THE IMPACT OF SUB-CULTURE BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN URBAN RENEWAL

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ABSTRACT

The Impact of Sub-Culture Behavior Patterns
in Urban Renewal

by
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Urban renewal as a total concept is about ten years old and is now undergoing some painful scrutiny and re-evaluation. Recognition that urban renewal has not been fully effective in dealing with urban deterioration is beginning to become more widespread. The problem of urban renewal is beginning to be accepted for what it is---a complex spiral of social and physical factors. It is likewise becoming increasingly accepted that solutions to these problems must be carried out on a broad and inclusive basis.

With the vast increase in both physical and social renewal programs---especially federal programs---it may be appropriate to examine the bases and nature of these broad and inclusive programs. In general, this thesis seeks to accomplish four things: (1) an examination of the nature of the slum problem, (2) the establishment of a philosophy within which the goals for an inclusive program can be built, (3) the outlining of a total action program to achieve these goals, and (4) the summarization of the implications all the above factors have for the planning profession and the process of urban renewal.

Slum problems derive from a number of sources: obsolescence of structure or land use, private and public economics, and human behavior problems. Questions of physical obsolescence and deterioration and of economics have, in the past, formed the basic premise of urban renewal

practice. Urban renewal planners have tended, however, to ignore the problem of behavior patterns as a factor in the slum problem. This thesis seeks to emphasize the factor of slum sub-culture behavior patterns and their impact on slums and, consequently, urban renewal.

Human behavior derives from an individual's cultural experience---the sum total of what an individual's society has learned and done. That is, behavior is the result of an individual's stored symbols as to what means what. The individual perceives, via cultural images, the meaning of a given situation and the effective alternatives for action open to him. His response, then, depends on the images or concepts which have developed through experience.

Thus slum behavior---as defined by the dominant culture's values---may arise in two basic ways. First, an individual may not have the dominant society's cultural images as to the meaning of a situation due to newness to the society or acculturation into a deviant sub-society. Second, blocks---artificial and "natural"---may limit an individual's effective alternatives. The blocks include such things as prejudice, lack of skill or ability, and lack of resources.

It is true that the question whether or not slum behavior patterns are desirable as a matter of personal and societal values. Yet it is questionnable that the issue can be resolved to a simple: "they like to live that way." It is concluded, then, that as a matter of public philosophy the public has a right and responsibility to provide the greatest possible <u>effective</u> opportunity for all people. If people are able to effectively strive to meet their legitimate aspirations it is believed that the problem of slum behavior must improve.

Programs to deal with slum problems must be broadly conceived as dealing with both physical and social aspects. Only in this way can they maximize their effectiveness. In terms of the behavioral aspects it is hoped that social education and social action programs, poverty programs, and industrial re-training programs will be able to minimize the cultural blocks which result in slum behavior. But it is recognized that these social programs must be worked in conjunction with physical renewal activity.

The above considerations have serious implications for planning and urban renewal. Planning must recognize the interrelationship of the social and the physical in the urban community. Renewal cannot be conceived of as merely a problem of structural deficiency or municipal economics. Failure to recognize that the slum is inhabited by people will continue to limit the effectiveness of the practice of urban renewal. Beyond this broad consideration there is a need to coordinate the physical and social renewal programs within both the local and national frameworks.

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INTRODUCTION

A basic premise of this thesis is that urban renewal, as carried out to date, has not been able to effectively deal with the full range of problems involved in slums. Recognition that urban renewal has not been fully effective is beginning to become more widespread.[1] The problem of slums and urban renewal is beginning to be accepted for what it is---a complex spiral of social and physical factors. It is likewise being increasingly accepted that solutions to these problems must be carried out on a broad and inclusive basis.

With the vast increases in both social and physical renewal programs---especially federal programs---it may well be appropriate to examine the bases and nature of these broad and inclusive programs. This thesis seeks to do just that. In general, this thesis seeks to accomplish four things: (1) an examination of the nature of the slum problem, (2) the establishment of a philosophy within which the goals for an inclusive program can be built, (3) the outlining of a total action program to achieve these goals, and (4) the summarization of the implications all of the above aspects have on the planning profession and the process of urban renewal.

In recent years an increasing amount of public awareness and concern has been demonstrated over the existence of slum conditions which seem to be the rule for the central areas of our cities---i.e. poor housing, the prevalence of filth and other health hazards, crime, poverty, and apathy. The reactions to these conditions have been many and varied. Some have pointed with alarm to the costs in public money which these

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[1] Gans, Herbert, "Failure of Urban Renewal", in Commentary, vol. 39, April 1965, pp. 29-37.

conditions impose on the city.[2] Some describe the costs of slums in human terms---i.e. disease, poverty, and personal tragedy.[3] Still others stress the positive values which slums have for their inhabitants---"they like to live that way."[4]

Planners have tended to see the situation in another way. They tend to see the problem in terms of the physical structures and environment in which slum occupants live. Consequently, substantial sums of many have been expended on the clearance of slum areas.

The problem of slums and urban renewal is validly seen from a variety of viewpoints---i.e. social, economic, physical, political, etc. For the purposes of analysis this is perfectly legitimate. The difficulty arises when we fail to consider a key aspect of the problem. "The American way of like is a doing way. If you don't know what to do, do something."[5] It would appear that frequently our renewal programs have been primarily the result of a desire to do something, without really knowing what the problem is or how we might do something effective about it.

The first order of business, then, is to develop some sort of unified conception of the phenomenon we are dealing with. We sometimes talk as if

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2 See: Rumney, Jay and Sara Shuman, The Cost of Slums in Newark (Newark, 1946) and Steiner, Oscar, Our Housing Jungle---and Your Pocketbook (University Publishers: New York, 1960).

3 See: Schorr, Alvin, Slums and Social Insecurity (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Washington, 1960).

4 Jacobs, Jane, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York, 1963).

5 Siu, H. B., The Tao of Science (Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Cambridge, 1957).

the physical city (i.e. the buildings, streets, etc.) had an inner life and dynamic divorced from the men who created it, live in it, and use it. But the "physical" city is not really distinct from the "social" city because man, a social animal, built via his cultural images or concepts whatever exists in the city. Yet the physical city---man's artifacts---is not wholly within man's control as it, with a certain degree of independence, is part of the cultural environment which shapes man. The city---and its sub-unit the slum---is, in short, a socio-cultural system with man and his cultural images acting within his social institutions and groups to fabricate natural resources into tools or other artifacts. Consequently, the first chapter of this thesis will seek to develop a conception of the urban socio-cultural system as a whole.

We now drop from the broad conceptual level, to the more parochial main focus of this thesis. The focus is the function of behavior patterns (deriving from a society's or a sub-society's and/or an individual's cultural images and experiences) in the slum environment and in the process of urban renewal.

Urban renewal---as a total concept---is scarcely ten years old. Consequently, it is probably much to early to assess its success or failure. The goals of renewal---in practice if not in theory---are several: (1) the improvement of a municipality's tax base, (2) the retardation or prevention of the decay of physical structures, or the demolition of hopelessly decayed structures, and (3) the breaking of the cycle of slum life. We cannot flatly say that we have failed to attain these goals, as little evidence of the long range effect of renewal is in. Yet perhaps we can say that frequently we have failed to maximize our opportunities---

especially with regard to our attempt to break the cycle of slum life. More often than not, we simply shift our problems about the city spatially. It is argued here that the failure to maximize our opportunities derives, in part, from a lack of understanding of the values, attitudes and ways of life of the people affected by renewal activities. Too infrequently do we ask the simple question: why? Unless we know "why" there can be no real hope of making renewal anything more than an excellent illustration of the American "doing way."

One part of this thesis, then, seeks to examine the "whys" of slum behavior. Chapter 2 will develop a model of human behavior based largely on social psychological theory. This model will be used throughout our examination of behavior.

The modes of behavior discussed are measured vis-a-vis what might be called "typical urban American behavior patterns." In general, this means an "average" American in terms of Anglo-Saxon, middle class values. While the original Anglo-Saxon culture has been much modified through successive waves of immigrants, it remains as the basis of American society and the culture to which successive immigrant groups have historically conformed. Without a standard, we can hardly describe any mode of behavior as "slum like" or "middle class". This will be developed in Chapter 3.

Slum dwellers are not of one homogeneous type---they differ due to differences in cultural background and individual experiences. We wish to know, then, the causes, types, and values of various modes of slum behavior. This is the subject matter of Chapter 4.

A major philosophical problem arises at this point. We have spoken of urban renewal, but of urban renewal with a strong bias toward people. This bias suggests that what is being discussed here is the "renewal" of slum residents. Can or should "we"---i.e. the "mainstream" of American culture---seek to change the way of life of slum residents? To what extent? What is the responsibility of government in this respect? These questions will be examined in Chapter 5. If we frequently do not know what type of phenomenon we are working with, we just as frequently do not know what should be our goal for the future, or why. This philosophy, to be sure, will be a personal bias, but whether explicit or implicit the bias exists and, whether consciously or not, will express itself throughout the thesis. Consequently, it is believed that the perspective from which this was written must be stated.

Chapter 6 suggests with how we might deal with the behavior patterns in rural renewal programs. In short, we are concerned with programs of social education and social planning and their relationship to the overall renewal process. All of this, of course, is presented within the philosophy expressed in Chapter 5.

Finally, Chapter 7 seeks to summarize our findings and indicate some implications these hold for urban planners and urban renewal. These conclusions are again presented within the framework of the philosophy presented in Chapter 5. In sum, we are seeking ways in which to make urban renewal an effective program for breaking the cycle of slum life.

PART I:

THE URBAN SYSTEM

CHAPTER 1

The City As A Socio-Cultural System

Introduction

What is a city? An engineer might define a city in terms of concrete, steel, and glass. An economist sees flows of goods, services and money. A planner may see the city in terms of traffic flows and the number of people employed in manufacturing. The sociologist sees people living in social groups as the essence of the city. Thus each speciality singles out a particular aspect of the city to study. Each of these aspects is an accurate description of part of the reality that is the city, but none tells the whole story.

We sometimes talk about the city as if it were something divorced from or independent of the men who have created it, who live in it, and who make use of its facilities. Planners and engineers have been particularly partial to the concept of the physical city. For example, Kevin Lynch has suggested that the "physical" aspects of the city form a unique body of knowledge around which the planning profession can and should be built.[1] Others would find reality in the formless goods, services, and money that flow in the city's veins.

But this kind of analysis is unreal. We cannot wholly separate the "physical" city from the "economic" city, the "social" city and so on. In fact, these cities are one interdependent entity. The city is, by and large, a socio-cultural phenomenon which differs markedly from the phenomena examined in the physical and biological sciences. We do not say that the

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[1] Lynch, Kevin and Lloyd Rodwin, "A Theory of Urban Form", in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, 1958, p. 203.

city as a socio-cultural phenomena is devoid of physical and biological reality, but only that in addition to and interdependent with that reality is the equally large reality of men, society and culture.

Sorokin notes that "any empirical socio-cultural phenomena consists of three components: (1) immaterial, spaceless, and timeless meanings; (2) material (physicochemical and biological) vehicles that 'materialize, externalize, or objectify' the meanings; and (3) human agents that bear, use and operate the meanings with the help of material vehicles."[2] The component of meanings is of utmost importance as it is that aspect which gives to the city socio-cultural reality. For example, what differentiates a pile of stone from a building or a bank building from an apartment building? Physically, they all have approximately the same properties. The difference between these physical objects lies in the meanings men attach to them. In short, men attach different functions and, therefore, different meanings to a bank and to an apartment building and, thus, in a socio-cultural sense these structures are different.

Not all that exists within a city is socio-cultural---i.e. that which has been articulated, fabricated, or altered by man. Pure physical reality---i.e. soil formation, climate, etc.---and biological reality---i.e. the human body as an organism, etc.---do exist and are vital factors in human settlement. As will be made clear later the "natural" factors are not forgotten.

Sorokin notes that "that the component of meanings is different from material vehicles is incontrovertibly established by the fact that one

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[2] Sorokin, Piritim, Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time (Duke University Press: Durham, 1943), p. 4.

and the same meaning. . .can be materialized or objectified by means of a variety of vehicles."[3] For example, a given idea or meaning can be conveyed by the printed page, by a moving picture, by a photograph, by a recording, etc. The meaning may stay the same, but the vehicle that objectifies the meaning may differ. Take, as another example, status symbols. In a given situation we can speak of a second automobile, a suburban home, certain mechanical devices, etc. as status symbols. All of these different objects may, in a given situation, embody the same meaning.

In short, "the meaning aspect of socio-cultural phenomena is a meaning different from, independent of, and superimposed upon, the meanings of vehicles as purely physical, chemical, or biological objects or events."[4] The purely physical porpoerties of an object do not necessarily mean that it will embody a given meaning for a culture. There are, however, physical properties of objects which tend to encourage given meanings to become associated with them---e.g. hard metals make good tools. Yet, for the most part, meaning is separate from---although frequently related to---the physical properties of objects.

The component of meanings is vital to understanding the interconnections between seemingly diverse material objects or empirical events within the urban community. Phenomena may be grouped either as congeries or as systems---congeries have no inner relationship, while systems are interrelated unities. The basic units we are dealing with in human settlement, then, are meaningful systems. Sorokin notes that:

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3 Ibid., p. 6.
4 Ibid., p. 7.

> Different material objects and phenomena---for instance, a wooden ikon of Christ, a chalice, and the sign of the cross---which from the standpoint of inherent (physico-chemical or biological) qualities in nowise belong to the same class of religious cultural phenomena because of the identity of the meaning or value they articulate.[5]

It would appear that the above discussion of meaningful systems has at least two major areas of impact on the study of the urban community.

