

UC Berkeley

IURD Monograph Series

Title

The City is Dead-- Long Live the City

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/62b709zd>

Author

Abu-Lughod, Janet

Publication Date

1969

THE CITY IS DEAD

—LONG LIVE THE CITY

THE CITY IS DEAD

—LONG LIVE THE CITY

Some Thoughts on Urbanity

by Janet Abu-Lughod

*Associate Professor of Sociology
Northwestern University*

Published by
The Center for Planning and Development Research
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Copyright © 1969 by Janet Abu-Lughod
All rights reserved.

1st printing: January, 1969

Preparation of this monograph was supported in part by the U. S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Letter Contract No. PH 86-66-120). A preliminary version of the monograph was circulated during 1966-67.

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

Death or Transfiguration of the City	1
Rethinking the Urban Question	5
New Views: The Eye of the Beholder	5
New Concepts to Fit the Changing City	20
Implications for Planning	27

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Works Dealing with Urban Types	37
Ecology and Its Social Effects	39
Social Area Analysis	41
Behavior Studies in the Contemporary Western City	42
Studies of Other Cities	43

DEATH OR TRANSFIGURATION OF THE CITY

The theme of death and transfiguration recurs as a *leitmotiv* throughout the long history of sociological speculations about the city. Each time, so it seems, just as one particular manifestation of urbanism has approached its terminal stage, a theorist has hastened to equate its matured form with the essence of urbanism *sui generis*, and ideologists have responded, each according to his values, to eulogize the lost or to rejoice.

At least two varieties of city have died in recent centuries, have been mourned prematurely, and then have been belatedly discovered surviving in microcosm within the subsequent transformations. The first was the city as it had been known up to the end of the eighteenth century, vestigial elements of which still survive in unlikely as well as predictable places. The original meanings of "town" and "city" identify the two distinguishing characteristics of such settlements: "town" initially meant any enclosed place, even a single field, while the concept of "city" was inseparable from its roots in *civitas* [citizenship]. Focusing upon the classical western city and the preindustrial urban communities of medieval Europe, Max Weber singled out the wall (with its functional corollary, self-defense) and the corporate body of citizens as the essential characteristics of the complete city.¹ If these

¹Weber [#23, 1903] was circumspect in emphasizing the limited applicability of his theory of the city to the *occidental* type even when this required the anomalous statement that "the cities of Asia were *not urban communities* at all even though they all had markets and were fortresses" (p. 88, 1962 ed.; italics added). The legitimate contrast between occidental and oriental models of urbanism, which Weber developed in so sophisticated a fashion, has unfortunately been ignored by later theorists [see Sjoberg; #18, 1960]. The key variables underlying the oriental model have been explored by Marx and Engels and, more recently, by Karl A. Wittfogel [#54, 1963]. The special characteristics of early American settlements --which diverged from the European type because they were not

two characteristics do represent the essence of urbanism, we must indeed accept Martindale's gloomy conclusion that "the age of the city seems to be at an end."²

Not death, however, but transfiguration was the fate of the doomed polis in the nineteenth-century world of escalating technologies and integrating national economies. The opposite but complementary forces of physical concentration and expanding symbolic coordination created the industrial city within the nation-state, a city which, although it bore scant resemblance to its preindustrial forebear, continued to harbor within its new form social patterns reminiscent of the past.³

It was this new city, whose economic substructure had been described by Marx and whose psychic counterpart had been sketched

counterpoised against landed feudalism--are traced in passing by Daniel J. Elazar [#5, 1966] and are detailed by Page Smith [#19, 1966].

²Preface to Weber's *The City* [#23, 1962 ed.; p. 67]. Elements of the medieval city still persist (much to the despair of metropolitan planners) in many an American suburb surrounded by symbolic walls and containing a citizen body poised for defense.

³Theorists of the nineteenth-century city all acknowledged the persistent vitality of earlier forms within the industrial metropolis. Thus Tönnies noted in 1887 [#20, 1957 ed.] that ". . . as the town lives on within the city, elements of life in the *Gemeinschaft*, as the only real form of life, persist within the *Gesellschaft* . . ." (p. 227; italics added). Louis Wirth, in 1938 [#25, 1957 ed.], equally acknowledged that "the influences which it [the city] exerts upon the modes of life should not be able to wipe out completely the previously dominant modes of human association" (p. 47). When these authors have been misread and refuted on the basis of "exceptions," much futile controversy has resulted.

Not only the forms of social interaction but the older institutions also tend to persist. Just as the medieval city liberated man from the constraints of feudal status only to enmesh him in guild paternalism, so the industrial city freed him from the guild only to substitute the dubious freedoms of the unprotected wage. The older forms have not been supplanted but merely supplemented, for ascribed status, organizational and occupational paternalism, although altered in form, persisted into the era of the cash-nexus and beyond. Both contemporary revivals of "syndicalism" and the world of the "organization man" may be interpreted as recurrences of guild-like social groupings.

by Simmel [#17, 1908-1917], that became the object of Louis Wirth's culmiary essay [#25, 1938] on the industrial city as it had matured in the western world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴ Not realizing that its transfiguration was imminent--indeed, had already begun by the 1920's--and certainly unable to anticipate that it would be rapidly transformed after the major war then looming on the horizon, Wirth believed that he offered a theory upon which to build future research. Actually, his theory was a peroration on a city soon to pass, albeit still to live on within the urbanized regions that are the current transfigurations of urbanism.

In this new form of American urbanism, symbolic coordination has continued to widen the urban network and to concentrate its controls, but the older ecological pattern of physical concentration has shifted from the level of the single city to the level of the region within which decentralization and declining over-all

⁴Of these two nineteenth-century theoreticians, Simmel exercised the more profound influence on the Chicago tradition of urban sociology; his influence is clearly evident in Park's first text in sociology [#49, 1921] which took over from Simmel the processes which were later to be associated with human ecology; it is even more evident in Wirth's essay [#25, 1938] which incorporated the characteristics first described by Simmel a generation earlier in "The Metropolis and Mental Life." Those who know Simmel only through this essay or through Wirth's paraphrase could reasonably conclude that Simmel's evaluation of the metropolis was essentially negative. Quite to the contrary, his value position, stated unequivocally in other essays (e.g., pp. 64-84, #17 volume), opted for freedom with all its pains of alienation in preference to the repressive tyranny of the small group whose *gemütlich* qualities offered insufficient compensation.

We discuss below the apparent contradiction between Wirth's avowed attempt to write a theory *independent* of cultural variations and his success in writing a theory that accounted for the emergence of *Gesellschaft* social behavior in the specific context of western, industrial urbanism. His essay was even more specific in its reference, emphasizing as it did the ethnic heterogeneity of the American city at the post-ultimate stage of massive immigration, a phenomenon never really paralleled in Europe.

densities are combined with regional concentration.⁵ In this new city, are any of the theoretical concepts concerning "urbanism as a way of life" that were developed to "fit" earlier urban models still applicable? What revisions have been required as our knowledge has expanded to encompass urban models *outside* the western tradition of industrialization-urbanization, and as our object of concern--the western and chiefly American city--has been transforming itself before our very eyes?

These are the yet unresolved issues in urban sociology today. No grand theory has been developed to replace the earlier, and now over-discredited, attempt by Wirth; the theory needed to coordinate the lines of inquiry that have been generated in the post-war decades still remains unwritten.⁶ This essay attempts to make explicit the shifts in assumptions that are implicit in current sociological reflections on the new urbanism and to relate them to older traditions and theories.

⁵Jean Gottmann's descriptive study [#7, 1961] documents but scarcely explains this emergent form. U. S. Census (1960) data confirm the wider generalization to other regions. Leo Schnore [#16, 1963] documents the decline in density for U. S. cities in all size classes between 1950 and 1960. Explanatory models have been developed, primarily by regional economists who have focused on technological variables in industry, transport, and communications as causes. Social variables, whether as cause or consequence, have been largely ignored. Friedmann and Alonso [#6, 1964] present a good cross-section of current thought among sophisticated regional economists.

⁶Despite the current controversies in the field, there is unanimity concerning the need for a general theory to supplant the rejected synthesis of Wirth. James Beshers [#1, 1962] and Scott Greer [#8, 1962] perhaps come closest to a still unrealized goal; Leonard Reissman [#15, 1964] presents another survey of urban theory. I think there is more agreement than is recognized, the common assumptions often being ignored in favor of headier disagreements. Hopefully, this common "universe of discourse" will be more clearly delineated by this paper.

RETHINKING THE URBAN QUESTION

Rethinking the urban question has been stimulated by two relatively separate but ultimately related forces. One inheres in the "eye of the beholder" and relates to the conceptualization of the relationship between physical and social space. The other lies in the object itself and relates to the changing nature of contemporary urbanism. For the sake of clarity, we shall present separate discussions of the two, but it should be borne in mind that the net result has been cumulative and reinforcing.

