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Some Thoughts on Urbanity

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DEATH OR TRANSFIGURATION OF THE CITY

The theme of death and transfiguration recurs as a *leit-motiv* 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

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[1]Weber [#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

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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

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

[2]Preface 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.

[3]Theorists 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 recrudescences of guild-like social groupings.

by Simmel [#17, 1908-1917], that became the object of Louis Wirth's culminary 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

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[4]Of 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 knowl-
edge 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 transform-
ing 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 cur-
rent sociological reflections on the new urbanism and to relate
them to older traditions and theories.

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[5]Jean Gottmann's descriptive study [#7, 1961] documents but
scarcely explains this emergent form. U. S. Census (1960) data con-
firm 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 devel-
oped, primarily by regional economists who have focused on techno-
logical 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.

[6]Despite 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 theo-
ry.   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 contem-
porary urbanism. For the sake of clarity, we shall present separ-
ate 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 ecology[7] within
the past fifty years may be described as (1) elaborating the connec-
tions 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 oversim-
plify 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

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[7]In 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, build-
ings, transportation systems, etc.) even if the "givens" are parts
of material culture. If the term "physical" were not equally im-
precise, it might often be substituted for "ecological" in the
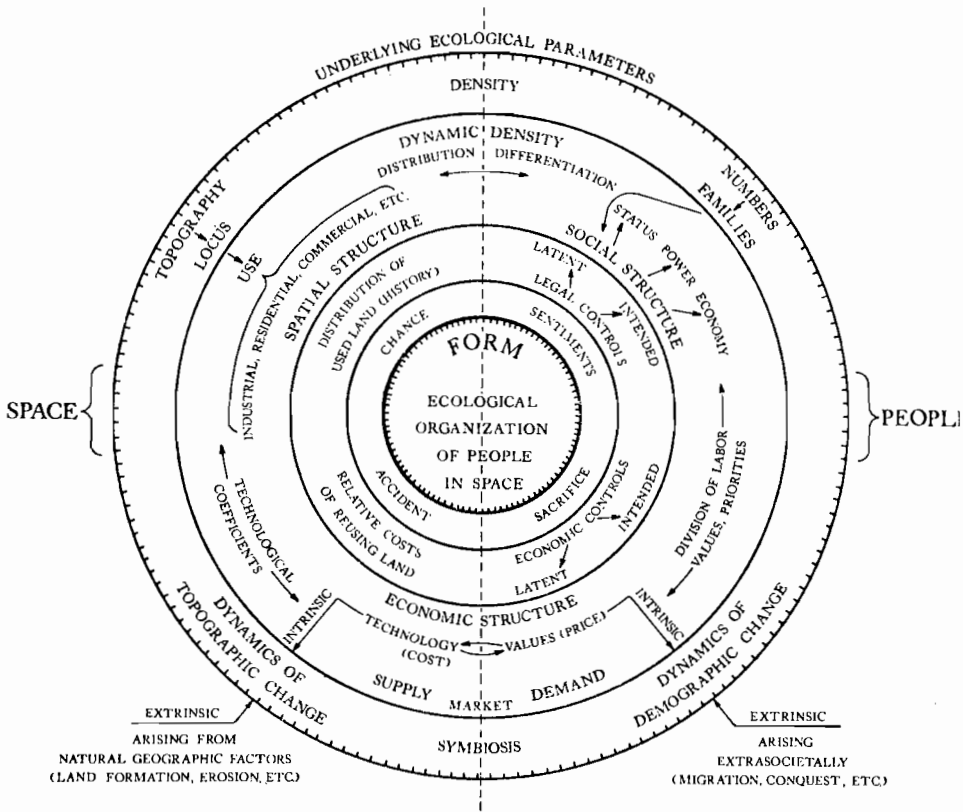field of urban ecology.

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

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[8]It 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.

[9]Social 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 fac-tors (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 con-gruence of interest that cannot be denied.   Because the variables that are within the province of the planner to manipulate are eco-logical, it is natural that he should look to ecologically-oriented social scientists for guidance and even for formulae that would en-able 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 sug-gest 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 sim-plistic 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 rela-tionships has been increasingly confirmed by current research.   It is only that ecological parameters and forms are continuously *fil-tered through* the social structure, value systems, and technologi-cal and economic conditions, shaping and modifying them as well as,

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[10]For studies of the relationship between physical disposi-tion 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].

[11]Herbert Gans has pursued this point in his essay on urban-ism 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]

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[12]As 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].

[13]Zoning 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

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[14]An 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.

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[15]Leo 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

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[16]Some 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*

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[17]As 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?

[18]The 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]

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[19]Again,   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.