First, it is true that much of the urban system and its operations are physically observable. We can observe and quantify flows of goods, services (people), money, etc. which pass between fixed points of production, consumption, storage and so on. Because these points and flows are observable and easily quantifiable we can put scientific accuracy into our study of human settlement.

But, while physical observation can give us a great deal of information about what exists in terms of material vehicles, it cannot ordinarily tell us why these vehicles exist as they do. For example, we can analyze an economic system in terms of goods, services and money. But the economic system operates within the context of cultural rules, customs and concepts (i.e. meanings). The present form of the economic system derives from centuries of cultural experiences. Likewise its potential for change is greatly dependent upon the concepts, ideas or meanings which a society's cultural experience has provided.

Second, it is also true that not all that is meaningfully connected is visibly obvious. The automobile, for example, is used to transport people and goods, but it may also serve as a symbol of social status. To rely only on what is visibly obvious in the community is to risk missing significant meaningful connections.

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[5] Ibid, p. 9.

The sum of this discussion is that a complete analysis of the city necessarily goes beyond a consideration of physical objects---it must be concerned with cultural meaning. Such an investigation, of course, cannot be carried out completely with statistical techniques. This means that socio-cultural analysis must rely to some extent on logic and intuition.

Figure 1 seeks to outline the basic components---cultural and natural---of the urban system and to indicate the importance of cultural experience to the form of the urban community. The rest of this chapter expands on these areas.

Analysis: The Elements of Culture

General

A basic fact about human life is the need for man to adapt to and interact with other men and the natural habitat in order to survive. Thus man, in interaction with and adaption to his natural and human habitat produces and/or articulates his culture. Culture, broadly speaking, is the totality of what a people has learned, built and done and, by means of a continuing society, has been able to pass on to succeeding generations. Kuhn says that "a culture is the product, or net result, of a living society."[6] Graham notes that, "in its broadest sense, culture consists of the values, attitudes, behavior patterns, and material objects which men living in different societies employ in coping with their environments."[7] Culture will be expanded upon in a somewhat different sense in another chapter, but the above is sufficient for our purposes here.

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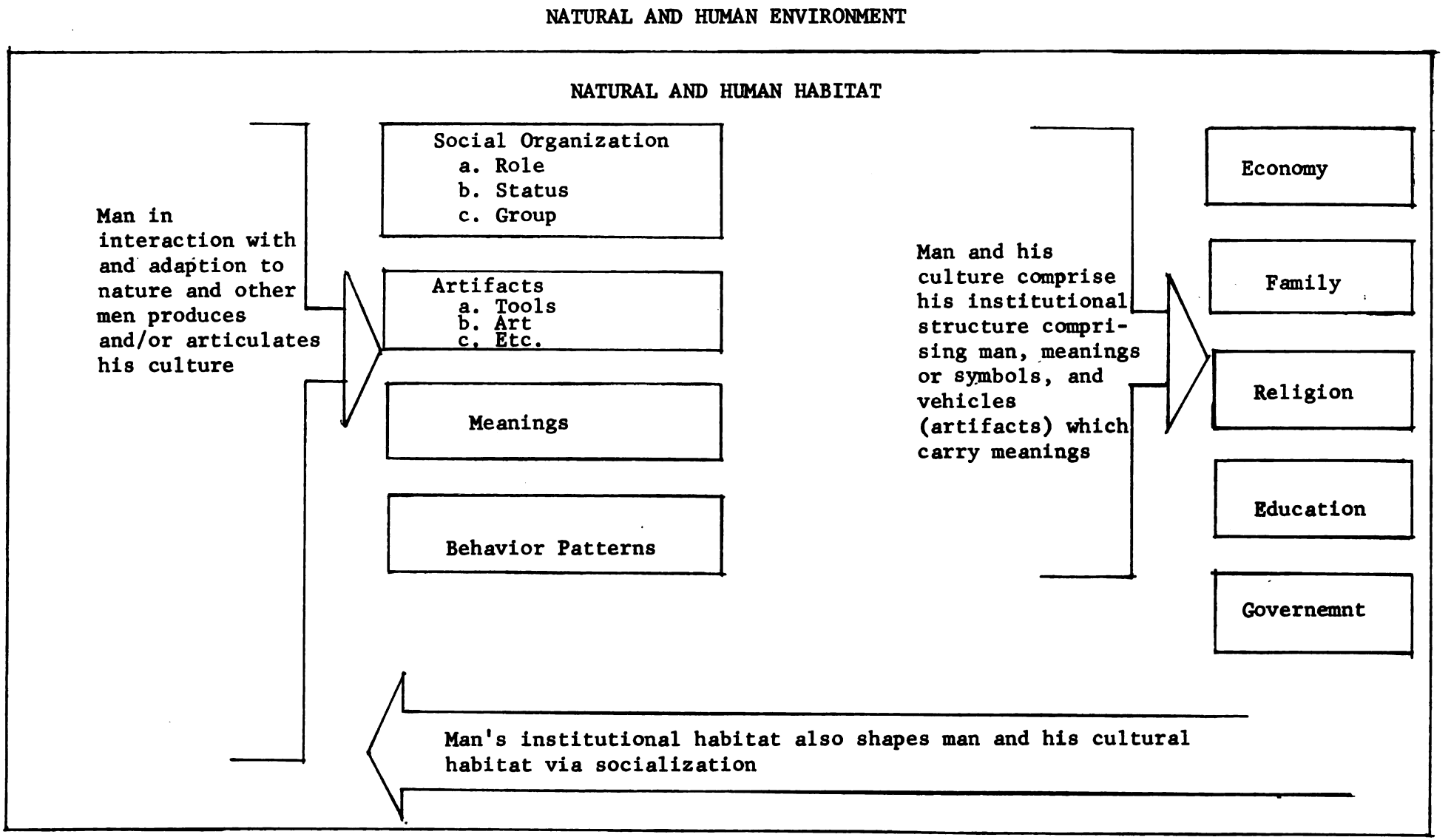
[6] Kuhn, Alfred, The Study of Society (Richard D. Irwin and the Dorsey Press: Homewood, Illinois, 1963), p. 14.

[7] Graham, Saxon, American Culture (Harper and Brothers: New York, 1957), p. 31.

FIGURE 1: THE URBAN SYSTEM



Social Organization

Figure 1 has indicated a few of the basic elements of a society's culture and, in very brief form, these will be touched on here. First, one of the basic components of culture that man produces in his interaction with his habitat is social organization. Social organization arises from the process of human need satisfaction. There are a number of categories of human need. Feibleman notes that:

> The basic tissue needs have led eventually, be means of intermediate stages consisting of tentative social groups based on customs, to social institutions. In general, we may say that hunger has led to the constitutive service institutions, sexual appetite to the regulative service institutions, and inquisitiveness to the higher institutions. By the constitutive service institutions we mean such ones as the family, transportation, communication and trade; by regulative service institutions, the state and the law; and by the higher institutions, art, science, and religion.[8]

At the very primitive level social organization serves to aid in the common goal of survival and, because individual needs and desires conflict at times, to regulate and legitimize this conflict. At higher levels these two functions become more complex and such institutions as art, science, and religion are added.

We have indicated that social organization derives from human need satisfaction. The basic instruments for this are social groups and institutions---in fact, these are the basic components or units of social organization.

The initial form of social organization is the group. The social group is somewhat informal and, in the long run, not resistant to strain.

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[8] Feibleman, James, The Institutions of Society (Allen & Unwin: London, 1956), pp. 31-32.

When man developed beyond the isolated individual state and joined with other men to attain the common goal of survival, he formed a social group. Feibleman defines the social group as "a collection of individuals of more or less limited duration, organized around a central purpose. It is distinguished from the institution, shortly to be defined, chiefly in being more ephemeral."[9]

At the initial stage of social organization the social ties are very informal and customary. At a later stage customs and law provide greater stability to the social organization. In reference to custom, Feibleman notes that:

> Folkways, customs, mores. . . are the results of economy in the attainment of need satisfactions; the ways of getting things done which must be done with the least effort are ways which recommend themselves for doing again and again as the need arise. The rhythm of need-satisfaction-custom-need produces a wave-pattern of behavior which eventually becomes incorporated in social action, formally objectified as its method and recognized as a social organization and eventually as an institution.[10]

As the group proves itself---i.e. it is successful in attaining its central purpose---the group becomes more established and eventually becomes institutionalized. A social group becomes an institution when it has become established by means of law or binding custom. We shall return to the nature of the institutional structure of the urban community later in this chapter.

Social organization involves the assigning of statuses and roles to individuals within a given social organization. When man began to rise above the most primitive stage, he began to assign different tasks to different members of the social group or institution. In short, he

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[9] Ibid., p. 19.
[10] Ibid., p. 30.

developed a division of labor. As man's basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter were being increasingly met, more extensive needs and desires developed and, with this, a more complex division of labor developed. Feilbleman comments:

> One crucial element in institutions is the social order which exists among its members. For in working through institutions, men have to range themselves in accordance with specialized functions and techniques. Not everyone can manage machinery and only some can manage men, and those who can do something well are called upon to do it within the appropriate institution. The tasks for which men are fitted or to which they may be assigned mark them in the institution, and as a result there exists between men a hierarchy of class relations and hence a social order. They derive their relations to each other from their functions in various institutions.[11]

In short, a status is the functional position an individual occupies within a division of labor. In another sense, a status is "a set of cultural definitions that specify how a person is supposed to perceive and respond to objects and people when he is in a particular relationship with them.[12] Statuses provide the cultural definitions of status rights---i.e. what an individual can expect from others---and status obligations---i.e. what others expect from the individual.[13]

The role is the enacting of the status by the individual. Bredemeier and Stephenson notes that "a 'role'. . .is not all 'behavior enacting' of the status---the part which prescribes how the status-occupant should act toward one of the persons with whom his status rights and obligations put him in contact."[14] In short, the role will differ with the particular situation and "actors" currently involved. For example, the role of a

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11 Ibid., p. 19
12 Bredemeier, Harry and Richard Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1962), p. 30.
13 Ibid., p. 30
14 Ibid., p. 31

father, the role of a bank president, and the role of a political party chairman may be played by the same individual at different times.

It sould be noted that a healthy social order requires that an individual's social statuses and roles be separated in time and space. There are times, however, when different statuses do conflict. For example, one individual may have to reconcile his low status racial group (Negro) with his high status occupation (doctor) at the same time. The result can be severe strain on the individual.

Material Vehicles

Man, in his interaction with nature, fabricates a variety of artifacts. These artificts or material vehicles can be in the form of tools, buildings, roads, objects of art or anything that man produces or alters.

In one sense, these material vehicles are objectified meaning---i.e. the concepts, symbols, or ideas which man embodies in material objects. They are the product of centuries of cultural experiences.

In another sense, although material vehicles are objectified meanings, they are physically observable objects. On one level of analysis, then, we are able to observe a system of interrelated points and flows of goods, services, people, and money.

Behavior Patterns

Another characteristic part of a society's culture is somewhat uniform and predictable patterns of human behavior. These patterns will be discussed more fully in later chapters. For the moment, however, we may observe that these behavior patterns might be included in Sorokin's material vehicles---i.e. objective behavior such as a nod or handclasp may be given a specific meaning in a given society. But, since these behavior

patterns are a major part of our analysis, they will be considered independently of other cultural vehicles.

Meanings

Man attaches meanings to his artifacts or vehicles as was previously discussed. These meanings are concepts or images which man associates with an artifact, behavior pattern and so on in a given culture. The nature of this meaning will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Synthesis: The Institutional Structure

Figure 1 indicates that the above elements of man's culture are combined, in dynamic interaction, into the basic unit of community organization: the institution. As a social group proves itself---i.e. it is successful in attaining its central purpose---the group becomes more established and eventually becomes institutionalized. The institution in total is composed of man, meaning, and material vehicles. It corresponds to the system units of community systems analysis. Feibleman distinguishes six necessary elements of institutions: social group, establishment (legal), customs, material tools, organization, and central aim.[15] In Feibleman's terms, then, an institution is "that subdivision of society which consists in human beings in groups established together with their customs, laws, and material tools, and organized around a central aim or purpose."[16]

These institutions, then, are the basic units which compose the community and consist of cultural meanings, the vehicles to which the meanings are attached, and the men who are the "bearers" and "operators" of the system.

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[15] Feibleman, op. cit., p. 23.
[16] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

We have identified only a few of the basic institutions in Figure 1, but the enumeration of them is indefinte. For our purposes here, however, we need not explore the subject further.

We can talk of these institutions at varying levels of inclusiveness. There are, for example, national economic institutions which operate within a context of rules, customs, and laws which we characterize as free enterprise. Below this, however, regional economic institutions operate within the framework of the larger institution and having a large degree of independence of action. On a lower level, we can also examine the individual unit of production and/or consumption which operates within the larger contexts.

We should also note that institutions are super-individual---i.e. they exist before and after the individual. Institutions are the on-going fact of human society into which individual's are assigned temporary statuses and roles. Once a certain pattern becomes institutionalized it develops a certain amount of inertia---i.e. its members develop a certain amount of interest in its perservation. In short, institutions can become a block to the progress of society.

Finally, institutions are dynamic---they are constantly changing in form and substance and, at times, they disintegrate when they no longer perform a function to such an extent that institutional inertia can no longer hold the organization together.

The Institutional Environment

These institutions are the habitat into which individuals are socialized. Within these institutions the young learn their culture and eventually acquire a variety of statuses and roles within society. So the

process turns full circle---man collectively produces his culture and, in turn, this culture produces the next generation. Feibleman notes that "we are the creatures of the institutions we have made, and this is no less so because we have made them. There is a helix of interaction between man and his works in that the effects on him and his works spur him to further works which have further effects, and so on, until it is impossible to tell which is man qua man and which is his work."[17]

The City at Other Levels of Reality

We have previously mentioned that the city as a socio-cultural system does not exclude other realities such as physical and economic reality. Rather, we say that in addition to and interdependent with physical and economic reality is the equally important reality of a socio-cultural system.

