. These areas tend to assume an idealized form of concentric circles. The non-family areas are included in the inner zone, the business district and the area immediately surrounding it. The third zone, the paternal family area, is included in the large

26. Mowrer, E. R., *Family Disorganization*, pp. 111–112 (1927). It must be remembered that this classification is only for Chicago and does not necessarily imply that a similar distribution is to be found in all cities.

dwellings occupied by the owner ranging from 2 to 13. As one moves farther west the size of the rental tends to increase, as does also the proportion of home-owners. Furthermore, there is a low percentage of radio ownership in the low-rental area, there are more child welfare cases than elsewhere in the city, the homes have relatively low values, and a large proportion of the women are gainfully occupied. In Minneapolis and St. Paul, Schmid found that the low-rental areas were in the slums around the business district, in the industrial sections, and along the railroad tracks.[29] In Minneapolis the area with the lowest mean rental level, $10.38, was located adjacent to the central business district, while in St. Paul the area with the lowest level, $10.90, was similarly located with respect to the business zone. The area in Minneapolis with the lowest percentage of home ownership was an apartment-house district a short distance southwest of the business district; in St. Paul the two districts with the lowest percentages were located in the vicinity of the business zone.

Distribution of Mortality and Morbidity. While mortality and morbidity are not necessarily related to social disorganization, it has been observed that the highest death rates in the city tend to be centered in areas of poverty and of social disorganization. In Kansas City, for example, the infant mortality rate is highest in areas of greatest concentration of population, areas that are also associated with various forms of social disorganization. The average rate in the three years, 1922 to 1924 inclusive, was 118 for Ward 8, a political unit with a population, in 1920, of 26,000 to the square mile. Approximately one-third of the population was colored. The same ward showed the highest death rate for all ages. The ward with the lowest infant mortality rate was in the high class residential district in the southwest section of the city, the rate in that district being only 52.[30]

Morbidity and mortality rates are usually abnormally high in areas of disintegration. Death rates from tuberculosis in Kansas City in

29. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

30. Report of the Kansas City Consumers' League, a division of the Health Conservation Association.

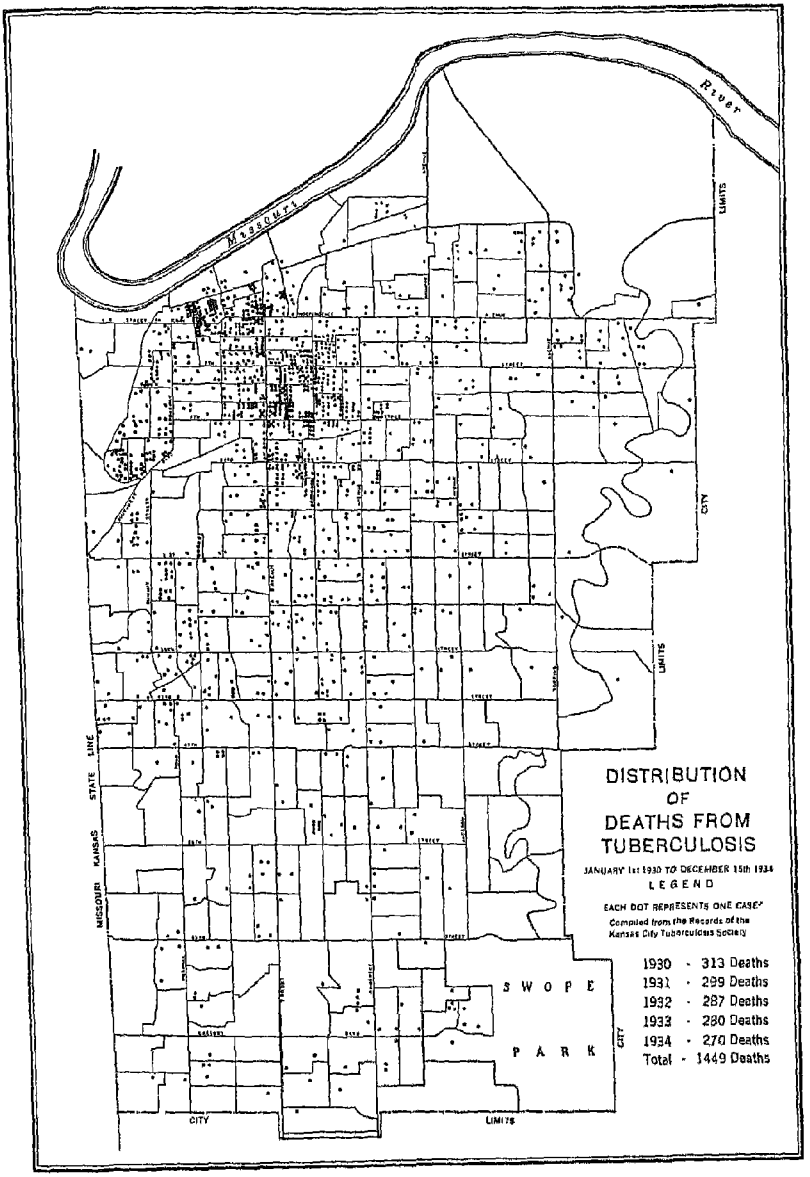


FIG. XV. Distribution of tuberculosis deaths in Kansas City from 1930 to 1934. The greatest number is in or near the central business district.

1924 were highest in congested and disorganized areas.[31] Wards 6 and 8 in the central section of the city, with a population of over 25,000 per square mile, had a tuberculosis death rate of more than 200 per 100,000 persons. In the sparsely settled sections near the periphery—areas showing a greater degree of social stability—the rates were less than 100 per 100,000 persons. A study of the distribution of deaths from tuberculosis in New York City in 1922–1923 showed that the tenement house area of Manhattan Island had the highest death rates from this disease. Among the Jews of the Lower East Side the rates were 70 per 100,000 population; in the Tremont district of the Bronx, a less congested area, the rate among the Jews was 59, while in a Brooklyn district, an area of stability and spaciousness, the rate was only 39.[32]

A report of the Philadelphia Board of Health for 1924 shows that deaths of infants, deaths from tuberculosis, and illegitimate births are more frequent in the crowded Negro wards near the river than in the outlying Negro areas less densely populated.

That these distributive patterns are not peculiar to American cities alone is indicated by the results of a study in Liverpool.[33] For the entire city of Liverpool the death rate from all causes was 13.9 per 1,000 population; the infant mortality rate was 98 per 1,000 live births; and the death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis per 100,000 was 123. In a selected slum area, however, the general death rate was 28.4, the infant mortality rate 171, and the tuberculosis death rate 299 per 100,000.

Since venereal diseases are commonly associated with commercialized vice, there is reason to believe that venereal infections are more prevalent in areas where prostitution abounds than in stable residential sections. Data furnished by a municipal clinic in St. Louis, for example, showed the highest incidence of venereal disease for males and females in the central business district and adjacent areas

31. Report of the Kansas City Tuberculosis Society.

32. Wolman, Abel, "Values in the Control of Environment," *American Journal of Public Health*, 15: 192 (March, 1925).

33. Mussen, A. A., *Report on the Health of the City of Liverpool During 1930*, p. 254.

and along the Olive Street axis extending west.[34] In Chicago the venereal disease area is essentially the area of commercialized vice. While all studies point to the conclusion that where either vice or venereal disease is found the other is likely to be present, the paucity of data makes such a generalization a quite tentative one. Data on venereal disorders are secured for the most part from free clinics; therefore the patients are a selected group, representative perhaps of the lower-income segment of the population but not of the upper and middle classes. If all the venereal cases, including those reported to private clinics and physicians as well as public clinics, could be tabulated and the distribution shown, the spatial patterning would undoubtedly be different from that of the present known cases.

Relationships of Indices of Disorganization. In the foregoing pages of the present chapter we have indicated what appear to be the major distributive patterns of various forms of disorganization. It is evident, from the data we have presented, that many of these forms tend to cluster together in the same area. In some cases it is easy to understand why a high incidence of one phase of disorganization should be accompanied by a similarly high incidence of another phase. There is no mystery, for instance, about the relationship between commercialized vice, venereal disease, and the psychosis known as general paralysis. Where there is prostitution the spread of syphilis and gonorrhea becomes more likely, and where these diseases are common, high rates of general paralysis may be anticipated, since the infection of the central nervous system by the syphilis germ is the cause of this psychosis. But for other indices the relationships are not altogether clear, or at least they have not been adequately demonstrated by experimental methods. One may find high suicide rates in delinquency areas or in districts characterized by high rates of insanity. But the presence together in the same area does not explain the relationships, if any, that exist between the phenomena. So far as sociological research is concerned these relationships have been largely a matter of speculation and formulation of hypotheses. Nevertheless it is a significant procedure in social in-

34. Fletcher, Hornback, and Queen, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–39.

vestigation to discover the spatial affinities of the different forms of disorganization.

In an interesting survey of Cleveland, Howard W. Green, using census tract data of 1930, showed statistically and graphically the territorial relationship between income and certain indices of social disorganization. With monthly rental figures used as a basis for judging the economic status of the residents, the areas of extremely high and low incomes were plotted on a map of the city. Then the presence of various other indices in each of these areas was noted. The following table is adapted from his study.[35]

Table XII

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN HIGH AND LOW ECONOMIC AREAS IN CLEVELAND IN 1930

FACTORS OR CONDITIONS PRESENT	AREA OF LOW INCOME	AREA OF HIGH INCOME
Density of persons per acre	51	10
Percentage increase of population, 1920–1930	− 29.4	171.4
Number murders during eight-year period	210	1
Number houses of prostitution per 1,000 acres	164	0.1
Number boy delinquents per 1,000 boys 10 to 17 years	48	5.7
Number girl delinquents per 1,000 girls 10 to 17 years	11.8	1.2
Number dependent families per 1,000 families (1928)	79.1	2.7
Number illiterate persons 10 years old and over per 100 families	33.5	1.6
Birth rate per 1,000 married women 15 years or over	103.1	49.2
Infant mortality rates per 1,000 births	87.9	39.2
Tuberculosis death rate, 25–44 years, per 100,000 population	182.6	39.8
Percentage of family heads foreign-born	65.2	19.9
Percentage of family heads Negro	12.2	0.4

The use of statistical correlations has made possible more refined analyses than can be obtained from mere comparison of indices in a given area. In their study of St. Louis, Fletcher, Hornback, and Queen worked out such relationships between different sets of data for a given area of the city.[36] Coefficients of correlation between (for example) the percentage of Negro population and tuberculosis

35. Green, Howard W., "Cultural Areas in the City of Cleveland," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38: 356–367 (November, 1932).

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

rates or venereal disease rates they found very high. Faris and Dunham in their study of insanity resorted to statistical analyses to show more exact relationships. As an illustration, they found the coefficient of correlation between percentage of hotel and lodginghouse residents and the rates of paranoid schizophrenia to be .82, with a standard error of .04, which indicates that the two phenomena tend to accompany each other. On the other hand, the correlation between percentage of hotel and lodginghouse residents and catatonic rates was −.29, with a standard error of .08, which indicates that the presence of one phenomenon is not accompanied by the other.[37] Using a similar technique, Reckless attempted to ascertain the extent to which vice areas and venereal disease areas are coterminous.[38] Of 4,682 patients of free clinics, 82 per cent lived in areas in which were located 100 per cent of the vice cases known in 1928. Thus 18 per cent belonged to areas untouched by commercialized vice. The coefficient of rank correlation for vice rates and venereal disease rates he found to be .68.

THE COST OF DISORGANIZED AREAS. We may conclude this chapter on the ecological aspects of disorganization by considering briefly the costs to the community of maintaining blighted areas. Available evidence indicates that disorganized areas are expensive "luxuries," to say the least. In Cleveland a study was made of the costs to the community of a slum area of 300 acres on which lived some 22,000 persons, or about 5,200 families.[39] This area contained 2.1 per cent of the population of Greater Cleveland and comprised .55 per cent of its land area. Although the city had invested over 5 million dollars in public and semipublic buildings for the area, and spent annually $1,357,000 for different services such as education, fire protection, crime prevention and control, relief, and protection of health, the tax return to the city was only $225,000. Thus the actual cost to the city in tax funds was well over a million dollars a year, and when to this figure are added private funds, the cost was $1,747,000. This

37. *Op. cit.*, p. 101. 38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 208–213.
39. Navin, R. B., *et al.*, *An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland*, Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (1934).

meant that each family was being subsidized to the extent of $333 by public and private funds. Although the small district had only a fraction of the total population, it had 21 per cent of Cleveland's murders during a twelve-year period, 26 per cent of the known houses of prostitution, 6 per cent of all the boys brought to the juvenile court, 10 per cent of the illegitimate births, 5.5 per cent of the unemployed, 8 per cent of the families on relief, and 12 per cent of all the deaths from tuberculosis. Police protection cost $58 per family as compared with $3.63 in one suburban city and $18.12 for the city as a whole. Fire protection cost $49.81 in the area, but only $2.59 for the city as a whole and $0.63 for a selected suburb. A similar study in Indianapolis indicated that 26 per cent of all the money spent for public services went to the slum areas having only 10 per cent of the total population.[40] Comparable surveys have also been made in St. Louis, Boston, Louisville, and Camden.[41]

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Make a series of spot maps showing the location of disorganized individuals in a selected city. Data should show the distribution of juvenile delinquency, adult crime, homeless men, divorces, suicide, and prostitution. To what extent do these areas tend to coincide with areas of low incomes? With areas of high mobility? With areas of high morbidity and mortality?

2. It has been suggested that areas of delinquency remain approximately the same even though ethnic or racial character of the population changes. Test this hypothesis by investigating the history of some urban area having a high delinquency rate. Does such a hypothesis offer any suggestions as to a cultural approach to the study of juvenile delinquency?

3. Has the general decentralization of population so characteristic of large cities been accompanied by the decentralization of certain types of disorganized or unadjusted personalities?

4. Select a disorganized area of some city with which you are familiar and compare the amount of money the community spends in this

40. Ford, James, *Slums and Housing*, Vol. 1, p. 433 (1936).
41. Queen and Thomas, *The City*, pp. 347–356.

area with the amount collected by the community in taxes. Is it a good investment?

5. It has been suggested that the slum is the natural consequence of pervasive conditions and changes in our society and that any elimination of the city slum would involve far-reaching social and economic changes in the social order. Discuss.

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PART III

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND SELECTIVE MIGRATIONS



This illustration reveals the gridiron pattern of Dallas, Texas, streets. This city's arrangement of streets is fairly typical of urban communities in the United States. (Courtesy Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Dallas, Texas)

10

POPULATION TRENDS

In recent years attention has been turned increasingly toward population trends and the social problems arising therefrom. The urban sociologist has been especially concerned with population problems for the reason that any demographic changes, whether in the city or country, will inevitably have their effect on the social, political, and economic institutions of the city. Already the social consequences of certain population changes are quite apparent, and in the future the pattern of urban life will be affected still more by changes that are likely to occur. A vast amount of research is being carried on now in the field of population, with the result that a considerable body of literature has been accumulated. In the present chapter it is proposed to consider some of the demographic aspects of population as they are related particularly to city life.

FERTILITY

Method of Computing Certain Demographic Changes. Before an analysis is made of population changes it is important to know how certain computations are made. Such terms as birth rate, death rate, reproduction index, fertility, natural increase, and numerous others may be meaningless to many readers unless they are properly defined and interpreted. One of the most familiar concepts is the birth rate. The crude birth rate refers to the number of births per thousand of the population irrespective of age, sex, occupation, or other factors. This is true also of the crude death rate. While crude birth and death rates are frequently used, they are limited as tools of analysis because they are computed without reference to peculiarities of population structure. Therefore crude rates

are usually refined or corrected so as to get a more accurate picture of fertility and mortality. Birth rates may be stated in terms of (1) the number of births per thousand women, (2) the number of births per thousand women of the childbearing period (15–44), (3) the number of births per thousand women for specific ages of the childbearing period, and so on. Thus disturbances in age and sex composition of population do not prevent a comparison of two or more population groups. Another device for measuring fertility is to compute the number of children, by age groups, per thousand women of the childbearing period, or perhaps better still, per thousand married women. Lorimer and Osborn refer to rates computed in this manner as the "effective fertility" of the group.

From this point we may proceed to a more involved but nevertheless important device for measuring population growth. Birth and death rates, even when refined and standardized, do not give a complete picture of the changes that are taking place in a population. What we also need to know is the actual reproductive capacity or growing power of a population unit. A relatively simple method for ascertaining the potential fertility has been worked out by Kuczynski.[1] The number of children per 1,000 women of childbearing age is determined for each year of the productive period. The sum of these *specific fertility rates* represents the total fertility, or the number of children born to 1,000 women during their childbearing years. In estimating the future trend of fertility, only female births are considered, since the girl babies are the potential mothers. If 1,000 women produce during their productive period 1,000 girl babies, or an average of one female child per mother, we have what Kuczynski calls the GROSS REPRODUCTION RATE. If all of these girl babies survived, lived through the childbearing period, and in turn produced a similar number of children, there would be a sufficient number for the replacement of the group, no more and no less. But of course this never happens, since inevitably some of the number will die be-

1. Kuczynski, R. R., *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, 2 vols. (1928, 1931). Cf. Charles, Enid, *The Twilight of Parenthood* (1934); Lorimer, Frank, and Osborn, Frederick, *Dynamics of Population* (1934).

fore or during the productive period. By using standardized life tables, it is possible to determine the number of females who will die before the end of the childbearing period. If 1,000 mothers produce 1,300 female children, of whom only 1,000 survive, then each mother will be replaced, on the average, by a future potential mother. The ratio derived from this process is called the NET REPRODUCTION RATE. Manifestly if the net reproduction rate is below 1, or UNITY, the group is not producing a sufficient number of children to replace itself.

Similar calculations of population trends can be made by finding the ratio between the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women and the number of children under 5 estimated necessary to replace the population. In 1930 it was estimated that 443 white children of the age group 0 to 4 were necessary for the replacement of 1,000 women. In making these estimates, of course, death rates are considered. If in a given group there are 480 children per 1,000 women, then the replacement ratio would be 480 divided by 443, or 1.08, slightly more than necessary for replacement.

BIRTH RATES OF CITY AND COUNTRY. It is important to note at the outset two important trends in population. First, there has been for a number of years a marked decline in the birth rate, both for city and country; at least this is true for the years preceding and during the depression, though in the late 30s the trend seems to have been reversed. Second, urban birth rates in recent years have been lower than those for rural sections. Since the death rates in cities have been consistently higher than rural rates, the excess of births over deaths for the country has been significantly greater than for the city. This would mean that the NATURAL INCREASE of the urban population is less than that of the country. In the following table a comparison is made of the crude rates for cities and rural districts in the birth registration area of the United States.

Data in Table XIII indicate a marked decline in the crude birth rate for both rural and urban groups. They also show that during the depression years the urban rates were lower than the rate for the rural areas. One must be careful, however, not to attach too much

Table XIII

URBAN AND RURAL BIRTH RATES FOR SELECTED YEARS[2]

YEAR	URBAN	RURAL
1920	23.9	23.5
1925	21.9	21.0
1927	21.0	20.3
1928	20.1	19.5
1929	19.4	18.4
1930	19.1	18.7
1931	17.5	18.4
1932	16.7	18.1
1933	15.6	17.4

significance to these figures. For one thing, as we have noted above, crude rates do not tell the whole story of population change. Secondly, census data for rural and urban birth rates may be somewhat misleading. Births, for example, are usually recorded at the place where the birth occurred, which is not necessarily the residence of the mother. Since many rural mothers go to city hospitals for confinement, births which should really be registered in the country are actually recorded in the city. For this reason crude rates computed from census data may show the urban population more reproductive and the rural population less reproductive than is actually the case. Fortunately, some attempts have been made to correct this method of recording by allocating the births to the place of residence of the mother. Beck found that in Ohio when the place of birth had been properly assigned the crude rate was 1.6 higher for rural women than for urban women.[3] When the rates are adjusted for age peculiarities, the differential in Ohio was 10.7 in favor of the rural women. In New York State it was found that the urban birth rate was nearly 20 per cent higher than the rural rate when the figures were based on the usual methods of recording birth, but when corrections were made in the assignment of place of birth the differences were reversed, with the rates for rural women exceed-

2. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1936, p. 87.

3. Beck, P. G., *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio*, Bulletin 533, Ohio Agricultural Experimentation Station (May, 1934).

ing by 12 per cent the urban rates.[4] Hospitalization for confinement cases apparently is customary for rural women in New York.

If the fertility of the population is based on the number of children for each thousand women the differences between urban and rural reproductiveness may also be noted. In 1930 the number of children under 5 per 1,000 native white women of the age group 20–44 was 380 for the city and 683 for the rural areas.[5] The rural replacement ratio was thus nearly twice that of the urban areas. However, the ratio of the number of children to rural foreign-born women is only a third higher than the ratio to foreign-born females in cities. In the case of the Negro population, on the other hand, the differentials between rural and urban ratios are even greater, rural Negroes being 122 per cent more productive than urban Negro women. All methods of computing fertility, therefore, point to the same conclusion, namely, that the rural segment of the population is more fertile than the urban portion. But this conclusion is based on data gathered for specific years and is not necessarily valid so far as future trends are concerned. Indeed, as we shall later indicate, it is conceivable that the differences may be greatly reduced or disappear entirely.

Birth Rates for Cities of Varying Size. It is generally known that the larger the city the smaller the birth rate and the lower the ratio of children to women. This is true not only for native-born white women but also for foreign-born white and Negro females. For cities of metropolitan magnitude (100,000 or over) the ratio of children to 1,000 native white women was 337 in 1930. This ratio steadily rose for cities of smaller size until it was 462 for communities in the lowest class (2,500 to 10,000). Thus the ratio of children to native white women was 37 per cent higher for the small city than for the metropolis. The significance of the small proportion of children in the large cities is even more apparent when it is

4. *Population Statistics· Urban Data*, National Resources Committee, pp. 19–20 (1937).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 21. These data are adjusted for underenumeration and are standardized for age distribution of women in the United States.

noted that the ratio for the country as a whole was 449, or 25 per cent above that of the metropolitan communities.

While size of the city is an important factor in human fertility, the functions of the community seem to be equally significant. Industrial cities in general tend to have a higher fertility than commercial centers, resort towns, or residential cities. Ogburn compared the fertility rates of three different types of satellite cities—wealthy residential suburbs, "average" suburbs, and industrial suburbs.[6] When fertility is expressed in terms of the number of children under 5 per 100 married women, the rates for the wealthy, "average," and industrial satellites are 28.2, 37.5, and 45.9, respectively. Thus the industrial communities have a fertility rate 39 per cent higher than the wealthy suburbs and 18 per cent higher than the "average" suburban cities. Cities located within metropolitan districts also tend to have a lower fertility than communities of a similar size which are located beyond the immediate orbit of metropolitan centers.[7]

NET REPRODUCTION RATES. The net reproduction rate, which was discussed briefly in a preceding paragraph, is in some respects more significant than mere fertility rates and ratios of children to women since it indicates the state of actual biological reproductivity toward which any population group is tending. It is "the rate at which the population would increase after present irregularities in age distribution have disappeared, provided that the current birth and death rates remained unchanged." [8] An excess of births over deaths does not necessarily mean that the group is producing enough for replacement purposes. As a matter of fact, the reproduction rate may be below 1, or unity, and the population may continue to increase temporarily. But it is only a temporary increase: if the birth and death rates remain the same a decline is inevitable when the age and sex irregularities disappear. Of course birth and death rates are not likely to remain absolutely constant; fluctuations are always inevitable, depending on social and economic conditions and other

6. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Characteristics of Cities*, pp. 54, 59.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
8. *The Problems of a Changing Population*, National Resources Committee, p. 119 (1938).

factors. If, however, we know the present rates of fertility and mortality as well as the general trend, whether increasing or decreasing, which these rates are taking, we may compute the net reproduction rate and definitely ascertain whether the population is replacing itself or whether it is headed in the direction of a decline. A net reproduction rate of 2 means that the population is doubling itself every generation; a rate of 1.25 would indicate an increase of one-fourth. On the other hand, a reproduction rate of .75 would be interpreted to mean that the group would decline 25 per cent each generation if birth and death rates remained unchanged and no immigration took place.

For the United States as a whole the net reproduction rate in 1930 was estimated to be 1.08.[9] This may be interpreted to mean a *potential* increase of 8 per cent a generation, or less than one-third of 1 per cent a year. In 1933 the net reproduction rate had fallen to 1, and by 1936 had gone below the replacement level. For the entire urban population the net reproduction rate was .84, which means that reproduction was 16 per cent short of maintenance. For the rural farm and rural non-farm population of the country the rates were 1.54 and 1.24, respectively. It is therefore apparent that rural America shows much greater potentialities of population growth than the urbanized portion of the country. Already the growth of the nation's population is having to depend mainly on the rural, nonindustrial element.

The significance of this trend in reproduction becomes more evident when the problem is stated in a different way. For a population to maintain itself at replacement level, no more and no less, 100 newborn girls would, in time, have 100 daughters and 100 granddaughters. In 1933 the general population of the country had reached this level, but by 1936 the decline in the reproduction rate

9. See Karpinos, Bernard D., "The Differential True Rates of Growth of the Whole Population in the United States and Their Probable Effects on the General Growth of the Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 258 (September, 1938). Slightly different rates have been secured by others when different methods of refining population data have been used, but in general all of them arrive at about the same conclusions concerning the potentialities of population growth in this country.

had continued so far that 100 newborn girls would have only 95 daughters and 90 granddaughters.[10] Although the actual excess of births over deaths at present gives a *temporary* rate of growth of the population, it is only the relative excess of women of the childbearing age group, resulting from high birth rates in the past, that prevents an actual decline in numbers. But a decline is inevitable unless birth rates rise or immigration is resumed. That this trend is not peculiar to our country alone is indicated by the accompanying table based on mortality and fertility at specified periods. It will be noted that the urbanized and industrialized countries of northwest Europe have the least potential growing power.

Table XIV

NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS OF 100 NEWBORN GIRLS IN 14 COUNTRIES[11]

COUNTRY	PERIOD	100 NEWBORN GIRLS WILL HAVE	
		DAUGHTERS	GRANDDAUGHTERS
United States (White)	1936	95	90
England and Wales	1934–36	76	58
France	1935	87	76
Germany	1936	89	79
Norway	1935	75	56
Sweden	1934	70	49
Denmark	1931–35	92	85
Scotland	1934	91	83
Italy	1933	118	139
Holland	1936	110	120
Russia	1927	170	289
Poland	1934	111	123
Japan	1930	154	237
Canada	1930–32	130	168

Significant differences in urban reproduction rates are found when the communities are classified according to size. The white population of the large cities (100,000 or over) had a net reproduction rate of .76 in 1930.[12] Thus the metropolitan population of the country

10. *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, pp. 8–10 (November, 1938).

11. *Ibid.*

12. These and the following data are taken mainly from Karpinos, *op. cit.*

would decline 24 per cent in a generation if it had to depend on its own reproduction. Of the 93 cities of metropolitan size, only one—Flint, Michigan—had a reproduction rate above unity, while five others—Erie, Salt Lake City, Gary, Somerville, and Youngstown—approached the replacement level. On the other hand, three cities—Los Angeles, Portland, and San Francisco—had a reproduction rate around .50, or only about half what is actually necessary for replacement. The majority of the large cities had rates between .70 and .80.

As in the case of birth rates, the net reproduction rates for cities tend to increase as the size of the community diminishes. For cities ranging in size from 50,000 to 100,000, the reproduction rate in 1930 was .83, just slightly below that for the urban population as a whole. The three cities in this group having the highest rates were Dearborn, Michigan, Hamilton, Ohio, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania, while the three lowest were Berkeley, Pasadena, and Atlantic City. For cities in the category of 25,000 to 50,000, the reproduction rate was .89, or 5 per cent higher than for the entire urban population. In this group wide variations appear, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, being at one extreme with a rate of about 1.50, and Brookline, Massachusetts, being at the opposite extreme with a reproduction rate of only .50. Small cities in the 2,500–25,000 group had a rate of .94, or 18 per cent above the metropolitan rate.

Natural Increase and Decrease of Cities. The 1930 census data, upon which the preceding analysis is based, were secured at the beginning of the depression and do not therefore show the population trend during this period of acute economic distress. Beginning with 1935 the Bureau of the Census has tabulated births and deaths by place of residence, thus making it possible to secure reasonably accurate records of rates of natural change for individual cities during inter-census years. Data collected for the two years 1935 and 1936 show that the decline in the birth rate continued after 1930, apparently at an accelerated rate during the depression years. According to estimates made by Dorn, more deaths than births were

registered in 145 counties having a population of around 8 million persons.[13] About three-fourths of the population of these counties was located in the Middle Atlantic States and on the Pacific coast, highly urbanized areas. A NATURAL DECREASE, that is, an excess of deaths over births, was reported for the white population in 255 different communities. Five of the 93 cities having metropolitan rank in 1930 (Albany, Richmond, Seattle, Oakland, and San Francisco) showed a natural decrease, while 14 cities from 50,000 to 100,000 (Troy, Atlantic City, Harrisburg, Cleveland Heights, Terre Haute, St. Joseph, Missouri, Oak Park, Columbia, South Carolina, Savannah, Covington, Kentucky, Little Rock, Glendale, California, Pasadena, and Sacramento) had a similar excess of deaths over births. Ninety cities between 10,000 and 50,000, and 146 communities under 10,000, had natural decreases. The net reproduction rate of San Francisco had fallen to .46, while the rate for Atlantic City had sunk to the unprecedented low of .25. Only one of the entire group had a net reproduction rate more than .76, and 12 were under .70.

RECENT INCREASES IN FERTILITY. Since 1936 there has been some evidence of an increase in the birth rate. According to reports published in 1939 by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the crude birth rate showed a continuous two-year increase in 1937 and 1938, the first time since the postwar rise of 1919–21. That this increase appears to be general is indicated by the fact that several of the countries of western Europe have had a rise in the birth rate. Whether we shall have in this country a general and prolonged increase in fertility, or whether this is only a temporary fluctuation, there is no way of knowing; much will depend on the degree of social and economic security potential parents may have or expect to have. In all probability the areas of high fertility, particularly the rural sections, will have a more precipitous decline in the birth rate than areas of low fertility, although the differentials between rural and urban rates will undoubtedly be maintained for some time.

13. Dorn, Harold F., "The Natural Decrease of Population in Certain American Communities," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 34: 106–109 (March, 1939).

It is possible that the birth rates in some of the low-fertility communities will become stabilized in the near future, but even if this occurs the level of stabilization will likely be less than necessary for replacement.

Differential Fertility Based on Race and Nationality. If the urban population is differentiated on the basis of race, nationality, income, occupation, and other factors, significant variations in fertility appear. The Negro in America, for instance, is much less fertile than is commonly supposed. Indeed the net reproduction rate for urban Negroes in 1930 was less than that of whites. For cities of the metropolitan class the rate was .67, which is 9 per cent below the white race and 33 per cent less than the level needed for replacement. Even in the deep South, which in general has a higher fertility than the North, urban Negroes are reproducing themselves at a rate from 20 to 30 per cent below that necessary for replacement.[14] For the entire Negro population living in cities the reproduction rate is .72 or 12 per cent below the white rate. Manifestly the urban Negro group must depend on rural migrants if it is to replace itself. So far, the rural sections of the country have produced a sizable surplus of Negro babies, the reproduction rates for rural farm and rural non-farm areas being 1.78 and 1.21, respectively.[15] In some parts of the country, however, the reproduction rate for rural non-farm Negroes has fallen below unity; in Arkansas and Mississippi, particularly, the rural non-farm rates are below the permanent replacement level.[16]

The trend of fertility among the foreign-born population of the country has paralleled that of other groups in that the birth rate has shown a definite tendency to decline. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of children under 5 per 1,000 urban women 20 to 44 declined from 778 to 513, or approximately 34 per cent. Yet even in the face of this decrease the net reproduction rate in 1930 for the urban foreign-born was 1.16, or

14. *Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 134.
15. *Population Statistics: Urban Data*, p. 24.
16. *Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 134.

16 per cent above the replacement level. In all classes of cities, and in rural farm and rural non-farm areas, this decline in fertility has been apparent. Although the fertility rates for the foreign-born population are still higher than for native whites, whether for urban or rural divisions, the differences are decreasing. The great majority of foreign-born persons are urban residents and are therefore subject to the social and economic influences which have tended to push the birth rates downward.

ECONOMIC FACTORS AND THE URBAN BIRTH RATE. It is a matter of general knowledge that poor families in this country tend to have more children than families with comfortable or large incomes. These observations apply to both rural and urban groups, though the differential rates are probably more pronounced in the city. A study conducted in Chicago by Hauser, in which rentals were used as an index of economic status, showed a negative correlation between fertility and amount of monthly rent paid.[17] The birth rate for the entire city in 1930 was 16.4 per 1,000 population; for the census tract areas having a median rental under $30 a month the rate was 19.7, while for those areas in which the median rental was $75 or over the rate was 11.3. These differential rates were characteristic not only of the native white group but also of Negroes and the foreign-born population. Green found that in Cleveland the birth rate per 1,000 married women 15 years or older was 103.1 for the low-rent areas and 49.2 for the areas of high rent.[18] Pearl's study of fertility of white and Negro women in Baltimore showed much the same trend for both groups.[19]

Similar differentials may be noted when fertility rates are computed for the various occupational classes. Studies conducted in seven cities, including Brooklyn, Syracuse, Columbus, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh, point to a highly differentiated birth

17. This study is summarized in *Problems of a Changing Population*, pp. 139–140.

18. Green, Howard W., "Cultural Areas in the City of Cleveland," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38: 356–367 (November, 1932).

19. Pearl, Raymond, "Fertility and Economic Status," *Human Biology*, 4: 525–553 (December, 1932).

rate in the occupational hierarchy.[20] Specific occupations were classified as "professional," "business," "skilled," or "unskilled." The professional and unskilled classes represented the two extremes in fertility with the business and skilled groups occupying intermediate positions. In the different cities birth rates of the unskilled group ranged from 30 to 113 per cent higher than for the professional group. It is to be noted, however, that in Brooklyn the occupational differential was not large in the case of the unskilled group. Although birth rates of all occupational classes tend to decline with the increase in size of community, the differentials between the various occupational categories remain fairly constant regardless of the magnitude of the city. In 1930 the net reproduction rates for the business and professional classes for the entire population were .85 and .76, below the level necessary for replacement.[21] When the rates for these two occupational groups are computed for the urban population alone, the replacement shortage is even more pronounced.

One must not assume that because fertility differentials based on income are characteristic of American cities they are to be found in all other countries. Comparable studies are not available for all cities or countries of the world, but in certain areas the differentials either do not exist at all or else are narrowing. Edin's study of Stockholm indicated that the wealthiest class had a standardized fertility 45 per cent above that of industrial workers.[22] From an extensive study of fertility in England, particularly in London, Innes found the birth-rate differentials between social classes narrowing, though, as the author points out, it is still too early to say whether these differences will disappear.[23] Lamson's study of fertility in Chinese cities showed that the educated and well-to-do have more children than the ignorant and poor.[24] Lorimer and Osborn cite studies to show the changes in differential fertility in several European cities,

20. Summarized in *Problems of a Changing Population*, pp. 140–141.

21. Lorimer and Osborn, *op. cit.*, 64–75.

22. Edin, K. A., "The Birth Rate Changes," *Eugenics Review*, 20:259 (1929).

23. Innes, John W., *Class Fertility Trends in England and Wales, 1876–1934* (1938).

24. Lamson, Herbert D., "Differential Reproduction in China," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, 10:308–321 (September, 1935).

but caution against taking these reports too seriously until more time has elapsed and they have been confirmed by extensive investigations.

Fertility in Relation to Education and Intelligence. As in the case of occupational status, educational achievement appears to have an effect on the birth rate. It has been generally observed that well-educated families have fewer children on the average than those with limited educational attainments. Yet there are other factors, particularly economic, which are so important that one is not justified in assuming that education *per se* plays an important role. Studies conducted in the seven cities referred to on a preceding page revealed that the fertility of families having a common school education or less was consistently higher than those whose members had attended high school or college. On the other hand, no significant difference was noted between the high-school and college group. As the report of the National Resources Committee concludes, "it may be that, under our present systems of education and economy, high-school education is sufficient to inculcate desires for those standards of living that are more likely to be attained with a limited family." [25]

Some interesting studies have been made of the relation between fertility and measured intelligence, but because of the fallibility of measuring instruments, disagreement as to the definition of the nature of intelligence, and certain unknown aspects of biological inheritance, care should be exercised in interpreting the results. Lentz studied the clinical records of children in New York City, St. Louis, and other communities to ascertain what correlation, if any, existed between intelligence and size of family.[26] He found that children scoring 150 or more came from families averaging 2.2 children, while the low group, scoring less than 60, were from families with an average of 5.5 children. Chapman and Wiggins found that in Meriden, Connecticut, the children from two-child families had an aver-

25. *Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 145.

26. Lentz, Theodore, "Relation of I.Q. to Size of Family," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 18:486–496 (October, 1927).

age I.Q. of 118, while the average for five- and six-child families was 106.[27] Thurstone and Jenkins, on the other hand, found that in Chicago the average size of families with idiots or imbeciles was no larger than the average of families having children of normal intelligence, but that children with fairly low intelligence quotients came from families above the average in size.[28]

FERTILITY AND DISTANCE FROM CITY. All the data reviewed in this discussion indicate clearly that the city presents a less favorable environment than the country for human reproduction. One interesting aspect remains to be mentioned, namely, the effect of the city on fertility rates of adjacent rural areas. Thompson selected 16 urban communities which were sufficiently removed from other cities to make them suitable for such a study.[29] Fertility rates were then computed for surrounding townships and correlated with the distance from the central city. After making necessary adjustments for type of soil, racial composition of the population, and the like, Thompson noted what appeared to be a significant trend, although admittedly the data were not conclusive. In 9 of the 16 areas, nearness to the city had a depressing effect on the size of the rural families. More specifically, the ratio of children under 5 to 1,000 persons from 15 to 44 tended to increase in direct ratio to the distance from the city. No significant trend seemed to be noted in 7 of the cities.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A DECLINING FERTILITY. This somewhat prolonged discussion of methods and trends has been introduced not as an academic exercise but to provide a factual foundation from which one may proceed to a consideration of the social consequences of changes in population fertility. As we have noted,

27. Chapman, J. Crosby, and Wiggins, D. M., "Relation of Family Size to Intelligence of Offspring and Socio-Economic Status of Family," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 32:414–421 (September, 1935).

28. Thurstone, L. L., and Jenkins, R. L., *Order of Birth, Parent-Age, and Intelligence*, p. 28 (1931).

29. Thompson, Warren S., in *Population Statistics: Urban Data*, pp. 21–23. The cities selected included Rochester, Columbus, Indianapolis and other Indiana cities, Des Moines, Kansas City, Missouri, Atlanta, Little Rock, Dallas, Fort Worth, Spokane, Portland, and Asheville and other North Carolina cities.

the urban population of the country is not reproducing itself and must therefore depend on migrations even to maintain a stationary level. So far has the decline in fertility gone that the number of deaths exceed the number of births in several cities. Should the stream of urbanward migrants dry up, some of the cities of the country would be reduced to a fraction of their present size within a generation. Indeed, the potential supply of rural migrants is already being reduced by the declining rural birth rate. Since the full effects of a change in the birth rate will not be felt for a generation, the present decline will not be noticed appreciably for a number of years. Two decades from now the precipitous declines of the 1930's will be quite apparent.

Already certain effects of the declining birth rate are apparent. Beginning with 1930 there has been a continuous decrease in grade-school enrollment; between 1930 and 1937, according to the U.S. Office of Education, the number of elementary school pupils was reduced one million. Sufficient time has not elapsed for the high schools to be seriously affected, but in a few years it is likely that the secondary school enrollment will follow the trend of the grade schools, provided, of course, that a similar proportion of elementary school graduates continue their education. The reduction in the number of grade school pupils may mean unemployment for many teachers. It may also mean the contraction rather than expansion of facilities for teacher training, with the result that the opportunities for employment in the teaching profession will be limited. School plants, erected at great expense by many communities, may be only partly occupied.

If the urban population goes into an absolute decline—and it is headed in that direction—the number of consumers will be reduced; hence adjustments will have to be made in the organization of production and distribution. Only by increasing the buying power of the masses can a declining population continue to keep the productive machinery moving. If the industrial system cannot be kept functioning, widespread unemployment ensues. A declining population is not, of course, an inevitable cause of unemployment; yet

under certain conditions it may be an important contributing factor. The common assumption that a declining birth rate, or even a declining population, will automatically solve the problem of unemployment because the number of potential workers will be reduced does not bear too close scrutiny. For one thing, as we have noted, the effects of fertility changes are not really apparent until the next generation. But more important still, perhaps, is the fact that a declining population may so contribute to the disruption of the economic machinery that unemployment will be one of its by-products.

There is no basis for assuming, however, that a stationary or declining population is necessarily a calamity. These population shifts will create, or at least contribute to, social problems of one kind or another, but it is certainly within the power of human intelligence to make adjustments to new situations. Once the general public becomes aware of the social effects of a declining fertility, it is likely that certain policies of population control will be put into effect. In some countries already efforts have been made to increase the birth rate, or at least to retard its decline, and it is possible that within a few years attempts will be made in this country to encourage the increase of size of families among that segment of the population most able financially to rear and educate children.

MORTALITY

Trends in Death Rates. In the preceding discussion of fertility occasional references were made to mortality as a factor in population growth or decline. We may now consider more fully the incidence and significance of death rates in the population of cities. Crude death rates, that is, the number of deaths per 1,000 persons, are commonly used, but like crude birth rates they do not tell the entire story; further refinements must be made on the basis of the age and sex composition of the population. Accordingly, specific death rates take cognizance of the proportions of persons in the different age and sex groups and any changes that take place therein.

The downward trend of the birth rate in this country, as in certain

other parts of the world, has been paralleled by a declining death rate, both in urban and rural areas. Between 1920 and 1933 the crude death rate in the registration cities of the United States declined from 14.2 to 11.5, or 19 per cent, while the decline in the rural registration areas was from 11.9 to 9.9, or 16.5 per cent.[30] In 1920 the urban death rate was 16.2 per cent higher than the rural rate, but in 1933 this percentage had been reduced to 13.9. It is apparent from these figures that while the death rate is greater for urban than rural communities, the differences are being reduced rather rapidly. When the rates are computed for Negroes and whites, declines for both groups are noted for city and country, though the Negro rate is being reduced more rapidly than the white rate. In the registration cities the white death rate declined approximately 19 per cent as compared to a 24-per-cent drop in the Negro rate. In the rural sections the death rate for whites was reduced by 16.5 per cent, while the Negro rate dropped 20 per cent. The accompanying table gives more detailed data on trends in the death rate for rural and urban areas:

Table XV

CRUDE DEATH RATES FOR URBAN AND RURAL REGISTRATION AREAS, 1920 TO 1933

YEAR	URBAN			RURAL		
	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
1920	14.2	13.6	22.7	11.9	11.5	15.2
1925	13.0	12.3	21.9	10.8	10.3	14.9
1930	12.3	11.7	19.5	10.4	9.9	14.4
1931	11.9	11.4	18.5	10.2	9.8	13.5
1932	11.7	11.2	17.4	10.2	9.8	12.6
1933	11.5	11.0	17.2	9.9	9.6	12.2

It seems apparent from these data that the rural environment has been more favorable to survival than the city, even though urban people usually have better hospital and medical facilities than are found in the country. Yet with the differences in rural and urban death rates being reduced it is possible that the advantages of the country over the city will be eliminated altogether so far as mortal-

30. Computed from data in *Statistical Abstracts*, 1937, p. 82.

ity is concerned. As a matter of fact, the infant mortality rate in cities has already dropped below the rural rate. In 1915 the urban rate was 10 per cent higher than the rural rate, but by 1934 the relative positions were reversed, with the rural areas exceeding the cities by 5 per cent.[31] Since in the past it has been customary to record deaths at the place they occurred rather than at the place of residence of the deceased, and since many rural residents have died in urban hospitals, it seems likely that the actual incidence of urban deaths has been less than the mortality statistics would indicate. Indeed, when corrections for this error were made in one city, Memphis, the urban infant mortality rate was reduced by approximately 13 per cent.[32] Thompson and Whelpton estimate that after adjustments were made for place of residence, the crude urban death rate in 1929 was lowered and the rural rate increased by approximately 6 per cent.[33]

Death Rates for Specific Causes of Death. When urban and rural death rates for specified causes of death are examined, the real nature of mortality trends becomes more apparent. The accompanying table shows the changes that occurred over a 25-year period

Table XVI

URBAN AND RURAL DEATH RATES PER 100,000 PERSONS, 1900–04 AND 1926–29, CLASSIFIED FOR SPECIFIC DISEASES[34]

CAUSE	1900–1904 URBAN	1900–1904 RURAL	1926–1929 URBAN	1926–1929 RURAL
Typhoid	25.9	27.7	3.1	7.0
Influenza and Pneumonia	214.4	146.7	144.6	124.4
Tuberculosis	216.1	145.4	81.5	78.8
Nephritis and Bright's Disease	112.7	69.5	105.2	84.6
Diarrhea and Enteritis	141.0	80.0	24.4	30.0
Cancer	69.9	64.5	118.2	76.4
Cerebral Hemorrhage and Apoplexy	74.3	77.0	78.4	84.3
Heart Disease	147.8	147.0	238.8	176.6
Early Infancy and Malformations	103.4	65.6	73.3	60.9
Diseases of Arteries	8.6	5.8	23.8	20.6

31. Woodbury, Robert M., "Infant Mortality in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188:97 (November, 1936).

32. *Ibid.*

33. Thompson, Warren S., and Whelpton, P. K., *Population Trends in the United States*, p. 255 (1933).

34. Adapted from Thompson and Whelpton, p. 254.

for ten of the most important diseases. In five of the ten diseases—typhoid, influenza and pneumonia, tuberculosis, early infancy and malformations, and diarrhea and enteritis—there have been declines in the rate for both urban and rural areas, and in the case of another important cause, nephritis and Bright's disease, a decrease has occurred in cities but not in rural districts. On the other hand, an increase in the death rate in both city and country is noted for cancer, cerebral hemorrhage and apoplexy, heart disease, and diseases of the arteries. Urban death rates for cancer and heart disease showed an increase of 69 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively, while the rural rate for each of these causes of death increased 19 per cent. In general the trend in cities has been in the direction of a decline in the death rate caused by the germ diseases and a marked increase in the death rate from so-called degenerative diseases such as cardiac disorders, cancer, and ailments of the arteries. The decline in the death rate for germ diseases is quite an understandable phenomenon, but the causes for the pronounced increase in mortality for certain degenerative diseases are not altogether clear. These diseases are for the most part characteristic of advanced age; thus the increase in the proportion of older persons in our population might account for part of the upward trend in the death rate, but certainly not for all of it. Reduction of infant mortality and the resultant prolongation of life may mean that many constitutionally inferior children have survived, only to become victims of organic degeneration later in life. It seems reasonable also to believe that the increasing complexity of life, particularly of life in the city, has exerted such a tremendous strain on the human organism that organic breakdown is the consequence.

For three of the ten major causes of death discussed above, the urban death rate was less in the period 1926–29 than the rural rate. These diseases included typhoid, cerebral hemorrhage and apoplexy, and diarrhea and enteritis. In the case of tuberculosis, once the dreaded "white plague," the urban rate is only slightly higher than the rate for rural parts, but notable reductions have been made in both instances. Urban death rates for heart disease, nephritis and

Bright's disease, and cancer are now well above rural rates, and the present trend indicates a continued widening of the differential. If the reduction of infant mortality were a significant achievement, a comparable reduction in the death rate from degenerative diseases will be a still more significant one.

Death Rate to Increase. Reports of a declining death rate in this country have been current for a long time. Probably there is a widespread belief, as a consequence of the dissemination of this information, that the decline will continue indefinitely. The achievement of medical science in reducing mortality is a phase of "progress," and America is a progressive country! Yet there is definite evidence to indicate that the end of the decline is rapidly approaching. Within a few years we shall see an increase in the death rate in the United States. The extraordinarily low rate in this country has been due not only to the application of scientific knowledge but also to the fact that a disproportionate number of persons in the population are in the lower age groups and are therefore less susceptible to the ravages of disease. As soon as this irregularity of age composition disappears, as it is now tending to do, the death rate will move upward for no other reason than that a larger percentage of older persons will mean a greater incidence of death. It will therefore be biologically impossible to maintain even the present rate of approximately 11 for urban areas and 10 for rural parts. A death rate of 10 per 1,000 persons in a stabilized population would mean a life-expectancy of 100 years; for a death rate of 11 the life-expectancy would be about 90 years. Obviously this is impossible. For a stabilized population the present life-expectancy in this country would mean a death rate of about 16. When the age irregularities straighten out and the death rate rises, perhaps to 16 or even beyond, there should be no cause for alarm, since the trend is perfectly "normal" and inevitable in the nature of biosocial changes.

Expectation of Life. From the foregoing discussion of the declining death rate it might be surmised that the expectation of life in this country has tended to increase. So great, indeed, have been these gains in recent years that, in the words of Dublin and Lotka,

"the expectation of life we have attained represents an achievement which probably even a confirmed optimist would hardly have been sanguine enough to foresee." [35] Both city and country have shared in these gains, though the increase in life expectancy for urban areas has been greater than the increase in rural sections. From 1901 to 1930 the gain in life-expectancy for urban males was 12.76 years as compared with 8.06 years for rural males.[36] The corresponding gains for urban and rural females were 13.15 and 9.68 years, respectively.

But even with these increases in life expectancy, the city is in a less favorable position than the country. The accompanying table presents a rather complete picture of life-expectancy in urban and rural areas. A rural male may expect to live, on the average, about five

Table XVII

EXPECTATION OF LIFE, 1930, FOR WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, AT SPECIFIED AGES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO URBAN AND RURAL RESIDENCE [37]

CLASS	AGE 0	40	60
Urban Population			
Males	56.73	27.33	13.44
Females	61.05	30.34	15.37
Advantage for Females	4.32	3.01	1.93
Rural Population			
Males	62.09	31.47	15.98
Females	65.09	33.19	16.98
Advantage for Females	3.00	1.72	1.00
Rural Advantage over City			
Rural Males over Urban Males	5.36	4.14	2.54
Rural Females over Urban Females	4.04	2.85	1.61
Rural Males over Urban Females	1.04	1.13	.61

years longer than an urban male, while a rural female may expect to live approximately four years longer than a female residing in a city. As a matter of fact, so favorable is the country to longevity that rural males, while having a life-expectancy at birth less than rural females, may nevertheless anticipate a longer existence than urban females.

35. Dublin, Louis I., Lotka, Alfred J., *Length of Life*, p. 79 (1936).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
37. Based on table in Dublin and Lotka, p. 91.

The increase in life-expectancy has undoubtedly been due mainly to achievements in the field of applied medicine, particularly in the phenomenal reduction of infant mortality. Although life-expectancy at birth has been significantly increased, no comparable increases have been achieved in life-expectancy for the middle-age groups. Whereas the increase in expectation of life at birth for urban males between 1901 and 1930 was 12.76 years, the increase at the age of 50 was only 1.22 years and at 70 only .3 years. Indeed, the life-expectancy for urban males at 90 years of age actually declined by .2 years between 1910 and 1930. Since the spectacular accomplishments in reducing infant mortality will never again be duplicated, only modest gains in life-expectancy in the future may be anticipated. The present expectation of about 60 years may likely be increased to 65, and conceivably even to 70, but it is hardly possible, on the basis of our present knowledge of biology, to push the level beyond the Biblical allotment of three score years and ten.

We have noted in this chapter the changes that are taking place in fertility and mortality. The sociologist is not particularly interested in these changes when they are viewed solely as biological phenomena, but he is very much concerned about them in so far as they affect human relationships. For the reader who has followed closely the analysis in this chapter it should be quite apparent that biosocial changes may have a profound effect on the entire fabric of human society and that they may create social problems which will demand the attention of social analysts and social planners. Indeed, these changes are so basic that by virtue of their social effects they may contribute to the decline of an entire civilization or, on the contrary, become important factors in the growth and expansion of social organization.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Prepare charts showing the trend of birth rates in selected cities of your region, using the ratio of women to children under 5 years of age for different census periods.
2. How do you explain the fact that a given population may be in-

creasing although the net reproduction rate may be below replacement?

3. Using the 1940 census data, find out the number of cities that showed a NATURAL DECREASE in population during the previous decade. Classify these cities according to size, location, and major economic activity.

4. Select a sample of 100 upper-class families in your community and compare their fertility rates with those of a similar sample of families in the lower economic brackets.

5. Write a paper on the social, economic, and political aspects of a declining urban population.

6. Discuss the reasons for the statement that death rates in this country are likely to increase within relatively few years.

7. How would you explain the differences in expectation of life for males and females?

8. It has been suggested that the rising age level of the population will result in a larger percentage of the population in the upper age brackets, and that this trend may be associated with certain political changes. Discuss.

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II

SELECTIVE MIGRATIONS

THE RAVENSTEINIAN THEORY OF MIGRATIONS. As early as 1885 Ravenstein, after an extensive study of movements of population toward and away from 64 British cities, arrived at the following conclusions:

1. That the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance, and there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces "currents of migration" setting in the direction of the great centers of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.
2. The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom. Migrants enumerated in a certain center of absorption will consequently grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnishes them.
3. Each main current produces a compensating countercurrent.
4. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.
5. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural parts of the country.
6. Females are more migratory than males.[1]

Because specific social and economic situations vary not only from one country to another but also from one region to another within the same country, it might be supposed that the pattern of migration would assume many forms and that no single "law" would neces-

1. Ravenstein, E. G., "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48: 167–235 (1885).

sarily be applicable to all of the United States or to other countries of the world. Moreover, social and economic conditions change, and with these changes come variations in the migratory habits of people. If Ravenstein's theory was applicable in England a half-century ago it does not follow that it is entirely applicable today.

STUDIES TENDING TO CONFIRM RAVENSTEIN. A study by Moore of the urbanward movement of population in Sweden grew out of the hypothesis that "the more two types of community resemble each other in degree of industrial development the easier is the flow of population between them." [2] From a selected county the rate of migrations to Stockholm of town-born persons was much higher than the rate for agricultural-born individuals. Even when distance was held constant, significant differences were present: for distances less than 100 kilometers the rates of migrants per 10,000 population were 63 for agricultural-born persons and 193 for town-born; where the distances were over 100 kilometers the rates were 71 and 297, respectively. Of the migrants to Stockholm for whom the investigator had data, 44½ per cent were from towns, 29 per cent were from rural communities of an industrial or mixed character, and 14 per cent were from agricultural communities. When the data were analyzed in terms of community of birth of the migrants going directly to Stockholm it was found that the town-born migrated twice as frequently proportionately as the agricultural-born, while in case of successive moves, the last place of residence previous to Stockholm was most commonly a town.

In his study of migrations in Germany from 1900 to 1927, Taeuber concluded that the majority of migrants traveled only short distances, but that there were considerable variations in distance according to the economic class and occupational group to which the migrant belonged.[3] Distance of migration to and from cities, he found, tended to increase with skill and social rank. An-

2. Moore, Jane, *Cityward Migration: Swedish Data*, pp. 43–57 (1938). A "town" in Sweden is a relatively large administrative unit, with size and density being only two factors considered in defining it.

3. Taeuber, Conrad F., *Migrations to and from Selected German Cities*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota (1931).

other German study reached substantially the same conclusions.[4] Migrants to the city of Görlitz came mainly from the adjacent regions, with the distances traveled tending to increase among the higher age levels of the migrating group.

EXCEPTIONS TO THE RAVENSTEIN THEORY. In this country census data have been recorded for state of birth rather than for specific communities or other minor areas. Nor is there information on the place of residence preceding the migration of the individual. For this reason it has been difficult to secure data on distance of migrations except in so far as interstate-movements give a rather general picture of the trend. Nevertheless, such data as are available indicate that there are exceptions to the "short-distance" theory of migration as formulated by Ravenstein. One notable deviation from the principle may be observed in the migrations of Negroes from the farms and plantations of the South to the cities of the North. Before 1910 colored people had shown a tendency to migrate only short distances to near-by cities or states, but more recent migrations, particularly those of the period 1910 to 1930, have been characterized by a large proportion of long-distance moves from the South.

In his study of Negro migrants from St. Helena island, off the coast of South Carolina, Kiser found that approximately 40 per cent of the migrants went to Savannah, 30 per cent to New York City, 20 per cent to other Northern cities, and the remainder to Southern cities, towns, and rural areas.[5] Almost half of the migrants interviewed in New York by Kiser had made the journey directly from the island. The author reaches the conclusion, therefore, that "the movement from St. Helena does not substantiate the theory held by some that migrants from the farms to the city pass through intermediate stages of residence in villages, towns, and cities, each successive change of domicile being toward a larger center."[6] Kennedy's study of Negro migrants also indicates the drawing power of North-

4. Pietschmann, E., *Auswirkungen der Binnenwanderung in Görlitz.* Quoted in Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, pp. 325–326 (1938).

5. Kiser, Clyde V., *Sea Island to City*, p. 146 (1932).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

ern cities on Southern Negroes.[7] There is evidence, however, that during depression years Negro migrations to Northern cities have slowed down and larger numbers have turned to the metropolitan communities of the South.

Another exception to the Ravensteinian "law" may be noticed in the cross-country hops made by rural Middle Westerners to localities on the Pacific coast. Thousands of drought victims from the "dust bowl" of the Great Plains have gone directly to California and other Western states, hoping to find therein an opportunity to earn a livelihood. One rural county in central Missouri has for several decades been sending migrants directly to Redlands, Glendale, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, and other California cities. The distance between the two points is approximately 2,000 miles. Detroit's industries have attracted workers from many parts of the Middle West and South. What percentage of the migrants to Detroit come from farms and villages we do not know.

It appears also that the social and economic status of the migrant is a factor in the distance of migration. The professional and owning classes, the occupational specialists and the intelligentsia, while perhaps no more mobile than the lower classes from the standpoint of frequency of moves, are able to migrate greater distances in search of opportunities. Since the opportunities for these groups are found mostly in the cities, their migrations are, naturally, from one urban area to another and are therefore longer than those of the unspecialized migrant in the lower economic levels who moves from town to city in search of employment as a laborer or as a tradesman. The large industrial centers, the "boom" cities, the thriving seaports that are located on the crossroads of the world, in a word, areas that hold promise of unusually great financial and social rewards, romance, and adventure, tend to be populated by migrants who have traveled greater distances than is the case with areas that have fewer attractions.

Any number of conditioning factors may change the character of the migrations. Periods of prosperity and depression may shift

7. Kennedy, Louise V., *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward*, Ch. 2 (1932).

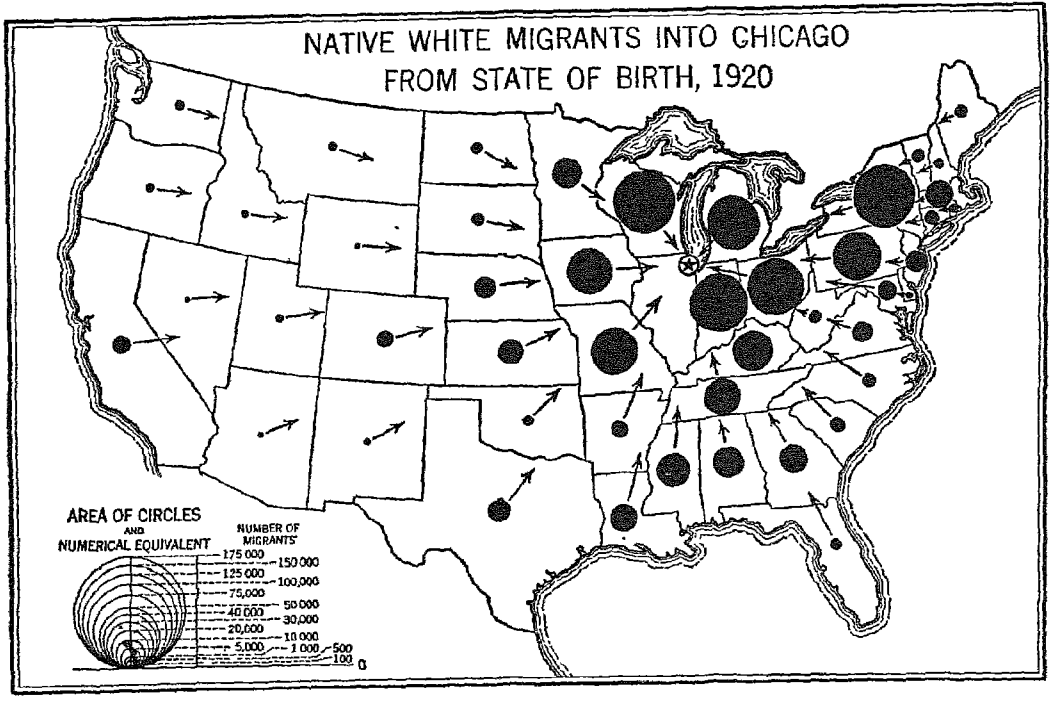


FIG. XVI. Comparison of migrations to Chicago from the different states. The metropolis tends to exert the greatest drawing power on the near-by states. (Courtesy of the U.S. Department of Agriculture)

the volume of population currents from one direction to another; transportation facilities and topographic conditions may intensify the flow of population in one channel or deflect it in a different direction; through facilities of communication one outlying community or area may be attracted to the city while another, no farther away but with less knowledge of the city's attractions and opportunities, may send few migrants in the direction of the metropolis. Year by year and month by month variations occur in the movements of population to and from the city; and as technological improvements are made, as the intellectual and cultural horizon of rural peoples is lifted or lowered, as changes are made in the social and economic structure, new trends and tendencies are likely to characterize the spatial movements of peoples with respect to great centers of absorption.

Selection of Age Groups. Numerous studies by rural and urban sociologists tend to support the hypothesis that young persons are more susceptible to the drawing-power of cities than their elders and are more inclined to migrate urbanward. Urban migrations are therefore at their maximum in the early productive years of the individuals who change their habitat. One method of ascertaining age selection in migrations is to compare age groups of persons 15 years of age or over in, say, 1930 with groups 10 years younger, on the average, in 1920. Obviously these two groups cannot be increased by births; therefore death or migration are the only causes of change. From life tables it is possible to estimate with a high degree of accuracy the number of persons living in 1920 who were still alive in 1930. The difference between the number of persons "still alive" in 1930 and the enumerated population for the same year represents the gain or loss due to migrations. Using this method in Ohio, Beck found that 21 per cent of the males and 25 per cent of the females 15 years of age or over had migrated from the farms, their destination being either cities or villages, or other states.[8] Approximately half the farm group between 20 and 29 years of age in 1930 had

8. Beck, P. G., *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 533 (May, 1934).

migrated; and of the 200,000 persons who had left farms between 1920 and 1930, three out of four were between the ages 15 and 45. It is not known, of course, what proportion went to the cities, but since the cityward movement during this decade was unusually heavy it may be assumed that the majority of them were urbanward bound.

Following much the same method, Hamilton found that in North Carolina almost three-fourths of the net migration loss to farms could be accounted for by the age groups 15 to 35, and about half by the age groups 20 to 30.[9] He also noted that the age at which migrations from farms to city begins is usually about 17 or 18. The Eugenics Survey of Vermont, representing a study of migrations into and away from three small Vermont towns, indicated that 64 per cent of the out-migrants between 1910 and 1930 were between the ages 15 to 44, whereas 51 per cent of the in-migrants were in the same age group.[10] Thornthwaite estimated the age distribution of migrants into Detroit, Los Angeles, and San Francisco and found that while all three cities tended to select migrants in the lower age groups the selection was by no means uniform for the three communities. The following table, adapted from Thornthwaite, shows this distribution:

Table XVIII

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS INTO DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, AND SAN FRANCISCO, BY SEX, 1920 TO 1930[11]

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN 1920	DETROIT		LOS ANGELES		SAN FRANCISCO	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Under 10	13.6	17.1	14.7	15.4	10.0	12.2
10 to 24	72.6	63.9	42.5	39.8	70.0	73.7
25 to 49	12.4	17.6	36.1	35.5	16.3	12.5
50 and over	1.4	1.4	6.7	9.3	3.7	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

9. Hamilton, C. Horace, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina 1920 to 1930*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 295 (February, 1934).

10. *Selective Migration from Three Rural Vermont Towns and Its Significance*, Eugenics Survey of Vermont (1931).

11. Thornthwaite, C. W., *Internal Migration in the United States*, pp. 32–37 (1934).

An examination of these figures will reveal some striking differences between Los Angeles and the other two cities. The age level of the migrants entering Detroit and San Francisco is considerably lower than that of the Los Angeles group, the differences applying both to males and females. Among the Los Angeles migrants a sizable proportion is in the upper age groups, in contrast to the age level of the persons entering the other two cities. For all three cities, however, the modal group of both sexes falls in the class interval 15 to 19 years. These differences in age composition of the migrants may be explained at least partly in terms of the economic attractions of Detroit, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. In Detroit and San Francisco large numbers of men in the prime of life have been needed to carry on the industrial and shipping activities. For older workers there is little demand. Climatic and other attractions in Los Angeles, on the other hand, have lured to that city large numbers of older persons seeking to spend their declining years in a land of highly advertised sunshine.

Heavy migrations from country to city quite obviously affect the age composition of both rural and urban populations in general. As we have noted, the rural-urban movement tends to be heaviest in the lower age levels, particularly in the age group 15 to 24. This means, of course, that the rural population is losing heavily on this age level, whereas the additions to cities are from the same group. One of the results, therefore, is to increase the percentage of the urban population in the most productive age levels. The differences in age composition of rural and urban populations are not due entirely, of course, to selective migrations; differential birth and death rates are also factors.

A useful device to show graphically the age composition of any selected group is the population "pyramid," examples of which are reproduced on the following pages. In any population the graph of age distribution approximates the form of a pyramid, with the younger members forming the base and the older ones constituting the apex. Whenever there is a rapid natural increase of population

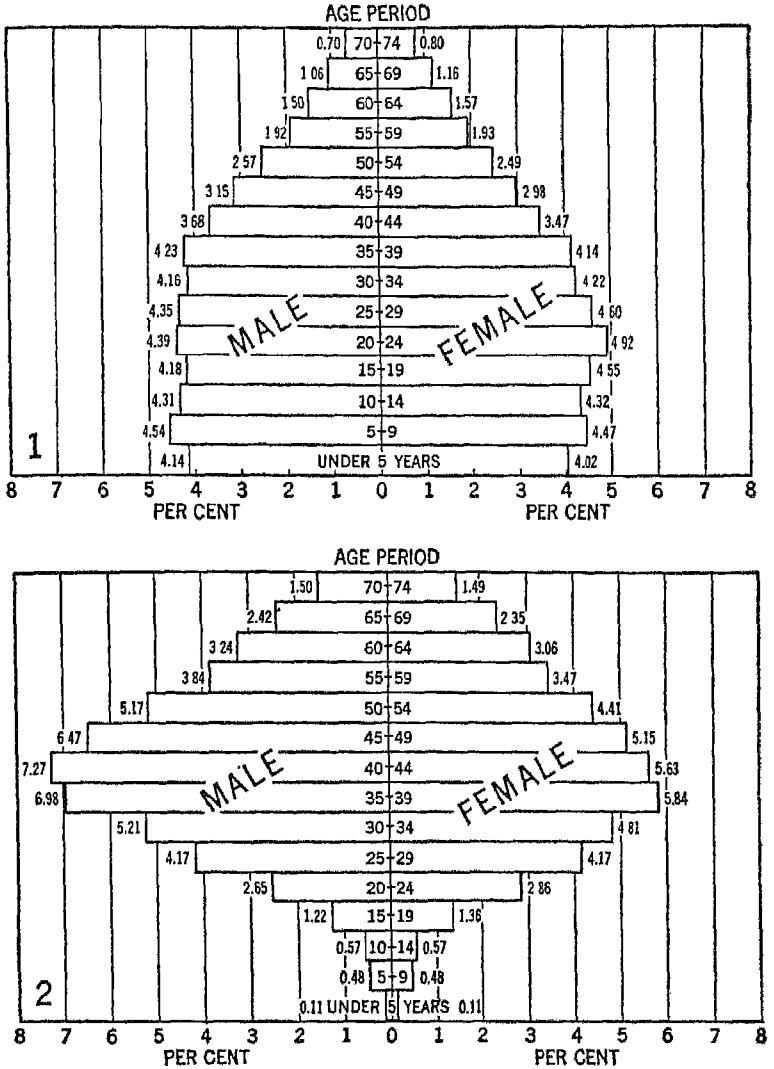
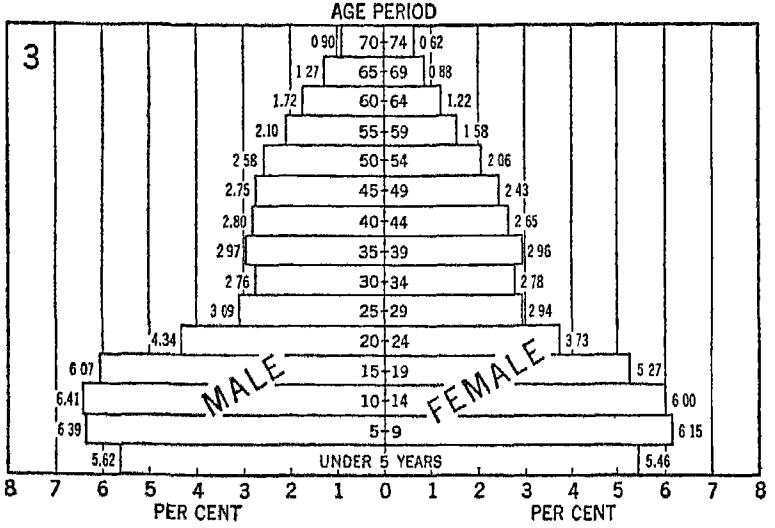
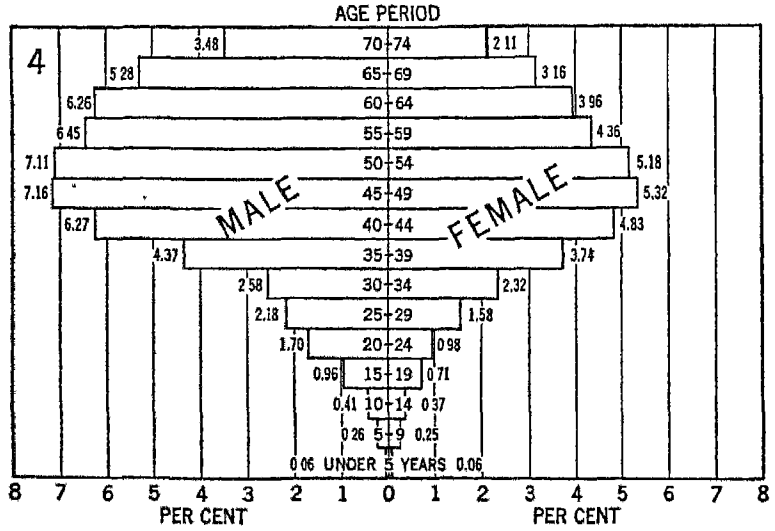


FIG. XVII. The Population Pyramid. (From 1930 Census data. Courtesy of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.) 1. Total Urban Population. 2. Urban Foreign-Born White.