NEW VIEWS: THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER

Developments in American theories of urban ecology⁷ within the past fifty years may be described as (1) elaborating the connections between ecological cause and effect by introducing additional intervening variables, and (2) complicating the lines of causality by substituting a circular for a linear model. In elucidating this statement and dispelling any possible confusion produced by the accompanying chart on ecological form (Figure 1), we must oversimplify theories that were originally hedged by qualifications. The reader is warned further that our chart, which appears reassuringly stable on paper, should actually be revolving clockwise *and* counter-clockwise as it simultaneously involutes, inside to out, outside to

⁷In the field of sociology the term "urban ecology" has gradually taken on a meaning quite divergent from its origin in ecology as a field in the biological sciences. Although the basic key terms of population, environment, balance, symbiosis, invasion, etc. have been retained, there has been a subtle shift in emphasis that grows out of man's "culture-building" activities. Thus, the ecological approach in sociology is distinguished from that in other fields primarily by the attention it pays not only to "sub-cultural elements" of the environment (numbers, space, competition, and movement), but to "givens" of the environment (land use, buildings, transportation systems, etc.) even if the "givens" are parts of material culture. If the term "physical" were not equally imprecise, it might often be substituted for "ecological" in the field of urban ecology.

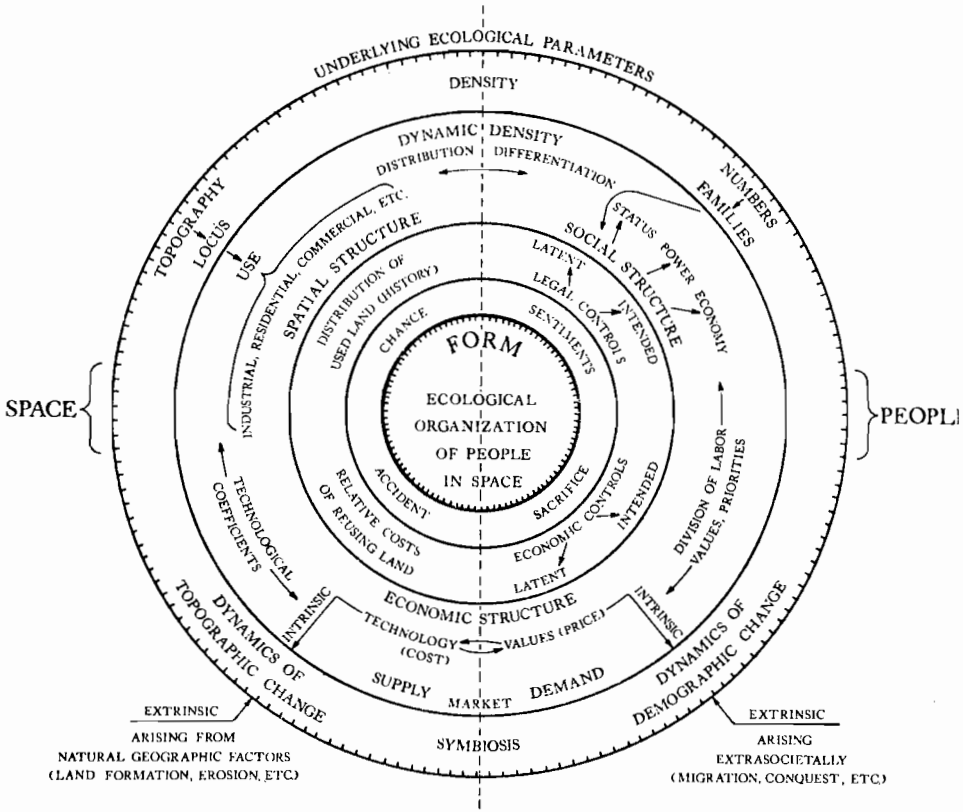


Figure 1. THE CAUSES OF ECOLOGICAL FORM

The chart is conceived as revolving clockwise and counter-clockwise as it simultaneously involutes, inside to out, outside to in. The successive rings identify the intervening variables; the movements denote the dynamics of their interrelatedness.

in. The successive rings identify the intervening variables; the movements denote the dynamics of their interrelatedness.

The classic tradition of urban ecology, as it matured virtually *in vacuo* on the fertile soil of Chicago during the 1920's and 1930's, tended to view what our chart labels "ecological parameters of society" as the critical independent variables (givens) whose spatial and social effects were to be traced. Heeding Simmel's admonition to look for universal *forms* underlying disparate cultural manifestations, the Chicago ecologists sought universality not only in causes but in consequences.⁸ Thus, Ernest Burgess [#27, 1925], preoccupied with ecological effects (spatial patterns), pursued the chimera of an "ideal spatial organization" which he believed he had captured in his zonal hypothesis. Louis Wirth, focusing upon social and behavioristic effects, pursued an equally elusive goal of isolating the ideal type of "urbanism as a way of life," whose causes he also believed he had identified by deductive reasoning. Even the movement from cause to effect, under the assumptions of the early ecologists, was presumed to occur automatically through the universal mechanism of competition, a *deus ex machina* manipulated by invisible, not human, hands.

The seminal influence of Georg Simmel stimulated not only urban ecology but another sociological field not often associated with it, namely, that part of social psychology concerned with the effects of space and numbers upon interaction. While most of its followers worked with small groups, using diagrams and sociometric techniques to study social space via physical disposition,⁹ a few

⁸It is interesting but futile to speculate that had the original influence been Weber's, or even Durkheim's (despite his morphological predilections), the development of the field would have been quite different. Cultural, institutional, and historical variations would doubtless have received the fuller attention they deserved and are now belatedly receiving.

⁹Social scientists, including William Foote Whyte [see #79, 1943], have tended to "read" physical space merely for what it could tell them about social space. Few (other than city planners and office designers) have attempted to manipulate social space by means of physical variables.

extended these concerns into the field of housing and attempted to trace the causal lines between what in Figure 1 we call "ecological form" and the resultant patterns of social interaction. The Festinger study [#36, 1950] was perhaps the most influential model; it was followed by numerous other studies that took ecological factors (such as building type, site plan, tenant assignment by race, community size, etc.) as independent variables capable of producing predictable social effects.¹⁰

Quite understandably, city planners have been attracted to these types of sociological investigation, for there is a deep congruence of interest that cannot be denied. Because the variables that are within the province of the planner to manipulate are ecological, it is natural that he should look to ecologically-oriented social scientists for guidance and even for formulae that would enable him to cure social ills by spatial and physical prescriptions. It is unfortunately true, however, that planners are frequently frustrated when anticipated results fail to materialize.¹¹ We suggest that, rather than reject the source of his disillusionment, the planner must learn to recognize, as urban ecologists have been forced to realize over the past few decades, that the original simplistic model of ecological determinism was misguided.

It is *not* that ecological causes have no spatial or social effects, nor even that the relationship between physical and social space is tenuous. On the contrary, the importance of these relationships has been increasingly confirmed by current research. It is only that ecological parameters and forms are continuously *filtered through* the social structure, value systems, and technological and economic conditions, shaping and modifying them as well as,

¹⁰For studies of the relationship between physical disposition and social interaction, see Merton [#48, 1947], Caplow and Foreman [#28, 1950], and Deutsch and Collins [#29, 1951]. Reviews of these studies are found in Wallace [#52, 1952], Gans [#40, 1961], and Rosow [#50, 1961]. The most recent review of this field is Gutman's [#41, 1966].

¹¹Herbert Gans has pursued this point in his essay on urbanism and suburbanism [#75, 1962; p. 643].

in turn, being altered by them. All of these essential intervening variables must be known if effects are to be predicted. When intervening variables are held constant, effects can be traced and outcomes anticipated within ranges; when they are varied or are rapidly changing, the predictive model must anticipate *how* they will deflect or modify the response to ecological stimuli. To illuminate this, we might briefly review the crucial landmarks in urban research that have forced the construction of this more complicated model.

Two separate strains operating simultaneously and cumulatively have restructured our conceptions about the city. One came from the macro-level of comparative urban studies, the other from the micro-analysis of differentiated class, ethnic, and family "styles" within the American city.

As soon as Burgess' hypothesis came under comparative scrutiny, its universality was easily refuted. Not only did Hoyt's sectoral model [#43, 1939] "fit" economic distribution better than a zonal one,¹² but even among American cities enough exceptions were found to suggest that the so-called inexorable processes of land use distribution according to land values were modified by sentiment [see Firey: #37, 1945; #38, 1947] and the hardly "unconscious" influences of law (direct sanctions) and economic incentive (indirect sanctions).¹³

¹²As it turned out, the zonal model was primarily descriptive of the variables of density and family-cycle stage that were not *necessarily* determined by income or rent. The sectoral model used *rents* as its data input; the zonal hypothesis used indices of *social disorganization* more related to "family style" than to class. It was not until these two criteria were separated through factor analysis that both hypotheses were found to be legitimate generalizations, each for a different dimension of differentiation [see Anderson and Egeland; #57, 1961]. Confirmation of the declining density gradient has been found wherever it has been sought--for example, in Philadelphia [Blumenfeld; #26, 1949] and Los Angeles [Duncan, Sabagh, and Van Arsdol; #31, 1962].