These other realities---i.e. the natural habitat, the economic system, and the physical environment (structural)---deserve to be treated separately, for the purposes of analysis from the city as a socio-cultural system. But, for our purposes here, it was considered undesirable. For one thing, such a treatment may imply a separation between physical and social reality that is not warrented---i.e. all are interrelated. For another thing, an extended discussion is not necessary for the purposes of this thesis. We will be concerned here with slum behavior as a social process and its impact on urban renewal. For this reason the city as a natural or economic system will not be extensively dealt with. Neverthless, a few brief comments are in order at this point.

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[17] Ibid., p. 80

First, let us consider the natural habitat. Referring again to Figure 1, we note that nature provides constraints to which man must adapt and resources which help him in his adaption process. The natural habitat must be seen in both senses.

In the first sense, the natural habitat imposes some limitations on human settlement. Topography, soil conditions, etc. shap the spacial form of the community. Thus, for example, cities are located in valleys or at breaks in transportation. Further, local sources of natural resources provide a "reason for being" for many communities. In yet another sense, we note that man, as a biological entity has a number of requirements for survival. Concerns here include space (density or population), clean air and water, food and so on. Thus, in a number of ways, the natural habitat shapes and constrains a social system.

The natural habitat also provides the resources with which man, as a social system, is able to meet his needs. This is, the natural habitat is the source of raw materials which man fabricates into material vehicles.

Second, we note that the city is an economic system having fixed points of production and consumption, fixed paths of transportation over which flow goods and services and so on.[18] It is acknowledged that this objective reality of the economic system exists and is important. But it should be noted that this economic system also includes a component of cultural meaning---it is impossible to fully separate physical reality from cultural meanings.

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[18] Marquis, Stewart, "A Systems Approach to Communities, Community Centers, and Planning Areas" (Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University: E. Lansing, 1963)

In sum, it is agreed that the city can be seen as a system involving several levels of reality. Our purpose here, however, is largely to explore an area of reality which has been neglected, by and large, by planners. It will be further argued that the problem of slums---as conceived in human terms---must be analyzed as a social phenomena if we are to grasp the essence of slum behavior.

Conclusion

The subject of the community as a total system is much too vast to deal with in a few pages. The above sought to indicate that the city is a socio-cultural system---i.e. built by man via his cultural experience. Physical observation of the urban community is seen to provide a great deal of information as to the working of this system. But it is noted that this form of analysis does not explain "why." To explain the inner working and reality of the city investigation is required on the socio-cultural level.

The sum of this discussion is that, although we can understand a great deal of the city via physical investigation, we cannot explain the causes without concern for cultural meaning. As will be indicated later, the causes of slum and slum behavior lie to a large extent at the cultural-meaningful level.

PART II:

AN ANALYSIS OF SLUM BEHAVIOR

Chapter 2

A MODEL OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Chapter 1 sought to indicate how man creates his culture and, in turn, is greatly effected by the nature of this culture. Human behavior is channelized and directed by the concepts and meanings contained in a culture. This, then, is the subject of this chapter.

The method of approach to the subject of human behavior is psychological---i.e. individual behavior. It should be clear, however, that psychological behavior and social or group behavior are just different ways of looking at the same phenomena. As Bennett and Tumin comment: "Individual behavior, . .is in one sense the substance which constitutes behavior at the group level. The behavior of individuals in groups can only be understood against the background of the culture patterns of the society."[1]

A Model of Behavior

General

A simple stimulus-response model of behavior is obviously inadequate for our purposes. We must, then, examine the process more closely to determine the relationship between stimulus and response. The basic model of behavior is illustrated in Figure 2.

Physiological Phase

We will begin with the stimulus which Kuhn defines as "any energy or change of energy which sets off activity in the nervous system."[2] More

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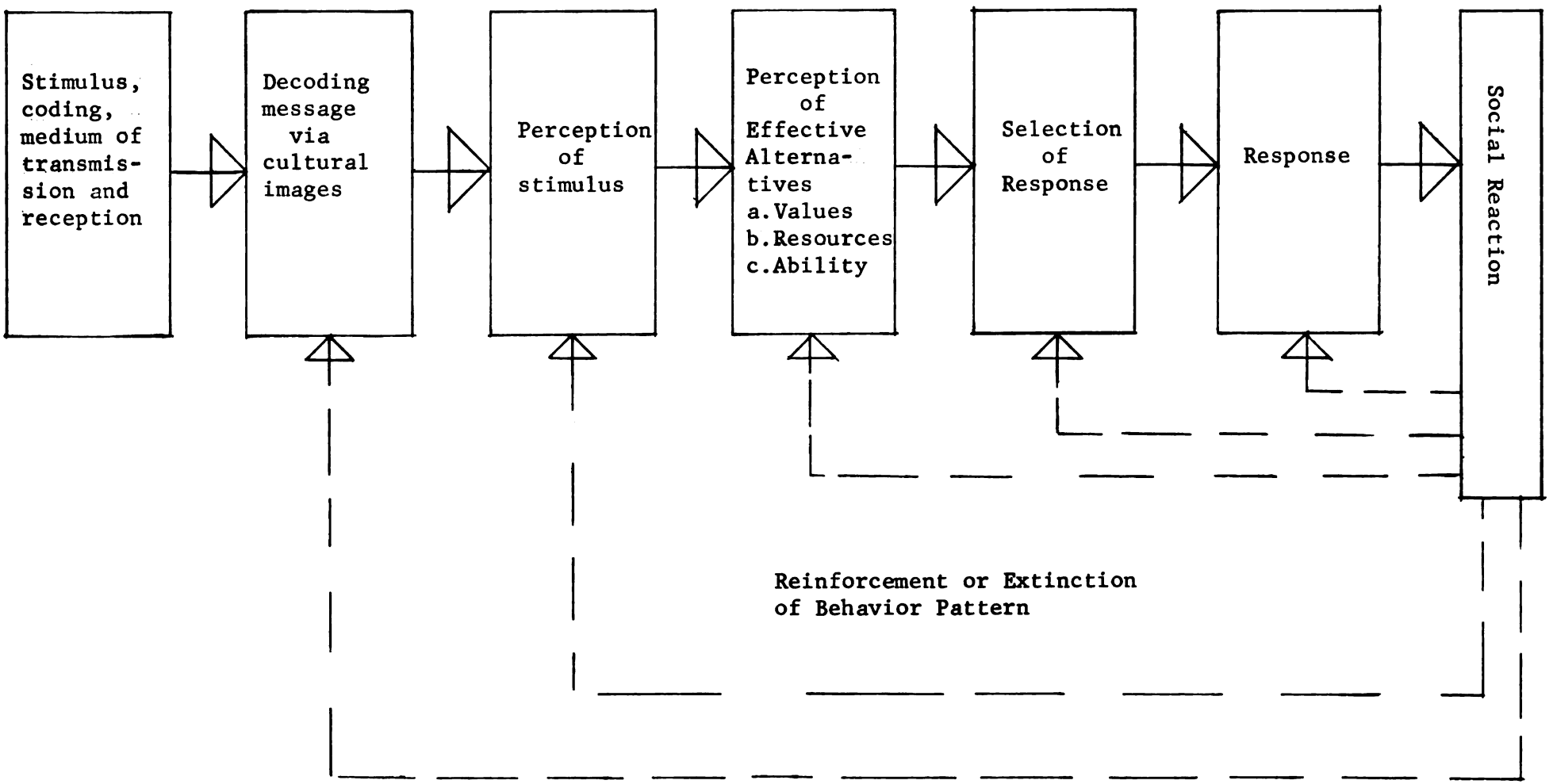
[1] Bennett, John and Melvin Tumin, Social Life: Structure and Function (A. A. Knopf: New York, 1949), p. 259.

[2] Kuhn, op. cit., p. 66.

FIGURE 2: A MODEL OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR



simply, stimulus can be described as "a unit of sensory input."[3] The sensory input is, in essence, a message in code---i.e. for auditory messages it is the vibration of air molecules when a person speaks. This codes message travel over a medium of transmission (air) to a receptor (ear).[4] At this point, the message or stimulus is sensed by the organism.

Culture and Socialization

It has been suggested in Figure 2 that culture plays a major role in the decoding and effective alternative phases of behavior. Consequently, greater amplification of culture is required.

In Chapter 1 culture was seen as the totality of what a people has learned, built, and done and which, by means of a continuing society, has been able to pass on to succeeding generations. This is a useful definition, in general, but is inadequate in terms of explaining human behavior.

For our purposes here, then, culture will be identified with the meaning aspect of what was previously defined---more broadly---as culture. In one sense "culture is a set of shared symbols and their definitions."[5] These symbols correspond to Sorokin's meaning component---i.e. we associate meanings or symbols with objects, people, ideas, interpersonal relationships and so on which define for us what is and what should be. Bredemeier and Stephenson assert that "human beings don't respond to stimuli; they respond to their definitions of stimuli."[6] Further, "what you have to understand in order to understand a man's behavior are the symbols and their definitions which intervene between him and the stimulus to which he is exposed. You have to know what the stimulus means to him."[7]

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3 Berelson, Bernard and Gary Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (Harcourt, Brace, and World: New York, 1964), p. 87.
4 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 14.
5 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 2.
6 Ibid., p. 3.
7 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Bredemeier and Stephenson note that these cultural definitions can be classified as: (1) cognitive, (2) cathetic, and (3) normative. They comment that:

> The first, and in a sense the most elementary, classification is one that distinguishes between cultural definitions telling people what to perceive and those that tell them how to respond to what they perceive. The first kind we call "cognitive" meanings. . .not only do people depend on symbols to channelize their responses to these perceptions. We can distinguish between two kinds of these response-channeling definitions. One we call, "cathetic" ideas, the other we call "moral" or "evaluative" or "normative" ideas.[8]

Cathetic ideas consist of cultural definitions that define what is pleasurable and what is painful---e.g. eating catepillers, dog steaks, or people. Normative ideas consist of a rank order of preferences---i.e. what is "valued" more than other things in a given society.

It is also to be noted that normative ideas usually take precedence over both cognitive ideas and cathexes. Bredemeier and Stephenson note that "some things that are positively cathected may be morally tabooed, as in the case of many sexual pleasures; and some things that are negatively cathected may be morally required. . ..Furthermore, actions that are cognized as being very efficient ways to achieve some gratification may be morally prohibited, such as cheating on an examination... .."[9]

Culture, then, contains the image or schema through which the individual sees his surroundings. The image is "what is believed to be true" or "subjective knowledge,"[10] which through the experience of the individual and his society has been built up. The schema is the organization of the image into meaningful relationships for the individual.[11]

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8 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 11.
9 Ibid., p. 12.
10 Boulding, Kenneth, The Image (Ann Arbor Paperbacks: 1956), p. 6.
11 Miller, G. A., E. Galanter and K. H. Pribram, Plans and the Structure of Behavior (Holt: New York, 1960), p. 7.

Culture develops in any group which is to some extent isolated from other culture groups. Each of these societies "develops and cherishes a set of social values particular to itself. The attitudes engendered by the values become the distinctive elements in the personality of its members. This complex of values and attitudes can be called the cultural heritage of the group."[12]

A child acquires his culture through the process of socialization. This process involves both the imitation of the adults around the child by the child and the conscious teaching of the culture by the adults.[13] Socialization is, in general, a process of trial and error with positively valued actions being rewarded and negatively valued actions punished.

The punishment-reward complex of socialization tools contains four basic steps or motives which increase in complexity: (1) gratification of biological needs, (2) avoidance of "shame", (3) securing someone's favorable opinion, and (4) the desire to avoid guilt feelings. In the first case, Bredemeier and Stephenson note that "by linking satisfaction of biological needs to a cultural context, the initial socializing groups begins the process of making the satisfaction of intrinsic gratifications conditional on conforming to the structural requirements of the social system."[14] In short, desired behavior is rewarded, for example, by food. Once the child finds that his wants are gratified by carrying out a particular action he tends to repeat it.

In another way, the socializing agent (parents) convey pleasure via tone and expression and these are linked to the satisfaction of wants.

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12 National Resources Committee (1938), "Cultural Diversity in Urban America", in Smith, Lynn and C. A. McMahon, eds., The Sociology of Urban Life (The Dryden Press: New York, 1951), p. 634.

13 Graham, Saxon, op. cit., p. 32.

14 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 64.

The child "comes, thus, to value her (mother's) favorable attitude, which itself is then a new kind of reward."[15] Thus, the child conforms to social requirements to obtain someone's favorable opinion and avoid unfavorable opinions.

In a last sense, "once the child has been sensitized to the attitude of others toward him, he is in a position to add to his reasons for conformity the fourth and final motive mentioned above: the desire to be 'moral' or, put negatively, to avoid guilt feelings."[16] This is an important step as it removes the necessity of an external party to achieve conformity to social values with certain exceptions---i.e. crime.

This discussion of socialization applies mainly to children. But when people migrate to a new area and enter a strange culture much of the same process---starting at a more advanced level---is involved.