3. Total Rural-Farm Population. 4. Rural-Farm Foreign-Born White.

the base of the pyramid widens, but when there is a declining birth rate the base tends to narrow and the upper parts of the curve, representing the middle and advanced ages, bulge out, giving the curve a bell-shaped form. Movements of population also influence the shape of the pyramid. When the population current is drifting in centripetal fashion toward the center of absorption, the upper and middle portions of the "urban pyramid" tend to bulge until it takes the appearance of a top, whereas in areas of dispersion the lines shrink in the middle until it tends to become spindle-shaped. Apparently the larger the city, especially if it is a thriving industrial center, the greater the tendency for the curve to bulge in the middle and top. In some of the large American cities approximately 50 per cent of the population are from 20 to 44 years of age. The increase in the proportion of this age group has been due not only to the migration of young adults to the city but also to the declining birth rates that have accompanied urbanization.

Selection of Sex. The Ravensteinian principle that women are more mobile than men seems to be valid for the United States if by mobility is meant the greater frequency of movement from country to city. A number of studies conducted in this country indicate a higher percentage of females than males among the rural-urban migrants, though in certain European countries the reverse has at times been true. Among the rural out-migrants enumerated in the Eugenics Survey of Vermont, 42 per cent were males and 57 per cent females. Gist and Clark found that of a sample of 2,544 rural high-school students attending school in 1922–23, 37 per cent of the males and 39 per cent of the females were living in cities in 1935.[12] In a study of Indiana high-school graduates 57 per cent of the males and 63 per cent of the females migrated from their home communities.[13] Lively and Foott found that in Ohio 42 per cent of the female children and 27 per cent of the male children who were at home in

12. Gist, Noel P., and Clark, Carroll D., "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 55 (July, 1938).

13. Young, O. E., *Migratory Trends of Graduates of Indiana Schools, 1900–1930*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Indiana (1930).

1929 were away from home in 1935.[14] In a rural community of western New York, Anderson estimated that 28 per cent of all the sons and 35 per cent of all the daughters away from home were living in three urban centers, Buffalo, Rochester, and Batavia.[15] His conclusion was that "daughters tend to migrate to cities more than do the sons."

Investigations in Germany by Heberle and Meyer, however, indicate a somewhat different trend.[16] In all but three of 55 German cities the total migrations (both in and out of the city) were greater for males than for females, although marked variations were found between the different communities. However, the data were secured for 1910 and do not necessarily represent trends existing at present. Nor does the study show the selection in migrations *to* the city, since only total migrations are taken into account. After analyzing Swedish census data Thomas comes to the conclusion that "migration to towns and cities as a whole, and particularly recent migration, has been strongly selective of females." [17] Data on migrations to Amsterdam, cited by the same author, show also a trend toward marked selection of females during the postwar period.

If data on migrations are refined it appears that some of the generalizations concerning sex selection must be modified. In long-distance movements, particularly migrations from one country to another, males have predominated in numbers. Among the Old World newcomers who occupy the immigrant areas of our large cities there is a larger percentage of men than women; indeed some of these groups are composed largely of males who have migrated from the homeland to make their fortunes and return eventually to their wives and children. In Sweden, however, Thomas found that the selective process varied with the type of area: migration to

14. Lively, C. E., and Foott, F., *Population Mobility in Selected Areas of Rural Ohio, 1928–1935*. Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 582 (June, 1937).

15. Anderson, W. A., *Mobility of Rural Families*, New York Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 623, p. 24 (March, 1935).

16. Heberle, Rudolf, and Meyer, Fritz, *Die Grossstädte im Strome der Binnenwanderung* (1937). Quoted in Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–67, 313–316.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

rural areas was more selective of women from long distances than from near-by districts; for cities and towns, on the other hand, the selection of females was greater from near distances than from remote areas.

In general it may be safe to conclude that the hardships and uncertainties involved in long-distance movements tend to discourage the migration of women. However, with increased safety and comfort of travel, with improved means of transportation, with growing independence of women and an increasing number of occupational opportunities for them, distances traveled by females may be expected to increase. Whether males predominate in the city-to-city migrations at present we do not know.

The differential rates of migration for males and females have affected the sex-composition of both rural and urban areas. This age composition is commonly stated in terms of the ratio of males to females. A sex ratio of, say, 95 means that for the group in question there are 95 males to 100 females. A sex ratio of 105 obviously means a preponderance of males over females. For the urban population as a whole the sex ratio in 1930 was 98.1; for the rural population it was 108.3. The urban foreign-born group had a sex ratio of 111 as compared to 134 for the rural foreign-born. For urban and rural Negroes the ratios were 91.3 and 101.7, respectively.[18]

With the exception of certain types of cities, particularly those whose occupational activities are such as to demand male labor, the urban population of the country shows a tendency toward feminization. All the reasons for this trend are not known, but it appears that at least a partial explanation may be found in the processes of competition and selection. Although there is a larger number of male births in the country at large, the heavy mortality, both during infancy and in later years when the individual incurs the hazards of occupation, vice, disease, and various excesses, partly effaces the numerical superiority of males. Perhaps of greater significance, however, are the social and economic factors that are responsible for the heavier migrations of women to cities. The changes in attitudes

18. *Population Bulletin*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, p. 13 (1932).

toward the employment of women have meant relatively more social and economic opportunities for females than for males; hence a greater inducement for women to migrate to urban centers. Not only do they migrate more freqently, but they also migrate at an earlier age—partly, perhaps, because of earlier maturation.

The freedom of the city as contrasted with the rigidity of the rural mores has increased the attraction of urban life for women. It is in the city that they find new opportunities for self-expression; new chances to develop latent talents and to pursue their own interests and inclinations; and above all, an adequate amount of leisure time. The luxuries and physical comforts of the city, the endless variety of stimulations always present in the metropolis, appeal to women more than to men. Women are also less suited to the tasks of primary production than are men: agriculture, mining, lumbering, and similar occupations essentially nonurban in nature demand the services of men and are partly responsible for their preponderance in areas where such pursuits are followed.

While urban populations in general show a slight preponderance of women, marked variations occur in the ratios from city to city. The cities that are located on the "pioneer fringes" of this country usually show a higher percentage of males. That is the case, for example, with Seattle, the labor market for the railroad, lumbering, canning, and construction industries of the Northwest. Akron and Youngstown, the former the center of the rubber industry, the latter a steel-manufacturing city, attract men for the heavy work of their industrial enterprises. But even in these cities there has been a sharp increase in the ratio of women to men. In 1900 Seattle had 176.7 men for every 100 women, but in 1930 the ratio had been reduced to 103.7 to 100. During the decade preceding 1930 the ratio of men to women in Akron decreased from 138.9 to 104 to 100. Portland, Oregon, which had 142.4 men for every 100 women in 1900, actually had fewer men than women in 1930.

Whereas men are attracted to cities in which heavy manufacturing predominates, women are drawn to industrial centers having light manufacturing or extensive commercial activities. The textile

cities of Lowell, Fall River, Paterson, Passaic, and others have an unusually high percentage of women, because female labor is at a greater premium in these industries than the labor of men. Washington, D. C., with large numbers of women employed in the government offices, has a higher percentage of women than men.

The following table shows five cities with high sex ratios and five having low ratios. The differences can probably be accounted for partly in terms of the economic structure of each community.

Table XIX

SEX RATIO, NUMBER OF MEN FOR EACH 100 WOMEN, IN 10 CITIES, 1930[19]

CITY	RATIO
Montclair, N.J.	83.0
Richmond	88.2
Lowell	89.7
Washington	90.9
New Orleans	91.5
Duluth	102.2
Chicago	102.7
Seattle	103.7
Akron	104.0
Youngstown	104.2

While the city shows higher percentages of young and middle-aged persons than does the country, as well as a larger percentage of women than men, there is no uniformity of distribution of either age or sex within the walls of the metropolis. On the contrary, there are significant variations among the different districts and sections of the community. There are areas that are almost exclusively masculine, as in the case of the "hobohemias," the Greektowns, and the Chinatowns. Immigrant settlements in the larger cities are usually preponderantly masculine. There are, on the other hand, areas that are populated largely by women, such as industrial suburbs which attract a particular type of female labor. Likewise, there are urban areas having an even distribution of the sexes. It is therefore within the city that the striking contrasts are to be seen—contrasts as great

19. Adapted from data in *Sex Distribution*, U.S. Bureau of the Census (1932).

as if not greater than the differences of sex distribution between country and city. The ratios of men to women for entire cities present a no more accurate picture than do, say, urban divorce or suicide rates that do not take into consideration the variations in the different areas.

SELECTION OF INTELLIGENCE. Since it is quite obvious that the city does possess certain powers of selection, it has been generally assumed that the metropolis has not only drawn to it a disproportionate share of certain age and sex groups but has also attracted the superior element of the country. Nearly two decades ago Ross called attention to "folk depletion as a cause of rural decline" in New England and other sections of the country that had witnessed a wholesale urbanward migration.[20]

Although the generalizations formulated by Ross were provocative they were based on a superficial impression of trends rather than on a scientific analysis of migrations. Since that time a number of studies in this field have been made, with various techniques of research employed and with certain conflicting conclusions arising from the results. Some of these studies are summarized here for the purpose of demonstrating the various ways in which the hypothesis may be tested by way of research.

a. *Gee's Studies in Virginia.* After analyzing the rural depopulation in the Tidewater and Piedmont areas of Virginia, Gee and Corson concluded that "so far as educational training is a measure of superior ability, ambition, and character, rather uniformly the results indicate a selective migration distinctly in favor of the city."[21] In another study of the effects of migration in rural Virginia, Gee and Runk present data that tend to indicate that the city is selective of intelligence.[22] By dividing the families that were studied into

20. Ross, E. A., "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline," *Publications American Sociological Society*, 11: 21–30 (1917).

21. Gee, Wilson, and Corson, J. J., *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia*, Monograph of the University of Virginia, p. 102 (1929).

22. Gee, Wilson, and Runk, D., "Selection in Cityward Migration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 37: 354–365 (September, 1931). Cf. Reuss, Carl F., "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900–1930," *Rural Sociology*, 2: 66–75 (March, 1937).

three groups in accordance with the way the natural process of stratification has worked itself out in the South, that is, into "upper," "middle," and "lower" classes, and then computing the amount and direction of the migration, they arrived at some conclusions concerning the nature of migration in that particular area.

They found that, of 473 possible migrants representing persons 15 years of age or above, 278, or approximately 59 per cent, had left their parental homes, part of them going to the towns and cities, part to other farms. Of the migrants from the upper group 81.36 per cent moved to urban centers, and in the middle and lower groups the percentages going to cities and towns were 75.78 and 54.95, respectively. While the lowest group showed the greatest mobility —approximately 69 per cent had left their homes—it contributed a smaller percentage of urban-bound persons than did either the middle or upper groups. The investigators conclude from these data that the pulling power of the city is greater on the "superior" element of this region than on the "inferior" portion of the population.

Apparently the underlying assumption of the study is that in the process of rural stratification a sifting has taken place in which the inferior elements tend to sink to the lower social and economic levels while the superior persons tend to congregate in the upper or landowning class. So far as cultural attainments are concerned the latter do represent a superior group, although it is somewhat hazardous to assume, as many are likely to do from data based on such an arbitrary classification, that the upper grades of intelligence belong to the upper stratum of society in these communities. But whatever significance may be attached to this classification, the fact remains that the heaviest inroads of the city are in the upper classes—at least for this area.[23]

b. *Klineberg's Study of Negro Migrations.* Using school grades as a measure of "intelligence," Klineberg made a study of the se-

23. See also Gee's later article, "A Qualitative Study of Rural Depopulation in a Single Township: 1900–1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39: 210–221 (September, 1933). Much the same method employed in previous studies is followed, and the results are essentially the same. For a criticism of Gee's methods, see Thomas, op. cit., pp. 194–197.

lective aspects of Negro migrations from three Southern cities to Northern communities.[24] The problem as formulated by Klineberg, however, did not involve migrations from country to city but rather interregional migrations from Southern cities to communities in the North. He secured the academic grades of 562 Negro children who had attended the elementary schools of Nashville, Birmingham, and Charleston and who had later migrated to a different area. Each child was given a ranking on the basis of his academic achievement, the age factor being considered in computing the individual ranks. With 50 as a theoretical average for all the children in the schools, the average score of the Northern migrants from Birmingham was 44.8, from Nashville 54, and from Charleston 55.6. In other words, the migrants from Birmingham fell definitely below the average of the entire student population. When all the migrant children from the three cities were averaged together the result was 49.3, slightly below the average for the whole population. Klineberg's conclusion was that on the basis of this study there was no evidence to indicate the selection of intelligence in migrations of Negroes from the South to the North. Although his method was interesting and significant the statistical sample was so small as to provide a basis for only tentative generalizations. He is probably safe in concluding, however, that the selective character of migrations may vary with the social and economic conditions in the communities which migrants leave and to which they go.

A second phase of the study was designed to ascertain if any changes in intelligence occurred after the migrants had lived in a Northern community for varying lengths of time. Accordingly, nine series of intelligence tests were given to Negro children in the Harlem (New York) schools, the tests being so designed as to make possible a comparison between a Northern-born control group and Southern children who had been in New York City for lengths of time ranging from 1 to 11 years. The results of tests indicated, first,

24. Klineberg, Otto, *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migrations* (1935). Cf. his "The Intelligence of Migrants," *American Sociological Review*, 3: 218–224 (April, 1938).

that the Northern-born control group was superior to the migrant children who had lived in New York City only a short period of time, and second, that the differences in intelligence of the two groups tended to decline with the increased length of residence of the migrants. That is, the rise in "intelligence" was "roughly proportionate to length of residence in the more favorable environment." [25] Klineberg's conclusion was, then, that if Northern Negroes rank higher than Southern Negroes, the differences are not to be explained in terms of selective migrations but rather in terms of environmental influences. It is his view that the Negro who leaves the South is probably not superior in capacity to those who remain behind.

c. *The Kansas Study.* A different approach to the problem was made by Gist and Clark in a study of the selective character of rural-urban migrations in Kansas.[26] It was the assumption of the investigators that a more "satisfactory control of the cultural factor would be achieved if the traits of the groups to be compared had been measured when both were living in the same rural communities, before migration had occurred." Accordingly, intelligence test scores were secured for a large number of students who had been enrolled in rural high schools in 1922–23, thirteen years before the study was made. Steps were then taken to ascertain the residential locations of the former students by securing the specific address of each individual in 1935. When the collection of data was finally completed, information on place of residence had been secured for 2,544 persons.

For the total number of individuals for whom data had been secured, 964, or approximately two-fifths, had moved to cities large enough to be classed as urban, while 1,580 resided in rural areas, either the home community of 1922–23 or some other rural district. The mean I.Q. of the rural group was found to be 94.78, whereas the mean I.Q. of the group migrating to cities was 98.26. Although the differences were small they were nevertheless statistically reliable. Over half (52.66 per cent) of the rural group had

25. P. 50. 26. *Op. cit.*

I.Q.'s below 95 as compared with two-fifths (39.21 per cent) of the urban group. For the urban group more than one-fourth (26.97 per cent) of the cases had I.Q.'s of 105 or over, whereas only 17.47 per cent of the rural group was in the superior I.Q. class. When the urban migrants were classified according to the size of the city in which they lived, some interesting differences also appeared. The mean I.Q. of the group living in cities of 2,500 to 10,000 was 97.02; for cities of 10,000 to 25,000, 98.16; for cities 25,000 to 100,000, 97.82; and for cities over 100,000, 99.31. Again the differences were not large, but as between the smallest and largest classes of cities they were statistically significant. For small cities comprising Class I, 45.87 per cent of the group fell below the mean I.Q. of 95; for the large cities only 34.57 per cent were in the low I.Q. category. On the other hand, only 22.48 per cent of the group in communities of Class I were in the upper I.Q. category of 105 or over, whereas 29.14 per cent of the persons living in metropolitan communities were in this superior class.

So far as this particular study is concerned the evidence seems to point to a selection of intelligence in rural-urban migrations. Yet there is no basis for assuming that the urban migrants are genetically superior to those who remain in the rural areas. "What the tests apparently measure, however inadequately, is a composite of the social experiences and backgrounds of the individuals, the richness or drabness of their home environments, their intellectual interests, their attitudes and values, the character of their emotional life, their ambitions, energy, and zeal, or lack of these qualities." [27] Furthermore, even if the Kansas study reflects accurately the trend of selective migration in that area, there is no reason to assume that such a trend is present everywhere.

d. *The Missouri Study*. Another study by Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory, carried on in Missouri in 1938, showed similar, though not identical, selective trends. Instead of using standard intelligence tests, however, the investigators based their computations on the scholastic achievement of rural high school students who were in

27. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

school between 1920 and 1930. By assigning arbitrary numerical values to the letter grades of E, S, M, I, and F, which were earned, then dividing the total points thus obtained by the number of courses taken during the high school period of one or more years, it was possible to compute a mathematical index representing the scholastic achievement of each individual. To avoid distortions resulting from variations in grading standards as between different communities, the grades were equated by dividing the individual index by the average for the entire school. Students ranking higher than the school average would rank above 1 (or 100 for statistical purposes); those less than the average would rank less than 1 (or 100).

The time elapsing between the date the individuals were in school and the date of collecting the information ranged from 8 to 18 years, depending on the specific years of school attendance during the 1920s. This was presumed to be sufficient time for the former students to migrate and perhaps make an occupational choice, since the ages of virtually all of them in 1938 would fall between 25 and 35 years, with an average age of about 30. As in the case of the Kansas study, information was secured on the place of residence of each individual at the time the study was conducted. With these data at hand it was then possible to classify the individuals according to type of residence, that is, farm, non-farm, and urban. Information on the place of residence of 5,187 persons from 97 rural Missouri communities was obtained.

The statistical analysis indicated that rather marked differences existed between the scholastic index of the persons who were living on farms and the group living in rural villages and urban communities, but less significant differences existed between the village and city residents. Of the farm residents, 22.3 per cent had a superior scholastic index of 115 or above, while for the village and urban groups the percentages were 28.3 and 30.4, respectively. One-third (33.5 per cent) of the farmers had a scholastic index below 85 as compared with 27.3 per cent for the villagers and 25.8 for the group that had moved to the city. Residents of large urban communities

(50,000 or over) made a slightly better showing than the total urban sample, 32.6 per cent having a superior scholastic index (115 or over) and 24.9 per cent falling in the low scholastic category (less than 85). Further refinement of the data was made by computing the mean scholastic index for the residents of farm, non-farm, and urban communities, with tests of statistical reliability computed to ascertain if the differences between the means were statistically significant. For the farm group the mean scholastic index was 96.8; for the rural non-farm group, 100.9; and for the urban group, 102.2. By using the customary methods of determining statistical reliability of differences between arithmetic means, it was found that the differences between the mean index of the farm group and the index of the villagers and urban residents was *highly significant*, and that *moderately significant* differences existed between the mean index of the village and city groups.

e. *The Tennessee Study.* In a study of selective migrations in Tennessee, Mauldin compared the scholastic grades of children who had migrated to Knoxville, Tennessee, with those of children who had lived continuously in the same city.[28] By placing a numerical value on each letter grade earned he was able to compute a scholastic index for the individuals whose school records were available. From a total sample of 1,082 persons, including 692 natives of Knoxville and 390 migrants, he found that the in-migrants had a scholastic index of 2.33 as compared to an index of 2.22 for the children who were native to the city. Children migrating from rural communities had an index of 2.19; those from small cities had an index of 2.50; while migrants from metropolitan centers were rated at 2.39. Just how significant these differences were it is not possible to say, since the analysis of the data involved no tests of statistical reliability. Interestingly enough, the investigator found that the scholastic index of the migrants was inversely related to the length of residence in Knoxville, the scholastic level of the group tending to de-

28. Mauldin, W. Parker, "A Sample Study of Migration to Knoxville, Tennessee," *Social Forces*, 18:360–364 (March, 1940). See also his article, "Selective Migration from Small Towns," *American Sociological Review*, 5:748–758 (October, 1940).

cline consistently with the increase in number of years lived in the city. Mauldin's findings concerning the effects of urban residence on intellectual achievements are not in conformity, therefore, with Klineberg's data relating to changes in the I.Q. of migrant Negro children in New York City. Just why the migrants made a better showing than the native children of Knoxville is a matter of conjecture—Mauldin suggests two possible explanations, but these are obviously only hypotheses. Certainly the validity or at least the representative character of these data should be tested by similar studies of selective migrations in other cities.

f. *The Minnesota Study.* Fortified with data assembled in 1924–28 from studies in Minnesota, Sorokin and Zimmerman take exception to the selective theory of migration, insisting that "there is no valid evidence that migration to the cities is selective in the sense that the cities attract those who are better physically, vitally, mentally, morally, or socially, and leave in the country those who are poorer in all these respects. There is also no evidence that the reverse is true. The most probable answer is that, all in all, the cityward emigration is 'unselective' in these respects." [29] A series of studies conducted by Zimmerman of the origin and migrations of 694 farm families in Minnesota indicated that there was no noticeable selection of the higher economic groups, but that "children of the successful farm families stay on the farms more often than children of the less successful (and least competent) farm families." [30] The groups with the lowest incomes (below $1,400) had 23.2 per cent of all the children 18 years or over, but these groups furnished 30.9 per cent of the migrants to cities and 40 per cent of the migrants to large cities. The children from the successful families, on the other hand, rose more rapidly into the upper (non-wage-earning) classes when they did migrate to the city—and this added fact the investigator took as evidence that they had more ability than children from the unsuccessful families.

29. Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, C. C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, p. 582 (1929).

30. Zimmerman, C. C., "Migrations to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 32:450–455; also Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

However, to suggest, as do Sorokin and Zimmerman, a "net law of rural-urban social selection" in which "cities attract the extremes and the farms the means" seems unwarranted, to say the least.[31]

Certainly qualitative as well as quantitative characteristics of migrations may vary from one community or region to another. Areas in which the soil and natural resources have been depleted may differ with respect to the quality of their migrants from prosperous and fertile areas. This is suggested in Klineberg's study, though the specific evidence is lacking, as the author admits. Furthermore, areas that are culturally retarded may differ in their migrations from areas that provide cultural opportunities for the population. Finally, even though it becomes definitely established that migrations in a given area are selective of intelligence for a certain time, it does not necessarily follow that such selection will be permanent; indeed under changing conditions it might well be reversed.

Selection on Basis of Race and Nationality. While foreign-born persons have settled both in rural and urban areas, a disproportionate number have gone to the cities. This has been particularly true of the South Europeans who constituted the bulk of migrations to this country after 1900. The Little Sicilies, Little Polands, Greek-towns, Chinatowns, and similar immigrant areas are evidence of the extreme degree to which certain nationalities have congregated in the great cities. Jews in particular have evinced a marked inclination for city life. In 1930 the Jews comprised 6.6 per cent of the urban population, but only 0.2 per cent of the rural (farm and non-farm) population.[32] Two-fifths of the Jews of the country are concentrated in New York City, while 80 per cent of them are in cities of 100,000 or over.[33] However, there is some evidence that the Jewish population is becoming more widely dispersed throughout the country. In all probability this dispersion means a movement from the big centers to smaller cities and towns rather than to farms and villages. During the decade 1917 to 1927 the Jewish population in the North-

31. *Op. cit.*, p. 582. 32. *World Almanac*, 1932, p. 433.
33. Engelman, U. Z., "The Swedish Synagogue in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41: p. 60 (July, 1935).

ern States decreased nearly two per cent, whereas in the South there was an increase of 3 per cent and in the West an increase of over 1 per cent.[34] Among the Orientals the Chinese have shown a preference for cities, but Japanese and Hindus, especially those who have settled on the West Coast, are fairly evenly divided between country and city.

Other immigrant groups have indicated a greater liking for the soil. Germans, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians often avoided the populous industrial and commercial centers on their arrival, pushing on into the undeveloped frontier regions of the North and Middle West to settle farm lands that were both cheap and plentiful. Many Germans, however, drifted to the cities. Such communities as Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis bear the unmistakable cultural imprint of their large German populations.

With restrictive immigration laws in effect the percentage of foreign-born population will continue to decline, as it has already been doing for a number of years in both rural and urban areas. The accompanying table indicates the trend in the distribution of the foreign-born in this country:

Table XX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS FOR THREE CENSUS PERIODS[35]

GROUP	1930	1920	1910
Urban	15.6	19.1	22.6
Rural	4.9	6.5	7.7
Total	10.9	13.0	14.5

While urban populations in general show a higher percentage of foreign-born than rural areas, there are variations of the percentages in different cities as determined by size of the community, dominant occupational activities, location, and possibly other factors. Industrial cities specializing in heavy manufacturing usually attract large numbers of foreign-born, especially unskilled male laborers. The textile industries in the Eastern cities usually recruit a large portion

34. *Ibid.*, p. 47. 35. *Population*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 3: 13 (1932).

of their unskilled or semi-skilled labor from the ranks of foreign-born women, who are usually willing to work at lower wages than native-born persons with higher standards of living.

Immigrants usually show a greater tendency to settle in the larger cities than in the smaller ones. In ten of the leading cities of the country in 1930 the foreign-born white constituted 19.7 per cent of the total population, the native white of foreign or mixed parentage comprised 30.6 per cent of the total, while the native white of native parents made up 38.4 per cent of the entire population. At the same time ten small cities having populations from 50,000 to 100,000 had 13.4 per cent of the total population composed of foreign-born, 26.1 per cent native white of foreign or mixed parentage, and 53.6 per cent native white of native parents.[36]

Interestingly enough, Negroes have tended to concentrate in the large metropolitan areas of the North rather than in the smaller towns. Even in the South the Negroes have drifted away from the rural areas to the cities, but fewer of them have gone to the Southern cities than to the Northern ones. Although the Negro population in many Northern cities has increased more rapidly than the white population, owing to the selective aspects of urbanward migration, Southern cities have until recently drawn a larger percentage of whites than Negroes.

Whether light-skinned Negroes have been attracted to cities in disproportionate numbers we do not know. It is possible that the selection of color, if any such selection exists, may vary from city to city, depending on the weight given to skin color in assigning individuals to jobs. In the heavy industries a strong back and a willingness to work are undoubtedly of more value to the employer than the amount of pigment in the person's epidermis. On the other hand, many commercial and domestic employers are inclined to favor mulattoes in their employment policies, since light skin tends to have a higher prestige value than black skin among both Negroes and whites. Accordingly, because of the differences in employment opportunities, cities characterized mainly by heavy industry may

36. *Statistical Abstract*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, pp. 22–27 (1931).

tend to attract dark-skinned Negroes whereas cities predominantly commercial may offer greater rewards to the mulattoes. If this hypothesis is correct, and it is nothing more than a hypothesis, then one might expect such cities as New York and Washington to be more attractive than, say, Pittsburgh or Akron to light-colored migrants.

OTHER ASPECTS OF SELECTIVE MIGRATIONS. So little is known of various other selective aspects of rural-urban migrations that we can do no more than suggest the possibilities of such selection and indicate the fragmentary evidence available.

(1) With respect to the selection of certain physical characteristics the existing data are by no means convincing. While some physical differences may exist between rural and urban people, these differences may be due to environmental influences rather than selective migrations. Ripley found on examination of a number of rural and urban Europeans that certain differences existed in stature, pigmentation, and cephalic index.[37] But these differences may have been due, at least in part, to such factors as home conditions, eating habits, conditions of work, leisure-time activities, and so on.

(2) Whether the cities attract the healthier members of the rural population is a question about which there is little convincing evidence. Hill's study of migrations in England represents what is probably the most systematic attack on the problem that has been made.[38] An early study of mortality from phthisis showed that London had a lower death rate from this malady than did the surrounding rural counties that furnished the metropolis with large numbers of migrants. In carrying this investigation farther Hill attempted to find if any differences in mortality existed for specific age and sex groups in London and the county of Essex, selected for the study, and second, to trace a number of migrants for the purpose of ascertaining if differences in environmental conditions could account for the differences in death rates. On the basis of the evidence thus as-

37. Ripley, William Z., *The Races of Europe* (1899).

38. Hill, A. B., *Internal Migration and Its Effects upon the Death Rates:* Medical Research Council Special Report Series, No. 95 (1925).

sembled Hill reached the conclusion, tentatively stated, that the differential death rates were due at least in part to a tendency for the most vigorous element of the rural population to migrate to the city. In a more recent study along the same line he assembles data which, in his opinion, support the original hypothesis.[39] Sorokin and Zimmerman, while admitting the ingenuity of Hill's research method, completely repudiate his conclusions, insisting that no convincing evidence is available to show that the cities are selecting the vigorous elements of the rural population in disproportionate numbers.[40] Employing a technique similar to Hill's, Hutchinson compared the specific death rates from tuberculosis of native residents of Stockholm and non-native residents who had migrated to the city.[41] From the data showing that the Stockholm-born residents had a tuberculosis death rate from 25 to 30 per cent higher than the migrant group, the investigator concluded the migrants were the "better lives," although the evidence did not show if the differences were due to lower resistance to disease on the part of the native-born, to selective migrations, or to both factors.

(3) The theory has been advanced that urbanward migrants tend to be more emotionally unstable than the ones who remain behind. Evidence on this matter is, however, altogether too scanty to be considered seriously. In the first place, "emotional instability" may mean any of a number of things, from going into a fit of rage after stubbing one's toe on a chair in the dark to the development of a serious functional psychosis. Insanity rates are known to be higher for the city than the country, but these differences are not necessarily due to selection of the unstable elements of the rural population. Malzberg found the "crude" insanity rate for native-white first admissions to New York state hospitals less than one-third the rate for patients born in other states, while the rate for

39. "The Recent Trend in England and Wales of Mortality from Phthisis at Young Adult Ages," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 99: 247–296 (Part II, 1936).

40. *Op. cit.*, pp. 577–579.

41. Hutchinson, E. P., "Internal Migration and Tuberculosis Mortality in Sweden," *American Sociological Review*, 1: 273–285 (April, 1936).

Negro migrants was nearly five times as high as the rate for Negroes born in the state.[42] The author, however, is inclined to explain these differentials in terms of the difficulties migrants are likely to have in making an adjustment rather than in terms of selective migrations. Rates were not computed for urban-born residents and rural migrants. Although the numerous variables involved and the problem of controlling them adequately present a serious obstacle in such research, it would be interesting to secure data from emotional stability tests given to children, and after sufficient time had elapsed to permit of migrations to trace each individual's residential history.

(4) The extent to which economic and occupational selection takes place in rural-urban migrations is also largely a matter of speculation. In this country census data have not been adequate for such analyses. Zimmerman concluded from a series of studies in Minnesota involving a few hundred farm families that children from the more successful family groups tended to migrate less frequently than children from the less successful families.[43] But such local studies do not permit of valid generalizations. Moore found in analyzing data on migrations to Stockholm that skilled workers among male migrants and domestic servants among females constituted the largest occupational categories regardless of the type of community of birth.[44] However, males born in towns had a greater chance of being in the clerical occupations than those born in agricultural or rural-industrial communities, while those born in industrial communities were found more frequently in the skilled occupations than persons born in agricultural communities. Of women born in agricultural communities and later migrating to Stockholm a higher proportion was in the domestic service class than was the case with town-born women.

In this country it is doubtless true that the majority of rural-

42. Malzberg, Benjamin, "Migration and Mental Disease Among Negroes in New York State," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 21:107–113 (January–March, 1936).

43. Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

44. *Op. cit.*, pp. 80–87.

urban migrants are in the lower-income levels, but it is also true that the majority of both rural and urban people are in the lower economic brackets. Whether the least successful travel in greater *proportions* we do not know, although our guess is that the drawing-power of the city is greater for the economically unsuccessful than for the well-to-do. Until, however, there is more information on the economic levels of migrants from *specific* rural areas to *specific* urban communities the problem of economic selection will be mainly a matter of conjecture.

(5) Does the city exert a greater pull on lone individuals or upon family groups? Again reliable data are scarce, but available evidence leads us to conclude that the bulk of migrations are individual in character. For one thing, the youthful character of the migrants probably means that the majority of them leave for the city before taking a spouse. Thomas cites two studies, one van den Brink's analysis of migrations to Amsterdam and the other her own study of Swedish migrations, both of which confirm the hypothesis that the majority of cityward migrations are individual in character.[45] In Amsterdam the lone migrants outnumbered by four to one the number of migrant family heads, while in Stockholm the individual migrants also were more numerous. In Stockholm Moore found that migrants, both male and female, were married in greater proportions than persons born in the metropolis, but probably the majority of the marriages occurred after arrival at the city.[46]

(6) There are evidences of a certain degree of "moral" selection in the interchange of population between country and city. The city not only has environmental conditions that are conducive to crime, delinquency, and other forms of demoralization, but the antisocial element is constantly being replenished with recruits who have sought to escape the rigid controls of the country for the freedom and anonymity of the city. Rural delinquents, hedged in by the mores of the homogeneous and well-integrated community and family organizations, quite naturally drift to the city where they may not only live with greater safety but also with greater satisfac-

45. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70–92. 46. *Op. cit.*, pp. 98–118.

tion. Restless souls, eccentrics, and unconventional folk with morbid inclinations, as well as those who are possessed of an unusual intellectual curiosity or gregarious tendencies, find the country atmosphere vapid and dull. It is therefore natural for them to move to the city where they may find the stimulations and the type of companionship that their natures demand. For the most part this migration is a one-way current. Few there are of this type who return to the country; rather they endeavor to accommodate themselves to the urban environment, and in the process of accommodation and assimilation they find their social and economic level and eventually occupy the area of the city to which they are best suited or which they are forced to occupy through the process of competition. As a possible example of the selection of unadjusted persons, Kansas City's high illegitimacy rate has been explained in terms of the migration hypothesis. Probably many girls from the city's large rural hinterland go there to escape the stigma of unmarried motherhood.

ADJUSTMENTS OF MIGRANTS IN THE CITY

It is often assumed that rural migrants who enter the gates of the city make their occupational debut at the base of the occupational pyramid and from that point scale the economic ladder, either slowly or rapidly, or not at all, depending on the respective abilities of the individuals and the nature of the circumstances in which they find themselves. Recent studies suggest that the migrants enter all the social strata of the city, from the top to the bottom. It is to be expected that the bulk of the migrants would enter the ranks of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, for a large portion of both rural and urban populations belong to that class. Zimmerman found that children from 357 Minnesota farm families who had migrated to the city were distributed occupationally as follows: 23 per cent unskilled laborers; 13.8 per cent artisans; 10.4 per cent clerical workers; 10.1 per cent professionals; and 2.6 per cent owners or entrepreneurs.[47]

47. "Migrations to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 32: 453 (November, 1926).

A similar study by Kirkpatrick and Hawthorne indicated that of 135 Ohio farm boys who had moved to the city 45 per cent were laborers of various grades, 23.2 per cent were employed in the public service, 20.3 per cent were in professional service, and 11.5 per cent were business managers or proprietors.[48]

Do rural migrants living in the city rise more slowly in the social scale than those who are urban-born? How does their plane of living compare with that of other persons occupying the same areas of the city? Are they unemployed more frequently than urban-born persons in the same economic stratum? Do they constitute a disproportionate number of persons on the relief rolls of the city? These are significant questions but unfortunately the available evidence does not help us much in answering them. Here is a field in which sociological research is badly needed. One might expect, for example, that the speed with which the rural migrant moved up the social and economic ladder would depend on the amount of education he possesses, the objectives he has in mind, the wealth and status of his family, characteristics of personality, and other factors. If movement to the city is a prelude to launching out into a professional career, then it is likely that the individual will not only move into a social stratum above that occupied by the laboring classes but his movement upward will be more rapid than that of laborers. If, on the other hand, he is an agricultural laborer, a tenant farmer, or a village laborer, then the chances are that he will move into an economic stratum near the bottom of the occupational structure and perhaps move upward more slowly than those more favorably situated at the outset. In all probability Negro migrants enter the occupational hierarchy fairly near the base, but whether rural Negroes are any slower to rise than urban-born Negroes we do not know. These suggestions are to be considered merely as hypotheses; specific research is needed to test their validity.

One research of note may be cited in this connection. In a recent

48. Kirkpatrick, E. L., and Hawthorne, H. W., "Sources and Uses of Income Among 300 Farm Families," preliminary report of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, May, 1928; quoted in Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

study of the adjustments of rural migrants in Cincinnati, Leybourne employed a control group in order to make valid comparisons.[49] Each migrant was matched as nearly as possible by an urban-born and urban-reared white person living as near him as possible in the same census tract of the city and in a household of similar composition, of the same sex, of approximately the same age, and with a comparable position in the family group. The investigator found that three-fifths of the migrants were in the age group 20 to 34 as compared with one-fourth of the general population; that 70 per cent were in the "low-skilled" occupations in manufacturing and mechanical industries as compared with 53 per cent of the control sample; that 18 per cent of the employable migrants were unemployed compared with 11 per cent of the control group; that the median rental paid by the migrants was $16.3, whereas for the control group it was $19.3; that the percentages of home owners were 8.4 and 29.5, respectively; that 77 per cent had gone no further than the elementary school in comparison to 60 per cent of the control group; and that exactly 4.6 per cent of both groups had been dependent on relief in 1935. The investigator rejected the idea that the migrants were lured to the city because of the possibilities of securing relief, since more than two-fifths of them had been in Cincinnati from ten to twenty years. Such quantitative studies of adjustment are promising, though many of them are needed before generalizations can be made.

Social Effects of Selective Rural-Urban Migrations. It is not an easy matter to ascertain the effects on rural and urban society of cityward migrations, since the selective character of these movements is still not fully understood. What, for example, is the effect of age selection on the social and economic structure of the city? When more than half of the migrants to cities are between the ages of 10 and 19, with perhaps a majority in the upper years of this age group, it appears that the presence of such a large percentage of youthful persons would affect the nature of the political, eco-

49. Leybourne, Grace G., "Urban Adjustments of Migrants from the Southern Appalachian Plateaus," *Social Forces*, 16: 238–246 (December, 1937).

nomic, educational, religious, and recreational institutions of the community, for these organizations tend to reflect the needs and interests of the persons whom they serve. Perhaps the general conservatism of the country as compared to the city indicates in part the differences in age composition of rural and urban population. Youth is usually more pliable, more aggressive, more adventuresome than old age.

For urban society as a whole the preponderance of women over men is not great and cannot therefore be said to throw the sex ratios seriously out of balance. But for numerous specific communities the sex ratios are either excessively high or abnormally low. If the character of the economic structure is a factor in attracting a disproportionate number of either males or females to a particular community, then this unbalanced ratio will undoubtedly affect the social and economic life of the entire communal group. A smaller percentage of persons is associated intimately with family groups than is the case in cities having a more equal distribution of the sexes; there is probably also more mobility, more drunkenness, more vice, more crime, more suicide—in general, a greater amount of social and personal disorganization, especially in the so-called men's cities. Frontier cities with their excess numbers of men have always had a reputation for lawlessness.

No one knows if the cities are skimming off the intellectual cream of the rural areas; opinion is divided, and researches have been too scattered and fragmentary to be conclusive. There can be no doubt, however, that the country is losing to the city many of its actual and potential leaders—possibly also a majority of those who are better equipped by education or native endowment to contribute to rural social life. Perhaps the backwardness of many rural areas is due in part to the selective influence of out-migrations; if this is the case then the city may be said to have gained. But even if we knew the extent to which intelligence selection has occurred, which we do not, the measurement of the consequences to communal life of these selective influences would be a difficult thing to achieve with certainty.

There are, however, some measurable effects of the cityward movement of population. Since youthful persons constitute the majority of migrants from the country to the city, it appears that rural communities have had to bear the expense of rearing and educating the young without receiving full benefits of their labors when the productive ages are attained. Cities, on the other hand, have escaped many of the financial responsibilities involved in child care because most of the migrants arrive just at the beginning of their productive years. O. E. Baker estimates that the cities of this country contributed only 40 per cent of the cost of rearing the young people who started to work in urban communities between 1920 and 1930.[50] Figuring the cost of rearing a child to the age of 15 at about $2,250 ($150 a year), Baker estimates that the 6,300,000 net migrations from the farms during the decade 1920–30 represented a "contribution" to the cities of almost 14 billion dollars for the period, or nearly one and a half billion dollars a year, a sum "equal to the value of the wheat crop plus half that of the cotton crop." Furthermore, about one-fifth of the farmers and their wives died during this decade and the estates were divided among their children, one-third of whom had gone to towns and cities. The flow of wealth from the farms incident to the partition of estates Baker estimates to have been between 300 and 400 million dollars a year during the same decade. It is obviously his contention that the cities are becoming enriched, not only with material wealth but also with human resources, at the expense of the country. While his figures can hardly be questioned, he nevertheless fails to mention important counteracting trends involved in contributions, through taxation or otherwise, of urban persons in supporting rural schools, rural welfare programs, and the like.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Make a survey of the regional origins of the population of some city. Take samplings from some specific population elements, or some

50. Baker, O. E., "Rural-Urban Migration and the National Welfare," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 23: 59–126 (June, 1933).

selected area of the city, then show graphically and statistically the places of residence before coming to this particular community.

2. For the same sample of population, secure data concerning the distances traveled by the migrants in each move before coming to the city; also the number of moves for different age and sex groups after leaving community of origin. Do the data support the hypothesis that urbanward migrations take place in a series of relatively short jumps?

3. From census data study the age and sex distribution of population of a selected community. Compare the distribution of age and sex groups for different areas in the city and for different ethnic groups. Construct population pyramids to show graphically the age-sex composition of these groups.

4. Secure information from school records of the social and economic backgrounds of children whose families have recently migrated to the city from rural communities. Compare this group with another sample of children born in the same city.

5. The 1940 census includes data relating to the place of residence in 1935 and can therefore be used in an analysis of population movements. Select an urban community and ascertain what proportion of the population migrated during the five-year period, and show graphically and statistically the sources of these migrants.

6. Make a study of the selective aspects of rural migrations, using scholastic records of rural school students as a basis for the investigation. Select a sample of 100 persons who were in school between, say, 1925 and 1930. Then secure information on each individual concerning present place of residence. Do the data support the hypothesis that the city is tending to select the superior elements of the population?

7. Compare the scholastic records of a group of children who have moved to a selected city from another area with the records of a sample of children who have lived continuously in the same city.

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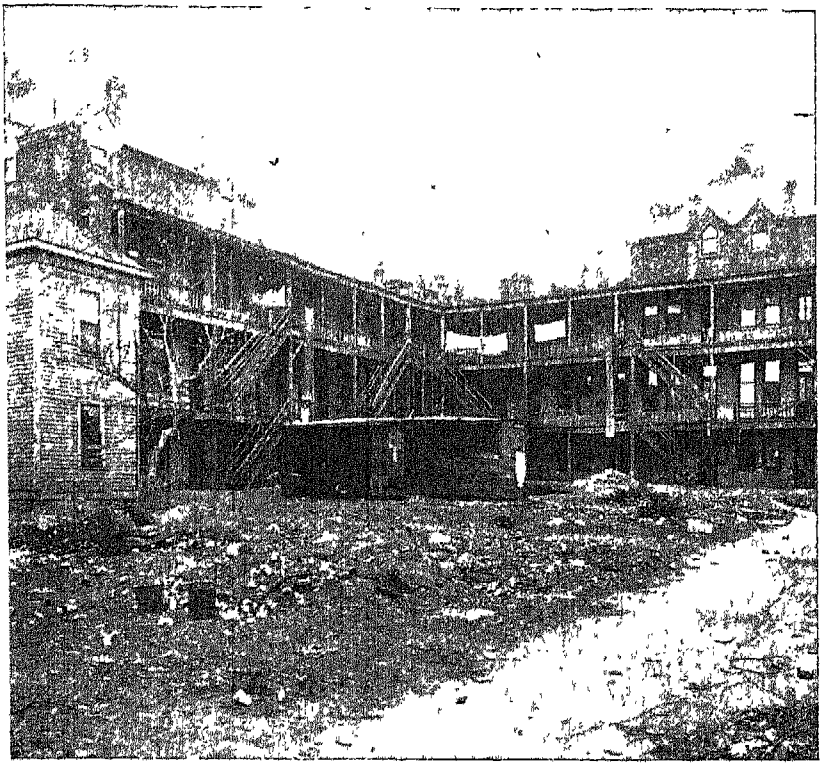
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PART IV

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND PERSONALITY



This is a tenement house in the Negro district of Kansas City, Missouri

12

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BASIS OF URBAN LIFE

IMPERSONALIZATION OF RELATIONS IN THE CITY

In so far as the urban environment involves a type of social contact and interaction that differs widely in many respects from interaction in a rural area it becomes a special laboratory for social investigation and analysis. The city by its very nature is a vast complex of stimuli that become conditioning factors in the development of personality traits. On the one hand are the mechanical aspects of urban culture that touch the lives of metropolites at every point, on the other are the manifold forms of social organization that are a constant source of psychic stimulation. Out of the interaction between the individual and the environment in which he lives come behavior patterns that, to some degree, are peculiar to the city. In this chapter it is proposed to examine what appear to be the principal characteristics and traits of social relationships within the city.

City Life and the Money Economy. "Great cities," says Simmel, "have always been the seats of money economy, because the many-sidedness and the concentration of economic exchange have given the medium of exchange an importance that it could hardly have attained in the sparsity of rural exchange." [1] This money economy, as opposed to barter, a form of exchange that is strictly rural, has made for objective and impersonal relationships. By its very nature trade is impersonal, an enterprise of the intellect and the wits rather than the emotions. It places an objective value on

1. Simmel, Georg, "Die Grossestadte und das Geistesleben," published in *Die Grossestadte*, 1903; printed in Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *Source Book in Rural Sociology*, 1. 243 (1930).

persons and things, and these values are computed in mathematical terms. If the trader is cold-blooded in his transactions, ever alert to strike a hard bargain, it is not because of any strange cupidity on his part but because he is a part of a system that necessitates an objective evaluation of things and people. Wherever trade in a money economy is the dominant form of activity, it encourages impersonal as opposed to personal relationships. The city is such a place.

The money economy has greatly altered the traditional relations between employer and employee. In the simple village community, or in the open country, the employer and employee are *persons* to each other. While they may occupy different social and economic levels, their relationships are by no means anonymous and abstract. But in the metropolis, with its large-scale commercial and industrial organization, and with its absentee ownership and control, employer and employee may live in widely different social worlds that reflect the differences in their social and economic status. They are, or at least tend to be, abstractions to each other. Even in the smaller establishments, where the employer and employee come into immediate contact, the social distances tend to be wider than in rural society.

THE SOCIAL STEREOTYPE. Pecuniary valuations when applied to persons as well as things affect profoundly the forms of interaction between individuals and their attitudes toward each other. The city person is apt to be valued not for what he is but rather for what he can do or has done. The very superficiality of the social relationships that exist tend toward the categorizing of individuals according to the role they play in community life. The swift-moving cultural stream of the city blurs the individuality of the metropolite in the eyes of those whom he meets only casually; he becomes a bootblack or banker, a rich man or poor man, an employer or employee, a client or customer, or merely an address or number—in short, an abstraction. And as he is thus categorized a price is set upon his head, as it were; he is given an objective evaluation in terms of his role, or at least the role he appears to play. In the whirl of city life, in

which the majority of contacts are fleeting and casual, these categories become crystallized into formal stereotypes. One has neither the time nor energy to know intimately all those he meets in the city; therefore he is forced, as a matter of self-protection, to formulate stereotyped conceptions of the multitudes whose faces he perceives but whose inner lives he does not know. These stereotypes in turn become barriers to intimacy; they account for much of the reputed coolness and hardheartedness of the city.

THE INCREASE AND MECHANIZATION OF CONTACTS. While social contacts in the city run the entire gamut from the personal and sympathetic to the most superficial and abstract, there is always a preponderance of the latter. The very presence of a large number of persons in a given area, together with the relatively high mobility of urban dwellers and their multifarious activities in the marts of trade, are conditions that make for contacts that are secondary rather than primary in nature. The multitudes of persons with whom direct although highly fleeting contacts are established—the subway crowds, the theater audiences, the throngs of shoppers, the salespeople and street vendors—these are merely abstractions which are given identification labels for the sake of convenience. By far the greater number of the contacts that are made range in intensity from a bare consciousness of the presence of others to a casual and more or less formal speaking acquaintance growing out of social or economic activities. Added to these are the indirect contacts made possible by the radio, the newspaper, the telephone, the cinema, and other mechanized forms of communication, each of which has been a factor in multiplying the number of secondary contacts without materially extending the primary relations.

Wherever contacts tend to be fleeting and ephemeral in character there is limited opportunity for the warm and sympathetic associations that are so characteristic of primary groupings in which the members are thrown together for considerable lengths of time and in which they share intimately their sentiments, memories, and points of view. Even where actual physical associations are relatively

constant, they may tend to be utilitarian in character, a means to an end rather than an end in themselves. The outward forms of intimacy may be present, but not the content. One may work alongside another at a related task without revealing his personal longings, hopes, aspirations, worries, fears, or uncertainties.

As contacts have become increasingly segmentalized in the competitive life of the city, formal social controls have tended to take the place of primary controls that function so effectively where relationships are intimate and where there exists a full and spontaneous sharing of the inner experiences of the individuals. In large cities particularly such influences are so restricted in their scope that the regulation of human relationships on a wider scale must be largely a matter of institutional control. It is for this reason as much as any other that law and other specific rules of conduct assume unusual importance in directing the behavior of urban inhabitants. And it is for this reason also that such institutional functionaries as policemen, judges, probation and parole officers, and other supervisors of behavior play significant roles in city life.

It must not be understood that primary relations have disappeared in the city, or even that they cease to be important. While it is true that primary groups are relatively less important in the city than in the country, and while some of them have showed tendencies to atrophy or disintegrate in the turbid life of the metropolis, they still occupy a central position in the lives of urban dwellers. Some of them, in fact, show a surprising amount of vigor, especially the small informal recreational groups that have come into existence to satisfy certain emotional and psychic needs of their members. The innumerable card clubs, informal dancing clubs, sewing clubs, book clubs, and other similar social groups in which adults participate, as well as informal play groups for juveniles, such as gangs, clubs, and the like, are an important part of the picture of the social life of the city. They have taken over many of the functions once performed by family, neighborhood, and church; they are still primary inasmuch as the relationships within them are informal and strictly personal.

MOBILITY—SPATIAL AND SOCIAL

SPATIAL MOVEMENT. Like a surging, rushing stream, in which all objects not securely rooted in the earth are swept along in the channel, the city carries along in its irresistible current the individuals who have chosen the metropolis for their abode. These movements of urban persons are of two dimensions—territorial or spatial, and social. It is in the city, as contrasted with the country, that both physical and social mobility are at a maximum. Movement in space —physical mobility—is sociologically significant in that it affords new and different psychic stimuli and consequently psychic responses to these stimuli. The mechanization of transportation and communication, the divers forms of occupational and recreational activities, the remorseless hammering of propaganda and publicity with the resultant creation of new wants and wishes, all intensify the physical mobility of urban residents. Never is there uniformity of physical movement in the urban stream: there are areas, far out in mid-channel, in which individuals are swept along at an astounding rate—the slum, the central business district, the area of homeless men; there are, on the other hand, relatively stable areas beyond the main stream in which life moves along at a comfortable pace and in which individuals are more firmly rooted in the communal life.

Various types of spatial movements are to be observed. There are, for example, the frequent changes in residence, the movement from one hotel, one home, or one flat to another, or the movement from one city to another. In some areas these moves are so frequent as to become positively pathological. There are the daily movements to and from work—a type of movement that has sometimes been referred to as fluidity. There are the somewhat vagrant movements of urban dwellers within the city as they set out in search of amusement or adventure or excitement. Then there is the daily ingress-and-egress of urban people whose occupational or leisure-time activities carry them beyond the bounds of the city in which they have their residence.

As Burgess has put it, mobility becomes "the pulse of the community," an index of the state of metabolism of the city. The rate of mobility always affects social relationships within the community. Excessive mobility, "with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and to demoralize the person." It is conducive, in its extreme forms, to erratic behavior and social disorganization; it hinders the functioning of the traditional forms of social control; it is disastrous to the development of community consciousness; it frequently means the pulverization of social relationships with the concomitant individualization of behavior patterns. In a word, it is inextricably linked with the social problems of the city; and the urban areas that present these problems in an aggravated form are invariably areas of excessive mobility. But in its moderate forms mobility stimulates intellectual development. It is for this reason that mobility in the city may mean either personal integration or disintegration, depending upon the number and kind of psychic stimulations and the state of mutability of the person who responds to these stimulations.

Wherever spatial mobility takes the form of frequent changes of residence, neighborhood life tends to decline because individuals and families have insufficient time to become socially established and thereby develop an interest in the persons living near them. In those areas of the city having high mobility, intimate neighborhood life has all but disappeared. The "hobohemias," the Bohemian districts, the roominghouse and apartment-house sections are areas of nigh-dwellers, rather than socially intimate or neighborly groups. For stable areas of the city in which the rate of residential change is relatively low, neighborhood life still shows much of its traditional vigor. But with the differentiation of interests based on divergent occupational and social activities, the interest group has tended to supplant the spatial group—the neighborhood—as a social outlet for urban residents. The city person may have several "neighborhoods" located in various parts of the community.

Factual studies of mobility in cities consistently point to the conclusion that rates of residential change are by no means uniform

throughout the city. Lind's study of Seattle,[2] McKenzie's early researches in Columbus,[3] the work of Green in Cleveland,[4] and Queen's findings in St. Louis,[5] as well as a number of studies conducted in Chicago, all indicate that change of residence tends to occur more frequently in certain areas than in others. In the larger cities the disorganized areas surrounding the central business district show a higher rate of mobility than residential sections in outlying parts of the community. However, Albig's study of mobility in four Illinois cities (Danville, Bloomington, Rock Island, and Moline) showed that high mobility rates were not concentrated in the central zones of these communities; that the most mobile group lived frequently in duplex and multiple dwellings, with the occupants commonly engaged in business and the professions.[6] The conclusions reached by Albig suggest the possibility that mobility in smaller cities may assume a different pattern from what is found in larger metropolitan centers.

In the section dealing with the ecology of the city we considered mobility in the light of ecological theory. Here we shall content ourselves with a brief statement of the methods utilized in various mobility studies.[7] The Seattle project, conducted by Lind, involved the use of school records, autobiographical materials furnished by students in the public schools, and records showing the change of address of patrons of the telephone company and municipal light department. In his study of Columbus, McKenzie used the changes in the address of registered voters in that city. His study, however, was limited in that it considered only movements from one precinct to another, thereby taking no account of mobility within a precinct. Green's study of mobility in Cleveland made use of public utility

2. Lind, A. W., *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle* (1925).
3. McKenzie, R. D., *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (1923).
4. Green, Howard W., *Movements of Families within the Cleveland Metropolitan District* (1933).
5. Queen, S. A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City*, pp. 368–372.
6. Albig, William, "The Mobility of Urban Population," *Social Forces*, 11:351–367 (1933).
7. These studies are summarized in detail in Queen and Thomas, *op. cit.*, Ch. 18.

records, with movements of families indicated by the turning off or on of gas and electric meters. In St. Louis, Queen and his associates used school transfers, "for rent" advertisements in newspapers, reports of bonded movers, and the city directory. Albig's study of the four small cities of Illinois also involved the use of city directories and records showing the change of address of school children. Questionnaires were filled out by a number of children who had lived continuously at the same address and by a similar number who had moved more than seven times. In another study comparing the rates of mobility in selected pairs of precincts in Kansas City, Missouri, Kansas City, Kansas, and Topeka, use was made of records of social work and public health agencies, together with additional data secured by a house-to-house canvass in the areas.[8] In all these studies certain limitations as to method as well as to the validity of the results are apparent, but they represent significant attempts to reduce to quantitative terms one of the most significant phenomena of city life.

Social Mobility. Closely linked with physical mobility is the social mobility of urban dwellers. Sorokin has defined social mobility as "the transition of an individual or social object or value from one social position to another." [9] There are two kinds of social mobility, he says, horizontal and vertical. Horizontal social mobility is the shifting or transition from one group to another situated on the same level, while vertical social mobility is the transition from one social level or stratum to another. Obviously, as he points out, there are two types of vertical social mobility, descending and ascending. An individual may shift from one social group to another without altering his social status: he may relinquish his membership in a church for membership in a lodge, or he may transfer his religious affiliations from the Methodist to the Baptist church; but in either case his social status remains, to all intents and purposes, virtually unchanged. This is horizontal social mobility. On the

8. Queen, S. A., "Segregation of Population Types in the Kansas City Area," *Publication American Sociological Society*, 32: 230–232 (1926).

9. Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, p. 133 (1927).

other hand, the social status of the individual may be lowered or elevated, either by his own climbing or falling, or by the vertical movement of the group or groups to which he belongs. The man who climbs the economic ladder to a position of eminence, far above the level occupied by his former fellows, is socially mobile, just as also the man who descends the economic ladder from a high to a lowly position.

a. *The Nature of Vertical Social Mobility.* The social organization of the city and the forms of interaction therein tend to increase the social mobility of urban persons. It is in the city that there is a maximum of social change, and this change is reflected in the constant ascending or descending to the different social, economic, and political levels. The road from poverty to riches, from failure to fame and fortune, or vice versa, may be an arduous one but it is traveled frequently and sometimes quickly by urban dwellers in their competitive relations with their fellows. While every city has its galaxy of social, financial, and political stars who have "risen from the ranks," it has also its multitude of failures, persons who have descended from positions of eminence, or at least success, to social levels of diminished prestige and status. In time the "failures" and the "successful" tend to distribute themselves in areas best suited to their social and economic positions: the failures drift to the areas of minimum choice occupied by others of similar status, until, perhaps, they are able to lift themselves out of the social and economic mire; the successful gravitate to the better residential areas where they find others of their own station. Thus the city becomes a sort of social "elevator," carrying always in both directions, toward degradation as well as toward distinction, its load of human freight. But while little is heard of the multitudes who make the ignominious descent, the "success" magazines and the "pollyanna" press make capital of the few who have passed their fellows on the upward climb. In these rewards, as much as anything else, lies the fascination of the city.

This vertical social mobility presents a strange contrast with mobility in the country. In rural areas change is slow, gradual, undra-

matic; there are fewer occupations and less stratification; fewer and less enticing prizes for those who have the spirit and the capacity to outdo their fellows. While there may be dire poverty in the country, there are not the great accumulations of wealth and the enormous private fortunes that are found in the city. In the country, wealth is accumulated slowly as it is wrested, directly or indirectly, from the soil; in the city, huge sums may be made—or lost—in a single day in the buying and selling on the bourses or stock exchanges. The whole economic and social system is conducive to risk and speculation, to living by one's wits; and the ruthless competition characteristic of the city makes the story of urban life one of constant failures and successes.

An abiding faith in the existence of equal opportunities for personal success, as well as a profound admiration for individuals who have "risen from the ranks," has been a particularly significant part of the American credo. To a certain degree such an outlook seems to be justified by the facts of experience, since a new country with a wealth of resources to be exploited tends to provide greater opportunity for economic and social advancement than an older society having limited natural resources. While students of social relationships are certainly aware of the rather unusual opportunities which circumstances have provided for the American people, they are also deeply impressed by the inequalities which pervade our social system. That everybody has an equal chance to succeed is little more than a pretty myth. Perhaps even the uncritical observer would agree that the scion of a banker or an entrepreneur has a better opportunity than the son of a street peddler or a factory worker. What we are not so sure about, however, is whether the channels of ascent are as wide as they were in previous years. Some evidence indicates that they are not. The Lynds found that so far as industrial workers in Middletown were concerned, profound changes had taken place in the ladder of opportunity. Indeed, they observed that instead of a long ladder which anybody could scale provided he worked hard and had a reasonable amount of ability, as well as reliability, there were in reality two ladders: "one becoming shorter, harder to climb,

and leading nowhere in particular; the other a long and repaying one but beginning a long jump above the plant floor." [10] The managerial and technical positions were being filled more and more by individuals recruited from the privileged classes and starting halfway up the social ladder. For the workers the upper limits of ascent were definitely restricted, except in isolated cases. We do not know, of course, if Middletown is representative of urban America; but so far as this particular trend is concerned we suspect that it is fairly typical of what is occurring in our industrial society. If such is the case, it means that the vaunted American dream of equal opportunity is being shattered by relentless changes in the economic system.

b. *Horizontal Mobility.* Horizontal mobility in the city is equally pronounced. The metropolis abounds in multifarious groupings that have grown indigenously from the system of interaction in the urban milieu. These groups, as divergent in their nature as the heterogeneous masses which constitute their membership, have come into existence to meet the fundamental needs and wishes of urban people. The life of the metropolite tends to be associational rather than communal as in the case of the rural dweller; and since the associations or groupings are largely a matter of choice, the individual may select the group or groups that appear to afford him the greatest satisfactions, provided, of course, he has proved his right to membership, according to the established standards, by his achievements or by the status of his family or friends. Since the traditional urban neighborhood and neighborhood life have all but disappeared, and since the role of the family in satisfying psychic needs has changed under the stress and strain of city life, the individual relies largely on his associational connections for the satisfaction of his major wishes.

But the very specialized nature of city life frequently makes it necessary for the person to affiliate himself with many groups rather than with a single one. He may belong to a church, a lodge, a labor union, a bridge club, and, in a broader way, to a political, economic,

10. Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrill, *Middletown in Transition*, pp. 70–72 (1937).

and social class or group. He may, and often does, relinquish his membership in one group for new associations in another: he may be active or inactive, interested or indifferent, in any or all of them; but the changes he makes, while they take place within the same social stratum, do not necessarily affect his social status. It is because of this abundance of social groupings in the city, and the opportunities they afford the individual in his search for a satisfactory mode of life, that the social mobility of the urban person is higher than that of the rural dweller. A classified list of social groupings in the city, offered by Anderson and Lindeman, suggests the wide range of social groups from which the individual may choose:

1. Functional groups, organized primarily on behalf of a specific and objective interest: trade unions, manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, etc. (Conflict groups.)
2. Occupational groups, organized on behalf of a professional interest, but less concerned with directly objective issues: medical societies, engineering societies, etc.
3. Philanthropic and reform groups: organized to protect the unfortunate members of society, or to propagate such constitutional changes as will improve society.
4. Religious groups: held together by virtue of a common subjective goal or interest.
5. Nationality groups: clusters of immigrants who fall into natural groups because of language, culture, etc.
6. Memory groups: organized for the purpose of projecting a past experience (pleasant or unpleasant at the time but somehow since risen to importance) into the present and future: war veteran societies, alumni associations, etc.
7. Symbolic groups: formed about a set of symbolisms or rituals which often are valued in direct proportion to their inappropriateness to the present environment: lodges, fraternal societies, secret societies.
8. Service-recreational groups: informally organized about the wish for playful adult activity coupled with a sense of doing good: Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, etc.
9. Political groups: clubs or societies which are often, at least in part, memory groups, but which exist for the purpose of perpetuating a set of political principles: Tammany Hall, Jefferson Clubs, Lincoln Clubs, etc.
10. Feminist groups: women organized in the interest of cultural, edu-

cational, civic purposes: women's clubs, leagues for women voters, etc.

11. Atypical groups: groups which exist in all cities, and lend color to the urban scene, but which must be regarded as departures from the norm; on the positive side, bohemians, intellectuals, esthetic groups, etc.; and on the negative side, "gangs," or groups organized for effective law violation.[11]

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

"Whatever be the form of civic societies, each of them tends to stratification into the same essential components," wrote Albion W. Small in his *General Sociology*. "There are always, either developed or developing, three chief groups: (1) the privileged; (2) the middle class; (3) those without property, rights, or influence." [12] This stratification takes place first on the basis of economic status and later is reflected in the political and social stratification of the group membership. Those who have attained some degree of economic prosperity, or who have, by virtue of their superior physical or economic strength, conquered and subjected others with less power, eventually attempt to make permanent their position through the institutionalization of their status and by surrounding themselves with protective devices of various sorts. Especially through political and social organization do they attempt to safeguard their favorable economic position. Thus it is that members of the upper economic strata have access also to the upper political and social strata from which are excluded those occupying lower economic levels. As long as these differences exist the social levels occupied by the different groups tend to become institutionalized and formalized with the result that a stratified class system develops—at the one extreme the privileged economic classes with a monopoly of the political and social machinery, at the other extreme the underprivileged or working classes, with the middle class or bourgeoisie occupying a social position somewhere between the others.

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 298–299. Reprinted by permission of F. S. Crofts and Company, New York.

12. P. 279.

SOCIAL DISTANCE IN THE CITY. Even though the urban dweller is surrounded by teeming millions, his intimate sentiments and feelings may be shared by only a few, or perhaps even by none at all. The concept of SOCIAL DISTANCE, commonly employed to designate the degree of intimacy or understanding between individuals, is particularly valuable in analyzing social relationships in the city. Park uses the term apparently with reference to the degree of intimacy between persons regardless of their respective social positions.[13] Thus two persons within the same group may be socially distant for no other reason than a mutual dislike arising from unhappy personal experiences; others may be socially apart because they belong to groups having divergent customs, interests, or standards of conduct, or differing in nationality, race, or economic status. It is the latter form of social distance which is characterized principally by stereotyped attitudes of prejudice, and it is this form which seems to be especially peculiar to city life.

In the village and open country, where there are few distinctions based upon social or economic status, the social distance between persons is usually not pronounced—except perhaps in cases of significant racial or cultural differences. But in the city, with its varied cultures, its multiplicity of behavior patterns, its racial barriers and class distinctions, its extremes of poverty and wealth, social distance has widened even though spatial distance has narrowed. The segregation of divergent population groups is a manifestation of the social distances that prevail in the urban community. These distances may have their origin in color or in race; they may reflect different points of view and different philosophies of life; they may indicate differences in occupation or economic level. But whatever their origin, they are rooted in the attitudes of urban dwellers toward each other and toward themselves, with the result that they determine to a considerable degree the ecological patterns of the community. The "gold coast" and Little Sicily of Chicago, and Fifth Avenue and the East Side in New York, while physically propinquitous are as far

13. Park, R. E., "The Concept of Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 8: 339–344 (May–June, 1924). Cf. Sorokin, P., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

apart socially as though separated by the Atlantic. This is true of every great city. These different groups that are socially removed from each other constitute a congeries of "social islands" that remain apart because of the fundamental attitudes and sentiments of those who live in them.

In every city these distinctions are to be noted. They separate the Negro from the white, the immigrant from the native-born, the religionist from the infidel, the virtuous from the libertine, the radical from the reactionary, the rich from the poor. And wherever such social chasms exist between individuals and groups, those having similar interests, habits, customs, and attitudes tend to develop a "consciousness of kind" and eventually to segregate themselves spatially from others who are different.

But social distances are not fixed and unchanging. In the process of accommodation and assimilation an attitudinal metamorphosis takes place which serves eventually to narrow or widen the social distances between people. These changes in attitudes are neither uniform nor predictable, but vary according to the situations which arise and the mutability of the persons—the extent of mutability being influenced by age, social background, status, intellectual capacities and interests, and other factors. The native child, for example, may have an antipathy for children of immigrant parents until he overcomes his prejudicial reactions and accepts them on the basis of social equality. In this case the social distance is diminished. On the other hand, friendly relations with immigrant children may terminate in conflict, hatred, and prejudice, and in this instance the social distance is widened. As a rule the older the individual the more firmly fixed are his attitudes and consequently the less variable or changing are the social distances that separate him from others. The whole city presents a picture of these changing relationships; they are never the same from one year to another, albeit the changes that do take place are ordinarily so slow and imperceptible that they are only observed in the more obvious social processes such as conflict, compromise, or conciliation, or in spatial movements that disturb the ecological patterns of the community.

THE FORMATION OF A STRATIFIED SOCIETY. Since the city as contrasted with the country is characterized by the extremes of wealth and penury, it is to be supposed that social stratification exists there to a much greater degree than in rural areas. In the country, the individual is accepted more for what he actually is rather than for what he does or what his family has done; and while social stratification does exist, there are rarely sharp lines of distinction between the economic classes. Without any serious hazard to his status the landowner may fraternize with the tenant, the teacher with the laborer, the lawyer with the grocery clerk, and so on. But in the city, with highly differentiated occupational and professional groups, with attitudes and social positions keeping individuals and groups in different social worlds, the population presents many gradations of status. Looked at from one angle, the city becomes a pyramid, with a series of social classes or levels—determined for the most part by economic status. It is in this sort of framework that the processes of social interaction in an urban environment occur. Left alone, without any interference or control in the interest of the entire group, the class lines would ultimately become so rigid and inelastic, and the classes themselves so institutionalized, that a veritable caste system would result. One of the problems of a modern urban democracy is keeping flexible the class lines through a system of social control that will afford each individual the opportunity to develop to the maximum of his capacity.

Wherever society is highly stratified, social classes tend to become hereditary in nature. Families that have accumulated an undue amount of material wealth are automatically admitted, with possible exceptions, to the higher social strata; and as they pass on their wealth to oncoming generations, their progeny not only fall heir to positions of economic power but also to positions of high social rank. Even in a purported political democracy social aristocracies and social dynasties, based essentially on property and political prestige, arise. Every city has them: in New York there are the Vanderbilts, the Morgans, the Astors, the Rockefellers; in Chicago, the McCormicks, the Armours, the Palmers, and the Fields; in Boston, the

Cabots and the Lowells; in Pittsburgh, the Mellon dynasty. Along with a few lesser lights, they constitute the Four Hundred, and in every social register of the elite their names are perennially conspicuous.[14]

Class lines, as opposed to caste distinctions, are likely to be somewhat blurred. This is particularly true of American society, where changes in the social and economic structure are constantly obliterating class differences at certain points and at the same time creating the basis for new distinctions. Perhaps it is more correct to think of social classes in terms of a continuum, with the different members of a community (or a nation) assigned to positions on an ascending-descending status scale according to the values that are emphasized in that particular culture. Because of this blurring of class lines the urban American is probably more keenly aware of his relative position on the social scale than of the existence of distinctive social classes. He is likely to be less class-conscious than status-conscious, particularly if his social position is located somewhere between the two extremes. If he is on the lower or middle level he has likely accepted the economic, political, and moral ideologies of the socially elite and patterned his life on the standards maintained by those on the topmost rungs of the ladder.

Although this idealization of the favored few has tended to counteract a rising tide of class-consciousness, there is some evidence that class distinctions are becoming more clearly defined and that an increasing number of urban Americans are interpreting their social positions in terms of class alignments. This seems to be particularly true of those on the upper and lower extremes. Here is a fruitful field for social exploration, but one which has been neglected by urban sociologists. The conclusions that we may draw, therefore, can be only tentative generalizations whose validity must be tested by researches in varying types of communities. In this connection it may be proper to cite the observations of the Lynds with respect to stratification in a small midwestern city. They noted that while class

14. For an extended discussion of the role of the ruling classes in this country, see Lundberg, Ferdinand, *America's 60 Families* (1937).

consciousness was still relatively undeveloped in Middletown, broad social groupings based on class distinctions apparently were in the process of emerging. These may be described briefly as follows:

1. At the top of the scale a small group consisting mainly of wealthy local manufacturers, bankers, local managers of one or two national corporations having establishments in the city, and one or two outstanding lawyers. This represents the business-control group which maintains its position of prestige by exercising its dominance over the economic life of the community and by setting up new and expensive standards of recreation.