   [20]The case of Japan has perhaps given the greatest pause to theorists   subscribing   to   the   school   of   economic-technological determinancy 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,

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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 house-
holds 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 persua-
sion 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

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[21]By this oversimplification we do not intend to deny that
neo-classical ecologists are concerned with process; our point re-
fers 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-dimen-
sional 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.

[22]Beginning with Shevky and Williams [#68, 1949], but re-
ceiving 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 nu-
merous 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-classi-
cists who accuse social area analysts of disavowing the relation-
ship between social and physical space, thereby forfeiting the real
value of their contribution [see Hawley and Duncan, #63, 1957; Dun-
can's review of the Shevky-Bell book; and Bell's rejoinder, #62,
1955]. The second are adherents to a revisionist approach, primar-
ily 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 induc-
tively the dimensions of American urban differentiation which
Shevky had originally deduced or intuited,[23] have opened up possi-
bilities 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 vary-
ing 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 neighbor-
hood interaction, they do not answer the question of what, if any,
are the effects of ecological factors *per se*. The logical exten-
sion of this method would be a research design that included such
ecological variables as house type, density, tenure, and mobil-
ity.[24] By controlling socioeconomic level, family-cycle stage,

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dimensions and of arbitrarily weighting the variables by their de-
ductive 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; Sweet-
ser, #69, 1965; and Abu-Lughod, #82, 1966].

[23]Although factor analysis was used by Bell, Kaufmann, and
Schmid *et al.* to test *ex posteriori* the deductive assumptions under-
lying 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 anal-
ysis--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].

[24]The Anderson-Bean study [#56, 1961] extracted four separ-
ate orthogonal factors: (a) prestige (SES), (b) family type (what
Shevky had originally called "urbanization" but which later re-
searchers 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

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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.

[25]The 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

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complement" of varied urban facilities and services begin to be ap-
proached? Obviously, the question cannot be posed cross-culturally
or over time because the list of items will differ from one cul-
tural 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 un-
til 1958, a list of ninety-four social phenomena (facilities) was
compiled--classified under retail establishments, social welfare,
education, municipal administration, transportation and communica-
tion, 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 'mar-
ket basket'] appears to be virtually complete" (p. 312).

　　Recent upward revisions in planning have settled on a simi-
lar 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 ade-
quate 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 ques-
tion, but a caution can be offered: when the very nature of urban
communities is changing, past coefficients may prove to be unreli-
able 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 universal-
ity.[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 in-
troduction, then, much can be pinpointed concerning the changing
nature of the phenomenon being comprehended.
     For the preindustrial city, the critical distinction is be-
tween 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

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

[27]Cross-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 hetero-
geneity 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 lim-
its 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

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[28]By physical density, Durkheim meant the concentration of
persons; by moral or dynamic density, he meant the rate or frequen-
cy 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 gra-
dient. Size (population), density (concentration), and the dimen-
sions 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 migra-
tion (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 un-
dermine the conservative influences of the cell which must be main-
tained 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 relation-
ships 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 hetero-
geneity *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 popu-
lations 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 phenom-
ena 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

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[29]The 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 analagous to that of different quarters of the same city" (pp. 299-300, 1964 ed.).

[30]This 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 in-
teraction), could still conclude complacently that if the technol-
ogy 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 concen-
tration.   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 anal-
ytical power. Is there not something to be gained by conceptualiz-
ing these new, even more superficial, relationships as *tertiary*?
If a primary relationship is one in which participants are known to

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[31]Recognition of this phenomenon has led to several at-
tempts 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 "hubits" 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 'urban-
ity'" (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 selec-
tion 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 inter-
changeable but, with the computerization of many interactions, are
in fact even dispensable--at least, at the point of immediate con-
tact.[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 individu-
als 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 ex-
change--a prime example of tertiary interaction--to many other as-
pects 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

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[32]The following examples, arranged in order of increasing
"interchangeability-dispensability," illustrate tertiary relation-
ships: 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 compu-
terized response. A telephone call answered by a recorded announce-
ment 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 ab-
stract of all are computer tape messages that can now be trans-
mitted 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 re-
sponses in the second, are the ultimate abstraction.

[33]A 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 an-
other 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 scien-
tists 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 be-
ing explored by sociologists. As we have pointed out, the dis-
covered range is wider than had hitherto been assumed and--despite
superficial elements of conformity and standardization--may ac-
tually 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 varia-
tions are to be ignored or even denied? Here, policy and ideology
intervene, and a rethinking of ideological issues may be as signi-
ficant 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 primar-
ily 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 con-
sidered 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 ideo-
logical "permissiveness."   Having freed ourselves of the expecta-
tion 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 pre-vious 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 unverbalized 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 ex-ample, 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" path-ways. 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.

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