Finally, we note that the cultural pattern of a given society is constantly undergoing gradual change. Culture is not a rigid pattern demanding absolute obedience, but, rather provides a guide for action. It is impossible, however, for people to make minor---and occasionally major---deviations from the cultural pattern if it results in a better adaption to the environment. "Culture does not so much accumulate as it changes."[17]

Decoding Phase

The behavior process we are concerned with here is learned behavior not instinctive behavior. Thus, in this sense, mere sensory processes hold no inherent meaning for the individual. He must be able to decode

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15 Ibid., p. 65.
16 Ibid., p. 67.
17 Bennett and Tumin, op. cit., p. 224.

the message---i.e. he must be able to perceive what the stimulus means. This is accomplished by means of the individual's culturally acquired concepts or images. Kuhn says that "concepts are stored information that things in our environment exist in certain patterns, but not others."[18] The stimulus acts as a "cue" which releases the information stored in the concepts. We cannot accurately decode messages unless we have the proper concepts to do so.

Concepts are learned through the individual's socialization into his culture. Culture serves as the learned code which enables man to decode and perceive stimuli. A social psychologist puts the issue as follows:

> The cultural training of the individual determines the kind of objects and persons that would 'figure' prominently in the individual's perception. The meaning of the perceived object is also culturally determined. A river, a plant, an animal, an infant, a boy, a girl, etc. are perceived differently, i.e. have different meanings in different societies. That is so because the beliefs, collective purposes, social ideas, in short the cultural glasses or "frames of reference" are different for different societies.[19]

The meaning an individual attaches to a stimulus, then, is dependent on what concepts an individual's culture has provided. Kuhn notes: "We must be aware that in all but the simplest cases a stimulus is not the 'thing' or situation that faces us, but an interpretation of the input of information from that thing, in the light of all our previous learning and experiences."[20]

It was noted earlier in this chapter that cultural symbols with their shared definitions channelize perceptions. That is, by the use of cultural

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18 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 28.
19 Alkolkar, V. V., Social Psychology (Asia Publiching House: Bombay, 1960), p. 21.
20 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 59.

symbols man is able to abstract from the multitude of stimuli those which his culture considers significant. Thus man is able to simplify a very complex world and, consequently, finds himself able to deal with his problems. It should be noted that this ability to abstract from reality while it aids in the decoding of messages, also hides or obscures significant facts. In short, "symbols canalize perceptions and response. They act as 'blinders' that focus attention on some aspects of things and not others."[21]

Effective Alternative Phase

After the individual has perceived a stimulus he must decide how to respond. For each person there is a range of effective alternatives. Kuhn says that "it is rather a matter of discovering what is possible, and then of selecting the preferred behavior from among the possible alternatives."[22]

One of the determinants of this range of alternatives is a society's culture. It has been said that culture is the product of society, but it is also the environment in which the people of the society live. It is this environment which "delineates the opportunities and molds the preferences of its members. In this sense, the body of culture is the input of society, and the set of parameters to which its members adapt."[23] We have previously noted this relationship in Chapter 1.

Culture defines what we as individuals will believe is important---i.e. what types of things we will prefer. These preferences are ordered---i.e. there are things we prefer more than other things. In short, we value

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21 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 7.
22 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 55.
23 Ibid., p. 214.

things differently. So our effective alternatives are partly defined by values---values being not a physical entity, but, rather, our rank order of preferences.[24] Boulding describes this as our "image of value" which "is concerned with the relating of the various parts of the image to the world according to some scale of betterness or worseness."[25]

Another basic determinant of our effective alternatives is status. As previously discussed, society assigns to each of us a variety of statuses with respect to work, home, community and so on. These statuses define certain roles we are expected to play vis-a-vis other persons. In respect to the problem at hand, a student's professor is limited by differences in status. Or a child's relationship with adults is likewise related to status. In both cases excessive familiarity is discouraged. Statuses are made a part of the individual during the socialization process. Bredemeier and Stephenson note:

> An individual is able to respond appropriately to an almost indefinite number of statuses, irrespective of what concrete person occupies them, provided only that the status definitions have been incorporated into his self. Thus, people are socialized to interact within a social system in predictable and systematic fashion and to carry out their respective functions in an orderly division of labor.[26]

In another sense, we can distinguish between group statuses. Culture also defines in-groups and out-groups. In Kuhn's terms, "the in-groups are those who hold or are believed to hold the same basic sets of values as the main culture. . .. Out-groups, however, are conceived as displaying contrary traits, and hence not deserving of courtesy or kindness."[27]

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[24] Graham, op. cit., pp. 120-124.
[25] Boulding, op. cit. p. 11.
[26] Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 77.
[27] Kuhn, op. cit., p. 221.

Effective alternatives are also limited by more "mechanical" factors. Income is one prime example. An individual is not likely to purchase a $200,000 home if he makes $4500 per year salary. Another factor might be ability. An individual might prefer to be a brillant scholar, but whether or not such a goal is an effective alternative for him depends on his intellectual ability.

Response Phase

Having made the determination of his effective alternatives the individual is able to respond to the stimulus. To Kuhn this means "any activity of the nervous system set off by a stimulus."[28] In another fashion we can define response as "the behavioral 'output' counterpart of the 'input' term stimulus, referring to any definable unit of behavior."[29]

Reinforcement or Extinction Phase

After responding the individual must face the consequences of his action in the form of social approval or disapproval. If socially approved, the behavior is rewarded---i.e. laudatory comments, money, status, etc.---and, consequently, the behavior is reinforced. The socially approved behavior is a reinforcer which, in this sense, may be defined as "anything which by virtue of being associated with the desired things, itself becomes sufficiently desired so as to reinforce other behavior which will help to achieve it."[30]

On the other hand, social disapproval results in sanctions against the individual being invoked---either formal (legal) or informal (loss of money, status, public acceptance)---which tends to extinguish the behavior

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28 Ibid., p. 66.
29 Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 135.
30 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 79.

pattern. In general, "when a response is followed by punishment, the frequency or probability of recurrance decreases---where punishment is any event that runs counter to the existing set of motives, e.g. pain."[31]

Conclusion

The above sought to outline the significance of an individual's cultural experience in determining his behavior. Man produces his culture and yet his culture also "produces" him. The reality of man's culture---his meaning---is too big to overlook.

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31 Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 141.

Chapter 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN MIDDLE-CLASS BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Throughout this thesis much is made of "slum sub-culture behavior" patterns. Obviously, these behavior patterns are slum-like only in reference to some particular model of behavior. What is being said is that certain patterns of behavior are to be classed as slum-like when measured against typical middle-class American behavior patterns.

By and large, we can describe these middle-class behavior patterns as typical American behavior patterns. Martindale comments that "America remains predominately middle-class in composition and outlook. Bell has observed with justice that there is no peculiar bourgeois culture in the United States, since everyone is bourgeois. There is, in fact, no proletarian culture pattern."[1] This may be somewhat overstated, but the fact remains that a large proportion of the American population may be classed by objective standards (income, education, occupation) as middle-class and that studies show that a remarkable number of Americans tend to identify with the middle-class.[2] In part, this may account for the widespread acceptance of middle-class norms.

Types of Middle-Class Behavior

General

The next task, then, is to describe some of the types of middle-class behavior patterns. As indicated in Chapter 2, some kinds of behavior are valued more highly than others in a particular culture.

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1 Martindale, Don, American Social Structure (Appleton-Century-Crofts: New York, 1960), p. 20.

2 Key, V. O., Public Opinion and American Democracy (A. A. Knopf: New York, 1961), p. 139.

To reiterate, values are a rank order of preferences which a cultural group holds and which help define an individual's effective alternatives.

We are concerned here with three basic types of behavior. First is the manner in which people deal with the artifacts of urban life---i.e. buildings, toilets, garbage pails, paint brushes, etc. In short, this is what we will call "housekeeping" behavior. Second is "deviant" behavior such as crime, illegitimacy, psychoses, and other types of anti-social behavior. Third is what can be described as the need for achievement or the desire for success and advancement in terms of social mobility.

Dealing With Urban Artifacts

American middle-class culture has long emphasized cleanliness in urban living. In some respects this behavior pattern amounts to a fixation. The use of the indoor flush toilet is a universal rule, garbage is placed in covered pails to be disposed of regularly by the local government, the house is painted every couple of years and the yard must have at least a minimum of care. The image of this way of life is firmly fixed in our conceptual framework and if anyone fails to live up to these norms social and legal reprisals will follow. In part, this may explain why Americans abroad feel very uneasy in environments which, by our standards, seem unclean.

The gist of this discussion is, then, that in our complex urban environment "Americans" tend to observe certain standards of urban housekeeping. The concept of this way of life, for a number of reasons to be dealt with in Chapter 4, may not exist in certain of our sub-cultures resulting in what we describe as slum conditions.

Deviant Behavior

Like the other behavior patterns deviant behavior is defined relative to a culture's values. Bredemeier and Stephenson note that "whatever the goal and whatever anyone thinks about its legitimacy or illegitimacy, the individual engages in some kind of action to achieve it. That action is also defined as either legitimate or illegitimate. If it is defined as legitimate, there is conformity (in someone's eyes); if it is defined as illegitimate, there is deviance (in someone's eyes)."[3]

Bredemeier and Stephenson classify four kinds of deviance:[4]

(1) Innovation: Striving for prescribed goals, but using proscribed means.

(2) Ritualism: A person may conform to the institutionalized means, but fail to strive for prescribed goals.

(3) Retreatism: A person may reject or fail to internalize both the institutionalized means and the institutionalized goals---i.e. drug addicts, psychotics, etc.

(4) Excessive Conformance: A person may deviate from cultural prescriptions defining both means and goals by excessive conformance to each.

We can categorize these forms of deviant behavior into two broad types. Some are considered deviant by virtually all cultures, but others are peculiar to certain societies. Those which are widely considered deviant include certain types of crime---i.e. murder, robbery, treason, etc. In a practical sense it is necessary that these actions be considered deviant and punished as such. If this was not done the social order would collapse. A certain amount of internal order and conformance is required to maintain the coherence of society. In short, certain types of behavior must be

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3 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 122.
4 Ibid., pp. 123-124.

enforced by a society if it is to survive. In this sense, the sanctions or punishments imposed to secure conformance are "any technique which serves the function of unifying and stabilizing a group through the adjustment of human interests, thus enforcing the form of social order typical for this group."[5]

In another sense, "every society has standards of behavior which it regards as reasonable and acceptable and in the last analysis humanly natural. As a corollary, all societies regard certain behavior as unreasonable, unacceptable, and, as an extreme judgment, inhuman."[6] Here what is deviance is culturally defined, but not all cultures define it in the same way. In general, American society tends to frown on such things as common law marriages, the extended family living together as a unit, an unstable husband-wife relationship, homosexuality and so on. Such types of behavior are not reinforced, but generally rate social disapproval and, in some instances, legal action.

The Need for Achievement

American culture defines the ways in which one is viewed as being successful. A good deal of work has been done in explaining the drive for achievement (material achievement) which has been particularly apparent in western European society for roughly the past four centuries. As a general statement, it has been said that this need for achievement arose from some basic protestant values. In the original form of Calvinism the evidence of God's favor and, therefore, salvation tended to be seen in the accumulation of material wealth. In theory, such wealth

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5 Bennett and Tumin, op. cit., p. 516.
6 Ibid., p. 363.

could not be spent on luxurious living and, consequently, the concept of saving and investment arose. Further, for the individual to prove his salvation he had to acquire this wealth by his own efforts.[7] In sum, the individual had to work hard, save, and "stand on his own feet" and not expect external aid.[8] Thus, it is alleged, American culture has inherited the values of individualism, hard work, and thrift.

Recent work has indicated that the protestant ethic is an inadequate explanation. Oscar Hagen[9] and David Mc Clelland[10] have found a more generalized cause in the presence of an anti-traditional class or attitude within the society. Without going into needless detail, this anti-traditionalism involves opposition to the more customary way of life associated with rural, feudal society. In this sense, the protestant ethic would be a type of anti-traditional class or group.

Now a dangerous trap lurks behind this discussion. There is a tendancy to derive explanations for a whole series of American values from the "protestant ethic." Undoubtedly, this is a great oversimplification of the situation. There is, however, no intention of arguing this point. All that is being said is that, arising from a variety of source, to be successful in American society involves the acceptance of certain values and ways of living such as the nuclear family, the use of money as a measure of success, an emphasis on individualism, and so on. These are not universal prescriptions for success. The point is, however, that in the absense of certain behavior patterns, the "American" tends to view an individual as backward.

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7 Graham, op. cit., p. 129.
8 Ericksen, Gordon, Urban Behavior (Macmillan: New York 1954), p. 380.
9 Hagen, Everett, On the Therory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois, 1962).
10 Mc Clelland, David, The Achieving Society (D. Van Nostrand: New York, 1961).

Further, it is probable that certain values and attitudes associated with protestantism account in large measure for the existence of such definitions of success in western culture. The importance these values have had in American culture in the face of continued immigration of non-protestant groups can be explained by the fact that protestant values were prior to others and it was these values to which others had to adapt.

The sum total of these various behavior patterns define, for Americans, an individual's desire for success or need for achievement. We might now expand on a number of these behavior patterns central to American culture.

One basic value American's have developed to a high degree is individualism. Religion to the Calvinists was an intensely personal thing---i.e. individual in interpretation and individual insofar as one proved his salvation. Further, protestantism was strong among the merchant class and one of the basic needs of the times was to break with the tightly ordered feudal society in order for trade and commerce to expand. Thus arose an emphasis on individual achievement divorced from feudal authority. Transported to America by those groups most opposed to central authority in England and later from Germany, the idea of individual achievement became lodged in the American consciousness. Graham notes that "through the political, economic, and religious philosophies there has grown the notion that the individual is important, that he should not be restricted, that in other words, he should have freedom."[11] Further, "closely related to the value of freedom in America is the concept of the worth of the individual. For the freedom Americans revere is freedom for the individual. Each person, Americans believe, has worth simply because

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[11] Graham, op. cit., p. 129.

he is an individual."[12] That these values derive from a much broader base of western experience than Calvinism cannot be denied, but undoubtedly Calvinism was a major contributor to the growth of this value.