2. Below this aristocratic minority is a relatively small group consisting of smaller manufacturers, merchants, professional persons, and a few of the higher-salaried employees of the big-business enterprises. This group tends to emulate the social aristocrats and, while at times critical of the overlords, tends to join with the ruling elements in times of community crises.

3. Somewhat farther down the scale are the minor employed professionals, small retailers and entrepreneurs, clerks, clerical workers, small salesmen, and civil servants. For the most part the members of this group do not associate intimately with the representatives of Groups 1 and 2, although they tend to remain admirers of those in the more fortunate positions.

4. In a somewhat comparable social position, although differentiated by virtue of types of work, is the aristocracy of labor, including foremen, building trades craftsmen of long standing, and highly skilled machinists who exhibit their Americanism by sending their children to college.

5. Representatives of the fifth level, numerically dominant in the city, include semiskilled and unskilled workers such as machine operatives, truckmen, laborers, and other wage earners.

6. At the bottom of the scale are the stranded and impoverished migrants from the rural hinterland, together with other low-income families which occupy the dilapidated cottages located on the unpaved streets of the city.[15]

Somewhat outside this general scheme of socio-economic classes in Middletown is the Negro group, which has been relegated to a social position below that of any of the white groups. The Lynds observed that the cleavage between the white and Negro groups is

15. Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 458–460.

the "deepest and most blindly followed line of division in the community." [16] From general observations this appears to be true of most if not all cities of the country, regardless of their geographical location. Within the Negro group there exist social classes roughly comparable to the social levels characterizing the structure of white society. This pattern of stratification, however, is based partly on color distinction among Negroes themselves, the dark-skinned segment of the population tending to occupy a lower social status than persons of lighter hue.

Aside from the racial factor, nationality and cultural background represent popular criteria for assigning individuals to a position on the social scale. It is a matter of common knowledge that prejudices toward certain nationalities are widespread in this country and that these prejudicial attitudes are carried over into various forms of discrimination against individuals and groups having cultural backgrounds differing from the major patterns of American society. Accordingly, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Mexicans, Bulgarians, Poles, and Rumanians, to mention only a few groups, may be relegated to an inferior position and treated as "outsiders" or "foreigners." But whereas high racial visibility constitutes an extremely difficult barrier to surmount, cultural differences may be obliterated in the assimilative process and in the course of a few generations the social handicaps of culture may be removed.

OCCUPATIONS AND URBAN SOCIETY

Occupational Changes. Accompanying the trend toward urbanism have been concomitant changes in occupational activities. Various factors have been responsible for these occupational changes: elevation of the economic status of the masses and the increase in amount of leisure-time needs; technological inventions and improvements; fashions and fads that have their origins in the city; propaganda and advertising with a view to developing new tastes and

16. *Ibid.*, p. 463.

wishes. With the advent of bobbed hair as a fashion in femininity, for example, the number of barbers and hairdressers increased from approximately 216,000 in 1920 to 375,000 in 1927. During the same period of time the number of persons engaged in cleaning, pressing, and dyeing increased from 21,000 to 88,000, more than 400 per cent. In transportation and communication there was an increase of approximately 750,000. During this period the number of automobile salesmen more than doubled, and there was a marked increase in the number of persons employed in the radio industry.

While new occupations are appearing on the economic horizon with startling rapidity, many old ones tend to disappear as a result of the changes that take place in the city. The technological developments have not only created new occupations, but they have also crowded out others. With the advent of the automobile the blacksmith became a garage mechanic, the liveryman became a chauffeur, the carriage- and wagon-maker found employment in the auto factory—if at all. Similarly the cooper, the harness-maker, the teamster, and others have been forced to find different occupations. Technological inventions and improvements have therefore thrown out of employment thousands of persons who, deprived of their jobs and their income, have sought employment in other fields.

As we have observed in an earlier chapter, the percentage of persons employed in agriculture has tended to decline, though in the 1930s, mainly because of depressed economic conditions, the proportion of agriculturists increased. For more than a half century there have been pronounced increases in the percentage of persons employed in the professions, in clerical service, and in trade and transportation, while modest increases have occurred in public service and in types of work ordinarily classified as "domestic and personal." On the other hand, the peak in the proportion of persons employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries seems to have been reached between 1910 and 1920; at least between 1920 and 1930 a decline occurred, and there is considerable evidence that this downward trend will be continued. These changes are indicated in the following table:

Table XXI

PERCENTAGES OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930 [17]

	1870	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture and Allied Occupations	52.8	35.9	30 3	25.8	21.3
Mining	1.5	2.1	2 6	2.7	2.0
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	22.0	27.5	28.6	30.5	28.6
Trade and Transportation	9.1	16.3	17 4	18.0	20.7
Clerical and Personal Service	1.7	2.8	4.6	7.2	8.2
Domestic and Personal Service	9.6	10.0	10 6	8.8	11.3
Public Service not Elsewhere Classified	.6	1.0	1.1	1.6	1.4
Professional Service	2.7	4.4	4.8	5.4	6.5

Occupational shifts among Negroes have been quite as pronounced as among whites. While the Negro population in this country is still predominantly agricultural, migrations to cities have naturally tended to increase the proportion of colored persons in urban occupations and to reduce correspondingly the percentage in agriculture. For the most part Negro workers in cities are heavily concentrated in the low-skilled occupations. For the urban population as a whole, probably three-fourths of the gainfully employed Negroes are classified as semiskilled and unskilled workers—a much larger proportion than for either the white group or the general population. Large numbers of these are employed in Northern industrial areas, particularly in the iron and steel industry, in petroleum refineries, in foundries, and in food factories. It is significant to note, however, that Negroes, like the whites, are becoming increasingly numerous in the professions, business, and in skilled occupations, while at the same time there has been a decrease in the percentage of semiskilled and unskilled employees.

The following table shows the occupational distribution of Negro workers in 1930 in Chicago and Atlanta and the changes that occurred during the decade from 1920 to 1930. One of these cities is located in the North, the other in the South. Both are of metropolitan magnitude and may not, therefore, be representative of smaller cities so far as occupational trends are concerned. But it is

17. Hurlin, Ralph G., and Givens, Meredith B., "Shifting Occupational Patterns," in *Recent Social Trends*, 1: 284 (1933).

Table XXII

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED NEGRO MALES IN TWO SELECTED CITIES IN 1930, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE OF PERSONS IN THESE OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FROM 1920 TO 1930[18]

	CHICAGO		ATLANTA	
	PER CENT	PER CENT CHANGE	PER CENT	PER CENT CHANGE
Professional	3.0	.4	2.8	.8
Public Service	1.6	.4	1.0	.2
Trade	3.4	.7	2.4	.3
Clerical	4.9	1.0	1.6	.7
Skilled	14.6	2.4	19.6	2.5
Semiskilled	11.8	1.7	13.9	−4.4
Domestic Service	28.6	.6	25.9	6.6
Laborers	31.9	−6.9	32.9	−5.3

significant to note that not only is the occupational distribution of the Negro population much the same in the two cities but also that the vocational changes are strikingly similar. In both cities the percentage of persons classified as laborers declined during the decade, while increases occurred in the proportions of workers engaged in professional activities, public service, trade, skilled work, and domestic service. In Atlanta, however, the proportion of persons employed in semiskilled occupations showed a marked decline, whereas in Chicago the number of employees in this category became relatively more numerous. Furthermore, the proportional increase of domestic servants in the Southern city was much greater than the increase in Chicago, though the percentage of workers in this class was about the same for both cities.

A higher percentage of adults is gainfully employed in cities than in rural areas, but for children the reverse is true.[19] Furthermore, the proportions of employed workers tend to be greater for large cities than for small ones. This is particularly true of the so-

18. Based on data in Frazier, Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States*, pp. 424–425 (1939). Cf. his "Occupational Classes Among Negroes in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35:718–738 (March, 1930).

19. *Our Cities*, p. 17.

called white-collar workers who are engaged in professional, clerical, and business activities. Persons classified professionally as journalists, authors, artists, architects, actors, musicians, dentists, trained nurses, teachers of music and art, and physicians are proportionally more numerous in metropolitan communities than in small cities or rural communities.[20] However, small cities tend to have a higher percentage of teachers and clergymen than large centers. Although cities have a wide variety of occupations from which to choose, the span of working life of the urban person is considerably shorter than that of the rural dweller. Urban workers are concentrated mainly in the age group 18 to 39, whereas in rural areas the workers are fairly well distributed throughout the various age groups.

Such data as we have presented on urban occupations are always subject to a certain amount of error the extent of which is difficult if not impossible to determine. Since the Bureau of the Census bases its enumeration on place of residence rather than place of work, many urban workers who live in suburbs and commute to the metropolis are assigned to the smaller communities rather than to the cities with which they are occupationally identified. This method of enumeration seems to lead particularly to discrepancies in data relating to the higher-income occupations.

Occupational Differentiation and Specialization. In rural areas there are few occupations; accordingly there is relatively little differentiation based on occupational or economic activity. But in the city there is a marked division of labor in every phase of life, a social differentiation developed largely on the basis of diversified forms of occupational activities. While the Bureau of the Census lists only ten divisions of occupations in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, it includes 217 main occupations for the whole country, with major subdivisions bringing the total up to 557. The degree to which the division of labor has taken place in detail is indicated by the fact that the census enumerations distinguish something over 25,000 occupational specialties in the various lines of economic ac-

20. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Characteristics of Cities*, pp. 6–10.

tivity.[21] The following figures indicate the number of different occupational tasks in a few of the major divisions in 1930:

Blast furnaces and rolling mills	358
Shoe factories	383
Tanneries	189
Slaughter or packing houses	102
Printing, publishing, or engraving	130
Stock-brokers	49
Physicians and surgeons	48
Editors and reporters	30
Insurance agents	34
Bankers and bank officials	29
Lawyers, judges, and justices	28

For the most part these occupational activities are urban rather than rural. Wherever society becomes increasingly complex, specialization increases correspondingly. In the urban environment new wants and needs develop, and to satisfy the demands that arise new occupational activities emerge, some strange and weird, many wholly unfamiliar to the rural person who has adjusted himself to a simple environment.

SPECIALIZATION AND INTERDEPENDENCE. So specialized has social life in the city become that the urban dweller must depend on the functions of many persons for the satisfaction of most of his major needs. These persons he may not know by name or sight; he may indeed know little of their actual functions or the relation of these functions to his own existence. Yet it is because of this impersonal and to a great extent indirect cooperation of many individuals and groups that the city person himself is able to survive and in turn to enjoy the privileges and perform the duties falling to him. If he is, say, a specialized factory worker not only does his job depend on the cooperative function of others engaged in related tasks, but his actual existence is dependent on many individuals who provide food, clothing, shelter, medical care, enforcement of law, and numerous other necessary things or services which he cannot provide

21. *Classified Index of Occupations*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, p. 4.

for himself. In his own specialized task he performs a service which others cannot well perform for themselves and which in turn increases their dependence on him. Urban relations are, therefore, not so much characterized by dependence as by interdependence.

In order to provide a degree of stability and integration to city life and thereby to insure at least the minimal requirements of existence to individuals and groups, these relationships, at least many of them, have become definitely institutionalized. By this is meant that the community as a whole, or groups within the community, defines clearly and sometimes arbitrarily the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of individuals or functioning groups and sees to it that these duties, responsibilities, and privileges are properly observed. Manifestly the definition of these roles, that is, duties, responsibilities, and privileges, is made with reference to the well-being and existence of other individuals or groups. In so far, then, as these roles are clearly defined, assigned, and their observance enforced we are justified in saying that relationships have been institutionalized and that the individual is dependent on social institutions for his existence. For the various patterns of interrelated roles, or institutions, we give the names economic, political, legal, religious, recreational, and so on.

So long as all or nearly all the roles are performed smoothly and without serious interruption within the institutional framework, and at the same time are adequately integrated and coordinated, the individual may achieve a relatively high degree of security. But so highly dependent is each person on the functioning of others that serious disruptions in any phase of the institutional structure may bring far-reaching consequences. Workers in a factory may, for instance, fail to perform their usual roles in the fabrication of some commodity. If this interruption of institutional function is prolonged, commercial establishments may close down for lack of salable goods; governmental functions may be crippled because the factory workers have no money with which to pay taxes; churches may be affected by the dwindling of contributions; recreational activities may be curtailed; family groups may be disorganized by the decline

of incomes; and welfare organizations created to care for individuals who are unable to satisfy their needs in the usual manner. When the automobile industry of Detroit closes down, for example, the effects are widely felt, not only in that city but in other cities as well.

Urban institutions may be characterized by instability as well as stability: their functions are not always coordinated; they may change rapidly in structure as well as function; they are sometimes designed not for the common weal but for the lucrative gain of a few. Hence the social world of the urban dweller is a world of insecurity. A major economic crisis may dislodge thousands or even millions of urban dwellers from their customary roles and force countless others to live in apprehension of events to come. Perhaps only the hopelessly stupid or the utterly naïve can enjoy a comfortable feeling of security under modern urban living conditions. The flight of urban dwellers to villages and farms during the depression years of the 1930s was evidence of this insecurity in a time of crisis.

OTHER URBAN TRAITS

TIME AND SPEED. The mechanization of the city, the impersonal, categoric contacts between urban persons, and the dominance of pecuniary values have combined to make social interaction within the city much a matter of cold calculation. Among the things that are emphasized in the city are punctuality, precision, accuracy. So interdependent are the parts of the metropolis that the urban organization, if it is to function harmoniously, must discipline its members to punctuality. The result is that the metropolite reduces his life largely to a routine process. His very existence is scrupulously measured in quantitative terms of time; he rises and retires by the clock; he leaves his home in the morning at an exact time in order to begin work promptly, and at noon and in the evening he stops, along with his fellow-workers, at a given hour; and since his leisure time is determined by his working hours, he pursues his pleasures according to the clock—or the calendar. Virtually all the organized activities of the city, whether of work or of play, are geared to each other on

the basis of time. The "eight-hour day," the "six-day week," the "7:37 train," and "overtime" are more than mere abstractions to the city person; they are realities that shape the major outlines of his occupational activities. Likewise they are also symbols of the highly mechanized city environment.

The very size of the city and the nature of its ecological patterns determine to a considerable extent the tempo of life and the degree to which the urban environment is thus punctualized. In small communities people are able to live near their work, but the tendency in the large metropolitan areas is for the population to press farther and farther outward in a centrifugal fashion to form suburbs and satellite towns. This means long distances to travel to and from work; it means also adequate transportation mechanisms that operate on reliable time-schedules. This in turn demands that the individual modify his habits in conformity with the hours maintained within the community. It therefore becomes a sort of institutionalized punctuality. "If the train which will land the worker at his place of business leaves at 8:49, he must be at the station on the minute even though he runs with breakfast uneaten, for the next train is scheduled to meet the requirements of a group of a different economic status. In other words, the sheer necessity of transporting oneself from one spot to another involves quick responses to numerous stimuli; being founded upon mechanisms, the transportation system is inelastic, and its users must make adjustments to its rigidities." [22]

The exacting time requirements of the city have naturally functioned to accelerate the tempo of movement of urban people. The city, as Anderson and Lindeman point out, is a "dynamic stimulus," and the countless stimulations to which the urban person is forced to respond in all his waking hours tend to prod him into a psychic and physical adjustment to the speed of movement that characterizes the urban milieu in general. The entire organism of the person responds to the jumble of city sounds and sights and to contacts with other urban persons, until eventually an adjustment is made to this en-

22. Anderson and Lindeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–207. See Chapter X of their book for an interesting discussion of the stimulating nature of the city.

vironment that gives the outward appearance of conformity to urban speed. The rural person who comes to the city is unadjusted until his organism becomes attuned, as it were, to his social environment and he is able to keep in step with the fast pace of the city with the minimum of energy. Until the person makes this organic adjustment city life proves extremely enervating and disorganizing.

FREEDOM OF THE CITY. One result of the social trends just discussed is an increase in personal freedom of the individual. In a rural area the individual is hampered in his social activities by the rigidity of the mores and customs; everywhere it is characteristic of the rural group to impose its standards and values upon the individual so completely that he is likely to be forced into conformity by the sheer weight of social pressure. The city also has its mores and its conventional patterns of behavior; but the very conditions of urban life make it more difficult for social groups to apply successfully rural formulae in keeping the individual in line with accepted standards. The money economy of the city also enhances the freedom of the urban dweller. The individual who receives money for his labors is in a position to make choices that would be closed to one who is rewarded in goods or services. It is possible that many urban Negroes of today actually have fewer personal possessions and less security than their enslaved forefathers on Southern plantations, but at the same time they have a much greater freedom of action if only by virtue of the money they have to spend. Farm folk who produce their own necessities may have a comparatively high level of living as compared to the working classes of the city, but with little money to spend they are forced to narrow their choices far more than the urban residents.

THE ROLE OF FASHIONS AND SOCIAL RITUAL. Since the major portion of social contacts in the city are of the touch-and-go type, external appearances assume a pronounced social value in human relationships. It is for this reason that dress and personal adornment play a much more important role in the city than in the country. Styles and fashions, in behavior as well as in dress, have their natural origin in the city. They serve as social credentials for persons whose

lives touch at a single point and whose contacts are of the formal and impersonal type. Similarly, social ritual—"good manners," "correct behavior," etiquette—becomes a sort of surrogate for moral conduct, and as such constitutes the key of admission to numerous associations maintained by conventional society. Zorbaugh gives us an interesting description of the role of fashion among the socially élite of Chicago's near north side:

"Well-groomed" is the summing up of an unbreakable commandment. The perfectly coiffed or barbered hair, dustless and spotless clothes, exquisite slipper or speckless spat. Women's nails must be polished; men's *may* be. One bath a day (or two) is in the ritual. Underclothes, in the past ten years, have assumed a new importance. Formerly one should be clean, but one might indulge in personal taste or follow personal comfort. But today the Sicilian mother is proud to show seven skirts on her child; the woman of fashion is embarrassed if she is caught wearing anything more under her gown than might be bundled into a large coat pocket. . . .

Clothes must be in the prevailing exclusive mode, but not the extreme of popular fashion. "Of course one doesn't wear green slippers or shoes in the daytime, as they do up around Wilson Avenue." When the shopgirl moves up to the new style, that style is abandoned. . . . The woman of *l'haute société* does not wear evening slippers on the street, nor evening-cut neck, sleeves, or material in the daytime. Style in the smart set must be followed from tip to toe. The wrong gloves, the wrong line, the wrong slipper spoils the impression one strives to create. . . .

Personal cards and notepaper, invitations, are matters which demand absolute conformity to the approved styles. Never make a call; if you do call, it proves that you came from Spikesville, Kansas, or any other place which is running a quarter of a century behind the times. Never go out after the first act of the opera; wait until after the second act. It is unsafe to carry a package or an umbrella. An artist was invited to an afternoon musicale at one of the exclusive "Gold Coast" homes. It was raining, and she arrived with a wet umbrella. She passed the man at the awning entry, ascended the carpeted stairs, and came to the family servant who guarded the door. She held out her wet umbrella. He looked at it unresponsively, but made no move to take it. A person who would carry an umbrella could not have been invited. . . .

Apologies, handshakings, introductions, should be used with great caution. You may apologize if you are late, but not if the fish is burned,

or the maid's hair awry, or you have worn gloves when you should not have done so. If you are young, or go in the younger set, you can occasionally say "damn," or "hell" or "Oh, my God!" "Shut your damned face!" has been known to pass. But "I'm pleased to meet you" would be practically fatal. *Nil admirari,* unless surprise, admiration, or comment is expected. If you must notice the details or special features of a room or costume, do it without the possibility of being detected. Curiosity is the height of bad breeding.[23]

Indicative of the social distance that exists between groups and individuals, social ritual serves as a barrier to interaction between members of certain classes and groups. Those who do not thoroughly master and accept the social rituals of certain exclusive groups are forever barred from participation. It becomes therefore at the same time a measure of exclusiveness for the social group and a mark of prestige for the individual who accepts it as a part of his pattern of behavior. So great is the emphasis ofttimes placed upon ritual by the group that certain ritualistic acts come to have a peculiar and significant value for those who practice them. The extremes of this type of patterned behavior are to be found in the highly conventionalized and stereotyped diplomatic courtesies and observances in the political capitals; but approaching diplomatic ritualism in its rigidity are the practices of certain urban groups that would maintain their status in this fashion. Thus many groups observe their rituals with varying degrees of consistency; and unless the individual is strictly Bohemian in his proclivities he hardly dares disregard this ritualistic behavior that has been accepted by the segment of society to which he belongs. In many instances social ritual is more effective than formalized laws and regulations in the control of human behavior.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Devise a method for determining statistically the increase of social contacts in a city with which you are familiar.

23. *The Gold Coast and the Slum,* pp. 58–59. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

2. Select a major industrial or commercial establishment and study it from the standpoint of division of labor and specialization of individual activities.

3. What important occupational changes are taking place in your community?

4. Following the type of analysis made by the Lynds in their *Middletown in Transition*, make a study of the process of stratification in some city. Do you find any reliable evidence that class lines are being more rigidly drawn? How do the class alignments compare with those observed by the Lynds?

5. From school records secure information concerning the intra-community mobility of children in two or more districts in a selected city.

6. Select a sample of 100 urban residents and study them from the standpoint of vertical mobility. A complete occupational history of each individual should enable the student to make an analysis of changes in social position. What factors seem to figure largely in accelerating or retarding the rise in social position?

7. Make a case study of community conflict in some city in which the "town and gown" elements are at odds with each other. To what extent has SOCIAL DISTANCE been a factor in creating a conflict situation?

8. Select some urban occupational group and analyze it from the standpoint of (1) kinds of collective representations, (2) ways of excluding outsiders, (3) methods of choosing members, (4) control over members within the occupation, and (5) methods of maintaining group unity. How does such a group compare in these respects with a rural occupational group?

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13

URBAN ATTITUDES AND TYPES

PERSONALITY TRAITS OF URBAN AND RURAL PERSONS

THE PROBLEM. In considering the urban personality it seems reasonable to assume at the outset that the characteristic attitudes and behavior patterns of city people are the products of their social experiences, and that whatever differences exist between rural and urban persons are due to experiences in divergent types of social and physical environments. If we grant this basic assumption we may use the urban and rural environmental difference as a starting point in considering attitudes and behavior of urban and rural persons. At the same time we must exercise extreme caution to avoid questionable generalizations. Both city and country are so highly differentiated socially and economically, both so productive of varied forms of activities, that it would be a gross oversimplification to dichotomize personality in terms of an urban and rural pattern. In the city particularly social situations providing individual and collective experiences are so numerous and varied that no single personality pattern could possibly emerge. One would, therefore, expect to find a wide range of attitudes and behavior patterns. There are conservatives, radicals, and liberals; persons who are deeply religious and others who are cynics and skeptics; strait-laced moralists and others who are unconventional or even immoral in their personal behavior; dull people and brilliant ones; psychopaths and stable personalities; cultivated folks and vulgar clowns. The list is endless, both for city and country. Furthermore, many urban residents have attitudes and values which were shaped by previous residence in the country, and rural people are frequently influenced by experiences in the city.

The problem of personality analysis is complicated further by

other factors. Cities vary widely as to size, complexity, culture and heterogeneity of population, and character of the economic organization. The social world of the metropolite will differ in many respects from the small-city world. Certainly the New Yorker lives in a much more complex social environment than the resident of Dodge City, Kansas, or Hibbing, Minnesota. Manufacturing cities differ in many respects from predominantly commercial cities, or communities devoted to education, recreation, or religion; hence one might expect that the influences on personality would likewise be different. To state the matter more specifically, the social experiences of the factory worker may differ considerably from the experiences of the tradesman or the educator. By the same token, "rural" may be either farm or village; it may connote either subsistence farming or large-scale commercialized agriculture; it may refer to a fishing hamlet, an agricultural trading center, a mining town, or a suburban community too small for urban status. Certainly the experiences of the individual would vary according to the type of rural community.

So far as we know, few experimental studies have been conducted with a view of discovering psychological distinctions between urban and rural persons. Such writers as Sorokin and Zimmerman, for example, indulge in rather broad generalizations about rural and urban attitudinal distinctions, but one looks in vain for concrete data which would substantiate their conclusions. Even if scientific data were available, changes in attitudes would probably tend to diminish their value within a short time.

In view of the paucity of data relating to the urban personality and of the difficulties involved in securing verifiable information, it is imperative that any interpretations be stated frankly as hypotheses rather than as validated theories. Our immediate task, therefore, will be to identify those personality traits which *appear* to be more distinctive of urban persons than rural dwellers and which seemingly occur with relatively greater frequency in the city than in the country. At the same time it is important to remember that whatever differences exist are relative rather than absolute, that the similarities in personality pattern may be greater or more important

than the differences, and that any distinguishing characteristics which exist are probably tending to diminish rather than increase because of the reciprocal influence of city and country. As Queen points out, there may exist certain extreme urban types and rural types, thoroughly urbanized and ruralized persons exhibiting traits which reflect with distinguishable clarity their respective social backgrounds; yet between these two extremes are probably the great majority of people who cannot be so conveniently dichotomized on the basis of rural and urban traits.[1]

Differences in Rural and Urban Experiences. It is a matter of common observation that rural and urban persons live in social and physical worlds that differ in many respects. If the rural person is a farmer, he is in constant contact with his natural environment. The task of wresting a livelihood from the soil forces on him an awareness of the forces of nature about him. He is responsive to climate and season, for his very existence is menaced by any violent or catastrophic changes in nature. It is our observation that "weather" as a topic of conversation plays a more important role in rural life than in the city.

The urban person lives mainly in a world of men and artifacts, and since his existence is rarely threatened directly by the forces of nature he is less responsive to climatic or seasonal changes. For his benefit the city has provided many effective cushions against climatic extremes. Rain or shine, the urban dweller goes to the factory or office. Mechanization of the city increases the tempo of action far beyond the slow pace of the country. Life in the metropolis is geared to the clock. The machine sets the pace and the individual is expected to keep in step.

If, therefore, farmers appear to be slower than urban persons in their responses, as is commonly alleged, the explanation probably lies in the adjustments each has made to his environment. So far we have accumulated no reliable data to indicate objectively what differences in mental alertness, if any, exist. But from the observations we have made of urban persons living temporarily in rural com-

1. Queen and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

munities we have noted what appear to be differences in facility of expression. Furthermore, farm folk who have moved to the city seem to be less articulate than those who have become thoroughly adjusted to urban ways of living.

Since each individual constructs out of the totality of his experiences a body of memories, sentiments, and habit-response patterns, he may therefore be expected to interpret the meanings of things and events in light of his background of experiences, whatever they have been. As Sorokin and Zimmerman have pointed out, the stream of associations of the farmer as well as of the city dweller is colored by his past experiences.[2] And when each is removed from his familiar habitat he continues to read meanings and interpretations into things out of the store of his experience. For the metropolite the factory, the office, the streets, the transportation and communication facilities, and the crowds have special meaning because they have entered conspicuously into his experiences. They provide the mental images in the stream of association, the subject-matter for his conversation. For the farmer the images are tinged with events and objects of rural life, and likewise constitute the major content of his verbal expressions. It has been noted that slum children who have been taken on vacations to the country tend to carry with them the body of memories and images which have developed in the urban milieu and to interpret the strange sights and sounds in terms of this "apperceptive mass." They could not do otherwise.

At every turn the urban dweller is confronted with psychic stimuli not only from personal contacts but also through the various mechanized and institutionalized forms of communication—through newspapers, magazines, books, moving pictures, outdoor advertising, lectures, theaters, and the like. In this way the experiential world of the city person becomes remarkably broad, albeit the experiences tend to be largely vicarious. Because of his rather wide experiences as a result of his numerous contacts and his familiarity with the printed page he frequently displays an encyclopedic fund of information about things.

2. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, p. 291.

Social contacts, either direct or indirect, are necessarily limited for the rural person. The hours of labor are usually long and the type of work physically enervating. The natural forces with which he has to deal frequently involve hardship, exposure, and personal deprivation. The very nature of his occupation therefore tends to discourage intellectual development. If he is provincial, insensitive to artistic and intellectual achievements, intransigeant in his moral standards, then it is because of the nature of his social milieu to which he has made an adjustment and around which he has oriented his life. Only in recent years have the cinema, the radio, the automobile, and the daily press afforded the rural dweller an opportunity to expand his social world and widen his range of experiences. It is these mechanized devices perhaps more than any other factors that are reducing the differences between urban and rural persons.

The urbanite, unlike the rural dweller, has enjoyed an increasing amount of leisure time. He usually toils by the clock for a limited number of hours, and if his work is routinized and monotonous, as it commonly is if he belongs to the lower-paid classes, he must find nervous relaxation and mental invigoration outside his working hours. As a surcease from his labors and as an opiate to his frayed nerves he may engage in bizarre and grotesque forms of leisure activity. Therefore, if he is frequently dissipated and nervously exhausted; if he appears jaded and bored, a victim of ennui; if he is impatient, reckless, adventurous, the cause is likely to be found in the nature of his occupation and in the intense stimulations he seeks in his leisure time.

Social Change and Social Philosophy. The homogeneity of culture in a rural area, the even tenor of life, the stabilizing influence of agriculture, the spatial isolation of rural dwellers from their fellows, all make for conservatism and conformity among American rural folk. Unless forced by dire need to rebel against political or economic injustices, the agriculturist remains a thoroughgoing conservative who gives his loyal support to the existing order of things —even though he is avowedly distrustful of the machinations of the "vested interests," "Wall Street," and the political leaders who he

believes are scheming against him. Even in instances of economic or political revolt, as in the case of the Non-Partisan League movement of the Northwest, or the farmers' strike in Iowa in 1932, he does not change fundamentally his conservative temper. It is radical action without a radical political philosophy.

The city person, on the other hand, is accustomed to seeing values and institutions change with startling rapidity. In his world there is less stability and less security. Cultural lags reflecting the inadequacies of the social and economic order are so apparent that he becomes alertly conscious of the fallibility of the institutions in his social system. In many instances he is called upon to choose between divergent codes, principles, or standards, or between local leaders representing these divergences. It is not an accident, then, that new causes and new cults have always found ready adherents among at least a portion of the urban population; that subversive social and political movements usually have their origin in the city rather than the country.

It is not to be assumed that the rank and file of urban population are inclined toward radicalism, even though the city is the natural habitat of the agitator, the radical, and the reformer. On the contrary, the majority is committed to the support and defense of the existing régime. Nevertheless, a sizable minority of the urban population, composed of protesting individuals who run the whole gamut from the militant revolutionary to the mild critic of the social order, flouts rather than embraces the principles of the *status quo*. Here are the cultists and the social reformers with their grandiose schemes of a perfect society; the Bohemians with their unconventional and individualistic patterns of behavior; the agitators and direct-actionists and philosophical anarchists with their theories and their plans for improvement. Nowhere except in the city is such a motley congeries of nonconformists to be found.

PERSONALITY AND ISOLATION. By the very nature of his occupation the rural person must spend a considerable portion of his time in solitude, with the result that he is deprived of many of the stimulating contacts which are so characteristic of city life. His contacts are

with plants, animals, and soil quite as much as they are with human beings. But the spatial isolation of the rural person does not mean he is cut off from all human contacts; he almost always participates in the intimate experiences of at least one primary group, and usually in more. In the city the individual may be surrounded by millions of persons without sharing the memories and sentiments of any of them.

The evidence, therefore, seems to point to the conclusion that while the agriculturist is more isolated physically or spatially than the urban dweller, there is more social isolation in the city. Yet it is important to remember that many rural persons are socially isolated while probably the majority of city dwellers share rather intimately the experiences of a small number of relatives or friends. The isolated hobo or denizen of the roominghouse area is atypical rather than typical. Perhaps if we constructed a reliable scale by which personal isolation could be measured, we would find that in certain areas of the city isolation was pronounced, whereas in others relationships of intimacy would be quite as common as in most rural areas.

Not only do we have little objective data on the actual content of relationships in the city but we are also uncertain of the effects of isolation and intimacy on the individual's personality. There is some evidence that certain functional psychoses such as schizophrenia are related to personal isolation, and that such forms of personal disorganization as suicide, vice, and alcoholism are more common in areas where large numbers of socially isolated individuals are known to exist. Yet the exact psychological effects of this isolation are largely hypothetical. If we knew more about these effects we might be in a position to explain why personality disorders apparently occur more frequently in the city than in rural areas.

Attitude of Intolerance. It has been commonly observed that the values of the city person tend to be relative while those of the rural dweller are more apt to be absolute. By this is meant that the urban resident is more tolerant than the agriculturist of persons who differ from him in race, nationality, or point of view, that he is less

inclined to make absolutistic distinctions between "good" and "bad," and that on the basis of these relative values he is more willing than the farmer to compromise or at least to make concessions to others who hold divergent views. Because these assumed differences have not been adequately verified by experimental methods, there is no certainty that they really exist. One study of rural-urban differences in attitude toward the Negro, cited by Murphy and Newcomb, indicated that so far as a Southern sample of persons was concerned no significant distinctions existed, but that Northern urban children were decidedly more prejudiced against the Negro than children from the small towns.[3] About all this means, as the authors point out, is that "if rural and urban communities provide different kinds and amounts of contacts with another race, then rural and urban attitudes toward that race will differ—whether the contacts be direct or indirect." [4]

Since the city is more culturally heterogeneous than the country, it is reasonable to assume that the urban dweller has more opportunity than the rural person to acquaint himself with various cultural standards and norms. He may not accept the values of others, but at least he may develop a tolerant view toward some of them provided they do not contradict too radically his own beliefs or in some way challenge his social position. Yet it is easy to overgeneralize: we have known numerous urban persons who were prejudiced, intransigeant in their economic and political views, and addicted to violent hatreds of others who subscribed to different points of view. For sheer absolutism it would be difficult to find their match in a rural community. James T. Farrell, in his *A World I Never Made*, has given us a vivid picture of the bigotry, intolerance, and narrowness of the Irish-Catholic mentality in South Chicago. If we are reminded that rural America produced the Ku Klux Klan, it must also be recalled that urban America produced the Black Legion.

3. Murphy, Gardner, Murphy, Lois Barclay, and Newcomb, Theodore M., *Experimental Social Psychology*, p. 1019 (1937).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

RELIGION AND MORALITY. In the realm of religion and morality rural persons are probably more resistant to cultural change than the majority of urban residents. If, for example, one were to take a sample of the rural and urban members of a given religious denomination, say the Methodist Church, one would probably find a deeper hue of religious conservatism in the country than in the city. On the other hand, there is no certainty that urban Catholics are any more liberal in their views than rural Catholics. In rural Protestant denominations there is almost universal opposition to dancing and card-playing in the churches, whereas in the city these forms of recreation are often featured by religious leaders in their leisure-time programs. Possibly a larger proportion of rural persons than urban dwellers regard the theater as an iniquitous institution. The country has always been favorable to old-fashioned revivals and emotional soul-saving campaigns—at least where Protestantism predominates; and although evangelistic types of services are apparently declining in popularity, the decline has probably been more rapid in the city than in the rural areas. Traditional religious fundamentalism is probably waning in the city, but this may merely mean that an increasing number of persons are embracing new ideologies and joining new cults and sects. The followers of Aimee Semple McPherson and the "Angels" of Father Divine are for the most part urban people.

Probably the majority of rural residents are committed to a strict interpretation of the traditional moral code. Chastity, honesty, sobriety, and frugality are the time-honored virtues to be upheld. A questionnaire sent out by the editors of *Country Home* in 1930 to a large number of persons in all parts of the United States indicated prevailingly conservative attitudes on certain questions of morality,[5] though in the absence of similar data from urban residents there is no basis for comparison. Of the 13,431 persons replying, of whom 70 per cent lived on farms, 28 per cent in small towns, and 2 per cent in cities, four out of five persons (81 per cent) were opposed to

5. Lord, Russell, "Cross Section of the Rural Mind," *The New Republic* (September 24, 1930).

laws making divorce easier to obtain, while approximately the same ratio (78 per cent) expressed themselves as favoring the national prohibition laws and their rigid enforcement. Nearly three-fifths (58 per cent) condemned advertisements in farm magazines that encouraged the use of tobacco in general; three-fourths (72 per cent) were opposed to cigarette advertising; while more than four-fifths (84 per cent) were unfavorable to advertisements that encouraged the use of cigarettes by women. One-third of the answers indicated opposition to birth control, the remaining two-thirds favoring legal dissemination of birth control information by doctors to married couples "who apply jointly for such information." About three-fifths of the answers came from women, but no significant sex differences were found between the responses from males and females except that the women were somewhat more favorable to birth control than men. Kolb and Brunner refer to a questionnaire sent to over ten thousand rural leaders requesting information on attitudes concerning smoking by women.[6] The study showed that comparatively few small-town women indulged in smoking. A Mid-Western teachers' college reported that out of a sample of 240 rural school superintendents, 220 indicated they would not employ a teacher who smoked.[7]

There is much evidence from general observation that the rank and file of urban residents, particularly those in large cities, are more liberal in their interpretations of morality than the foregoing sample of rural persons. We do not know what percentage of city women smoke, but the practice is certainly widespread, particularly in the upper economic classes. Even those who do not smoke are apt to be tolerant of other women who have acquired the habit. So far as attitudes toward drinking are concerned, there is abundant evidence that the opposition to Federal prohibition was centered largely in cities. Even during the prohibition era large numbers of city people flouted the laws and continued to drink, both privately and publicly. Moreover, the comparatively small size of the majority of urban

6. Kolb, J. H., and Brunner, Edmund deS., *A Study of Rural Society*, p. 268.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

families forces one to the conclusion that most city dwellers are not only favorable to birth control but actually practice it. Even extramarital sexual activities are probably less severely condemned in the city than in the country, although it must not be assumed that infidelity is necessarily widespread. But whatever differences exist between the moral attitudes of rural and urban people, these differences seem to be diminishing. Two years after the editors of *Country Home* made their first survey of rural attitudes they conducted a somewhat similar study and observed a definite swing in the direction of liberalism. The spread of urban culture to rural areas is undoubtedly having a profound effect on morality.

Folk Beliefs and Superstitions. While the country apparently has a more impressive system of folk beliefs than the city, it would be grossly unfair to say that rural people are dominated completely by superstitions whereas urban persons are essentially rational in their behavior. The important thing to remember is that both rural and urban people vary widely in their beliefs. Some rural dwellers, particularly those removed from the main cultural currents of the time, are almost primitive in their folk beliefs. In *Black April*, Julia Peterkin has given us a detailed picture of folk practices current among the Gullah Negroes of the South, while Mandel Sherman's *Hollow Folk* contains an interesting description of folk superstitions in three isolated white communities of Virginia. In certain respects these rural people differ from the prosperous farmers and villagers of the corn belt or dairying areas quite as much as primitive savages differ from modern men. Similar variations are found in the city. At one extreme are the "intellectually emancipated" who accept without question a mechanistic interpretation of their social and natural world; at the opposite pole are those who believe implicitly in omens, signs, and fetishes and shape their behavior accordingly.

Whereas the farmer may hasten to plant his potatoes in the dark of the moon, employ the services of a water witch before he digs a well, or tie an amulet of asafetida around his child's neck to ward off disease, the urban sophisticate may decline to accept Room 13

when he is registering at a hotel, avoid using a single match to light three cigarettes, or believe that sacramental wine has literally changed to blood under proper ceremonial conditions. One has only to read Farrell's realistic novels of Chicago's South Side to be impressed by the extent to which superstition dominates the lives of certain residents of that metropolis. Newcomb, reviewing the literature of social attitudes, asserts, however, that rural-urban differences in superstitious beliefs are "well authenticated," though he fails to supply much evidence to support this generalization. He cites one study comparing the superstitious beliefs of a considerable number of "large-city" and "small-town" children.[8] The results of the study indicated that reliable town-city differences existed in the number of superstitions heard, and in the number of superstitions confessed to be an influence, the number being greater for the rural children. On the other hand, rural girls *believed* no more superstitions than city girls, but rural boys were somewhat more inclined to accept such beliefs than city boys.

About all that we can safely assume is that the physical conditions under which farmers live tend to make them somewhat more responsive than the city person to a world of nature; and since this natural world is perplexing, baffling, and unpredictable in many of its aspects, it is not surprising that farm folk, usually unfamiliar with scientific data, have accepted without question certain folk beliefs. If it is true that the city man tends to be somewhat more rational, or at least more inclined toward a naturalistic as opposed to a supernaturalistic interpretation of his universe, it is possibly because he lives in a social world which he can interpret largely in terms of cause and effect. He sees with his eyes the material growth and functions of the city—the erection of buildings, the construction of streets and viaducts, the movement of vehicles, and innumerable other things that affect his existence; and while he may know little of the actual processes and techniques involved in the cultural changes, there is nothing particularly mysterious or awe-inspiring about them.

8. Murphy and Newcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 1019.

INDIVIDUALISM—RURAL AND URBAN. The familiar allegation that farm people are more individualistic than city residents is not easy to support, partly because "individualism" may be manifest in so many different ways. If by individualism we mean an unwillingness to share the duties and responsibilities of others in various sorts of communal or cooperative undertakings, there is some evidence that urban residents are less individualistic than farmers. Urban persons are cooperative because they have to be in order to survive; farmers, on the other hand, may be so economically self-sufficient that organized cooperation in certain spheres of life is unnecessary—or may seem so to them. But even among agriculturists marked changes in attitudes and practices with respect to cooperation have occurred within the past two or three decades. Already more than half the commercial farmers of the country are members of producers' cooperatives, and between two-fifths and one-half of all farm products are marketed through cooperative organizations.[9]

If, on the other hand, individualism is interpreted to mean hedonistic behavior, then urban dwellers probably exhibit more individualistic traits than rural persons. The freedom of the city, the weakening of primary controls, and the anonymity of life have produced various forms of individualized behavior that are more characteristic of the city than the country. Yet the vast changes that are taking place in rural society are tending to encourage the development of a philosophy of individualism within certain limits. It is not uncommon to find rural persons, particularly village folk, chafing under the rigid mores of rural life, irritated by the gossip of their neighbors, and yearning to live in a community affording much greater freedom in their private lives.

HABITS OF CONSUMPTION. Life in the metropolis necessitates a constant outpouring of money. On every hand the urban person is stimulated by advertisements and propaganda to buy, even though he may be forced to mortgage his future income. Among certain groups recklessness in spending is a means of securing recognition. Persons of wealth not infrequently seek the limelight through prof-

9. Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

ligate extravagance and display of wealth; they also intrench themselves socially by doing what others would like to do but cannot because of economic limitations. Lynd points out that in Middletown the socially élite of the city, a small minority of the population, engage in leisure-time activities the cost of which is prohibitive to the bulk of the residents. These activities are therefore symbolic of the status which the economic aristocrats occupy.

We are inclined to believe that "conspicuous consumption" as a mode of behavior is somewhat more apparent in the city than the country, at least in its more dramatic and sensational forms. Yet many rural people are intent on the task of "keeping up with the Joneses" or surpassing them if possible. Prestige in the country as in the city may be gained by the display of wealth, or the commodities which wealth will purchase. The farmer who can afford a seven-passenger automobile, a large barn, or a harvester-combine may occupy a position of prestige above that of his fellows for the reason that he can afford these things while the others cannot; indeed he may have acquired them quite as much for the prestige they would bring him as for their utilitarian value. In this respect he differs little from the urban person who gains recognition and status by riding in a Rolls Royce, employing a retinue of servants, and living in a princely mansion. For both, the possessions are symbolic. But whereas the gilded aristocracy of the city may be extravagantly wasteful in their consumptive habits, rural dwellers have usually frowned upon orgies of unnecessary spending that would dissipate the energies as well as the financial resources of the spenders. Theirs has been a philosophy of work, perseverance, thrift, frugality. To them the "playboys" of the metropolis are sinners of the first magnitude.

The Importance of External Appearances. Because of the exaggerated emphasis on external form, many urban persons live behind a mask which conceals the real self. In a competitive society those who earn their livelihood by satisfying the needs and wants of the public—the shopgirl, the salesman, the floor-walker, the caterer, to mention only a few—must of necessity present an appearance in manner, speech, or dress that frequently belies the inner

feelings. Urban persons, for the most part, deal primarily with people rather than with things; their very interdependence makes it necessary for them to masquerade, at least in their occupational activities, in order to accommodate themselves to others in their casual, fleeting contacts. The salesman, for example, may have a scorn for his customer, but he professes an interest and a sympathy that paves the way for the business transactions that are necessary to his economic success.

This masquerading, posing, playing a role, gives the outward impression of hypocrisy, and to the rural person, who deliberately avoids artificiality and who cannot understand the basis of urban relationships, the metropolite is hypocritical, untrustworthy, a "slicker." Yet withal it is a natural phenomenon, a form of social adjustment that has grown out of the exigencies of urban life. As long as urban people live by their dealings with others in a state of "competitive cooperation" it will be necessary for them to lubricate the social machinery with any devices that make easier social contacts and facilitate social adjustments. The extreme degree to which this masquerading is carried in some parts of the metropolis, however, becomes downright pathological in its manifestations.

Social and Moral Pluralism. In an urban environment, with its heterogeneity of cultures, its tolerance and freedom, the individual may belong to several groups, each of which differs from the others in its ethical code and its recognized patterns of behavior. Because of their specialized nature, not many urban groups are capable of satisfying all the psychic and physical needs of the individual. Therefore he is led to identify himself with as many associations as will enable him to work out a satisfactory scheme of life. The very anonymity of the city often makes it possible for the individual to oscillate from one to the other without necessarily losing prestige or status. The churchman may find new experiences and sexual thrills in ephemeral associations with the denizens of the half-world without the knowledge of his fellow religionists; the conventional and respectable father may leave his domestic code of morals behind when he fraternizes with his business associates in questionable

haunts or amusement places; the juvenile, repressed by the attitudes of strait-laced parents, may find satisfying experiences and associations in the gang whose standards of conduct and behavior are not sanctioned by conventional society. Thus arises a plurality of social and ethical standards that could not easily exist in the country.

The practical effect of participation in these divergent and frequently antithetical groups is the development of a multiple-sided personality in the urban dweller. Conditions of city life make it possible for him to carry on a satisfying though inconsistent existence, paradoxical as it may seem, in groups of varying standards and constituencies. The very contradictory nature of this way of life, however, carries with it certain hazards, for conflicts of standards and values are apt to be reflected in mental conflicts within the individual that are demoralizing and damaging to the personality. The apparent increase of mental disorders in the city may be more closely identified with the moral pluralism of many urban persons than some are inclined to think.

URBAN SOCIAL TYPES

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL TYPE. Repeatedly we have warned against the easy inference concerning the existence of an urban type. Urban persons there are, with attitudes and behavior patterns that frequently distinguish them from rural residents; but no single type of personality. If we proceed on the assumption that attitudes and behavior are shaped by environmental influences, then it must necessarily follow that the city, with its extremes of differentiation and specialization, must produce, not a single social type, but many different types. Personality characteristics of the urban dweller are as varied as the social situations which produce them. For this reason it is hazardous to speak of urban attitudes and behavior as though all city people were similar in this respect.

The various roles that the individual assumes and the conception he has of his own self grow out of his experiences in group life. As soon as he is old enough to establish contacts outside the family circle

he usually identifies himself with various kinds of groups. Within each group he performs certain functions, either voluntarily or involuntarily. These functions, or roles, are commonly stereotyped and conventionalized patterns of behavior that have been sanctioned by other members of the group and perhaps by non-members as well. By conforming to these established roles he tends to behave in a manner which he knows has already been prescribed by the group. If he is a preacher, he dons the mask of the preacher—that is, he plays the role the way that he has seen others play it and in the way he knows will be sanctioned by the group; if he is a physician he conducts himself according to the conventional patterns; if he is a banker he assumes a role that is characteristic of men in that profession.

Within each of the groups a universe of discourse arises, and certain social values and standards are given precedence over others. To the extent that the individual conforms to the patterns of behavior already laid down, his personality may be characterized by certain attitudes, beliefs, mannerisms, and philosophy of life. He then may be said to represent a social type, more or less distinguishable from others whose roles have left a different impression on their personalities.

Always the factor of social selection is present in the formation of social types. In such a highly differentiated society as the city there are many social roles to be played, and in the selection of individuals for these roles such characteristics as physical appearance, size, sex, temperament, intelligence, habits, interests, and philosophy of life are usually important. Some type-producing groups are selective of persons of a certain sex; some emphasize physical size and strength; for others habits and interests and outlook on life are all-important. In such institutionalized groups as the older and well-established professions the rigorous demands for membership therein illustrate well the selective process; but even in groups whose patterns are less formalized and institutionalized there is always the factor of selection although it may take place on a less recognizable basis.

Since personality is conditioned by environment, it naturally fol-

lows that changes and trends in the social milieu tend to be reflected in personality traits. Therefore it becomes, as one student has put it, the nature of human nature to change. The increasing complexity of culture in the modern world has been accompanied by a marked division of labor and a high degree of specialization in all sorts of social and economic activities. This social and economic differentiation in turn has produced a personality differentiation perhaps never attained in human society before the modern era. Such differentiation of personality takes place even though powerful standardizing agencies function as a levelling force by providing the same or similar stimuli to millions of persons. In the processes of social differentiation and selection more or less specialized social types are produced, some of which are distinct enough to be quite apparent even to the casual observer.

It follows from the foregoing analysis that a social type has reference to any number of persons who, because of similarity of experiences, have come to acquire a set of habits, attitudes, values, and beliefs that are characterized more by their uniformities than by their differences. Common observation constantly impresses upon us the fact that persons who occupy a fairly comparable status in society and who perform similar roles are apt to resemble each other in their views and perhaps even in their habits and mannerisms. Yet at this point we are confronted with difficulties that make further analysis exceedingly difficult. We know of no reliable experimental studies which would put the delineation of social types on a scientific basis. Furthermore, the experiences of many persons are so varied that they would likely conform not to a pure type but instead have the characteristics of several types. If adequate measuring instruments were available, it probably would be possible to delineate a number of types whose characteristics would be significantly uniform, but it is likely that the majority of persons would fall somewhere on the margin rather than definitely within a given type. The following pages are devoted to a brief discussion of a few urban types and the processes by which they are produced.

Occupation and Social Type. Perhaps no form of experience

is so significant in the production of a social type as occupation. The activities involved in earning a livelihood leave a deep imprint on the personality of the individual. Occupation is action, overt behavior. Participation in specialized occupational activities serves to condition the individual's neuro-muscular mechanisms and therefore to create new habits and strengthen old ones. The long hours that most persons spend in their work make occupation a habit-forming agency of the first order. In each occupation there are established patterns to which the individual is expected to conform, and as he adjusts himself to them he plays a role that distinguishes him from others in different occupations. In time the occupational experiences come to be stamped upon him: they color his attitudes; they define many of his wishes; they determine many of the outlines of his behavior. The sets of attitudes which he acquires become integrated into a complex which dominates his personality and he therefore tends to view the whole world from his occupational vantage point.

It is neither necessary nor desirable to attempt an enumeration of all the social types that are produced by occupational experiences within the city. Indeed there are perhaps as many distinguishable types as there are established occupations. There are lawyers and physicians, bootleggers and bellhops, chauffeurs and clerks, waitresses and actresses, plumbers and policemen, social workers and stenographers. Each is partly a product of the process of selection; each has undergone a process of conditioning toward a social type. The longer the period of training, and the more highly integrated and professionalized the occupational group, the more deeply impressed upon the person are the attitudes and standards of the occupation. For that reason the lawyer or physician may approach a social type nearer than does the chauffeur or bellhop. While they may not always be distinguished at sight, intimacy of contact reveals the attitudes and opinions that dominate and color their personality and prescribe their mode of behavior.

Other Social Types. To present a complete list of all the possible urban types would be to provide a sort of *dramatis personae* of the city. There are political types, social pariah types, social reformers,

leisure-time types, Bohemian types, nationality types, and numerous others which could undoubtedly be identified by a close study of attitudes and behavior. The political boss, for instance, is one of the most familiar figures of the urban American scene. Because of his extraordinary political power and the dramatic way in which he occasionally displays it, as well as the halo of mystery that sometimes surrounds his person, he has frequently become almost a legendary figure in the political world.

While every age has had its social pariahs, modern urban society seems to have produced more than its share of outcasts, persons who are either completely outside the pale of conventional society or else on its periphery. Many of these social outcasts have identified themselves with particular groups and developed behavior patterns that differentiate them from others. There are prostitutes and "madames," pimps and panhandlers, gangsters and confidence men, jack-rollers and homosexuals, hoboes and other libertarians of one kind or another. Just as "birds of a feather flock together," so do many of the social pariahs find their social world composed mainly of others of their own kind, by necessity if not always by choice. If a "hobo mentality" can be identified, it is because a similar set of attitudes and behavior patterns emerges from the experience and problems of the persons comprising the "floating fraternity." Certainly the outlook on life of the hobo would differ from that of, say, the business executive.

Each metropolis has numerous coteries of turbulent and restive individuals whose revolutionary or reformist philosophies constitute dominant personality traits. Some of them are unalterably opposed to the social and economic *status quo*; others, milder in their temperaments and less intransigeant in their attitudes, are equally committed to a program of social change. Some are openly destructionist in their philosophy; others are content to resort to political action or personal persuasion as a means of attaining their objectives. Included among social reform types are Communist, Socialist, and Fascist leaders, labor organizers, and agitators for one cause or another. In

this category also might be included the leaders of strange cults who seek to gain a following and eventually transform the world.

The entire lives of many urban persons are so completely oriented around their leisure-time interests that their personalities are dominated thereby. Their attitudes, their wishes, their patterns of behavior, indeed their whole mental slant, are determined for the most part by the associations and experiences in their pursuit of pleasure, knowledge, or social polish, or in their efforts to improve existing social conditions. The clubman and clubwoman have been suggested by Anderson and Lindeman as social types that are frequently found in the city. But there are also others—sportsmen and playboys of the metropolis, gigolos, society matrons, nonprofessional gamblers, leaders of "café society," charity-work volunteers, and philanthropists.

Among the newcomers from the Old World are social types and subtypes whose language, customs, and attitudes set them off from the natives and from each other. Each cultural or language group molds and defines in a broad way a type whose mores, religious beliefs, attitudes, and patterns of behavior constitute cultural badges with which they may be easily labeled. The Jew, for example, is more than a biological type; he is a psychic type, and the combination of his mental and physical traits differentiates him from others whose cultural backgrounds are dissimilar. Likewise, the Italian, the Greek, the Pole, the Mexican, the gypsy, even the Oriental, are principally cultural types which in many cities constitute a considerable part of the population.

In conclusion, it may be reiterated that the urban environment represents fertile soil for the production of social types. Extremes of social and economic specialization, ecological segregation on the basis of race, culture, economic status, or primary interests, associations based mainly on interests and economic functions rather than spatial proximity, wide social distances between groups and persons —these are some of the conditions that tend to differentiate personality and form the basis for the development of social types. No

picture of city life is complete without recognition of these types and the processes that produce them: they are as important a part of the city as the skyscraper, the factory, or the daily newspaper.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Write a case history of some person with whom you are familiar who has changed his habitat from a rural to an urban milieu. What changes in attitudes and behavior are apparent? If the student himself has changed from a rural to an urban environment, it would be profitable to analyze the changes that have taken place in his own personality as a result of the change of residence.

2. Make a study of the attitudes of rural and urban residents on a number of controversial questions. This can best be done, perhaps, by carefully preparing a questionnaire and presenting it to a considerable number of rural and urban persons.

3. Write a case history of an individual who represents a fairly well defined social type. What experiences in the life of the person appear to be responsible for the personality traits which are manifest?

4. Treat more fully in a discussion paper the theory of the development of a social type.

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14

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION

DISORGANIZATION AS A SOCIAL PROCESS. An interpretation of social disorganization is offered by Thomas and Znaniecki, who say that social disorganization is a "decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group," and that personal disorganization and demoralization is "the decay of the personal life-organization of an individual member of the group."[1] They contend that social disorganization is not necessarily followed by personal disorganization, but it is a commonplace observation that wherever there occurs marked and rapid institutional decay the social controls are so relaxed that the individual is often set adrift before he is able to perfect an adequate life-organization to meet the changed condition. With the advent of urbanism has come an increasing individualization of behavior and a corresponding decline in group consciousness and group solidarity. Accelerated mobility, both social and physical, has weakened the ties that once bound so firmly the members of the family and the neighborhood. Social values and social attitudes in a changing urban environment have undergone a transformation. Fundamental changes have occurred in the mores, and with these changes has come a different conception of the roles of the family, the church, the school, even a different conception of the role of the individual in his group life. These trends caused by the operation of powerful forces peculiar to urban life have undermined the established social order. One result of this trend has been the decline of these groups as agents of social control. This unloosening of social controls without the effective substitution of other forms of control better adapted to an urban environment has

1. *The Polish Peasant*, 2: 1128, 1647 (1918).

left its toll in numerous instances of personal disorganization and demoralization.

We are inclined to interpret personal disorganization mainly in terms of the subjective experiences of the individual. It may result from the failure of the social organization to satisfy the major needs and desires of the individual, or it may be a consequence of the failure of the person "to adjust himself to a more or less satisfactory social structure," either because of physical handicaps or because of "socially acquired habits and attitudes." [2] It may be manifest in multifarious ways: in an obsessive self-attitude of inferiority and depreciation; in feelings of guilt or shame over some act or thought; in doubts, fears, and uncertainties; in mental confusion and indecisiveness; in unpleasant feelings of frustration and chronic irritation; in extreme sensitiveness to slights and in unwarranted suspicions—in short, in the failure of the individual to integrate his attitudes and behavior patterns in a way that is satisfying to himself.

Obviously the concept should be considered relative rather than absolute: no sharp distinction can be made between persons who are disorganized and those who are not. Probably every urban resident has been personally disorganized to a degree: Where is the person who has not at some time had a sickening sense of inferiority, who has not been confused about the present and apprehensive about the future, or who has not suffered pangs of conscience because of certain acts or thoughts? Because of the complexity of urban society, because of its rapid change and the failure of its institutions to function properly in meeting human needs, personal adjustments are more difficult to make than in a simple milieu. The degree of personal disorganization may range from mild upsets to profound emotional disturbances which partially or completely incapacitate the individual. For the milder and temporary forms of disorganization no serious problems of personal adjustment are involved for society; but in other instances the disorganization may be so pronounced that the ensuing behavior becomes a matter of serious concern for

2. Queen, S. A., Bodenhafer, W. B., and Harper, E. B., *Social Organization and Disorganization*, p. 475 (1934).

both the individual and the group. Insanity, suicide, vice, crime, and transiency are behavior patterns which may reflect the more extreme forms of individual disorganization.

Social organization and personality are both so complicated that we are as yet unable to predict with accuracy the conditions which will produce personal disorganization. We know that mobility has a pulverizing effect on social relationships and that highly mobile persons are frequently disorganized. Yet many transients are integrated personalities, well adjusted to their mode of life. Social isolation is thought by some to be a factor in personal disorganization, particularly in certain functional types of insanity; but many persons who are isolated seem to get along very well, and some of them apparently enjoy the inward privacy that comes from their state of isolation. Poverty seems to be a factor in disorganization of the individual, but certainly not all impoverished persons are disorganized. Probably most of them live happy, contented, and socially useful lives. Where social insecurity abounds the symptoms of personal disorganization seem to occur with unusual frequency; yet there are persons with no social or economic security who succeed in developing a philosophical outlook on life and get along better than others who are socially secure.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have considered the processual character of social and personal disorganization. But social processes as such may not be perceived; the term itself is a conceptual abstraction. Therefore it is necessary to rely on certain perceptible criteria which may be used as indices of disorganization. Queen defines an index as "any readily observable thing which bears so constant a relation to another less readily observable object or relation that the former can be used as a measure of the latter. It is a pointer which may be easily read and which has value solely or chiefly because of the invisible thing which it indicates." [3] There are many kinds of indices, but we are here concerned only with indices of social and personal disorganization. Crime rates, divorce rates, suicide rates, rates of growth or decline of population, number of persons on re-

3. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

lief, labor turnover, income, transiency, and rates of illegitimacy and insanity may be considered as valid indices of disorganization. While they may tell us nothing of the actual nature of the process of disorganization, they do indicate the presence and extent of the phenomenon and at the same time constitute concrete data which may be treated objectively. In the present chapter we shall consider both the processual character of disorganization and the various indices which may be utilized in the analysis of the processes.

FORMS OF DISORGANIZATION

COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION. Since most social institutions penetrate each other at many points, conditions that make for disintegration or solidarity in one are likewise reflected in others. Consequently many of the causes of family disorganization are at the same time the causes of community and neighborhood disorganization and vice versa. Whenever the inhabitants of a community begin to "define situations exclusively as economic, intellectual, religious, hedonistic, not as social, whenever the individuals show a propensity to satisfy their own wishes irrespective of the traditional mores and customs, whenever consensus and social opinion are supplanted by gossip, then the process of disorganization is under way." [4]

In a changing social order a degree of social disorganization is always inevitable because of the constant breakup of customs and the collapse of social controls. Because the city in its growth or decline disturbs the existing order of things and creates new alignments, it is in a perpetual state of disorganization. But disorganization is not necessarily an undesirable thing; it may merely be the prelude to the process of reorganization, "a protest against traditionalism and formalism." When it becomes chronic, when the traditional controls undergo a complete collapse, when it is accompanied by an undue amount of personal demoralization, frequently in the form of antisocial behavior, when overt social conflicts become actually destructive and retard not only the normal functioning of the com-

4. Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, 2: 1173.

munity but also the processes of reorganization, when social opinion degenerates into mere gossip, then disorganization is pathological and becomes a social problem. The principal areas of extreme disorganization of the city, the deteriorated regions immediately surrounding the focal center of the urban community, have been discussed from the ecological point of view in another chapter. These are the so-called slums, the blighted areas of the city that become the natural habitat of the weak, the depraved, the demoralized, and the criminal.

Anything that tends to disturb the normal social and economic equilibrium of the community is disorganizing in its effects. The advent of a manufacturing establishment in an urban area, for example, may so change the economy of the district that the social organization worked out under the old régime is no longer adequate for the new. Ethnic invasions take place, land is put to a different usage, new standards and values are accepted. Sometimes the adherents of the old organization offer resistance to the encroachments of the new and conflict is the result. As long as the community is thus in a state of flux, disorganization exists; but when a new equilibrium is struck, when the invaded territory is finally taken over and put to a new and different use, then social reorganization is attempted, new controls are set up, and the community institutions function in their new capacity. The same process of disorganization takes place when a dominant industry or business in a community declines or leaves and therefore undermines the economy of the area.

One of the manifestations of community disorganization is social conflict. Frequently the community becomes a veritable battleground on which the struggles between conflicting factions take place—struggles between religious, racial, and cultural groups, between groups representing divergent economic interests and loyalties, between social groups representing the "town and gown" elements, between political groups and between dominant personalities. Even the milder conflicts between the older and younger generations represent forms of social disorganization. The sanguinary race riots that have occurred in many cities in recent years, the strikes

that have been so common in industrial centers, the smoldering hatreds and antipathies between cultural and nationalistic groups that frequently flare up in overt conflict are disorganizing in their effects. Sometimes these conflicts are so prolonged and of such magnitude that the community becomes afflicted, as it were, with a sort of paralysis; and in the absence of harmony and cooperation between factions and personalities the institutions of the community cease to function as agencies of control and the area becomes pathological and disorganized. Sometimes community disorganization occurs as a result of catastrophes that leave chaos and devastation in their wake. Fires, earthquakes, explosions, floods, volcanic eruptions occasionally paralyze the community so completely that the social organization breaks down and ceases to function; but these forms of community disorganization, while not uncommon, are usually temporary, lasting only until the forces of community organization are under way.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION. The impact of industrialism and commercialism on the home, wherever it has occurred, has been accompanied by disorganization varying in degree from a slight relaxation of family control of behavior to complete deterioration of the group. Industrialism and commercialism have not in themselves been the sole cause of family disorganization; rather they have created certain new values and brought the individual in contact with these values, thereby modifying and changing the attitudes and wishes in such a way that the family circle fails to satisfy the individual in the way it once did.

The whole industrial and commercial system, implemented by modern techniques in advertising and propaganda, is designed to produce an endless number of commodities representing social values, together with a demand for them; and as the individual responds to these incitements, aspirations and desires before unknown to him arise and demand satisfaction. Whenever these new desires are created in the individual as a result of the changing nature of his environment, as Thomas and Znaniecki have pointed out, the "we-attitudes" that were characteristic of the family group in milieus

not possessing these different object-values become "I-attitudes," and the person therefore tends to follow the dictates of his own desires rather than the desires of his family group.[5]

If the family and the community are sufficiently unified they may check the development of these individualistic attitudes and modes of behavior; but where the existence of multifarious social values is accompanied by frequent changes, neither the family nor the community is potent enough to force the individual into strict conformity. If the family attempts to force the individual to follow traditional patterns of behavior, conflict frequently ensues and some form of antisocial conduct is the result.[6] The conflict between the Old World immigrant parents and their Americanized children, resulting not only in a form of social disorganization but also in personal demoralization, is an example. If the family is not strong enough to offer resistance to the individualistic patterns of behavior that arise from the newly created attitudes and wishes, no conflict arises and disorganization occurs merely as a gradual loosening of family ties and decay of family interests.[7]

The city, possessing the greatest number of cultural objects having social value, supplies the ingredients from which new attitudes and wishes leading to individualistic behavior are made. The individual comes in constant contact with objects that may afford him sensuous pleasure and recognition—with new styles in clothes, jewelry, foods, drinks, automobiles, homes; he observes also new patterns of behavior that afford similar delights. Through the cinema especially does he find objects and modes of behavior that appeal to his fundamental wishes, and as he redefines his desires in his imagination and builds up action patterns to satisfy them his family not only ceases to function as effectively as it once did in his life but he also finds himself running counter to some of the established mores of the group. It is not surprising, then, that in the city the family tends to lose much of its traditional solidarity as a result of the loss of its traditional functions. "Disorganization of the family

5. *The Polish Peasant*, 2: 1167–1168. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1168–1169. 7. *Ibid.*

as a primary group is thus an unavoidable consequence of modern civilization." [8]

a. *Conflict of Roles in the Family.* While the orthodox family has been characterized by elaborate ritual, sentimental attachments, and cooperative undertakings, the loosely integrated family has had little or no ritual, a minimum of cooperative activities, and an individualization of behavior patterns rather than a similarity of behavior and ideals based on sentimental interdependence. In the country the family was a producing unit, and the members worked at related tasks in producing materials for their own consumption, thereby having a similarity of experiences and enjoying a mutuality of aims and interests. In the city the family group is essentially a consuming rather than a producing unit. The transference of productive and recreational interests from the home to the out-group has naturally reduced the amount of interdependence within the home and therefore in many instances weakened the sentimental attachments which, growing out of the sharing of common experiences, welded the family group into a well-integrated unit. When father, mother, and children are employed away from home at different tasks their divided interests growing out of their experiences are likely to give each a differing conception not only of his or her own role in the family group but also of the roles of the others. Whenever these conceptions of role conflict, as they often do, the family tends to become disorganized and some form of overt conflict frequently ensues. The immigrant or rural-minded father, for example, who still conceives himself in the role of a paternal autocrat with the rest of the family occupying subordinate positions, is likely to find himself in a conflict situation because his conception of the paternal role does not correspond to the democratic conceptions entertained by his urbanized children who are inclined toward individualistic behavior.

b. *The Confusion of Ideals.* The divergent and sometimes conflicting ideals of family life have been the result of contacts with

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1168.

individuals representing the multitude of family patterns that are to be found in the modern metropolis. Family patterns and ideals in the city, like morals and codes of conduct, tend to be relative rather than absolute so far as the individual is concerned; consequently there is confusion as to what constitutes the desirable pattern as well as an actual weakening of the influence the family exerts on the behavior of the individual.

c. *Increase of Individualism.* With the growing individualization of behavior in the city, the responsibility of making decisions and deciding upon courses of action shows a tendency to become an individual rather than a family affair. Even though behavior is frequently contrary to the desires or moral standards of others in the family, the responsibility for that behavior lies with the person instead of the family group. Since urban persons show a tendency to live an associational life, identifying themselves with various groups having as their basis common interests rather than geographical proximity, the patterns of behavior which they develop are frequently antithetical to the recognized patterns maintained by other members of their own family. In such circumstances attitudes of tolerance are necessary if the family is to show any outward evidences of unity and solidarity.

The individualism of modern society has constituted a new basis for the selection of mates. The choice of partners is largely an individual rather than a family affair—an interesting contrast to the extremes of family control exerted in the marital affairs of children by primitive and Oriental parents. But this individualism applies not only to the choice of mates and the signing of the marriage contract; it assumes also the right and privilege of each individual to terminate the marital contract at will. The whole philosophy of individualism, coupled with the romantic ideal which characterizes courtship and marriage in the Western World, has functioned to undermine the traditional family solidarity and to increase the degree of disintegration.

d. *Mobility and Family Disintegration.* In homogeneous, im-

mobile rural communities the family has preserved much of its traditional stability and unity. But in the highly mobile areas of the city, areas in which collective opinion ceases to exist, the family tends to go to pieces. The transient family is always a weak link in the neighborhood chain—if it can be considered a link at all. Transiency as opposed to permanency of residence means the breakup of traditions, sentiments, and memories that are the foundations of family solidarity; it means the constant shifting of scenes and social settings and therefore endless varieties of contacts and stimulations; it means constant adjustment to new and strange situations and therefore new habits and values and standards; it means new desires to be satisfied only through the stimulation of continued movement; it means, in the final analysis, that the family loses sight of its relationships and responsibilities to the community and the larger group. The invariable result of excessive mobility is disorganization, demoralization, social atomization. Wherever it occurs family and neighborhood life is at a low ebb. As the neighborhood vanishes, as it tends to do in areas of high mobility, the family therein loses its sense of direction, and, torn loose from its moorings, becomes mere flotsam on the cultural currents of the time.

e. *Indices of Family Disorganization.* While divorce and desertion statistics are by no means accurate and reliable indices of the state of family relationships of the city as a whole, they do give a general picture of the extent to which family disorganization exists in urban communities. Urban divorce and desertion rates are usually higher than in rural districts. It must be remembered, however, that there are urban areas, particularly the areas populated by immigrant families, in which divorce has not been sanctioned by the mores and is therefore conspicuously absent as a social phenomenon. But in these same areas desertion, "the poor man's divorce," becomes the recognized method of making an accommodation to an unsatisfactory family relationship. Cities with large foreign-born populations who still cling to their Old World religions and family mores usually show a lower divorce rate than cities with larger proportions

of natives—although among the native group in these cities the divorce rates may be as high as in any other city having a higher crude rate.

Table XXIII

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES FOR EACH DIVORCE IN 8 STATES, IN THE LARGEST CITY OR CITIES, AND IN 10 RURAL COUNTIES, 1925[9]

POPULATION UNIT	STATE	URBAN	TEN NON-URBAN COUNTIES
California	5.2		10.5
Los Angeles		4.5	
San Francisco		3.4	
Illinois	5.7		7.0
Chicago		4.8	
Maryland	16.0		29.3
Baltimore		6.5	
Michigan	4.9		23.2
Detroit		3.9	
Minnesota	8.9		10.5
Minneapolis		4.7	
St. Paul		7.1	
Missouri	4.2		5.9
Kansas City		2.4	
St. Louis		3.0	
Virginia	7.2		16.0
Richmond		4.6	
New York	23.6		15.7
New York City		26.8	

The difference in the divorce rates between cities would seem to indicate on the surface that some cities have much more family disorganization than others, but although this may be true the figures do not necessarily warrant such a conclusion. Among the cities listed above, Kansas City has the highest divorce rate, more than ten times that of New York. But Kansas City has an unusually large percentage of native Americans whose mores and attitudes are beginning to sanction divorce as a form of accommodation, while New York City, on the other hand, has a high percentage of foreign-born —Jews, Italians, Poles, and others—whose religious and social teachings stigmatize divorce as improper or even sinful. Furthermore, the rigidity of divorce laws in New York makes it difficult for estranged

9. Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 336. Computed from census data, 1925.

individuals to secure a decree of divorce; accordingly, many of them seek temporary residence in other states and cities noted for the laxity of divorce laws, and the divorcement is credited to the place of their temporary residence rather than to the metropolis of New York.