¹³Zoning and taxation are but the most visible. William Form [#39, 1954] presented the original statement of this line of criticism, pointing out that land values were merely "values."

Furthermore, when the provincial purview of the ecologists expanded to encompass cities not subject to the specific temporal, cultural, and geographic conditions that had shaped Chicago, many ecological patterns--each diverging radically from the Burgess ideal--were found to exist. Separate models were explored for the Latin American city, the preindustrial city, the nonwestern city, the European capital with an extended history, and even the post-industrial city.¹⁴ Space, numbers, and growth rates were still recognized as contributing to ecological forms, but only *after* they had been molded into concrete form by the pressures of societal organization, technological level, economic system, and interlocking political controls and private preferences.

Additional case studies also forced a reexamination of the social counterpart to Burgess' theory, namely, Wirth's attempt to deduce the social consequences of anonymity, secondary relationships, voluntary associations, and declining kinship strength from the independent ecological parameters of size, density, and the

¹⁴An exhaustive list would (and does) fill an entire file of bibliography cards. Part V of the Bibliography gives a sampling of the field. Latin American studies are represented by ## 84, 89, 90, 91, and the Dotsons' article [#87] which summarizes regularities in the Latin American city. See Sjoberg [#18] and "vintage" Mumford for the preindustrial city form, and Francis Hauser [#42] for a discussion of the role of history and technology, as well as preferences, in the patterns of London, Paris, Vienna, and Stockholm.

For the nonwestern city, see studies of Rangoon, Burma [## 85, 95, 96], and Bangalore, India [#88]. Numerous other Indian cities have been studied by Indians trained in the Chicago ecological tradition. Indonesian towns have been studied by Keyfitz [#92] and by Dutch scholars; Tokyo, Japan, by Wilkinson [#98]. Some general observations on cities in Asia and the Far East can be found in Philip Hauser's work [## 9, 10]. For Cairo, Egypt, see my studies [## 82, 83]. Other Middle East cities have been investigated primarily by human geographers of the French tradition. African cities were studied belatedly, beginning with Kuper [#93], but in the past few years many case studies have come out giving further evidence concerning the effects of racial caste and law upon ecological organization.

latter's Spencerian derivative, heterogeneity.¹⁵ While, other things being equal, an increase in size, density, or heterogeneity might be likely to have social consequences in the predicted direction, it became increasingly irrelevant to conduct studies as if *ceteris* were *paribus*; they rarely, if ever, were. Much more useful were investigations of the *combined* influences of ecological and social variables upon social behavior.

It was pointed out that in American cities class, occupation, ethnic identity, and life cycle stage are among the intervening factors that delimit functional exposure to size and that structure subcommunities in such a way that their residents partake differentially in the "urban way of life." It became clear that there might not only be urban villagers but also village urbanites.

American suburbia was the testing ground for several investigations into the relationship between ecological parameters and forms, on the one hand, and social differentiation, interaction, and behavior, on the other. In the period immediately following World War II, studies of suburbia focused upon its most visible manifestation: the mass-produced, middle-class suburb attracting households in the early stages of the family cycle. The first easy generalizations, based upon this "sample," apparently confirmed the theory of ecological determinism, for urban families transplanted to single-family houses in low-density suburban settings appeared to lead lives diametrically opposed to the urban stereotype. The cliches popularized in magazines and semi-fictionalized sociology (e.g., John Keats' *The Crack in the Picture Window* [#76, 1957]), reduced to travesty these early findings.

¹⁵Leo Schnore [#51, 1958] traces this deductive line of reasoning from size to heterogeneity back to social Darwinist Herbert Spencer, whom he quotes as follows: "The social aggregate, homogeneous when minute, habitually gains in heterogeneity along with each increment of growth; and to reach great size must acquire great complexity" (p. 622). We shall discuss in the final section of this paper how the alternate formulation developed by Emile Durkheim [#4, 1893]--which took into consideration technological and social as well as ecological variables--offers a superior way of specifying the connection between size and density on the one hand and heterogeneity and interaction on the other.

Dissenting views, following close behind, argued that a number of critical variables intervened between ecological causes (i.e., the physical layout of suburbia) and social behavior. The suburban *Gemeinschaft* of rapid and intense "intimacy" was associated only with the pioneering phase of subdivision; older established suburbs proved far less receptive to invading families. Superficial neighborliness and energetic, even aggressive, participation in community voluntary and service organizations were confined to middle-class suburbs; residents in working-class suburbs tended to retain kinship ties more vigorously and to shun associationalism. Retirement communities differed radically from those primarily housing families with young children--and both of these diverged from suburbs with a more balanced distribution of family types. Dormitory suburbs developed life rhythms different from those found in diversified satellite communities, and even within the same town, commuters led a life separate from that of the noncommuter.¹⁶

At almost the same time that "suburbanism as a way of life" was being questioned, urbanism--its implicit polar opposite--was also coming under renewed scrutiny. Perhaps two studies were most influential in stimulating this reappraisal: Young and Willmott's *Family and Kinship in East London* [#81, 1957] and Herbert Gans' *The Urban Villagers* [#74, 1962]. Both studies, significantly, were conducted in urban working-class subcommunities characterized by residential stability, extensive kinship networks, and a closely guarded "frontier" sustained by suspicion of outsiders. Both concluded that the highly structured nature of the subcommunity offered a defense against the potentially anomic influences of "urbanity," and both insisted that the critical variables were

¹⁶Some of these distinctions are summarized in my sections in the Foote *et al.* volume [#73, 1960]. Dobriner [#72, 1963] has evaluated later studies; he depended heavily on several case studies, including Berger's investigation of a working-class suburb in California [#71, 1960], a restudy of Levittown, New York, and an investigation of "Old Harbor"--an established suburban community recently invaded.

class, family, and exclusivity (whether ethnic, as in Boston, or subcultural, as in Bethnal Green), *not* ecological parameters or forms. The former study yielded an additional bonus. By contrasting the intimate social relations maintained within the dense urban slum community of East London with the anonymous secondary relationships resulting when families were relocated to a housing estate in a suburban setting, the authors effectively demonstrated the primacy of culture and social structure over "mere" design.¹⁷

These studies of suburban and urban deviation from stereotypes made it increasingly clear that the variables of class and family stage, at least, must be controlled if the effects of ecological factors on social behavior are to be isolated. While some students of the problem have gone so far as to suggest that ecological investigations be eschewed entirely and that preference be given to studying social characteristics instead, such a rash disposal of the baby with the bathwater may not be warranted. We shall treat below a method--Social Area Analysis--that offers hope for controlling, through matching, three of the most important intervening variables (class, family-cycle stage, and ethnicity) that affect social behavior in contemporary American cities.

Cross-cultural studies tended to reinforce the refutations of Wirth that were coming from studies of American and English subcommunities and subcultures. The two dimensions of size and degree of urbanness were finally disengaged analytically in the late 1950's.¹⁸ By that time, sociologists were able to point to large, densely-settled, heterogeneous cities in Asia and Africa which *did*

¹⁷As we have suggested above, however, important as these exceptions may be, they are still inadequate to *refute* the Wirth hypotheses. Wirth was fully aware of the significance of the "social worlds" making up what he aptly referred to as the urban mosaic in allowing earlier and persistent patterns of human relationships to live on *even* in a culture moving *generally* towards another dominant mode. Are Bethnal Green and Boston's West End merely residues?

¹⁸The first formal graph separating these two dimensions appeared in Dewey [#3, 1960].

not exhibit characteristics previously assumed to be intrinsic corollaries of urban size. There was little anonymity in these large cities; indeed, individuals were often enmeshed in extensive primary networks that involved far greater numbers of persons than theory had ever conceived possible.¹⁹ Moreover, strong kinship and para-kinship relationships permeated institutions which, *by definition*, had been considered secondary and associational, at least in western culture.²⁰

¹⁹Again, it is interesting but futile to speculate how the pitfalls of ecological determinism might easily have been avoided had Max Weber exercised a moderating influence on the enthusiasms of the Chicago school. His introductory statement in *The City*, rejecting size and anonymity as definitive characteristics of the city, includes the cautionary advice that "*various cultural factors determine the size at which 'impersonality' tends to appear*" [p. 71; #23, 1962 ed.; italics added].

Comparative studies, beginning feebly with Miner's *Primitive City of Timbuctoo* [#94, 1953] but becoming increasingly convincing, have laboriously proved this point over and over. Elements of culture that facilitate wider networks include kinship, caste, common origin, and residential stability (i.e., anything that permits the prior "location in social space" of an individual). The urban mosaic that contains clear and relatively inflexible social, if not physical, boundaries creates a relevant "in-world" within which anonymity is virtually precluded (and which may enmesh thousands) and an irrelevant "out-world" in which relationships are not so much secondary as they are non-existent. See my "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case" [#83, 1961]. The unstated assumption in Wirth's theory, however, was that these mediating influences were of declining significance.