Another basic value in American culture is the nuclear family. Graham believes that with the nuclear family "the individual becomes more of a free agent than is possible in the larger milieu of the extended family. The American values of freedom and individuality are better upheld in the system which exalts the nuclear family than in one dominated by the extended kin group."[13] One reason for the shift from extended to nuclear family is the industrial revolution and later social reforms which first shifts production from the home to the factory and then makes additional family members burdens rather than resources due to labor laws.[14] Further, the resulting increase in society's complexity with occupational specialization has caused the creation of new institutions to take over some of the function of the family.[15] As our industrial system has matured with higher degrees of specialization and a looser labor market, spatial mobility of families has greatly increased with a resulting emphasis on the nuclear family.[16] In sum, the American value system now looks with more favor on the nuclear family than on the extended family.

A third value is material wealth as the measure of individual worth. In part, of course, this may derive from early Calvinism. But, as Martindale indicates "a powerfully persuasive group of contemporary interpreters of American society. . .have maintained that the original puritan

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12 Ibid., pp. 134-135.
13 Ibid., p. 174.
14 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 200-201.
15 Graham, op. cit., p. 180
16 Ibid., p. 172.

morality that formed the everyday work ethic of Americans in the past is tending to drain away leaving only a frank and outright materialism in its place."[17]

Behind this materialism is the concept of competitive capitalism. Graham notes that "the 'acquisitive man' in American capitalism does not only do himself a favor, but, because of his careful buying, forces a constant improvement in products and a continual lowering in their price, thus, acquisition becomes a moral good."[18] Further, "strongly linked with the idea of acquisitiveness is that of competition, for it is through the individual's striving to best other persons who are selling similar products that he acquires wealth."[19] This is the case in Theory---in practice, of course, the system leaves much to be desired. But, in any case, material wealth defines for Americans the successful man.

Associated with this materialism is an intense pragmatism. Bredemeier and Stephenson note that "Calvinist theology encouraged man . . .to show their respect for God by working to understand the complexity of His works in the natural world."[20] Beyond this, rough frontier conditions and a materialistic outlook made pragmatism ideally suited to American conditions.

Two further values might be mentioned. First, in a rapidly developing and changing nation, the idea of change as a value in itself developed. As Graham says "some Americans apparently believe that change is a good thing in and of itself."[21]

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17 Martindale, op. cit., p. 118.
18 Graham, op. cit., p. 233.
19 Ibid., p. 233.
20 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 268.
21 Graham, op. cit., p. 139.

Second, due to a frankly pragmatic outlook and our rapidly changing situation a belief in the possiblity and desirability of social mobility has developed. In Graham's terms "there is the belief that it is possible to rise in the world, to better one's reputation, income, material possessions, and general social status."[22]

The essence of this discussion is that American society defines certain essential values for success. These include:

(1) Individual achievement and competition

(2) Money as the measure of success

(3) Attitudes that are not bound by traditional modes of thinking about self, family, or money

(4) Long range attitudes toward thrift and reinvestment

Conclusion

What has been attempted in these few pages has been to draw in outline the basic behavior patterns of American middle-class culture against which we can measure slum sub-culture behavior patterns. First, the American middle-class values certain forms of urban housekeeping---i.e. the use of the indoor flush toilet, painting the house, maintainence of yard, sanitary disposal of garbage, etc. Second, American middle-class culture defines a variety of behavior patterns as deviant---e.g. murder, common law marriage, drug addiction, etc. Third, American middle-class culture defines the measures for success---e.g. individualism, money, anti-traditionalism, etc.

This is not to say that these behavior patterns are necessary or ultimately desirable. They may be, but such a judgment requires

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[22] Ibid., p. 140

independent evaluation. Nevertheless, these values and behavior patterns do exist and they are dominant in American culture. At present, assimilation into and acceptance by middle-class culture requires their adoption.

Chapter 4

TYPES AND CAUSES OF SLUM BEHAVIOR

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the goals and basic forms of behavior that American middle-class culture considers acceptable. In relation to these behavior patterns we can describe the behavior of certain urban dwellers as slum like. That is, we note among certain urban groups poor housekeeping habits, a disproportionate amount of crime, certain deviant (by middle-class norms) forms of social patterns, and a lack of desire for achievement (as defined by middle-class norms).

In this chapter we seek to find the causes. To do this, we will have to consider the nature and sources of urban growth. Following this we can examine some of the causes. By the end of this chapter it is hoped that we will have an adequate explanation of why slum behavior is exhibited by certain people and what meaning this has for American society in general.

One further note should be added here. So far we seem to have concentrated on two opposing cultures---the middle-class and slum dwellers. The situation in reality is much more complicated. Chapter 5 will indicate that in areas considered for renewal we may find either working class or lower class people. The real slum problem is seen to lie with the lower class. Accordingly, this chapter applies most directly to this lower class. The distinction will be clarified in Chapter 5.

Types of Slums and Slum Dwellers

In this chapter we will examine the various bases of slum behavior. The issue, however, is much more complicated than the discussion may

imply. In fact, there are different types of slums and slum dwellers. Charles Stokes has classifed slums as follows in Table 1:

Table 1:
Stoke's Classification of Slum Types[1]

Classes \ Slums	Hope	Dispair
Escalator	A	B
Non-Escalator	C	D

Type A slums have people who, in general, have hopes of improving their condition and who have no inherent blocks which prevent their upward mobility. Type B slum dwellers have no inherent blocks to self-improvement, but dispair or have no hope of doing so---i.e. old people, shady characters, and citizens at the margin of social respectability. Type C slums involve a hope for improvement but also involve barriers---i.e. Negro ghettos. Finally, Type D slums involve barriers and are accompanied by a lack of hope. This is the most serious form of slum.

Stoke's analysis may be oversimplified. That is, slums may not be easily classifed on his bases. Yet his categories do offer an insight into the processes of slum life. There seems to be little doubt that slums or segments of slums do tend to divide along these lines. This analysis implies that a careful investigation of a slum is necessary to determine the type of program that will like prove effective in a particular slum area.

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[1] Stokes, Charles, "A Theory of Slums", in Land Economics, Vol. XXXVIII, August 1962.

Donald Salzman[2] and John Seeley[3] have examined an Indianapolis slum area and have come up with a classification of the type of people who live there. To some it is a temporary stopping place, to some a hopeless trap, to some a home, and to some a refuge and hiding place. Then again, the slum may mean that a person need not work too hard---i.e. an individual may wish to maximize some other sort of value such as an artistic way of life.

In some ways Salzman's and Seeley's analysis is more useful than Stokes. Within a given slum area is a variety of people with a variety of reasons for being there. It has frequently been noted that slums serve those who are upwardly mobile, those who are not mobile, and those who are downwardly mobile.[4] In addition, it can serve all sorts of "diviants"---criminals as well as poets.

This point should not be slighted as it has a vital bearing on the role of planning in slum areas. In addition to the people who are ignorant, victims of prejudice and so on there are those who find that slums provide a place of habitation at a price that allows them to maximize some other sort of value. If we are to abolish the slum, must we abolish all deviants from our society?

The Nature of Urban Growth

Of direct importance to problems of slum behavior is the nature of urban growth. Neither slums nor the much discussed correlates of slums---

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2 Salzman, Donald, "Redevelopment Effectiveness Contingent on Understanding Slum Occupants", in Journal of Housing, Vol. 13, August/September 1956.

3 Seeley, John, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users" in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, February 1959.

4 Riemer, Svend, "The Slum and its People", in Elias, C. E., James Gillies and Svend Riemer, eds., Metropolis: Values in Conflict (Wadsworth: Belmont, California, 1964), p. 251.

crime, poverty, filth, etc.---are new or unique to American cities. Since the beginning of the rapid growth of our cities in the early part of the nineteenth century, slums have been the center of much public concern.[5] In fact, slum behavior has been exhibited by parts of many of the immigrant groups to this country. Yet many of these people and/or their descendants have been fully acculturated to American society and to a large extent been assimilated. But the Negroes have been in this country since 1619 and, by and large, remain unassimilated and this fact suggests that, with contemporary slums, some other factors may be at work. This area, however, will be inviestigated later.

Now the urban population is unable to reproduce in sufficient numbers to increase or maintain the stability of the population.[6] The need, therefore, has long been apparent for external sources of population if the urban areas were to continue to grow. In part, immigrants from Europe filled this need for a number of years. In recent years, however, immigration from abroad has declined in importance. The rural-to-urban migration in this country has always been an important factor in urban growth, but because of the decline of immigration from Europe, it is even more important today. In fact, "were it not for the continuous influx of people from rural areas, cities would not only fail to grow, but would dwindle in size."[7] Table 2 indicates the importance of this movement.

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5 Handlin, Oscar, The Newcomers (Harvard University Press, 1959), Chapter 1.
6 Hawley, Amos, Human Ecology (The Rondald Press: New York, 1950), p. 374.
7 Hitt, Homer, "Migration and Southern Cities", in Smith and McMahon, op. cit., p. 321.

Table 2[8]

Net Changes in Rural-Farm Population by Migration, Unites States and Regions, 1920-1950

Area	Rate of Change of Farm Population Due to Migration		
	1920-30	1930-40	1940-50
Unites States	-19.3%	-12.7%	-30.9%
New England	-13.0	2.6	-21.8
Middle-Atlantic	-18.7	- 1.3	-20.7
East-N. Central	-19.7	- 5.3	-22.6
West-N. Central	-17.5	-17.7	-29.2
South Atlantic	-25.5	-13.8	-31.9
East-S. Central	-19.8	-13.2	-33.4
West-S. Central	-17.1	-19.9	-44.0
Mountain	-19.4	-16.3	-32.6
Pacific	- 0.3	- 4.9	-15.1

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[8] Hathaway, Dale, "Migration and Southern Cities", in Smith and McMahon, op. cit., p. 321.

Of particular importance to us here is the rural-to-urban migration from the southern rural and mountain areas as well as from Puerto Rico. The southern areas in Table 2---South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central---demonstrate the greatest shift of rural-farm population. Thus, this group, as well as Puerto Ricans, is swelling the ranks of American urban dwellers.[9]

Our central cities are losing population over-all, but are gaining greatly in terms of non-white and, to a lesser extent, white rural-farm people. We note, for example, that New York City in 1960 had a population of 1,088,000 Negroes and that this was an increase of 340,000 over the 1950 figure.[10] Similarly, the Puerto Rican population of New York increased from 70,000 in 1940 to 613,000 in 1960.[11] A smaller, but important, shift of southern whites to northern cities has also been noted.[12]

In short, there has been a general rural-to-urban shift of population in recent years. The central cities have received the bulk of these rural migrants and it is these groups which comprise the slum-dwellers. As we will see, this, in part, accounts in large measure for certain forms of dwellers are rural migrants, but the slum environment per se will be seen as explaining slum behavior among these groups.

Finally, it should be emphasized that not all, or perhaps even a majority, of slum dwellers exhibit slum behavior. They do, however, have a greater propensity for this kind of behavior than do non-slum dwellers.

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9 Chonault, Lawrence, The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City (Columbia University Press, 1938).

10 Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (The M. I. T. Press: Cambridge, 1963), p. 25.

11 Ibid., pp. 93-94.

12 Votaw, Albert, "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago", in Harpers, February 1958.

Problem of Slum Behavior: Cultural Deficiency

Basic Model of Behavior

One basic cause of slum behavior is the fact that the concepts and images necessary to perceive stimuli in middle-class, urban, American terms are lacking. The behavior process is illustrated in Figure 3 (see Chapter 2 for more complete explanation).

Ultimately, if no other factors are involved, the socially-disapproved behavior pattern should be extinguished. Such a process has occurred with many of the European immigrants. The next section will explore various reasons for the existence of a cultural deficiency among urban migrants.

Rural Versus Urban Life

It has been suggested that rural migrants comprise a large share of slum dwellers. The cultural differences between rural and urban life offer a fruitful area in which to search for the causes of slum behavior.