In most states the number of divorced persons in cities is disproportionate to the percentage of the population of the state living in the cities. San Francisco, in 1924, had 14 per cent of the population of California, 12.3 per cent of the marriages, and 19.8 per cent of the divorces, while Cook County, Illinois, which includes all of Chicago and a number of suburbs, had 48.8 per cent of the population of the state and 59.8 per cent of the divorces. Baltimore had 51.6 per cent of the population of Maryland and 74.4 per cent of the divorces, while Denver, with 27.5 per cent of the state's population, had 40.7 per cent of all the divorces granted in Colorado. New York City here stands out as an exception to this general condition. With 52.9 per cent of the population of the state, the city, including five boroughs, had only 50.1 per cent of the divorces.[10]

While divorce occurs in both city and country, albeit more frequently in urban communities, desertion tends to be primarily an urban phenomenon. Especially is it prevalent among the lower economic classes who cannot bear the expense of divorce proceedings, and among cultural groups whose mores do not permit of legalized marital divorcement. Mowrer found in his study of family disorganization in Chicago that approximately 35 per cent of the desertion cases brought before the court of domestic relations in that city showed a difference between the nationality of the husband and wife, suggesting, perhaps, that cultural differences constitute an important causal factor in marital discord. He found also that while divorce tends to be more prevalent among families with few or no children, the presence of children in the family does not always prove to be a deterrent in the case of desertion.

f. *Effects of the Depression on the Family.* Divorce rates show a tendency to decline during periods of acute economic depression,

10. *Marriage and Divorce*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1924, p. 34.

but there is some evidence that desertions tend to increase. Mowrer found in Chicago, for instance, that the number of divorces per 10,000 married persons declined from approximately 50 in 1929 to 29 in 1932, then increased to 42 in 1935.[11] Stouffer and Lazarsfeld estimate that between 1930 and 1935 there were 170,000 fewer divorces than there would have been if predepression trends had continued.[12] These data must not be interpreted, however, to mean that a corresponding decline in family tensions occurred, or that economic depression is a stabilizing influence on family life. Indeed the reverse may be true. In all probability much of the decline may be attributed to the inability or reluctance of the interested persons to pay the costs of divorce during a period of economic stress.

The hypothesis that economic maladjustments tend to increase the amount of family disorganization has not been sufficiently tested to warrant general acceptance. After studying the effects of the depression on 100 Chicago families about whom detailed information was available over a considerable period of time, Cavan and Ranck concluded that so far as this sample was concerned economic distress tended to accelerate the process of disorganization if disintegration had already begun.[13] In other words, well-organized family groups met the depression successfully; groups that were already disorganized when the depression began became more disorganized. Such intensive studies not only throw light on the character of family disorganization in cities, but they also demonstrate the danger of making simple generalizations concerning the social effects of the depression.

Poverty and Economic Insecurity. Poverty has been defined as that "condition of living in which the individual, whether from lack of means or the failure to apply them, consistently fails to maintain himself, or those properly dependent upon him, at a plane of

11. Mowrer, E. R., "The Trend and Ecology of Family Disintegration in Chicago," *American Sociological Review*, 3:345 (June, 1938).

12. Stouffer, S. A., and Lazarsfeld, Paul F., *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression*, Social Science Research Council, p. 69 (1937).

13. Cavan, Ruth Shonle, and Ranck, Katherine H., *The Family and the Depression* (1938).

living high enough to insure continuous bodily and mental fitness to carry on permanently in his occupation and locality, and which allows him and them to live and function in their community with decency and self-respect." [14] It is apparent from this definition that poverty is no more an urban than a rural phenomenon. At the same time it is a relative term, for what would be considered poverty in one group, or situation, might not be poverty at all in another. Furthermore, no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between conditions of poverty and those permitting the modest comforts of life.

Poverty is commonly associated with certain physical and mental disorders, although impoverishment *per se* is not necessarily a cause of personality difficulties; rather it is one of a number of interrelated factors which must be viewed in terms of existing attitudes and values. It is not so much low income or lack of material possessions that is disorganizing to the individual as it is a reaction to a social position imposed by a condition of poverty or a precipitous lowering of one's plane of living. In the city, where extremes of poverty and wealth are so pronounced, the impoverished individual may develop attitudes of inferiority, resentment, disillusionment, or cynicism because of the low social position which he is forced to occupy. We can never know how many persons in the lower-income groups are frustrated, thwarted in their desires, and completely discouraged in their attempt to get along in the world; but in a society committed to a philosophy of individual success the number must be very great. And certainly it is in the city, if one may offer judgment based on empirical observation, that poverty-frustration is most acute. Aside from these psychological effects, poverty also bears a close relation to conditions of health, intellectual development, habits of consumption, and moral conduct.

When the depression descended on the country in 1929 the inhabitants of cities were affected earlier and in general probably more severely than rural residents. The number and percentage of urban persons receiving financial or other assistance from public and private welfare organizations represent a fairly good index of eco-

14. Kelso, Robert W., *Poverty*, p. 21 (1929).

nomic status. Between 1933 and 1935 more than three-fifths of the total relief population were located in cities, although urban communities at that time contained only a little more than half the total population of the country.[15] In 1934 the heavily urbanized states spent almost twice as much for relief per capita as the least urbanized states, with about one-fifth of the urban relief load concentrated in the ten largest cities. This difference between the proportion of rural and urban recipients, however, may merely indicate differing policies of relief agencies rather than greater need in the cities.

a. *WPA Study of Relief in Cities.* An extensive study of relief in 79 cities, conducted by the Works Progress Administration in 1934,[16] indicated that in more than half of the communities from 10 to 14 per cent of the total population was on relief at the time the investigation was made, with the percentages ranging from a high of 55.3 in Butte, Montana, to a low of 6.4 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Although marked variations appeared in the relief load of cities, no apparent relationship existed between the proportion of persons receiving relief and geographic location, size of city, or the predominant economic activities. Heavy relief loads were found in Northern cities as well as Southern ones, in diversified cities as well as in specialized communities, in small cities as well as communities of metropolitan rank. Since this was a depression year, however, it is likely that the picture of economic dependence is considerably different from what it would be during a "normal year." Table XXIV gives the ten cities with the highest, and the ten with the lowest, proportions of relief recipients.

As might be expected, the WPA Survey showed that the relief load was heavily concentrated in the unskilled occupations. But even in this instance marked variations were noted: in Lynn, Massachusetts, a textile center, only 16 per cent of the relief recipients were classified as unskilled workers, while in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, a city devoted to heavy manufacturing, 80 per cent of the de-

15. *Our Cities*, p. 14.
16. Wood, Katherine D., *Urban Workers on Relief*, Works Progress Administration (1936).

Table XXIV

PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS ON RELIEF ROLLS IN 20 OF 79 CITIES INCLUDED IN WPA SURVEY, 1934[17]

HIGHEST TEN		LOWEST TEN	
Butte, Mont.	55.3	San Francisco, Calif.	10.2
Douglas, Ariz.	43.9	Sioux City, Ia.	9.2
Charleston, S.C.	28.5	Saginaw, Mich.	8.9
Shenandoah, Pa.	25.0	Klamath Falls, Ore.	8.6
Lakeland, Fla.	24.5	Detroit, Mich.	8.5
Biloxi, Miss.	23.6	Gastonia, N.C.	8.5
Kenosha, Wis.	23.3	Paterson, N.J.	8.2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	23.0	Burlington, Vt.	7.2
Birmingham, Ala.	22.8	Gloversville, N.Y.	6.7
Lake Charles, La.	22.7	Portsmouth, N.H.	6.4

pendents were unskilled. Among such commercial cities as Los Angeles, San Diego, New York, and Salt Lake City white-collar workers represented the largest proportion of all workers on relief.

It is to be noted, however, that in all the cities the relief recipients tended to be concentrated in a few occupations. Over one-third of the total sample of persons were included in six occupations, namely, servants, chauffeurs and truck drivers, building and general laborers, salesmen and saleswomen, carpenters, and painters. Since the majority of Negro workers are in the unskilled and low-income occupations, it is to be expected that Negroes would be represented in disproportionate numbers on the relief rolls. Such was the case in 1934. Although in only one of the cities included in the survey (Charleston, South Carolina) did the Negro population exceed that of the white, Negroes represented more than half of the relief recipients in ten of the cities and more than one-fourth in 22. In Norfolk, Virginia, for instance, approximately one-third of the population are colored but 80 per cent of the persons receiving relief were Negroes. One-fourth of the relief recipients in Detroit were Negroes, although the colored group represents only 7 per cent of the population of the city.

b. *Incomes of Urban Residents.* Data relating to relief provide only a partial picture of the extent and intensity of economic destitu-

17. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

tion. Many persons or families in serious need are actually excluded from the relief rolls for one cause or another; others with an income sufficient to provide only the barest necessities may be classified as "independent" until their jobs end or other circumstances make it impossible for them to continue to support themselves. In most cities of the country it is this marginal group, only slightly above the level of starvation but still economically self-sufficient, that represents one of the most tragic aspects of the problem of poverty. An extensive study of incomes made by the Brookings Institution in 1929, a relatively prosperous year before the depression, indicated that nearly six million families, or 21.4 per cent of the total, received family incomes less than $1,000 a year, while 7.6 per cent of the families, or approximately two million, had an annual income of less than $500.[18] About twelve million, or 42.4 per cent, had incomes less than $1,500. These data apply to a large sample without reference to the size of the community in which the families lived. In 1939 the National Resources Committee published a report on earnings for 1935–36, with the incomes differentiated according to the type and size of community. These data are summarized in the following table:

Table XXV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-RELIEF FAMILIES IN SIX TYPES OF COMMUNITY, BY INCOME LEVEL, WITH MEDIAN INCOME FOR EACH TYPE OF COMMUNITY, 1935–36[19]

INCOME LEVEL	1,500,000 OR OVER	100,000 TO 1,500,000	25,000 TO 100,000	2,500 TO 25,000	RURAL NON-FARM	FARM
Under $500	4.5	6.4	7.9	9.4	11.9	17.7
Under $1,000	19.2	24.5	30.9	33.6	38.1	52.3
Under $1,250	29.1	36.9	44.8	48.2	52.1	65.1
Under $1,500	40.1	47.5	56.4	59.3	63.7	74.9
Under $2,500	74.1	78.9	85.2	86.3	87.8	92.3
Over $2,500	26.9	21.1	14.8	13.7	12.2	7.7
Median Income	$1,730	$1,560	$1,360	$1,290	$1,210	$965

18. Leven, M., Moulton, H. G., and Warburton, C., *America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 54 (1934).

19. *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, National Resources Committee, pp. 23, 25 (1939).

When the families are classified according to type of community in which they reside the extent of poverty becomes even more apparent. Although the median income for cities of all sizes is $1,475, and for the total rural sample $1,070, family earnings tend to increase in direct relation to the size of the community. In metropolitan communities over one and one-half million population, for example, approximately one-fifth of the families had incomes less than $1,000, whereas in cities less than 25,000 one-third of the families were earning less than this amount. These differences in income do not necessarily mean that the residents of large cities have a higher level of living than people in small communities; in fact the higher living costs in metropolitan centers may more than offset any differentials of income.

c. *Living Costs and Incomes.* The significance of these data on incomes becomes more apparent when family incomes are interpreted in terms of the amount of earnings necessary to maintain a family on a given level of social and physical well-being. A report of the Works Progress Administration on living costs in 59 cities over 25,000, based upon price levels in March, 1935, provides a careful estimate of the income necessary to support a 4-person manual worker's family on a "maintenance level" of living.[20] By "maintenance level" is meant that plane of living which is necessary to meet the average minimum requirements of an urban family, with provisions not only for basic physical needs but also for certain social and psychological needs. This hypothetical family, consisting of the parents and two children, aged 13 and 8, would live in a four-or-five-room house or apartment with water and sewer connections, would have gas, ice, electricity, and a small radio, but no automobile, would have an adequate diet at minimum cost, and would read a daily newspaper and attend the movies once a week. Their budget would cover clothing, furniture, medical care, carfare, taxes, and miscellaneous expenses. The maintenance level, then, would represent a comparatively low plane of living, definitely above the bare sub-

20. *Inter-City Differences in Costs of Living*, Works Progress Administration (1937).

sistence level, but also definitely below a luxury or maximum comfort plane.[21]

For all 59 cities the average cost of supporting a family on a maintenance level was $1,260, the annual living costs for this hypothetical family ranging from $1,414 in Washington, D.C., to $1,129 in Mobile, Alabama. In the tabulated data relating to incomes, we have noted that the percentage of families receiving less than $1,250 a year ranged from 44.8 per cent in cities between 25,000 and 100,000 to 29.1 per cent in metropolitan centers over a million and a half. It is apparent, then, that from 29 to 45 per cent of the families in cities over 25,000 receive less than the amount necessary to provide them with a reasonably comfortable plane of living. In order to maintain the families on a *bare subsistence level* it was estimated that an average income of $903 would be necessary, ranging from $1,013 in Minneapolis to $809 in Wichita. Of families living in cities from 25,000 to 100,000 in population, 30.9 per cent received less than $1,000 a year, while in cities over a million and a half the percentage was 19.2. These data can therefore only be interpreted to mean that more than one urban family in five cannot afford the things which we ordinarily associate with an "American" standard of living.

A more recent study of the costs of living in December, 1938, in 36 Northern and Southern cities confirms the findings of the WPA report.[22] For all 36 cities, large and small, the average cost of supporting a non-relief family of four on a maintenance level was $1,318; for Northern cities the cost was $1,341; and for Southern communities, $1,288. As might be expected, the costs of living in large cities are commonly higher than for smaller cities in the same geographic region, but living costs in small cities of the North showed a higher average than for larger centers of the South. In

21. Preliminary reports to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (January, 1940) indicated that the "maintenance level" designated by the WPA was *below* what could be regarded as an acceptable American level of living.

22. "Differences in Living Costs in Northern and Southern Cities," *Monthly Labor Review*, 49: 22–38 (July, 1939).

ten cities ranging in size from 10,000 to 25,000, the average cost for a maintenance level was approximately $1,250, but 48 per cent of the non-relief families in 1935–36 who were residing in cities from 2,500 to 25,000 were receiving less than this amount.

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY. It is generally believed that cities are more productive of crime than the country, but the terms "rural" and "urban" include so many different types of communities that rates based on such all-inclusive categories throw little light on the actual frequency of offenses. Sutherland is inclined to believe that crime tends to increase with the density of population, but that such offenses as homicide, assault, and rape increase less than other serious crimes and also less than minor violations.[23] Rural areas surrounding large cities usually have a crime rate higher than areas removed from the immediate influences of an urban environment. Between 1924 and 1929, for instance, 19.5 per cent of the suburban banks within 25 miles of Chicago were burglarized or robbed, while only 5.6 per cent of those between 75 and 100 miles from the city were robbed.[24] A similar decline was observed in burglaries and robberies of chain stores as distance from Chicago increased. Census mortality statistics for 1929 indicate that cities in the registration area had a homicide rate of 10.1 per 100,000 while rural parts of the area had a rate of 6.9.[25] We do not know if the differences in rates are to be explained solely in terms of social conditions in the city, or whether unadjusted rural persons tend to migrate to the city and thereby add to the crime rate of urban communities; but certain evidence indicates that selective migrations may be a factor of considerable importance. In Sweden, for instance, Kinberg found that about half of the vagrants were born in rural areas, but that persons who became vagrants moved to the city about four times as frequently as the general population, and migrated from city to country about half as frequently as the general population.[26]

a. *Rural and Urban Differences.* Between rural and urban areas

23. Sutherland, E. H., *Criminology*, p. 123 (1934). 24. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
25. *Mortality Statistics*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, p. 43 (1929).
26. Kinberg, O., "On So-Called Vagrancy," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 24: 552–583 (September, 1933).

certain significant differences occur in the comparative frequency of specific types of offenses. In 1938, 95.8 per cent of all criminal acts reported to city officials were offenses against property, whereas in rural areas only 89.6 per cent of the offenses represented violations of property rights. Such crimes against the person as assault, rape, and murder comprise a larger ratio of rural than of urban offenses. The following table shows the relative frequency of certain types of offenses in rural and urban areas. With the total number of offenses in both rural and urban areas represented by 100, the figures in each column, expressed as percentages, indicate the relative numerical frequency of each type of offense:

Table XXVI

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC TYPES OF OFFENSES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1938 [27]

	PERCENTAGE	
OFFENSE	URBAN	RURAL
Larceny (theft)	56.6	47.6
Burglary	22.7	29.9
Auto Theft	12.5	8.6
Robbery	4.0	3.5
Assault	3.0	5.6
Rape	.6	2.3
Homicide	.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0

b. *Crime and Size of City*. While rates for certain types of crime show a tendency to increase with the size of the city, this is by no means true of all types. The official report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1938 showed that the highest rates for criminal homicide, rape, robbery, burglary and automobile thefts were in cities over 250,000. For all types of crime, except rape, cities over 100,000 had higher rates than communities less than 50,000. Thus it appears that size of city is a factor in the incidence of crime. Yet there is no reason to assume that the population of great cities is more criminally inclined than are the residents of smaller communities. The differences may be in part the result of more effective police

27. *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 9: 145 (1939).

supervision, better methods of crime reporting, and even more numerous legal restrictions. Furthermore, marked differences occur between individual cities. Some of the Southern cities of medium size, for example, have much higher homicide rates than cities in the million class. The following data for 1938 indicate specific crime rates for groups of cities according to size, without reference to rates for individual cities:

Table XXVII

OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE AND THE RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR SIX CLASSES OF CITIES [28]

CLASS OF CITIES	HOMICIDE	RAPE	ROBBERY	BURGLARY	AUTO THEFT
Over 250,000	11.9	10.0	80.5	374.1	233.7
100,000–250,000	11.8	6.5	55.0	415.5	213.2
50,000–100,000	9.2	6.6	52.4	356.0	183.8
25,000–50,000	6.2	6.6	34.0	326.8	168.8
10,000–25,000	5.4	6.6	30.0	254.8	121.5
Under 10,000	7.2	7.6	27.0	224.2	87.3
All cities	9.9	8.3	59.3	340.2	188.2

c. *Is Crime Increasing?* There is a common assumption that crime is increasing, particularly in cities. Because the concept of "crime" covers so many types of offenses it is fruitless to make categorical generalizations concerning trends. Data for 73 cities having a population of 100,000 or over show that between 1931 and 1938 crime rates for certain types of violations actually increased, but for other offenses the rates tended to decline.[29] The "daily average" of offenses for rape and larceny was greater in 1938 than in 1931, but for homicides, automobile thefts, robbery, and burglary the number declined. Throughout the seven-year period the daily average of aggravated assaults remained fairly constant. For automobile thefts the daily average decreased by approximately 51 per cent, while in a sample of 522 cities under 100,000 population the daily average of robberies declined from 16.8 to 12.8, or approximately one-fourth, between 1930 and 1934.[30] In New York City the num-

28. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
30. Vold, George B., "The Amount and Nature of Crime," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40: 798 (May, 1935).

ber of crimes reported per 100,000 population declined from 72.7 to 54.4 during the 10-year period from 1924 to 1933, inclusive, although the number of arrests remained fairly constant.[31] In Minneapolis on the other hand, the homicide rate increased by 33.3 per cent between 1930 and 1934, robberies increased by 59.6 per cent, and burglaries by 36.2 per cent. These increases, of course, may have been due in whole or in part to better methods of crime reporting or to more efficient police supervision.

MENTAL DISORDERS. What causal relationships exist between nervous and mental diseases and the processes of industrialism and urbanism are not all known, but it is generally believed by social pathologists that the increase in these disorders is correlated with the expansion of our industrial organization and the growth of cities. This increase, of course, may be due partly to better institutional facilities for handling patients who have mental disorders. It is known, however, that urbanism has meant a growing complexity of the social organization and, with it, increasing difficulties of psychological adjustment. It has meant, also, increased tensions and strains which have left their mark on enervated and exhausted nervous systems. The ceaseless struggle for economic position and social status in the city, the excessive psychic stimulations that result from crowding and congestion in a highly mechanized environment, the mental conflicts, fears, and thwarted wishes, the noise and the speed all tax the nervous system, sometimes beyond its capacity to make an adjustment to such circumstances.

The incidence of insanity as indicated by commitments to psychopathic hospitals in 1932 was 78.8 per 100,000 for the urban population and 41.1 for the rural, though part of this difference may be due to reluctance on the part of rural residents to utilize the facilities of hospitals. Furthermore, as Queen points out, mentally disordered persons in rural communities are frequently sent to almshouses, or poor farms, instead of special institutions for mental patients. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that the city tends to produce more than its proportionate share of mentally dis-

31. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

ordered persons. While we have fairly dependable statistical data on the serious psychoses which are thoroughly incapacitating in their effects, there is no comparable information on the number of mild cases that take the form of psychoneuroses because such persons are rarely hospitalized. On the basis of superficial observation, however, it appears that neurotics are proportionately more numerous in the city than in the country.

In 1933 the rates of first admissions to state institutions per 100,000 population aged fifteen or over was 106 for urban males, 60.7 for rural males, 75.8 for urban females, and 41.2 for rural females.[32] At the same time the rate for urban males was 28 per cent higher than for urban females. The incidence of insanity for Negro males was nearly twice as high for urban as for rural areas, while for foreign-born females the differences between urban and rural rates were even greater. When rates are computed for specific types of mental disorders the city exceeds the country for each of the major diseases with the exception of manic-depressive psychoses, which have a higher frequency among rural than among urban females. In 1933, schizophrenia, a functional disorder, was proportionately twice as frequent in the city as in rural areas. General paralysis, a disease occasioned by syphilis, and alcoholic psychoses were three times as frequent among urban as among rural males.

Suicide. With the exception of certain institutionalized forms of self-destruction, suicide is indicative of personal disorganization. During the past three decades the rate of suicide in cities of 10,000 or over has been about 50 per cent higher than the rural rate. In general the suicide rate shows a tendency to increase directly with the size of the city. A study of suicide in 180 cities in this country for the years 1930 and 1931 showed that cities with 500,000 or more population had a suicide rate of 20.5 per 100,000; cities between 100,000 and 500,000 had a rate of 19.9; while for cities ranging in size between 25,000 and 100,000 the rate was 16.8.[33] In small

32. *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease*, pp. 48–49 (1933).
33. Dublin, Louis I., *To Be or Not To Be*, p. 78–79 (1933).

cities, of less than 25,000, the rate is even lower.[34] Not only has there been an increase in the suicide rate in cities, but the spread between urban and rural rates has tended to widen, though with considerable irregularity. Whereas the urban rate between 1900 and 1904 was 38 per cent higher than the rural rate, in the period 1925 to 1929 the rate in cities was 57 per cent higher than the rate in rural areas.[35]

Although urban rates during the present century have shown an upward trend, these rates have fluctuated from year to year in response to certain social and economic changes in our society. During the post-war year of 1920 urban and rural rates fell to 12.0 and 8.5, respectively.[36] But throughout the 1920s and the depression years of the 1930s the incidence of suicide tended to increase. It is not altogether clear why suicide declined during the World War years and the period immediately following the conflict, but it may be surmised that because this era was one of collective excitement, infectious optimism, and considerable prosperity, personality problems became not only less numerous but also less acute. During the depression, on the other hand, disillusionment and pessimism were widespread; individuals felt keenly their insecurity; and economic maladjustments tended to be reflected in an increasing amount of personal disorganization. In Chicago, for instance, the number of suicides per 10,000 persons was nearly twice as great in the period 1931 to 1933 as in 1927, a fairly prosperous year.[37]

Cities having a high percentage of adults, old people, and particularly elderly males usually have a higher suicide rate than communities with a well-balanced population. Among the cities of the country San Francisco has the highest rate, with Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego also ranking near the top. These cities, as Dublin points out, have attracted large numbers of adults and older persons, both native and foreign-born, in search of health and fortune. Undoubtedly many of them failed in their quest—and chose suicide as a means of ending their worries. Seattle, Portland, Oregon, Den-

34. *Our Cities*, National Resources Committee, p. 11 (1937).
35. Dublin, *op. cit.*, p. 77. 36. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
37. Mowrer, E. R., "A Study of Personal Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, 4:477 (August, 1939).

ver, Spokane, Omaha, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and St. Louis have exceptionally high rates. On the other hand, Fall River, Lowell, Scranton, Jersey City, and Yonkers have the lowest urban rates in the country.

One should exercise care in assuming that suicide is always associated with urbanism, or at least that urban rates necessarily exceed the rates for rural areas. Cavan found a greater difference between urban rates in different regions than exists between urban and rural rates for the country at large.[38] Some New England cities, for example, have rates not only lower than other cities but also less than the regions surrounding them. However, since New England is a thoroughly urbanized and industrialized area, it is probable that the rural population is in closer contact with city life than is the case in other parts of the country. At the same time, New England cities are growing less rapidly than cities elsewhere, which fact may give them a greater degree of social and economic stability than is ordinarily found in large urban centers. Furthermore, the New England cities are heavily populated by Catholics, and it is generally known that the Catholic Church sternly disapproves of suicide. In certain European countries rural-urban differences in suicide rates during the 1920s were less pronounced than in the United States. Dublin points out that in the Netherlands, in Finland, and in the Irish Free State the rural rates are higher than the urban rates, and that in England and Wales little difference exists between the incidence of suicide in cities and rural areas.[39] France, on the other hand, has a higher rate for the urban population than for the rural.

Cities having a high percentage of foreign-born Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans usually have a suicide rate well above the average for the country. This might well be expected, since the foreign-born, particularly Asiatics, are commonly without close friends and relatives. Many foreign-born persons living in cities are "unattached" males who have little or no opportunity to share the intimacies of a stable family or neighborhood life. Negroes, however, are less inclined than whites to solve their personal problems by

38. Cavan, Ruth Shonle, *Suicide*, pp. 46–54. 39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

destroying themselves. But with an increasing number of Negroes becoming urbanized in their attitudes and behavior, it would not be surprising if the rate for this racial group would show a marked tendency to increase. While the phenomenon of self-destruction is found among all economic classes, the frequency of suicide is highest at the extremes of the economic scale.

A study of the living conditions and social relationships in urban and rural areas affords some clue to the explanation of differences in suicide rates between city and country and between different cities. Causes of suicide lie for the most part in environmental factors. In the city the omnipresent factor of change makes the task of social adjustment more difficult, and the personal demoralization that results frequently culminates in self-annihilation as a way out of the difficulties. Since the mores of cultural and religious groups vary, both as to their nature and as to their effectiveness in controlling the behavior of the members of the respective groups, it is to be expected that the suicide rates in different cities and also in different areas within the same city would likewise vary. Among orthodox religious groups whose rigid mores disapprove of self-destruction, the solution of personal difficulties by means of suicide is relatively infrequent. Wherever social controls through religion or the family are weakened, and wherever the philosophy of individualism dominates the attitudes and conduct of the person, where the balking of the normal wishes causes personal disorganization and demoralization, there suicide is likely to be most frequent. It is therefore the city rather than the country, and certain areas of the city rather than others, that furnish the setting for the type of disorganization that leads to suicide.

HOMELESSNESS AND TRANSIENCY. In the disorganization that has accompanied the processes of industrialization and urbanization many individuals who have been uprooted and set adrift have continued their wandering until their movements have become pathological and abnormal. They are the nomads of the machine age, these transient families and homeless men, and in their nomadic wanderings, motivated quite often by a desire for movement for its own sake,

they lose their sense of direction in society and their consciousness of community relationships. Nomadism in its present-day aspects represents, ordinarily, an attempt at accommodation; but the way of life of the hobo or the transient family is so abnormal, so fraught with dangers to the personality, that personal demoralization and degradation are frequently accompaniments of the excessive mobility. Because of their nomadic tendencies they lose status and position in conventional society; and being outside the pale of communal associations that are more or less permanent, with the social controls of the community reduced to a minimum, they become social outcasts.

Homelessness and excessive transiency appear to be among the products of industrial development, although by no means all of the causes can be attributed to industrialism. The increasing amount of family and community disorganization, the acceleration of physical and social mobility, the insecurity of economic position in contemporary society, the routine and monotonous nature of much industrial work, and the wide gulf between employer and employee have all tended to create restlessness and dissatisfaction and have therefore encouraged new enlistments to the ranks of homeless and transient individuals.

PROSTITUTION. Social disorganization and personal demoralization are frequently accompanied by abnormal sexual behavior in one form or another. So universal and so common are these abnormal sex practices that prostitution has come to be recognized as a somewhat definite pattern of behavior that has been institutionalized in some places owing to its commercial aspects. Prostitutes and their parasitical exploiters—pimps, cadets, "madames," and others—constitute a menace to morals and health in most cities and as such become a social problem. It has been variously estimated that there are from 200,000 to 500,000 prostitutes in this country, although no figures are reliable because of the secrecy with which prostitution is usually carried on.[40] Some of this class are hardened

40. See Woolston, Howard B., *Prostitution in the United States*, pp. 35–36 (1921).

streetwalkers in the final stages of personal deterioration; many, however, are "charity girls," mistresses who grant their favors to men in return for money, entertainment, or clothes. A few even are dilettantes in the profession, engaging in promiscuous sex relations not for any lucrative benefits but for the emotional satisfaction sexual promiscuity affords them. In recent years two trends appear to be noticeable: first, prostitution seems to be on the decline due to the general removal of sexual taboos and the apparent increase in promiscuity; second, the social status of the prostitute appears to have changed until she now occupies a position not completely outside the pale of "respectable" society but merely on the periphery, a sort of marginal position between the underworld and the world of respectability.

Prostitution, like other forms of pathological behavior, frequently represents an attempt at accommodation. Thomas has shown how girls who have been deprived of social status and recognition through poverty, isolation, and humble birth have attempted to gain these ends and satisfy their wishes by indulging in promiscuous sex relations.[41] It is in the city especially, where the presence of luxury and wealth arouse new desires within the underprivileged girl, that promiscuity and prostitution become common. Thomas and Znaniecki have observed that the Polish immigrant girl in the American city develops attitudes and wishes and therefore patterns of behavior that would be unknown in the simple society of her native heath.

There are, of course, other causal factors in prostitution. Among them are immorality of parents, questionable amusements, feeblemindedness, seduction by boarders in the home, bad companions, neighborhood immorality, unhappy marriages, and intolerable home conditions.

In a way prostitution is an index to family disorganization. Wherever family life is so well harmonized that the wishes and appetites of the individual are satisfied within the group, prostitution has little excuse for existence. But whenever the home begins to show

41. Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl* (1924). Cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant* (1918).

signs of dissolution, whenever members of the family group develop hedonistic attitudes and patterns of behavior, many of which may run counter to the established mores and traditions of the family, then the way is paved for prostitution. Prostitution exists only because it meets certain demands, and for this reason may be regarded somewhat as an extra-familial institution, one that is parasitical in its nature. The city, with its extremes of family and community disorganization, as well as its personal demoralization, is the natural habitat of the prostitute. If the more vicious aspects of prostitution are on the wane in cities, as is sometimes said, then it is perhaps not so much because of the decline in illicit sex relations as the increase of sexual promiscuity of a non-commercial nature.

ILLEGITIMACY. A report of the U.S. Children's Bureau concludes that "unquestionably the city, by reason of economic and social conditions inherent in congested areas, produces an undue proportion of children born out of wedlock." [42] Before such broad generalizations can be accepted, however, they should be subjected to close scrutiny against a background of facts. While urban rates of illegitimacy may be higher than rural rates for certain population groups or even for certain specific periods, it does not follow that illegitimacy is actually any more common in the city than in the country. Furthermore, such factors as sex and age composition of the population, the percentage of Negroes and foreign-born, and the economic activities of the inhabitants tend to alter conditions and therefore to influence the patterns of sex relations. Cities with a large rural hinterland, or with institutional facilities for the care of expectant unmarried mothers, may have an exceptionally high rate of illegitimacy, since such communities may attract to them a considerable number of persons from the surrounding countryside.

In 1936 the Census Bureau reported a higher illegitimacy rate for the white rural population than for small cities, but a lower rate for cities less than 10,000 than for larger communities. For native white mothers the rate was higher in large cities than in small com-

42. Lundberg, Emma O., and Lenroot, Katherine F., *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 66, p. 14.

munities or rural areas. Among other races (largely Negro) this ratio also obtained, though the rate for large cities was only slightly above that of the small centers. Foreign-born women in both rural and urban areas had a lower rate than either the native white or the "other races," but for this group the incidence of illegitimacy for rural communities was about the same as that for cities over 10,000, with a fairly low rate in small cities. It is significant to note, in this connection, that the rate for "other races" is much higher than that of the white population. For large cities the "colored" rate was approximately seven times that of the white rate; in small cities it was eleven times as large; while for rural areas it was nine times as great. The following table gives these data in detail.

Table XXVIII

RATIO OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO 1,000 TOTAL BIRTHS FOR CITIES ABOVE AND BELOW 10,000, AND FOR RURAL AREAS, 1938 [43]

AREA	TOTAL WHITE	WHITE NATIVE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE	OTHER RACES
Cities over 10,000	24.3	25.2	10.2	182.9
Cities under 10,000	16.1	16.4	6.1	182.1
Rural	17.6	17.6	10.3	150.5

Marked variations in rates may be noted between states and cities. In Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Idaho, and Oregon the white rates for cities over 10,000 ranged from three to five times the rural rate, whereas for New Hampshire, Connecticut, West Virginia, Virginia, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Florida the large-city rates were less than for rural sections. As a result of the high incidence of illegitimacy among Negroes, Southern cities tend to have higher rates than Northern cities. However, in 1930, Kansas City, Missouri, held the illegitimacy record for large cities, with 85.9 white illegitimate births being recorded for each 1,000 births. But such a high rate does not necessarily indicate widespread promiscuity. Because Kansas City is the focal center of a large rural

43. *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, 1936, Bureau of the Census, p. 12 (1938). Data do not not include Massachusetts, California, and New York, since in these states no statement concerning the legitimacy of the child is required.

hinterland, it is the mecca for girls in small towns and open country who find themselves socially ostracized and scorned as a result of unmarried pregnancy. Consequently the births are credited to Kansas City rather than to the communities in which the pregnancies actually occur. The presence of a number of "maternity homes" for unmarried women may also be a factor in the unusually high illegitimate rate for Kansas City.

Rates of illegitimacy, like other social indices, do not give us much information about the actual nature of sex relations either in the city or the country, or in different forms of social groupings. Aside from the probability of numerous inaccuracies in the data themselves, the birth ratios apply only to children that are actually born out of wedlock and have no reference whatsoever to children that are illicitly conceived but legally born. As Queen points out, such practices as "shotgun weddings," [44] which appear to be more common in the country than in cities, may alter the statistical picture of illegitimacy and thereby give an erroneous impression of stricter sex morality than actually exists. Indeed there is some reason to believe that sexual promiscuity among rural youth is about as common as among urban youth, although prostitution and commercialized vice are undoubtedly much more characteristic of the city than the country. The automobile has been an important factor in changing the pattern of social relationships, both in rural and urban areas. And although "intimacy on a basis of anonymity," as Queen expresses it, is perhaps more distinctive of urban than rural relationships, it is nevertheless true that the automobile has made it possible for rural youth to escape the traditional mores of the group. It is even probable that much of the patronage of urban prostitutes may be recruited from rural districts.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. If there have been instances of community conflict in your city, write a description of the phenomenon, indicating the factors that have contributed to the conflict situation.

44. Queen and Thomas, *The City*, p. 433.

2. Select a small sample of families that have been forced on relief and study each family from the standpoint of the effects of lowered economic status on the organization of the group. How do your findings compare with those of Cavan and Ranck?

3. What proportion of the population of your community has been forced to seek financial assistance from the community or state? Do you find any examples of personal disorganization that appear to be due in part to lowered economic status?

4. Make a study of the incomes of employed working class families in a selected community and compare your findings with the data on incomes presented in the text. What percentage of the families in your sample have incomes below the level considered necessary for a comfortable level of living?

5. From local welfare agencies in a selected community secure data on trends in relief or other public assistance during the past decade.

6. Compare the rates of a number of forms of social disorganization for different racial and nationality groups living in the same urban community. What explanations may be offered for differences in rates if such exist?

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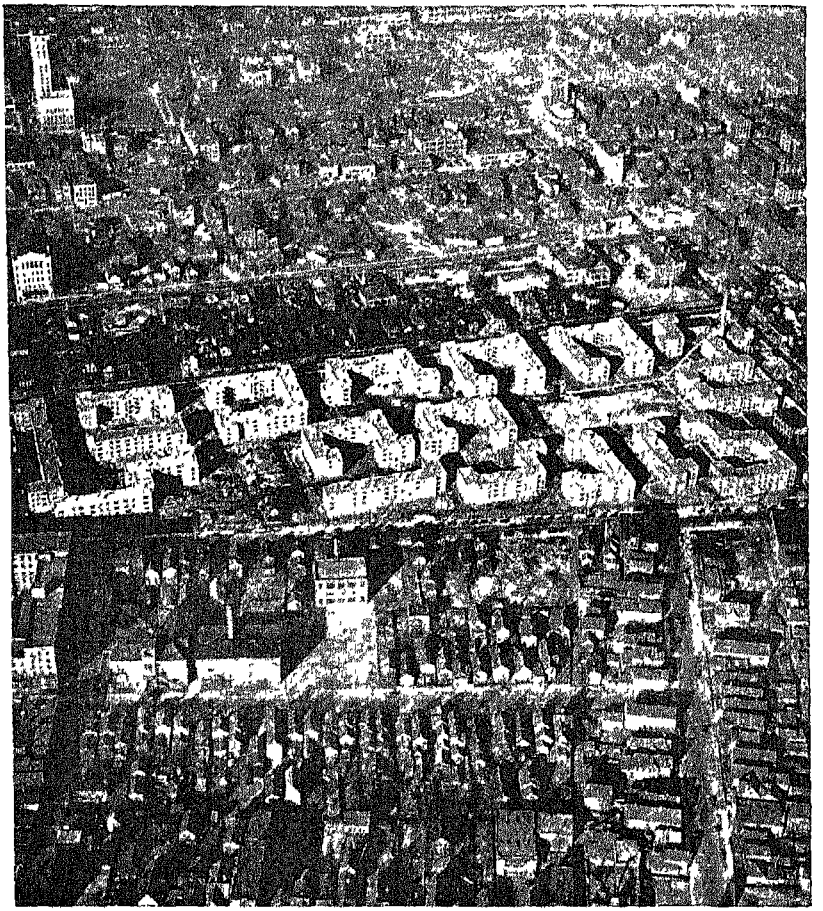
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PART V

THE ORGANIZATION OF CITY LIFE



Cedar-Central Apartments, Cleveland, Ohio, are a PWA project providing 650 dwelling units and occupying an 18-acre site in the slum area of the city. The contrast between the new apartments and the slum houses in the foreground is vivid. (Courtesy United States Housing Authority and *The American City*)

15

THE PHYSICAL EQUIPMENT OF THE CITY

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHYSICAL EQUIPMENT. The city has been defined sociologically as a state of mind. It is distinguished from the country in that the sentiments, the attitudes, the memories, the folkways, and mores of urban persons differ in many ways from those of rural persons. The personality of the urban person tends to be different from the personality of the rural person because he is the product of a different environment, because the stimuli to which he is constantly being subjected are different from the stimuli to which a rural person must respond. It must be remembered that environment is both physical and social, and that the city differs from the country not only because the physical equipment is different but also because the whole social organization is distinctly more complex than that of rural areas.

Sociology is concerned with the physical aspects of a city only to the extent that they condition personality and social organization. The sociologist and the engineer may both be interested in transportation facilities, in skyscrapers or apartments, but the interest of the former is limited to the influences of this physical equipment on the habits and behavior of the people of the community and on the social organization constructed to meet their needs. A transportation system, for example, may modify the social and recreational habits of urban residents so that its influence is felt in the various groupings of the city—in the family, the play group, the school, the church, and others. The opening of a new traffic way may attract business establishments and expel the residents from the area, thereby causing the land to be put to a new and different usage, with possibly many far-reaching social consequences.

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM. It is perhaps no overstatement to say

that the modern metropolis could not exist without a system of transportation capable of carrying rapidly and safely large numbers of passengers and great quantities of goods. For centuries nearly all commodities were transported on the backs of men and animals. Even wagons were not a general means of transportation until comparatively modern times. Transporting goods on a large scale arose with wholesale trading under the guilds and was augmented by the development of manufacturing through power-driven machinery and transportation by steam railways and by steamboats.

Every city of any size in this country—and in other countries of the Occident as well—is a network of transportation lines. Although horse-drawn street railways made their first appearance in 1832, street railway lines are now almost universally electrified. It is estimated that approximately 95 per cent of the present volume of traffic handled by street railways has developed since 1875. At any rate the expanding street car traffic in urban centers is an index to the mobility—or rather the fluidity—of city dwellers. The expanding area of the city also makes the average length of rides greater, and tends to increase the demand for swift transportation such as is supplied by buses and underground railways.

The transportation systems of cities, then, are the main arteries through which flow the traffic of goods and people from one part of the metropolitan body to another. Modern technology has not succeeded, however, in perfecting a system efficient enough to provide for the increasing amount of traffic that has accompanied the expansion of cities and the centralization of business activities. So congested are the traffic ways that the wastage from retarded traffic in urban centers amounts to staggering sums each year. Indeed one might say that the modern metropolis is suffering from a sort of social arteriosclerosis.

The Street System. The process of centralization in the spatial patterning of modern cities has meant that virtually all urban traffic is directed either toward or away from the central business district. Most of the main routes of transportation within the city extend outward in radial fashion from the central core to the periphery,

and a large percentage of both passengers and goods is transported along these arterial thoroughfares. Superimposed upon this radial scheme is a pattern of streets which, commonly crossing each other at right angles, gives the city a checkerboard appearance. This "grid-iron" plan varies somewhat in different cities, being affected by topographic conditions; but by and large there is a fairly marked conformity to the plan. The checkerboard patterning, as Carpenter suggests, has both advantages and disadvantages: while it makes it possible for the city to be divided up into lots of uniform size, and facilitates the division of the city into administrative units, it does not permit the free flow of traffic unless it is combined with some other arrangement of streets.[1] Many of the larger European cities have developed a combination of rectangular and radial street patterns, and some of the older centers have coordinated these with circumferential streets that were a significant feature of the earlier patterns.

The street systems of European cities bear the earmarks of an evolutionary development reaching far back into antiquity when the whole social and economic organization was different from what it is at present. As Brunhes points out, the "multiplicity, the regularity, and a certain physiognomy of streets correspond to different stages in the development of civilization." [2] In the passageways, or streets, of early cities the traffic was always forced to conform to the general plan of fortification. The modern European city consequently bears the stamp of the early history of the community: boulevards that girdle the cities tend to reproduce the outlines of earlier fortifications, emphasizing in a new way a characteristic of the past that has long since vanished.

The cities of the Middle Ages rarely had streets that were rectilinear, and the houses along the streets seldom extended in a straight line. The streets were narrow, winding, dark. In the older sections of most of the cities of modern Europe survivals of these may still be observed. Mumford points out that the introduction of

1. Carpenter, Niles, *The Sociology of City Life*, p. 76.
2. Brunhes, *Human Geography*, p. 197.

various types of wheeled vehicles and the development of military establishments were important factors in bringing about changes in the pattern of streets.[3] In order to provide for movement of troops, streets were widened and straightened. The *viae militares*, or military streets, were thus the forerunners of the modern boulevards. Indeed many of the boulevards of European cities were originally military streets.

The year 1840 marked the beginning of modern paving.[4] Before that time the cities of Europe, and of America as well, were paved with rough cobblestones and boulders—if indeed they were paved at all. The streets of London in 1532 were described in the statutes of the time as "very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, so as to be mighty perilous and noyous, as well for all the king's subjects on horseback, as on foot with carriages." [5] The rough pavement materials that were utilized in cities as late as the nineteenth century were not suitable for comfortable and speedy travel by modern conveyances. With the advent of the automobile at the opening of the twentieth century, paving programs were carried out in many parts of the city, even in the somewhat isolated residential districts. Brick, asphalt, wooden blocks, and concrete have taken the place of the cobblestones and flags that were used by cities in an earlier period. The improvement of the streets to provide for automobile traffic has not only made movement of people and materials more rapid, but it has also contributed to the frequency of movement of urban residents. In a word, it has been an important factor in accelerating the mobility of urban peoples.

Equipment for Disposal of Waste. The waste products of a modern city amount to thousands of tons each year, and the task of their disposal assumes the form of a gigantic business enterprise. The by-products of industry and commerce, personal wastes and kitchen garbage, the wastes involved in building, in heating, in making changes in the physical structure of the city, must be disposed

3. Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 95.
4. Blanchard, A. H., and Drowne, H. B., *Textbook on Highway Engineering*, p. 1 (1913).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

of if the city is to be a safe and desirable place for human habitation. Industrial plants produce enormous quantities of waste material each year that would be a hazard to life and health if not eliminated. A million chimneys belch forth clouds of soot-laden smoke that contaminates the air and deposits on streets and sidewalks the waste products of coal-burning furnaces in homes and factories. Household kitchens produce food wastes, solid and liquid, that must be transported safely beyond the city's gates. Worn-out articles of human use—dilapidated automobiles, discarded clothes, old furniture, papers and magazines, to mention only a few—must be salvaged or destroyed. The American Public Health Association defines the various kinds of municipal waste as follows: [6]

ORGANIC

Garbage: rejected food wastes
Night-soil: contents of vaults and cess-pools
Sewage: water-conveyed excreta
Offal: refuse from slaughter houses and animal substances only

INORGANIC

Ashes: household, steam, and factory
Refuse: combustible articles from all sources, also glass, iron, crockery, house sweepings and generally everything from the houses not included in garbage and ashes
Street sweepings: compounded of organic and inorganic substances

a. *Methods of Sewage Disposal.* Closed sewerage systems such as are now common in modern cities were first used about the middle of the nineteenth century. A few ancient cities had sewers for the removal of liquid sewage as well as for drainage purposes, but even in these cities the sewers did not serve the entire population. The drainage of London was a subject of legislation as early as 1225, but it was not until 1859 that work was begun on a system of intercepting sewers and storage tanks to cut off the discharge of sewage into the Thames within the city. Boston had drains as early as 1701.

6. Morse, William F., "The Collection and Disposal of Municipal Waste," *Municipal Journal and Engineer.* Quoted in Bedford, Scott, *Readings in Urban Sociology*, pp. 370–371 (1927).

After the adoption of a city charter in 1823 Boston assumed the ownership and control of all the drains and sewers which had been built by private parties. In modern cities the task of disposing of sewage has become a public function, huge sums being appropriated to construct and maintain sewage-disposal equipment adequate for great aggregations of people.

A sanitary sewerage system is dependent largely on an abundant water supply. Chicago, in order to carry off its sewage, built a drainage canal at a cost of $70,000,000 to turn water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois River and ultimately into the Gulf of Mexico. Dumping of sewage into Lake Michigan polluted the waters to such an extent that it was necessary to dispose of this waste in a different way: hence the construction of the Chicago Drainage Canal some forty years ago. The city also opened in 1928 a sewage-treatment plant with a capacity of 400 million gallons of sewage daily. This plant, which covers 70 acres, was built at a cost of $32,000,000. New York City, with 2,800 miles of sewers, dumps nearly a billion gallons of sewage into the harbor daily, thus polluting the water to such an extent that a serious menace to health is the result. The city itself is faced with a serious problem of sewage disposal, and the continued growth of the metropolis will tend to accentuate this problem rather than to alleviate it.

There are other methods besides these for disposing of the city's wastes. Some cities screen the sewage and then dispose of the solid materials in incinerators; others have built great sedimentation tanks in which the sewage is disposed of by means of special chemical preparations. There are also various purification processes which have been developed for disposing of the sewage. One of the advantages of the purification system is that the sludge retains its manurial value and can be used for fertilizer purposes, thus insuring some sort of return on the costs of disposing of the sewage. Since 1925 New York City has built four modern disposal plants, and plans have been made to construct 32 plants at a cost of $170,000,000.

Since solid material cannot be eliminated by sewerage systems, some other method must be provided for disposing of the city's

garbage. Some cities dispose of their garbage by incineration; some maintain piggeries and feed the garbage to hogs; others bury it or dump it in bodies of water. New York City dumps part of its garbage into the ocean twenty or more miles away from the city, but incoming tides return it to the shore to plague the pleasure-seekers on the beaches at Coney Island and other resorts. Approximately 300 piggeries are maintained by communities in this country. Perhaps the most modern and satisfactory method of garbage-disposal is by "reduction." Through a chemical process the fats are extracted and the remainder used for fertilizer.

b. *Removal of Other Forms of Waste.* It is necessary also for the city to provide special facilities for the disposal of inorganic wastes such as ashes, refuse, and street sweepings. In New York 9,000 persons are employed to collect and dispose of the waste materials, which amount to some 1,000 tons daily. Great quantities of paper, leather, broken tools, machines, and similar types of refuse are reclaimed by junk dealers who specialize in city waste. The problem of handling the waste products of this type involves not only disposal but collection as well. Some cities regard the problem as essentially a municipal one and therefore provide for the collection of waste products from the homes and the business and industrial concerns. Others let contracts to private corporations or individuals, who assume the responsibility for collections. A few of the smaller cities have the scavenger system, whereby certain persons—usually junk dealers—are permitted, under license of the health department, to collect the waste materials in certain areas of the community. Various combinations of these three systems may also be found in different cities. The most satisfactory system, however, has been either the municipal or the contract plan, rather than the scavenger system.

The wastage involved, directly and indirectly, in industry and commerce is enormous. The city is constantly being torn down and rebuilt, and the waste materials—stone, brick, lumber, steel, cement—must be removed. Private enterprise, however, is usually responsible for the disposal of this type of waste. In every large city hundreds

of cast-off automobiles are made over into new products. Nor is the industry of junking limited to automobiles. Other kinds of worn-out machines are sent to the junkyards to make way for new mechanical equipment in the commercial and industrial concerns.

It has been facetiously remarked that the modern city is a bird that litters its own nest—and the corps of street cleaners—the "white wings," in the parlance of the street—bear witness to the truth of this observation. The innumerable activities of urban people during the course of a day leave the streets and sidewalks cluttered with trash and dirt. Cleaning the streets then becomes a municipal function—necessary for health and aesthetic reasons if for no other. Much of the street-cleaning is done at night, when there is a minimum of activities in the center of the city. Special equipment is maintained by the larger municipalities: large rotary brushes that sweep the street clean, or else suction sweepers that gather the rubbish and dirt as they go along. Ridding the streets of snow in the northern cities is a task that frequently taxes the energy of the workers as well as the treasury of the taxpayers. A large snow storm in the congested streets of New York or Chicago is a "million-dollar luxury."

THE WATER SYSTEM OF CITY. The great Mediterranean cities of antiquity were forced to depend upon gravity for the delivery of the water used by the population. Consequently the aqueducts, remarkable products of engineering skill at that time, conveyed water long distances to the city consumers. The invention of pumps to elevate water, however, ushered in a new era in municipal waterworks. As early as 1652 pumps were in use in London, while in this country the first waterworks were installed in New York City in 1799. But the forcing of water at high pressure through iron pipes to all the houses in any city was an achievement that was not accomplished until well past the middle of the nineteenth century.

An ample supply of tested and purified water is now a minimum standard for all houses in any city, and in most cases the furnishing of it is a function of the municipal corporation. Supplying water in cities is always a large-scale project and not a personal affair. Be-

cause of the health hazards involved the business of supplying purified water has not been open to private competition with its attendant wastage and irresponsibility. Most urban communities in this country have found it necessary to socialize their water systems —even though the city fathers are usually staunch advocates of a capitalistic régime. So rapidly have many cities grown in recent years that the problem of providing water to an expanding population is by no means a light one.

The great Catskill system which supplies New York City with water cost approximately 193 million dollars, and a proposed deep-level aqueduct which will serve as an auxiliary to the system will necessitate an outlay of 400 million dollars. New York City has 24 reservoirs in the northern watersheds, and further improvements and expansions are necessary for the growing population of Gotham. With the completion of the Delaware River and Rondout Creek projects in 1945, New York City will have a water system which represents an investment of 800 million dollars, or enough to build and equip eight Boulder Dams. The average daily consumption of water in that city increased from 528 million gallons in 1910 to 975 million in 1937,[7] the per capita consumption for the latter year being about 130 gallons. The San Francisco project, when finally completed, will cost approximately 300 million dollars. Los Angeles has been forced to build great reservoirs in the Sierra Nevada range 250 miles away. At present the giant conduits are capable of providing more than a billion gallons of water daily to the inhabitants of the California city. Less ambitious projects are to be found in other cities smaller in size and more favorably located with respect to their water supply.

Modern systems of water distribution have profound social implications. In the first place, the purity of water is significant from the standpoint of health preservation. The gradually declining death rate in urban areas is due in part to the purity of water provided for public consumption. Not only has drinking water been purified, but an abundance of water for cleaning and bathing purposes has made

7. *World Almanac*, 1939, p. 473.

for greater sanitation and personal cleanliness. Furthermore, water piped to the homes has lessened the load of domestic duties—and along with other technological achievements has made lighter the work of maintaining a home. Its influence is thus felt in the social life of the primary groups.

LIGHT, POWER, AND HEAT. The tallow-burning candle and oil-burning lamp have taken their place alongside other antiques of earlier periods, and in their stead have come the gas light and the incandescent bulb. The first successful electric lights for street purposes were used at the Paris Exposition in 1878, while in America they were introduced in Cleveland for the first time the following year. Since then their use has become almost universal in America except in the most isolated hamlets. Perhaps more than anything else electricity has revolutionized the task of housekeeping, what with the electrical devices for sweeping, cooking, heating, ironing, and, very recently, refrigeration. Some cities have publicly owned and operated electrical utilities, and in these communities light and power are provided to the consumers at costs usually much less than when supplied by privately owned companies whose primary interests are profits rather than service. Cheap electricity to urban consumers has had far-reaching social effects. The ecological structure of the modern city is determined to a considerable degree by the extent to which electrical energy is utilized. Certainly the extreme centralization of population and business in large centers is a structural expression of the physical ebb and flow of goods and people—and this movement is dependent partly on transportation mechanisms that are propelled by electricity. It is perhaps not far amiss to say that suburbs and satellites are in part a product of electricity. Just as this magical force exerts a centripetal influence within the city, so does it also, by the same token, exert a centrifugal force. Manufacturers frequently locate their establishments beyond the political boundaries and receive electricity for the propulsion of their machinery over transmission lines radiating from centralized generating plants.

Natural and artificial gas, while not put to as many different uses as electricity, is a form of public utility that constitutes a part of the physical equipment of most cities. Most of the cooking in city homes is now done by gas—although the use of electricity is gradually gaining. Furthermore, many homes are heated by gas, but in some cities —especially those using artificial gas—the cost is so high as to prohibit its use in large quantities. Cities located in natural gas regions, however, find gas economical for both industrial and domestic uses. The equipment for supplying gas, like that for electricity, is so expensive and complex that it must be provided by large corporate concerns, either private or municipal. Therefore it becomes a public utility, which, if not actually owned by the people themselves, must necessarily be controlled in the interests of the community. It is both a corporate and a cooperative enterprise.

Fire-Fighting Equipment. Fires in cities are often so disastrous that the inhabitants have found it necessary to provide fire-fighting equipment for the common protection of all. So necessary is this form of protection, so imperative that it shall be administered to all alike, without respect to social or economic status or location within the city, that it has been removed from the sphere of private enterprise and made a part of the municipal functions. In other words, fire-fighting in every city is completely socialized. It is an example par excellence of an urban cooperative undertaking for the common weal. Such disastrous conflagrations as the San Francisco fire of 1906 and the great Chicago fire of 1871 have taught urban dwellers that haphazard methods of fire-fighting and prevention are not to be tolerated.

The fire-fighting equipment to be found in the modern metropolis is a far cry from the bucket brigade of an earlier year. In those days volunteers with primitive equipment were responsible for the control of fires. But thanks to science and engineering the apparatus of twentieth-century fire-fighters is designed to cope with fires, large and small, in all kinds of situations. Special equipment in the form of automatic fire alarms, chemical extinguishers, automatic sprinklers,

and fire escapes in tall buildings tend to reduce the hazards of city fires. The personnel of fire departments is usually well trained and organized for action whenever necessary.

TRANSPORTATION TERMINALS. Every great city has found it necessary to construct terminal facilities to provide for the daily inflow and outflow of people and commodities. Large union stations and freight depots are usually located in areas fairly well removed from the central business district. In Kansas City, for example, the railroad lines entering the city converge in a union station which cost, including an entire system of tracks and facilities, $30,000,000. Railroad trains may circle this city and enter the station without penetrating the retail business district at any point. In New York City the business of transportation is so great that a single station for all railroads would be a physical impossibility. Two passenger stations, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central, care for the bulk of the traffic. The Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs calls for eleven additional terminals, only one of which is to be on Manhattan Island.

The railroad trackage and stations for both freight and passenger business constitute a considerable portion of the city's physical equipment. Freight yards must be sufficiently removed from the central business district to be accessible to the industrial areas of the city, while passenger stations must be located at a point accessible to the hotel and shopping districts. Both must be designed and located with relation to the volume and type of business done, and also with relation to the needs of specific classes of business and industrial enterprises.

The problem of handling ocean vessels that enter seaports and caring for their passengers and cargoes is so great that not only must there be provided special equipment in the form of piers, tugs, and cranes, but also an organized personnel trained for this type of work. In New York City a special political unit called the Port of New York has been created by Congress to enable the port authorities to cope more successfully with the problems of oceanic and coast-wise commerce. The city of Houston, with the help of the Federal Gov-

ernment, constructed a channel 30 feet deep and 150 feet wide to the Gulf of Mexico, thereby becoming a port for oceangoing vessels. Some European cities have expended enormous sums of money to provide harbor facilities. Hamburg, for instance, owns the docks and the terminal equipment, which includes railway tracks, warehouses, and wharves.

CONDUITS. The modern city, like the human body, is a fabric of nerve ganglia; its underground network of nerve centers, which includes gas pipes, water pipes, sewerage pipes, heating pipes, and electric light, telephone, and trolley wires, is so complex and intricate, so vital to human existence within the city, that great protective care must be taken if the community is to function as it should. Excavations in the center of the city reveal innumerable pipes and wires that cross and recross each other in endless ways—a tangled mass of equipment to the casual observer, yet withal a systematic pattern of the city's nervous system. It is obvious that any disturbance of these nerve centers leaves the city paralyzed. Therefore it becomes part of the official function of the city not only to protect them against interferences by irresponsible persons but to see that they are kept in a state of repair. So vital to the modern metropolis is its intricate nervous system that as life within the city grows more complex its very existence depends upon the pipes and wires that supply its population with the necessities and comforts of life.

CITY MARKETS. The modern market place is a sort of vestigial remnant of an earlier institution that had an exceedingly important function to perform. Many early cities, especially those of the Middle Ages, grew up around a nuclear market place. As commerce and industry have advanced through various stages the market place has tended to disappear, or at least to change its character and function. But modern cities have their market places, and in European cities they are more conspicuous and important than in urban communities of this country. Many of the continental cities have municipal bakeries, municipal slaughter houses, and publicly owned market houses with modern equipment for the protection and preservation of fruits, vegetables, and meats. Some even have municipal control

of prices. Bern, Switzerland, has a large public market near the center of the city which serves an important function in the commercial life of the Swiss capital. Most large American cities have public market buildings, the stalls of which are rented out to produce and vegetable dealers. The commercial activities within the market are private rather than municipal, except that the city usually provides a public inspector to protect the health and the purses of the consumers.

The function of the early market place has been taken over by the modern business center. In cities of the Western World the facilities and equipment for the sale of merchandise have been developed by private enterprise, with the exception of public buildings that are located occasionally in or near this district. The extent to which the central business district dominates the remainder of the city is discussed in the chapter dealing with the ecological aspects of the urban community.

Storage and Distributive Facilities. The task of supplying the city with food involves the maintenance of extensive storage and distributive facilities of convenient places in or near the city. A metropolitan district that is occupied by millions of persons must have adequate equipment for storing perishable food products that are received daily from the hinterland, and for distributing the food to the consumers with at least enough efficiency to guarantee every person the necessary quantity for existence. The city must also have laboratory equipment and a trained personnel for the inspection of the foodstuffs to protect the consumers not only against inferior quality but also against short weights and measures. The fact that 15,000 tons of food are consumed daily in the New York district gives one some conception of the magnitude of the problem of providing physical equipment capable of handling these enormous quantities of foodstuffs that are distributed to the 10,000,000 people of the area.[8]

Large cities must have terminal facilities for receiving the foodstuffs which are shipped in large quantities from the hinterland. The

8. *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs*, 8: 125.

Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, maintains great unloading piers on Manhattan Island where cars of fruits, vegetables, meats, and other commodities from the producing regions are received daily for distribution directly to the wholesalers, thence to the jobbers and retailers, and ultimately to the consumers in small quantities. If the food is not to be consumed immediately, it is transferred to storage houses where it is kept until it can be disposed of through the regular channels. A considerable portion of the food consumed by city people has been in storage houses.

Supplying the city with milk necessitates special equipment. Because of the extreme perishability of milk, not only must transportation to the city be swift and certain, but the distribution to the consumers must be done quickly and with the least possible exposure to bacteria. The milk is brought into the city at night either in cans or in specially constructed refrigerator cars or truck-tanks, and is then sent to milk depots, where it is pasteurized, bottled, and then delivered in the early morning hours to individual consumers or to restaurants, hotels, or grocery stores.

Some cities maintain slaughter houses in which animals are slaughtered for local consumption and export. Near the slaughter houses are usually stock and poultry yards in which are kept temporarily the animals which have been shipped in from the hinterland. Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha have stockyards and packing plants large enough to supply not only their own population with meat and meat products but other cities as well. These cities are important packing centers because they are located near the stock-raising regions of the Middle West. New York City has large abattoirs, or slaughter houses, located on the water front, to which are shipped poultry and cattle. Although the packing plants in Chicago and Kansas City could supply New York City with the necessary amount of meat and meat products, the religious mores of the orthodox Jews who live in that city demand that the animals be slaughtered in a special manner approved by the Jewish teachings.

Other facilities must also be provided for receiving materials other than foodstuffs for consumption. If the city expands it must

have lumber, brick, stone, steel, and other building materials, all of which are usually produced in remote parts of the hinterland. It must have facilities, also, for handling raw materials which are sent to the city not for immediate consumption but for fabrication. Steel-manufacturing cities like Gary must have special equipment for receiving the barge-loads of ore from the Michigan mines; textile manufacturing cities like the New England centers or the mill towns of the South must have facilities for receiving cotton and wool in bulk and for exporting the finished products; grain centers like Kansas City and Minneapolis must have storage equipment to care for the grain, and mills to transform it into flour or other products. In most cities this type of physical equipment is owned and operated by private concerns.

So complicated is the organization for handling materials, and so much labor is involved in maintaining the storage and distributive facilities, that the prices of goods in cities are usually higher than in rural districts. Food prices in the Eastern cities are always higher than in Western and Middle-Western cities, due partly to the distance foods are transported and partly to the expensive equipment necessary to handle them after they have arrived at the city. Furthermore, the larger the city, other things being equal, the higher the prices. It costs more to live in Chicago than in South Bend, more to live in New York than in Albany; therefore a greater income is necessary for the residents of Chicago and New York than for South Bend and Albany if similar standards of living are maintained.

Other Types of Physical Equipment. To discuss all the forms of physical equipment of a modern city would be tedious and unnecessary. There are, however, some that may be mentioned only in passing. Many cities maintain comfort stations in the downtown areas for the benefit of shoppers and visitors. Some even have public laundry facilities that can be used for a small fee. Drinking fountains on streets and in public buildings are also maintained for the convenience of the public. The multifarious amusement places, both public and private, constitute a part of the city's physical equipment—and their influence on human behavior is an important sub-

ject for sociological study. Public and private parks, theaters, cabarets and restaurants, billiard parlors, swimming beaches and pools, dance halls, skating rinks, gymnasiums, club houses, tennis courts, and golf courses, to mention only a few, are forms of equipment that are utilized to satisfy the leisure-time needs of the city's inhabitants. Public buildings such as settlement houses, churches, and hospitals are types of equipment that have been constructed to meet certain fundamental human needs. Their social implications will be discussed in a later chapter.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Write a summarized description of the physical equipment of a large metropolis. If the *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs* is available, consult this source for your information.
2. Study the eliminatory equipment of a city to ascertain the existing methods of disposing of waste products. Compare these methods with the ones used in other cities.
3. What storage facilities are available in your own community?
4. Compare the street systems of American cities with those of several European cities. What are the chief differences in the street patterns? What phases of the city's historical past are to be found in the existing patterns in the European centers?

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16

THE ORGANIZATION OF FAMILY LIFE

DIFFERENTIATION OF FAMILY PATTERN. The modern family like other social institutions has been influenced by the far-reaching cultural changes that have taken place wherever industrialism and commercialism have developed to any marked degree. One of the distinguishing traits of modern society is the multiplicity of family patterns that are usually found within the same political unit. "Instead of a common pattern of family life intrenched in tradition and crushing out all impulse in variation by the sheer weight of universal conformity, our American society presents what at first sight seems to be a chaotic conglomeration of every conceivable pattern of family organization and disorganization, from the patriarchal kinship groups of our Southern mountain highlands to the free unions of our Greenwich Villages." [1] In every metropolis there are numberless family patterns, each determined partly by the particular heritage to which the family has fallen heir and partly by the social and cultural conditions under which it is forced to exist. There are the so-called companionate families in which there are no children at all; there are the one-child family, the two-child family, and the family with three or more children. There are, on the other hand, highly integrated immigrant families that have shown themselves invulnerable to the impact of modern living conditions. To say, then, that there is a typical urban family would be to ignore the degree to which family differentiation has taken place in modern society.

THE LOSS OF FAMILY FUNCTIONS. One of the chief differences between the primitive family and the modern urban family is that the latter has been shorn of some of the functions that are charac-

1. Burgess, Ernest W., "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, 7: 6 (March, 1926).

teristic of the former. The primitive family is more than an affectional and economic unit; it is also a protective and educational unit, and is the source of many of the recreational and religious experiences of the individual members. Even the modern rural family, which has suffered much less from the impact of industrialism and commercialism than has the urban family, has succeeded, at least until very recent years, in keeping these historical functions well integrated. Furthermore, it has been, and in most areas still is, an important means of social control both through the use of disciplinary measures and by means of the sentimental attachments that the members have for one another. But in the city formalized agencies organized by ordinance and law have taken over many of the duties and functions that once fell within the purview of the family. And wherever this has occurred there has been a concomitant decline in importance and influence of the family as a social institution.

a. *Decline of Educational, Recreational and Protective Functions.* The growth of certain institutions and agencies especially designed to assume the functions that have in the past been performed by or in the family is a fair index of the far-reaching changes that are taking place within the home. The democratization and institutionalization of education have resulted in the diminution of the importance of the family as an agency for the education of the younger members of the family who are of school age. In a way the teacher is becoming a daytime substitute for the parent, and her duties frequently involve not only instruction in academic subjects, but also moral guidance, care of health, and other services.

The phenomenal increase in the popularity of public and commercialized recreation in cities is an indication also of the decline of the family as a recreational institution. Today many urban persons satisfy their wishes by patronizing the movie palace, the dance hall, the cabaret, the baseball game, the carnival, the pool hall, or the soft-drink emporium rather than by remaining within the family circle. It must not be concluded, however, that the family performs no function whatsoever in providing amusement and recreation for its members. The increase in the number of radios, phonographs,

pianos, magazine subscriptions, and purchases of books indicate that the home is still an important place of recreation for many persons. The rapid increase in the amount of leisure time has made it possible for many individuals to divide their interests between the family and outside agencies and institutions.

The decline of the protective and disciplinary function of the family is indicated by the increase of police and probation officers and the growth of the juvenile court as an instrumentality of social guidance. In cities particularly the population has made increasing use of hospitals, clinics, and institutions for the feeble-minded and mentally diseased. While institutionalized care of the incapacitated is by no means new in urban society, it is significant that institutional facilities are being utilized to a greater degree than in the past. This is true not only of the privileged classes but also of the low-income groups as well.

b. *Decline of Economic Functions.* That many of the traditional economic functions of the home are being performed by specialized agencies is a matter of common observation. The growth of certain industries and occupations, particularly in the cities, is a fairly accurate index of what is happening to the family as an economic unit. The per capita production of bakery goods made outside the home, according to Ogburn, increased 27 per cent from 1919 to 1929.[2] Even canning and preserving, which was once done almost exclusively by the housewife over the kitchen stove, has now become a major industry in itself. Although laundering has not been transferred to outside agencies to the same extent as baking and canning, the expenditures for laundry work done by power laundries increased 110 per cent during the decade, when expressed in terms of dollars of equal purchasing power; at the same time the actual increase of the urban population was 26 per cent and that of the total population 16 per cent. The commercial laundry business has prospered in spite of the fact that home laundering has been made easier by the electric washing machine and other mechanical devices. An even more pronounced growth has occurred in the cleaning and

2. "The Family and Its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends*, 1: 664–672.

dyeing industry, where an increase of 220 per cent in the number of wage earners during the same period was observed. The growth of this business, however, may represent an elevation of the standard of living as well as a transfer of industry from the home. The making of clothes, especially men's clothing, has for several decades been done away from the home; in recent years factory-made clothing for women and children has gained wide popularity.

Perhaps more significant than any of these figures is the transfer of cooking and eating from the kitchen and dining room of the home to the hotel and restaurant. The number of restaurant proprietors increased 88 per cent from 1920 to 1930, though the urban population of the country showed a gain of only 26 per cent. During the same period the number of waiters and waitresses increased 72 per cent. A study of the eating habits of a number of city persons indicates that each individual took an average of two meals a week away from the home. To get an accurate picture of this trend in modern life it is necessary to see it in relation to other factors—to the traveling habits of urban dwellers, to commuting and hotel life, to certain business practices, to leisure-time activities, to higher standards and planes of living of many families.