²⁰The case of Japan has perhaps given the greatest pause to theorists subscribing to the school of economic-technological determinacy in predicting the consequences of industrialization. It has been pointed out that Japan's undeniable industrialization appears to have been accomplished *without* a shift to individualism in the western sense, and without a free labor market, secondary relationships, anonymity, or a break-down of kinship ties, i.e., without the type of societal organization that Simmel and Wirth had described as "urban." Not only have older forms of organization been sustained within the wards of Tokyo [see Dore; #86, 1958], but even in the modern middle-class suburb studied by Ezra Vogel [#97, 1963], older paternalistic patterns present a formidable deterrent to individualism. The particular structure of Japanese economic enterprises has frequently been cited as the crucial factor. The highly paternalistic, particularistic, all-inclusive, para-primary relationship between labor and management defies an easy parallel

All these factors were found to temper the effects of ecological parameters and forms upon social behavior. Within each culture or subculture, variations in size, density, heterogeneity, and the newly rediscovered ecological variable of mobility might produce differences in behavior within socially-defined limits. Nevertheless, one could scarcely predict from one culture to another, much less assume universal determinants and consequences. Given two cities of the same size from very different societies and two cities of different sizes within the same society, the social congruencies between the latter pair are likely to outweigh those in the former. Furthermore, within each city and society, the factors of class and family may create additional congruencies, independent of ecological differences.

Once the comforting premises which had sustained urban theory were rudely undermined by the refutations summarized above, the field was torn asunder, subdivided among three camps which have frequently been antagonistic towards one another. Each has attempted to carve out its own answer to the perplexing question of *how* physical and social space are related, and each has made a concrete contribution to our growing understanding of American urbanism.

The first approach comes from neo-classical ecologists, who have tended to abandon the unidirectional causality assumptions of earlier approaches and to concentrate on demonstrating empirical *associations* between physical and social space, regardless of the exact processes whereby the associations are established and maintained. For example, recognizing that functional stratification in contemporary American cities is determined chiefly by occupation,

with industrialism as it developed in the West. On the other hand, we have come to recognize that even American industrialism deviates from its own stereotype. Whyte's "organization man" [#80, 1957] and the new "white-collar class," identified by C. Wright Mills [#77, 1953], who derive their identities from the work organization (one happy family), hint at the persistence of *Gemeinschaft* even in the secondary institution of work. Primary bases have also been found in the political party, the community-welfare club, and the more purely social organizations of the large American city.

neo-classicists have investigated the spatial distribution of households in the city according to the occupation of the head, and have traced the implications of this "sifting" for social structure and behavior.²¹

The second approach is associated with social area analysis, an analytical technique developed by Eshref Shevky in the heartland of the "new urbanism"--the West Coast. Researchers of this persuasion have sought to test the relative effects upon local social interaction of the intervening variables of class, family, and (less frequently) ethnic identity, often forgetting or denying the influence of purely ecological factors.²² Recent revisions in

²¹By this oversimplification we do not intend to deny that neo-classical ecologists are concerned with process; our point refers to emphasis only. Beginning with the Duncans' study [#34, 1955] on "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification" in Chicago, which verified the correspondence between residential propinquity and occupational "social compatibility" as measured by social distance, this approach has been refined by later studies; see Feldman and Tilly's discussion of occupational clustering in Hartford [#35, 1960] and Laumann's even more ambitious multi-dimensional analyses [## 45-47, 1965-1968]. Whereas the Duncans eschew a causal argument and Feldman and Tilly stress that knowledge of physical arrangements may yield insights into social arrangements, Laumann is concerned chiefly with the effect of occupational rank on social interaction. In this, he bridges some of the distance between the concerns of the neo-classicists and the social area analysts.

²²Beginning with Shevky and Williams [#68, 1949], but receiving its most formal treatment as a theory and method in Shevky and Bell's *Social Area Analysis* [#67, 1955], this approach expanded rapidly, being applied to a variety of cities and utilized in numerous field investigations. Adequate citations may be found in the several summaries prepared by Wendell Bell [e.g., #60, 1958; #58, 1959; and most recently, #59, 1965].

Basic criticisms of the approach of social area analysis have come from two types of scholar. The first are the neo-classicists who accuse social area analysts of disavowing the relationship between social and physical space, thereby forfeiting the real value of their contribution [see Hawley and Duncan, #63, 1957; Duncan's review of the Shevky-Bell book; and Bell's rejoinder, #62, 1955]. The second are adherents to a revisionist approach, primarily favoring factor analytic solutions for determining dimensions of differentiation, who accuse Shevky and Bell of prejudging the

methodology, notably the use of factor analysis to separate inductively the dimensions of American urban differentiation which Shevky had originally deduced or intuited,²³ have opened up possibilities which have not yet been tapped in research designs. In the field studies that have been conducted, the results of social area analysis have been used to pinpoint matched area samples. The procedure thus far has been to match socioeconomic level while varying family type or to match family type while varying status level (the effects of ethnicity are controlled by elimination). Then, various aspects of social participation, interaction, and attitudes in the subsample area cells are compared. Although these studies have proved that social structure significantly affects neighborhood interaction, they do not answer the question of what, if any, are the effects of ecological factors *per se*. The logical extension of this method would be a research design that included such ecological variables as house type, density, tenure, and mobility.²⁴ By controlling socioeconomic level, family-cycle stage,

dimensions and of arbitrarily weighting the variables by their deductive approach when they should have followed inductive methods. See the dialogue between opponents and defenders of the original method [#66, 1961-1962] and similar but more constructive criticism by others [Beshers, #61, 1959; Anderson and Bean, #56, 1961; Sweetser, #69, 1965; and Abu-Lughod, #82, 1966].

²³Although factor analysis was used by Bell, Kaufmann, and Schmid *et al.* to test *ex posteriori* the deductive assumptions underlying social area analysis, others favored the alternative of using the technique to extract orthogonal factors. Beginning with Robert Tryon [#70, 1955], who employed a logical variant--cluster analysis--to reduce a battery of social and demographic indices to more parsimonious composite vectors, this lead has been successfully followed by, among others, Anderson and Bean [#56, 1961], Sweetser [#69, 1965], and myself [#82, 1966]. James Beshers, while equally critical, based his criticism on other points [see #61, 1959].

²⁴The Anderson-Bean study [#56, 1961] extracted four separate orthogonal factors: (a) prestige (SES), (b) family type (what Shevky had originally called "urbanization" but which later researchers identified as a stage in the family cycle), (c) ethnicity, and (d) a *purely* ecological factor of house type and density. If this particular factor structure can be reproduced in cities other than Toledo, the use of factor scores (*not* the collapsed categories

and ethnicity through matched subsampling areas (selected by means of social area analysis or factor analysis), the residual effects of ecological factors upon social behavior might finally be traced. An even more ambitious research design would include a sufficient variety of areas to permit a multivariate analysis of the relative contributions of each factor.

The third approach comes from a small contingent of practically-oriented analysts who have abandoned almost completely the direct study of social variables in order to concentrate on the empirical relationship between community size and a particular "market basket" of community facilities, services, and organizations which, while assumed to be societally defined, may nevertheless be taken for granted in the short run within the modern American city. Their search for an "optimum city size," i.e., a community size maximizing efficiency and variety while minimizing the unavoidable concomitants of congestion and social disorganization, follows a long and vital tradition.

In general, adequate "urbanness" has been defined, implicitly or explicitly, as the presence of a full complement of "urban" facilities (undeniably but unavoidably time- and culture-bound). That minimum size consistent with the full market basket under given economic conditions has been considered optimum. Density has usually been treated as an unimportant variable, a function of the intersection of population size with service radius. The present consensus focuses upon a community size of between 250,000 and 500,000 persons.²⁵ The constant upward revisions that

of Shevky and Bell) to identify areas matched on the first three factors but differing on the fourth could provide significant guidance in selecting field areas to test the effects of the latter.

Mobility is more difficult to extract from its determining context, but Rossi's *Why Families Move* [#78, 1955] refocused attention on the need to take its effects into account. Elazer [#5, 1966] stresses the role of mobility in giving to American cities, from the beginning, their unique character.

²⁵The relevant question being answered here is: Given the items defined as "necessary," at what level of size does the "full

have been made during this century are indirect evidence of the changing nature of American urbanism, a topic that will be explored in the next section of this essay.

To date, these three approaches to urban ecology have not been synthesized within a common framework utilizing a common

complement" of varied urban facilities and services begin to be approached? Obviously, the question cannot be posed cross-culturally or over time because the list of items will differ from one cultural setting to another and will even be redefined as a society shifts its market basket. In a very early study [Keyes, #44], based upon material gathered between 1939 and 1941 but not published until 1958, a list of ninety-four social phenomena (facilities) was compiled--classified under retail establishments, social welfare, education, municipal administration, transportation and communication, and recreation--and the presence or absence of each facility in 3,890 American urban communities (classified by size) was noted. Results were expressed in terms of the percentage of communities within a given size class having the facility. Real "jumping points" were identified at the 25,000-, the 100,000-, and the 500,000-size limits, which the author suggested be the dividing lines between urban communities, cities, and metropolitan centers. "In the 250,000-500,000 group of communities, the city [read 'market basket'] appears to be virtually complete" (p. 312).