There is a great difference between the rural and the urban ways of life. For one thing, the pace of life and change is so much greater in the city. Ericksen notes that it is the city which is "the initiator, the innovator, the source of social and cultural change; whereas, the country is the preserver, the conservative part of the nation which clings to the customary ways of doing thing."[13] In short, the city demands much more conscious effort from its inhabitants than does the countryside. That is, due to the rapid pace and change of life in the city, the city dweller cannot react to situations in the slow, habitual

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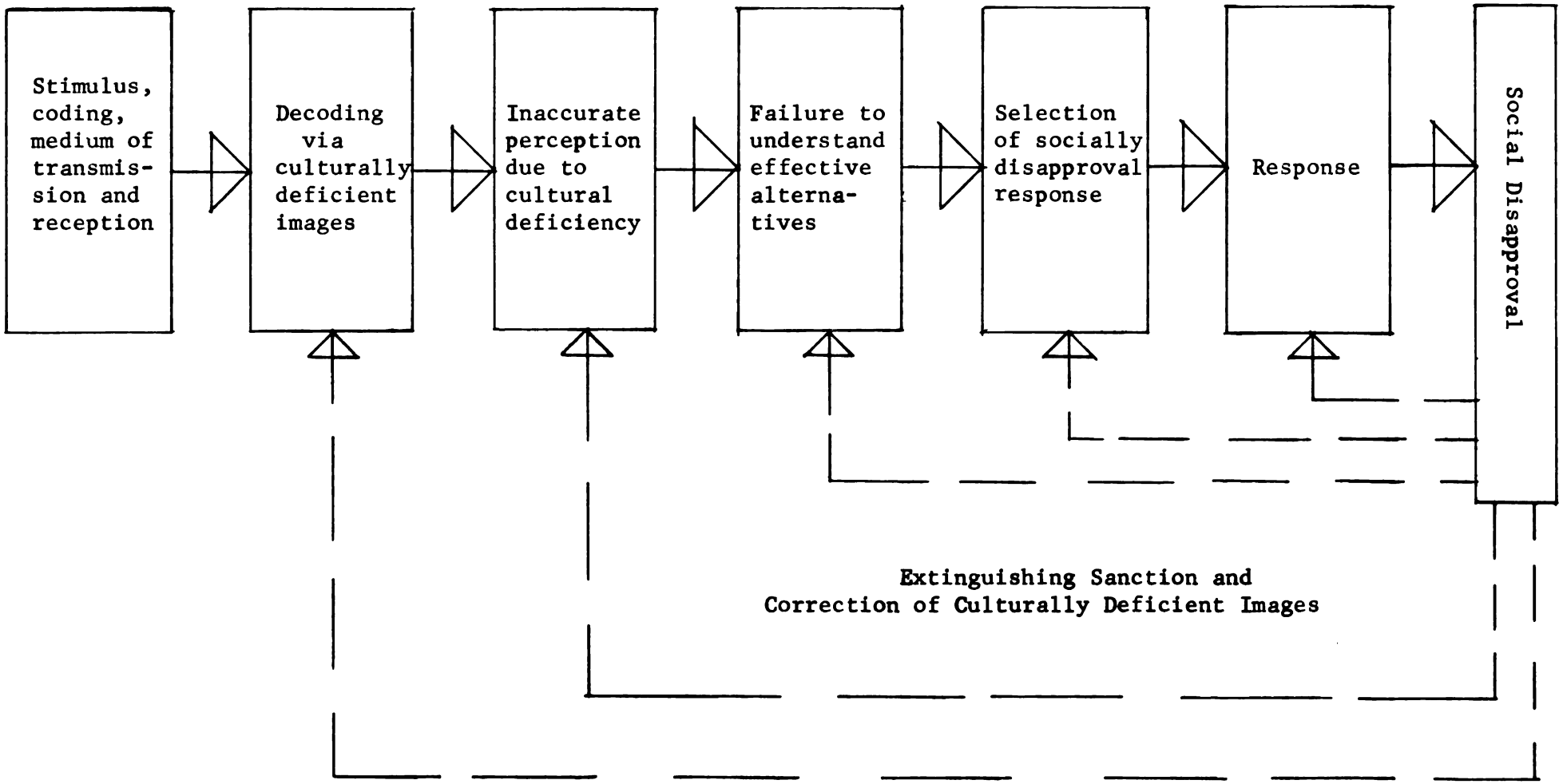
[13] Smith, Lynn, "The City and Social Change", in Smith and McMahon, op. cit., p. 780.

FIGURE 3: BEHAVIOR PROBLEM: CULTURAL DEFICIENCY



manner of his father or his father before him. It takes, in sum, more effort to meet the demands of the city, as opposed to country life.

For another thing, urban relationshps tend to be specialized, impersonal and mechanical. Take, for example, the market mechanism. An individual produces a good which is sold to a distributor who, in turn, sells it to a consumer. The individual producing the good actually sees and has dealings with neither the distributor nor the consumer. Our basis of exchange is the impersonal dollar. Again, we may produce a part for a machine and never have an idea of what the completed machine looks like or how it is used. The city, then, is made up of people with a host of interconnected but distinct specialities. One author notes that "in the city, human relationships lose much of the earmarks of etiquette. In a moving cultural environment of the urban community, personal relations based on ceremonial observance, give way to the form of relations based on functional usefulness."[14] Another author says that "money economy and the dominance of the intellect are intrinsically connected. They share a matter-of-fact attitude in dealing with men and with things; and, in this attitude, a formal justice is often coupled with an inconsiderate hardness."[15]

In another sense, urban life involves concern for contracts, laws and achieved status, while rural society relies on kinship, tradition, and sentiment to bind it together.[16] The distinction here is roughly what Tonnes called Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (society).[17]

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14 Masuoka, Jitsuichi, "The City and the Race Problem", in Thompson, Edgar and Everett Hughes, eds., Race: Individual and Collective Behavior (Free Press: Glencoe, 1958), p. 95.
15 Simmel, Georg, in Elias et. al., op. cit., p. 37.
16 Ericksen, op. cit., p. 291.
17 Ibid., p. 291.

Again, Emile Durkheim described the relationship as mechanical (based on conformity to tradition) versus organic (based on contract specialization) solidarity.[18] Much of this is summarized, in Tonnes terms, in Table 3.

Table 3[19]

Social Characteristics of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Social Characteristic	Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
1. Typical Social Relations	Service, Cooperation, Fellowship	Exchange, Dominance and Subordination (buyers, seller, officials, etc.)
2. Key to Social Organization	Social Order Built Around Family or Extended Kin Group	Social Order Built Around Economic Order or State Person
3. Nature of Individual	Self	Person
4. Central Type of Property	Possession and Land	Money and Wealth
5. Type of Law	Family Law	Legislative Law
6. Nature of Social Bond	Concord, Folkways, Religion	Convention, Legislation, Public Opinion

Another distinction between rural and urban life is the density of population. The actions of an urbanite have a much greater impact on his neighbors than a rural dweller's actions would have on his neighbors. In short, the urbanite must exercise greater care if he is not to infringe on his neighbors rights.

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[19] Martindale, op. cit., p. 230.

Resulting Problems in Slum Behavior

Now, how does this cause a problem in slum behavior? For one thing, when the typical middle-class American urbanite looks at the artifacts of urban life---i.e. building, garbage pails, toilets and so on---he knows what they are and how he is expected to use them. As has been indicated, American culture is careful to define their use. Yet the recently-arrived migrant might not perceive these objects in the same manner. These artifacts and their use, as the American urbanite know them, may simply not exist in their rural cultural framework.

The Puerto Rican, for example, comes from a culture which is largely rural---i.e. about 70% of the Puerto Rican population in 1950 lived in the countryside or in villages of less than 2500 persons[20]---or, at the very least, has developed a relatively primitive pattern of urban behavior. Life in rural---and to a considerable extent in urban---Puerto Rico involves large extended families, primary face-to-face contacts in most activities, a slow tempo of life, and rudimentary sanitation---i.e. "the hogs or goats will eat pealings thrown in the yard and the sun and rain will neutralize liquid waste."[21] Thus, it is not a surprise that rural Puerto Ricans exhibit when they come to this country some forms of behavior which, by American standards, can be described as "slum-like." The strange thing is that the disorder of the buildings and streets does not extend inside the Puerto Rican home. Puerto Rican women are expected to take care of the

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20 Senior, Clarance, "The Assimilation and Acculturation of Puerto Ricans in New York City," in Smith and McMahon, op. cit., p. 630.

21 Ibid., p. 630.

home, but "the condition of neglect of the neighborhood building, streets and alleys is seen as being solely the responsibility of the government."[22]

The southern Negro and mountain white, although American, come from a rural culture which has developed a gap with the "mainstream" of American society. In many respects this has resulted in a culture closer to the rural Puerto Rican than to the urban American culture. Both the Negro and mountain white have been physically and socially isolated from the development of American culture over the past 150 years. Consequently, they have developed their own sub-cultures which deviate markedly from the middle-class American behavior patterns.[23] In short, for all groups of rural migrants---Puerto Ricans, southern Negroes, and southern mountain whites---a cultural deficiency results to poor standards of housekeeping.

A second result of cultural deficiency among rural migrants is the lack of what American culture defines as the need for achievement. For the Puerto Rican, for example, not individual achievement, but the family as the center of an adult's obligations is the focus of life. The family here is the extended kin group and, consequently, both it and the related obligations can attain a very large size. If the Puerto Rican is relatively successful in terms of his family who have not been as fortunate. If the Puerto Rican has had some "bad luck" he knows his faimly will see that he is cared for.[24]

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22 Thompson, Edgar, "Motives, Migration and Settlement", in Thompson and Hughes, op. cit., p. 171.
23 Padilla, op. cit., pp. 199-200.
24 Padilla, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

In another sense, the Puerto Rican child is not expected to show a spirit of iniative or innovation, but, rather, is expected to carry out instructions to the letter.[25] In another situation, the Puerto Rican child is expected to be quiet and cause the school teacher no trouble (i.e. like asking questions). He is not encouraged to explore ideas as one must respect authority.[26]

The emphasis, then, among the Puerto Ricans is on a traditional extended family, obligation to the family rather than individual achievement, and the lack of iniative in children. This is, in some ways, the opposite of what the mainstream of American society expects from a person.

American culture also emphasizes the ability of man to overcome the natural forces which block his material progress. Dams, super-highways, jet aircraft, and the space program have given man a sense of "mastery over nature." This is not a universal trait. Puerto Ricans, for example, tend to consider life in the hands of forces beyond the individual's control. Padilla notes that "man's life is believed to be subject to fate, and luck plays an important part of his destiny."[27]

Among Negroes as a whole the need for achievement in the "American" sense tends to be low.[28] His concern for thrift and the accumulation of money is not strong. Oscar Handlin sees the cause in Negro history. He notes: "Like other people whose income has been uncertain and sporadic, they have wasteful spending habits. The recollection of long periods of deprivation encourages 'mad spending sprees' when funds become available."[29]

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25 Ibid., p. 185.
26 Ibid., p. 206.
27 Ibid., p. 125.
28 Mc Clelland, op. cit., p. 377.
29 Handlin, op. cit. p. 73.

In part, the explanation may also lie in the circumstances with which the Negroes came to this country. They came unwillingly as slaves and not as migrants seeking a new and better future. What would happen to two groups of people with no other difference than that one came as slaves and the other free? One anthropologist notes: "The sheer presence of purpose in one group and its absence in the other would in time have accounted for at least a part of the difference in progress made by whites as compared to the Negroes."[30]

The mountain whites have been simply left out of American history. Thompson notes: "In isolation other traditions were generated, but the pattern of wasteful exploitation minus the motive of cumulative gain has persisted through the years more or less independently of the rest of the community."[31] In short, the key elements of middle-class culture, previously mentioned, simply do not exist for the mountain white.

In sum, certain societies or isolated sub-societies develop characteristics which run counter to the accepted image of "achieving" behavior in this country. Now, the comments, thus far, are good primarily for the initial migrant into the city. Successive generations tend to drop some of the old ways and pick up some of the American ways if contact is made with American culture which is more than superficial. The problem is that in many instances slum dwellers may have only a passing contact with the mainstream of America---i.e. police, welfare workers, etc. Unless some more substantial contact with the main American culture occurs the process of socialization will carry on the behavior

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30 Thompson, op. cit., p. 171.
31 Ibid., p. 171.

patterns to new generations. Culture cannot change in a major way without contact with other cultures.

In addition, the conditions under which younger generations have to work put them at a great disadvantage in competing with the middle-class or even with the working-class. Bredemeier and Stephenson comment that:

> We find that some children are disadvantaged because their home cannot or does not provide the physical facilities functional for success in schools. Indeed, one index of 'class' differences in our society is the amount and type of reading material, 'cultural' activities, private music or dancing lessons, participation in clubs and organizations of an educational nature, and the life that are provided by the family. As a consequence, children in the lower reaches of economic and social rank have difficulty adapting to a school system that is largely geared to facilities made available to children in higher positions.[32]

We might add to the above discussion a number of other factors with respect to cultural deficiency. These relate mainly to the Negro group, however, and will be considered separately later in this chapter. In summary of this section, we might say that the lack of certain concepts in a migrants culture may lead to behavior which American middle-class culture defines as slum-like. Further, the social isolation of the slum tends to perpetuate slum sub-culture behavior patterns from generation to generation.