Although every society, whether primitive, rural, or urban, has always assumed a certain degree of responsibility for destitute or dependent individuals, the major responsibility has nevertheless fallen to the family group. Traditionally the family as a unit has been expected to bear the burden of caring for children, aged persons, and others unable to support themselves. In recent decades the economic task of caring for dependent persons has tended to shift from the family to larger aggregations. Various forms of insurance, both private and public, in which the actual burden is spread over a large number of persons, represent a type of social protection peculiarly adapted to urban society. During the present century private insurance companies have enjoyed an unprecedented business in providing economic security for individuals and family groups. When in 1935 the national Social Security program was adopted, the Federal and state governments definitely and perhaps permanently

assumed certain duties which in the past had been largely individual or family responsibilities.

c. *Decline of Family as Agency of Control.* While the rural family functioned admirably, or at least effectively, as an agency of social control, the urban family has seen its influence wane as its control over its individual members is assumed by other forms of organization devised specifically for the purpose. The demands of modern urban occupations on the time of the father—and often of the mother who belongs to the lower economic classes—have made impossible effective parental supervision and guidance. Fathers and mothers who spend long working hours in the factory or in the mill have little time or energy to devote to the guidance or instruction of their offspring. The high delinquency rate of children whose mothers are gainfully employed is known to every social worker. Even the sentimental attachments that are such effective means of control in highly integrated families are conspicuously absent in many city families.

The period of time during which the child undergoes the conditioning influences of the family has been shortened with each encroachment of extra-familial institutions. Once the child received virtually all of his education, recreation, physical care, and moral discipline in the family group, but in the city these functions have been taken over partly by others, with the result that much of the training and conditioning is carried out according to the specifications of the various institutions concerned. These institutions are increasing in the influence they exert on the personalities of the younger member—increasing in that they are effectively defining the attitudes, the wishes, and the behavior patterns of those who come within their sphere of influence.

d. *The Trend Toward "Paternalism."* As Ogburn has pointed out, the abandonment of the laissez-faire theory of government in favor of a corporateness that points eventually toward socialism is at least partly a result of the decline of the family functions. Perhaps it would be more correct to say the relationship is one of both cause and effect. In one sense the fears of "paternalism" that are held by old-school devotees of the traditional individualism are at least founded

on a factual basis: the state or the municipality is now assuming the role of *pater familias* and is performing certain tasks that were once performed exclusively by the family itself. Whatever may be the merits or weaknesses of such a system, the obvious fact still remains that the changed living and working conditions produced by industrialism and commercialism made necessary this shifting of the burden from the family to the larger group.

e. *Democratization of the Home.* The increasing individualism of behavior, the wholesale influx of women into gainful occupations, and the change of habitat from the homestead to the crowded apartment in the city have been important factors in placing the familial relationships within the home on a different level. Man's position of dominance has all but vanished in a great majority of urban families, and instead has come an equality of status that finds an expression in the so-called democratic family. Even the immigrant families are beginning to show indications of the effect of these factors in the changing attitudes that the younger members bear toward family relationships, and particularly in the conflicts that have arisen between the younger and the older generations. While the democratic family may be either integrated or disorganized, the relationships within the group are those tending toward equality rather than subordination and superordination. The "equalitarian" family, the "emancipated" family, the "filiocentric" family, and the "matriarchal" family, types mentioned by Mowrer in his studies of family life, are but different versions of the democratic family that in urban society constitutes the basis for the majority of familial relationships.[3] It is the antithesis of the patriarchal type of family that has long been the basis of familism.

THE RURAL FAMILY IN THE URBAN MILIEU. The urban family that has had a long history of city residence behind it has likely been more successful in making an accommodation to the social environment and in developing an immunity to the atomizing influences of urban life than the family recently arrived from the Old World or the rural hinterland. And since a large portion of the population of

3. Mowrer, E. R., *Family Disorganization*, pp. 110–114 (1927).

growing cities has not been long removed from the soil, or at least from the smaller towns and cities, much of the family disorganization is found in family groups that have been unable to effect an adjustment to the urban milieu on the basis of their old mores and family patterns. But considering their status and function in the urban community it is not surprising that disintegration occurs. Because of the penurious condition of many of the migrant families they are forced into the disintegrated, unstable, highly mobile areas where neighborhood traditions and family solidarity have already disappeared or have become noticeably decadent, and there are consequently left no bolstering influences to keep the family intact during its period of adjustment.

Divergent patterns of behavior develop out of the experiences of the different members of the family. When these varying forms of behavior result in overt conflict within the home—conflict that is an expression of the clash between the traditional rural mores and the newer codes and standards of the city—there is a paralyzing effect on home life. The conflicts and misunderstandings that arise between Old World immigrants and their children, and between parents with rural backgrounds and their sophisticated offspring, are problems that social workers confront constantly in their daily routine.

THE POSTPONEMENT OF MARRIAGE IN THE CITY. The influences of city life operate to postpone and discourage marriage. In 1930, 59.5 per cent of the urban population 15 years of age or above were married as compared with 62.05 in rural areas. In other words, 2.55 per cent more of the marriageable rural population than of the corresponding city population were married. The difference in the marital status of rural and urban women is even more pronounced. In the city 58.5 per cent of the women over 15 years of age were married, while in the country 65 per cent were married, a difference of 6.5 per cent. A slightly higher proportion of urban males are married than rural males, the percentages being 60.5 and 59.3, respectively. The following table gives in some detail the status of marriage in urban and rural areas:

Table XXIX

MARITAL STATUS OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO SEX, BY PERCENTAGES, 1930 [4]

	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
URBAN				
Males	33.7	60.5	4.3	1 3
Females	27.8	58.5	11.8	1.6
RURAL				
Males	34.5	59.3	5.0	.9
Females	24.2	65.0	9.8	.9

The age of marriage is also much higher in the city than in the country. In every age group there is a greater percentage of married persons in the country than in the city. For example, 1.3 per cent of urban men and 10.2 per cent of urban women from 15 to 19 years of age were married in 1930 compared with 2.2 per cent of rural men and 15.5 per cent of rural women for the same age group. In the age group 20 to 24, 25.8 per cent of urban men and 47.6 per cent of urban women were married as compared with 31.1 per cent of rural men and 58.8 per cent of rural women.

These differences are perhaps due largely to the conditions under which urban and rural persons live. In the city, marriage tends to increase rather than to diminish the economic burdens and responsibilities of those entering into it, and since the metropolis attaches no social stigma to an unmarried status, many persons elect to avoid the responsibilities that go with marriage. In an earlier agricultural society two avenues were open to the women, namely, a marriage career which led to housekeeping and childbearing, or spinsterhood, with its loneliness and its social stigma. But in the city innumerable channels have opened up to challenge the ambitions of the city woman and to attract her away from a marriage career. The unmarried woman who enters the business and professional world secures the independence that she cherishes, maintains a higher economic status than she might ordinarily expect in marriage, and finds living full of interesting experiences and devoid of the drudgery

4. *Statistical Abstracts*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1938, p. 47.

that not infrequently goes with housekeeping and rearing a family. The same conditions and factors that have discouraged marriage for women have also tended to steer men away from the marriage vows. Accordingly, both men and women have evinced a willingness to forego the pleasures of the family circle for personal independence and economic status.

Even for those who marry, the age of marriage has been gradually moved up, largely because of the economic and social conditions peculiar to urban life. Urban occupations have tended toward professionalization in that they have increased the period of training and apprenticeship required for participation in the occupational activities. Some of the professions require a long period of training and frequently several years of experience, often accompanied by deprivation and hardship, before economic independence is achieved. Even for those occupations that require little training the incomes are usually so low that they discourage additional economic responsibilities unless earnings can be supplemented from other sources. But even in the unmarried state the individual is not forced to live the life of a celibate; the change in attitudes and mores, the removal of the taboos against irregular sexual intercourse, and the anonymity of urban life have made it possible for the individual to satisfy his sexual desires outside the pale of marriage without seriously jeopardizing his social status or facing a storm of disapproval or protest. These factors, then, combine to make either for avoidance of marriage altogether or for the postponement of the marriage contract until favorable economic opportunities present themselves.

While there is a smaller ratio of married persons in the city than in the country, cities with different economic activities and institutions vary in the percentage of their population that has attained the marital status. Manufacturing cities, for example, not only tend to have a larger percentage of married women than commercial cities, but they also have fewer widows and a proportionately smaller number of divorces.[5] Manufacturing centers tend to have more

5. Ogburn, "Eleven Questions Concerning American Marriages," *Social Forces*, 6: 12 (September, 1927).

men than women, and wherever the ratio of men to women is larger there tends to be a higher rate of marriage. Cities having the lowest proportion of gainfully employed women also tend to have a higher percentage married.[6] Whether this means that employment of women tends to discourage marriage, or whether there is merely a tendency for unmarried women to seek employment, is not entirely clear.

MARRIAGE AND THE DEPRESSION. The belief is generally held that marriage rates tend to decline during periods of economic depression, and certain studies indicate that this is the case. The Lynds observed that in Middletown the marriage rate declined by 37 per cent between 1929 and 1932, although the city actually increased 5 per cent in population during the same period.[7] In 1933 a slight increase in the rate occurred, and by 1935 the rate was approximately the same as in the pre-depression years from 1925 to 1929. For the country as a whole the marriage rate, indicated by the number of marriages per 1,000 population, fell from 10.1 in 1925 to 7.9 in 1932, the lowest ever recorded for the United States. These data, both for the entire country and for Middletown, are not differentiated according to race, nationality, or economic status; the only thing they show is that marriage rates *in general* appear to be adversely affected by economic depressions.

A significant recent study by Bossard of depression and pre-depression marriage rates in Philadelphia shows the dangers of overgeneralization concerning the effects of the depression.[8] Basing his analysis on a sample of 20,000 marriages in which the males were selected from 116 different census tracts in the city, Bossard found that such factors as race and nationality as well as economic conditions tended to influence the incidence of marriage, and that therefore the effect of the depression was not uniform for all classes in

6. Ogburn, "Factors Affecting the Marital Condition of the Population," *Publications American Sociological Society*, 18:53 (1924).

7. Lynd, Robert S., and Helen M., *Middletown in Transition*, p. 149. Cf. Stouffer, S. A., and Lazarsfeld, P. F., *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression*, Bulletin 29, Social Science Research Council (1937).

8. Bossard, J. H. S., "Depression and Pre-Depression Marriage Rates: A Philadelphia Study," *American Sociological Review*, 2:686–695 (October, 1937).

the city's population. In areas occupied predominantly by Negroes and Russian Jews the marriage rates during the depression were higher than in the pre-depression period, and in five of the 14 tracts populated mainly by Italians the rate was above the pre-depression level. On the other hand, the depression tended to discourage marriage among the Irish and the native-born white population of native-white parentage. Bossard is of the opinion that for certain cultural groups, particularly the Jews, marriage is more important than a given plane of living, and that as economic status declines, many individuals may find "solace and compensation" in matrimonial relationships. Since these data apply to only one major city we are not justified in assuming that similar studies in other cities, large and small, would yield the same results; yet they indicate that easy generalizations about the effects of the depression may be misleading. Until more intensive studies of this type are undertaken, we shall continue to work in an area of considerable uncertainty.

MARITAL STATUS AND SIZE OF CITY. Just as certain differences in marriage and the family exist between rural and urban areas, so are important differences found in cities of varying size. It is not to be understood that size *per se* accounts for these differences; rather it is the fact that conditions of life in large cities are apt to differ from conditions in small cities, and that marriage and family relationships are influenced accordingly. Ogburn found that the larger the city the higher the proportion of unmarried young men between 20 and 35, and that large cities have a higher ratio of unmarried males to unmarried females than small cities.[9] But in cities of all sizes there is a higher percentage of unmarried young men than unmarried young women, although the female population of all ages outnumbers the urban male population.

While city life in general tends to discourage marriage and family life, this discouragement tends to be somewhat more pronounced in large cities than in small ones. Ogburn points out that the percentage of married persons in cities over 300,000 is 58, whereas it is 60 in communities of lesser size.[10] These differences would be even more

9. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Characteristics of Cities*, p. 13. 10. *Ibid.*

pronounced if the age distributions were the same, which they are not. Probably the large city offers more economic hazards to marriage than the small city, at least from the man's point of view; certainly it can be said that many of the social services customarily provided by the home can easily be purchased from other agencies without a great deal of inconvenience and for probably less money than is necessary to support a wife and children. In large cities there are fewer widows and widowers than in communities of smaller size, but in cities of all sizes there are proportionately fewer widowers than widows, the ratio being about 1 to 3. This is the reverse of the situation on farms, where the proportion of widowers is higher than the percentage of widows. Since the death rates of widowers and widows are approximately the same in the city, it is apparent that widowers have a better chance of remarriage than widows.

Gainful Employment of Women. It is a matter of general knowledge that a higher proportion of married women are gainfully employed in cities than in rural areas, whether farm or non-farm. This does not mean that rural women do not work; it merely means that they are less inclined, or have less opportunity, than city women to work outside the home *for pay*. In 1930, approximately one out of every 9 married women in cities was gainfully employed outside the home. This ratio applies to all married women in urban communities without reference to race, nationality, economic status, age, or other factors. Since married women work outside the home primarily to provide needed income for the families to which they belong, it is reasonable to suppose that the lower-income groups have a much higher proportion of gainfully employed wives and mothers than the privileged classes. Among the Negro population a high percentage of married women are employed outside the home, but whether this proportion is higher than for other racial or cultural groups occupying a comparable economic status we do not know. Contrary to what one might expect, large cities have a lower percentage of gainfully employed married women than small cities, if Southern cities with large numbers of employed Negro women are excluded. In Ogburn's opinion, this is because

the jobs have been taken by unmarried women, who have migrated in large numbers to the metropolitan centers.[11] Yet the differences are not great, 14 per cent of the married women of cities over a million being employed as compared with 18 per cent for cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population and 16 per cent for cities from 25,000 to 50,000. It is not possible to make a final appraisal of the effects of such employment on familial relationships, but competent observers are inclined to the view that gainful employment outside the home tends to weaken family ties and reduce the effectiveness of primary social controls. Rates of juvenile delinquency, for example, tend to be higher among families in which the mother is gainfully employed than among families of comparable economic status and cultural background in which the mother does not work outside the home.

Reorganization of the Urban Family. Inasmuch as the family as an affectional group is all-important in the process of personality conditioning, the disintegration of the home is fraught with certain hazards to the individuals, particularly the younger members, in the form of delinquency and mental and nervous disorders. Even the fears of social alarmists in this matter are not without some foundation. To many students of social relationships, however, the present status of the family is a transitional stage in its process of adjustment to the cultural changes that are going on about it. A return of the old hoe- and horse-culture can hardly be anticipated. The machine and the culture which it has produced are likely to remain. It may therefore be anticipated that some of the functions that once held the family together—the protective, the educational, recreational, and economic bonds—will be taken over more completely by other agencies better fitted to perform them. This will mean that the bond of affection will be a greater factor than economic activities in keeping the family unit intact.[12] It will mean also the discarding of many of the outworn traditions adapted to an agricultural society rather than to an urban culture.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

12. Ogburn, "Social Heritage and the Family," in *Family Life Today*, edited by Rich, Margaret E., p. 36 (1928).

The present trends toward family disorganization do not necessarily prove that the family cannot survive and function effectively in an urban civilization. Just what forms the family of the future will take it is perhaps not safe to predict. So many cultural changes in the form of inventions and technological improvements are exerting their influence on social institutions, modifying them in structure and in function, that any forecast would have a speculative rather than a factual basis.

If the family is to be oriented to a changing urban culture it will not be through any laissez-faire theory of human relationships such as is still advocated in economic matters. Rather social technology and social therapy as means of scientific control will have to be relied upon more and more.[13] No longer are the old primary controls and the "ordering and forbidding" techniques adequate; and the popular panaceas of social reformers have proved themselves inadequate because they were designed for a simple society of the past rather than for the complex society of the present and future. Social machinery for the control of family life in the machine age will involve the extension of the services of the public school system, the family welfare associations and other social work institutions, such as juvenile courts, domestic relations courts, habit and health clinics, and similar agencies concerned with the various aspects of family relationships.

It is generally conceded that the decline of the Roman civilization was accompanied by a decrease in family solidarity and an increase in divorce and immorality. But even so, there are no justifiable grounds for a philosophy of fatalism, a belief that the present trends of family life will cause the collapse of western civilization. It is possible that a reinterpretation and re-evaluation of social relationships can stabilize family life and serve as an antidote to some of the disorganizing influences that have threatened the existence of this primary group. A new set of mores, fortified by religious and ethical

13. See especially Mowrer, Harriet, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord* (1935) for a discussion of the therapeutic methods used by the author as a consultant on domestic-relations cases in Chicago.

convictions, or by an awakened civic consciousness, may evolve from the present period of transition and accomplish for the restoration of family life what reformers have failed to do. The integration of the Jewish family amidst the disorganizing influences of the city has been achieved principally through the potency of the religious mores. While it may be along some such course that family solidarity will be restored, it is more likely, as Thompson suggests, that a reorganization of the city which will provide more space and more adequate opportunities for home life will be the proper course to pursue if family life is to be revitalized. In this case it will be necessary to turn to the city planner and engineer, who can direct the reconstruction of the physical patterns of the city and its tributary regions along lines that will make urban life at the same time more wholesome and more satisfying.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Compare a rural and an urban family from the standpoint of the functions performed. To what extent have outside agencies taken over the traditional functions of each group? What appears to be the effect of this transfer of functions on social relationships within the groups?

2. Study a rural or immigrant family that has been transplanted to an urban environment. What cultural conflicts, if any, have arisen, and what have been the effects of the change of habitat on family unity?

3. What percentage of the adult population (15 years of age or over) in your community is married? Single? Widowed? Divorced? How do these percentages compare with the figures for the rural and urban population as a whole?

4. Make a study in your community of marriage rates during the depression, using a method comparable to that employed by Bossard in Philadelphia.

5. Select a group of families in which the mother is employed outside the home and compare with another sample in which the mother is not gainfully employed. What differences in function and structure of the family groups do you find?

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17

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY

IT IS NOT OUR PURPOSE to write a treatise on the economic organization of urban communities, but rather to sketch in outline form some of the major features of the economic activities, both private and public, and to indicate what appear to be important trends. A complete picture of the economic organization of the city would carry us too far beyond the legitimate scope of a sociological analysis; yet in order to acquire a rounded conception of the urban community it is important to note some of the significant changes that are taking place in the economic structure and to indicate, wherever possible, their social significance. In an earlier chapter we observed that the percentage of persons engaged in manufacturing had tended to decline in recent years, whereas the proportion employed in business, in public service, and in the professions was increasing. This is not the result of a decline in manufacturing or in the output of manufacturing establishments, but rather of technological and managerial improvements which have made possible an increased output with fewer persons necessary to do the work.

EMERGENCE OF LARGE-SCALE ENTERPRISES. One of the most significant phenomena of modern times has been the emergence of large-scale business and manufacturing enterprises. It is not that large-scale enterprise has entirely, or even nearly, displaced small establishments, but that an increasing amount of the nation's commercial and industrial activities is carried on by mammoth corporations.[1] In American cities an increasing portion of the total retail business is done by chain stores, with the control of the individual units centered in the larger cities far removed in many instances from the local establishments. In 1930 there were 7,837 chain or-

1. See especially Berle, A. A., and Means, G. C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (1933).

ganizations in the country, controlling 198,145 retail merchandising units of various kinds. One survey of 155 cities showed that the retail sales of chain stores amounted to 30.12 per cent of the total, while another survey of a group of large cities indicated that the chain organizations did 47.97 per cent of the retail business.[2] A single grocery chain with 17,000 units located in every state in the country represents the extreme to which this trend toward concentration of control and diffusion of operation has gone.

In industry the trend toward large-scale mass production has been one of the significant features of the economic system. In the automotive industry, for example, three large corporations manufacture more than three-fourths of the automobiles; in the steel industry, a half-dozen companies are responsible for the processing of most of the raw minerals. One company manufactures a large proportion of the aluminum products, a few petroleum corporations practically monopolize the production of oil, while in the fields of communication two companies are responsible for the bulk of our radio programs and most of the telephone and telegraph business is handled by three corporations. Two dozen insurance companies sell a large percentage of the life-insurance policies, and an increasing amount of the nation's business is carried on through chain banks.

THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. Each type of business influences the habits and customs of the people of the community. Occupational activities tend to condition the attitudes of persons who are engaged in them; in turn they are reflected in the mores and folkways, in the social groups and institutions. Wholesaling, for example, involves an intercity trade which is dependent on the activities of traveling salesmen. The absence of these men from their homes not only influences their own behavior and conduct, but it also affects the social relationships in the primary groups of which they are members. There may be more than a casual coincidence in the fact that Kansas City, with a flourishing wholesale business, has an extremely high divorce rate.

2. Westerfield, Ray B., "The Rise of the Chain Store," *Current History*, 35: 359–360 (December, 1931).

Industrial activities no less than commercial and trading enterprises leave an indelible impression on the social fabric of the community. Some types of industrial work attract certain ethnic and cultural groups who have been particularly successful in such work. Different classes of industrial concerns attract different age and sex groups. The textile industry, for example, has not only employed large numbers of women to operate the looms, but it has also found that child labor is profitable to the operators.

The garment industries of New York and the New England cities employ great numbers of women and girls. Steel mills, flour mills, shipbuilding concerns, and the building trades employ mostly men. Some industries attract a mobile population; others are more attractive to a population that is stable. The seasonal fluctuations in certain types of manufacturing such as millinery, men's and women's clothing, the automobile and the canning industries frequently contribute to the mobility and instability of the workers. These fluctuations are also reflected in the hours of labor and in wage rates. Some industries are particularly hazardous to the health and lives of the employees. The enormous increase in occupational diseases and industrial accidents has made necessary special legislation for the protection of the workers—and even yet there is a lag between the industrial hazards incurred and the amount of protection available. The influence of factory work on the personal habits and attitudes of the workers, although not so easily discernible, is perhaps as far-reaching as its physical effects.

Not infrequently a single commercial or industrial establishment, or a cluster of such enterprises, tends to dominate the social and economic life of the community. This is probably more often the case in small cities than in large centers. A classic example of the extent to which a manufacturing corporation dominates a community is given by the Lynds in their *Middletown in Transition.* In this city the owners of a well-known fruit-jar manufacturing enterprise exert a far-reaching influence on the social and economic institutions and on the activities associated with these institutions. Middletown,

a city of about 35,000, has what amounts to a "reigning royal family," the Ball brothers. The members of this manufacturing family have an interest in the local banks and are therefore able to control, or at least to influence, the community's credit facilities. They own considerable real estate in the city and are engaged in retail business activities. The family is represented on the school board and on committees regulating various recreational and welfare activities. While they do not actively participate in politics, they exert enough control over local political leaders to "enable their central business of money-making to go forward without too much interference." As a result of their extensive gifts to educational and religious institutions they are in a position to exert an influence, either directly or indirectly, on the policies of these organizations and on the persons in positions of leadership. By holding a controlling interest in a daily newspaper they can dictate editorial policies and thereby influence public opinion in their favor. While cities with such extremes of paternalism as Middletown are probably exceptional, it is nevertheless true that numerous communities, especially single-industry cities, are dominated by the entrepreneurs or financiers who occupy positions of special privilege.

MUTUAL AID A PHASE OF ECONOMIC LIFE. It is obvious to the most casual observer that commercial and industrial organizations of a city are in competition with each other, but it is usually less apparent that their survival depends largely on mutual assistance. They become accommodated to each other, and through cooperative undertakings they further their own interests while at the same time they maintain their competitive relationships. Sometimes they unite against common enemies; at other times they form cooperative organizations to compete more effectively with other cities. "Better business" bureaus and chambers of commerce are supported by competitive concerns for their common welfare. Physicians combine to protect themselves and their clients against the peculations of quacks and charlatans. Trained and experienced plumbers organize for the expulsion of the man with a pipe wrench who threatens to work at

lower wages. Merchants, cognizant of the danger of ignorant and reckless competitors, pool their knowledge of business methods for the benefit of all.

The city becomes a network of cooperative economic organizations that are superimposed on the industrial and commercial organizations that constitute the economic basis of urban society. Through experience industrialists and entrepreneurs, as well as craftsmen and professionals, have learned that the laissez-faire doctrine of "live and let live" is not enough—that in its stead, in a society as complex as the modern city, must be the philosophy of "live and help live." A study some years ago of the economic mutual aid organizations of Kansas City, Missouri, indicates something of the extent of cooperative undertakings of a city that prides itself on its "rugged individualism" and its free "American plan" of employment. In addition to 42 functional business associations within the city, there were 15 professional associations, 5 general business associations citywide in their scope, 10 general business associations confined to districts, 57 labor organizations in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, 10 labor organizations in the field of transportation, 2 organizations of actors and musicians, 3 organizations of domestic workers, 1 union of office employees, 3 of salesmen and meat cutters, and 5 of public service employees. In addition to these there were 39 business associations having state, regional, or national headquarters in the city. The following list of functional business organizations indicates the extent to which the principle of mutual aid is applied to commerce and industry in Kansas City:

Master Builders' Association
Master Merchants' Association
Advertising Club
Board of Trade
Fruit and Produce Dealers' Club
Association of Credit Men
Hotel Men's Association
Clearing House Association
Implement, Vehicle, and Hardware Club
Team and Motor Truck Owners' Association
Life Underwriters' Association
Insurance Agents' Association
Millers' Club
Master Painters and Decorators' Association
Hog Traders' Exchange
Electric Club
Florists' Club

Motor Car Dealers' Association
Hay Dealers' Association
Laundry Owners' Association
Live Stock Exchange
Retail Grocers' Association
Retail Druggists' Association
Southwestern Lumbermen's Association
Association of Cleaners and Dyers
Investment Bankers' Association
Real Estate Board
Graphic Arts Organization
Milk Producers' Association
Railroad Clearing House Association
Restaurant Association
Heating and Piping Contractors' Association
Produce Traffic Association
Traders' Live Stock Exchange
United Commercial Travelers of America
Southwest Millers' League
Film Board of Trade

ORGANIZATIONS FOR ECONOMIC CONFLICT. But not all organizations exist alone for the purpose of mutual aid. Often the aims and interests of labor and capital are so foreign to each other that the city becomes a battleground on which the opposing forces struggle for supremacy. By means of unionization the forces of labor are able to carry the war into the enemy's territory and win for themselves concessions in the form of higher wages, better working conditions, and privileges of collective bargaining. The owning groups, on the other hand, employ the same tactics in protecting their economic interests. Employers and manufacturers' associations as well as so-called vigilante organizations and certain "citizens' committees" are designed quite as much for conflict with labor unions as for commercial or industrial cooperation. Sometimes the struggle has been accompanied by violence—by massacres, guerilla warfare, sabotage, burning; sometimes it is carried on without bloodshed or destruction of property, with peaceful picketing, mass meetings, sit-down strikes, and propaganda used as tactics against the opposing forces.

In recent years the conflict between capital and labor has been paralleled by a bitter struggle raging within the ranks of labor. A cleavage in the American Federation of Labor over matters of organization has resulted in the development of a separatist movement known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Since the C.I.O., as it is commonly known, is organized so as to include all the workers

in a single industry, unions developed according to this principle have ordinarily been more powerful than the craft unions of the A.F. of L. For this reason many employers have opposed quite vigorously the encroachments of the C.I.O. Whether the two types of labor organization shall in the future achieve a *rapprochement*, combining their forces in a common struggle against organized capital, or whether they shall continue to exist side by side, at peace or at war, it is too early to say. There is some evidence, however, that many of the rank-and-file workers are convinced of the futility of internal conflict and are prepared to work out some means of cooperation.

Credit in the Economic System. Perhaps the most notable change in the character of commercial transactions has been in the extension of credit to all forms of business and industrial undertakings. Even the customer now buys by installment rather than by cash. Under constant pressure of the adroit manipulations of sales-psychologists and advertising copy-writers, the masses have discarded the traditional fears of debt, and in their lives have come new wants and new standards to be realized only by encumbering their future. It has been estimated that at least 60 per cent of the automobiles and 80 per cent of the furniture and household equipment in this country have been purchased on the installment plan. Comparable portions of musical instruments, furs, jewelry, clothing, typewriters, and correspondence courses are bought on the dollar-down principle.

But the social effects of the credit system are not to be overlooked. Defenders of installment-buying insist, with considerable evidence to support their contentions, that the present standards of living would not be possible without high-pressure advertising to create the wants and the installment-payment plan to satisfy them. Yet it is apparent that the plan of deferred payments has tended toward economic instability, and perhaps even, in the end, to various forms of social maladjustments and disorganization through the encouragement of extravagance and wasteful spending. It is antithetical to the traditional doctrine of thrift and frugality, yet, strangely

enough, the evangelists of economy have frequently been vociferous in proclaiming the virtues of buying by installment. Furthermore, the prices of installment-bought goods are necessarily higher; therefore the purchasing power of the people is diminished, especially if the articles purchased are luxuries instead of necessities that may themselves be turned into productive channels. In its extremes the system is a modernized version of economic peonage in which the individual finds himself manacled by the mortgages which he has placed on his future income.

NEW TACTICS IN PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. Along with mass production and concentration of control have come new methods of production and distribution, new policies for dealing with the employees and the public. Haphazard methods of production and merchandising are giving way to scientific management; efficiency methods are introduced in factories to speed up production—frequently with harmful effects on the physiques and morale of the workers; press agents and public relations counsels ingeniously cultivate the goodwill of the public, and with their sales psychology and their trick slogans cajole the lethargic masses into buying the products their employers have for sale. Even "welfare capitalism" has become an integral part of the philosophy of many entrepreneurs, who stabilize their working force and create *esprit de corps* and loyalty by means of promotion systems, saving schemes, stock ownership, group insurance, sick benefits, old-age pensions, visiting nurses, hospital service, vacation privileges, free recreational facilities, and occasional excursions and picnics.

Out of this economic trend has come standardization—not only standardization of commodities and articles for sale, but also, as a by-product, a tendency toward standardization of personality. Everywhere, in every city, electric lights emblazon the same "57" or "Bulova" or "Gillette"; everywhere the radio blares stridently the virtues of "Pepsodent" or "Buick" or "Lucky Strikes"; in every magazine and newspaper, on signboards by every roadside, the same claims, the same catchwords, the same slogans stand out to catch the attention of the reader or the passer-by—and the outcome is the

similarity of tastes, of wants, of attitudes that are created by the conscious contrivances of the makers and vendors of goods. It is a fair example of the influence of the economic organization of the city on the cultural life of the time.

THE TREND TOWARD COLLECTIVISM. In earlier stages of city growth the urban population depended entirely, or nearly so, on private enterprise for the basic necessities of life. More recently the trend has been toward the collectivization of numerous economic and social activities, with the city as a corporate organization entering certain fields in competition with private establishments. The underlying reasons for this tendency are not altogether clear, but the evidence seems to indicate that private enterprise, conducted primarily for profit, has failed to meet the demand for particular types of services. Not only has there been an increase in the number of enterprises that are publicly owned and operated, but in activities still conducted on a profit basis the municipality has assumed certain regulatory functions in the interest of the common weal. So far as this country is concerned the traditional doctrine of laissez-faire seems to have been largely abandoned—in fact, at least, but not always in name. Government—municipal, state, and national—is playing an increasingly important role in the lives of the people. What we seem to be witnessing, then, is an emerging collectivistic society—a form of collectivism that has developed not according to the Marxian pattern of class struggle but rather in response to the demands of the general public. In other words, citizens *as consumers*, regardless of their political affiliations and ofttimes in contradiction to their own avowed ideologies, have insisted upon or approved the extension of certain governmental functions. While the support of these activities has been far from unanimous, it is extremely significant that Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Communists, and others of different political faiths have approved the expansion of specific governmental services, at the same time denouncing each other vehemently over such abstractions as "radicalism," "justice," "democracy," "liberty," and "extravagance."

An examination of the facts relating to public ownership provides

a fairly clear, though incomplete, picture of the trend of municipal government. In 1900, there were 710 publicly owned electric light and power plants in this country, representing 22 per cent of the total.[3] By 1927 this number had increased to 2,198, or 59.7 per cent of all plants. Of the 1,797 cities with more than 5,000 population in 1938, 72 per cent owned their own waterworks, 45 per cent their own facilities for the treatment of sewage, 35 per cent their cemeteries, 22 per cent their own airports, and 14 per cent their own electric light plants.[4] Although only 16 communities owned their street railways in 1938, these included such large cities as Detroit, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Seattle, and Youngstown. Fifty-two cities had their own gas works, among them being Philadelphia, Houston, Indianapolis, Omaha, Long Beach, and Richmond. Of the 259 cities having municipal light plants, the largest were Cleveland, Los Angeles, Columbus, Grand Rapids, Jacksonville, Kansas City (Kansas), Tacoma, Fort Wayne, and Seattle. During 1938 the number of municipalities providing public facilities for sewage disposal increased by 90—from 726 to 816. Only 15 per cent, or 274, of the 1,797 cities reported no publicly owned utilities; and, although 11 cities discontinued one or more services during the year, 169 communities added new services. These data, showing an unmistakable collectivistic trend in certain types of economic activities, can be matched with data in the fields of health, recreation, education, and public welfare. But that is another story—and one that will be related in a later chapter.

DEBTS. The expansion of governmental functions has made it necessary for most cities to increase their bonded indebtedness in order to secure funds to finance the various activities. Between 1926 and 1936 the net debt of cities over 100,000 in population increased from $4,305,000,000 to $6,332,000,000, or 47.1 per cent.[5] During

3. McDonnell, R. E., "The Recent Trend Toward Public Ownership," *Public Ownership*, 14: 93. These data refer to communities of all sizes, whether rural or urban.

4. *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, p. 179.

5. Richtor, C. E., "Trends in Financial Statistics of Cities over 100,000 Population," *Municipal Year Book*, 1938, p. 492.

the depression years, especially, cities found their costs of government mounting while income from taxes tended to decline. Between 1930 and 1937 the average per capita net bonded debt for 179 cities over 30,000 increased from $96.25 to $110.42, but in the following year, 1938, there was a decrease of approximately $2.[6] Although cities of all types and sizes have resorted to borrowing, the per capita indebtedness has tended to increase more rapidly in large cities than in small ones. In 1938 the per capita net bonded debt for cities over 300,000 was approximately twice that of cities from 30,000 to 50,000. Furthermore, the percentage of increase in per capita indebtedness between 1930 and 1938 was greater for cities over 300,000 than for smaller municipalities. The following table shows a short-period trend in municipal indebtedness:

Table XXX

PER CAPITA NET BONDED DEBT FOR 179 CITIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE, 1930 AND 1938[7]

CLASS OF CITY	PER CAPITA INDEBTEDNESS 1930	1938	PER CENT INCREASE
Over 500,000	$111.36	$126.29	13.4
300,000 to 500,000	99.33	125.97	26.8
100,000 to 300,000	84.42	90.86	7.6
50,000 to 100,000	81.97	86.52	5.6
30,000 to 50,000	62.18	67.38	8.4
All Cities	96.25	108.51	12.7

Among the cities in the million class, New York City heads the list both for per capita indebtedness and total indebtedness, while Philadelphia holds second place in the size of debt for the city as a whole as well as for per capita debt. The heaviest per capita indebtedness, however, is to be found in some of the resort cities of comparatively small size or in the suburbs of the great metropolitan centers. For individual cities the amount of per capita indebtedness in 1938 ranged from $389 for Atlantic City to $7 for Springfield, Illinois. Of the twelve cities having the largest indebtedness, all but three were in New Jersey or New York, whereas eight of the twelve cities with the lowest per capita indebtedness were in the Middle

6. *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, p. 403. 7. *Ibid.*

West, the remaining four being in Massachusetts. The following table shows the extremes of per capita indebtedness in 24 cities:

Table XXXI

TWELVE HIGHEST AND TWELVE LOWEST CITIES IN THE AMOUNT OF PER CAPITA INDEBTEDNESS, 1938 [8]

HIGHEST	AMOUNT	LOWEST	AMOUNT
Atlantic City	$389.07	Springfield, Ill.	$ 7.03
Asheville, N.C.	352.70	Danville, Ill.	13.52
White Plains, N.Y.	340.30	Zanesville, O.	16.06
Miami, Fla.	315.83	Lansing, Mich.	16.55
Kearney, N.J.	312.73	Chicopee, Mass.	16.96
New Rochelle, N.Y.	258.96	Bay City, Mich.	19.19
New York City	224.18	Arlington, Mass.	19.89
Greensboro, N.C.	215.52	Elkhart, Ind.	20.26
Newark, N.J.	211.37	Holyoke, Mass.	20.38
Yonkers, N.Y.	209.31	Salem, Mass.	21.41
Camden, N.J.	202.76	Quincy, Ill.	21.25
Perth Amboy, N.J.	198.76	LaCrosse, Wis.	21.84

Simple data on municipal indebtedness provide only a partial picture of the financial operations of cities. They do not tell us, for instance, why some cities are mired deeply in debt and others are not, nor do they indicate the effect of indebtedness on the social and economic structure of the community. To present a satisfactory analysis of the social significance of financial indebtedness it would be necessary to know a great deal about the fiscal policies, secret and public, of specific cities, and especially to have complete information on the use to which the money is put. This we do not have, for published reports do not tell the whole story. Machine politicians in office have a way of manipulating the public finances that are not always intelligible even to expert accountants. There is much evidence that the finances of machine-ridden cities are commonly manipulated in the interests of a favored few. It may be that the presence of well-oiled political machines in the large cities of the country is one of the reasons metropolitan centers tend to have a larger indebtedness than small cities. Philadelphia, for instance, was for years under the thumb of the Vare machine; today it is so deeply in

8. Adapted from data in *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, pp. 405–412.

debt that the community is facing bankruptcy. The one and one-half billion dollars of indebtedness which represents the financial burden of New York City is largely a "legacy" from Tammany Hall. On the other hand, low bonded indebtedness may mean not so much efficient and honest financial management as success of political leaders in securing state and Federal funds for local expenditures. Finally, the absence of uniform methods of accounting and reporting may be responsible for certain differences in amount of indebtedness.

TAXES. With the expansion of governmental functions it has become increasingly difficult to secure sufficient funds through taxation to meet the expenses of the community. From 1932 to 1938 the assessed valuation of property decreased 15.7 per cent in 220 cities in the country, while in cities over a half million in size the decline in assessed values was 18.2 per cent.[9] In small cities, from 30,000 to 50,000, the decline of assessed values was 10.6 per cent. It is apparent, therefore, that the depression had an adverse effect on the financial structure of all cities, but that the larger centers were more seriously affected than the smaller ones. Faced with grave budgetary difficulties, cities have been forced to tap new sources of revenue as well as to increase the revenue from old sources in order to provide governmental services demanded by the public.

In the final analysis the financial responsibility for paying the community debts and providing various municipal services must be assumed by the citizens who reside within the city. For this reason it is well to inquire briefly into the tax structure of cities, to note the trends in taxation, and to ascertain the extent to which the "average" taxpayer must carry the financial burden. Accompanying the rise in municipal indebtedness has been a rather general increase in taxes. Between 1926 and 1936 the total amount of revenue received in cities of 100,000 or over increased from $2,332,303,000 to $2,893,222,000, or approximately 24 per cent.[10] This revenue, derived mainly from taxes, both direct and indirect, amounted to $69.20 per capita in 1926 as compared to $76.83 a decade later, an increase of 11

9. *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, p. 398. 10. Richtor, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

per cent. While general property taxes comprised approximately two-thirds of the total revenue for both years, there was a slight decline in the percentage of revenue derived from this source. One lucrative source of income has been in the form of grants-in-aid from state and Federal governments. Whereas in 1926 grants-in-aid constituted only 3.8 per cent of the total revenue for cities of metropolitan rank, in 1936 the percentage of income from this source had increased to 12.9. During the depression years many cities were able to carry on their governmental services only with the assistance of larger political units.

Not only do large cities tend to have higher tax rates than small cities, but in recent years tax rates have risen more rapidly in cities of a half million or over than in smaller centers. In 1939, the average adjusted tax rate, per $1,000 assessed value, was $27.02 for cities of 30,000 to 50,000, while the rate for cities over a half-million was $29.38.[11] For small cities the percentage of increase in tax rate on assessed valuation was 10.3 between 1933 and 1939, whereas for cities of a half million class the percentage increase was 16.7. Obviously, if the great metropolitan centers offer a wider variety and better quality of community services than the smaller cities, the population pays more for these benefits. The following table shows the tax rates for different classes of cities:

Table XXXII

AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE PER $1,000 ASSESSED VALUE IN 257 CITIES, 1939, AND THE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN TAX RATE, 1933 TO 1939, FOR 229 CITIES[12]

CLASS OF CITY	TAX RATE, 1939	PER CENT INCREASE
500,000 or over	$29.38	16.7
300,000 to 500,000	29.50	8.6
100,000 to 500,000	28.73	10.0
50,000 to 100,000	26.54	9.9
30,000 to 50,000	27.02	10.3
All Cities	27.57	10.4

The proverbial Mr. John Q. Citizen may have little interest in or knowledge of tax rates, bonded indebtedness, or other aspects of

11. *Municipal Year Book*, 1940, p. 202. 12. *Ibid.*

municipal fiscal policies, but when the tax collector presents him with an annual statement of his personal share of the costs of government then economics emerges from the realm of abstraction to the sphere of everyday reality. Whether he benefits little or much by municipal services, he must help pay the bill. Recently the editors of the *Municipal Year Book* published estimates of the amount of taxes paid in 1937 by moderate-income families in cities of various sizes. This "average" family has a hypothetical income of $2,500, lives in a home appraised at $5,500, and consists of four persons, one of the children being in the elementary school and the other in the high school. Although the modal income for the country as a whole is less than $1,500, it was the opinion of those conducting the survey that an assumed income of $2,500 is "not seriously out of line" with actual average incomes in the larger cities. The purpose of the study was to ascertain the tax burden of families that were financially independent, having a reasonably satisfactory level of living, but with an income sufficiently low to escape state and Federal income taxes.

In 150 cities having a population over 30,000, the state and local taxes of this hypothetical family amounted to $197.72. In other words, urban families in this category paid out in taxes an amount equal to about one-twelfth of their income. Contrary to what one might expect, no marked differences in the average family tax were found between classes of cities. Although cities over 500,000 had a slightly higher average tax than cities of smaller size, the difference was not significant. In large cities of this category the average family tax was $202.52, as compared with $195.84 for small cities of 30,000 to 50,000. Cities ranging from 300,000 to 500,000 had an average tax of $199.52, while the tax in communities from 50,000 to 100,000 was $200.75. Table XXXIII includes the twelve cities having the highest family taxes and the twelve with the lowest tax burden.

On the basis of these data it is hazardous to make generalizations, but it may be significant that seven of the twelve high-tax cities were located in the East whereas eight of the twelve low-tax communities were in the Middle West. Moreover, of the high-tax cities, four were in Massachusetts, and of the cities in the low-tax column,

Table XXXIII

24 CITIES HAVING THE HIGHEST AND THE LOWEST TAXES FOR FAMILIES WITH INCOME OF $2,500, 1937 [13]

HIGHEST TAXES	AMOUNT	LOWEST TAXES	AMOUNT
Pueblo, Colo.	$330.11	Jacksonville, Fla.	$ 83.25
Salt Lake City	291.74	Mansfield, O.	141.44
Meridian, Miss.	279.85	Canton, O.	141.60
Topeka, Kan.	278.22	Akron, O.	144.05
Jersey City, N.J.	277.82	York, Pa.	145.70
New Bedford, Mass.	263.44	Hamilton, O.	146.04
Bayonne, N.J.	259.85	Cleveland Heights, O.	146.20
Chelsea, Mass.	258.04	Oakland, Calif.	151.75
Arlington, Mass.	252.64	Cranston, R.I.	151.78
Boston, Mass.	251.90	Elkhart, Ind.	152.21
Chicago, Ill.	248.05	Sioux City, Ia.	152.25
Fitchburg, Mass.	248.04	East Cleveland, O.	153.77

six were in Ohio. Does this mean that urban residents of the Middle West, with a low tax burden, have a higher level of living than Eastern residents having a heavy tax load? The data available do not enable us to answer this question, but there is no reason to assume that residents carrying a small tax burden have any higher plane of living than residents who are heavily taxed. In fact the reverse may be true, since the tax money may be wisely used for the benefit of the taxpayers, thereby enabling them to have a more satisfactory plane of living than if they spent the money themselves. Of the twelve cities with the lowest per capita indebtedness, four were in Massachusetts; of the twelve cities with the highest family tax, five were in the same state. One might suppose, therefore, that some relation may exist between low per capita indebtedness and the tax rate.

How Is THE MONEY SPENT? The rapid growth of cities in this country has been more than matched by the expansion of governmental activities. During the decade from 1926 to 1936 the metropolitan population of the country probably did not increase more than 20 per cent, if that much, yet government expenditures for cities of this class increased by approximately one-third. In small

13. Adapted from the *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, pp. 405–412. Since all cities over 30,000 are not included in this survey, the rankings of individual cities in this table are not necessarily the rankings which would be assigned if all cities were included.

cities governmental expenditures probably increased less rapidly than in large centers; at least data on bonded indebtedness and taxes appear to support this view. If municipal expenditures are broken down for specific costs we not only get a more adequate picture of the functions of various departments of government but the changes that are occurring in these functions. Data in the following table indicate the costs of various departmental activities and the different rates of increase in costs of specific services:

Table XXXIV

PER CAPITA COSTS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, FOR SPECIFIC DEPARTMENTAL SERVICES, IN CITIES OVER 100,000, 1926 AND 1936 [14]

TYPE OF SERVICE	1926	1936	% CHANGE
Education (schools)	$14.67	$15.19	3.5
Protection (police, fire, etc.)	8.31	8.42	1.3
Charity	1.29	7.36	470.5
General Government	3.67	3.99	8.7
Highways	3.64	2.89	- 20.6
Sanitation	3.19	2.59	- 18.8
Hospitals	1.12	1.83	63.4
Recreation	1.45	1.39	- 4.1
Health	1.02	1.16	13.7
Libraries	.53	.56	5.6
Corrections	.49	.54	10.2
Miscellaneous	1.70	2.91	71.2
Total	$41.08	$48.83	18.8

It may be observed from the foregoing data that approximately half of the per capita expenditures were for education and protection. But what is perhaps of even greater significance is the increase in expenditures during the decade. In nine of the twelve items there were increases in per capita expenditures, the largest increase, 470.5 per cent, being for charity. For three departments, which included highways, sanitation, and recreation, the percentage decreases were 20.6, 18.8, and 4.1, respectively. The increase in total per capita expenditures for the period amounted to 18.8 per cent. In other words, the average urban resident in 1936 was paying approximately one-fifth more for local governmental services than he was paying in

14. Adapted from Richtor, *op. cit.*, pp. 496–497.

1926. Part of this was obviously due to the increased costs of charity, but even in other fields of service the expansion of governmental functions was necessitating a greater outlay of money.

It is possible to get a somewhat more complete picture of the costs of government in the metropolitan centers of the country by comparing the total community expenditures in 1926 with those of 1936.[15] During the decade the cost of all services increased from $1,384,904,000 to $1,838,803,000, or 32.7 per cent. Total expenditures for charity increased from $43,517,000 to $277,084,000, or 536.7 per cent. The costs of maintaining hospitals increased by 82.2 per cent, while expenditures for education were 15.6 per cent greater in 1936 than in 1926. In the field of general government the financial outlay increased by 21.6 per cent during the decade. Only one division, that of sanitation, was spending less money in 1936 than ten years earlier. Whether the costs of government, therefore, are measured in terms of per capita expenditures or total community expenditures, marked increases are evident. It may also be observed that the total costs of government have increased more rapidly than per capita expenditures. This is probably due to the increase of population in the large cities during the decade, more people being present to share in the costs of government. If the population of these cities had remained constant during the period, then the per capita costs of government should have shown the same increase as the total expenditures.

After studying the costs of local government in relation to population changes, Ogburn concluded that the per capita expenditures tend to be higher for declining cities than for communities increasing in size.[16] When the costs of specific services were compared, it was found that the resident of a growing city was in a more favorable financial position than the occupant of a community shrinking in population. Per capita expenditures for street-cleaning, for instance, were nearly twice as great in declining cities as in the growing communities; for maintaining a fire department, the difference in the

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 495–496.
16. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Characteristics of Cities*, pp. 66–68.

cost was 65 per cent in favor of the growing city; for maintaining a police department and a division of building inspection, the difference was 50 per cent; for public medical service to children, 40 per cent; for maintenance of schools, 20 per cent; and for general government, 15 per cent. Even greater differences were noted in the costs of charity, per capita expenditures in declining cities being more than five times as much as in growing communities. Only in public recreation and in the building and maintenance of roads did per capita expenditures in growing cities exceed those of declining centers, and then only by a narrow margin.

Ogburn explains these cost differentials on the assumption that in actual budgetary practice cities do not ordinarily take into consideration the future growth or decline of population. If, for example, a city is growing there are more persons to share the costs of the budget, which is always made out on a previous year; but if, on the other hand, the population is declining, there are fewer persons to carry the budgetary burden, which of course does not change. In a sample of declining cities included in the Ogburn survey, the number of policemen per 100,000 population was 413, whereas in growing cities the ratio was 285, or about 45 per cent less. This difference is probably due not to a greater crime problem in the declining cities —although conceivably this could be the case—but rather to population changes. Other things being equal, it appears, then, that the "average" resident of a declining city may have a somewhat lower level of living than the resident of a growing community by virtue of the heavier contributions he must make to provide the various governmental services.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Make a study of the business organizations of your community, emphasizing particularly the structure and functions of these associations.

2. Study the role of labor unions in a selected community. What are some of the tactics used by unions in pressing their demands against employers?

3. It has been argued by numerous persons that the economic life

of our society is undergoing a process of collectivization. What evidence of this trend do you find in your own community?

4. During recent years there has been an increase in the number of municipal functions performed in most cities. Study a selected city from this standpoint, indicating particularly the functions that have been added, expanded, or eliminated during the past two decades.

5. In general there has been an increase in taxes and in indebtedness in most cities of the country. Study a selected city from this standpoint, comparing the trend here with the trend for the country as a whole. Consult the *Municipal Year Book* for data.

6. For some selected community determine the amount of money that is received yearly from outside governmental sources. What uses are made of this money? If these funds were withdrawn, what would be the effect on the life of the city?

7. How is the local tax money in your community spent?

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18

THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF A CITY includes not only the actual governmental machinery which is a formal expression of the body politic of the community, but also the party machinery, unofficial though it may be, which develops many of the principles and much of the driving force of the governing group. The political system, then, is made up of the "invisible government" as well as the visible government; it includes the city bosses, the seigneurs of ward politics, as well as the city officials, who ofttimes are mere pawns in the hands of the invisible rulers. The machinery of the political parties within the city, the machinations of the bosses and the ward and precinct executives, the techniques that are employed to manufacture public opinion and garner votes, the sharing of spoils in the distribution of patronage—all these are significant features of the political systems of the modern city and are of as much concern to the sociologist as the actual machinery of government which is centered at the city hall.

THE COMPLEXITY OF URBAN POLITICS. The political system of a city is vastly more complex than the mere numbers of people living within the community would indicate. The social structure of the city itself is nothing less than a mosaic of human groupings, living in competitive cooperation with each other, yet vastly different in race, religion, nationality, and in standards of conduct. The modern metropolis is a veritable Babel of tongues and cultures: there are groups whose obvious racial characteristics tend to widen the social distance between them and others of a different hue; there are linguistic and nationality groups whose language and culture are so foreign to American standards that they constitute a series of social islands

almost untouched by the prevailing culture around them; there are economic groups composed of persons whose occupational activities and economic status have given them similar interests and similar points of view; there are religious groups whose morals and rituals so strictly determine their attitudes and their behavior that they live in a social world different from that of their fellow citizens; there are miscellaneous groups—social, professional, labor, business, civic, fraternal, underworld—all alike struggling to find expression of their ideals and standards in the governmental machinery of the city. It is in the interaction between these groups, in the conflicting interests of millions of persons whose social backgrounds and social attitudes differ from each other, in the cultural crosscurrents that are always characteristic of the metropolis, that a balance is struck in the form of organized government.

It is no wonder then that urban politics constitute perhaps the weakest feature of the whole political system—unless mayhap it is county politics; no wonder that the modern city gropes blindly in this labyrinthian maze for a political trail that will lead it out of the chaos and disorganization on to higher levels of social control. Instead of harmony between the groups, we find discord, rivalry, antipathies engendered from the friction caused by the impact of cultures and the contact of races: Negroes are arrayed against whites, Poles against Jews, Italians against the Irish, Catholics against Protestants, wets against drys, labor against capital; and even within the groups themselves there are bitter factions, rivals who hate each other more cordially than they hate the outsiders.

Instead of party elections in which fundamental principles and issues are emphasized, there are frequently bribery, physical violence, rancorous attacks on personalities, malicious appeals to the blind hatreds and prejudices of the masses in whose hands lies the political power. Instead of a government dominated by experts there is usually a government by bosses and professional politicians. The famed "pineapple primaries" of Chicago a few years ago, and the election of a mayor of that city on a platform the principal plank of which was opposition to the King of England, indicate the extremes

to which physical violence and political demagoguery have gone in one American metropolis.

Yet in the face of all the corruption and graft, all the scrambling to feed at the public trough, the fact still remains that there *is* government, and in the few cities that have attempted to reform their governmental machinery there is fairly good government. It is therefore too much to say that municipal government is a "failure" even though governmental machinery has often been shamelessly prostituted to selfish ends by manipulators and political racketeers. Because much is heard about governmental corruption and inefficiency, many are apt to conclude that municipal governments are conducted less efficiently and honestly than private enterprises. There is, however, no evidence that such is the case. Indeed, such services as public education, municipal water supply, and municipal fire protection are probably as efficient as private industries comparable in scope and function.

Added to the tangled web of race, religion, nationality, and economic status are local loyalties both within the city and in the wider bounds of the metropolitan district. In these areas there exist various degrees of civic consciousness and local community pride. Outside the artificial boundaries of the great metropolises are satellite settlements, incorporated and unincorporated, which are a part of the city in every respect except political. Jealous of their political autonomy, these communities strive to maintain their independence, although cooperating with the metropolis in some of the major governmental activities. The result is overlapping and duplication of functions, and therefore waste and inefficiency. Merriam and his associates found that in the metropolitan area of Chicago there are 1,642 different governments, including 204 cities and villages, 15 counties, 165 townships, 978 school districts, 70 park districts, 4 forest preserve districts, 11 sanitary districts, 190 drainage districts, 4 mosquito abatement districts, and 1 health district.[1] One hundred of the municipalities of this area are contiguous to each other. Within

1. Merriam, C. E., Parratt, S. D., and Lepawsky, A., *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (1933).

the area there are 350 police forces with no central coordination or control; 343 health agencies, with different standards of equipment and types of work, and little or no coordination; 1,000 school systems ranging from one-teacher schools to elaborate educational services; 167 public water systems; 74 uncoordinated park and forest systems; and 556 independent courts. Wayne County, Michigan, in which is located Detroit, has 145 units of government, including 1 county, 10 cities, 15 villages, 18 townships, and 101 school districts. Within the county also are 42 uncoordinated police units, 53 engineering departments, two welfare systems existing side by side and supporting 32 agencies engaged in relief, 43 separate health units, and 128 agencies having a share in assessment and collection of taxes.

THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES. Organization is the watchword of urban politics. The political forces arrayed against each other virtually march to the polls in a solid phalanx, so well organized are they before the day of election approaches. The whole city is honeycombed with political workers, the duties of whom are to secure the votes of the persons who live in the wards and precincts, the territorial units of the city. In a lucid analysis of political behavior Frank R. Kent has described the structure and function of the political organizations that are to be found in most American cities.[2] "In each precinct," writes Kent, "the party organization has a precinct executive, or captain, or committeeman. Just as the precinct is the smallest political division, so is the precinct executive the smallest unit in the party machine. While he is the smallest he is also, by long odds, the most vital. There are about 250,000 of him in the country. He is the bone and sinew of the machine. He is its foundation and the real source of strength. If he does not function, the machine decays. If he quits, the machine dies." [3]

Next to the precinct executive, and a little higher up the political pyramid, is the ward executive, usually a precinct executive who

2. *The Great Game of Politics.* His *Political Behavior*, published later, deals with a similar theme.

3. *The Great Game of Politics*, p. 1.

has been promoted because of his diligence and success. The ward executive is the "field commander," whose chief obligations are to supervise the political maneuvers of the precinct executives and finally deliver the votes of the ward to the political machine to which he owes his loyalty—and perhaps his position. At the apex of the political pyramid is the boss, "a curious American institution, with no legal or even official party status, with a power partly real and partly mythical, sometimes wholly sinister and low, sometimes personally honest, occasionally cloaked in respectability, sometimes possessed of a sense of public service." He is the generalissimo of the party forces, the baron of machine politics. Out of the turgid morass of city politics have arisen commanding figures, famous and infamous, to mark the pages of history: "Honorable" William Tweed of New York, "Duke" Edwin H. Vare of Philadelphia, Roger C. Sullivan of Chicago, Abe Reuf of San Francisco, Tom Pendergast of Kansas City, "Big Tim" Sullivan of the Bowery, and others.

Political Control at the "Grass Roots" Level. There is nothing mysterious about the way in which a political organization secures the support of the voting public. In a real sense the political machine is a service organization which functions to meet certain needs or demands of the people of the city. Organized on the principle of continuous operation, in cloudy political weather as well as fair, the machine, through its representatives assigned to local areas, engages in various forms of "welfare" activities as a means of fostering a spirit of good will among the voters. It is simply a matter of placing the voters under moral obligation to support the machine at the polls, although certainly no politician in his relations with the voting public would be so crass as to state these obligations in such blunt terms. The political workers—ward executives and precinct captains—represent the shock troops of the organization whose function it is to cultivate the friendship of the people within their political bailiwick, to furnish such services as may be in demand, and ultimately to deliver a favorable vote at election time. For the most part these workers reside in the areas to which they have been assigned; and being "neighbors" in a geographical as well as a social

sense they are in an advantageous position to establish intimate contacts with persons whose political opinions they hope to influence.

Intensive studies of the way in which a machine functions at the "grass roots" level have been made by Gosnell [4] in Chicago and Salter [5] in Philadelphia; and although we do not have comparable data for all cities it seems reasonable to infer, on the basis of these and other reports, that the pattern of machine activities is much the same in the metropolitan centers of the country. In order to reduce this discussion of political control to more specific terms, we are listing some of the types of services which were observed by Gosnell and Salter in their studies of machine politics in Chicago and Philadelphia:

Providing baskets of food and other commodities to needy families.
Purchasing clothes for children and other members of families that are in economic distress.
Distributing free coal to families in the neighborhood.
Assisting individuals in securing their citizenship papers or in collecting insurance.
Giving advice, when asked, on family and domestic problems.
Finding jobs for unemployed individuals.
"Seeing the magistrate" in behalf of law violators—the "big fix" in political argot.
Helping persons to secure tax reductions.
Signing bonds for persons accused of offenses.
Assisting individuals in securing loans, relief, pensions, or other benefits from social agencies.
Securing physical improvements for the area, such as utilities, parks, playgrounds, and the like.
Purchasing commodities from constituents, whether they are needed or not.
Helping to punish law violators if public opinion in the area demands it.
Attending dances and other social functions, giving especial attention to "wallflowers."
Paying rent for families threatened with eviction, or persuading landlords to lower rents or postpone eviction.

4. Gosnell, Harold F., *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (1937). Cf. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (1935).
5. Salter, J. T., *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics* (1935).

Helping newcomers in the area to find homes or otherwise get settled satisfactorily.

Recommending persons in the precinct to serve as judges or clerks of election.

It may be surmised from the types of services rendered by the machine that its greatest strength would lie in areas of relatively low economic status, for it is the residents of these districts who are most commonly in distress. In areas populated heavily by the foreign-born, political workers have been singularly successful in delivering a favorable vote to the party machine. Unfamiliar with the principles of democratic government, frequently victimized by impersonal economic forces, objects of discrimination and exploitation, Old World immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, are apt to be more responsive to the blandishments of politicians than the privileged elements of the population or those conversant with democratic principles. To state the matter somewhat less elegantly, it is the poor people, especially the indigent foreign-born, who need most acutely the services of the "big fix" and who are willing to sell their democratic birthright for a mess of political pottage in the form of a basket of food. Such personal benefits may in the long run prove costly, but for the politically nearsighted and the economically distressed a basket of food is immediate and concrete, whereas an abstraction like the merit system in city government is too far removed from the individual's experience to have much meaning. When the derelicts of a north side slum in Kansas City eat a free Thanksgiving dinner as "guests" of a political baron, the satisfaction they derive from gastronomical gorging overshadows any concern they might possibly harbor about the ethics of government. A Chicago saloon-keeper climbed to political power through the votes of homeless men who had been given such special favors as free schooners of beer and the privilege of sleeping at night on the barroom floor.

Irregular Methods of Vote-Getting. While the activities of the precinct captain do not necessarily involve legal irregularities, organizational leaders in high political places are not always averse to

violating either the spirit or the letter of the law in gaining control of the government or maintaining themselves in power after control has been achieved. Political potentates themselves may prate of democracy and justice, allocating the actual "dirty work" to party stooges, thugs, and underworld politicians who have no reputations to lose. Outright purchasing of votes and gangster methods of violence are fairly common practices, but since these methods of gaining political support are fraught with certain legal hazards, they are likely to be of less importance than other ways of capturing the vote. Fraudulent registration of voters is another device used effectively by political machines in increasing the popular vote in their favor. In 1936 the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* revealed an amazing system of "ghost voting" in that metropolis. It was disclosed that hundreds of registered voters had given false addresses, that even the names of dead men were still on the books. In one instance 56 persons gave as their address a two-story building that had been vacant a year; in another case 48 persons registered from a building that had been unoccupied for several months. When the records were finally purged of the "ghosts," the number of registrations was nearly 50,000 less than it had been before.

"Money Makes the Mare Go." To insure the efficient operation of the machine, a considerable outlay of money is necessary, not only at election time but also during periods of political quiescence. In Chicago, for instance, the machine may spend as much as $150,000 between elections and $600,000 on election day. This money may be used for such things as campaign literature, picnics, dinners, liquor, hotel space for headquarters, clerical assistance, sound trucks, automobiles for transporting voters to the polls, and even outright purchasing of votes. Some of this money undoubtedly goes for "squeeze," which represents the leakage to individual political workers who dispense the funds. A party without funds is therefore seriously handicapped: for this reason all possible sources of revenue are tapped.

City employees who have been appointed by machine politicians are expected not only to vote "yes" at the polls but also to contribute

to the party's war chest. In a city like Chicago, with its 50,000 job-holders, such political support is by no mean negligible, especially if the votes of close friends and relatives of the political employees are considered. Not infrequently private employers, in return for party favors, "pass the word down the line" that all employees are expected to support the machine at the polls and to contribute to its financial support. If a politician is appointed receiver of an enterprise in financial difficulties, it may be an easy matter for him to use economic pressure on the employees in behalf of the machine. Proprietors of handbook establishments and other gambling houses, "madames" in charge of brothels, executives of organizations and vice rings, labor racketeers, and landlords who desire lax inspection by the fire and health departments are especially interested in keeping in the good graces of the party in power and therefore prepared to pay for such favors as protection and leniency in law-enforcement.

Businesses depending on special franchises from the city are undoubtedly more responsive to political demands than other types of commercial enterprises, since the monopolistic companies themselves have "axes to grind." Accordingly executives of transportation companies and power-and-light concerns frequently find it expedient to contribute to the political machine in order to insure special favors in matters of rates, franchises, and taxes. For much the same reason real estate companies are interested in party politics. It is said that in one political campaign the Chicago utilities magnate, Samuel Insull, made a campaign donation of $25,000 to both major parties, thus making doubly sure that he would pick a winner and thereby receive lenient treatment of his interests at the hands of the party in power. Aside from the contributions of persons anticipating special favors from the machine, funds are sometimes received from individuals as a sort of insurance against the ill will of the bosses. The unhappy experiences of business men or landlords in having their buildings declared "unsafe for occupancy" by the city inspector, in having licenses revoked, or in failing to secure permission to engage in legitimate undertakings have convinced many

persons that opposition to the political machine may spell financial disaster; consequently they make their regular contributions, even though such action may be personally distasteful and morally reprehensible to them.

PICKING THE POLITICAL PLUMS. While the machine as a patronage organization provides through its jobs, special emoluments, and perquisites a rather wide variety of benefits for the persons who are directly involved in party activities, the major political and economic "plums" fall to a small number of individuals. It may be that in a few instances political leaders may engage in the "great game of politics" because of the pleasure they derive from such activities or because of their unquenchable thirst for power; but probably the great majority of municipal political leaders, whether in office or out, gain certain financial advantages from their associations with the organization. In Kansas City, for instance, the political boss, Tom Pendergast, held no office during his career as dictator of the municipality, but as a business man he profited greatly from the power that fell to him as head of the machine. It was no accident that his ready-mixed cement company was awarded lucrative contracts by the city; no accident that retail liquor dealers were "happy" to purchase at least part of their supplies from his wholesale liquor house; no accident that a garbage-collection company in which he had an interest was paid handsomely to remove the city's refuse! When the chief engineer of the Chicago Sanitary Board awarded a twelve-million-dollar contract to a construction firm in the city the transaction may have appeared quite businesslike; but when it is revealed that the engineer was a leading politician, destined to become mayor of the metropolis, and that the construction firm was headed by a political colleague of the engineer, the true significance of the relationship between politics and business may be understood. It is reported that the great stadium on Soldier Field in Chicago was built at a cost of eight million dollars, whereas a similar structure in a Western city cost less than two million dollars. The contract for erecting the Chicago stadium was received by Edward J.

Kelly, copartner in the Kelly-Nash political machine. Only the politically naïve might suppose that such contracts were awarded on a fair competitive basis.

It should be apparent from the foregoing discussion that political machines in large cities are, by and large, operated on the principle, "to the victors belong the spoils"; that these spoils take the form of wholesale public plunder for those in high politics and petty jobs for those in low; that the system itself represents an interlocking relationship and a tripartite alliance between politics, business, and the underworld. Such organizations as the Vare machine in Philadelphia, Tammany Hall in New York City, the Reuf organization in San Francisco, the Thompson and Kelly-Nash machines in Chicago, the Pendergast ring in Kansas City, the Crump machine in Memphis, and the Hague dictatorship in Jersey City have been widely publicized, mainly because of the extent to which the communities under their control have been plundered and democratic processes prostituted to the selfish interests of a few. It is possible that in certain machine-dominated cities political leaders have endeavored, in their own interest if not in the interest of the public, to avoid extremes of turpitude and inefficiency; but even when the party bosses and their henchmen in office turn out to be men of good will, the fact still remains that the political organizations with which they are identified are in fundamental opposition to the merit system in government.

In a discussion of municipal politics Harry Elmer Barnes shows the extent to which Chicago and New York City were plundered during the administrations of "Big Bill" Thompson and Mayor "Jimmy" Walker. From the standpoint of the amount of graft it would be hard to match the records of these two cities, but there is ample evidence that the methods of plundering, on a smaller and sometimes less spectacular scale, were followed by political machines in other metropolitan centers. Barnes writes:

> It has been estimated that in the days of the Thompson rule in Chicago the plain and outright graft ran to somewhere between 75 million

and 125 million dollars annually. This was made possible in a number of ways. Inflated contracts were awarded. In one 2½-million dollar paving job there was 1 million dollars of pure graft. A political printer was paid $120,000 to print the annual message of the board of trustees of the Sanitary District. Payrolls were padded. On the average, 16 out of every 100 names on the public payrolls in Cook County were bogus and fraudulent. In campaign years around 2 million dollars was paid out in bogus salaries. Tax rebating was used as a form of blackmail.

Coal companies were organized by friends of assessors and the Board of Tax Review. In case of protests about assessments and taxation, agents of these coal companies would call and promise relief if orders for coal were placed with them. One coal company openly printed cards with the encouraging slogan, "Buy your coal of us and cut your taxes." Ninety per cent of the coal in the Loop district was bought from such companies, and in one year alone there was an assessment reduction of 500 million dollars. City property was often sold or leased at scandalously low rates. Public funds were placed with favored bankers. Offices and promotions were sold to the highest bidders. Large sums of money poured in from racketeers, bootleggers, and operators of organized vice. In campaign years the scandals were particularly notorious. In one case $2,250,000 was supposedly paid to experts for their opinions on a city bond issue. But the experts received only a nominal salary and the bulk of this sum went into the Thompson campaign fund. . . .

New York City could not quite match the achievements of Chicago in municipal graft, but it made an excellent showing nevertheless. During the terms of Mayor "Jimmy" Walker, who reigned contemporaneously with "Big Bill" Thompson in Chicago, the Tammany Tiger enjoyed an unusually rich diet in Manhattan. Even before the Seabury investigation, notorious scandals, such as those in the sewer contracts in Queens County, had been exposed. Judge Seabury and his associates revealed many juicy scandals in the Tammany government. There was much graft in connection with city docks and piers. Fee-splitting was common. One employee of the bureau of standards made $25,000 monthly out of this form of graft. The firm of a fee-splitting lawyer who was in the zoning department deposited $5,283,000 between 1925 and 1931. The sheriff of New York County banked $360,000 in seven years, though his salary and other official income were not more than $90,000. The sheriff of Kings County banked some $520,000 in six years, although his salary ran to less than $50,000 for the period. A deputy city clerk deposited $384,000 in six years. His chief official duty

was to marry couples. There was much graft in the city bus system. Organized vice and gambling flourished under police protection.[6]

Is Bossism on the Wane? It was once rather generally believed that the political organizations of metropolitan centers were practically invulnerable, that even if they were defeated at the polls by an aroused public it was only a matter of a few years until they would be back in the saddle with a full grip on the reins of government. Certain developments during the 1930s, however, seem to indicate that urban political machines may be entering a period of declining power and prestige. At least it has been amply demonstrated that they are by no means invincible: in New York City, Tammany Hall was twice successively defeated by a fusion government headed by Fiorello LaGuardia; in Kansas City, some of the major party leaders were indicted, convicted, and sent to prison on charges of moral turpitude; in Jersey City, the dictatorial powers assumed by the mayor in his attempt to crush all political opposition were declared illegal in a court decision. Even before the 1930s the citizens of Cincinnati, outraged at the corruption and inefficiency of bossism, had substituted the merit system of government for the spoils system of the party bosses. Today it is one of the best-governed cities in America. Earlier still in the fight for better government was Milwaukee, which for two decades has had an efficient government under a socialist regime.

Aside from the resolute opposition which the spoils system of government has met in numerous cities, certain broad social, economic, and political changes are apparently weakening the foundations of urban political machines. The Federal government, for instance, is playing an increasingly important role in municipal affairs through various agencies of social amelioration. The Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, United States Housing Authority, Social Security Commission, and the organization for the administration of the National Wage and Hour Law have

6. Barnes, Harry Elmer, *Society in Transition*, pp. 509–510 (1939). Reprinted with the permission of Prentice-Hall, publishers.

functioned to relieve individuals and families in economic distress, to provide a greater degree of economic security for the masses, and to elevate the plane of living of the dispossessed and underprivileged. Since Uncle Sam has tended to usurp some of the traditional functions of Uncle Tom, the city's boss, it seems not at all unlikely that the latter's star may tend to wane unless he can build up the illusion that he is in some way responsible for the various governmental services.

By no means an unimportant factor in the fight against political corruption is the income-tax law, which may be used as a weapon to prevent graft by city bosses and their henchmen. If the politician reports an income obtained illegally he runs the danger of indictment on criminal charges; if he fails to report such income he is subject to investigation and punishment by Federal or state authorities. It was on the grounds of income-tax evasion that the boss of Kansas City was indicted and subsequently imprisoned; it was on the same grounds that the underworld organization of Al Capone was relieved of its infamous head.