Recent upward revisions in planning have settled on a similar magnitude. As Hans Blumenfeld observes [#2, 1964], the 20,000-30,000 optimum championed by Ebenezer Howard [#11; 1st ed., 1902] was increased to 50,000-60,000 and then to 100,000 for the British new towns program and now appears to have been increased again to between 100,000 and 250,000. Blumenfeld himself favors 500,000 as the population "required to support a really vital and attractive secondary downtown" (p. 81 [#2]).

Eric Lampard [#12, 1955], basing his conclusions on Colin Clark, noted that "where city population ranged between 100,000 and 200,000, inhabitants of the immediate vicinity might expect an adequate array of commercial services" (p. 101). This was also the range most frequently cited in Otis Duncan's survey analysis of the "Optimum Size of Cities" [#33, 2nd ed., 1957].

There can be no truly scientific resolution of this question, but a caution can be offered: when the very nature of urban communities is changing, past coefficients may prove to be unreliable guides.

nomenclature.²⁶ Yet, it appears that they share certain basic assumptions and might agree upon a reformulation of Wirth's central concepts that would be relevant to the emergent form of urbanism now being diagnosed and described. All three accept the *specific* reference of their findings and have either dropped or transferred to the wider realm of comparative studies the search for universality.²⁷ All are concerned with, or at least are aware of, the variety of intervening societal variables affecting the operation of ecological factors, and all three focus their attention upon particular links in the causal tangle. We suggest that these changes in conceptualization are due not only to our "greater wisdom," but have been forced into our consciousness by changes in the object itself, that is, by a transfiguration of urbanism.

NEW CONCEPTS TO FIT THE CHANGING CITY

The metaphors of an age are not capricious; they reflect real differences in the object of concern. By examining the key terms relevant to the three types of urbanism sketched in the introduction, then, much can be pinpointed concerning the changing nature of the phenomenon being comprehended.

For the preindustrial city, the critical distinction is between intramural and extramural life; the contrast is between the city and its hinterland, hence Weber's emphasis on the wall. This type of city can be accurately measured by population (people) and radius (space), with density being a limiting element. Each city is subdivided into cells--whether according to industry, as in a

²⁶Since this essay was written, an article has appeared which traces a convergence between classical ecology and social area analysis [Peter Orleans; #65, 1966].

²⁷Cross-cultural comparisons of occupational prestige ranks have identified certain uniformities among industrialized societies and some striking exceptions, primarily within newly modernizing ones. Replications of residential propinquity-social distance studies in non-American cities are needed. Comparative studies within the realm of social area analysis have not yet passed beyond the preliminary stage of comparing factor structures.

guild structure; according to religion, as in the communal Middle Eastern city; according to place of origin or common culture, as in American ethnic enclaves; or any combination thereof. Within each cell, solidarity is largely primary, all-inclusive, and tending toward mechanical (in the Durkheimian sense). Social space is virtually coterminous with physical space, and the city's heterogeneity exists largely "between cells." As Durkheim noted long ago, volume without interaction can be increased almost indefinitely without leading to the social consequences associated with urbanism since additional noninteracting cells do not increase what he called moral or dynamic density.²⁸

Although this type of city has virtually disappeared in the western world, it does persist elsewhere and, even in the United States and Europe, most large cities contain *some* cells that retain a measure of self-sufficiency and autonomy. In contemporary American cities one can still find clusters of residential cells --whether created primarily by exclusion or exclusivity--which partake *somewhat* of these residual qualities, albeit diluted by the inevitable extramural contacts that are frequently required. It is a misnomer, however, to call their residents urban villagers; they are urbanites, but of another "city."

As the city changes, so do the terms used to describe it. With technological advances and industrialization, the city's limits are displaced outward. The critical distinction becomes that between life within the city and the hinterland over which it exercises dominance and life in the areas beyond. The contrast of greatest significance is between urban (declining as distance from the center increases) and rural, hence the preoccupation of the

²⁸By physical density, Durkheim meant the concentration of persons; by moral or dynamic density, he meant the rate or frequency of their interaction. For anyone wishing to pursue the social implications of density, particularly as the discrepancy between physical (or material) and moral (psychic) density grows wider in the contemporary world, a rereading of Book II, Chapters 2 and 3, of Durkheim's *The Division of Labor in Society* [#4, 1964 ed.] is essential.

Chicago school with urban-rural differences and the dominance gradient. Size (population), density (concentration), and the dimensions of service radii (variable, and of declining strength) are the relevant measures for the early industrial city whose physical attenuation along transportation axes is merely a technologically-induced variant of a system that still requires physical contact for interaction. Rapid growth, facilitated by rural-to-urban migration (which, in the special historical case of the American city, was supplemented by foreign immigration), creates a new type of heterogeneity in the city. Despite migrants' efforts to recreate protective cells within the city, physical and social mobility undermine the conservative influences of the cell which must be maintained in the face of a general system that no longer recognizes the cell's existence nor supports it functionally or legally. Physical and social space are further disengaged as social relationships begin to take on a dual quality--chiefly primary within the weakened cell, chiefly secondary in contacts with the wider city. Many of the resultant conflicts--termed "social disorganization" by the Chicago school--are actually induced not by density or heterogeneity *per se*, but by the mobility that produces both.

Around the turn of the century, western cities exhibited many of these characteristics, for which sociologists such as Simmel, Tönnies, Durkheim, Cooley, Park, and Wirth devised relevant concepts. These are *still* largely relevant to a number of rapidly growing metropolises in newly industrializing countries throughout the world, as well as to those parts of the western city which retain structural affinities to the older form, such as "ports of entry" for new urban migrants, areas characterized by high rates of physical mobility, non-family zones, and areas inhabited by populations facing problems of cultural assimilation, etc.

These earlier terminologies, however, are sorely inadequate to comprehend new aspects of urbanism now appearing on the scene. Dissatisfaction with them is reflected in the current search for concepts that can be organized into a theory applicable to phenomena not subsumed under the older approaches. The new urbanism has

been displacing the limits of urbanity still farther outward, making the critical distinction one which contrasts life within the evolving "systems of cities" with life in those settlements excluded from the larger network. By means of a communication grid that extends far beyond the transportation web that formerly delimited the hinterland of an individual city, settlements are linked into regional systems and their interstitial zones blanketed by "urban fallout." Only residual pockets of provincialism (which may be found *inside* as well as outside the systems) offer a contrast to the dominant mode.²⁹

When a phenomenon becomes so pervasive, older measurements often fail to capture the significant differences which are shifted to another level. Size, for example, becomes increasingly difficult to measure, for the boundaries within which numbers are to be aggregated become increasingly arbitrary--related pragmatically to the particular aspect of the system being studied. Thus, recent analysts of American urbanism have advocated a substitution of the concept of *scale* for that of size.³⁰ Scale differs from size in that it measures the *extent* of a given network of relationships, not the number of its participants (although as extent widens, the number of persons directly or indirectly affected by system decisions naturally increases). What is missing from the concept of scale is a clear geographic referent. Whereas in the urbanism

²⁹The prescience of Durkheim must again be acknowledged here. Although his work on the division of labor [#4] was first published in 1893, it contained the following prediction: ". . . in so far as the moral density of society is increased, it [society] itself becomes similar to a great city which contains an entire people within its walls. In effect, as material and moral distance between different regions tend to vanish, they are, with relation to one another, steadily more analogous to that of different quarters of the same city" (pp. 299-300, 1964 ed.).

³⁰This suggestion has been advanced by theorists involved in social area analysis who have attempted to tie the concept to the theory of social change formalized by the Wilsons [#53, 1954]. Unclear formulations can be found in Shevky and Bell [#67, 1955] and in Dennis McElrath [#13, 1965]. A far more cogent argument is made in Scott Greer's *The Emerging City* [#8, 1962].

described by Wirth, scale was generally coterminous with size, in the new urbanism it may not be.