Problem of Slum Behavior: Misunderstanding of Effective Alternatives

Basic Model

A slum dweller may be adequately acculturated to understand what type of behavior is expected from him and yet fail to carry out socially-approved responses. This may be so even if the individual has a desire

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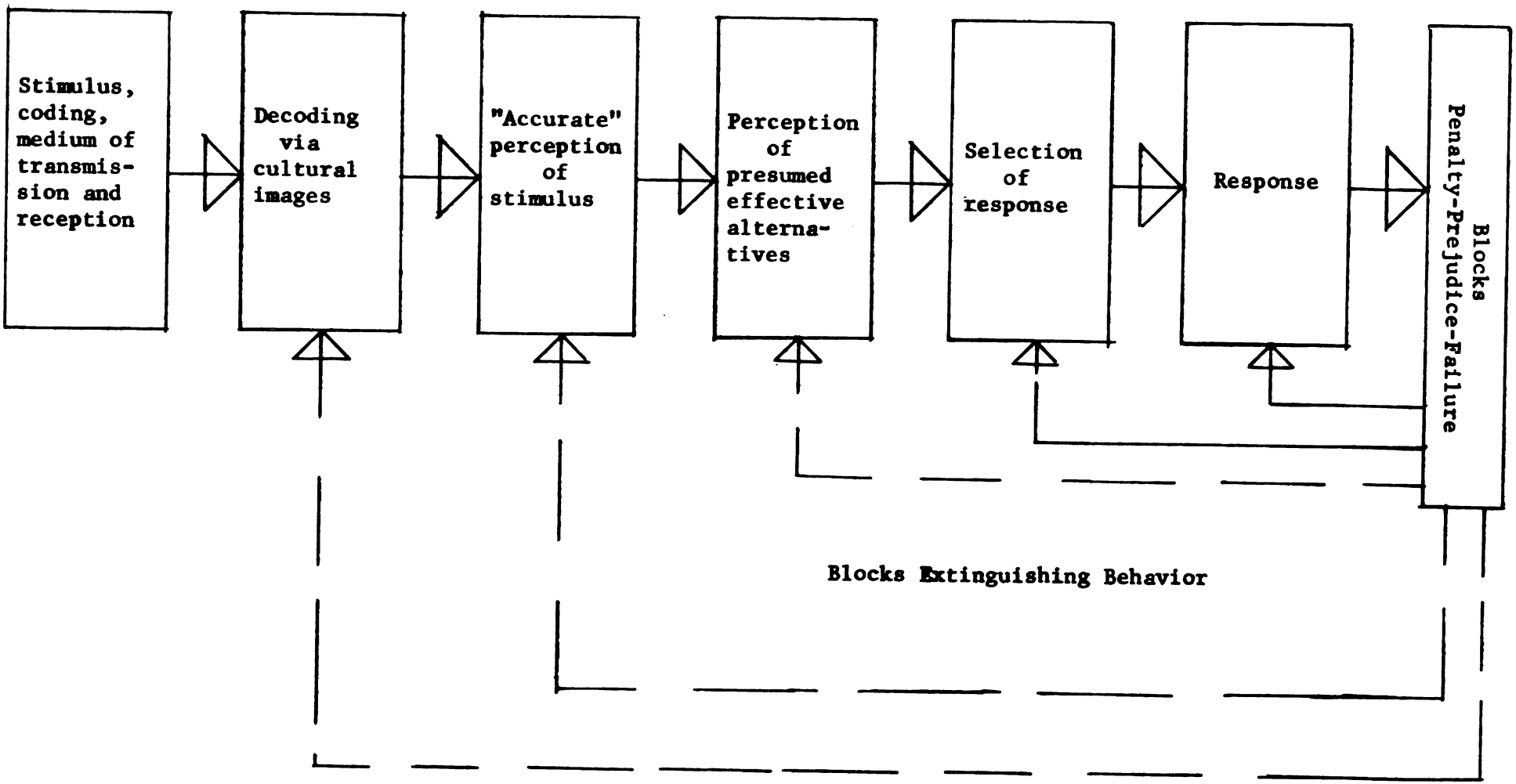
[32] Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 120.

FIGURE 4: BEHAVIOR PROBLEM: BLOCKS



or is motivated to respond in what should be a socially-accepted fashion. This failure results from several types of extinguishing blocks as illustrated in Fugre 4 (see Chapter 2 for explanation).

Types of Blocks

One type of block is prejudice. In general, no matter what the social and intellectual characteristics a Negro or any dark skin person has, his range of effective alternatives is much narrower than those of a white man. The Negro is exhorted by the schools and media of communication to achieve like a white man when, in many cases, he cannot possibly do so. While the Negro may come out of a school situation with "American" values, he may find that his effective alternatives are limited to manual labor.[33] In short, "although a value may exist in a society, the means of following its dictates may not."[34]

In a related area, an individual may be blocked by penalities arising from a form of prejudices. Namely, when a slum dweller improves his rented home, he is penalized by the increased rent he must pay. If he cannot pay, he is evicted. Such a result does not encourage the acceptance of better housekeeping values.

Third, we may find people who are simpley "failures." They may have tried and have no inherent social blocks, but they simply do not have the ability to succeed.

Consequences

These blocks have a serious impact on behavior. They tend to extinguish the developing behavior patterns. In short, "a person must view

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33 Sutherland, Robert, Color, Class, and Personality (American Council on Education: Washington, 1942).

34 Graham, op. cit., p. 126.

a goal as realizable or it will have no motive power. An unrealizable goal becomes inactive."[35] Again, Kuhn notes that "success is reinforcing, not only of the efforts directed toward a particular goal, but also the concept of having goals and working toward them."[36]

If the result of his efforts will be punishing, no matter what he does, why should the slum dweller attempt to achieve? Further, as the process proceeds, the individual begins to develop a negative image of himself. Success not only supports his goals, but builds up his image of being worthy. In sum, a person's success and his treatment by others is directly related to the individual's image of self and "determines his self-view, bearing, and behavior."[37] The result of blocking an individual may be apathy or a lack of desire to change. Take, for example, the middle-class motive of saving and investment. Handlin says that "the absence of clearly defined, attainable objects, in the absense sometimes even of hope for improvement, it seems futile to economize and no loss to seek the pleasures of the moment in immediate consumption."[38]

Yet apathy is not the only possible result of blocks. Berelson and Steiner note the following:

> When an external barrier stands between a motivated subject and his goals, he normally tries to circumvent, remove, or otherwise master it. But when the barrier is not mastered and/or the motivation increases in intensity, the resulting frustration produces a number of less adaptive results.[39]

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35 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 135.
36 Ibid., p. 136.
37 Akolkar, op. cit., p. 74.
38 Handlin, op. cit. p. 267.
39 Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 267.

This may result in an attack on the barrier and "when the actual barrier is physically, psycologically, or socially invulnerable to attack, aggression may be displaced to an innocent but more vulnerable bystander."[40] The consequence of these blocks, then, may be severe deviant behavior---i.e. murder, robbery, assault, and gang warfare. At the very least, such blocks will lead to severe strain for the individual.

Our educational institutions and communication media urge slum groups to be upwardly mobile---i.e. to seek to enter into the middle and working classes. Individuals, then, may undergo anticipatory socialization---i.e. "anticipatory socialization refers to socialization in one status or group that is functional for occupancy of another status in the same or in a different group."[41] If, in fact, the shift in status is successful, all is well, but, if it fails to occur, the result may be strain, apathy, or deviant behavior.

In short, society has itself blocked the possibility of completing behavior patterns it insists be performed for acceptance into the society. In a sense "prejudice and discrimination against minority groups are partly maintained by a reinforcing spiral of built-in cause and effect: the disapproval group is deprived and, as a result of the deprivation it is further disapproved."[42] Berelson and Steiner note that "no society can reasonably expect standard performance and observance of rules where it does not provide equal opportunity to do so."[43]

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40 Ibid., p. 267.
41 Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 105.
42 Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 573.
43 Bennett and Tumin, quoted in Padilla, op. cit, p.25

One further comment should be made at this point. The implication of the above discussion is that the mere fact of a slum dweller's or his group's acculturation will not mean assimilation per se into American society. Gordon has outlined the assimilation variables as presented in Table 4.

Table 4:

Assimilation Variables[44]

Subprocess or Condition	Type or Stage of Assimilation	Special Term
1. Change of Cultural Patterns to Those of Host Society	Cultural or Behavioral Assimilation	Acculturation
2. Large-Scale Entrance into Cliques, Clubs and Institutions on Primary Group Level	Structural Assimilation	None
3. Large-Scale Inter-marriage	Marital Assimilation	Amalgamation
4. Development of Sense of Peoplehead Based Exclusively on Host Society	Identificational Assimilation	None
5. Absence of Prejudice	Attitude Receptional Assimilation	None
6. Absence of Discrimination	Behavioral Receptional Assimilation	None
7. Absence of Value and Power Conflict	Civic Assimilation	None

Gordon further comments that "once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the

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[44] Gordon, Milton, Assimilation in American Life (Oxford University Press: New York, 1964), p. 71.

other types of assimilation will naturally follow."[45] The meaning of this is clear. The problem of slum behavior is amenable to "cure" by public social action and social education programs and so on only so far. Beyond this point it is a broad problem for the whole of society. The removal of the blocks of prejudice can only come from a desire on the part of American society to permit the assimilation of certain slum groups. It will be well to remember this limitation when we are considering various public programs in later chapters.

Problem of Slum Behavior: Inadequate Effective Alternatives

There are what will be called here "mechanical" limitations on a person's effective alternatives. Inhabitants of slums are by definition poor. Consequently, to follow acceptable behavior patterns is much more costly for the slum dweller than for the middle-class American. Take, for example, painting the house and giving one's children a college education. A well-to-do American can do these things without sacrifacing other possible purchases like food and clothing. The middle-class American may be forced to postpone the purchase of a new car in order to get his house painted, but what would be his motivation to paint his house if he did not have enough money to buy food? Further, the well-to-do person may hire the work done, but the slum dweller must do it himself. Thus, such behavior patterns may be more costly for the slum dweller in terms of money and time.

The overall social environment also limits a slum dweller's effective alternatives. The feeling of uncertainty, despair, and hopelessness which frequently pervades the slum does not result in incentives to seek a better life. One author notes:

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[45] Ibid., p. 81.

> Why is a boy from the Negro masses apt to be careless, without ambition, uncouth, immoral, even criminal? For the answer we may look to his associates and the place from which he comes. His culture provides no incentives for acquiring bathtubs, college degrees, recognition in Who's Who, a home of his own on a respectable street, a sedate family life. Without incentives and without the example of others, people do not strive, may not even use to advantage what they do have. This reaction is not a matter of race, but of cultural sanctions and human nature.[46]

We also note earlier that slum homes frequently do not provide the books, "cultural" activities, etc. functional for success in American culture. Consequently, some of the slum behavior results from inadequate means to carry out the socially-approved responses.

Problem of Slum Behavior: Breakdown of Traditional Society

Migrants come to the city with a set of traditional relationships which defines their position in society and gives them a sense of security. Rural society tends to ascribe status so that the individual is in no doubt as to where he stands. For example, as was previously discussed, the Puerto Rican extended family provides security to the individual in case of failure or bad luck. Smith and Mc Mahon note that "one who moves from one place to another severs most of the bonds that held him to his old social grouping and gave him status there. By moving, the individual sheds a large share of his social obligations and duties, and in turn is shorn of nearly all privileges and benefits of group association. He is immediately transformed from an 'insider' to an 'outsider'."[47] Masuoka comments that "when traditional relationships break down, there may be and generally is a period of social disorganization, with the characteristic symptons of increase of crimes, juvenile delinquency, suicide, family and other institutional disorganization."[48]

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46 Sutherland, op. cit., p. 36.
47 Smith and Mc Mahon, op. cit., p. 292.
48 Masuoka, in Thompson and Hughes, op. cit., p. 96.

Thus, as the migrant comes into contact with American culture, if he does, and begins to reject his traditional relationships, but has not yet acquired workable new relationships, some ambivalence is bound to occur. People find themselves neither here nor there---neither "Americans", a member of a unified minority group, nor with the folks back home.

To put this into the context of the behavioral model it might be said in this situation no effective image exists to decode the incoming messages. A sociologist notes that "a continuing clash of values. . .may progressively weaken attachment to both alternatives, thus increasing the possibility that neither can serve as an effective guide to action."[49] Children of migrants are especially prone to this condition. Out of their traditional setting these second generation urbanites have less attachment to traditional arrangements, but have not been fully acculturated to the American way of life. This may result in crime and other deviant behavior which may not be present with the migrants themselves.

As a footnote to this discussion it should be noted that to minimize this ambivalence ways must be found to emphasize the continuity between the old and new status. Bredemeier and Stephenson note that "one way in which the cost of changing might be reduced is to emphasize the linkage between the old and the new and attempt to de-emphasize the discontinuity."[50]

Problem of Slum Behavior: Color

The Negro has been in this country since 1619 and still has failed to assimilate with the main American society. Part of the reason for this is

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[49] Chinoy, Ely, Society (Random House: New York, 1961) p. 353.
[50] Bredemeier and Stephenson, op. cit., p. 101.

the disproportionate number of Negro rural dwellers. But part of the reason for this is color. A Negro is indelibly marked as one of low caste and, consequently, permitted to take only menial jobs for the most part.[51] The problem here, then, is not just the lack of Negro understanding of American culture, but the blocking the possibility of Negro advancement by certain traits of white American culture---i.e. the recognition of caste based on color. As was noted earlier, this tends to be a spiral of cause and effect---the Negroes are disapproved because they are deprived.

Beyond this it is also true that the Negro exhibits, disproportionately, certain traits which American society defines as deviant---i.e. an unstable family based on the mother, common-law marriage, illegitimacy, and lack of business enterprise.[52] The roots of these behavior patterns can be traced to a number of sources. For one thing, Negroes experienced 250 years of slavery in this country. Martindale notes that "to achieve full use of the slave and prevent him from developing a complex of family obligations and loyalities, he is torn from the family and reassigned to the slave barracks. The new community of the work gang is substituted for natural institutions of the individual. . .. Such institutions eliminate many incentives for which men ordinarily strive."[53] Thus, slavery resulted in a destruction of the family and other social institutions of the slave. The pattern of family life of the Negro today is in part a result of 250 years of slavery.

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51 Handlin, op. cit., pp. 61-62.
52 Gordon, op. cit., p. 170.
53 Martindale, op. cit., p. 158.

For another thing, the lack of business enterprise among Negroes has many causes. The 250 years of slavery undoubtedly did not encourage the growth of a tradition of business. But, beyond this, the Negro today is hampered by his "poverty, the inaccessibility of credit, . . .(and) exclusion from employment in business establishments."[54]

Undoubtedly the deviance of the Negro group is somewhat exaggerated. Their color makes them highly visible to the public. Handlin insists that "when it comes to. . .disorders, the incidence among Negroes and Puerto Ricans may not be excessive; but the high degree of visibility of these groups and their readiness to seek the aid of government agencies may exaggerate the extent of their deviations."[55]

Another part of the reason for the difficulties of the colored people is the timing of the migration of the Negro and Puerto Rican to the city. The old immigrants came at a time of extensive economic expansion and labor shortage. Consequently, they were in a good bargaining position. The Negro and Puerto Rican, however, have come at a time of economic stability and labor surplus. A good deal of unemployment is inevitable for these groups. At the same time their presense will be resented as potential forms of cheap competitive labor.[56]

Problem of Slum Behavior: The Physical Environment

It has been previously noted that the basic process of learning is socialization. We learn what is possible and "what is" by what the people around us do and say. In this context, "slum dwellers" know and experience first hand crowded streets, garbage, noise, old tenement buildings, the terror of gang wars, etc.[57] Most of the people of the slum

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54 Ibid., p. 410.
55 Handlin, op. cit., p. 101.
56 Ibid., p. 62.
57 Padilla, op. cit., p. 167.