Finally might be mentioned the growing conviction among urban residents that much of the work involved in carrying on a city's business is of a highly technical character and that the selection of employees on the basis of political influence rather than training and experience is a sure road to waste and inefficiency in government. Indeed in 38 per cent of the cities of 10,000 or over, some form of the merit system has already been introduced,[7] and there is reason to believe that this procedure will be followed more extensively in the future than in the past. Such devices as civil service examinations for employees, standardized salary plans, efficiency ratings, in-service training, and nonpartisan elections have in general been found more satisfactory than the spoils system of municipal management.

Expansion of Governmental Functions. It has become increasingly apparent that urban governmental functions are not only more numerous now than in the past but also that many of these

7. *Our Cities*, p. 49.

functions are highly technical in character, requiring the services of trained technicians and specialists. Queen cites the case of the evolution of the government of Detroit to illustrate the trend toward expansion of governmental functions in urban communities.[8] In 1830, the government of Detroit carried on 23 distinct activities; by 1870 the number of activities had increased to 59; thirty years later, in 1900, the municipal activities numbered 132; and in 1930 the number of activities had increased to 306. Part of this expansion of governmental functions is undoubtedly the result of the growth of the community; at the same time there is a distinct trend on the part of city governments to function as service agencies as well as regulatory organizations, and Detroit is no exception. Specifically, city governments have extended their functions into the fields of recreation, health, education, and social welfare, and in cooperation with Federal and state authorities are engaging in activities that were once thought proper only for private enterprise, if at all. Such developments as playgrounds, child guidance clinics, employment bureaus, adult education projects, juvenile courts, art schools, community centers, libraries, hospitals, garbage collection, relief, and food inspection represent only a few of the specialized functions of city governments. In the light of past and present experiences there seems to be no reason to assume that this trend will be reversed.

THE ROLE OF CITIZENS' ORGANIZATIONS. As an antidote to many of the pernicious influences of machine politics are the activities of citizens' organizations whose motives are altruistic rather than selfish. Such organizations, of course, are also in politics, but their purpose is to elect officials that will make the city government as efficient and serviceable as possible. The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, organized in 1896, is a notable example of this type of political action. By investigating and reporting on the records of all the candidates in the political fray, the League exercised a powerful influence, finally reaching the point where 75 per cent of all the candidates endorsed by it were elected. The Citizens' Union of New

8. Queen, S. A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City*, pp. 208–210.

York City, organized in 1897, has rendered a similar service. The United Improvement Association of Boston, another type of organization, attempted to influence party and government policies through its bulletins and delegations. Health associations, law enforcement associations, city clubs and forums, and similar societies, through educational methods and direct pressure, attempt to influence city government. Municipal reference libraries have become a significant aid to city government, while municipal efficiency bureaus, designed to aid in the improvement of local government, have been responsible for a step toward municipal efficiency.

A number of organizations of national scope, including the League of Women Voters and the National Municipal League, have constituted a rallying ground for people interested in good city government. The National Civil Service Reform Association, the Short Ballot Association, the City Planning Conference, and the Proportional Representation League are devoted to advocating specific reforms in municipal government procedure. Perhaps no less important than these are outstanding personalities who have been indefatigable in their fight for good government. Among such leaders are included Jane Addams, Raymond Robins, Graham Taylor, and the Carter Harrisons of Chicago; Samuel Jones and Brand Whitlock of Toledo; Henry Bruère and John Purroy Mitchel of New York; Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit; and Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the National Municipal League.

Reform in City Government. The structural forms of city government have undergone a rapid metamorphosis since the dawn of the twentieth century. By the latter part of the nineteenth century city governments had sunk so deep in the mire of political corruption that a process of regeneration and moral cleansing was necessary if urban democracy was to be anything more than a hollow phrase. A period of civic evangelism stirred the public consciousness to its depths and afforded an opportunity for captious muckrakers and vigorous reformers to inveigh against the recreants who had prostituted the functions of the city to their own aggrandizement. But the

urban housecleaning that followed was prophetic: it laid the foundation for experiments in city government that were based on rational judgment rather than reform emotionalism.

The first notable experiment came when the commission form of government was instituted as an emergency measure at Galveston, Texas, following the cataclysmic flood in which hundreds of persons lost their lives and the entire city was buried under a tidal wave. The mayor-council type of city government failed to meet the crisis, and as a temporary expedient a commission was appointed with almost dictatorial powers to reconstruct Galveston. So well did it function, even with the handicaps that attended it, that steps were taken to establish it as a permanent form of government. Thus was born the commission plan of government. Within a few years hundreds of cities all over the land had hastened to junk their outworn governmental machinery for the innovation that was promising such glorious results. It provided for a small commission, usually five, whose members were the administrative and legislative officers of the city, each one having charge of one or more branches of the government. Its appeal was universal, for it promised all that could be asked of a governmental system—simplicity, democracy, efficiency, economy.

But the defects were soon apparent, even to the zealots of reform. Hardly had the movement reached its zenith than a new plan—the city-manager form of government—appeared on the horizon with all the advantages and few of the disadvantages of the commission plan. The "city-manager" or "council-manager" type of government, an outgrowth of the commission plan, was inaugurated for the first time at Staunton, Virginia, in 1907, and has since then supplanted other forms of city government in scores of cities, large and small. The principal feature of the plan lay in the appointment, either by the council or the commission, of a city manager who would not only have an indefinite tenure of office and be free from political entanglements, but also, by virtue of his training and experience, would be equipped to administer efficiently and eco-

nomically the city's business. The duties of the city manager are chiefly (1) to appoint city officials and subordinate personnel, (2) to direct the various officials and departments in the performance of functions, (3) to plan and direct the business operations, (4) to prepare and submit an annual budget for the city, and (5) to recommend general policies and programs. Under the city-manager system the mayor has no administrative power, but usually presides over the council and represents the city on ceremonial occasions. One of the distinct advantages of the city-manager plan is that it separates the political from the administrative organization of the city. Not infrequently the plan has been attended by innovations in popular democracy such as proportional representation, initiative and referendum, recall, and direct primary.

It has been well demonstrated in recent years that the form of government in itself is no guarantee of efficiency and honesty in municipal management. New York City still clings to the strong-mayor type of government, but under the leadership of Mayor LaGuardia the strangle-hold of Tammany Hall was broken, competent administrators were selected, the merit system in the selection and supervision of personnel was strengthened, and in general an honest and efficient government achieved. On the other hand, the council-manager system in Kansas City was completely dominated by a notorious political machine, with the result that the governmental machinery was manipulated by spoils politicians. The general consensus of authorities in municipal government, however, is that the council-manager or city-manager type of government is usually more efficient than the older types, and the trend has been definitely in this direction. Between 1931 and 1939 the number of cities having the council-manager plan increased from 429 to 476. But even with the merits of the city-manager system generally recognized, the mayor-council type in its several variations still predominates among the cities of the country. In 1,808 cities of over 5,000 population in 1938, 1,154, or 63.9 per cent, had the mayor-council form of government; 274, or 15.1 per cent, had the commis-

sion plan; 294, or 16.3 per cent, the council-manager type; and 83, or 4.7 per cent, a town-meeting plan of municipal management.[9] Although 17 cities over 100,000 had adopted the council-manager type, all the metropolitan centers having more than 500,000 population still retained the mayor-council system. Furthermore, nearly three-fourths of the cities from 5,000 to 10,000 in size had the mayor-council form of government.

Very early in our history the Federal Government adopted a policy of dealing directly with states and only indirectly with cities. Quite obviously this put the municipality at a distinct disadvantage, since its relationships with the various divisions and bureaus of the Federal Government had to be mediated through state channels. In recent years, however, we have witnessed a partial reversal of this policy, partly, at least, as a result of the desperate financial plight of cities during the depression. In numerous types of activities the Federal Government is dealing directly with municipalities. Funds for various purposes, including public works, slum clearance projects, and relief, have been allocated directly to the municipalities. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for instance, has made large loans to public and private enterprises. The Office of Education has sponsored various programs of civic education in cities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has cooperated directly with local police in combating crime. The Department of Commerce has established a certain amount of control over municipal airports. At least sixty Federal agencies have provided services directly to cities or have direct administrative relations with the municipalities.[10] These changes that have taken place in the relations between municipal governments and Federal agencies will undoubtedly have a far-reaching effect on the political structure of cities. In the face of these changing relationships it will probably be more difficult for the spoils system of political organization to flourish.

9. *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, p. 173.

10. Mallery, E. D., "Federal-City Relations in 1937," *Municipal Year Book*, 1938, pp. 197–209.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Make an analysis of the political organization of some city, showing (1) the actual nature of the political organizations and the tactics of politicians in controlling votes, and (2) the forms and extent of political patronage and graft. How does the discussion in the text fit the situation for the community selected for study?

2. What citizens' organizations are to be found in this city? What are the aims and achievements in providing honest and efficient government?

3. Study the official governmental structure of a selected community. What changes have been made in this system during the past two or three decades? What changes would you suggest in the interest of more efficient government?

4. Make a study of political bosses in several American cities, comparing the different techniques of leadership employed and the types of organization set up and maintained by the political leaders.

5. Select two cities that have introduced the merit system in government and compare their governmental structure and functions with two cities controlled by political bosses.

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19

THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE

SOCIAL WORK: A MODERN FORM OF MUTUAL AID

THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF MUTUAL AID. In the small communities that were the habitat of most of the world's peoples before the era of urbanism the satisfactory adjustment of the person to his social environment was achieved through the collective action of the primary groups in which he lived. Indeed, so simple was this environment and so slow was social change that serious maladjustments were relatively infrequent. But social life was destined to grow more complex with the broadening of the cultural base. New technological inventions in the fields of transportation and communication heralded the expansion of industrial and commercial centers whose group life could not be carried on in the simple situations that characterized the pre-urban period. In the expanding metropolis human relationships were molded to fit the urban matrix: contacts became more impersonal; social values of an absolute and compulsive quality gave way to values of a relative character; social control became largely formalized and institutionalized. Out of this strangely accelerated tempo of life came new problems of behavior and social welfare—problems of group disorganization and personal demoralization, of leisure-time activities, of economic insecurity, of health and of old age.

SOCIAL WORK—ITS DEFINITION AND SCOPE. In the small community the task of helping people adjust themselves to their social milieu rarely went beyond mere neighborliness, but in an urban society kindly beneficence was not enough; it was necessary for the city to provide and sanction organized efforts for the promotion of social welfare. Even ancient cities had their systems of relief for the poor and their methods of handling criminals, as well as their

elementary methods of integrating social relationships. Each of the agencies of social welfare has had its own separate historical development, and the specialized organizations which have evolved to meet the needs of modern society constitute a part of the present-day machinery of social work. Social agencies as now conceived are organizations that specialize in making the adjustments that are necessary for an integrated personality and a unified group life, and social work is the business of adjusting the individual and the group to their environment by the use of scientific techniques.

Wherever there are symptoms of social disorganization, social work is needed. Poverty, disease, prostitution, family disorganization, mental and nervous instability, crime and delinquency, illegitimacy, all these and many others are symptoms of social and personal maladjustments. Sometimes they are causes of disorganization and demoralization; sometimes they are effects; sometimes both cause and effect. But in any case they are of concern to the social worker. In making the necessary adjustments modern social work bases its techniques on various scientific disciplines—on economics, law, biology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology.

Types of Social Welfare Activities. So numerous are the problems of personal and group adjustment in cities that many types of social work are necessary to meet the needs of the people. Social work as a field may be viewed either in terms of the functions of professionally trained persons engaged in assisting individuals or groups to make an adjustment to their environment, or as the organization of activities carried on by specialized groups. It is in the latter respect that we are justified in speaking of institutionalized welfare. The tendency is for each city to coordinate its social welfare activities in order to effect a community-wide institutional structure and at the same time provide for the development of a varied array of organizations having specialized functions to perform. While there is undoubtedly much overlapping of functions of the various organizations in the federation, since each division may enjoy partial or complete autonomy, there is at least sufficient

integration of activities to provide a logical basis for the allocation of funds.

In order to provide for the reader a somewhat more detailed picture of institutionalized welfare, the various types of organizations of a single city, Kansas City, Missouri, are presented. The work of the different organizations which are members of the federation is coordinated through the Council of Social Agencies, which makes a monthly audit of the finances of the participating agencies, collects and compiles monthly service reports, supervises the preparation of agency budgets, maintains a central index of cases in which assistance has been rendered, and recommends financial allotments to individual organizations. The welfare activities carried on by the federated agencies are classified under seven different categories as follows:

1. *Relief and Services to Families and Adults:* Red Cross, Provident Association, Catholic Ladies' Aid Society, Girls' Hotel (for employed girls and women), Hebrew Ladies' Relief Association, Helping Hand Institute (for homeless men), Mutual Help Center, Salvation Army, Supreme Concilio Intersociale (Italian relief societies), United Jewish Charities, Veterans' Welfare Committee.

2. *Care of the Aged and Handicapped:* Goodwill Industries, Kansas City Association for the Blind, Jackson County Society for Crippled Children, Nettleton Home for Aged Women, Salem Home for the Aged, Little Sisters of the Poor (home for aged).

3. *Health Activities:* Children's Mercy Hospital, Wheatley Provident Hospital, Alfred Benjamin Dispensary, Amberg Club Health Centers (3), Mexican Christian Institute, West Side Health Center, Children's Bureau, Health Conservation Association, Child Health Centers (7), Visiting Nurse Association.

4. *Child Care:* Boys' Hotel (boarding home for boys), Evans Children's Home Finding Society, Interdenominational Home for Girls, Jewish Children's Home, Niles Home for Colored Children, St. Anthony's Home for Infants, St. Joseph's Orphan Home for Girls, St. Monica Institute (for colored children), Spafford Receiving Home for Children, Catholic Welfare Bureau, Kansas City Provident Association.

5. *Care of Delinquents:* Florence Crittenton Home for Girls, Home for Colored Girls, rest cottages, Girls' Advisory and Protective Bureau,

House of the Good Shepherd (for delinquent girls), Volunteers of America (for ex-prisoners).

6. *Neighborhood Work, Recreation, and Education:* Nine community centers, including Guadalupe Neighborhood Center, Institutional Church, Italian Institute and Central Chapel, Jewish Educational Institute, Mattie Rhodes Neighborhood Center, Minute Circle Friendly House, Swope Settlement, West Side Community Center, Whatsoever Circle Community House, Y.W.C.A., summer camps.

7. *Miscellaneous Services:* Travelers Aid Society, Urban League.

a. *Relief and Services to Families and Adults.* Two distinct trends may be observed in the organization of welfare activities with respect to the assistance of families and adults. In the first place, private charity and Christian almsgiving, characteristic of the nineteenth century, have tended to be superseded by professional case work in which the primary aim has been reorganization and adjustment of the family group and personal rehabilitation of the individual in distress. This philosophy of social welfare has viewed material assistance as incidental—only one of numerous means of achieving family unity and personal adjustment. In family case work the social worker has been interested not only in providing for the physical needs of individuals but also in aiding them in the solution of various kinds of family and personal problems. The family case worker is therefore concerned with any disruptive factors or situations which may cause discord within the home, threaten the social or economic well-being of the group, or disorganize the personalities of the individuals involved. Closely related to family case work, at least in basic aims, are psychiatric social work, vocational guidance, hospital social service, and visiting teaching, the latter being a field in which the social worker functions as a liaison officer between the home and the school.

The second trend, and a more recent one, has been in the direction of mass relief for families and individuals in need. When the great depression engulfed the country in the 1930s family case-working agencies were forced by necessity to devote their time largely to relief, so acute was economic distress occasioned by mass unemployment, mortgage foreclosures, and loss of savings. Limited

financial resources and personnel made it impossible even then to cope with the situation. It was at this point that the Federal Government, for the first time in American history, entered the picture by providing loans and grants to municipalities for relief purposes. Through a grant-in-aid system, authorized by Congress in 1933, funds were made available to cities through state administrations. Later in the year the Civil Works Administration was established to carry on a gigantic work program for the benefit of unemployed persons and individuals on relief. Early in 1934 the CWA was abandoned and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration organized to carry on direct and work relief. With the establishment in 1935 of the Works Progress Administration, designed exclusively to provide work relief, the Federal Government began gradually to liquidate the FERA and to withdraw from participation in the general relief program. The enactment by Congress of the Social Security Act in 1935 started the Federal and state governments on a systematic and probably permanent program of social welfare that is both ameliorative and preventive in its functions. Among the important features of the Social Security program are provisions for contributory and noncontributory old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, unemployment insurance, and aid to the blind.

This expansion of the Federal and state governments into the field of social welfare will probably necessitate a reorganization of the structures and a redefinition of the functions of certain social service agencies. There is certainly reason to believe that large-scale assistance, including relief, will continue to be an important feature of the social welfare program, since there is no indication that the new Federal and state agencies will be dismantled. Urban social service agencies will therefore probably find it expedient to coordinate their functions with those of the organizations set up and maintained by larger governmental units.

b. *Child Welfare.* The aid and protection of children are among the most important tasks of social agencies. Almost every city has its quota of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children who are in as much need of social treatment as the physically sick child is

in need of medical attention. Children who have been deserted or maltreated by their parents, as well as illegitimate children without homes, are taken into custody by social agencies who specialize in working with children. The policy of most case-working agencies is to place such children in foster homes where they may have the advantages of a favorable social environment. Delinquent children, or children who become "problems" in any way, have given rise to the child-guidance movement, "the aim of which is to prevent delinquency and insanity through the scientific direction of the child's impulses, habits, and emotions, in relation to parental attitudes, the school situation, and the whole process of socialization." [1] Through habit clinics and child-guidance clinics the principles of mental hygiene are applied in directing the behavior of the child into proper and wholesome channels. Visiting teachers who are specially trained in child guidance also cooperate in this work. While child guidance is concerned largely with "problem" children of all kinds and ages, it is placing increasing emphasis on prevention and dealing more and more with the "normal" individual.

c. *Social Work with Delinquents.* The techniques of social work have also been extended to the rehabilitation of persons who have run counter to conventional society. There are two principal ways of dealing with delinquents: supervision outside of correctional institutions and confinement in such institutions. The outstanding characteristic of modern correctional work is the individualization of treatment based on case study. Private agencies that handle adult delinquents outside the prison are usually known as Prisoners' Aid Societies. The chief aim of such organizations is the care of families of prisoners during the period of incarceration, and the re-adjustment of the prisoner to conventional society after he has been released from prison. Children's Aid Societies and Juvenile Protective Societies, as well as habit clinics, deal with juvenile delinquents who are not in institutions. Perhaps the most important work is now being done in the fields of probation and parole—relatively recent

1. Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *American Charities and Social Work*, p. 318 (1930).

innovations in the treatment of adult and juvenile delinquents. Many cities maintain juvenile courts, and to these institutions are attached parole and probation officers whose duty it is to study the problems of offenders and through personal contacts assist in the adjustment of delinquents who are not committed to institutions.

d. *Welfare and Correctional Institutions.* The larger cities maintain institutions for the care of the dependent—the blind, the sick, the feeble-minded, the mentally diseased, the aged, and the physically incapacitated. In the days of the almshouse the dependents were herded together in the same institution where all alike suffered neglect and mistreatment. The tendency today is for modern cities to maintain specialized institutions, with the segregation of individuals and groups who present different problems. Consequently, there are homes for the aged, some being maintained for old people who are completely dependent on society, others for aged persons who are only partially dependent or who are economically independent. There are various types of homes for children—homes for infants, for boys and girls, for crippled children, for feeble-minded children, for the blind and the deaf, and day nurseries where working mothers may leave their children during the day. Likewise, there are special institutions for all sorts of physical and mental ailments—general hospitals, psychopathic hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, and the like. Then there are industrial schools for the reformation of delinquent children, detention or receiving homes maintained in connection with juvenile courts and children's aid societies, boys' and girls' reform schools, and private correctional homes.

e. *Group Work.* Although most of the social-welfare activities in American cities have been directed toward the individual or the family unit, there has developed a field, commonly known as "group work," in which emphasis is placed on the organization and direction of group activities, particularly those relating to the use of leisure time. Through participation in the experiences of the group individuals acquire a sense of responsibility, learn to cooperate with others in common undertakings, get experience both in leadership and "followership," and play roles that are socially constructive and

personally satisfying. Back of group work is the philosophic assumption that the integration of personality can be achieved most successfully through the integration of social groups and the incorporation of the individual in the processes of group life.

The idea of group work is by no means new. During the latter part of the nineteenth century a considerable number of "social settlements" developed in the large cities of America and Europe, and under the inspiring leadership of such persons as Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, and Lillian Wald effective programs were carried out for the special benefit of immigrants and other slum dwellers. For the most part the settlement work was carried on with groups, emphasis being placed on educational, recreational, and civic activities. The settlement houses established in earlier years are still carrying on their functions but with rapidly changing conditions much of the work of social amelioration has been assumed by other institutions and agencies. For reasons that are not altogether clear the social settlement idea has never taken root in cities of smaller size.

Coordination of Social Work Activities. One of the main problems of social work is the coordination of the multifarious activities relating to human welfare. In many cities central agencies have been established whose chief duty is to formulate programs of cooperative endeavor. A central administrative headquarters, generally known as the Council of Social Agencies or Welfare Council, serves to coordinate the activities of the constituent organizations and in some instances exercises certain supervisory functions over the financial affairs of various agencies. In St. Louis, for instance, 85 organizations constitute a federation of social work agencies known as the United Charities. Each of them shares in the funds that are apportioned by the Council of Social Agencies of that city. In larger cities agencies doing a specialized type of work usually unite in such organizations as the Association of Day Nurseries, the United Neighborhood Houses, or the Child Welfare Federation. The organization designed primarily for the raising of funds for the various agencies identified with the Council of Social Agencies

is commonly known as the Community Chest. Social Service Exchanges are maintained in some cities as clearinghouses for information concerning clients served by the different agencies. These exchanges cooperate with similar agencies in other cities in providing information about clients or applications for assistance.

In addition to the local organizations of social welfare, many of the social work agencies are identified with national, regional, or state federations. Each year members of the various organizations meet at the National Conference of Social Work or at state conferences to discuss their experiences, methods, and philosophies of social welfare. Among the many national organizations representing federations of social work agencies are included the Child Welfare League of America, National Urban League, National Federation of Settlements, Association of Community Chests and Councils, National Conference of Catholic Charities, American Prison Association, National Probation Association, National Desertion Bureau, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, American Public Welfare Association, Family Welfare Society of America, and the National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service.

PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENTS. The larger cities frequently maintain departments or boards of public welfare whereby the city assumes officially the responsibility of protecting the residents from many of the social and economic hazards of modern urban life. Recreational enterprises are required to have city licenses, and inspectors sent out by the public welfare department are instructed to require that amusement places be free from conditions that are deleterious to the health and morals of the patrons. Problems of conduct—prostitution, vagrancy, and other types of delinquency—are sometimes handled by the department. The members of the staff are often political appointees rather than trained social workers, and their lack of experience and training is reflected in the quality of work they are able to perform. The fact that these boards are usually a part of the political machinery of the city gives them a greater financial support and usually adds enormously to the volume of supervision and also gives them a degree of authority which is

often useful, but where party politics enters into their control this detracts from their efficiency.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE. There is a common belief that relief during the pre-depression period was financed largely or entirely by private philanthropy. Such was not the case, at least during the 1920s. In 1929, three-fourths of the costs of relief in 116 cities representing about 60 per cent of the urban population was paid out of public funds.[2] If private philanthropy could be depended on to provide only one-fourth of the funds for charity in a period of comparative prosperity, it was apparent that during the depression years, when private incomes were shrinking, city, state, and Federal governments would have to assume increasing financial responsibility for the care of the needy. Perhaps fairly typical of the shifting sources of income for relief is the case of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh). Of the 17 million dollars spent for social services in 1927, approximately 40 per cent came from public sources and the remaining 60 per cent from private contributions.[3] In 1934, approximately 45 million dollars were expended, of which 81 per cent represented tax funds and 19 per cent private contributions. Furthermore, almost half of the "voluntary" contributions in 1934 represented fees paid by clients for various services, mainly hospital services. Actual philanthropic donations, therefore, constituted only 10 per cent of the total expenditures for social work in that area.

We do not know what the total expenditures for social service in cities have been in recent years, but the amount is very great. The total cost of the various Federal work and relief programs (city and country) between 1933 and 1939 was 17.9 billion dollars.[4] This does not include, of course, costs of certain services maintained by local communities. Between 1928 and 1933 the expenditures for public welfare in cities over 100,000 increased more than four-fold.[5] Even with increasing dependence on governmental organizations

2. *Municipal Year Book*, 1939, p. 459.
3. Klein, Philip, *A Social Study of Pittsburgh*, p. 360 (1938).
4. *Public Assistance*, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board (1939).
5. *Our Cities*, p. 14.

for financial support of social services, communities have continued to supplement these resources by private contributions. Between 1922 and 1933 the number of Community Chests increased from 49 to 397 while the amount of money raised by local campaigns increased from 24 million to 77 million dollars.[6] Each year, usually in the autumn months, many cities conduct community chest drives to raise money for the ensuing year. A budget of the estimated needs of the social agencies is made up, services of volunteer workers are enlisted, organized propaganda and publicity are directed to win the sympathy and support of the public, and contributions are solicited.

THE HEALTH ORGANIZATION

THE TREND IN HEALTH ACTIVITIES. "Nothing affords a better illustration of the modern trend toward collectivism than the manifold and wide-sweeping activities of contemporary city government in the protection and advancement of the health and physical vigor of its subjects," writes Chester C. Maxey in *Urban Democracy*.[7] The rigors of city life are so exacting, the strain on the physical and nervous system so great, and the opportunities for spreading and contracting infectious diseases so numerous that special social machinery has been necessary not only for the care of the sick and disabled but also for the prevention of disease. In this campaign to emancipate the city dweller from the ravages of disease the social technologist has locked arms with the scientist, the physician, and the engineer in reducing or eliminating the dangers from the "inner enemies" of society that have long blighted urban areas.

The organized health activities in an urban community fall into two main groups: first, the activities for which the municipality itself is held responsible as an agency of the state; and second all other health activities that may be undertaken voluntarily by the community.[8] Under the first category falls the responsibility for collecting data concerning births, deaths and diseases; the control of

6. *Ibid.* 7. P. 252.
8. McCombs, Carl E., *City Health Administration*, pp. 3–4 (1927).

such diseases as are considered inimical to public health; the sanitary supervision of water, food, and environmental conditions which may influence the health of the persons who come in contact with them; the protection of the health of children, especially during the years they are in school; and the care of the sick and the crippled, particularly those who are unable to provide the necessary care for themselves. Under the second category fall such voluntary activities as constructing hospitals and sanitaria, maintaining public clinics for those who are unable to provide medical attention for themselves or those dependent upon them, providing special services for mothers or children, and carrying out programs of health and safety education. Likewise educational measures designed to reduce the pollution of the atmosphere by smoke or other nuisances and to protect pedestrians against accidents legitimately fall in the category of voluntary preventive measures.

The trend in recent years has been toward preventive rather than curative measures. Before the epoch-making discoveries of Pasteur, Koch, and others in the latter half of the nineteenth century little was known about the cause of disease. It was therefore natural that before Pasteur's time the emphasis was on cure rather than prevention. But today the causes of disease are generally known, and the attempts to control disease through programs of prevention, that is, by eliminating or controlling the sources of disease, have made remarkable headway. In cities the declining death rate from preventable diseases stands as a monument to the relentless war that has been waged. But there are many victories yet to be won.

Urban Public Health Organization. The American Public Health Association, after a survey in 1920 of health activities in 83 cities having a population over 100,000, concluded that the health organization of a city might logically be divided into eight bureaus.[9] The following divisions and subdivisions were suggested:

1. Bureau of administration
   a. Division of administration

9. *Municipal Health Department Practice, Bulletin* 136, U.S. Public Health Service, p. 249.

b. Division of public health education
2. Bureau of sanitation
3. Bureau of foods
   a. Division of milk
   b. Division of food
4. Bureau of communicable diseases
   a. Division of epidemiology
   b. Division of tuberculosis
   c. Division of venereal diseases
5. Bureau of child hygiene
   a. Division of infant hygiene (including preschool age)
   b. Division of school hygiene
6. Bureau of nursing
7. Bureau of laboratories
8. Bureau of vital statistics

a. *Administrative Organization.* There are various forms of organization used to administer the health departments of the different cities. Some have health boards and some are administered by a single head without a board. Some administrative health officials are appointed, and some are members of the health board by virtue of holding other official positions in the city. In general, the administrative organization of health and welfare services of the city is determined by the form of government under which they are carried on. Replies to a questionnaire sent out in 1930 by the Committee on Administrative Practice of the American Public Health Association indicated that there were boards of health in 32 out of 59 cities over 100,000, 66 out of 104 cities of 30,000 to 100,000, and in 114 out of 146 in cities from 10,000 to 30,000.[10] In recent years there has been a tendency to eliminate administrative boards of health and to delegate authority to a health officer appointed by the mayor or city manager. In many cities there is an advisory council, consisting of representatives of social, professional, and business organizations, which cooperates with the health officer on questions of policy. Any department or board of health, or any health officer, for that matter, must of necessity be concerned with the educational

10. Hiscock, I. V., *Community Health Organization*, p. 27 (1932).

aspects of health. In larger cities it may even be advisable to have specialists whose responsibility it is to carry on a consistent health-education program designed to inform the residents of the community about matters of health preservation as well as to acquaint them with the health facilities that are available.

b. *The Bureau of Sanitation.* The task of sanitary inspection constitutes the largest division of work in the health departments of most cities, accounting for about a fifth of the entire budget. Sometimes this bureau includes also plumbing, housing, and food inspection along with its other services. The enforcement of provisions of the building code in regard to the construction of new houses is frequently placed in the hands of the department of public works, while the correction of evils in old houses and tenements is left with the housing bureau or division. Plumbing inspection, usually a function of the bureau of sanitary inspection, is carried on in order to enforce the proper standards both in regard to old plumbing and new installations. It sometimes happens that legislation in this and kindred fields is promoted primarily for the purpose of aiding either organized labor or manufacturers rather than of protecting the public health.

Most boards of health are called upon to enforce ordinances for the prevention and control of a variety of things, with the result that much of the time and energy of the department is spent on trivial nuisances that have little to do with the problem of health in the community. Such matters as the supervision of garbage and waste disposal, elimination of street nuisances, defective drains, leaky roofs, weeds in vacant lots, the keeping of domestic animals, and similar regulatory activities not only put a heavy financial burden on the departments of health but they have little bearing on the general health situation. Rightfully such bureaus should, in order to function efficiently and fruitfully, devote the major portion of their attention to problems such as those listed by McCombs:

1. The prevention and correction of insanitary conditions of house occupancy which may be responsible for promoting the spread of communicable disease or otherwise inducing sickness.

2. The prevention of dangerous soil pollution through improper disposal of human excreta.
3. The prevention of conditions which promote the breeding of flies, mosquitoes, and other disease carriers, and their direct or indirect contact with persons.
4. The prevention of the use of drinking water from contaminated sources.
5. Miscellaneous disease preventive activities, such as the prevention of the use of common towels and common drinking cups; the sanitary supervision of barber shops, public baths and swimming pools, and public comfort stations; the prevention of promiscuous spitting, and the prevention of health-endangering smoke nuisance.[11]

c. *Inspection of Foods.* Food inspection includes not only the protection of the consumer from contaminated foods, which are apt to be injurious to health, but also the protection of the consumer from the fraudulent practices of food producers. Health departments are concerned primarily with the prevention of food adulteration. The inspection of milk is one of the most important activities of departments of health, and it involves not only the inspection of milk at the dairy where it is produced, but also the protection of milk during transportation, at milk depots, and during the course of delivery to the consumer. At first milk was inspected primarily to prevent its dilution or adulteration with preservatives, but recently greater emphasis has been placed on the elimination of injurious bacteria. Samples of milk are taken from milk wagons and stores and tested in the laboratories of the health department. The cows which produce the milk are also examined by veterinarians, and those that show indications of tubercular infection are usually reported to state officials.

The inspection of other types of foods that are marketed for public consumption also fall within the sphere of the bureau of sanitation. Grocery stores, bakeries, meat markets, restaurants, and the premises of various other establishments handling perishable foods are inspected as to cleanliness and sanitation. Meats are usually in-

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 260. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company, New York.

spected at the time of slaughtering at the abattoirs and slaughterhouses. Furthermore, some cities require all persons handling foods to be examined for any communicable disease. The protection of consumers against adulterated drugs also falls within the purview of the bureau of foods.

d. *The Control of Communicable Diseases.* The control of diseases that may become epidemic or endemic in a community is a significant part of the activities of departments of health. Epidemiologists become official detectives on the trail of hostile germs which may, if left uncontrolled, jeopardize the health of the entire community. The health officials not only attempt to ferret out the source of germ infection but also to control the spread of the disease by means of quarantine and vaccination. Sometimes schools are closed and public gatherings prohibited by order of the board of health. Medical inspection of school children and of industrial employees is becoming a recognized method of discovering diseases in their incipiency. Physicians are required by law to report most types of communicable diseases to the city health department so that the proper measures can be taken toward their control and treatment.

So effective have been the campaigns against tuberculosis that the last two decades have witnessed a gradual decline in death rates from this dread disease. Most cities with organized health departments have waged a victorious war against the disease that was once the leader in causes of death. Voluntary tuberculosis societies in many cities, under the guidance of the National Tuberculosis Association, have not only supported the municipal departments of health but they have also raised funds for organized work in this field.

Most departments of health have lagged in combating venereal diseases, although venereal infection probably causes more deaths than all other communicable diseases combined.[12] In this country, at least, the problem of venereal disease is not discussed openly in "polite society," due, principally, to the puritanic stigma that is attached to sex. The result is that the treatment of venereal infection is usually regarded as an individual affair—and one to be concealed

12. McCombs, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

at that—rather than a problem of public health. The rigidity of the mores in this respect has made it virtually impossible for boards of health to secure an accurate check-up on the number of venereal infections in the community, although all the larger cities of this country, and many of the smaller ones as well, have facilities for the treatment of venereal diseases among both men and women. The gravity of the problem was realized during the war when it was discovered that nearly 10 per cent of those examined had venereal infection in some form, and one-fifth of these were infected with syphilis.

The war on venereal disease is one that calls for strategy and good judgment. A sound program against the disease must provide adequate legislation which will require the reporting of all active or suspected cases known, as well as laboratories for making various tests and diagnoses, hospitals and dispensary clinics for treatment, and a program of health education in personal and public hygiene among children and adults. Along with the main attack there must be many side skirmishes: the prevention or control of prostitution and illicit intercourse; the prohibition of marriage of persons venereally infected; the prosecution of quack practitioners whose predatory activities are obstacles in the way of successful control; the elimination of fake cures and nostrums. Along with these campaigns are included general laws for the improvement of social and economic conditions—laws governing the employment of women and minors, the supervision of commercial recreation enterprises, and the control of narcotics and drug traffic.

e. *Child Hygiene.* A half-century ago child hygiene was not recognized as a distinct field of public health service; today it constitutes an important part of the activities of municipal health departments, largely, perhaps, because it is generally recognized that no health work affords greater returns for the time and money spent. Child hygiene usually involves two somewhat separate lines of work: the care of infants, and the supervision of the health of school children. Infant hygiene includes the care of mothers during the prenatal period and at childbirth, and the care of the children from

the period of infancy through the preschool period. McCombs lists the following activities that are usually carried on by efficient and intelligently managed health departments:

1. Prenatal supervision and instruction of pregnant mothers in their homes and at special prenatal clinics.
2. Registration, instruction, and supervision of midwife attendants at birth in order to prevent the dangers attendant at birth by incompetent management of it.
3. Prompt visitation of new-born infants in order that parents may be apprised of the health department's interest in child care and aided if necessary in providing adequately for such care.
4. Continued follow-up of children in the preschool age period and their health supervision in their homes, in special clinics and institutions, and the furnishing of such medical and other relief at public expense as may be required.
5. Health examination of children applying for working papers in order to protect them against employment in places or under conditions detrimental to their health.
6. Periodic examination of school children to detect disease and physical and mental defects, and provision for their treatment if necessary at public expense.
7. Education of parents and children in personal and public hygiene with particular emphasis on child health needs.[13]

f. *Public-Health Nursing.* Public-health nursing has been defined as "an organized community service rendered by graduate nurses to the individual, family, and community. This service includes the interpretation of medical, sanitary, and social procedures for the correction of defects, prevention of disease, and the promotion of health, and may include skilled care of the sick in their homes."[14] Primarily it is an educational movement, the main objectives being:

1. To assist in educating individuals and families to protect their own health;

2. To assist in the adjustment of family and social conditions that affect health;

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 159. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company, New York.

14. *Manual of Public Health Nursing*, p. 3 (1932).

3. To assist in correlating all health and social programs for the welfare of the family and community;

4. To assist in educating the community to develop adequate public-health facilities.[15]

In general it may be said that the functions of the public-health nurse will be determined by the specific needs of the community and the nature of the health organization. While certainly not all individual problems of health fall within the province of the public-health nurse, it is nevertheless true that this phase of health work is concerned with all community situations or conditions that have a bearing on the health of the residents. As might be expected, the public-health nurse is brought more closely in contact with the underprivileged elements than groups or individuals in more favorable economic circumstances. Some of the specific functions of the nurse may include home visitation in cases of acute communicable disease; assistance to physicians at venereal, tuberculosis, and prenatal clinics and home visitation for the purpose of providing instruction concerning the care of the clinic patients; assistance to physicians in school health examinations, including home visits for the purpose of instructing parents on matters relating to the health of children; and instruction in the techniques of bedside care, or even administering bedside care in case of necessity.[16]

PUBLIC-HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS. Public-health services are now considered an important and legitimate aspect of organized social welfare. In most cities unofficial health organizations are entitled to a share of the Community Chest funds or other available financial resources. One of the significant features of the public-health movement in cities has been the development of specialized techniques and the training of specialists to carry out the various health services. As in the case of other spheres of social welfare, every large city and numerous small ones have local associations the members of which are engaged in public-health activities. National organizations have also developed, some of the more important ones being the Ameri-

15. "Objectives of Public Health Nursing," *Public Health Nursing*, 23: 439–441 (Sept. 1931).

16. Hiscock, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140.

can Public Health Association, the American Heart Association, the American Social Hygiene Association, the American Society for the Control of Cancer, the American Society for the Hard of Hearing, the National Committee of Health Council Executives, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, American Red Cross, and the National Tuberculosis Association.

HOSPITALS AND CLINICS. While the development of hospitals and clinics has not been exclusively an urban phenomenon, city residents have more adequate hospital and clinical facilities than the population of rural areas. Furthermore, large cities ordinarily have more facilities, both public and private, than small communities. Insofar as the actual expenditures are concerned, cities spend about twice as much per capita for public-health services as do rural areas. In spite of the comparatively superior facilities existing in American cities, the urban death rate has been consistently higher than the rural rate, though the differences are tending to diminish. In 1937 there were about 4,000 clinics maintained by public-health organizations; and in addition a considerable percentage of the 2,169 hospitals maintained out-patient clinics and other services for their patients. Many of the clinics as well as hospitals provide free services for underprivileged persons in need of medical attention. As the authors of *Our Cities* comment, "under the present distribution of income, the vast majority of the population, both urban and rural, is incapable of meeting the financial burden of illness individually." Hence the development of services to meet the needs of the low-income group.

HEALTH INSURANCE. It has been said that the middle classes represent the segment of population most acutely in need of medical services, the point of the argument being that free services are made available to the very poor, while the rich or well-to-do can look after themselves. This statement probably represents an exaggeration of the actual facts, at least insofar as the poorer classes are concerned. It is nevertheless true that large numbers of persons with slender incomes—middle-class folk—are still unable to pro-

vide for themselves the quality and quantity of medical care necessary for physical well-being. For this reason there has been a marked development in recent years of various forms of socialized medicine, the most conspicuous, perhaps, being the group-hospital associations which furnish hospitalization for their members. Membership dues, paid in advance at stated intervals, entitle the members and their dependents to the privilege of hospital care in the event of illness. These dues represent, therefore, a form of health insurance in which the costs of hospitalization are shared by a large number of persons whether they are ill or not. By spreading the costs of hospital care over a considerable length of time through periodical payments the crushing financial blows of serious illnesses are avoided or at least softened. During the 1930's the movement developed rapidly, more than four million members being reported in 1939. The Group Hospital Association of St. Louis and the Group Health Association of Washington, D.C., are notable examples of this form of health insurance.

In some communities the collectivization of medicine has taken the form of organizations designed to provide various types of medical services to members and their dependents. As in the case of group hospital associations, members of the organizations make periodical payments in return for which they may receive certain medical services in case of illness. These services may include not only medical attention at a clinic, but also home visits by physicians who are identified with the organization. Among the most significant of these health organizations is the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles and the King County Medical Service Bureau of Seattle. In numerous communities the more conservative medical societies have opposed these developments on the grounds that they are socialistic in character and tend to impair the quality of medical service. In spite of this opposition, however, these forms of socialized medicine are apparently becoming increasingly popular.

Private Medical Practice. Private medicine, however, still assumes much of the burden of caring for the health of urban dwellers. A survey in 1931 indicated that the ratio of physicians to popu-

lation tends to increase with the size of the community. This is also true of dentists. Cities of over 100,000 population had one physician for each 530 persons; in cities of 25,000 to 50,000 the ratio was one to 714; in cities of 5,000 to 10,000, the ratio was one to 927; for rural towns of 1,000 to 2,500, one to 1,265; and for communities under 1,000, one to 1,620.[17] It is apparent from these data that large cities are more attractive than smaller communities for physicians. Contrary to what one might expect, the ratio of physicians has shown a general tendency to decline, though the decline is more pronounced in small cities than in large ones.

PROTECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

THE COURT SYSTEM. Closely related to the institutions of social welfare are the urban legal machinery and the police systems. The judicial machinery of the city consists of several courts of different ranks, with a great deal of overlapping of functions among them. The court with the least prestige is the justice of the peace. In most cities the justices have relinquished their ancient jurisdiction in criminal cases to special police magistrates, but have retained their jurisdiction in civil affairs. A few cities have entirely replaced the justices by a unified municipal court. Above the justice courts are the general state courts, and these may be divided into specialized courts such as common pleas courts, courts of domestic relations, probate courts, or juvenile courts. Next in rank are the appellate courts that are usually known as circuit courts or district courts. If the city happens to be a state capital it will be the seat of the state supreme court.

The establishment of unified courts has been undertaken with some success in a number of cities, including New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati, but the jurisdiction of these courts extends only to minor infractions of the law rather than to serious problems of law violation. The municipal courts as they are now organized in some cities make possible a treatment of both the social and legal aspects of problems in a way that is not possible under

17. Leland, R. G., *Distribution of Physicians in the United States*, p. 48 (1936).

the orthodox type of legal machinery. The domestic relations courts, socio-legal machinery devised for the purpose of dealing with problems involving marital conflict, is a rather radical departure from the established methods of dealing with the various forms of family disorganization. The purpose of the judge in these courts is to sustain family unity and to preserve domestic peace.

Another important branch of the municipal court system is the juvenile court. The old plan of herding juvenile offenders into court with adult criminals and parading their delinquencies before the public has been discarded by most cities for newer legal methods that are in keeping with scientific techniques in the field of social relations. The "trials" of juveniles are conducted in privacy or semi-privacy away from the usual court atmosphere. Experienced judges who are more concerned with social diagnosis and treatment than with meting out punitive sentences to offenders conduct the trials and recommend the action to be taken. Sometimes the offenders are sentenced to corrective institutions, especially if other attempts at rehabilitation have failed; but more frequently they are placed in charge of probation officers who are themselves part of the court machinery.

The Police System. By the very nature of urban life existence in the city becomes relatively precarious. The primary controls so effective in the homogeneous groups in the village or open country are not sufficient to insure the protection of life and property in the metropolis. Consequently the city must necessarily engage in the communal task of protecting its citizens. Since the police are concerned with all forms of antisocial behavior—with vice, with crime, and with the minor infractions of the law, as well as with the regulation of traffic along the city thoroughfares—their activities touch the lives of urban persons at many points. In most cities their duties are extended beyond protective functions and they become public censors and official preservers of the city's morals.

The police departments of many cities are deplorably inefficient, principally because of the political influences that stand in the way of developing a well-trained force. Yet a few cities have cleared

away the political debris and developed police departments that are valuable assets to the communities in which they are located. In the vanguard of police reformation has been the police department at Berkeley, California. A special training course for policemen of that city includes work in physics, chemistry, physiology, anatomy, criminology, anthropology, criminal psychology, psychiatry, microbiology, parasitology, and microanalysis. Such courses, perhaps, are not practicable for large cities, but they are important in indicating means to the development of police efficiency—a thing rarely attained in the great cities of this country at present. The professionalization of the police forces in European cities has done much to increase their efficiency and to elevate the policeman or policewoman in the esteem of the citizens.

The financial burden of police protection has gradually increased with the growth in size of cities. Not only has there been an increase in the total amount of expenditures for police protection in cities, but there has been a marked per capita increase. The cost of maintaining police departments in cities of this country over 30,000 in 1927 was $184,501,599, while in 1903, nearly a quarter of a century before, the cost was only $38,248,924.[18] The per capita cost in 1927 for all the cities was $4.32; in 1903 it was $1.83, or approximately 40 per cent as much as in the later year.[19] The increase in cost of maintaining police protection in cities has thus been more rapid than the increase in population. In 1927 the cities of 500,000 or over spent $5.81 per capita, while smaller cities of 30,000 to 50,000 spent only $2.36.[20]

The police system, like most other urban institutions, has undergone a process of specialization and departmentalization as urban organization has grown more complex. At the same time functions of the department have been expanded to include a multiplicity of duties that were formerly performed by the people themselves. Within the ranks of the force there has been a division of labor based

18. Mead, Bennet, "Police Statistics," *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 146: 91 (November, 1929).

19. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

on the type of duties to be performed: there are traffic policemen and patrolmen, detectives and secret service men, in addition to policemen and policewomen with special duties to perform. Special bureaus, such as the bureau of criminal investigation and identification, are also maintained, together with police schools and records divisions.

The inability of police in American cities to cope with the problems confronting them has frequently been explained on the basis of police inefficiency. While police in European cities may be more successful in keeping crime at a minimum, it is by no means certain that the difference in crime rates between European cities and American cities is altogether due to more effective police supervision in the Old World. Crime and delinquency in this country are perhaps not so much a result of inadequate police protection as symptoms of pathological conditions that go far deeper than most persons suppose. The spoils system in politics, the excessive mobility of many elements of society, the kaleidoscopic changes that take place in the urban environment, the social and economic insecurity—these are some of the conditions that tend to encourage crime and delinquency. The struggle, then, is much more than one between good and evil, as many people naïvely suppose. In the face of such fundamental causative factors it is, or at least should be, quite apparent that police systems, as agencies of social control, are impotent so long as social conditions are such as to produce an increasing amount of social and personal disorganization.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. In a selected city make a general survey of the various forms of welfare organizations that are maintained by the community for individuals or groups needing assistance.

2. Select a single organization and make an intensive study of it, indicating the structural characteristics, the functions performed, and the changes that have taken place since it came into existence.

3. To what extent and in what way has the Social Security Program taken over some of the functions originally performed by local welfare organizations in your community?

4. Write a description of the public health organization in a selected city. What changes have taken place in recent years?

5. If there is a group hospital association in your locality, make a study of it. Why did it come into existence? Has there been opposition to it? What were the grounds for this opposition? Has it functioned successfully?

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20

THE ORGANIZATION OF LEISURE

TRENDS IN LEISURE. The processes of industrialism and urbanization have resulted in a democratization of leisure the like of which the world has never before seen. Other civilizations have had their leisure classes—Rome with her patricians is an example—but no civilization has ever before found it possible to extend to all classes many of the leisure-time privileges that only lords and ladies once knew. The shortening of the working day in industry and commerce, the accumulation of wealth by certain individuals, the mechanization of industrial and commercial life, the development of methods of mass production, and even periods of unemployment are all factors in the increase of leisure for large numbers of people. So recent has been this newly found freedom that the individual, usually unaware of the social consequences of leisure and the ways in which his time may be utilized most profitably, finds himself so enmeshed in the mechanized social life about him that he is forced to rely on artificial stimulations for the satisfaction of his fundamental psychic needs.

Viewing the various changes that have occurred in recent years in leisure-time activities, the authors of the *Chicago Recreational Survey* note nine significant trends. They are:

1. Interest in active participation in games and sports.
2. Great vogue of automobile touring and other traveling.
3. Development of outdoor life and vacation activities.
4. Acceptance of governmental responsibility for providing public recreational facilities.
5. Expansion of the field of commercial amusements.
6. Strong interest in competitive games and sports.
7. Desire for amusements that provide thrills and excitement.

8. Popularity of forms of recreation that promote social relations between sexes.

9. Development of organizations which facilitate recreational interests.[1]

Of these nine trends, the two most important, in their opinion, are the development of commercialized recreational facilities and the provision of private and public facilities for participation in sports and games. To say, therefore, that commercialized recreation is becoming increasingly important does not imply that noncommercial recreation is declining in significance nor that one is necessarily developing more rapidly than the other. As we shall observe presently, both commercial and noncommercial leisure-time activities are coming to play an increasingly important part in the lives of the American people. Perhaps it is because commercialized recreation has failed in many instances to meet the needs of individuals and groups, and also because this type of recreation has commonly created new problems of social control, that noncommercial activities have been sponsored by private groups and by the community as a whole.

COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

EXTENT AND NATURE OF COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION. It is not always easy to distinguish clearly between commercialized forms of recreation and other types of leisure-time activities. Indeed most forms of recreation have their commercial aspects, and not a few of the activities sponsored by private groups or by communities are quasi-commercial in character. College football, for instance, is not ordinarily considered a commercial enterprise, yet the profit element certainly figures significantly in this type of activity if we take account of the financial benefits that accrue directly or indirectly to individuals and groups. Even in types of activities involving no admission charges or membership fees, equipment may be purchased from enterprises which are strictly commercial in character. Nor is it a simple matter to distinguish between recreation and work. Some individuals may read newspapers as a form of recreation; others to

1. *Chicago Recreational Survey*, 1: 7 (1938).

gain certain information which may be of value in their business or profession. Some may use the radio primarily for entertainment; others as an aid to business. It is therefore apparent that all newspaper reading or radio listening cannot be classified as recreational. The same is more or less true of other types of so-called leisure-time activities. An estimate of the relative importance of the major forms of recreation, using any type of data available, must necessarily be made in broad, general terms, since complete information, either for the nation as a whole or for local communities, is not available.

The authors of the *Chicago Recreational Survey* estimate that between one-fifth and one-seventh of the annual national income, or approximately 10 billion dollars, is spent for recreation, and of this sum between 3 and 4 billion dollars are paid out for commercial recreation. If to this figure are added the estimated commercial features of noncommercial forms of recreation the amount is about 5 billion dollars, or half the nation's total amusement bill. Expenditures for the easily identified commercial amusements, such as moving pictures, legitimate theaters, cabarets, night clubs, radio broadcasting, resort hotels, baseball, prize fights, professional football, golf, and liquor, are estimated at 2¼ billion dollars a year. In the city of Chicago alone the authors estimate that the total investment in commercialized recreation is between 700 million and a billion dollars, and that Chicagoans spend at least 250 million dollars a year on commercialized amusements. This amounts roughly to $80 per capita as compared with $85 per capita spent by the nation's population as a whole. These are conservative estimates and admittedly based on incomplete and sometimes fragmentary data; but whatever error exists it is probably on the side of understatement rather than overstatement.

Of the 37,677 commercial amusement enterprises reporting in the Business Census of 1935, nearly three-fourths of the total receipts approximating 700 million dollars were collected by moving-picture theaters.[2] Billiards and bowling alleys, ranking next highest, ac-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

counted for only 6 per cent of the receipts, while baseball and football, with receipts amounting to 25 million dollars, represented four per cent of the total expenditures. For every dollar spent at legitimate theaters and operas, 25 dollars were spent in motion-picture establishments. According to estimates of the Department of Commerce, 241,000 persons were employed in moving-picture theaters in 1939.[3] The *Film Daily Yearbook* estimated that on January 1, 1938, there were 18,182 moving-picture theaters in the country with a total seating capacity of 10,657,306 persons, no distinction being made between rural and urban communities.

An even more impressive picture of the role of commercialized amusements may be had from data relating to attendance or participation. As in the case of other statistical data on commercial recreation, the figures are little better than rough approximations. The weekly movie attendance in 1939 has been estimated at 85 million, while the number of nightly radio listeners has been put at about 30 million. Stuart Chase estimated more than a decade ago that the total attendance at baseball games was 40 million a year, while an additional 10 million attended horse-racing, football, and prize-fighting events. Sports experts estimate that in 1935 the total attendance at sporting events was approximately 256 million, of which 80 million were onlookers at basketball games, 50 million at baseball games, 40 million at football games, 25 million at boxing contests, 22 million at horse-racing events, 7 million at wrestling contests, and 6 million at hockey games. Even if these data are reasonably correct, we do not know what percentage of these sports fans were in attendance at strictly commercialized events, nor do we have information on the proportion of urban and rural persons represented in the total attendance.

Aside from the commercial activities that are socially approved, or at least legalized, there is a variety of activities that are either illegal or sternly disapproved by the conventional elements of the population. But owing to the nature of these illegal or questionable leisure-time pursuits it is extremely difficult to secure reliable data

3. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 21, 1940.

relating to the amount of money spent or the number of participants. We do not know, for instance, the amount of money spent on prostitution nor the number of patrons of prostitutes. It has been estimated that more than a billion dollars are exchanged in poker games each year and that two billions are annually wagered on horse racing. Although "policy" games are ordinarily outlawed, large sums of money are spent in this form of gambling: in Chicago alone it is estimated that at least 350,000 bets are made daily and that 20 million dollars a year are spent on the policy racket. Commonly these forms of activities, while formally outlawed, receive protection from the political machine in power in return for financial contributions or other favors on the part of individuals profiting from the illegal undertakings.

a. *The Cinema.* Perhaps more than any other form of art or recreation the moving picture reflects the interest and spirit of the urban community. With admission prices within reach of the masses, with themes designed to present a universal appeal, with amusement offered entailing a minimum of effort on the part of the spectator, the cinema has attained an unprecedented popularity in the realm of recreation. The monotony and drabness that so frequently accompany the struggle for existence are forgotten for the time being while the individual views the brilliant, romantic, mysterious, adventurous, or comical figures and the dazzling screen settings that make up this dreamland of the machine age. Here is a fairyland that stands in bold contrast to a world of reality; in it the individual finds surcease from a routine and ofttimes sordid existence, an escape from worries and anxieties, an opportunity to revel for a brief hour in the richness and luxury that have been denied him in his work-a-day world. It provides a sedative for frayed nerves; a catharsis for pent-up and inhibited emotions; a vicarious self-expression for those who do not or cannot participate in active play groups.

As an agency for the transmission and dissemination of culture the cinema is almost without a peer. Screen idols become models for their imitative audiences, and their dress, their mannerisms, their codes of conduct, and their sayings are imitated wherever the movie

complex is a feature of the cultural patterning of the group. It is through the movie that the latest fashions and fads of the day, both in behavior and in clothes, are made public for the masses—for the rural people as well as for city folk, for children as well as for adults; it is through this agency also that foreign movie-goers learn of American life and customs, albeit the cinematic interpretations of American society are frequently stupid anachronisms that are lacking both in discrimination and in good taste. But whatever may be its value in the realm of recreation, it becomes an institution of the first magnitude in spreading urban culture to the hinterlands and to foreign countries.

The nerve-racking tempo of modern urban life seems to develop a pathological appetite for sensuous stimuli, and the cinema producers, ever alert to sense the wishes and whims of their patrons, have not only made capital of these desires but have actually created demands for an increasing amount of stimulation. Three themes seem to predominate in the cinema, sex, love, and crime. They represent, perhaps, the vicarious satisfaction of wishes in matters which have been denied most persons by the stringent taboos of conventional society and by the restrictions and confinement of modern industrial and commercial life.

b. *The Dance Hall.* Dancing as a form of diversion has been singularly adaptable to the urban way of life. For many the dance hall, especially the dance hall operated by commercial interests for private profit, constitutes the most important type of recreation. In the great city there are many types of dance halls, catering to the interests of various urban dwellers representing diverse cultural, occupational, and racial groups within the area. Cressey has identified fourteen distinct types in Chicago, including both the commercialized establishments and the non-profit-making enterprises. In his *The Taxi-Dance Hall* he lists the following types:

1. The municipal ballroom or pavilion: owned and operated by the city for the purposes of social welfare.
2. The dancing academy: operated by professional teachers of dancing.
3. The social-service dance: sponsored by social agencies or similar

groups with the object of social service rather than private profit.

4. The fraternal dance: public or semi-public gatherings sponsored by fraternal orders for promoting social gatherings or financing worthy causes.
5. Pseudo-club dance: operated as a club for private profit, with a rather homogeneous and affluent clientele.
6. The hotel dance: public or semi-public dances given under the auspices of hotels for the guests of the establishments.
7. Dine-and-dance restaurants: restaurants, ordinarily expensive, conducted with provisions for dancing and music during the meal.
8. The cabaret or "night club": similar to the dine-and-dance establishments except some form of vaudeville entertainment is included in the program.
9. The dance palace: spacious ballrooms expensively equipped, operated for private profit.
10. The dance pavilion: open-air dance platforms or pavilions, frequently associated with amusement parks or picnic grounds.
11. The roadhouse: commercial resorts usually located a short distance beyond the city limits; dancing, vaudeville, and food are provided for the patrons at relatively high prices.
12. The rent party: public dances conducted in private homes for the purposes of raising money to pay rent and other expenses.
13. The pleasure-boat dances: dancing provided by excursion boats that are operated as commercial enterprises.
14. The taxi-dance hall: commercial establishments with paid female employees, restricted entirely to a male clientele.

The last type of dance establishment, a relatively recent innovation in the way of providing commercialized recreation for male patrons, is found, in one form or another, in many of the large cities of the country. Originating in San Francisco a few years ago, the idea spread to other metropolitan centers, until now the taxi-dance hall, with its variants, is a well-recognized feature of commercialized recreation. This type of dance is conducted solely for the unattached male. The women dancers, or "instructresses," are employed by the establishment, receiving a stipulated percentage of the money taken in from the sale of tickets to the male patrons.

Operated primarily for mercenary purposes, with exploitation of the patron as the chief motive of the dancing girls, the taxi-dance

hall becomes an important factor in the demoralization of both employees and patrons. The pattern of behavior predominant in the taxi-dance is in bold contrast to the patterns established by conventional society. But with all the accompanying personal disorganization and demoralization, these halls do satisfy fundamental social and emotional needs that are denied satisfaction otherwise in the lives of many urban dwellers. They represent attempts at personal adjustment on the part of certain types of urban dwellers.

PRIVATE RECREATION—ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED

CLUBS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS. Every city is covered by a network of autonomous clubs and associations that exist primarily to serve the leisure-time needs of their members. There are men's and women's social clubs, clubs for reform and study, sporting clubs and patriotic societies, garden clubs and literary organizations, and innumerable card clubs, dinner clubs, and other associations of an informal character. Some of the clubs are local organizations; others are parts of a national or international federation of organizations. Some are limited to persons of a given race, age, sex, religion, or occupation; others are more or less unrestricted in their membership requirements. The functions they perform are legion, depending on the interests of the members and the structural characteristics of the organization. In the small city of Lawrence, Kansas, more than a hundred leisure-time organizations were found to exist. The Lynds discovered 458 active clubs in Middletown in 1924, or one for every 80 persons. In a city the size of Chicago or New York the number of such organizations would be enormous. Probably the most significant study of this type of leisure-time activities is the report of the Chicago Recreation Commission under the chairmanship of Arthur J. Todd. But with limitations on funds and staff personnel it was impossible even in this study to make a comprehensive analysis of all the organizations and their activities.

Most cities, large and small, have country clubs whose membership is made up of the socially élite and the financially successful.

Such clubs as these usually sponsor a variety of activities, both indoor and outdoor. In the larger cities downtown clubs are supported by affluent members whose leisure-time interests run to sports and social festivities. University and college alumni associations, found in every metropolis, exist to perpetuate college friendships and advance the current interests of the parent institutions. Federations of women's clubs include all sorts of organizations that mingle recreation with reform, philanthropy, and study. Somewhat similar to these are the League of Women Voters and the various city clubs catering to feminine interests. Men's so-called service clubs—Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and the like—where business and professional men meet for a brief noon-hour respite from their work, have become a part of the cultural life of virtually every city in the country. Organizations of a patriotic character, such as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Sons of the American Confederacy, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, place considerable emphasis on leisure-time activities. Of a semi-philanthropic character are such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. In larger cities these organizations maintain permanent establishments which provide residential quarters for their members as well as facilities for a variety of religious and recreational activities. Closely identified with church groups are numerous societies and clubs devoted mainly to providing leisure-time activities of a character-building nature. Then there are the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Hi-Y Clubs, and other organizations for American youth.

In this country there are at least 600 fraternal organizations of recognized standing, representing a total membership conservatively estimated at 20 million persons. Varied as to their types and functions, the societies cater to the needs and demands of the people who are identified with the fraternal system. In a very real sense the fraternal orders may be interpreted as recreational institutions, since most of them make some provisions for the leisure-time interests and activities of the members. For some the symbolic ceremonialism has a strong emotional and aesthetic appeal; for others the main

attraction may lie in the congenial associations afforded by membership in the organization. Even though certain societies may be actively committed to programs of social welfare or to the business of providing protective insurance for the members, recreational activities of various sorts are commonly emphasized. Aside from the customary fraternal meetings in which the brethren or sisters participate in esoteric rituals, the societies sponsor parades, athletic contests, picnics, reunions, bridge parties, festivals, dinners, dances, and public demonstrations of one kind or another, particularly military parades of drill squads. In cities many of the organizations maintain luxurious "temples" with library facilities, game rooms, lounging rooms, and quarters for ceremonial displays. In recent years the interest in fraternalism has apparently declined; at least there has been a pronounced decrease in membership for most if not all of the societies.

VISITING AND INFORMAL PLAY. In so far as adults are concerned the neighborhood as a spatial setting for intimate social relationships is apparently declining in importance, whereas "interest groups" have come to play a more important role in the leisure-time activities of urban people. Yet it must not be assumed that the apparent decline of neighborliness has meant the complete disappearance of all neighborhood activities. There is still much neighborly visiting of an informal or unplanned character, particularly in long-established areas having a low turnover of population. Probably there is more informal visiting among housewives than among men, and for young children neighborhood friendships are perhaps as significant now as in the past. Few reliable studies have been made of neighborhood visiting as a form of recreation, but in certain parts of the city the amount of time spent in this way must be very considerable.[4] In sophisticated circles it is customary to carry on informal visiting only after guests have been formally invited into the home, or after

4. One of the most scientific neighborhood studies was made by Jessie S. Bernard in St. Louis. See her *An Instrument for the Measurement of Neighborhood with Experimental Application*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University (1935). Cf. Roper, M. W., *The City and the Primary Group* (1935).

formal calls have been made. Perhaps this expression of neighborliness is becoming an established urban pattern for all classes; at least it represents a contrast to the informalities of family visiting in rural areas. Much of the leisure time of juveniles is spent in informal rather than formally organized groups. Spontaneous play groups, existing as ends in themselves rather than as means to an end, are to be found in every section of the city, for in them the fundamental wishes for recognition and response and even new experience are satisfied. Sometimes the energy of these groups, when undirected, is turned into unwholesome channels, and they become predatory and antisocial. In a study of 1,300 boys' gangs in Chicago, Thrasher came to the conclusion that the groups were natural and normal in that they came into existence as a means of satisfying the fundamental emotional needs of the members.

THE AUTOMOBILE AND THE RADIO. Among the commercialized technological inventions that have modified leisure-time habits are the automobile and the radio—one with a decentralizing influence on primary group life, the other with a centralizing and perhaps an integrating influence. But both, like the motion picture, make for passivity rather than active social participation. In this country in 1938 it was estimated that there were 29,705,220 automobiles, or more than one for every four persons. While automobiles have not been peculiar to the city alone, they are more numerous in cities and their social effects are in some ways more pronounced. Perhaps no invention has been more significant as a habit-forming agency than the automobile. It has accelerated the mobility of the population and has increased the amount of transiency; it has had a disintegrating effect on family life; it has been an important factor in all forms of delinquency and crime; it has discouraged habits of meditation and reflection. There are many items, of course, to its credit. It has opened up new social and intellectual worlds for many and has provided for great numbers a temporary escape from city life and city labor.

In recent years "vacationing" has become a popular vogue among

the American people, particularly among urban dwellers in the middle and upper economic strata. It appears that almost everyone who has the time and money to spare makes an effort to escape from the city for a few days or weeks. The amount of money spent by vacationers for transportation, for rooms and lodging at hotels or resorts, and for various forms of vacation equipment undoubtedly reaches staggering totals. In some areas of the country the basic economic organization is designed to meet the demands of vacationers in search of pleasure or relaxation.

In 1938 there were 26,666,500 American homes having one or more radio sets, of which approximately 17 million were occupied by urban residents and 9 million by rural persons.[5] There were about as many radios as families in the cities, but only 65 per cent as many, proportionately, in the country. This does not mean that *every* urban family owns a radio; it merely means that, taking into consideration the number of families that have two or more radios and the number of unmarried individuals who are radio owners, there is, *on the average*, a radio for every family residing in the city. In 1937 the total radio bill for the country amounted to 912 million dollars, more than half of this sum being spent for new radios or radio equipment.

Although not confined exclusively to the city, the radio has come to play an increasingly important role in the affairs of urban people. It has become a significant purveyor of ideas and as such has had a leveling influence on the culture of the masses. Thus with its annihilation of distance and with its usually highly centralized control, the radio possesses unprecedented powers of mass impression and may therefore exert an influence that is either good or bad.

The radio is essentially an urban product, and the entertainment it provides ordinarily bears the earmarks of urban origin. For this reason it may appeal to urban persons more than to rural dwellers. Willey and Rice point to a marked concentration of radio sets in and around the metropolitan regions of this country, reaching the conclusion that the possession of a radio has become an important

5. *World Almanac*, 1939, p. 431.

part of the culture pattern of urban areas.[6] That it has broken down the barriers of isolated regions of the world, bringing new ideas and new points of view to the residents of these areas, there can be no doubt; that it is exerting even as great an influence on the habits and attitudes of urban dwellers is just as likely, although such influences are not quite so apparent. Certainly the radio as a social force in modern society offers an interesting and as yet relatively unexplored field for sociological research.

COMMUNITY RECREATION

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAY MOVEMENT. The gradual recognition of the importance of play in the life of the individual has been accompanied by a social movement which has been popularized in many cities. The puritanic idea that play and pleasure are worldly and therefore sinful have been relegated by most urban dwellers to the category of outworn prejudices. The National Recreation Association reported that in 1937 the cities with organized play leadership or supervised facilities numbered 1,280 and that 17,745 separate play areas were maintained by the communities for their citizens.[7] These play areas included outdoor playgrounds, indoor recreational centers, archery ranges, athletic fields, baseball diamonds, bathing beaches, bowling greens, golf courses, handball courts, ice-skating areas, picnic areas, shuffleboard courts, ski jumps, softball diamonds, stadiums, day camps, swimming pools, tennis courts, toboggan slides, and wading pools. Nearly 48 million dollars was spent for such socialized recreational activities, of which about 22 million represented emergency expenditures by Federal or state agencies. It is estimated by the National Recreation Association that in 1935 approximately 144 million persons participated in 20 types of leisure-time activities afforded by communities over 25,000 in population.

Perhaps an even better conception of the growing popularity of

6. Willey, M. M., and Rice, S. A., "Communication" in *Recent Social Trends*, 1:214 (1933).

7. *Recreation*, 32:123 (1938–39).

socialized recreation may be had by noting certain trends over a period of years. Between 1910 and 1937 the number of employed recreational leaders increased from 3,345 to 40,413.[8] The number of playrounds increased from about 2,000 to 9,618 between 1912 and 1936, while between 1918 and 1936 the number of recreational buildings increased from 150 to 1,350.[9] During the decade from 1925–26 to 1936 there was an increase of 275 per cent in the number of outdoor theaters in cities over 25,000, 121 per cent in the number of bathing beaches, 462 per cent in wading pools, 97 per cent in golf courses, and 93 per cent in baseball diamonds.[10] Even though the depression brought about retrenchments in community expenditures for recreation and in some instances actual elimination of certain facilities, the trend is definitely toward the expansion of collectivized forms of leisure-time activities for adults as well as for children.

Community Parks. One phase of the play movement in the United States is the provision made for parks and other areas offering opportunities for leisure-time activities. A survey conducted in 1935 by the National Park Service in cooperation with the National Recreation Association indicated that 1,200 cities of varying size owned 15,105 parks representing a total of 381,496 acres.[11] Although the number of cities included in the survey was slightly over one-third of the total number of urban communities, most of the larger centers were represented. Only 210 cities in the sample reported no parks, and of these one-fifth were between 5,000 and 10,000 in population.

As in the case of other types of socialized recreation, park facilities have undergone a marked expansion in recent years. During the decade preceding 1935 the increase in park acreage varied from 27 per cent in the class of cities between 250,000 and 500,000 to 114 per cent in cities from 2,500 to 10,000.[12] Park acreage tends to increase with the size of the community, but cities in the million class

8. *Ibid.* 9. *Ibid.*, 31: 136, 169. 10. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

11. *Municipal and County Parks in the United States, 1935.* National Park Service and the National Recreation Association (1937).

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–8.

have on the average more than three times as much acreage as cities ranging from 250,000 to one million. Although many communities maintain park areas which more than meet the recognized standard of one acre for each 100 persons, the average acreage for communities of all sizes falls below this standard, with large cities making a better showing than smaller centers. For 1,068 cities of all sizes the average number of persons per acre was 368 in 1935, with cities ranging from 250,000 to 500,000 having 161 persons per acre, and cities from 5,000 to 10,000 having 430 persons. Newark, with 10,299 persons per acre and Jersey City with 2,199 persons per acre are at one end of the scale, while Forth Worth with 16 persons per acre, Dallas with 38, Tulsa with 45, and Minneapolis with 89 represent the more favorable extremes so far as adequate park facilities are concerned. Yet one must be careful not to assume that these differences in park acreage represent actual differences in recreational opportunities afforded the residents. Newark is adjacent to available bathing beaches whereas Forth Worth is not. Furthermore, residents of Newark may utilize the park facilities of other cities in the immediate vicinity. Kansas City, Missouri, with 108 persons for each park acre, makes a favorable showing when compared with other cities. But Kansas City's largest park lies at the outskirts of the city and is not easily reached by the lower-income groups, most of whom live on the opposite side of the city. Minneapolis and St. Paul, favored with natural chains of lakes, have exceptionally adequate park facilities. Table XXXV compares the park facilities of different classes of cities.