Density also requires redefinition to make it applicable to emergent aspects of urbanism. Examining the societies of his time, Durkheim, though making a conceptual distinction between material density (population concentration) and dynamic density (rate of interaction), could still conclude complacently that if the technology for increasing social contacts were taken into consideration, material density could be used as an index to dynamic density. This congruence (also assumed in Wirth's investigation of urbanism) has been breaking apart, with interactions of many kinds being freed from the geographic basis of proximity. The interaction density facilitated by communication is far greater than physical density permits or requires.³¹

This new density is perhaps different even in *kind* from the interactions that were indirectly measured through physical concentration. Increasingly, interaction on primary and secondary levels of involvement is being supplemented by a new form of interaction even more abstracted from the deeper layers of personality. For lack of a term to denote it, this new form has either been ignored or subsumed under "secondary" interactions, but without added analytical power. Is there not something to be gained by conceptualizing these new, even more superficial, relationships as *tertiary*? If a primary relationship is one in which participants are known to

³¹Recognition of this phenomenon has led to several attempts to "reinvent" the concept of dynamic density and to relate it to its social consequence, urbanity. Thus, Melvin Webber, in an essay suggestively entitled "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm" [#22, 1963], advocates the measurement in "hubbits" of the variety and quantity of activity-related interactions occurring at a given urban space, and links this with "those elusive qualities of city life that have been intuitively attached to the term 'urbanity'" (p. 97). Indeed, this has been stated explicitly by Richard Meier in a book exploring techniques for measuring what we have been calling dynamic density [#14, 1962]. As tertiary interactions become more numerous, however, this definition leads to the selection of real "nowhere" cities located at the cross-over points of communication networks, i.e., in telephone exchanges or even grid nodes. (See following note.)

each other in many role facets whereas a secondary relationship is one in which individuals know each other only in one or a few roles, then a tertiary relationship would be one in which only the *roles* interact. The individuals playing the roles are not only interchangeable but, with the computerization of many interactions, are in fact even dispensable--at least, at the point of immediate contact.³² The interactions occur not between *individuals* in one role capacity or another, but between the functional roles themselves. That this form of relationship may engender discomfort in individuals who are well adjusted to secondary contacts may be deduced from the complaints registered against "being a number" or from the mild "wars" à la Thurber that are waged to demand feedback from machine responses.³³ The abstraction of money (viewed by Simmel as leading to secondary relationships) has been generalized from the stock exchange--a prime example of tertiary interaction--to many other aspects of society.

Although the originator of the term, Charles Cooley, denied that "face-to-faceness" was an essential prerequisite to primary relationships and maintained that secondary relationships could also be based on physical proximity, some degree of correspondence

³²The following examples, arranged in order of increasing "interchangeability-dispensability," illustrate tertiary relationships: A "Dear Registrar" letter from a would-be college applicant involves an interaction so generalized and stylized that it can not even be called secondary and may eventually elicit a form of computerized response. A telephone call answered by a recorded announcement from which feedback is precluded represents an even higher level of abstraction. In this case, even the order of interaction, from reaction (first) to stimulus (second), is reversed. Most abstract of all are computer tape messages that can now be transmitted via microwave telephones to other computers which print out the transmitted graphic or verbal message. The real interaction is removed several steps from the immediate communication. Machine-to-machine communications, in which one machine takes programmed initiative and in which received messages activate programmed responses in the second, are the ultimate abstraction.

³³A protest button reads: "I am a human being; do not fold, spindle, or mutilate."

between physical and social distance was presumed. Tertiary relationships, on the contrary, can be maintained *only* under conditions of *physical* isolation; once supplemented by physical contact, they tend to revert to secondary. Thus, the freeing of interaction from its geographic base has created a new and oddly unsatisfying element in dynamic density that supplements or even substitutes for earlier forms of interaction. Thus far, however, we have found no way to integrate its measurement into a theory of urbanity.

The pervasive character of the new urbanism also requires a redefinition of the term "heterogeneity." Under older conditions, heterogeneity arose primarily from sources outside the urban social structure and was continually reinforced and sustained by migrations from nonurban areas. The city, which brought into contact persons of diverse backgrounds, was conceived of as a fertile soil for cross-pollination; physical mobility was presumed to lead to mental mobility (i.e., cosmopolitanism and a questioning of inherited beliefs). Some heterogeneity within American cities still arises from this source. However, its influence cannot help but become weaker as the origins of migrating persons become more and more culturally comparable to their destinations.

This inevitable decline in externally-created heterogeneity, however, has not led to homogeneity; rather, as Durkheim predicted, the coalescence of society has facilitated an elaborate internal subdivision. Differentiation *within* the urban social structure itself is now the chief source of heterogeneity. This shift requires a new conception of the consequences of heterogeneity and a new research technique for identifying the critical differentiations. When heterogeneity lay in background, the presumption was that it would decrease with time and interaction; furthermore, it could be identified by gross cultural measures, such as place of birth, language, in short, by past referents. When heterogeneity lies in differentiations of life style, however, its further elaboration must be expected and its identification must be sought in current characteristics. This, we suggest, is why both the neoclassical ecologists and the social area analysts focus such heavy attention

on occupation. Their emphasis is well placed, for occupational commitments in contemporary America largely determine exposure to different scales, different levels of dynamic density, and different ratios of primary, secondary, and tertiary relationships.

Differentiation is also more complexly determined; prediction requires knowledge of many current characteristics, not the few that were sufficient for probability statements in earlier urban manifestations. When social stratification was neatly correlated with ethnic origin (order of migration) and demographic differentials--as it still is in many nonwestern cities--the distribution of population within the urban setting could be analyzed almost unidimensionally: knowledge of position on one axis could be substituted for knowledge of other axes. The social area analysts have amply demonstrated that, as the new urbanism proceeds, differentiation occurs along several separate axes which are not substitutable. More complex techniques are required to comprehend the new forms of heterogeneity found in emergent urban regions.

The redefinitions of the universal ecological parameters of size, density, and heterogeneity which we have suggested above are all in the direction of assimilating social and cultural variables into the ecological scheme. These revisions are compatible with the new emphasis upon the ecosystem which has been elaborated by neoclassical ecologists (for example, Duncan's "From Social System to Ecosystem" [#32, 1961]); they also seem particularly suited to comparative studies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

Perhaps the major implication of current sociological reflections about urban life is that, just as there is no one "city type," there is no one, uniquely urban way of life. Rather, there are "varieties of urban experience" that owe their differences not only to real urban variations correlative with technology and culture, but also to the ways subgroups of a population select out from a given urban environment those systems in which they

participate, those types of relationships that are proper to their corner, and those linkages to the larger system that follow from their roles. Common residence in the same physical entity--identified by the same place name and measured by physical yardsticks of size and density--does not imply psychic or social exposure to the same set of ecological stimuli.

Just as the three city types coexist in the American urban community of today, so each urbanite participates in a life circumscribed in some way by all of them; the proportions of his relative involvement, however, differ uniquely. At one extreme is the recently arrived, Spanish speaking, aged Puerto Rican woman who joins the ethnic cell of a few blocks of New York City. She lives almost exclusively a preindustrial urban life; her secondary relationships may be confined to an occasional social worker or the police, her tertiary contacts to immigration forms and the annual income tax (both equally incomprehensible). At the opposite extreme is the unencumbered, free-wheeling executive who, regardless of his official residence, lives in the "nowhere city" that transcends a fixed physical anchor. Many of his interactions are tertiary, a good many are secondary, and his few primary contacts may be scattered physically, although linked occupationally. (In between these extremes are varieties still only vaguely conceptualized and as yet relatively unmeasured.)

A planner designing their environments would be foolish indeed to believe that the manipulation of physical space will have equivalent effects on each, either in terms of impact or direction. To say this, however, is not to say that the physical environment will therefore have *no* impact. It remains for ecologically-oriented social scientists, operating within the sophisticated and infinitely more complex conceptual framework outlined above, to seek answers to *meaningful* questions--not simply to cavil with existing authorities by pointing out that *their* research findings refute a tired strawman. Once this is done (and the situation appears very hopeful), the planner can turn to sociologists, ask his questions in less deterministic terms, and perhaps receive some guidance.

Even though at the present writing we still lack precise measurements of the exact effects of each manipulable physical variable upon each of a wide variety of clients, we can nevertheless formulate some guides for policy. It is not merely that premature judgments are superior to none at all, but that one can seek answers experimentally--especially when one takes a less optimistic view of the potency of physical plans to modify human behavior--and be assured that the worst results will merely inconvenience while the best may help to satisfy. Physical dispositions can, in the last analysis, merely facilitate or hinder certain behavior patterns; they cannot *create* them *de novo*.

Let us draw a parallel from the field of domestic architecture. Physically, the residential architect's goal is to create a functional and beautiful structure; socially, his goal is to facilitate a mentally and physically healthy family life. No one would claim that a *building* alone is capable of achieving the latter purpose. But all will recognize that, as a family lives and grows in a house, inadequate elements of the physical plan may create irritants (faulty design, *per se*); nonfunctional elements may create tensions (lack of facilities for preferred and established patterns or for particular needs); some design elements may be neutral; whereas other features may actually contribute positively to peaceful domestic life. That the architect is not omnipotent--that he cannot create a stage set in which the client responds as a social puppet--does not mean that he is not powerful. What it does mean is that the architect has not fully discharged his task by designing a building that meets objective and perhaps universal standards of structural soundness and efficiency, although both are essential; he must also meet more variable standards, those set by the family itself. Even though the family may be unaware of these standards, a study of its actual behavior can guide the architect in designing for them.