Government and Recreation. When the functions of the Federal Government were expanded during the 1930s to include various forms of social welfare, recreation was included in the newer functions, since the use of leisure time cannot be dissociated from the broader aspects of human welfare. Accordingly, Federal agencies in cooperation with the states and local communities have set up and carried through numerous recreational programs, or have provided the physical facilities making possible recreational activities. Financial grants have been provided for the construction of parks, playgrounds,

Table XXXV

AVERAGE PARK ACREAGE, NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ACRE, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN ACREAGE BETWEEN 1925–26 AND 1935, FOR DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CITIES, 1935 [13]

CLASS	AVERAGE ACREAGE	PERSONS PER ACRE	PER CENT INCREASE 1925–26 TO 1935
1,000,000 or over	8,578	338	40
500,000 to 1,000,000	2,939	254	52
250,000 to 500,000	2,954	161	27
100,000 to 250,000	1,325	242	69
50,000 to 100,000	455	298	52
25,000 to 50,000	345	399	32
10,000 to 25,000	153	365	109
5,000 to 10,000	76	430	66
2,500 to 5,000	33	393	114
Total Average	317	368	62

and recreational buildings, as well as schools, libraries, hospitals, and other public buildings. During the four and one half years preceding 1940, WPA labor built 5,000 playgrounds and athletic fields and 6,435 recreational buildings.[14] Many of the Federal works projects sponsored by the Government have provided employment for unemployed individuals, either as manual workers engaged in the construction of recreational facilities or as specialized workers such as musicians, actors, artists, or recreational supervisors. In numerous cities WPA orchestras have provided entertainment for large numbers of persons as well as employment for unemployed musicians. A new venture for the National Government was the organization of the Federal Theater under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration. Similar in character were the art projects which were developed primarily for the purpose of providing useful and agreeable employment for artists. While these undertakings have been of an "emergency" character, it seems not at all unlikely that they

13. *Ibid.* The figures in the three columns are not entirely comparable, since the number of communities included in each class of city is not the same for the three items. However, if corrections were made for this discrepancy by including identical cities and the same number of cities for each class, it is not likely that significantly different results would be obtained, except that the percentage of change in park acreage for small communities might be reduced if a larger number of places were included in the sample.

14. Report of the WPA Commissioner, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 21, 1940.

will mark the beginning of a permanent trend in which the Federal Government will include recreation as one of its welfare functions.

THE CHALLENGE OF LEISURE. As Anderson and Lindeman point out, recreation is becoming not only more specialized in its various forms, but it is also becoming more detached from the home.[15] With the tendency toward centralization of commercial recreation, even the neighborhood has waned in providing leisure-time activities for those who live within its bounds. The community centers that have sprung up in various sections of the city have been attempting to restore to the neighborhood its traditional functions in the play-life of the people. In this movement are two competing forces, commercialism, representing the profit-taking philosophy and creed, and public recreation, representing a communal effort to re-establish socialized recreation for the masses. It is a form of conflict in which, so far, the interests of commercialism have been largely triumphant, despite the fact that the play movement in cities has grown phenomenally. It appears likely, however, that the exigencies of urban life will necessitate the extension of communal control in the field of recreation as it has been extended in education. Play is the prime socializer, and perhaps nowhere is the need for ministering to the play impulse in children as well as in adults more keenly felt than in urban areas.

In the final analysis, many of the social and personal maladjustments of the city are directly related to the utilization of leisure time. So apparent is this to many students of social relations that serious questions are raised as to the danger of highly urbanized civilizations degenerating and sinking of their own weight. At any rate there is no guarantee that the present type of urban civilization will continue indefinitely while cultural lags increase because of the lack of adequate social control in the field of leisure-time activities. Crime and delinquency, many mental and physical diseases, prostitution, and various other forms of group disorganization and personal demoralization are traceable, in part at least, to the ways in which individuals use their leisure. These maladjustments, some of which

15. *Urban Sociology*, p. 176.

seem to be increasing at an alarming rate, constitute dead-weights on the communities in which they occur. Each year the costs of maintaining institutions for the maladjusted mount higher and higher. The fatuous methods of misinformed politicians and reformers who are disposed to rely on punitive measures or brotherly platitudes in effecting social adjustments or preventing maladjustments are at best only temporary palliatives with no lasting results. Whatever may be the immediate causes of maladjustments, the source of many of them lies far deeper—in the behavior habits that are formed during the hours of leisure. If these maladjustments that constitute serious problems are to be controlled by the community, it must be done largely through the development of behavior habits and social values acceptable to conventional society by means of various educational and recreational programs.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Secure data on the average daily attendance at the various commercialized recreational institutions of a selected city. How does this compare with the number of participants in community recreational facilities?
2. Make a study of the types of dance halls in some city, noting particularly the location of each kind of institution and the nature of the clientele.
3. Find out all you can about the roadhouses surrounding some selected city.
4. Clubs and associations represent one way in which urban people make use of their leisure time. In a selected city make a study of these organizations, noting the different types and the various functions performed.
5. Conduct a survey of an urban neighborhood to ascertain the extent and kinds of neighborhood visiting.
6. Visit a settlement house and observe the various recreational activities afforded by the institution to the patrons.
7. How do the park facilities of your city compare with the standard set by authorities in the field of recreation?
8. Draw up a model recreation program for your community.

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21

ORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES

THE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION. Religious attitudes and beliefs have always been conditioning forces in human experience. Sometimes the social effects of religious beliefs are far-reaching. Those who believe in healing by prayer, for example, may oppose public-health programs, with resulting high mortality and morbidity rates not only among the members of the faith but among others as well. Those who are opposed to birth control may affect the equilibrium of population by the increase in their offspring. Those who cherish a literal messianic hope for the millennium are apt to have a different program for social improvement and social welfare from those who pin their hopes to the scientific study and treatment of social problems. From these few illustrations it is not difficult to perceive that the religious organizations of a city exert their influence upon the social fabric of the whole community. They are inextricably interlinked with the social, economic, political, and moral order.

In this country the dominant religion is Christianity, with Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Greek Catholicism well represented in many of the cities. Judaism is also deeply intrenched in cities having a large Jewish population. Many of these religious faiths have a common literature, and all of them are in agreement on many moral and social ideas. But their prejudices, their religious egocentrism, constitute in many cases an insurmountable barrier to social interaction and cooperation.

URBAN AND RURAL DIFFERENCES. Although the church has probably resisted urbanization more than most institutions, unless it is

the family, there are nevertheless significant differences between rural and urban religious institutions. Congregations tend to be larger in the city than in the country, church edifices are ordinarily of greater size, and more money is required to maintain the establishments and provide for the various activities. With only one-seventh of the 211,000 church buildings located in cities, the urban churches receive more than one-half of the 4 billion dollars that are invested in church equipment.[1] The average annual expenditure for each urban church, approximately $14,000, is much higher than the average for the country as a whole, although the per capita expenditure for city churches is only slightly above the national average. Urban ministers are usually better trained than rural preachers, but nine out of ten serve their ministerial apprenticeship in country churches, which fact may be taken as evidence that rural institutions are, in a sense, "feeders" for the larger and more prosperous city churches. Three out of five urban adults are church members as compared with one-half of the adult rural population, but this difference may be partly due to the tendency of many farm and village people to attend services in cities and to hold membership in urban churches. Rural churches are predominantly Protestant, but the percentage of Protestant membership tends to decline in cities with the increase in size of the community. Although Catholic religious philosophy is not significantly different in rural and urban areas, the stronghold of religious liberalism or radicalism in the Protestant Church is found in the cities. Urban ministers as a group are certainly more concerned with the broader social application of religious principles to contemporary problems than are their rural colleagues.

Urban Influences on Religious Organization. The city church, like other forms of social organization, bears the imprint of its urban environment. First, there is a tendency toward specialization and departmentalization of religious activities. 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 char-

1. *Our Cities*, p. 23.

acteristic of other forms of social organization as well. Although there are innumerable ritualistic and credal differences between religious groups within the city, 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. A denominationalism of cooperation appears to be the present tendency. From 1916 to 1926 there were 18 mergers of denominations, some of the mergers representing an integration of rather wide religious differences.[2] The Federal Council of Churches, a national organization, is perhaps symbolical of this trend. Third, city churches tend to conform to class lines, and the social stratification that exists in the city is reflected in the structure and functions of the different churches—in the types of persons they attract, in the forms of worship, in the social and religious values of the group, and in the relations with other social organizations in the community.

In many American cities all faiths have cooperated in one city-wide organization for taking an occasional religious census of the city. Methodists and Catholics have gone in pairs to canvass Jews, and the contacts thus made have had a leavening effect on the prejudicial attitudes which members of the three groups have held toward each other. Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant charity organizations have frequently united with each other and with non-sectarian social agencies in Community Chest campaigns. In a few places cooperation of all faiths in movements affecting public morals has been achieved. The Catholic churches have a unified government among themselves. There is less unity among the Jews, however. The orthodox Jewish synagogues and the liberal Jewish congregations have separate organizations. The Protestant church federations and the ministerial alliances found in large and small cities illustrate the tendency toward cooperation among adherents to a major religious faith that is constantly producing sects and ephemeral religious movements.

2. Douglass, H. Paul, "Present Position of American Churches," *Current History*, 33:553 (January, 1931).

TYPES OF CITY CHURCHES. In his survey of churches in St. Louis, Douglass classified under 15 types the 255 churches and "kindred religious institutions" of the evangelical Protestant faith.[3] His classification follows: middle-class family church, 90; middle-class family church (German), 58; holiness mission hall, 50; upper middle-class church, 10 or 12; community serving church, 10; slum family mission, 8 or 10; "leading" West End church, 8; rescue mission, 4 or 6; rural village type of church, 4; historic downtown church, 3; church of suburban center, 2; neighborhood center, 1; foreign language church, 1; church of minor urban center, 1; central popular church, 1. Approximately three-fifths of the total number of Protestant churches in the city were of the "middle-class" type, "carrying on essentially traditional religious life with a narrow program of service."[4] The upper middle-class church is found largely in the better residential districts of the city. Ordinarily this kind of church typifies large-scale organization and its activities touch many phases of social life in the community. Next to the family-type of church in numbers come the fly-by-night organizations representing the highly emotionalized and vagrant religious impulses—the Church of the Living God, the Church of God in Christ, the Pillar of Fire, the Pentecostal, and the like. In this type of organization are represented the different holiness and faith-healing sects and the spiritualist churches. Closely allied to this type of church is the slum mission in which human derelicts and denizens of the half-world may secure without charge soup and a bed from zealous workers who diligently strive for the winning of souls.

Apart from the types of churches found in St. Louis, Douglass attempted a four-fold classification as follows:[5]

A. Types of churches based directly upon environments:
   Residential
      In undifferentiated territory
      At minor urban centers

3. Douglass, H. Paul, *The St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 105.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 122. Reprinted by permission of George H. Doran Company, New York.

At suburban centers
At Major Urban Centers
The church of the popular center
Rural
The rural church in the city

B. Types of churches based upon social levels:
Middle Class
The middle-class family church
Above Middle Class
Upper middle-class family church
The "leading" church
Below Middle Class
Foreign language group church
Slum family mission
The rescue mission

C. Types of churches based upon method showing adaptations to environment at social levels:
Upon Social Service
The community serving church
The neighborhood center
Upon Individual Evangelism
The gospel hall

D. Types of churches based upon attitudes or psychological considerations:
Arising in the Past
The historic down-town church
Contemporary
The nationality church

The existing cultural patterns in each city, the different races and nationalities, the divergent groups based on occupational and economic interests, all influence in one way or another the religious beliefs and forms of worship. These in turn are reflected in the types of religious organizations that cater to the social needs of the people within the community. Industrial cities with a large proportion of manual workers express their religious impulses in churches adapted to their needs, such as the middle-class churches, the gospel halls, and the missions; cities with a large foreign element of working class status are apt to have a preponderance of Catholic churches; cities with many Negroes abound in churches that express a highly

emotionalized religion; while cities with a large Jewish group have synagogues, either liberal or orthodox, as places of worship.

Among the urban populations of the country the Roman Catholic religion is most common. A religious census conducted in 1926 showed that in 35 of the 50 largest cities Catholic churches were most numerous, while Methodists predominated in 5 cities.[6] In the Southern cities Negro Baptist churches were most numerous. Of the 2,809 churches in New York City, 1,044 are Jewish synagogues, 430 are Catholic, and 138 Methodist.[7] In Chicago, however, Catholics are in the lead with 256 churches, while the Methodists are second with 131, and the Jews third with 123.[8]

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY. Many of the city churches have expanded their functions until they are influential in many types of activities, especially leisure-time and social welfare activities. This is particularly true of the larger organizations that take the title of "community church." There are women's organizations such as missionary societies, women's guilds, women's aid societies, mothers' leagues, and women's alliances; there are organizations of the junior members such as Boy and Girl Scouts, Christian Endeavor societies, athletic clubs, dramatic societies, and play groups; there are special educational services such as classes in music, dancing, literature, domestic science, arts and crafts, together with summer Bible classes and playground work. Then there are clinics for adults and juveniles, kindergartens and day nurseries for the benefit of working mothers, employment bureaus, and special relief services for the impoverished. Some churches maintain children's camps, hospitals, children's homes, homes for the aged, and farms for juveniles. In addition to the regular pastors of the churches there are staff members who specialize in the various activities of the organization. There are boys' and girls' workers, deaconesses, home visitors, secretaries, kindergarten teachers, nursery matrons, athletic directors, and instructors in the various classes maintained by the institution. But churches with such expanded programs are in the

6. *Religious Bodies in the United States*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1: 63 (1926).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 64. 8. *Ibid.*

minority so far as numbers are concerned; the majority are concerned with ministering to the spiritual needs of those who come together on Sunday or on an occasional week-day evening.

The influence of religious organization in the field of education has been felt in most urban centers. Most denominations, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, maintain some sort of church schools to which the children of their respective members may go. The Catholic, Lutheran, and Evangelical churches have parochial schools whose hours generally correspond to those of the public schools. These schools usually offer religious instruction as a recognized part of the school curricula, with the result that they tend to become "feeders" for the religious organization that supports them. The doctrines of the church are passed on to the children along with strictly ethical teachings and instruction in the academic subjects. Most of the churches sponsor Sunday Schools, and these also tend to strengthen the position of the organization as the children, potential pillars of the church, are indoctrinated with the principles and beliefs of the teachers. Some cities include religious instruction as a regular feature of the curriculum. A period of time is allotted for religious teaching each week, and during that period the children are sent from their classes to the churches for instruction. This instruction is strengthened by special schools for the training of religious leaders.

Chapin's Method of Studying the Urban Church. An interesting method of analyzing urban religious institutions, with special reference to the Protestant churches of Minneapolis and St. Paul, has been devised by Chapin.[9] By using statistical devices he has measured what he calls "youthful vigor," "social maturity," and "compactness," with contingency coefficients computed to demonstrate the character of the relationships between different measurable factors. The degree of "youthful vigor" represents the ratio of young to old members, that is, Sunday School enrollment to adult church membership. "Social maturity" was interpreted as the "aggregate of ratings" for fourteen aspects of the church program and group activities, thus representing an index of the "richness, com-

9. Chapin, F. Stuart, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Chs. 11, 18 (1935).

plexity, and unity" of the institution. The degree of compactness had reference to the distances the constituents lived from the church. When the homes of 90 per cent of the members were within a mile-radius of the church, for example, the parish was considered "very compact"; when only 15 per cent resided in the adjacent district the parish was defined as "very scattered." Finally, an index of "social deterioration" for the area was obtained by ranking the different geographic districts of the city according to rates for juvenile delinquency, infant mortality, family relief, transiency, tuberculosis, suicide, industrialization, and economic status.

In the statistical analysis it was found that the degree of compactness varied directly with the rate of growth of the church and with the index of youthful vigor, but that it varied inversely with the degree of social maturity and with the index of social deterioration. It was found also that the index of youthful vigor varied directly with the rate of growth, but inversely with the chronological age of the church and with the index of social maturity. The index of social maturity varied directly with chronological age and per capita contributions, but inversely with the rate of growth and the index of youthful vigor.

Interpreted in nonstatistical terms, these data indicate that, so far as the Twin Cities are concerned, churches with a high ratio of young persons tend to grow rapidly and to have compact parishes, whereas churches with a complex and varied program grow slowly, have a wide scattering of constituents, and are older in terms of chronological age. Older churches, which are also "socially mature" institutions, tend to be located near the center of the city in areas characterized by various forms of social deterioration, but churches having a high ratio of young persons are apt to be located in districts considerably removed from the central zones of the community. This principle, previously stated by Sanderson, was to the effect that "the ratio between Sunday-school enrollment and church membership varies directly as the distance of the church from the heart of the city and inversely as the age of the church." It therefore seems apparent that some relationship exists between the institutional pattern

and the location and age of the institution, as well as between the institutional pattern and the age and distribution of the adherents. Whether Chapin's data are valid for other cities we do not know, but at least he has provided a systematic method for studying the urban church.

THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION. In every country of the Western World where democracy has gained a foothold, the people have been committed to a program of public education. So completely converted to this principle are the masses in this country that formal education has become almost a cult. In the vanguard of the educational movement in this country have been the cities, and educational leaders have not been tardy in adopting, even at great expense, innovations in educational techniques and methods, while governing boards or councils have supported them with the financial appropriations essential to the expansion of democratic education. The three R's and the little red schoolhouse have been relegated by the cities to the limbo of cultural antiques, and in their stead have come scientific curricula and special schools adapted to the needs of the machine age. From kindergarten to college this "big business" of education is carried on by the cities as a public function.

Because so large a proportion of adolescents enter the manual trades, city schools have introduced courses in vocational training as a preparation for the work they will later do. Courses in typewriting and shorthand, bookkeeping, printing, manual arts, mechanical and electrical work, and commercial art are offered. Many cities have special trade schools, technical schools, and commercial schools, both private and public, to meet the needs of those who anticipate careers in commerce and industry. For those who look forward to higher education, opportunities are usually provided by the city for training of collegiate rank. The junior college movement in this country has been well received by most of the larger cities and many of the smaller ones. Two years of college training in a tax-supported

institution are usually available to local students, while municipal universities and teachers' colleges are to be found in many communities.

Some cities have included ancillary schools for the handicapped in their educational system—although there are rarely enough of these institutions to meet the need for them. Open-air schools have been provided for tubercular and anaemic children. Opportunity schools are conducted for children whose mental deficiencies prevent them from working with those of normal mentality. Crippled children are sent to schools conducted especially for those suffering from physical handicaps, while similar schools for the blind and the deaf are also maintained. Unadjusted children frequently have special institutions—commonly called parental schools, industrial schools, or reform schools. Each of these schools has a technique and a curriculum to suit its own needs, and it is staffed by persons who supposedly have had special training for the work they are doing.

A complete education system for a large city includes night schools for adults who have been deprived of opportunities to secure an education during their early years. In American cities these are provided especially for immigrants, although others are permitted to attend them. Continuation schools are also provided for youths who have been forced by penury to discontinue their formal education in day schools. In most countries of western Europe and in a large part of the United States continuation schools are maintained, and boys and girls who have been forced to begin work before completing their elementary education are required to attend just as others are compelled to attend regular day schools.

THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TREATMENT. The tendency in urban educational institutions is not only toward specialization to meet the needs of a complex society, but also toward individualization of treatment in the process of education. Physical and mental tests have been devised to enable the officials to study the individual problems of adjustment of the children in school. Child psychologists and specialists in child welfare study the mental and behavior aberrations of the children with the aim of assisting them in making a satis-

factory adjustment to conventional society. Physical examinations are given each child, and when defects are discovered, steps are taken to have them remedied. In addition to physical training, instruction in hygiene and care of health is included in the curriculum. Frequently special classes or clinics are held for mothers who have health or behavior problems to solve. School nurses and physicians care for the health of the child while he is in school, and visiting nurses and visiting teachers, constituting a part of the extension work of the school, assist in making necessary adjustments in the homes of the children.

ADULT EDUCATION. Following closely in the wake of the movement for popular education for youth has come adult education, a movement born of the exigencies of urban life in an environment that is becoming increasingly complex. The theory of education as a continuous process not to be terminated at the completion of a period of formal schooling has found fertile soil in the ever-changing environment of the city. The social scenes of the city drama are constantly shifting, creating new problems and presenting strange and unfamiliar situations. And with these changes have come new demands on the person in his group life, making necessary a better understanding of the cultural surroundings in which he finds himself. In the simple life of the country the three R's were fairly adequate for the adjustment of the individual to his environment; but in the surging cultural life of the city even the normal period of formal education has not been sufficient; hence the growing movement to "educate the educated." But adult education in the city has spread far beyond the limits of the public school system; it has become an avowed part of the program of multifarious formal and informal groups that have sprung indigenously from the urban milieu: women's clubs, service clubs, parent-teachers associations, public forums, associations for the spread of information about this or that. A motley array of organizations they are, yet they spread like a crazy-quilt canopy over the social organization of the city, sometimes educating for good and sometimes for naught—but nevertheless educating.

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIALIZING AGENCY. In a democracy, then, educational institutions become indispensable socializing agencies. Through the process of formal and semi-formal education, as through the process of informal education in the family, the culture of the group is passed on from generation to generation; in the classroom, as in the home, the younger members of society are made acquainted with the social heritage of the group. But whereas in the simple society of the past a few years were ample time to equip the child with the tools to understand his cultural milieu, the complexities of urban organization have necessitated the gradual extension of time for the social conditioning of youth until the period of formal education for many runs well into the adult years. In the city, where unprecedented demands are being made constantly on the home, with resultant disorganization and disintegration of familial ties, the schools are assuming many of the functions of educating the child that were once performed by the parents. Indeed it is correct to say that the school is an extra-familial institution.

EDUCATION AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY. From the standpoint of the efficiency of the educational system, the city makes a more impressive showing than the country. In the city teachers are ordinarily better prepared professionally than in rural areas, salaries are higher, greater security of tenure exists, and more adequate educational facilities are provided. At the same time village schools are unquestionably more efficient than schools catering exclusively to the farm population. In 1930 the Bureau of the Census reported that 97.3 per cent of the urban children between 7 and 13 were in attendance as compared to 93.3 for rural children. Furthermore, there is greater regularity of attendance in the city than in the country: in 1931–32 the Office of Education reported that the ratio of attendance to enrollment was 82.8 for rural areas (both village and open country) and 86.4 for the city. Finally, the city not only has more specialized schools than the country but also a larger proportion of highly specialized teachers, the average number of years of school attendance is greater, and there are more extracurricular activities related to the educational program than are usually found in rural areas.

Yet it must be observed that the rural educational system is undergoing a rapid change and that existing inequalities are probably tending to diminish; the use of state funds for rural schools, together with the consolidation of small rural schools into larger establishments, is undoubtedly elevating the educational standards in rural areas.

Among urban communities there are significant variations in the curricula and in the quality of the educational offerings. Large cities, as one might expect, have a greater degree of institutional specialization and a larger proportion of educational specialists than small cities. Teachers in metropolitan communities tend to be better prepared professionally and to receive higher salaries than in cities of smaller size. Since the number of pupils per teacher is smaller in large cities than small ones, it seems reasonable to infer that teaching efficiency is probably greater. While there seems to be no significant relationship between size of city and attendance rates, smaller industrial cities have a lower ratio of attendance than residential suburbs and major metropolitan centers. Furthermore, attendance rates in Southern cities are lower than in Northern communities. Within all cities the rate of attendance in so-called blighted areas is lower than in areas of relatively high economic and educational levels.

Financial data relating to the educational organization may represent reasonably adequate indices of community policies concerning the educational system. A survey of educational expenditures in 1936 indicated that cost per pupil tends to increase with the size of the city.[10] For metropolitan communities (100,000 or over) the cost per pupil was $106.82; in cities 30,000 to 100,000, $89.67; in communities 10,000 to 30,000, $75.82; and in small cities less than 10,000, $68.10. Similarly, per capita expenditures for schools and school property, school-tax rates, and bonded indebtedness per pupil are greater in large cities than in small communities, and are also larger in residential suburbs than in small industrialized centers.

10. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, Bulletin No. 22, Office of Education, p. 13 (1937).

If, therefore, financial expenditures bear any relation to the quality of the educational program, it is evident that large cities and residential suburbs provide better educational facilities than other types of communities. It may be, however, that part of the differences in expenditures is due to higher costs of building, equipping, and maintaining school plants in large cities.

FEDERAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATION. We have noted elsewhere in this volume the expansion of Federal and state governmental functions to include various activities relating to social welfare. This expansion has also occurred in the field of education. With the national reorganization program put into effect in the 1930s by the New Deal, Federal financial support has been provided not only for the construction of physical plants but also for various forms of educational activities. During the four and a half years preceding 1940 the Works Progress Administration built, or helped build, 23,000 public schoolhouses and made improvements or additions to 65,000 others.[11] A large percentage of these WPA projects were in cities. In addition, WPA workers have been employed to teach classes and carry on other educational activities, particularly among the underprivileged adult population. While the primary objective of these works projects has been to alleviate unemployment, the program is especially significant not only because the educational system has been materially benefited but also because the works projects represent an unprecedented step in Federal support of education. At the present time there is considerable sentiment in favor of a permanent policy of Federal grants-in-aid for educational purposes.

THE ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES

THE FUNCTION OF THE DAILY PRESS. Perhaps no other social agency reflects more accurately and adequately the intellectual standards and interests of the people who live within the community than the newspaper—unless, possibly, it is the cinema. Grounded deep

11. From report of the WPA Commissioner, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 21, 1940.

in the social life of the masses, it becomes a mirror of their wishes, attitudes, and impulses—of human nature itself. But as it reflects human nature, so does it also condition human nature and personality; it becomes not only a source of attitudes, but as a social agency it assists in perpetuating and preserving the attitudes that already exist.

The modern newspaper represents the glorification of gossip. With its systematic treatment of the doings of persons and the events of communal life, it becomes a substitute for the petty gossip that is so satisfying and yet so potent a form of control in the primary groups of the village and the open country. In its public display of the unconventional and antisocial behavior of individuals, its treatment of world events, and its departmentalization of news and advertising to appeal to minds that run the whole gamut of intellectual development, the daily newspaper is essentially an urban phenomenon. It is at the same time society's most effective device for manufacturing public opinion.

As Park has pointed out, newspaper reading has become more of a necessity in the city than in the country.[12] With social relations in the metropolis being characterized largely by secondary contacts, and with the social fabric of the metropolitan community becoming more and more complex, it is necessary for the individual to read a newspaper if he is to know what is going on about him. The urban person who does not receive his daily diet of news is almost as isolated as the one unable to speak the prevailing language of the community. Therefore as cities have grown in size and have increased in complexity circulation of the daily papers has shown a parallel increase.

While the daily newspapers are genuinely efficient as purveyors of gossip, they are highly selective of the type of gossip which is printed in the news columns. In a city of a million, or even half that size, it is not practicable or even possible to mention everybody's name. Instead, attention is focused on a few figures who are in the public limelight because of their social position, their achievements,

12. Park, R. E., "The Yellow Press," *Sociology and Social Research*, 12:3 (1927).

or their aberrations from the norms of conduct. Vicariously the reader shares the experiences of these individuals, projecting himself into situations that have been interdicted by conventional society or by the competitive struggle for existence. The tabloid papers, sometimes referred to as "gutter journalism," are specialists in gossip. With their lurid and bizarre accounts of the sensational and pathological, they fill an important place in the social experiences of many urban dwellers, particularly those who have neither the taste nor the intellectual capacity to enjoy more solid journalistic diet.

DEPARTMENTALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION OF NEWS. One of the interesting trends in urban journalism is toward specialization and departmentalization of news. Each of the departments devoted to the gathering and editing of certain types of news has a special personnel whose activities are limited to a definite field. In an examination of issues of the *New York Times* Clark observed 15 rather distinct departments of news, including "financial," "church and religious," "schools and education," "society," "drama," "music," "painting and sculpture," "fashions," "travel and resorts," "autos, motorists, and highways," "aviation," "radio," "sports," "shipping and mails," and "book review supplement." [13] In addition to the fields or departments of news not found in this particular paper are science, health, social work and philanthropic activities, organized labor, agriculture, law and the courts, administrative and legislative activities, and the activities of various professional groups. The metropolitan daily has therefore developed in much the same manner as the modern department store: it has become an emporium for many varieties of news and information just as the department store has become an emporium for numberless commodities for personal or family use.

Reading matter furnished by various and sundry syndicates has become so standardized that newspaper content in different cities is astonishingly similar. In Portland, Maine, and in Portland, Oregon, newspaper readers have the same daily diet of news: together they

13. Clark, C. D., *The Sociology of the Newspaper*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago (1931).

pick up their morning or evening paper to read about the "crime of the century" or "decree to film actress" or "daring flight of pretty aviatrix"; together they view the same comic strips and cartoons; the same syndicated features on health, wealth, and love; the same photographs of half-nude bathing beauties or boy or girl heroes of this, that, or the other. They read the same advertisements and see the same praises of popular brands of cigarettes, popular movies, and well-known makes of automobiles. Undeniably the increasing standardization in the newspaper business is leaving its imprint on the attitudes of urban readers—and incidentally upon nonurban readers who are also patrons of the daily press.

JOURNALISM as "BIG BUSINESS." Urban journalism has definitely entered the ranks of "big business." The growth of newspaper syndicates and chains reflects the tendency not only toward the concentration of ownership and control of the press but also toward the impersonalization of journalism in the cities. From 1910 to 1935 the number of newspaper chains increased from 13 to 59; during the same period there was an increase in the number of chain daily newspapers from 62 to 329.[14] Of the total daily circulation in 1933, chain dailies accounted for more than 13 million copies, or 37.4 per cent. Nearly half (45.9 per cent) of the Sunday papers were published by chain organizations the same year.

In 1939 the average daily circulation of all week-day newspapers in the "daily" class was more than 39 million, or over two papers for each urban family in the United States.[15] In addition, 31 million Sunday papers were published, a number sufficient for each family, urban and rural, to have a copy. Although daily newspaper circulation during the past four decades has shown a gradual increase, the number of daily papers has actually declined. In 1914 there were 2,580 publications; by 1926 this number had declined to 2,001; in 1939 there were only 1,888 papers.[16] Through mergers, combinations, and reorganization of publishing enterprises, as well as

14. Lee, Alfred M., *The Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 215 (1937).
15. *Editor and Publisher*, International Yearbook, 73: 110 (January, 1940).
16. From *Editor and Publisher*, International Yearbook numbers.

through actual discontinuance of a number of papers, the daily press shows a marked tendency toward concentration in fewer and fewer companies which at the same time are tending to become larger and more powerful establishments. This decline in the number of papers has been accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the number of wage-earners in the publishing field, due in part, no doubt, to greater technical and distributive efficiency and to the use of central news-gathering agencies.

SPECIALIZED TYPES OF JOURNALISM. But the influence of the standard daily press is challenged by other types of journalistic enterprises—by the foreign-language press, by race and class newspapers, by publications devoted to special interests such as trade and industry, sports, fashions, and the like. In addition there is a large number of magazines catering to the intellectual, artistic, and recreational interests of a wide variety of readers. In 1939 there were 73 foreign-language daily newspapers printed in American cities,[17] and to this list may be added numerous weekly and monthly foreign-language papers published for the edification of a polyglot population having divergent cultural backgrounds.

The social influence of the foreign-language newspaper is significant. It is through the newspaper printed in a foreign tongue that the newcomer receives an introduction to the culture of his adopted land; hence the press becomes an important factor in the process of accommodation and assimilation. Similar in character to the foreign-language newspaper is the Negro press, essentially a class journal devoted to the interests of a minority racial group in American life. The 400-odd periodicals printed by the Negro group, although largely of the weekly or biweekly type, have an influence on the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of the Negro readers far greater than that exerted by the white daily press. Most of the large cities in the country have at least one Negro newspaper. There were in 1927 approximately 600 newspapers (mostly weeklies, biweeklies, or monthlies) published by labor organizations, with a combined average circulation of 3½ million.

17. *Editor and Publisher*, 73: 194–195 (January, 1940).

THE PRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM. While the newspapers are an integral part of big business, and are in the main stalwart defenders of the social and economic status quo, they frequently don the priestly robes of the reformer and wage war in a crusading spirit against a real or imagined evil. Journalistic crusading seems to be a trait of metropolitan rather than rural newspapers. Managing editors, taking their cue from the Bennetts and the Pulitzers of an earlier day, not infrequently attack personalities and institutions in the holy name of truth and service. Frequently they are effective palladia for values the community seeks to preserve. Nor are these crusading activities confined to the sphere of the respectable and conventional dailies: the yellow journals, whose forte is the bizarre, the lurid, and the sensational, are likewise dedicated to defense of righteousness, if their own statements are to be accepted. Different as they are in external appearances, the tabloids and the big dailies are brothers under the skin.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

LIBRARY FACILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES. Books and periodicals are provided for the free use of the members of the community in all cities of any size. The public library, like the public school system, is an expression of democracy. The extent to which it is used by the citizens for whom it is maintained, as well as the type of literature that is found on its shelves, is perhaps a fair criterion of the depth of the intellectual life of the community. The tendency of modern libraries is to make accessible as many books as possible to the reading public; consequently reading and reference rooms, as well as a regular loan service, are maintained for the benefit of the public. In the larger cities special rooms are provided for different fields of interest, such as children's literature, modern fiction, scientific publications, and the like. Some of the libraries maintain municipal reference bureaus, and many of them cooperate with the public school system in making available the maximum number of books to school children. The larger cities frequently have branch libraries

for the convenience of persons living in outlying neighborhoods. A traveling-library service is maintained by central libraries, and books are sent to various commercial and industrial establishments for the use of the employees.

There is some reason to suppose that large cities have more adequate library facilities than small communities, since obviously the combined financial resources tend to increase with the size of the city. On the other hand, per capita expenditures and per capita circulation vary inversely with the size of the community, as shown in the following table:

Table XXXVI

PER CAPITA OPERATING EXPENDITURES AND CIRCULATION IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE, 1938 [18]

CLASS OF CITY	MEDIAN PER CAPITA COSTS	MEDIAN PER CAPITA CIRCULATION
200,000 or over	$0.66	4.65
100,000 to 200,000	.66	5.65
35,000 to 100,000	.79	6.99
10,000 to 35,000	.80	7.93

Since the foregoing data are for classes of cities, individual or regional differences are not apparent. Nor is there evidence of factors other than size that have a bearing on expenditures and circulation. In order to secure adequate information on the subject we should know something about the actual character of the library facilities, the racial and cultural composition of the population, the major economic activities of the community, the standards of living of the people who are actual or potential patrons of the library, and the nature of other educational facilities. Regardless of how intellectually curious the people of the community may be, if there are inadequate library facilities the per capita circulation would likely be low. If the majority of the population are working people, then the circulation of books and other literature would probably be lower than if the community had a high percentage of professional persons. Wealthy suburban communities ordinarily make a better showing in

18. *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, Vol. 33 (1939).

this respect than middle-class or working-class suburbs. The following table provides a comparison of the per capita circulation of selected cities:

Table XXXVII

PER CAPITA CIRCULATION IN THE TEN HIGHEST AND TEN LOWEST RANKING CITIES FOR TWO CLASSES OF COMMUNITIES, 10,000 TO 35,000 AND 200,000 OR OVER, 1937 [19]

200,000 OR OVER	PER CAPITA CIRCULATION	10,000 TO 35,000	PER CAPITA CIRCULATION
HIGHEST:		HIGHEST:	
Cleveland	9.75	Virginia, Minn.	15.79
Los Angeles	8.32	Oskaloosa, Ia.	14.99
Portland, Ore.	7.99	Hibbing, Minn.	14.29
Oakland, Calif.	7.92	Hempstead, N.Y.	13.89
Seattle	7.66	Bangor, Me.	13.38
Indianapolis	7.54	Orlando, Fla.	12.41
Pittsburgh	7.12	Beatrice, Neb.	11.98
Providence	6.94	Watertown, Mass.	11.37
Cincinnati	6.65	Fairhaven, Mass.	11.27
Rochester, N.Y.	6.30	Rochester, Minn.	10.80
LOWEST:		LOWEST:	
Philadelphia	1.57	Aliquippa, Pa.	5.13
New Orleans	1.60	Lawrence, Kan.	5.69
San Antonio	1.73	Elkhart, Ind.	5.70
Houston	2.53	Walla Walla, Wash.	5.77
Atlanta	2.62	Jacksonville, Ill.	6.05
Birmingham	2.74	Kingston, Pa.	6.17
Detroit	2.75	Plainfield, N.J.	6.46
New York City	2.93	St. Cloud, Minn.	6.66
Chicago	3.07	Minot, N.D.	6.77
Louisville	3.07	Middletown, N.Y.	6.78

An uncritical examination of these data might tempt one to conclude that the residents of Cleveland are much more intellectually inclined than those of Philadelphia, or that the population of Virginia, Minnesota, enjoyed reading more than the people who live in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, or Lawrence, Kansas. Such differences in intellectual interests may, of course, exist, but in all probability there are other factors that influence the circulation of reading matter. It

19. *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, Vol. 32 (1938). Since the report on individual cities does not include all the urban communities of the country, cities in this list do not necessarily include those with the highest or the lowest per capita circulation.

is possible that Cleveland has more adequate library facilities than Philadelphia and that a special effort is made to encourage patronage of the public libraries. Of the ten lowest-ranking metropolitan communities six are located in the South. This may perhaps be due in part to the presence of large numbers of Negroes in these cities. The two Minnesota cities, Virginia and Hibbing, have received large sums of tax money from mining companies and have used these funds for educational purposes. In Lawrence, Kansas, many of the residents are professional people who patronize the university library rather than the public library of the community. That they are any less intellectually inclined is a matter of doubt. The favorable showing made by Rochester, Minnesota, may be due partly to the fact that the large number of health seekers residing temporarily in the community spend part of their leisure time in reading.

The average per capita circulation does not mean that every person in the city withdraws, say, three books from the public library. The per capita circulation among the actual users of the library would no doubt be much higher than for the city. Nor does the average circulation of books necessarily indicate anything as to the intellectual depth of the readers. More than 50 per cent of the books in circulation are fiction, and in some of the cities the percentage of fiction in circulation is well over 75.

Other Cultural Institutions. There are other urban cultural institutions that are gauges of the intellectual life of the city. Some cities boast of notable art galleries and museums, but these in the main are confined to the larger metropolitan centers. The Natural History Museum in New York or the Chicago Art Institute could not be duplicated in a city with fewer resources. Many European cities have municipal art galleries and museums, but few American cities have been sufficiently interested in art to maintain municipal galleries for the public. Art in this country has been supplied mostly by private enterprise. Not so with civic auditoriums. A veritable craze for mammoth auditoriums has struck most American cities, and large sums are provided for buildings that may be used for concert or convention purposes. A few cities have orchestras and bands

supported by the municipality, but most of the musical organizations are supported by funds from private sources.

The Little Theater movement has gained headway in a number of cities of this country. Students of the drama and others interested in dramatic activities have organized in their own communities Little Theaters free from commercial domination. In these communal theaters local talent is trained, and plays are produced for theater-goers with discriminating tastes and interests. In some centers the movement has failed because of lack of financial support; but in others, where interest in local enterprises and local talent is more pronounced, the Little Theaters have shown remarkable development. One of the reasons for their success may be the reaction against the inferior productions of the commercial theaters.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Trace the natural history of a well-established urban church with which you are familiar. What changes have taken place (1) in the structure of the organization and (2) in the relationships of the church to the community? What social and economic factors appear to be responsible for these changes?

2. Work out a scheme for classifying churches in a selected urban community. What types, if any, appear to be increasing in numbers and influence? To what extent is the economic life of the people reflected in the types of churches and in the nature of their religious activities?

3. To what extent are the urban churches meeting the leisure-time needs of the people of the community? What types are most progressive in this respect?

4. What social work activities are carried on by the churches of your community? Do you observe that the municipal, state, and Federal governments have tended to take over most of the social work functions?

5. Trace the movements of a number of churches in a given community during a period of time, and show how changes in structure and function of the organizations have been made as a means of adjustment to situations in the new localities.

6. Following Chapin's methodology, make a study of the churches in your community.

7. Prepare a paper on the educational system of a selected urban

community showing the extent to which educational activities have been expanded to meet the needs of the residents of the city.

8. Select samples of urban and rural newspapers and compare their content. Contrast these with specialized types of journalism such as the labor press and the Negro press.

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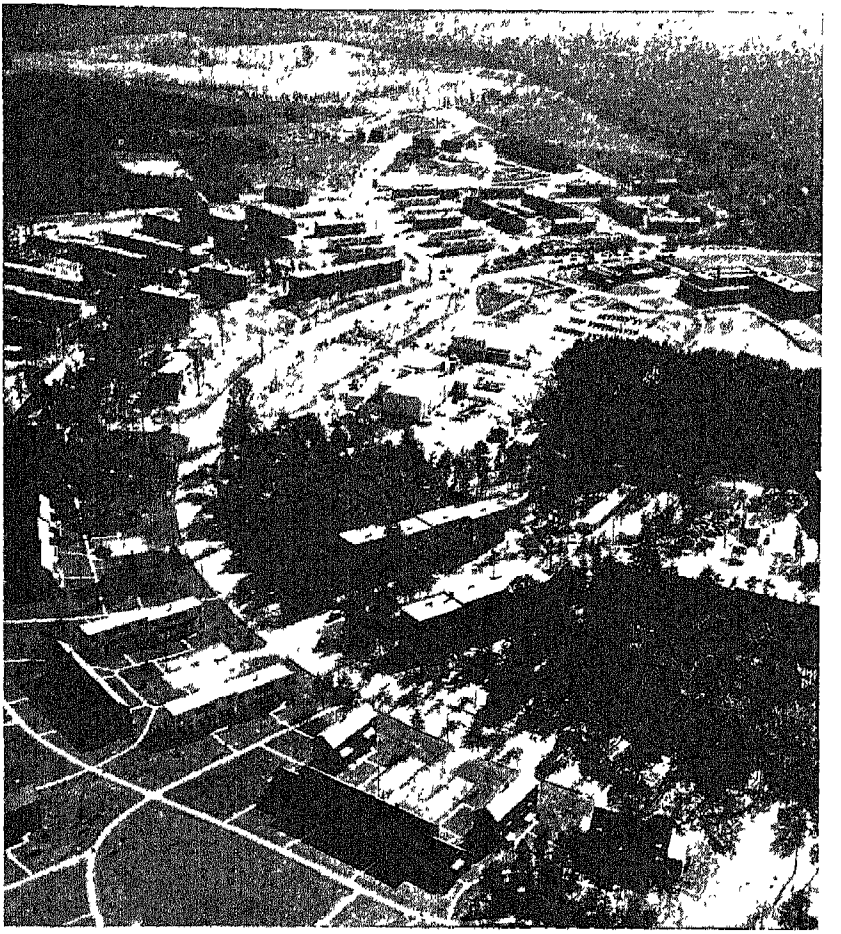
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PART VI

RECONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY LIFE



Greenbelt, Maryland, is a planned suburb near Washington, D.C. (Courtesy Farm Security Administration)

22

HOUSING

HOW URBAN AMERICA IS HOUSED

THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST. The "house with a garden" conception of life in urban America has been little more than a fanciful ideal, at least for the great majority of dwellers in Megalopolis. Accompanying the development of industrialism was a correlative concentration of population in the great manufacturing and commercial centers. With the location of manufacturing and related activities in the central areas of the city during the nineteenth century, the wage-earning population dependent upon industry was forced to live in fairly close proximity to the place of labor because transportation facilities were at that time not adequate to convey the workers to more remote residential areas. The result was the almost unbelievable concentration of people in the central areas of the city. What was true of America was also true of European cities, particularly the cities of industrial England. Acre after acre of tenement houses, many of them mere rookeries hardly fit for human habitation, were erected to accommodate the industrial and commercial workers who were being relied upon to make the "wheels of progress" turn.

Cities of the twentieth century have inherited, without much modification, the tenements constructed during the preceding decades. But not all urban dwellers live in tenement rookeries—nor are all rookeries, for that matter, located in the inner zones of the cities. The middle and upper classes have, for the most part, been fairly well housed—luxuriously so in numerous instances. The problem of urban housing, aside from ordinary matters of zoning and other forms of regulation, is essentially, therefore, the problem of providing homes for the low-income groups. For this reason considerable emphasis in this chapter will be placed on the prevalence and

consequences of substandard housing and the measures which have been adopted to modify the conditions under which a considerable percentage of the population lives.

TRENDS IN TYPES OF DWELLING. With a rising level of living for a sizable portion of the urban population during the first three decades of the twentieth century, many city persons forsook the slum to find residences in modest homes or in "efficiency" apartments. The apartment dwelling and the hotel, representing a form of domestic efficiency and economy in areas of high land values and high taxes, have proved popular if not altogether satisfactory domiciles among both the married and unmarried in metropolitan communities. For a number of years the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been collecting data on the character of housing construction in 257 representative cities in the country, and from a year-to-year comparison of these data it is possible to get a fairly adequate picture of trends in the type of housing.[1] In 1921, 58.3 per cent of all the dwellings constructed were one-family houses, 17.3 per cent were two-family structures, and 24.4 per cent were multiple-family buildings. Each year until 1928 the percentage of multiple-family dwellings increased, with more than half of all buildings erected being in the apartment class in the period immediately preceding the depression. From 1928 to 1932 the percentage of multiple-family structures declined sharply to a low point of 16.3, after which there was a fairly consistent rise. In 1937 more than half the dwellings erected were of the single-family type, while three out of ten were multiple-family structures.

The foregoing data are for all sizes of cities and do not therefore show the ratios for cities of different classes. In 14 cities of a half million or over, slightly over half (53.4 per cent) of all dwellings erected in 1937 were of the multiple-family type; in cities from 100,000 to 500,000, one in seven (14.3 per cent) was of the same kind.[2] For small cities ranging in size from 25,000 to 50,000, only one in

1. *Statistics of Building Construction, 1920 to 1937*. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 650, Part I, p. 11.

2. *Statistics of Building Construction, 1920 to 1937*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 10–11 (1938).

twenty (5.4 per cent) of the new structures was designed to accommodate three or more families. These data indicate fairly recent developments in types of housing and therefore do not take into account the structures that were in existence prior to 1921. In 1930, almost two-thirds of the 17 million urban families lived in single-family dwellings, one in six of the families occupied two-family structures, while one in five resided in multiple-family buildings.

When data on housing are assembled for all cities regardless of size, a somewhat distorted picture is presented, since no account is taken either of individual variations or of differences between classes of cities. Some cities have a very high percentage of single-family dwellings; others rank low in this respect. In general the larger the city the higher the percentage of multiple-family structures. In 1930, Des Moines had 80 per cent of its dwellings of the single-family type, with only 12 per cent in the multiple-family category. On the other hand, Manhattan Borough, in New York City, had only 3 per cent of its dwellings in the single-family type, but nearly 95 per cent in the multiple-family category. For greater New York City, however, only 67 per cent of the structures were of the multiple-family type. Among the larger cities Boston probably is representative, with half of its dwellings of the multiple-family class and a fourth designed for single-family occupancy.

In general, the multiple-family type of structure has tended to predominate in the "zone of deterioration," along arterial thoroughfares, and in the immediate vicinity of commercial subcenters in large cities. In some suburban areas, particularly industrial satellites, tenements and apartment houses are conspicuously present, though on the whole housing developments in suburban districts have been of the single-family type. Even though the inner zones of American cities have been declining in population for several decades, the residential congestion in the central districts of the metropolis is still greater than anywhere else in the community. It is in this area that physical blight is most pronounced and housing facilities most inadequate.

Ownership. During the decades preceding 1930 there was a fairly

consistent increase in home ownership in cities. For the urban population as a whole, however, only 46.8 per cent was in the home-owning class in 1930 as compared with 53.2 per cent living in rented homes. Again marked variations appear between communities of differing size and character. Manhattan Borough, with only 2.5 per cent of its population living in their own homes, probably represents the extreme to which tenancy has gone in this country. But for New York City as a whole only one-fifth of the population live in homes owned by themselves. Even such comparatively small cities as Hartford and Atlanta have less than a third of the population in the home-owning class. On the other hand, Grand Rapids, Tacoma, Duluth, and Reading have approximately three-fifths of their families occupying their own homes.

QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF AMERICAN HOUSING. It has always been known by students of human society that a large percentage of the American people were "ill-nourished, ill-clothed, and ill-housed," but not until recently have data been accumulated to show the specific character of housing facilities in American cities. In 1934 and 1936 the Works Progress Administration assembled information on approximately 8 million occupied dwelling units located in 205 urban communities in various parts of the country.[3] About two-fifths of all urban families were included in the survey, with, however, a complete coverage of New York City. Such a large sample, it would seem, is quite adequate to give a reasonably correct picture of housing conditions in American cities.

The survey showed that 39 per cent of the structures were in good condition; 44.8 per cent needed minor repairs; 13.9 per cent were in need of major repairs; and 2.3 per cent were unfit for human habitation. Interpreted differently, of the 8 million dwelling units included in the survey, about 3 million were in good condition; 3½ million needed minor repairs; slightly over a million needed major repairs; and upwards of 200,000 were unfit for use. Since approximately 40 per cent of the 17 million urban families of the

3. *Urban Housing: A Summary of Real Property Inventories Conducted as Work Projects, 1934–36*, Works Progress Administration (1938).

country were included in the study, it might reasonably be estimated, on the basis of these figures, that about 350,000 city families live in homes appraised as unfit for human use while 2½ million families reside in dwellings needing major repairs.[4] Estimating 4 persons to the family, we arrive at the conclusion that almost a million and a half persons live in homes unfit for use and that 9½ million are in dwellings needing major repairs. This is hardly the sort of picture one gets in reading typical literature of chambers of commerce, real-estate companies, and other booster organizations.

Half of the houses, the survey showed, were built before 1915, and a fourth before 1894. Cities in the southeastern section of the country showed the highest percentage of substandard houses, whereas communities in the northeast division had the lowest percentage.

Data on household facilities and room space give an even clearer picture of the housing situation. Fifteen per cent of the homes had no indoor flush toilets; 20 per cent were without baths or showers; and about a third lacked central-heating facilities. These figures mean that approximately 2½ million urban families are without benefit of indoor toilets; 3½ million have no bathing facilities; and nearly 6 million have no central heating. In the Southeastern cities nearly a third of the dwellings lacked toilet facilities; in the Southwest one home in four had no toilet equipment; in the Northwest one home in five, and in the Northeast one out of every eight dwellings. The standard of one person per room, agreed upon by housing authorities as the maximum number for health and comfort, was exceeded by 17 per cent of the occupied units. In the Southeast 26 per cent of the dwelling units had an average of more than one person per room, while in the Southwest 24 per cent exceeded this standard. "Doubling up" was found to be fairly common; in the Southern cities nearly 9 per cent of the families were classified as "extras."

No city in America has escaped the blighting influence of housing deterioration. Behind the glittering façade of Chicago's lake shore

4. These estimates are arrived at by assigning one family to each dwelling unit.

developments stretch mile after mile of architectural ugliness symbolizing the social decay and physical suffering so characteristic of blighted areas. New York City still has over a million people living in "old law" tenements. One out of every seven residential structures in Minneapolis was found to be in need of major repairs or unfit for use.[5] In Cincinnati's slum area approximately one family in seven has an average of two or more persons per room.[6] The Philadelphia Housing Association found 8,685 instances of housing violations in 1933, and these were estimated to be only a small percentage of the violations which occurred.[7] In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh), 48,000 dwelling units were without indoor toilets and 82,000 had no bathing facilities.[8] The director of the United States Housing Authority once referred to the St. Louis slums as among the worst he had seen. Decadent residential areas in Kansas City have been a match for the political corruption in that city.

One of the most complete pictures of housing facilities in a large city is presented by Edith Abbott and her associates in *The Tenements of Chicago.* Investigators working over a considerable period of time assembled a vast amount of material on the actual conditions under which the tenement-house population of Chicago lives. A few examples of specific living conditions in Chicago, abstracted from the Abbott volume, may give an idea of the critical housing situation faced by many of the slum residents of that metropolis. In 10 Polish blocks on the northwest side, 69 per cent of the rooms were overcrowded according to the standard of one person per room; in 4 Slovak blocks, 10 Lithuanian blocks, 12 blocks of the mixed Polish and Ruthenian district, and 2 additional Polish blocks, the percentage of overcrowding ranged from 50 to 54. One case is cited of 4 persons sleeping in a room with only 333 cubic feet of air—when

5. Wood, E. E., *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States*, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, Bulletin No. 1, p. 65 (1936).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
7. *Housing in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia Housing Association, p. 40 (1933).
8. Klein, Philip, *Social Survey of Pittsburgh*, pp. 200–201 (1938).

at least four times that amount of space is usually required by law for a single person! A Polish family, consisting of 3 adults and 4 children, was found sleeping in a single room containing only 536 cubic feet of air. In the Hull House district a tiny room, containing only 125 cubic feet of air space and completely windowless, served as the sleeping quarters for 3 men. A common practice in the tenement district is for the bedroom to be used both night and day by different persons.

So far as sanitary facilities are concerned, conditions in the Chicago tenement districts are commonly far below any standards of health and decency. Frequently toilets are located under elevated sidewalks, in the back yards, or even on the porches. In the Italian district the investigators found a yard toilet that was used by four families, a sidewalk toilet used by 21 persons, and another sidewalk toilet representing the only facilities for six families. A single hall toilet is commonly used by all the residents of a tenement building. Plumbing, lighting, cooking, and heating facilities are frequently inadequate or even absent altogether. An example is cited by Miss Abbott of a Negro family of 8 living in a single room having no lights, no stove, no running water, and no toilet or bathing facilities. Rooms are frequently dark or "gloomy." In the Hull House district and in the Negro area on Upper Federal Street only 63 per cent of the rooms were considered "light." In seven cases 5 persons were sleeping in rooms without windows, in 21 cases four persons slept in similar rooms, and in 42 cases three persons occupied such rooms.

It is possible that housing conditions in Chicago are not typical, but the chances are that such conditions can be easily matched in other communities. The Pittsburgh Housing Association, in its 1937 report, cites the example of a relief family of 11 persons living in two small, damp rooms and sharing toilet facilities with 30 other families. Of 1,225 dwellings in the slum area, 66 per cent were in a dilapidated condition and 50 per cent were overcrowded in that they accommodated more than one person per room. Similar evidence from other cities might be presented, but the data in the

preceding paragraphs should indicate something of the extent and nature of the urban housing problem.

Social Aspects of Substandard Housing. Students of the city have noted the close correlation that exists between the type and condition of housing and the frequency of certain indices of disorganization such as crime, transiency, venereal diseases, relief, and death rates. As Queen points out, however, there is no basis for the assumption that housing conditions are the *cause* of these phenomena.[9] A dilapidated house is no more the cause of, say, delinquency than is a suit of threadbare clothes. Good people live in shacks and evil people in mansions. If poor housing caused individuals to behave criminally, then we might expect most of the people who live in substandard quarters to be inclined toward criminality. Such is not the case.

What we must realize is that housing is only one of a number of interrelated factors in a highly complex situation and that in many instances the type or condition of the dwelling may have little or no direct relation to behavior patterns. It is equally important, on the other hand, to recognize the importance of housing facilities in the total situation and to show how they may be related to specific social and personal problems. Lack of adequate sleeping space does not *cause* sexual delinquency; but overcrowding in sleeping rooms may make possible certain intimate relationships that might occur less frequently if more adequate quarters were available. Inadequate housing does not *cause* people to go on relief; on the other hand it is a good index of their impoverishment, because they would likely seek better homes if their incomes permitted. "Poor" homes do not *cause* high death rates; but the conditions of living in them are commonly such that diseases are easily acquired and the sick are treated with difficulty.

It is not an accident that tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, rickets, typhus, syphilis, and other serious diseases appear with greater frequency in areas of substandard housing than in areas having adequate housing facilities. Tuberculosis, for instance, is an infectious disease,

9. Queen and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–110.

and under crowded conditions or in dwellings having inadequate air and sunlight it is likely to occur with unusual frequency. There is a close relationship between rickets and the absence of ultraviolet rays; accordingly one might expect to find the occurrence of this disease more common in dark and gloomy dwellings. Typhoid is more likely to occur where plumbing facilities do not permit of the proper disposal of human excreta and where protection of rooms with screens is not provided. Where numerous people use the same toilet facilities the likelihood of venereal infection is greater. It is therefore apparent from these illustrations, and recognized already by most people, that the dwelling place provides the physical setting for the social and biological processes involved in human association. For this reason it is a factor not to be overlooked in analyzing the patterns of social behavior and the motivations back of them. Likewise, any thoroughgoing program of social amelioration must of necessity take cognizance of the physical setting in which social interaction takes place and of the limitations thereby imposed.

WHY DO NOT AMERICAN CITIES HAVE BETTER HOMES? Since substandard housing has long been recognized as a social problem, and since most persons probably prefer to live in good homes, the question may be raised why inferior dwelling places are so prevalent and why so little has been done to alleviate the housing situation for low-income groups. Because housing is so inextricably related to many phases of our institutional system, there are numerous reasons for the presence of substandard housing facilities. Perhaps the basic reason, as one might suppose, is the impoverishment of a sizable fraction of the population. However much one may desire to live in a good home, this is usually impossible under the present economic system if one's income is low or if he has no income at all. Almost all of the dwellings in this country are privately owned, either by the occupant or by other persons who expect to make as much profit as possible from rentals. In 1935–36 the median income of the 14 million non-relief families living in cities was about $1,475, which means that half of them were receiving less than this amount. About three million were recipients of relief in one form

or another. With high land values, heavy general property taxes, excessive construction costs, and expensive financing, together with such factors as job insecurity and excessive mobility, a large percentage of the wage-earning population can hardly hope to become home-owners, particularly owners of homes that meet the minimum standards for health and comfort. So they become tenants.

Is THERE A HOUSING SHORTAGE? For a number of years there has been an actual housing shortage, which undoubtedly accounts for much of the overcrowding in cities. During the depression the construction industry was virtually at a standstill. Whereas in 1923 approximately a half-million houses were constructed in cities of 25,000 or over, in 1934 only 23,829 homes were built. In the seven-year period between 1923 and 1929 the average number of homes built each year was 447,968; for the following seven-year period ending in 1936 the yearly average was 74,769.[10] During the census period 1920–1930 there was an increase of 5,628,000 families, while a somewhat smaller increase is estimated for the 1930–1940 census decade.[11] Obviously the construction industry has not met the needs of normal population growth. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the marriage rate since the depression, thereby intensifying the need for family housing facilities. The migration of rural people to urban centers has been going on for a long time and may be expected to continue, more or less irregularly, for many years. This influx from the country will also create a need for more homes. Finally may be mentioned the changes in family mores which have a bearing on the housing situation. Although families are tending to become smaller, there has been a growing demand for separate living quarters for each marriage group.

The question may properly be raised, Why does not private enterprise provide better facilities for the tenant-occupants? As we have previously noted, the meager incomes of many wage-earning tenants make it impossible for them to pay high rents. If one-fourth

10. Bauer, Catherine, "We Face a Housing Shortage," *Housing Officials' Yearbook*, 1937, p. 63.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

of the family income is expended for rent, then families in the $1,000 income class can afford to pay no more than $250 a year, or about $21 a month. For a four-room dwelling unit, this rental would amount to about $5 per room per month. Housing authorities generally agree that the maximum monthly rent per room this income group can afford to pay is $6. At the same time modern housing for urban families cannot be provided for less than $9 a room if a reasonable profit is made by the investors and builders. The difference between these two figures is the reason private enterprise has never successfully provided adequate housing for the low-income groups. Furthermore, since the fundamental motives of private ownership are to secure as much profit as possible, repairs on existing buildings may be neglected and overcrowding encouraged. To attach blame to any individual or group of individuals for this state of affairs is to overlook the deeper and more significant features of the economic system, particularly the inequalities of income and the motivating factors underlying private enterprise.

Amount of Housing Needed. It must be readily admitted that a housing program designed to demolish all the dwellings unfit for habitation, improve all the habitable homes needing major or minor repairs, and provide new structures to eliminate the shortage of housing facilities would be an extremely costly undertaking. Housing authorities have estimated that the cost of minor repairs would average about $500 and the cost of major repairs about $1,500. On the basis of the number of homes found by the Real Property Inventory to be in need of repairs, the cost of reconditioning existing dwellings would be nearly 8 billion dollars—six times the amount of money spent for residential construction in 1938. If one should add to this the cost of reconditioning rural homes the figure would be truly astronomical. Bauer estimates that in 1937 there was a shortage of 2,397,000 dwellings and that 3,266,000 new homes would be needed to replace the existing structures now in a bad state of disrepair.[12] Thus the immediate need, in her opinion, is for five and a half million new homes. Allowing for a normal population growth

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

and an increasing number of obsolescent buildings, she estimates the additional number of dwellings needed between 1937 and 1950 to be about 10½ million. Bauer's view is that in the long run it would be economically cheaper and more socially satisfactory to demolish rather than repair the decadent structures. If $3,000 is allotted for each dwelling unit (certainly a conservative estimate), the total cost of providing five million new buildings, presumably needed at present, would be in excess of 15 billion dollars. It is Bauer's belief that a million homes a year for the next decade should be the minimum in housing construction. These figures apply to the country as a whole and do not indicate the relative needs of rural and urban areas.

HOUSING PROGRAMS IN AMERICA

Conflicting Points of View. Throughout the greater part of American history the philosophy of laissez-faire has predominated in the business of providing shelter for the masses as well as the classes. Private enterprise, according to this philosophy, has always been capable of serving the needs of deserving people, and if a considerable number of persons do live in ramshackle dwellings it is probably because they are too indolent to provide better facilities or so congenitally inferior that good homes would not be desired or appreciated even if such were available. Good schools, hospitals, playgrounds, and parks should be made available for everyone regardless of his ability to pay, but good homes—no. Furthermore, it is important that realtors, builders, and other enterprisers should be given a free hand to exercise their initiative and make as much profit as possible. Contrasted to this philosophical outlook is the view, held by many students of social problems, that substandard housing is due neither to the innate depravity of the individual nor to his laziness, but rather to the inability of private enterprise, motivated by the profit ideal, to furnish desirable homes at prices the lower classes can afford to pay. Accordingly, some of the individuals subscribing to this school of thought believe that the solution to the

housing problem lies in some form of collectivized housing. Between these two extremes are persons who still retain their faith in the efficacy of private enterprise provided some of the wastefulness of cutthroat competition and small-scale construction can be eliminated. To them housing should be considered a public utility, subject to the restrictions and privileges of other utilities providing the necessities of life.

Limited Dividend Housing Experiments. A social awakening as to the significance of substandard housing occurred in Europe earlier than in America. One of the memorable beginnings of housing reform was the work of Octavia Hill, a London philanthropist, who believed that dilapidated buildings could be suitably remodeled and at the same time provide an adequate profit on the investment involved in reconstruction. The ideas of Octavia Hill were singularly successful, if not in solving the housing problem, then in enlisting the interest of other philanthropists and reformers. In 1896 the Octavia Hill Association was founded in Philadelphia. Operating on the principle of limited profits, the organization has enjoyed a moderate amount of success in improving living conditions of the underhoused. By 1933 the association owned or managed 421 properties.[13]

The ideas of Octavia Hill and other reformers found expression in this country when, in 1855, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor built a model tenement on the limited-dividend principle. Erected for the benefit of colored tenants who could pay from $5.50 to $8.50 a month rent, this tenement yielded a profit to the investors of about 6 per cent. A little later the Boston Cooperative Building Company, with dividends limited to 7 per cent, constructed five tenements for low-income groups of that city. During the 1880's a number of model tenements were erected in Brooklyn, the City and Suburban Homes Company was organized in New York City in 1896, the Sanitary Improvement Company (1897) and the Sanitary Homes Company (1904) were formed in Washington, and in 1911 the Model Homes Company in Cincin-

13. Muntz, Earle E., *Urban Sociology*, p. 146 (1938).

nati undertook to erect a number of buildings on the limited-dividend plan.[14] While these projects were reasonably successful in providing better living conditions than ordinarily prevailed in tenement districts, they did little to change the rather sordid picture of urban housing. During the housing shortage of the post-war period more than 150 housing committees were appointed by various chambers of commerce for the announced purpose of encouraging the formation of limited-dividend companies, but only a comparatively small number of homes were constructed on this plan.[15] Of 14 companies so organized in Pennsylvania between 1917 and 1924, for example, only three had built as many as 100 houses, and only four were still operating in 1925.

Among the more successful of the post-war limited-dividend projects were the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company development, Sunnyside Gardens, the Thomas Garden Apartments, Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments for Negroes, and Lavanburg Homes, all of New York City; the Rockefeller development of Bayonne, New Jersey; Chatham Village of Pittsburgh; and the Prudential Life Insurance project of Newark.[16] Between 1922 and 1924 the Metropolitan Company built apartments to accommodate 2,125 families. In return for tax exemption the company agreed to limit its dividends to 6 per cent and to rent the apartments for not more than $9 per month per room. A somewhat different type of project is Sunnyside Gardens, a community of detached residences and apartments built by the City Housing Corporation from 1924 to 1928. Constructed at a cost of approximately 10 million dollars, the development provides housing facilities for 1,231 families, or about 5,000 persons. Residents who wish to purchase homes are given the privilege of doing so on fairly liberal terms. The occupants of Sunnyside Gardens represent a considerably higher economic level than the families occupying the Metropolitan homes.

14. There are variations of the limited-dividend principle, but in general the plan involves an agreement on the part of building organizations to limit profits to a fixed percentage in return for certain privileges such as tax exemption.

15. Wood, Edith Elmer, *Recent Trends in American Housing*, pp. 11–12 (1931).

16. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

The Thomas Garden Apartments, the Paul Laurence Dunbar project, and the Bayonne development are limited-dividend undertakings sponsored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who has taken an active interest in large-scale housing. The Bayonne project, with accommodations for about 150 families, has a rental scale ranging from $9 to $10.25 per room per month. Another small development, located near Rockefeller Institute and sponsored by the Rockefeller interests, provides quarters for 82 families at a rental scale from $12 to $15 per room. The Thomas Garden Apartments were planned originally by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union as an experiment in cooperative housing, but when financial difficulties were encountered, the project was taken over by Rockefeller in 1926 and developed into a combination limited-dividend and cooperative enterprise with facilities for 175 families. Apartments are sold to the tenant-owners at an average cost of $8,000 plus carrying charges and a 6 per cent return on the investment.

Perhaps the most notable of the Rockefeller projects are the Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments for Negroes, a development which, like the Thomas Garden Apartments, combines the principle of cooperative ownership and limited returns on investment. Erected at a cost of more than 3 million dollars, the development includes 511 dwelling units which are sold to the tenant-owners at monthly rates. Since the median income of the tenants is about $150 a month, the occupants are obviously not from the lower economic strata. In Pittsburgh the Chatham Village housing project was developed by the Buhl Foundation to provide suitable housing for "white collar" workers and at the same time yield a net return of 5 per cent on the investment. In 1931 the first unit was completed at a cost of a million and a half, and in 1936 the second unit was ready for occupancy, facilities being provided for a total of two hundred families. A semi-philanthropic project is the Lavanburg development, which is located in the heart of the Ghetto district of New York City. Erected at a cost of more than a half-million dollars, with the money supplied by the Lavanburg Foundation, the project houses about 110 families who pay a monthly rent ranging from $30 to $42 a month.

When the depression descended on the country in 1929 not only was the housing situation made more acute but the problem of finding employment for wage-earners became intensified. Faced with a catastrophic collapse of the economic system in 1933, the new Federal administration created the Public Works Administration (PWA) and as a part of this organization established the Housing Division, designed primarily to relieve unemployment through the construction of homes. The Housing Division was authorized to make loans at low interest rates to legally constituted public bodies or to private corporations which were qualified to carry out large-scale housing programs. Under such a plan private companies were entitled to a dividend rate of 6 per cent, provided the housing projects met the requirements of the Housing Division. A total of 553 applications for loans was received, representing an expenditure, if all applications had been approved, of more than a billion dollars. But of the large number of applicants, only seven could qualify for loan agreements. The result was seven limited-dividend housing projects accommodating 3,085 families and costing approximately $12,500,000.

The largest of these is Hillside Homes in New York City, with 1,416 living units ranging from 2 to 5 rooms in size. Community facilities include an auditorium, workshops, clubrooms, wading pools, playgrounds, and a nursery school. Similar to Hillside Homes, but smaller in size, are Boulevard Gardens in New York City. Ten six-story buildings occupy less than a fourth of the site, the remainder being used for playgrounds or parks. The Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia, with 284 living units, and Neighborhood Gardens in St. Louis, a development of comparable size, provide recreational facilities as well as shelter for the occupants. Neighborhood Gardens are located only a short distance from the central business district in an area previously occupied by slum dwellings. In Raleigh, North Carolina, a small apartment-house project was developed to provide accommodations for 54 families, while in Alta Vista, Virginia, and Euclid, Ohio, the dwelling units were single-family residences. Because of marked variations in costs of living

in different sections of the country, rentals had to be adjusted to economic conditions in specific areas. In the two New York projects the rentals are $11 a month per room, with heat, hot water, and electrical refrigeration equipment (but not gas or electrical current) included. The rental in St. Louis is $9.80 per room, with heat, iceboxes, cooking fuel, and laundry facilities provided. At the lower end of the rental scale is the Alta Vista project, which has rates of $3.50 a room, excluding utilities or equipment.

In Chicago, two large-scale housing projects, developed on essentially the limited-dividend principle but with no tax exemption from the city, have provided homes for more than a thousand middle-class families. One of these, the Marshall Field Garden Apartments, is located in a slum area just north of the Loop. The development includes 627 separate apartments which rent from $12 to $15 per room per month. The other is the Julius Rosenwald project, located in the Negro area on the south side. This project was developed to meet the needs of Negroes on the upper-income levels and to provide this group with facilities which were not easily obtainable elsewhere in the city. The project has central heating, electric refrigeration, bath and shower combinations, playgrounds, a large central garden, and modern nursery schools. Since the average family income of the occupants is about $2,400, the rental rate of $16 a room per month does not seem excessive.

A related type of enterprise is the Parkchester development, in New York City, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In this project, however, occupancy is not restricted to Metropolitan employees—the development is frankly a commercial venture to provide an outlet for the financial resources of the company. As the largest housing development in the world, the Parkchester project, completed in 1940, cost about 50 million dollars and provides accommodations for 42,000 persons. There are 51 groups of buildings and 12,269 apartments of two to five rooms each. In certain respects the project takes on the character of a complete community within the larger metropolitan setting. It has five parks and other recreational areas, groups of neighborhood stores, a major shopping center,

two theaters, and five garages with a combined capacity of 3,000 cars. For the leisure-time activities of adults and children there are shaded walks, playgrounds, wading pools, roller skating paths, and handball and softball courts. In planning the project the conventional street plan was abandoned. Two broad, tree-lined parkways extend in curving fashion diagonally across the community, thus dividing the area into four major quadrants. Vehicular traffic can flow along the main parkways and may enter the parkways but not pass through them. The entire project was designed for families with moderate incomes.

We have dealt at considerable length with the limited-dividend experiments in housing because this quasi-private plan represents a significant type of housing reform. It is essentially a middle-of-the-road approach, representing a combination of capitalistic and collectivistic principles. Certainly the plan has advantages, at least from the standpoint of the ultimate consumer, over large-scale housing programs of a purely capitalistic character, since the limited-dividend homes apparently offer a greater dollar value in rentals than do most other types of dwellings. Yet it is quite apparent that this type of housing does not meet the needs of that segment of the population lowest in the economic scale. Families receiving incomes of $1,000 a year or less can hardly afford to pay the rentals customarily charged in the limited-dividend projects.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING. During the period of rapid industrial expansion in this country a number of industrialists became interested in the living conditions of their employees and took steps to provide more suitable housing facilities. Whether or not they were motivated by genuine social sympathies or by a desire to increase their profits through improving the efficiency of the workers we do not know. At any rate, several notable experiments in industrial housing have been made. One of the first of these was the experiment undertaken in 1881 by the Pullman Palace Car Company at Pullman, Illinois, then a suburb of Chicago.[17] A complete community was created by

17. Davie, Maurice, *Problems of City Life*, pp. 164–165 (1932). Cf. Magnusson, Leiffus, *Housing by Employers in the United States* (1920).

the company for the workers, with apartments and family dwellings renting at reasonable rates. Although the physical conditions of living were greatly improved, the exercise of rigid paternalistic authority in managing the model community was resented by the workers. Following the great Pullman strike the Illinois Supreme Court in 1898 decided that the charter of the company did not permit it to hold real estate which was not used directly in its manufacturing activities. Thus the Pullman housing experiment ended somewhat ingloriously.

In 1918 the United States Refractories Corporation, located at Kistler, Penn., developed a model community for its employees.[18] The village is separated by a river from the plant, and the houses, detached family residences, have been planned so as to provide considerable garden and yard space for the occupants. Although the community is owned by the corporation, extreme paternalistic control has been avoided, with the result that a fairly satisfactory community life has been achieved. A somewhat different experiment has been attempted in Kingsport, Tennessee. The Kingsport Improvement Corporation, representing the railroad and a number of industries in the community, owns most of the real estate and builds, rents, and sells houses to workers employed in the industrial establishments. The organization operates essentially on the limited-dividend principle.

Various other types of industrial housing experiments have been tried in this country, some of which have been reasonably successful.[19] Among these are the housing projects of the Ford Motor Company at Detroit and the General Motors Corporation at Flint and Pontiac; the developments of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company at Akron; the Indian Hill development of the Norton Grinding Company at Worcester, Massachusetts; Eclipse Park, a community created by the Fairbanks, Morse Company near Beloit, Wisconsin; Roebling, a suburb of Trenton, New Jersey, built by the John A. Roebling's Sons Company; the residential village maintained by the Viscose Company near Chester, Pennsylvania; and the

18. Muntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–153.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

housing project maintained by the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company of Peace Dale, Rhode Island. While these are, strictly speaking, "company towns," they at least have provided attractive home surroundings and at the same time have avoided the extremes of autocratic control. While they certainly do not represent philanthropy, presumably the tenant workers are not exploited. But the typical company town maintained by numerous mining and textile establishments presents a somewhat different picture. Commonly the workers are housed in substandard dwellings owned by the company, rents are usually high, and the general surroundings are not conducive to the development of an integrated community life. Since all the homes in the industrial towns are frequently owned by the company, the "company town" plan can easily be used to club workers into submission through threats of eviction.

Cooperative Housing. Although cooperative housing in this country has never figured significantly in programs of housing reform, there have been a few instances of successful cooperative undertakings—as well as instances of unsuccessful ones. In 1916 a group of Finns living in Brooklyn formed a cooperative to acquire homes, planned and constructed a 16-family apartment building, and thereby demonstrated the feasibility of cooperative housing.[20] This was probably the first successful attempt to apply the principles of cooperation in the field of housing. Other groups in the same city, attracted by the experiment, became interested and within a few years a number of small cooperative apartments had been built or purchased. In 1927 the United Workers' Cooperative Association in New York City completed a housing project with 339 apartments. During the same period the Jewish National Workers' Cooperative Homes Association developed three cooperative units having facilities for nearly 400 families. These apartments are rented to members of the society at considerably less than the market level. Perhaps the most significant experiment in cooperative housing is the project of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, also developed in New York City. This project, with accommodations

20. Wood, *op. cit.*, Ch. 10.

for 626 families, constitutes the nucleus of an integrated community life. The cooperative principle has been extended to include communal retail stores, an auditorium, library, nursery, kindergarten, playground, tea room, and a bus to transport children to and from school. Another cooperative project, the Amalgamated Dwellings, Inc., finished in 1930, received the medal of the American Institute of Architects as the best apartment house built in New York City in 1930.

But not all cooperative ventures have been so successful as these. Wood cites the examples of the Garden Homes Company in Milwaukee and the Yiddische Cooperative Heim Gesellschaft in New York City, both of which failed as cooperative projects.[21] In some instances the failures appear to be due to faulty financial planning; in other cases to the failure of the tenants to grasp, or at least to practice, the fundamental principles of cooperation. Cohesive groups such as labor unions appear to have greater chances of success than heterogeneous groups, the members of which have little in common and are motivated mainly by the desire for cheap rents.

THE PWA HOUSING PROGRAM. When it became apparent that the great majority of applicants in 1933 could not qualify for loans from the Housing Division, Federal authorities decided to pursue a more vigorous policy by attacking the housing problem in a direct way. The Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation was therefore authorized to undertake the construction of housing projects in selected cities on invitation of responsible local groups and agencies. Although the National Recovery Act of 1933 had encouraged the creation of local housing authorities, only a few such agencies had been created a year later. But with the decision of the Housing Division to enter the field of housing construction a number of states and municipalities enacted legislation creating housing authorities which would meet the standards of the Federal Government and at the same time cooperate with the Federal authorities in a program of housing reform. The result has been the construction of 50 Federal projects costing approximately 130 million dollars and pro-

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 176–179.

viding living accommodations for 22,000 families from the lower income levels. The following are the cities in which Federal PWA housing projects are located and the number of living units in each development:

CITY	NO. UNITS	CITY	NO. UNITS
Atlanta	604	Lexington (Ky.)	286
Atlanta	675	Louisville	210
Atlantic City	277	Louisville	125
Birmingham	544	Memphis	633
Boston	1,016	Memphis	449
Buffalo	658	Miami	243
Cambridge	294	Milwaukee	518
Camden	515	Minneapolis	464
Charleston	212	Montgomery (Ala.)	100
Chicago	1,027	Montgomery	156
Chicago	925	Nashville	314
Chicago	462	Nashville	398
Cincinnati	1,039	New York City	1,622
Cleveland	650	New York City	574
Cleveland	579	Oklahoma City	354
Cleveland	620	Omaha	284
Columbia	122	Philadelphia	258
Dallas	181	Caguas (Puerto Rico)	78
Detroit	701	San Juan (Puerto Rico)	131
Detroit	775	Schenectady	219
Enid	80	Stamford (Conn.)	146
Evansville	191	Toledo	264
Indianapolis	748	Virgin Islands	126
Jacksonville	215	Washington	274
Lackawanna (N.Y.)	271	Wayne (Penn.)	50

It will be seen from the foregoing list that the projects vary in size from small developments accommodating less than 100 families to mammoth enterprises with more than a thousand dwelling units. The largest of the Federal projects, Williamsburg Houses, in New York City, has nearly 6,000 rooms, covers 25 acres of a former slum area, and cost nearly 13 million dollars. Perhaps the most adequate basis for evaluation of the projects is the rental scale in effect. In 1939 the average base rent (including water) for 47 projects was $18.17 a month per dwelling unit. Since the costs of constructing and maintaining the housing projects vary from city to city, rentals likewise show considerable variation. The average rental per dwelling

unit in the Williamsburg Houses in New York City, for instance, was $24.79; for the Birmingham project it was $13.36.

Aside from criticisms, valid or otherwise, of the PWA housing venture, the program appears to have been completed without any significant amount of graft; business undoubtedly received some stimulus from the expenditure of so much money; and the 22,000 families occupying the buildings are probably provided with better living facilities than they could purchase elsewhere for the same price. Certain other effects are less tangible but no less real. In structures which have been occupied for a considerable length of time the tenants have manifested a renewed interest in community and neighborhood activities. Voluntary organizations of tenants have been formed, recreational and educational activities have been promoted by the occupants, and other evidences of communal solidarity have appeared. It remains, therefore, to be seen if such enterprises can provide the physical setting for the reorganization of community and neighborhood life in the city.

THE PROGRAM OF THE USHA. In 1937 the Federal housing leaders charted a different course. Under the sponsorship of Senator Wagner of New York and Congressman Steagall of Alabama, the United States Housing Act was passed. The act provides for a permanent national housing authority with power to make loans to legally constituted public housing agencies engaged in slum-clearance projects or other low-rent housing programs, thus reversing the principle of Federal construction, ownership, and management followed by the Public Works Administration. Whereas the PWA housing division initiated programs primarily for the purpose of alleviating unemployment and secondarily to provide modern housing facilities, the USHA has as its prime objective the elimination of slums and the construction of homes for families with limited incomes. And whereas the PWA activities were highly centralized, under the USHA the housing program is decentralized, with local authorities doing the actual work of construction but functioning in close relationship to the national Authority. The law also provides that the housing projects constructed under the auspices of the PWA

are to be transferred to the USHA, which in turn is obligated to dispose of them, by lease or sale, to local housing authorities.

Under the provisions of the act an initial fund of 526 million dollars was made available to the Authority to be used for loans to public housing agencies. This fund was later increased to 800 million dollars. The Authority, according to the stipulations of the law, is entitled to make loans up to 90 per cent of the cost of the project, with no more than 10 per cent of the funds advanced to any state. In addition, two types of subsidies are allowed: capital grants up to 25 per cent of the cost of the project, with the possibility of an increase to 40 per cent by Presidential executive order if relief labor is used; and annual contributions to local authorities to assist in maintaining the low-rent status of a housing project. The cost of construction is limited to $4,000 a dwelling unit and $1,000 a room in cities less than a half million, whereas for larger communities the maximum cost is $5,000 and $1,250, respectively.

By February, 1940, the USHA had commitments for 369 housing projects in 145 cities having local housing authorities. When completed, these projects will contain 133,384 dwelling units, or 558,210 rooms, with an average of 4 rooms per dwelling unit. The entire USHA program, according to an estimate by the national administrator, will provide homes for 160,000 families in the lower income brackets. No families will be accepted as tenants whose aggregate income is more than five times the amount of rental for each living unit, with the exception of families having three or more dependents, whose income may not exceed six times the stipulated rental. Through this device the projects will be reserved for families unable to pay higher rents. Monthly rents per room will range from $1.75 to $5.00, depending on the locality and the type of project. The average rent per dwelling unit for 116 projects under contract in 1939 was estimated to be $11.45 in the South and $15.80 in Northern cities.

Other Aids to Housing. Because of the limitations of space we shall refer only briefly to the activities of other agencies in the field of housing. In 1932 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was

authorized to make loans to building corporations, but only one project, Knickerbocker Village in New York City, resulted from this arrangement. Later the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was formed to lend financial assistance to home owners who were in danger of losing their homes through mortgage foreclosures. With the passing of the depression crisis the agency discontinued the policy of making loans. Somewhat similar to the HOLC was the Federal Housing Administration, whose function has been to insure loans made on privately constructed homes rather than to make the loans directly. Both the HOLC and the FHA were designed to encourage home ownership through protection of home owners against economic losses.

European Housing Program. It will be appropriate to consider somewhat briefly the housing situation in European countries in order to provide a better perspective on our own problems in this field. Since urbanization has been relatively more advanced in several European countries than in the United States, it is not surprising that fairly well-defined housing policies were in existence before even a semblance of a public housing program was formulated in this country. As far back as the middle of the nineteenth century a few central governments in Europe had enacted legislation dealing with the housing situation; by the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century probably all the countries of western Europe had some form of national housing law. With the exception of the brief excursion of the Federal Government in public housing during the World War, this country developed no housing programs until the depression beginning in 1929 created a grave unemployment situation and attracted attention to the need of housing reform.

Perhaps the most spectacular housing program of any of the European cities was the experiment of the Vienna city government during the post-war years. After the war this city found itself populated by a large working population herded into drab and unsanitary slum tenements. With a socialist party in power the municipality set about to correct these conditions by launching a gigantic building program for the impoverished and underhoused workers. During

the decade following 1923 the city government built, at a cost of 115 million dollars, over 58,000 modern dwelling units capable of sheltering nearly one-eighth of the population of Vienna. These apartments and detached houses were rented at a nominal figure to workers, the plan being eventually to provide free housing to the indigent masses. But in 1934 the dramatic overthrow of the socialist regime marked the end of the building program. Although the experiment received the approval of many disinterested housing experts, there seems little likelihood that the program will be continued, at least in its original form, under the existing regime.

Among the European countries having advanced housing legislation Sweden occupies a leading position. Before the turn of the twentieth century the central government had provided financial aid for low-rent housing projects. This governmental subsidy has either taken the form of loans to builders or of subventions to municipal authorities. One of the interesting features of housing reform in Sweden has been the growth of cooperative building societies, which are credited with having built more than 30,000 dwelling units since 1916. These societies maintain a close relationship with governmental agencies, and, together with the limited-dividend corporations, have played a leading role in building programs. Although a sizable proportion of the lower classes in Sweden are still inadequately housed, probably no other country in Europe, unless it was pre-Nazi Austria, has made such a consistent and successful attack on the housing problem. If present plans are completed modern homes for the entire Swedish population will be provided within a few years.

The suspension of building operations in England during the World War created a grave housing shortage which served to focus attention on the substandard quality of the dwellings that were already in existence. Although national housing laws had been in effect since the nineteenth century, the Housing Act of 1919 provided the machinery for a comprehensive housing program to alleviate the situation. This act required local authorities to present plans for low-rent housing programs in the various cities and towns, and

furthermore provided for governmental subsidies in the form of loans and grants to public utility societies, housing trusts, and private builders. Subsequent enactments strengthened the existing legislation and provided for necessary modifications. From 1919 to 1933 more than two million dwellings were erected, with subsidies amounting to 750 million dollars being paid on more than half of them. In 1933 local housing authorities presented programs for a 5-year slum clearance program calling for the demolition of a quarter of a million dwellings and the erection of a similar number of new structures. The objectives of this program have apparently been achieved. A new housing act in 1935 made it illegal for working-class dwellings to be occupied by more than the number prescribed by law as the maximum for the space available. The conclusion that one may reach from this brief statement of trends in England is that slums and substandard homes will be eliminated if the program is continued. In all probability, however, the war will result in a serious setback for housing reform in England as well as in other European countries.

The post-war period in France witnessed a similar effort on the part of government to improve the living conditions of the French population. The Housing Loan Act of 1924 authorized the city of Paris to borrow money for the construction and improvement of low-rent dwellings, and four years later the Locheur Act provided for a five-year housing program in which 200,000 "minimum" cost dwellings and 60,000 "maximum" cost homes would be erected. In order to encourage home ownership, financial assistance was given to individuals building homes for their own use, while special subsidies were provided war invalids, victims of industrial accidents, and families with two or more young children. Between 1927 and 1933 about 300,000 dwellings were constructed with the assistance of government loans amounting to a half billion dollars.

Holland has had a long experience of government participation in housing schemes. The national housing law of 1901 was so complete and comprehensive that much of the work of slum clearance was achieved before other countries had made a start. Although the

law has been modified since its original enactment, no fundamental changes have been made. This law provides for liberal loans to municipalities or housing societies engaging in building activities. The city of Amsterdam, for instance, has in recent years erected more than 1,500 modern tenements for workers and has also developed a number of garden suburbs with the assistance of local cooperative societies. Limited-dividend and cooperative organizations, both eligible for loans, were responsible for about one-sixth of the new dwellings erected between 1921 and 1934. In Denmark cooperatives and limited-dividend companies have also flourished, almost one-third of the new dwellings in Copenhagen being constructed by these organizations between 1920 and 1934. During the post-war years, democratic Germany built more than 3 million dwellings, 80 per cent of them through government aid. In the five-year period preceding the advent of Nazism, in 1933, more than a million model homes were erected.

This somewhat abbreviated sketch of European housing programs indicates that governmental participation has become, or is certainly in the way of becoming, a permanent national policy. The experience of European people living in highly urbanized and industrialized areas has apparently convinced them that laissez-faire economics, while perhaps attractive in theory, will not provide comfortable and sanitary homes for low-income families. In this country the public has tended to be somewhat suspicious of governmental undertakings of this sort; therefore it is not surprising that the housing programs of the Public Works Administration and the United States Housing Authority have been subjected to a barrage of criticism.

While this country can undoubtedly profit from the long experience of Europe in the field of housing, it does not necessarily follow that specific housing programs, such as are successful in European cities, would be suitable for the American milieu. Faced as we are with a somewhat unique combination of social, economic, and political conditions, it becomes necessary to make adjustments to suit the specific situations that are in existence here. Most of the

European countries are smaller in size and population than the United States; some of them have advanced beyond this country in degree of urbanization; and in nearly all, if not all, there is a greater centralization of government. These and other differences make it quite apparent that whatever housing policy we shall permanently adopt, it will be necessary to formulate it in terms of specific conditions peculiar to our own society.

CONCLUSIONS. But what are acceptable housing standards for a twentieth century urban civilization? To be sure, certain minimal standards of a more or less objective character can easily be established; rooms must be sufficiently numerous and spacious to make possible healthful living as well as agreeable family association; structures must be so designed as to allow for plenty of air and light; modern household equipment must be provided; rents must be low enough to meet the needs of families having limited incomes. It does not necessarily follow, however, that housing is suitable for the machine age of the twentieth century even when these minimum standards are met. Slum clearance projects, if improperly planned, may simply mean the retardation rather than the deracination of cancerous areas of blight. Piecemeal projects set down in the midst of a dreary slum may soon become so infested with blight that the new developments cease to be desirable places of residence. Homes may provide the physical conditions for family living but at the same time be aesthetic and architectural monstrosities. Urban dwellers with a love of privacy and a flair, let us say, for gardening may find their "standard" homes so cramped as to provide opportunity for neither. Unless demolition accompanies construction the slum is untouched: suburban developments on vacant land, while meeting all reasonable housing standards, do not necessarily result in the abandonment of blighted areas by slum dwellers with low incomes. And unless effective legislation is applied to prevent overcrowding, the essential conditions of slum living may be restored even in new developments that provide suitable physical facilities.

Finally, the pertinent question may be raised: Can low-rent housing be provided for America's "ill-nourished, ill-clad, and ill-housed"

under the existing economic system? Catherine Bauer, in her *Modern Housing*, argues that it cannot. Basing her conclusions on the demonstrated fact that private enterprise, operating on the profit principle, cannot build good homes to rent at prices which the low-income groups can afford to pay, she insists that a change from capitalism to some form of collectivism must take place before there can be a thoroughgoing housing reform. If she is correct in her assumption, then it appears that the elimination of slum housing will not be immediately achieved, since no revolutionary changes in the economic system are likely to occur in the near future. Other housing authorities, however, taking a more moderate view of the situation, believe that housing reform can be achieved, slowly perhaps, within the framework of the present capitalist regime, with government working in close cooperation with local private and public organizations. Obviously the question is a moot one, and certainly no satisfactory answer can be provided until experience has demonstrated the success or futility of present measures.

But regardless of the differences in views held by housing experts, on at least two points there seems to be essential agreement: first, that the ultimate cost of substandard housing will be greater than the cost of thoroughgoing housing reform; and second, that there will be no return to the days of laissez-faire—government participation, in one form or another, is here to stay.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Visit the slum district of a selected city and describe the housing facilities of the residents.

2. What percentage of the families of your city own their own homes? Is home ownership increasing or decreasing? What appear to be the reasons for these changes in home ownership, if such changes exist?

3. What evidence, if any, is there that a housing shortage exists?

4. Visit a slum clearance project and observe the type of housing designed to improve the living conditions of the residents. Considering the rentals charged (or to be charged), do you consider the project adequate to meet the needs of the low-income groups in the area? How is the project managed?

5. Secure descriptive literature on the PWA and USHA housing programs and compare this form of public housing with housing programs of certain European countries.

6. If no public housing program has been started for your community, draw up a plan which you would consider practical and at the same time adequate to meet the needs of the low-income groups.

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23

SOCIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL CONTROL

EARLY REFORM MOVEMENTS. Modern programs of social planning may be said to have had their origin in the local community studies that were undertaken during the latter years of the nineteenth century.[1] The investigations of poverty, vice, and crime that were made at the time became the basis for many social reforms and furnished the materials for the arguments of muckraker and reformist alike. Not only was concern displayed over the scandalous conditions that existed in the industrial centers, both in this country and abroad, but a new interest in the slum was created out of the romantic, ethical, and morbid inclinations of the better classes, and a new sympathy was enlisted for the masses who were exploited and victimized by profit-seeking industrialism. The first notable attempt to study urban conditions was made by Charles Booth and published in 1892 as *Life and Labour of the People of London*, a nine-volume report describing the appalling conditions of squalor and destitution in London's East Side. Because of Booth's sympathetic insight into the problems of the great masses of London's industrial classes, the report has become a classic. In true pioneer spirit it blazed the trail for investigations that were to follow.

In the meantime the attack on the slum was getting under way. The first settlement appeared in Toynbee Hall in East London in 1875, established by students from Oxford and Cambridge universities. In 1886 the Neighborhood Guild (later the University Settlement) was established in New York City and in 1889 Hull House was opened in Chicago by Jane Addams, these events marking the beginning of a movement that resulted in the founding of scores of

1. See especially Anderson's discussion of urban sociology in *Trends of American Sociology*, by Lundberg, George, Anderson, Nels, Bain, Read, *et al.*, Ch. 6 (1929).

social settlements in the regions of the city that had been shunned by the "respectable" element of society. If slumming became a fad among the curious and well-fed, fighting the slum became a passion among the social idealists. Inspired by the leadership of Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Robert Woods, and others, welfare programs having as their purpose individual rehabilitation and community reorganization were fostered. Such documents as *Hull House Maps and Papers* by Jane Addams, *The City Wilderness* and *Americans in Process* by Robert Woods, and *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis served as guideposts for the reform movement and as an inspiration to the crusader who would abolish the slum. Whatever may have been the value of the social reform movement, it can be truthfully said that it was, to use the words of Anderson, the mother or stepmother to a host of social agencies, organizations, and movements that have become integral parts of urban life. But unfortunately the social movement of that period made little more than a ripple on the troubled waters of American urban life. Because its social techniques were inadequate, because it sought to appraise and evaluate without having a complete, or even partial, understanding of the forces producing these conditions, it accomplished little toward a permanent solution of the social problems of the city. Like many other reform movements, it employed the methods of praise and blame without having an adequate basis for the conclusions reached.

The turning point of the social reform movement was reached when the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey were published during the years 1909 to 1914. Like the earlier study of London undertaken by Booth, the survey, by employing a new approach and new techniques, was a pioneer in the field of scientific investigation. The director of the Pittsburgh Survey, Paul U. Kellogg, sought to use the city as a clinical laboratory for the purpose of discovering the social and cultural effects of industrialism on the life of the people of a single city. It was a significant attempt at an objective analysis of an urban community; at the same time it deliberately pointed the way to political education and collective action in community

affairs. Since then many other surveys have been undertaken and large sums of money have been spent by private interests, foundations, and communities with a view to effecting needed social and economic changes. It can never be known just what role the social survey has played in social progress, but there can be no doubt that many surveys have represented the starting points for collective action culminating in valuable reform.

Approaches to Communal Understanding. In its program of research the Local Community Research Committee of Chicago formulated a four-fold classification of the city's institutions which it proposed to study: first, the basic cultural institutions such as the family, the church, and the school; second, the economic institutions, such as industrial and commercial enterprises, labor unions, and real-estate boards; third, the recreational institutions, such as the dance hall, the moving-picture theater, the community centers, and the pool halls; and fourth, the institutions of formal social control, including both governmental and social agencies. While such a classification is of course tentative, it is suggestive of possible approaches to research in institutions of an urban community. In the various studies of personality that have been made, attention has been paid to attitudes and behavior patterns and particularly to the relation of personality to the social environment. *The Polish Peasant,* by Thomas and Znaniecki, represents a bold attempt to interpret sociologically the processes of integration and disintegration of personality, and the publication of that monumental work served as an impetus to more recent explorations in the field of personality development as related to the urban community.

Particularly should the social discoveries made through such organized research raise the horizon of social workers and contribute to the process of transferring social work from a sentimental to a scientific basis. Indeed it may well be said that the entire array of social institutions of the city may become more effective as agencies of social control when they proceed along the way indicated by the results of scientific investigation—a way that will avoid much of the waste and inefficiency that now characterize a relatively un-

planned social order. The pressing problems of crime, vice, and family disorganization can be solved or minimized only by a fuller understanding of the complex social factors that determine the individual's behavior. It is perhaps for this reason as much as anything else that the recent studies in the ecology of the city have proved singularly important. The conception of the city as a growing organism made up of "natural areas" that are the products of many forces and factors—cultural, racial, economic, physiographic—has provided a new social lens, as it were, through which persons, groups, and institutions may be studied with a greater understanding of the processes of change. Thus urban ecology involves vastly more than interesting accounts of nondescript areas; it provides a sort of starting point for social explorations that have a direct contribution to make to the many aspects of social control and social planning—to personality development, to institutional control, to community reorganization, and particularly to city and regional planning.

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION. The term "community organization" is commonly used in an active sense with reference to the conscious efforts to effect cooperation and solidarity within the community through appropriate institutions and agencies of social control and of mutual aid. As a form of communal activity it is concerned primarily with the harmonization of groups within the community, with their adjustment to each other in a way that will make for social solidarity and in the end the successful integration of personality and the accommodation of the individual to his social milieu. It is, as Steiner has said, a continual process, this one of social adjustment in a social order. "In order to understand the problem with which community organization is dealing, we must think of society as made up of elements more or less antagonistic to each other, which must through a process of accommodation develop a working arrangement that will resolve the conflicts and make consistent progress possible." [2]

A number of interesting attempts have been made by local groups to reconstruct the shattered fabric of neighborhood life, but prob-

2. Steiner, J. F., *Community Organization*, p. 323 (1925).

ably no experiment in neighborhood organization has enjoyed the success its leaders had hoped for when the plan was undertaken. Most of them have been piecemeal in character, unrelated to larger programs of community reconstruction. One of these plans we shall describe in some detail, not because of its ultimate success, for it ended in failure, but because it does represent the possibilities of community organization. This was the so-called Cincinnati Social Unit Plan, an experiment, lasting from 1917 to 1920, which was designed to effect a combination of democratic social control and professional social service in the Mohawk-Brighton district of Cincinnati, an area with a population of approximately 15,000.

The area was divided into 31 units or "blocks," each unit consisting of about 500 persons. The residents of each block elected a "citizens' council," which in turn appointed a "block worker," or "block mother," who assumed the responsibility of keeping informed of the needs of the families and individuals within her zone. In addition to an organization on a geographical basis there was an occupational council composed of representatives from the various skilled and professional groups residing within the district. These two councils combined to form a general council which, with the assistance of a general executive secretary, controlled the activities of the entire organization. Most of the services undertaken were in the field of public health, and included infant welfare service, prenatal supervision of mothers, general bedside nursing, health service for pre-school children, nursing supervision for tuberculosis and pre-tuberculosis patients, and medical examination of adults.

At the end of three years the plan was abandoned, largely because of the opposition of a conservative political machine in the city. While it was not completely successful as an experiment in community organization, a number of competent observers are of the opinion that the plan was fairly sound in principle, that it actually contributed to the well-being of the people of the area during the three years, and that it blazed a new trail toward reconstruction of urban community life. "I have no doubt," wrote E. T. Devine, "that the Social Unit has added substantially to the physical and moral

well-being of the residents of the district; that it has led to more efficient and discriminating relief, to more thorough and constructive diagnosis of the needs of families in trouble; that it has prompted neighborliness and sociability; that it has made the ordinary family residing in the district more hospitable to visitors who come with a helpful purpose, and more discriminating as to the probable effect of sanitary and social measures brought forward for their benefit." [3] There are others, however, who look askance upon such democratic experiments in the modern city, believing them doomed to failure because they do not take sufficiently into account the wide divergence of interests of urban people or the presence of marked social distances, both of which act as obstacles in the way of cooperation and the development of community spirit. It is futile, they say, to attempt to restore the traditional village neighborliness and solidarity in a modern metropolis whose social relationships are characterized by secondary contacts, by anonymity, and by individualistic patterns of behavior.[4]

A few city-planning commissions have given particular attention to the development of neighborhood organization, and managerial officials of some of the new government housing developments have been especially active in promoting *esprit de corps* among the residents. In St. Louis the city-plan commission has divided the city into 81 neighborhood units and is attempting to develop organizations of citizens in these neighborhoods to cooperate with the central planning body for the improvement and protection of local areas.[5] Most cities have neighborhood improvement associations which function to accomplish some specific objective, but most of these are temporary organizations with limited personnel, meager financial resources, and restricted scope of activity. It therefore seems im-

3. Devine, E. T., "The Social Unit in Cincinnati," *Survey*, 43: 123.

4. For favorable discussion of the Social Unit Experiment see Steiner, J. F., *Community Organization*, ch. 15; Eldridge, S., *The New Citizenship*, ch. 7; and Dinwiddie, C., *Community Responsibility: A Review of the Cincinnati Social Unit Experiment*. The reader will find an adverse criticism of the plan in Zorbaugh, *Gold Coast and Slum*, ch. 12.

5. Mitchell, Robert B., "Prospects of Neighborhood Rehabilitation," *Housing Yearbook*, 1938, p. 135.

portant that each city should have some central agency or clearing-house whose function it would be to encourage the organization of local neighborhood associations, guide them in the formulation of objectives and procedures, and offer whatever assistance is necessary in carrying out accepted programs of neighborhood rehabilitation. The success of any organization, however, will depend to a considerable extent on the character of social relations in the local area. If there is a high rate of mobility, if cultural and racial differences are pronounced, and if the economic status of the residents is so low as to create a widespread feeling of insecurity, interest in the common problems of neighborhood life will be more difficult to arouse than if the area is stable, racially and culturally homogeneous, and reasonably prosperous.

We have noted time and again in this book the increasing importance of interest groups in urban society. This shift of urban relationships from a geographical to an associational basis does not mean that efforts to reconstruct neighborhood life are necessarily useless; it does mean, however, that full recognition will have to be given the associations and organizations of the city and that the neighborhood will have to be oriented to a considerable extent around such groupings. In them lie resources for social reconstruction, resources which, when tapped, may release new energies for the reorientation of communal life. Such organizations as luncheon clubs, parent-teachers' associations, municipal voters' leagues, women's clubs, labor unions, churches, athletic associations, consumers' cooperatives, and even public forums, to mention only a few, represent social channels through which the interests and energies of city people may be directed toward the reconstruction of community life. If their activities are coordinated and synchronized with comprehensive planning programs for the community at large much more significant achievements may be attained than if each undertakes to act independently.

Metropolitan and Regional Planning. The concept of the metropolitan region has given rise to numerous flights of fancy and utopian speculations. Some writers have seen in the centrifugal trend

of population and industry the beginning of a movement which would virtually depopulate the great cities if proper guidance were given to the development of smaller communities in the hinterland. In his *The New Exploration*, for example, Benton Mackaye has presented the broad outlines of a "regional plan" to relieve the congestion of the crowded centers and provide for redistribution of population in the environs by what he calls the "levees" or "dams" for controlling the "metropolitan deluge." He would direct the population of the metropolis into small regional cities of the hinterland, cities so planned, according to his view, as to provide for the maximum of comfort, well-being, and efficiency. "Our particular problem in regional planning," he writes, "deals with the distribution of a given population within a region. Our particular goal is to guide the flow of population into some form of the indigenous mold (the environment of real living) and to deter it from any form of the metropolitan mold (the environment of mere existence)." [6] Less restrained than Mackaye is the celebrated American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, who protests violently against the blighting influences of metropolitanism.[7] Broadacre City is the name he gives to his ideal community, a small city in which each family would be allotted an acre of ground on which to have a modern home, a garden for flowers and vegetables, and facilities for recreation after a day of toil. Family breadwinners could find employment in industrial and commercial establishments located in the vicinity.

Such proposals are both interesting and provocative, but a critical examination of them reveals some inherent weaknesses. Mackaye and others have apparently assumed that the "backflow" of metropolitanism, if properly canalized, could be directed into numerous small communities which could be so planned as to eliminate the congestion and blight of the city. Such a view apparently carries with it the additional assumption that industry and commerce could be so decentralized as to provide employment for the redistributed population. So far, however, industry has shown little inclination to spread out into the so-called hinterland, and there is little indication

6. P. 167. 7. *The Disappearing City* (1936).

that coercive measures will be taken by the government to bring about such a redistribution. There has been a centrifugal movement of both industry and population, to be sure, but for the most part this movement has been confined to the peripheral areas of the metropolis. Nor is there much reason to believe that a wide dispersal of industry away from the metropolitan zones into the rural areas will occur, at least so long as comparative freedom of enterprise is enjoyed by industrialists. Even if such a redistribution of population and industry should take place, it would undoubtedly result in serious economic dislocations. Most cities have poured enormous quantities of wealth into public and private improvements in the central areas of the community. The wide dispersal of population and industry as envisioned by certain writers would probably mean the abandonment of many of these facilities, since they could not function for a diffused population. Certainly the entire structure of urban land values would be so completely changed as to mean economic disaster for innumerable businesses and private home owners. This in turn would mean a tax dilemma far more serious than any of the taxation entanglements which we have at present.

A realistic analysis of the situation, therefore, forces us to the conclusion that much of the planning will have to be done within the present metropolitan framework, that new communal developments will have to be made accessible to the industrial and commercial establishments located in or near the metropolis. This does not mean, of course, that the "backflow" of population is to be ignored; it merely means that planning programs will have to be kept constantly related to the major metropolitan institutions which, whether in theory we favor them or not, are not likely to be scattered to the four winds over night, if at all. The planning achievements of the Resettlement Administration and the housing programs of the Public Works Administration and the United States Housing Authority, while probably open to criticism, at least do not bear the earmarks of utopian phantasies.

a. *Scope and Character of Regional Planning.* Regional planning, at least as it applies to the metropolitan region (and the me-

tropolis can never be ignored in any type of plan), has for its objective the redirection and rational control of human activity so as to provide a greater degree of communal efficiency and a more abundant life for those who reside within the area. Its methods are those of democratic cooperation between the various parts of a region operating through the political institutions which may be created, if they do not already exist, to carry out such cooperative undertakings. It is based on established factual data relating to the demographic, physiographic, institutional, occupational, and cultural characteristics of the area or of the people who live thereon. Above all, it takes cognizance of the various uses to which land is put or may be put in the future.

In the chapter on metropolitan regionalism we placed special emphasis on the close relationship between the city and its trade area. It is our view that the city can be properly understood only when it is seen in its larger setting, that the metropolis and its hinterland are interrelated parts of a greater organic whole. If this interpretation is valid, then it logically follows that any comprehensive planning program must take cognizance not only of the structural and functional characteristics of the city but also of the relationship between the metropolis and outlying settlements. To ignore this interdependence would be to construct a piecemeal plan not in harmony with conditions as they actually exist. So far, relatively few attempts have been made to construct a planning program applicable to the larger communal unity. This is due partly to the paucity of reliable data on specific metropolitan regions and partly to conflicting conceptions of what actually constitutes a region. Most of the so-called regional planning has really been metropolitan planning, that is, development of plans for the metropolis and its immediate environs. This is probably inevitable, since the metropolitan district or area represents a smaller unit and the relationships between the city and its adjacent territory are more clearly apparent.

Certainly one of the problems of regional planning concerns the provision for movement of goods and people within the region, and for this reason such transportation facilities as railroads, highways,

airways, and water routes constitute an important part of a planned region. Whenever these routes can be coordinated so as to permit the maximum of circulation they may relieve the pressure within the inner city, thereby permitting a greater freedom of movement both within and outside the metropolis. As Mackaye points out, it is perhaps easier to unravel a traffic snarl in New York City by redirecting some of the exportable commodities, say wheat, to other eastern ports than to develop an outlying region for the purpose of relieving pressure within the central zones. Under a regional plan the motor highways within the region would be so planned and coordinated as to permit efficient movement of commodities and population from outlying settlements to the metropolis, as well as to permit the efficient movement of goods and people away from the central zones. If a metropolitan region is anything at all, it is an area characterized by social interaction between the various parts; accordingly, a regional plan would, of necessity, provide for an efficient system of communication so as to facilitate the flow of ideas and equalize the cultural opportunities of the area. Since the health as well as the wealth of the population of the region is a matter of social concern, the regional plan would include provisions for public service utilities, for drainage and control over the water supply, for sanitation, and for the conservation of the natural resources, particularly the forests and open spaces suitable for recreation. The growth of what Mackaye calls "slums of commerce" in the immediate environs of the city has created peculiar problems which can be dealt with most adequately through some program of regional planning.

Since regional developments have largely ignored political boundaries, many social problems are of a regional character and can, therefore, be attacked only on a regional basis. Accordingly, states, counties, and other political units included in a region must necessarily cooperate in a program of regional organization. It would be hard to imagine, for example, a group of counties, each acting independently of the others, setting up effective controls and making adequate plans for conditions that are regional rather than strictly local in character. For this reason numerous compacts and other

agreements have been made between different governing units to deal with regional problems which are of common concern. Yet because of political jealousies and rivalries between political areas, the formulation of effective regional programs has commonly lagged far behind the actual necessity of concerted action. So far, regional planning boards have confined their activities to fact-gathering and advisory functions, leaving the political aspects of planning to other legal or extralegal bodies. The lack of coordination between the metropolis and outlying political units, as well as between governing bodies within the city itself, has led some students of urban society to suggest the possibility of setting up an independent metropolitan state with political rights equal to those of other states. While this device might provide more effective ways of dealing with certain problems common to the metropolitan area, there is no reason to believe that the "city state" would be any better equipped politically to deal with regional problems than is the present plan of organization.

b. *Some Specific Planning Programs.* Lest this discussion be in danger of becoming too abstract, it will be well to note briefly some of the approaches to regional planning that have already been made or considered in various localities. The regional plan of New York and its environs, which was an outgrowth of the extensive survey conducted in that area, is one of the most comprehensive programs ever formulated in this country. Strictly speaking, the plan applies particularly to the metropolitan district rather than to the larger region tributary to New York City. The boundaries as designated by the planners include (1) "the area within which the population can and does travel in reasonable time from home to place of work—the commuting area; (2) the large outlying recreational areas within easy reach of the metropolitan center; and (3) the cities and counties at the periphery of these areas, so as to relate the plans to the areas of administration." [8] The plan was also related to the physical characteristics of the area, such as watersheds and waterways. Recognizing fully that the city "has common problems with communities

8. *The Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*, 1:133.

hundreds of miles distant," and that "part of its water supply is derived from areas that lie many miles away from its outer edges," the planners, nevertheless, decided that in trying to do too much they might do too little and, therefore, limited the plan to the area of most intense activity centering around the metropolis. The area covered by the plan includes 5,528 square miles of territory lying in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, encompassing within its boundaries 436 local governments and representing the habitations of approximately 10 million persons, three-fifths of whom live in the metropolis.[9] Among the problems considered in the plan were the following:

1. Trunk line railroads
   Belt lines
   Connections on waterfront lines
   Union passenger terminals
2. Suburban rapid transit lines
3. New railroad crossings of major waterways
4. Waterway projects and water areas
5. Major regional highways
   Metropolitan loop
   Inner routes
   Radial routes
   Outer circumferential routes
   Metropolitan by-pass routes
   Express highways
   Supplementary routes
6. Minor regional highways
7. Parkways and boulevards
8. Major industrial sites to be developed
9. Extensions of residence areas
10. Proposed public parks in the environs
    Compact park areas
    Ribbon parks
11. Proposed public parks in New York City
    Compact park areas
    Ribbon parks
12. Airports and landing facilities

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 126–127.

Proposed additional landing fields
Seaplane landings, existing and proposed [10]

The Chicago city plan, which has become a regional plan in some of its features, provides for the creation of a system of highways outside the metropolis and for the development of an outer park system.[11] The Chicago Regional Planning Association and the Citizens' Forest Preserve Advisory Committee have been responsible for the acquisition of more than 30,000 acres of land which will be made into a permanent forest preserve to be used for public recreational purposes. In 1934 the St. Louis Regional Planning Association, in cooperation with the National Planning Board, made an extensive survey of the St. Louis area preparatory to the development of a comprehensive regional or metropolitan plan.[12] This area, as defined by the survey, comprises 3,191 square miles, most of it lying within a 35-mile radius of the central business district. The Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-State District has for a number of years been active in developing a planning program for that region. Monroe County, New York, in which is located the city of Rochester, has developed a county planning program which has some of the characteristics of a regional plan.[13] The Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission has a plan that includes not only the metropolis but also numerous cities, villages, and open-country areas lying within the county.[14] The Massachusetts Division of Metropolitan Planning is concerned mainly with the problem of coordinating transportation in the Boston area.[15] In New York the Niagara Frontier Planning Board, estab-

10. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 152–156.

12. Bartholomew, Harland, "Metropolitan Planning for St. Louis and Environs," in *Planning Problems of City, Region, State and Nation, Proceedings of National Conference on City Planning*, 1930, pp. 30–42.

13. Bonner, J. Franklin, "Monroe County, an Urban Area," in *New Horizons in Planning*, American Society of Planning Officials, 1937, pp. 51–56.

14. Penfield, Wallace C., "County Planning in California," *New Horizons in Planning*, 1937, pp. 56–59.

15. Bessey, Roy F., "Need for Regional Planning Legislation," in *National Conference on Planning*, American Society of Planning Officials, 1938, p. 53. The additional references on regional planning commissions are taken from the same source.

lished in 1925, is concerned with area planning in two counties lying in the Buffalo metropolitan district. The National Capital Park and Planning Commission of the District of Columbia is authorized to collaborate with planning authorities in Maryland and Virginia. A comprehensive plan for the Washington-Baltimore-Annapolis area has been initiated by the Maryland State Planning Commission. In addition may be mentioned the Milwaukee County Regional Planning Department and the Allegheny County Planning Commission (Pittsburgh). To what extent these plans will be carried out in actual programs of social reconstruction we do not know. Most comprehensive of any planning programs now in effect is that of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which comprises a large area in the Tennessee River valley. While the TVA is not strictly a plan for a metropolitan region, it does include within its scope a considerable number of cities, towns, and villages as well as a vast rural area.

City Planning. While there has been city planning of a sort in all cities, ancient, medieval, and modern, it has been only in relatively recent years that long-range social planning for the future has been accepted as a part of the municipal programs of large and small cities alike. A few classic examples of city planning and re-planning stand out in history. One of these was the spectacular reconstruction of Paris by Napoleon III. Another was the city of Washington, which still follows the essential outlines of the plan drawn up originally in 1791 by L'Enfant, the French architect. Even as far back as 1682 William Penn drew up a rectangular plan for the city of Philadelphia, with streets and squares amply spaced to meet the conditions of his time. Such cities as Edinburgh in Scotland and Mannheim and Karlsruhe in Germany still show the influences of early planning. In 1875 the English Parliament passed the first of a series of health laws which were to form the basis for later planning legislation.[16] The Town Planning Act of 1909, designed to improve sanitary conditions and provide better housing facilities for

16. Adams, Thomas, "City and Town Planning," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2:475.

the poor, represented an important beginning for the planning movement.

In this country the city-planning movement really began in 1893, when the idea was given publicity through exhibits at the Chicago World's Fair. However, it was not until 1905 that plans were really made, these being designed for Manila, San Francisco, and Columbia, South Carolina.[17] The rapid growth of cities and the multiplicity of problems created by this growth made it apparent to community leaders that some form of guidance and regulation was necessary if the waste and inefficiency inherent in the natural processes of urbanization were to be minimized. An increasing number of American cities have accepted the idea of planning, with the result that at the present time more than 1,500 cities and towns have building codes in one form or another, while over 1,300 municipalities have zoning ordinances.[18] Legislation authorizing city-planning commissions now exists in 42 states, and in 26 states there are legal provisions for county planning, an essential aspect of metropolitan and regional planning.

One of the prime considerations of city planning, like regional planning, is the circulation of people and commodities; therefore the plan must of necessity deal with streets, rail and water transportation, local transit facilities, utilities, and spaces needed for loading and unloading or transferring passengers and freight. But the plan involves more than movement; it is also concerned with parks and open spaces, civic centers and other public and semipublic buildings, treatment of water fronts and other special areas, location of industrial and commercial establishments, sanitation (including sewage disposal, water supply, and pollution of water), plotting and subdivision of land, and the development of residential areas. The main features of a city plan may be summarized as follows:

1. A street plan
2. A civic center or centers
3. A system of parks and boulevards

17. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, p. 293.
18. *Our Cities*, p. 46.

4. A system of zoning to segregate business, industrial, and residential uses of land from each other
5. A plan for controlling the design of public buildings, the establishment of building lines and certain restrictions on the design and construction of private residences
6. A plan for tracks, routes, and stations of railways
7. A plan for street car lines and bus lines
8. A plan for waterways and docks
9. A plan for air transportation
10. A plan for the disposal of the waste products of the city
11. A plan for extending utilities such as gas and electricity
12. A plan for controlling and regulating traffic

Since the health and efficiency of a city, like the health and efficiency of an individual, depend to a considerable extent on the condition of its circulatory system, the problem of maintaining a free flow of commodities and people has been of especial concern to the city planner. The centralization of activities in the great cities has placed such an enormous burden upon the streets and transportation systems that congestion of traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, has resulted, and the costs of this retarded movement have reached staggering totals for many communities. Skyscrapers that cluster around the focal centers of the cities empty themselves of myriads of workers each evening at about the same hour, and the outpouring exerts such a strain on the transportation facilities that travel at this hour is not only uncomfortable but well-nigh impossible. Furthermore, the increasing use of the motor car has contributed to traffic congestion—nearly three-fifths of all the motor vehicles are registered in cities or towns of more than 1,000 in population.[19] Since the city in its essential outlines will probably be maintained for many years to come, the question is not one of providing transportation facilities for an entirely new type of metropolis but rather of equipping the present city with transportation routes and vehicles which will insure a greater degree of efficiency than exists at the present time. Some of the larger cities have already undertaken or completed projects designed to relieve the congestion of traffic. In St. Louis, for

19. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

example, an express highway accommodates traffic at high speeds through the heart of the city. Chicago's Outer Drive is another instance of highway construction which makes possible rapid movement of passenger cars to and from the center of the city. New York City's West Side elevated highway carries from 35,000 to 40,000 vehicles a day over what was formerly known as "Death Avenue." In cities whose streets were laid out during the horse-and-buggy era, these new highway projects can represent only an initial start in the attack on the problem of transportation.

ZONING. That aspect of city or regional planning in which communal control is exercised over the use of public and private land is usually referred to as ZONING. Strictly speaking, zoning may be considered supplementary to city or regional plans, since zoning ordinances are sometimes enacted in cities having no planning commissions or comprehensive city plans. Indeed, about 200 cities in this country having zoning regulations in 1930 had no planning commissions.[20] The extent to which zoning is accepted as a necessary form of social control is indicated by the fact that only five cities in 1916 were zoned, whereas at the present time the great majority of large communities have some form of zoning regulation.

Cities are zoned according to the functions of the various areas: districts devoted to heavy manufacturing are segregated from commercial districts; residential districts are protected from the encroachments of industry and commerce; and districts characterized by one type of residence are protected against the invasion of other types of residence deemed unsuitable for the area. Zoning ordinances represent the legal recognition that the community as a whole has a right to protect land against encroachments that would result in the depreciation of property values or be inimical to the health, morals, or safety of the residents of a given area. It is an attempt to substitute public control for the laissez-faire ideal of free and open competition with its social and economic waste. While zoning aims at a systematic regulation of the processes of urban change, naturally it can only reach its maximum of effectiveness when it is based on

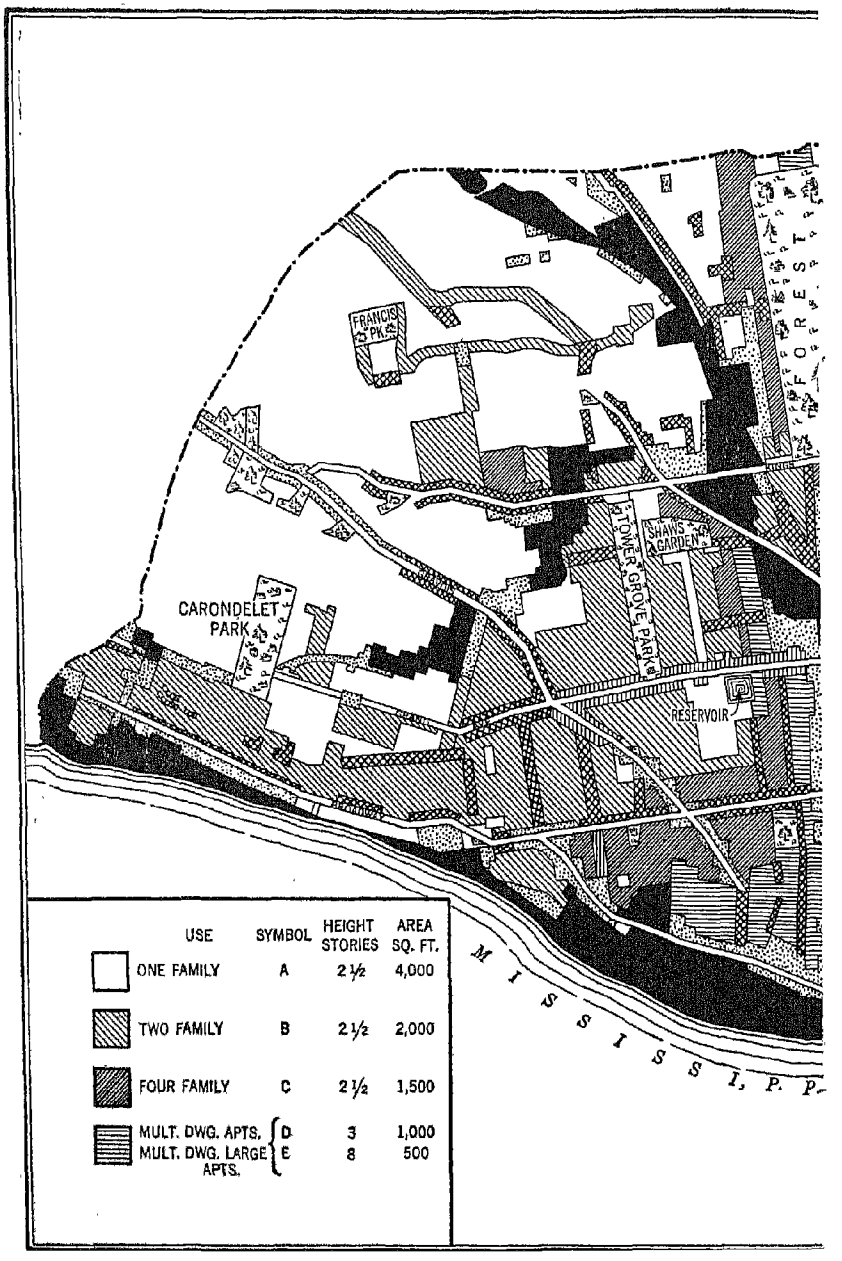
20. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

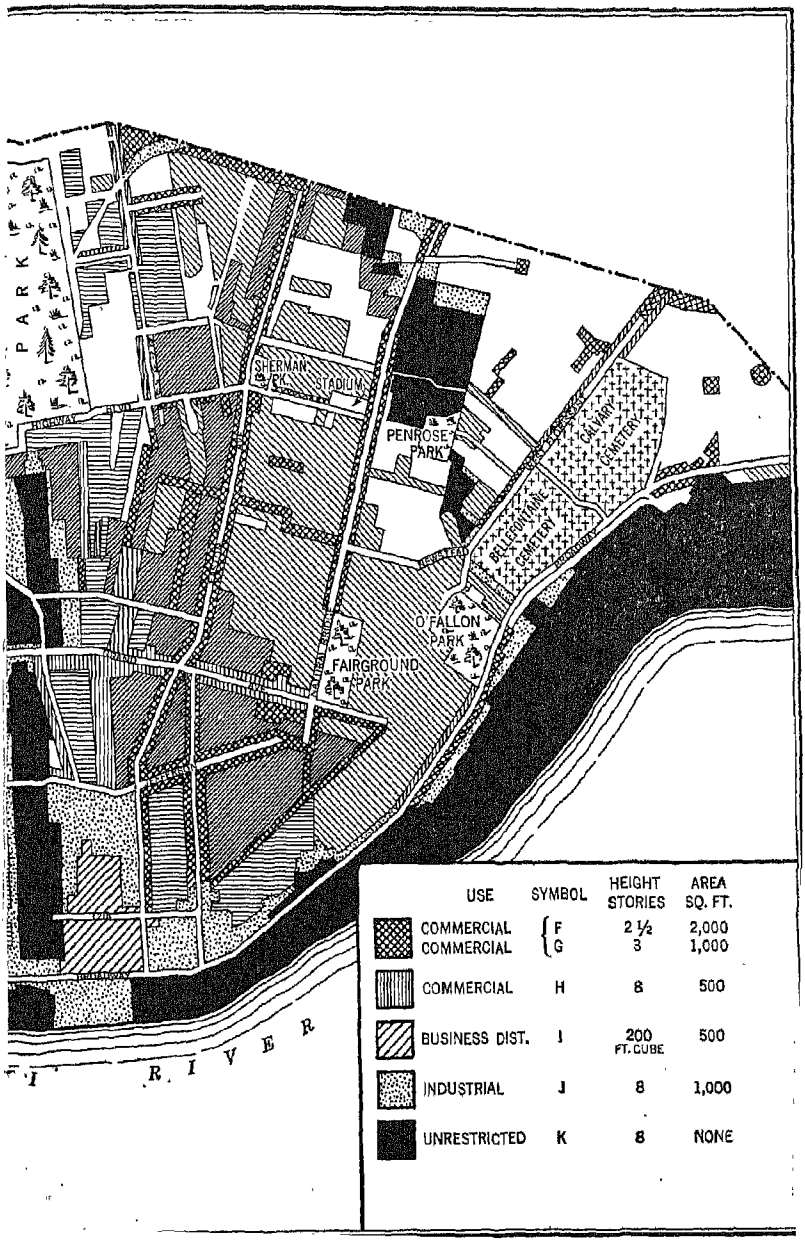
reliable factual data relating to ecological, demographic, and institutional changes and to the formation of natural areas reflecting social and economic differences among the inhabitants.

Zoning ordinances of a regulative nature have three principal characteristics: they are designed to regulate, first of all, the use to which land may be put, whether industrial, commercial, or residential; they may regulate the height to which buildings may be erected in any area of the city, and within bounds, the type of architecture which may be used; and they may restrict the space covered by buildings in the various areas zoned for use.[21] Residential areas, for example, may be divided into districts for different types of homes—for detached residences of varying sizes and costs, for attached residences, or for apartments or multi-family dwellings. The areas zoned for nonresidential buildings may also be divided into districts for offices, shops, and stores, and districts for wholesale merchandising. Likewise the industrial districts may be separated into districts for light manufacturing, such as textiles, and for heavy manufacturing, such as the steel or automobile industry. The regulation of the height of buildings has become one of the important functions of zoning commissions. Whenever zoning regulations are comprehensive in scope, property owners are prohibited from erecting structures that jeopardize the health and comfort of others by shutting out light and ventilation or obstructing the outlook. While many apartments and tenements are made undesirable as places of habitation because of the close proximity of tall buildings, zoning regulations in the larger cities have reduced somewhat the magnitude of this evil by severely restricting the height of structures. The successive set-backs in the higher stories of the skyscraper buildings have solved to some degree the problems created by this type of land utilization. (FIG. XVIII.)

The area restrictions of zoning ordinances specify the minimum amount of space to be given to front yards, rear yards, side yards, inner and outer courts, and the maximum area of the lot that may

21. Dorau, Herbert B., and Hinman, Albert G., *Urban Land Economics*, p. 302 (1928).


FRANCIS PK.
FOREST
SHAWS GARDEN
TOWER GROVE PARK
CARONDELET PARK
RESERVOIR
MISSISSIPPI
USE
SYMBOL
HEIGHT STORIES
AREA SQ. FT.
ONE FAMILY
A
2½
4,000
TWO FAMILY
B
2½
2,000
FOUR FAMILY
C
2½
1,500
MULT. DWG. APTS.
D
3
1,000
MULT. DWG. LARGE APTS.
E
8
500



USE	SYMBOL	HEIGHT STORIES	AREA SQ. FT.
COMMERCIAL	F	2 ½	2,000
COMMERCIAL	G	3	1,000
COMMERCIAL	H	8	500
BUSINESS DIST.	I	200 FT. CUBE	500
INDUSTRIAL	J	8	1,000
UNRESTRICTED	K	8	NONE

be covered by the given type of structure. While heavy industries may erect establishments that cover every square yard of space in a block, or series of blocks, apartment houses and other structures built for human habitation must leave certain spaces for sunlight and air.

GARDEN CITIES. The unspeakable living conditions which characterized the industrial cities of England during the nineteenth century so impressed social-minded individuals that not a few persons considered various possible methods of alleviating the situation. It was during the latter part of this century that Ebenezer Howard, an obscure office worker in London, worked out a detailed plan for a model community designed for an era of decentralized industrial development. This new type of community he called a "garden city," a term which has enjoyed public favor since then. In accordance with Howard's plans the garden city of Letchworth was founded in 1903, and later, in 1920, Welwyn was established as England's second garden city. Letchworth, with a population of 15,000, and Welwyn, with 10,000, are both within an hour's journey from London. Howard conceived of the garden city as a planned community in which the attractive features of both rural and city life would be preserved without the undesirable aspects of either. The main features of his plan included: (1) the purchase of a large area of agricultural land near a metropolitan center, (2) the planning of a town on this tract, (3) provision for industry as well as population in the community, with each occupying a definite area, (4) the limitation of the size of the community to about 30,000 persons, and (5) flexible rental rates and the right of the community rather than individuals to profit by the increase in land values.

Both Letchworth and Welwyn represent the achievements of limited-dividend corporations enjoying special tax-exemption privileges. Letchworth is situated on a tract comprising 4,500 acres, 3,000 of which comprise an agricultural belt surrounding the city. It was Howard's idea to build a community having diversified industries so as to avoid the hazards of extreme specialization. To a considerable degree this ideal has been realized, since both com-

munities have attracted numerous industries which are easily accessible to all of the residents. Howard desired also to preserve a functional balance between country and city, and to this end he made provisions not only for ample space on which to locate the homes but also for parks, playgrounds, and other open areas on the fringe of the community. Instead of being in the conventional rectangular pattern of street development, the thoroughfares are laid out with a view to maintaining the beauty and efficiency of the entire community. Accordingly, main highways are provided for heavy traffic, and short *cul-de-sac* or dead-end streets for the convenience of local residents.

a. *Other English Garden Cities.* Although the two communities planned by Howard have been only a drop in the proverbial bucket so far as relieving the population pressure in the industrial areas of England is concerned, they have nevertheless served as a model and inspiration for a number of other planned communities, most of which have assumed the character of garden suburbs rather than self-sufficient cities. One of these is Bournville, an English garden suburb designed by George Cadbury, a prominent industrialist. Approximately 1,900 houses, located an a 900-acre tract, provide living accommodations for some 7,000 persons. Special districts have been set aside for factories, parks and other open spaces, gardens, roads, and residences. In Manchester, England, a new garden city, Wythenshawe, has been designed for 100,000 inhabitants.[22] When completed it will have a permanent agricultural belt of 1,000 acres and within the city an acre of open space for each 50 persons. Density of occupancy will be limited to approximately 8 houses per acre for the entire tract of 3,700 acres, with the workingmen's sections having no more than 12 houses per acre. Similar satellite communities are being developed by Liverpool and London. Becontree, a large development of the London city council, will be about the same size as Wythenshawe.[23]

22. Unwin, Sir Raymond, *Housing and Town Planning*, p. 80 (1936).
23. Blucher, W. H., "The Significance of the Greenbelt Town," *Housing Yearbook*, 1938, p. 224.

b. *Radburn.* In this country a few model communities were developed after the turn of the twentieth century, including Garden City, Long Island, Forest Hills Gardens, built originally on Long Island by the Russell Sage Foundation, and Sunnyside Gardens, a project of the New York City Housing Corporation. The first real garden city to be developed in this country, however, was Radburn, New Jersey, a limited-dividend project of the City Housing Corporation. Located on a site of 1,050 acres within a short distance of New York City, Radburn was planned as a self-sufficient community to accommodate a population of approximately 25,000. As in the case of Letchworth and Welwyn, special areas are designated for business, industry, residences, public buildings, and parks and playgrounds. But it differs from the English communities in that there is no agricultural belt surrounding the city. Imbued with the idea of building a community appropriate to the motor age, the planners made special provisions for automobile traffic and for the protection of the residents against hazards of the highways. Residences are located on *cul-de-sac* or closed-end streets, each of which connects with the main arterial thoroughfares. Special sidewalks and underpasses make it possible for pedestrians to go from one part of the city to another without crossing the motor highways. Thus the dangers to school children of traffic accidents are eliminated—undoubtedly a source of comfort to parents in the community. Homes are built with two fronts: a motor entrance from the street and a garden entrance at the rear. Instead of small rectangular blocks common to residential areas in most of our cities, "super-blocks" several times the size of the average residential unit have been developed. Although the original plan made provisions for industrial developments within the immediate area, Radburn is still essentially a middle-class residential community with a large percentage of children. The growth of a number of community organizations devoted to social and cultural pursuits indicates the possibility of developing a genuine community spirit when the physical conditions for communal living are adequate.

c. *The Resettlement Suburbs.* In 1935 the Resettlement Admin-

istration was created to alleviate economic distress in the rural areas of the country. Its four fields of activity included land utilization, rural rehabilitation, rural resettlement, and suburban resettlement.[24] It is the latter function in which we are particularly interested, since the program of suburban resettlement was concerned with planning and development of three suburban areas to demonstrate the feasibility of scientific city planning, proper land utilization, and mass production of dwellings. The three suburban developments were to be known as "greenbelt" communities because each was to be surrounded by a wide belt of forest, park, and farm land to prevent unwanted encroachments in the vicinity. Three complete communities were planned: Greenhills, near Cincinnati; Greendale, in the vicinity of Milwaukee; and Greenbelt, located about twelve miles northeast of Washington, D.C. Unlike Radburn and the English garden cities, the Resettlement towns have not been designed as self-sufficient communities; rather, they have been deliberately located within commuting distance of the respective metropolitan centers. It is therefore to be expected that the majority of gainful workers will be employed in the larger cities. Although the plans provide for the construction of 3,000 homes in each community, the present program is restricted to the erection of 1,000 dwellings each in Greenbelt and Greenhills and 750 homes in Greendale.

Since the three communities are strikingly similar in their fundamental features, we shall confine our discussion to the Maryland project, which at the present time (1940) is in a more advanced stage of development than the other two. The project comprises 3,600 acres lying within a short distance of the Baltimore-Washington super-highway. Of this tract, 967 acres were set aside for the community proper, the remainder to be maintained as a permanent greenbelt surrounding the town. Portions of this greenbelt will be

24. Data relating to the greenbelt towns are taken from the following sources: Larson, Cedric, "Greenbelt, Maryland: A Federally Planned Community," *National Municipal Review*, 27: 413–420 (August, 1938); Braden, Roy S., "A Plan for Community Living," *Public Management*, 20: 11–14 (January, 1938); Alexander, W. W., "Housing Activities of the Resettlement Administration," *Housing Officials' Yearbook*, pp. 19–26 (1937).

reserved for gardens, pastures for the community dairy, and recreational purposes, while a substantial acreage will be set aside for woodland and forest. The community itself, constructed in the shape of a crescent, will have 217 acres for dwelling units and other buildings, 500 acres reserved for future building expansion, and 250 acres within the crescent reserved as a recreational area. A 20-acre athletic field and a 25-acre lake will be important features of the recreational grounds.

The residential district is laid out on the super-block plan, each block varying in size from 15 to 20 acres and containing from 90 to 120 family units. These blocks are so designed as to constitute natural neighborhoods, with a density of about 7 families per acre. Instead of conforming to the usual gridiron pattern, the blocks are irregular in shape, with small parks and playgrounds in their centers. Footpaths run through the interior of the blocks, and where a path crosses a motor highway underpasses are built for the protection of pedestrians. The homes are built with two "fronts," the service entrance facing the *cul-de-sac* streets and the pleasure side facing the parks in the interior of the blocks. A town common and the business center are located at the center of the crescent within easy walking distance from any part of the residential area.

The planners of the project have given particular emphasis to the matter of providing facilities through which the community may function collectively in civic and other social activities. Aside from playgrounds and athletic fields for various types of sports, a combination community-center and school has been constructed to serve as the focal point of all types of community activities, including religious services, civic gatherings, and recreational programs. The organization by the residents of a Greenbelt Citizens' Association, journalism club, health association, credit union, community dramatic society, public forum, parent-teachers' association, and similar undertakings seem to indicate that a considerable degree of community interest has already been awakened, even though the occupants have lived in the town only a comparatively short time. Plans are being made for a comprehensive recreational program for all age

groups, for super-block neighborhood programs, and for a program of adult education. The cooperative movement has been stressed, and plans are being made for the development of a business center on cooperative principles and for a program of cooperative medicine. The community operates under a council-manager form of government, the members of the council being elected by popular vote and the city manager in turn being appointed by the council.

Greenbelt, as well as the other Resettlement suburbs, has been planned especially for families with modest incomes. Accordingly, the residents are selected from a list of applicants whose family incomes range from $1,200 to $2,400 a year. Thorough investigations are made of each applicant to determine the need for better living conditions and the ability and willingness of the family group to adjust itself to community life. Rentals for homes range from $18 to $41, excluding electricity and water, the average being approximately $31, or about $6 a room.

Inasmuch as all the buildings and grounds will remain the property of the Federal Government, measures can be taken to prevent deterioration of the physical equipment through neglect or misuse. A clause in each lease, for example, provides that each tenant must mow his own lawn, and if this is not done the management will do the work and add the cost to the rent bill. The annual revenue to the government from rentals and utilities will be about $425,000 a year, which amount is expected eventually to provide a sufficient surplus to repay the government for its investment in the property. Whether the three Resettlement communities will be expanded to their maximum capacity depends, of course, on the willingness of Congress to make additional appropriations for further development. Undoubtedly much political opposition to this sort of governmental activity may be anticipated, probably on the grounds of waste, extravagance, and interference with private business; but if the projects prove successful from a social and economic standpoint, it is not improbable that additional programs of community construction may be undertaken in the future. The main object in the development of the greenbelt towns is to demonstrate to municipali-

ties and other political units the practicability of developing modern communities. It may be concluded, therefore, that even if the Federal Government declines in the future to conduct any additional experiments in community building, the experiences with the greenbelt towns will be invaluable for other programs that may be projected by official or unofficial groups.

CONCLUSION. In the previous chapter we made only passing reference to the relationship between housing and community planning. Yet this relationship should by no means be minimized. Authorities in the field of social planning are generally agreed that housing programs should be considered as integral parts of more comprehensive planning schemes. Housing developments constructed without reference to ecological and industrial changes and with no concern for the regulation of communal life may only contribute to the economic inefficiency of the community. Buildings that are unwisely located, cheaply constructed, and unsuited to the type of occupancy of the area may become prematurely deteriorated and thereby add to the blight which already is so characteristic of our cities. Although zoning regulations are now in force in most of the cities of the country, many of the homes were constructed before such regulations were in effect. The blighted areas of the modern city are a testimony to the absence of effective controls.

The question may logically be raised, "Will the costs of planning programs be prohibitive?" That question cannot, of course, be answered categorically, since conditions vary widely from city to city and since much depends on the actual character of the planning projects. But the correlative question may also be raised, "Will the costs of failure to plan be prohibitive?" It may be a fairly simple matter to compute the financial costs of any planning program, but no one knows what each city loses every year as a result of the inefficiency due to conditions over which no effective control has been exercised. The cost of traffic congestion in a city like New York or Chicago, for example, undoubtedly amounts to staggering sums each year. More difficult to estimate would be the enormous costs in human inefficiency, personality disorganization, and physical dis-

ablement. In a previous chapter we discussed briefly the costliness of urban slums. The question, therefore, resolves itself into the problem of matching the costs of planning against the costs of neglect. Most authorities would probably agree that, aside from the human values involved, social planning would *in the long run* be less expensive than planlessness, provided, of course, that the planning programs were adequately conceived and effectively carried out. Not all planning, despite the connotations of that magic word, is good planning.

Is planning compatible with the principles of a democratic society? The answer is that it may or may not be, depending on the type of planning and the methods employed to carry plans into effect. Autocracies as well as democracies formulate and carry out plans quite in harmony with the established ideologies. In this country we are irrevocably committed to the principles and methods of democratic control, however much we may falter in the actual application of democratic theory. So far as social planning is concerned the implications are that citizens shall be given an opportunity to participate, directly or indirectly, in the formulation and application of plans, and that planning programs shall be inaugurated *with the consent* of the group or groups which will be affected by the proposed changes. So conceived, planning is not a master blueprint drawn up by a small coterie of political leaders and superimposed on an unsuspecting and docile community whether the people favor it or not; rather it is an instrumentality of social improvement growing out of a common recognition of the need for social guidance and adopted with the collective approval of the community it is supposed to benefit. It seems to us, therefore, that social planning for the modern urban community may be carried on within the framework of our present democratic system, and that while effective leadership may be an important consideration in mustering public opinion in favor of specific planning programs or planning in general, there is nothing inherent in the whole conception of planning that does violence to the principles of democracy. Rather it might be said that planning is a device for safeguarding democracy, since

through planning programs the individual may receive social and economic benefits which would not otherwise accrue to him.

The present urban civilization may go into a decline as did the urban societies of Greece and Rome centuries ago; it may, on the other hand, surpass in brilliance and achievement any that the world has ever built. There is nothing written in the stars that our modern urban civilization shall endure—nor for that matter is there any assurance that it will collapse, Spengler to the contrary notwithstanding. "The life course of cities is essentially different from that of most higher organisms," writes Lewis Mumford. "Cities exhibit the phenomena of broken growth, of partial death, of self-regeneration. Cities and city cultures may have sudden beginnings from remote gestations, and they are capable of prolongations as *physical organizations* through the life spans of more than one culture. . . . All one can say with any surety is this: when a city has reached the megalopolitan stage, it is plainly on the downward path: it needs a terrific exertion of social force to overcome the inertia, to alter the direction of movement, to resist the immanent processes of disintegration." [25] Whether mankind has built a monster that will in the end destroy him only the future can tell. Certainly the best intellects that can be mustered will be needed to steer a safe course between the Scylla of new social problems and the Charybdis of old ones inherited from the past. But cities do not build themselves, nor do social problems growing out of city life solve themselves. The city of tomorrow can only be a fit place in which to live if intelligence is directed toward a rational control of the social and economic forces that are ever at work in an urban environment.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

1. Draw up a plan for the reorganization of neighborhood life in your community.
2. Visit a city-planning commission, if there is one in your locality, and study the plans worked out for the community as a whole.
3. Write a paper on regional planning, comparing and contrasting

25. Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities*, pp. 294, 296.

the different points of view presented on this subject by authorities in the field.

4. Make a study of the development of garden cities in Europe and America. Is the garden city idea practical for the United States?

5. The idea of social planning has been criticized as being out of harmony with democratic principles. Discuss this question, presenting what you would consider valid arguments on both sides of the issue.

6. Contrast the points of view of Lewis Mumford in his *The Culture of Cities* with the position of Oswald Spengler in his *Decline of the West.*

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