The city planner, because he affects greater numbers and because he deals with aggregates rather than individual families, carries an even heavier responsibility toward "the client." (The

family whose architect has done it a disservice may move to another house; the populations dealt with unkindly by the planner can not all follow this recourse.) In fulfilling his responsibility, the city planner cannot stop with objective standards of efficiency nor can he dodge the issue by saying it is up to the social scientists to provide scientifically-validated universal standards. All he can ask them for is more detailed knowledge concerning *how* people behave, the observed ranges of their behavior, and some of the socio-economic correlates of behavioral differences. He can ask for behavior "norms" classified by family-cycle stage, income, occupation (which is by no means coterminous with income!), ethnic subgroup, and even by age and sex within the same household. Such norms, in various subareas of the metropolitan region, are now being explored by sociologists. As we have pointed out, the discovered range is wider than had hitherto been assumed and--despite superficial elements of conformity and standardization--may actually be widening as prosperity allows greater latitude for style-of-life expressions.

These variations, however, are not standards. They are merely the starting points for the development of operational standards. How do we determine which variations are to be catered to, which and how wide a range are to be supplied, and which variations are to be ignored or even denied? Here, policy and ideology intervene, and a rethinking of ideological issues may be as significant for the future of planning as are any further accretions in scientific knowledge.

The basic policy question has always been: What is the proper relationship between the planner and his client? When client goals and planner goals have been congruent, the answer has been relatively simple in theory although not always so facile in execution. The planner's role has properly been that of empowered servant "meeting a demand" through technical competence and by delegated authority. In this role, the greater his knowledge of the clients' dispositions, needs, and behavior, the greater is his capacity to serve them adequately. Consumer behavior, or how

people live, and consumer preferences, or what choices they make, are basic elements of this important knowledge. Here the economists and sociologists make their contribution by summarizing the characteristics, preferences, and "life ways" of the many varieties of households to be accommodated in the urban region, by projecting their relative distribution in the population, and by estimating the limiting means at their disposal: time, energy, involvement, and money.

All these contributions can be encompassed under the rubric of "market research," broadly defined. Two limitations of this approach appear, however, which are not easily dispelled. On the one hand, "new product development" is as important in designing future cities as is market research; here the economist or sociologist can not "predict" the outcome of unknown or untried stimuli, although they can give preliminary guidance and can test results. If the creativity of the planner's role lies in presenting, or encouraging the market to present, experimental alternatives to existent models of community life, then he must be willing to take chances. But the chances must be taken within that precarious region between the assumptions of unmoving conservatism and infinite malleability of human behavior.

The second problem is even more serious. As we have noted above, defining the planner's responsibility to his client is fairly straightforward when their aims coincide. Only when planner goals are *opposed* to client goals or, at least, are irrelevant or peripheral to the client's interests and pursuits is the value of market research doubtful. Here one shifts ground and casts the planner in the role of "social engineer," if not social reformer, rather than as the docile though imaginative and talented "servant." Behavior is to be altered, not assisted, and the client's interest is to be subordinated to a "higher" purpose.

This view of planner as reformer is becoming increasingly difficult to defend today, except in special cases, and for some very fundamental reasons--some of them ideological, some of them merely practical.

When the heterogeneity of American cities resulted primarily from the influx of successive immigrant waves, the policy of encouraging assimilation, with due respect for "cultural integrity," was taken for granted ideologically. Consumers might demonstrate a wide range of behaviors and preferences, but this variety was considered to be both temporary and expendable. A white, middle-class, "Americanized" standard could be imposed from the outside. The justification was stated in terms of the shared higher goal of assimilation: people behaved the way they did only because they had not yet *learned* the better way. Planning of the physical environment was to be directed toward assisting a transition, as were other public activities (Americanization classes, social services, settlement houses, etc.). To a certain extent, right or wrong, some of this earlier philosophy carries over to the newest "urbanites" who are deemed in need of acculturation, namely, the Puerto Rican newcomers (paralleling the earlier types) and the culturally-resistant Negro and white subgroups at the periphery of industrial America.

The new type of heterogeneity explored in this paper, i.e., that resulting from internal differentiation, is, however, less compatible with this ideological position. No longer does it appear legitimate to plan only for the "ideal" client. A somewhat different role must be envisaged for the planner, one in which he learns to suppress some of his own preferences and to tolerate not only a little more "disorder in the dress" but a somewhat wider latitude of life ways which, although not his own, can not be outlawed as "unhealthy" or deleterious. [Obviously, this tolerance is not to extend to legally-defined anti-social behavior.] Not only will his clients benefit individually, but our cities may also gain in that quality of "unexpectedness" which is an essential element of urbanness.

Practical necessities point in the same direction as ideological "permissiveness." Having freed ourselves of the expectation that clients will respond dutifully and without resistance to the pullings of ecological strings, we must also free ourselves of

the feelings of frustration and anger that often accompanied previous planning "failures." Contravention, subterfuge, and heroic efforts to adapt irrelevant or hindering elements of the plan to established ways of life are testimony *not* to the intractability of the client but to the strength of his un verbalized convictions. Failures must be studied no less than successful experiments, for they highlight areas in which planners had best "roll with the punch," particularly where the issue is not central. If this accomplishes nothing else, it will free energies for engineering where public health or welfare really require it.

Perhaps this point may be summarized by a most mundane example, common on one level but symbolic on another, namely, the strategy of laying out footpaths and circulation ways in a development area. People will tread their own paths as they go about living. The "foolish" planner designs his network first and, if it is disregarded, reacts peevishly, erecting verbal and even physical barriers designed to educate clients to the "best" pathways. The "wise" planner places tentative pathways and then observes--altering them where necessary and remembering to employ in his next endeavor even this miniscule new insight into human behavior. The parable permits infinite expansion and takes on deeper meaning, given the nature of the changing city and the variety of lives it must not only permit but encourage.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

I. GENERAL WORKS DEALING WITH URBAN TYPES
(Preindustrial, Industrial, and Post-Industrial)

1. Beshers, James M. *Urban Social Structure*. The Free Press. New York: Macmillan, 1962.
2. Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Urban Pattern." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, special number on "Urban Revival: Goals and Standards" (March, 1964), pp. 74-83.
3. Dewey, Richard. "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant." *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (July, 1960), 60-66.
4. Durkheim, Emile. *The Division of Labor in Society*. (First published in 1893.) Translated from the French by George Simpson. Book II, Chapters 2 and 3. New York: Macmillan, 1933. [Paperback, The Free Press (Macmillan), 1964.]
5. Elazar, Daniel J. "Are We a Nation of Cities?" *The Public Interest* (Summer, 1966), pp. 42-58.
6. Friedmann, John, and Alonso, William, eds. *Regional Development and Planning*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964.
7. Gottmann, Jean. *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961.
8. Greer, Scott. *The Emerging City: Myth and Reality*. The Free Press. New York: Macmillan, 1962. [Paperback, 1965.]
9. Hauser, Philip, ed. *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*. Calcutta: UNESCO, 1957.
10. _____, and Schnore, Leo F., eds. *The Study of Urbanization*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965.
11. Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. (First published in London, 1902, as the 2nd ed. of "To-Morrow a Peaceful Path to Real Reform.") Edited by F. J. Osborn. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965. [Also in paperback.]
12. Lampard, Eric. "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas." *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 3 (January, 1955), 81-136.

13. McElrath, Dennis. "Urban Differentiation: Problems and Prospects." *Law and Contemporary Problems* (Winter, 1965), pp. 103-110.
14. Meier, Richard L. *A Communications Theory of Urban Growth*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1962.
15. Reissman, Leonard. *The Urban Process*. The Free Press. New York: Macmillan, 1964.
16. Schnore, Leo. "Some Correlates of Urban Size: A Replication." *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (September, 1963), 185-193.
17. Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. (From original works, first published in German, 1908-1917.) Edited and translated by Kurt H. Wolff. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950. Pp. 409-424. [Paperback, The Free Press (Macmillan).]
18. Sjoberg, Gideon. *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*. The Free Press. New York: Macmillan, 1960. [Paperback, 1965.]
19. Smith, Page. *As a City Upon a Hill: The Town in American History*. New York: Knopf, 1966.
20. Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Society*. (1st ed., 1887.) Translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957. [Paperback, Harper Torchbooks (Harper & Row), 1966.]
21. Warner, Sam B., Jr., ed. *Planning for a Nation of Cities*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966. [Also in paperback.]
22. Webber, Melvin M. "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm." *Explorations into Urban Structure*. Edited by Melvin M. Webber. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
23. Weber, Max. *The City*. (From a larger work, first published in 1903.) Translated from the German by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth. With "Preparatory Remarks: The Theory of The City," by Don Martindale. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958. [Paperbacks; Collier Books, 1962; The Free Press, 1965 (New York: Macmillan).]
24. Wingo, Lowden, Jr., ed. *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. [Paperback, 1965.]

25. Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938). [Reprinted in *Cities and Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology*. (1st ed., 1951.) Edited by P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss. The Free Press. (2nd ed., rev.; New York: Macmillan, 1957.)]

II. ECOLOGY AND ITS SOCIAL EFFECTS

26. Blumenfeld, Hans. "On the Concentric Circle Theory of Urban Growth." *Land Economics*, 25 (May, 1949), 209-212.
27. Burgess, Ernest. "The Growth of a City." *The City*. Edited by Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. [University of Chicago Press, 1967.]
28. Caplow, Theodore, and Foreman, R. "Neighborhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community." *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), 357-366.
29. Deutsch, Morton, and Collins, Mary E. *Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951.
30. Duhl, Leonard J., ed. *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*. New York: Basic Books, 1963.
31. Duncan, Beverly; Sabagh, George; and Van Arsdol, Maurice, Jr. "Patterns of City Growth." *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 (January, 1962), 418-429.
32. Duncan, Otis D. "From Social System to Ecosystem." *Sociological Inquiry*, 31, No. 2 (1961), 140-149.
33. ————. "Optimum Size of Cities." *Cities and Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology*. (1st ed., 1951.) Edited by P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss. The Free Press. 2nd ed., rev.; New York: Macmillan, 1957. Pp. 759-772.
34. ————, and Duncan, Beverly. "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification." *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (March, 1955), 493-503.
35. Feldman, Arnold, and Tilly, Charles. "The Interaction of Social and Physical Space." *American Sociological Review*, 27 (December, 1960), 877-884.
36. Festinger, Leon; Schachter, S.; and Back, K. *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of Human Factors in Housing*. New York: Harper, 1950. [Paperback, Stanford University Press, 1963.]

40. The City is Dead - Long Live the City
37. Firey, Walter. "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables." *American Sociological Review*, 10 (April, 1945), 140-148.
38. _____. *Land Use in Central Boston*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947.
39. Form, William. "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology." *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), 317-323.
40. Gans, Herbert. "Planning and Social Life." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 27 (May, 1961), 134-140.
41. Gutman, Robert. "Site Planning and Social Behavior." *Journal of Social Issues*, 22, special number on "Man's Response to the Physical Environment" (October, 1966), 103-115.
42. Hauser, Francis L. "The Ecological Pattern of Four European Cities and Two Theories of Urban Expansion." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 17 (Summer, 1951), 111-129.
43. Hoyt, Homer. *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1939.
44. Keyes, Fenton. "The Correlation of Social Phenomena with Community Size." *Social Forces*, 36 (1958), 311-315.
45. Laumann, Edward O. "Subjective Social Distance and Urban Occupational Stratification." *American Journal of Sociology*, 71 (July, 1965), 26-36.
46. _____. *Prestige and Association in an Urban Community: An Analysis of an Urban Stratification System*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.
47. _____, and Guttman, Louis. "The Relative Associational Contiguity of Occupations in an Urban Setting." *American Sociological Review*, 31 (April, 1966), 169-178.
48. Merton, Robert. "The Social Psychology of Housing." *Current Trends in Social Psychology*. Edited by W. Dennis. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1947.
49. Park, Robert E., and Burgess, E. W. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921.

50. Rosow, I. "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 27 (May, 1961), 127-133.
51. Schnore, Leo. "Social Morphology and Human Ecology." *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (May, 1958), 620-634.
52. Wallace, Anthony. *Housing and Social Structure*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Authority, 1952.
53. Wilson, Godfrey and Monica. *The Analysis of Social Change, Based on Observations in Central Africa*. Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1945.
54. Wittfogel, Karl A. *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. [Paperback, 1963.]

III. SOCIAL AREA ANALYSIS

55. Abu-Lughod, Janet. "A Critical Test for the Theory of Social Area Analysis: Cairo, Egypt." *American Sociological Review*, forthcoming (1969).
56. Anderson, Theodore, and Bean, Lee. "The Shevky-Bell Social Areas: Confirmation of Results and a Reinterpretation." *Social Forces*, 40 (December, 1961), 119-124.
57. Anderson, Theodore, and Egeland, Janice. "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis." *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June, 1961), 392-398.
58. Bell, Wendell. "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods." *Community Structure and Analysis*. Edited by Marvin Sussman. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959.
59. _____. "Urban Neighborhoods and Individual Behavior." *Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World*. Edited by Muzaffer and Caroline Sherif. Chicago: Aldine Press, 1965.
60. _____. "The Utility of the Shevky Typology for the Design of Urban-Suburban Area Field Studies." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 47 (February, 1958), 71-83.
61. Beshers, James. "The Construction of 'Social Area' Indices: An Evaluation of Procedures." *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* (Washington, D.C.; December, 1959). Pp. 65-70.

62. Duncan, Otis D. Review of *Social Area Analysis*, by E. Shevky and W. Bell. *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (July, 1955), 84-85; see also Bell's rejoinder in the same volume, pp. 260-261.
63. Hawley, Amos, and Duncan, Otis D. "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal." *Land Economics*, 33 (November, 1957), 337-343.
64. Kaufman, Walter. "Social Area Analysis: An Explication of Theory, Methodology and Techniques." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1961.
65. Orleans, Peter. "Robert Park and Social Area Analysis: A Convergence of Traditions in Urban Sociology." *Urban Affairs*, 1 (June, 1966).
66. Schmid, Calvin, *et al.* *Pacific Sociological Review*, 4 (Spring, 1961), 26-32; 5 (Spring, 1962), 3-13.
67. Shevky, Eshref, and Bell, Wendell. *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures*. Stanford University Series in Sociology, No. 1. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955.
68. Shevky, Eshref, and Williams, Marilyn. *The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.
69. Sweetser, Frank. "Factor Structure as Ecological Structure in Helsinki and Boston." *Acta Sociologica*, 8, Fasc. 3 (1965), 205-225.
70. Tryon, Robert C. *Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis: A General Method with an Application to the San Francisco Bay Area*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.

IV. BEHAVIOR STUDIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY WESTERN CITY

71. Berger, Bennett. *Working Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
72. Dobriner, William M. *Class in Suburbia*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963. [Paperback, Spectrum Books.]
73. Foote, Nelson, *et al.* *Housing Choices and Housing Constraints*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

74. Gans, Herbert J. *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*. The Free Press. New York: Macmillan, 1962. [Paperback, 1965.]
75. _____. "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-evaluation of Definitions." *Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach*. Edited by Arnold Rose. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.
76. Keats, John. *The Crack in the Picture Window*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957. [Paperback, Ballantine Books.]
77. Mills, C. Wright. *White Collar: The American Middle Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. [Paperback, 1956.]
78. Rossi, Peter. *Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955. [Current ed., New York: Macmillan.]
79. Whyte, William Foote. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. [Paperback, 2nd ed., rev., 1955.]
80. Whyte, William H. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956. [Paperback, Anchor Books (Doubleday), 1957].
81. Young, Michael, and Willmott, Peter. *Family and Kinship in East London*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. [Paperback, Pelican Books (Penguin).]

V. STUDIES OF OTHER CITIES

82. Abu-Lughod, Janet. "The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt: A Comparative Study Using Factor Analysis." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1966.
83. _____. "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case." *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 (July, 1961), 22-32.
84. Caplow, Theodore. "The Social Ecology of Guatemala City." *Social Forces*, 28 (December, 1949), 113-133.
85. Cressey, Paul. "The Ecological Organization of Rangoon, Burma." *Sociology and Social Research*, 40 (January-February, 1956), 166-169.
86. Dore, Ronald P. *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. [Also in paperback.]

44. The City is Dead – Long Live the City
87. Dotson, Floyd and Lillian. "Ecological Trends in the City of Guadalajara, Mexico." *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), 367-374.
88. Gist, Noel. "The Ecology of Bangalore, India: An East-West Comparison." *Social Forces*, 35 (May, 1957), 356-365.
89. Hansen, Aseal. "The Ecology of the Latin American City." *Race and Culture Contacts*. Edited by E. B. Reuter. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934.
90. Hawthorne, Harry B. and Audrey E. "The Shape of a City: Some Observations on Sucre, Bolivia." *Sociology and Social Research*, 33 (November-December, 1948), 87-91.
91. Hayner, Norman. "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration." *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (January, 1945), 295-304.
92. Keyfitz, Nathan. "The Ecology of Indonesian Cities." *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (January, 1961), 348-354.
93. Kuper, Leo; Watts, H.; and Davies, D. *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.
94. Miner, Horace M. *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953. [Paperback, Anchor Books (Doubleday), 1965.]
95. Redick, Richard. "A Demographic and Ecological Study of Rangoon, Burma." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961.
96. Spate, O.H.K., and Trueblood, L. W. "Rangoon: A Study in Urban Geography." *Geographical Review*, 32 (January, 1942), 56-73.
97. Vogel, Ezra F. *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and his Family in a Tokyo Suburb*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963. [Also in paperback.]
98. Wilkinson, Thomas O. *The Urbanization of Japanese Labor, 1868-1955*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1965.