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Renewal

experience the same kind of life and, consequently, it is no surprise that slum children experience no other kind of life.

There is no doubt that the physical environment has a great impact on slum behavior. Rosow notes that "the correlation between poor housing and the incidence of crime, disease, juvenile delinquency, et cetera, have been established beyond doubt."[58] Millspaugh notes that, although he is unable to establish a definite causal connection, rehabilitation of the physical environment has been followed by a decreasing rate of crime and disease.[59]

There seems to be no doubt that, while the physical environment may not be the initial cause of slum behavior, it at least has a major effect on continuing and encouraging the process. In sum, slum tenements do not reinforce the more socially-acceptable forms of behavior.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to treat the complex subject of the causes of slum behavior. These causes were seen to stem, in part, from malfunctions in the behavior process as outlined in Chapter 3. These include: cultural deficiency, misunderstanding of effective alternatives, inadequate effective alternatives, breakdown of traditional society, the physical environment and color.

It should be emphasized that slum behavior is complex. Within a given individual any one or combination of these causative factors may be

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[58] Rosow, Irving, "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment" in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, May 1961, p. 127.

[59] Millspaugh, Martin and Gurney Breckenfield, The Human Side of Urban Renewal (Fight-Blight, Inc.: Baltimore, 1959), pp. 223-233.

at work. A given individual may exhibit any one or combination of the various types of slum behavior. We cannot say, then, that there is any one cause for slum behavior.

It should also be noted that what is slum behavior is relative---it is a value judgment on the part of the dominant society. Particularly when it comes to the need for achievement is there need for caution in labelling a kind of motivation slum behavior.

Finally, it sould be recognized that what we call a slum area may perform a socially useful function in being a way station for the rural migrant or a refuge for the young artist. As will be examined in Chapter 5, we cannot make blanket judgments as to the desirability of slums and slum behavior.

PART III:

TOWARD A SOLUTION

Chapter 5

A PHILOSOPHY OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

Introduction

So far this thesis has attempted to outline the basic causal factors of slum behavior patterns. These causal factors, in brief, have been seen as a spiral of the cultural experience of rural migrants and the social and physical conditions with which these migrants and their descendants must cope in the urban setting. The following chapters will be concerned with social programs which may be able to strike at the roots of this slum behavior within the context of urban renewal.

Chapter 4 should have raised some doubts about what is and what is not slum behavior. Slum behavior has been seen as relative to a certain standard of behavior. Likewise, the slum structures are slum-like only relative to a given standard of quality. The slum area is not just an area of "poor" housing and "undesirable" behavior, it is also an area of low-cost housing and "different" (as seen by the middle-class) behavior. As such, the slum may permit people to maximize some other values than a particular middle-class way of life.

This raises the question of what is a slum and what is slum behavior. There is a need to carefully examine our measures of what is a slum. We must ask: can we establish an objective measure of a slum?

The implication so far has been to divide urban people into two groups: the middle-class and slum dwellers. This is a dangerous tendency and much too simplistic. We must distinguish between the "working class" and the lower-class (analogous to what has been called here slum dwellers). The former reflect a pattern of behavior markedly different (big family type) from the middle-class but do not, by and large, exhibit serious

problems of housekeeping and deviant behavior. Are we, then, to consider these people as slum dwellers?

Slums Versus Low-Cost Housing

What is a slum? Seeley says that "the criteria for what is a slum---as a social fact---are subjective and relative: for one brand of mystic this world is a slum (relative to the next) and for another there is no slum, because the proper objects of desire are as available in one area as another."[1] Indeed, the criteria of what constitutes a slum are relative---relative to the nation or region and relative to individual values. It is clear, then, that there can be no thoroughly objective measure of a slum.

Yet the above line of thought leads us nowhere---except to complete individualism and anarchy. Practically, we can say that the number of deteriorated dwellings as defined by state of repair, lack of key improvements, etc., the incidence of crime and disease and so on provide a reasonably objective measure of what is a slum. The American Public Health Association has established such a set of criteria on structural conditional and neighborhood environment.

The important thing is that low-cost, per se, is not the determining feature of a slum. At times, renewal planners have had a tendency to define slum areas somewhat broadly and carelessly. Gans notes that "what seems to happen is that neighborhoods come to be described as slums if they are inhabited by residents who, for a variety of economic, cultural, and psychological reasons indulge in overt and visible behavior

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1 Seeley, op. cit., p. 8.

considered undesirable by the majority of the community."[2] In short, urban renewal has not infrequently sought to eliminate not only what is socially harmful, but also what, according to middle-class standards is undesirable.

Gans would differentiate between a low-rent district and a slum. He says that "slum dwellings, etc., may be defined as those which are proven to be physically, socially, or emotionally harmful to their residents or to the community at large."[3] On the other hand, "low-rent dwellings, etc., provide housing and the necessary facilities which are not harmful to people who want, or for economic reasons must maintain, low rental payments and are willing to accept lack of modernity, high density, lack of privacy. . . ."[4] The dividing point between low-cost and slum areas is not clear---this is an area on which study might usefully be pursued.

The difference between a low-cost area and a slum might also be expressed in terms of social class. The difference is what Gans calls the working-class and the lower-class. This will be discussed shortly.

To summarize this section, urban renewal planners have, at various times, labeled an area as a "slum" and proceeded to redevelop it while, in fact, the area was merely of low-rent character with a well-developed and useful social life. Such areas, like the West-End in Boston, are by no means middle-class, but exhibit no serious social problems. Considering

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2 Gans, Herbert, "The Human Implications in Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning", in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, No. 1, February 1959, p. 16.
3 Ibid., p. 16.
4 Ibid., p. 16.

the great need for resources for renewal and other governmental programs, such is clearly a waste.

Working-Class Versus Lower Class

We have already indicated some of the characteristics of the American middle-class. To reiterate, these include the nuclear family and a desire for upward mobility or need for achievement. To achieve success, work and education are conceived in very specific ways. Relative to work, Gans notes that "work is not merely a job that maximizes income, but a series of related jobs or job advances which provide the breadwinner with higher-income, greater responsibility, and, if possible, greater job satisfaction."[5] Education, then, is seen as a primary tool in achieving desired occupational success.

In contrast, the working-class subculture "is distinguished by the dominant role of the family circle. Its way of life is based on social relationships amidst relatives."[6] Perhaps the most pervasive influence in working culture is the peer-group. The working-class, in Gans terms, is person oriented---i.e. "the overriding aspiration is the desire to be a person within a group; to be liked and noticed by members of a group whom one likes and notices in turn."[7]

The opposite of person-oriented individualism is object-oriented individualism---i.e. striving for a career, for an idea, for a level of material well-being, etc. Gans resists the temptation to associate object-orientation solely with the middle-class---i.e. he insists that object orientation is relatively rare in both classes. But he notes:

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5 Gans, Herbert, The Urban Villagers (Free Press of Glencoe: New York, 1962), p. 247.
6 Ibid., p. 244.
7 Ibid., p. 90.

> The major difference---and it is an important one---is that among the West Enders, person-orientation is based on a close association with the family circle and the peer group which the individual maintains all his life, and which is built into his personality structure. Middle-class people, on the other hand, choose from a wider range of people the individuals and groups with whom they spend their lives, remain somewhat detached from them, and can even leave them for others without serious feelings of loss.[8]

In contrast to both the above is the lower-class. This group is markedly female based. It too is strong person-oriented to a peer group, but, in general, there is not the strongly developed peer group structure as in the working-class. In short, this group can be identified most closely with the slum subculture---i.e. the Negro, white, and, to a lesser extent, Puerto Rican rural migrant and their descendants. As we have seen this lower-class subculture has developed as the result of the opportunities and deprivations the people have experienced. The rural migrant is, to be sure, absorbed into a new subculture when transplanted to the city. But due to the blocks he encounters he---and the slum subculture---fails to alter his pattern of life to a form more useful in urban society.

In sum, the real slum problem is not among the working-class, but among the lower-class. We have said that slums and slum behavior are defined by the harm they do to the slum dweller and to society in general. But, we must also recognize that in a democracy diversity is a desirable by-product. It has yet to be demonstrated that a single middle-class mass is the most desirable course for American society. In short, at what point does diversity become harmful to society? This cannot be clearly

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[8] Ibid., p. 259.

defined at present. Given the fact that what really constitutes a slum is uncertain, what is the public responsibility and/or right in taking action which alters---either directly or indirectly---peoples' ways of life?

A Philosophy of Public Responsibility

Two broad questions seem to be involved here. (1) Does middle-class society have a right and/or responsibility to change the lives of people? (2) If middle-class society does not have such a right or responsibility, how can we be sure we are acting in such fashion as to help, rather than exacerbate, the situation? Excluded from concern here, of course, are those forms of behavior which are definitely harmful to society---i.e. murder, robbery, etc. Our focus here is those forms of behavior over which some doubt as to their classification of slum-life exists.

First, change should not be forced. But the mainstream of American society does have a responsibility to provide the greatest possible opportunity of choice for all people. For this to be a truly effective choice, slum occupants must know about all possible alternatives and the means by which they may attain them. To the extent that those who wish to change are at an artificial disadvantage---i.e. money, books, education---there is a public responsibility to assure that these people have effective means to attain their legitimate goals---i.e. good education. People should not be forced to accept change and, in fact, it may not be desirable to alter some behavior patterns. But, to the extent that slum dwellers or any other people seek to learn new ways, every possible public aid should be provided.

Such a responsibility can be defended on moral and pragmatic grounds. In terms of moral principle, it is a basic American precept that every person is entitled by right to equal opportunity to make his choice as to life's achievements, limited only by his ability. In pragmatic terms, people who are kept in a state of supression and are prevented from developing their full potentials are a great waste of natural resources. Vast amounts of potential skills and brainpower are thus denied to the American nation. Further, the resulting frustration and dispair can turn to apathy or violence---in either case (i.e. welfare or crime) the result is a drain on the American economy. In the last analysis, "such results would be tragic for the nation---and western democracy---in the world of the cold war and the emergence of Asian and African nationalism."[9]

Second, if the first condition of the greatest amount of effective opportunity provided for all people is met, I am convinced that the second will follow. That is, we cannot help but improve rather than exacerbate the situation. We cannot say how many slum dweller or working-class people desire to change and how many "like to live the way they do." Nor does it greatly matter. The important thing is that all people have equal opportunity to attain their legitimate goals.

Nevertheless, we should not imagine that slums or low-cost housing areas can be eradicated. They may continue to serve a useful social function. What we should imagine is that slums are not to be thought of as morasses which trap and stifle people who have the desire and potential to be upwardly mobile.

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[9] Weaver, Robert, "Class, Race, and Urban Renewal", in Land Economics, Vol. 36, August 1960, p. 242.

Conclusion

There is a public responsibility and right to develop programs which provide slum occupants and working-class people with the widest possible effective opportunities to change their behavior patterns. Minimally, the planner must recognize that social and physical planning are closely related---i.e. to determine what is a slum and what should be done about it requires an analysis of an area's physical condition and an analysis of its social condition. In this sense, then, programs of action will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

A BALANCED PROGRAM OF ACTION

Introduction

The previous chapters have analyzed the various causal factors of slum behavior. The community---of which the slum is a part---is a vast and complex system comprising both physical and cultural (social) components. In this respect, Melvin Webber has noted:

> We are coming to comprehend the city as an extremely complex social system, only some aspects of which are expressed as physical buildings or as locational arrangements. As a parallel, we are coming to understand that each aspect lies in a reciprocal causal relation to all others, such that each is defined by, and has meaning only with respect to, its relations to all others.[1]

Slum problems, then, derive from a spiral of cultural deficiency, social conditions and physical conditions. In order to deal with these problems a broadly conceived and coordinated program dealing with both social and physical aspects is needed.

Ultimately, the intent of these programs is to minimuze the various causal factors in slum behavior---i.e. cultural or conceptual deficiency, knowledge or skills, prejudice and other blocks, etc. In short, we seek to reinforce the behavior patterns of individuals who wish to change. Hopefully, then, the individual will have knowledge of what kind of behavior is expected by "American" society, have the necessary skills and knowledge to enable him to behave in such fashion, and not be artifically blocked from responding in such fashion by prejudice, money, and so on.

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[1] Webber, Melvin, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility", in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4, November 1963, p. 235.

This chapter will seek to delineate the basic outline of such a comprehensive program. No attempt will be made to specify precise context of such programs. Our analysis has, however, pointed to certain requirements for action to help lessen slum problems. The primary emphasis here, then, is to indicate the salient issues brought up by the previous analysis of slum behavior.

In general, this chapter will deal with what we may broadly describe as social planning. Since this thesis is directed to the attention of urban planners, the physical aspects of the problem will not be extensively dealt with---i.e. it is believed that urban planners have great need to understand the role of social planning in renewal.

Davis Mc Entire describes social planning as "efforts to modify or control human behavior toward some community objective."[2] Mc Entire sees the tasks of social planning in renewal as two fold: (a) to design methods for correcting social conditions inimical to wholesome neighborhood life and (b) to develop on the part of residents and property owners attitudes and behavior favorable to neighborhood property maintenance.[3]

In another sense Alvin Schoor indicates that social planning encompasses three distinct ideas:

> First, that the needs of individuals---especially those who live in an affected area---should not be overlooked in preoccupation with blueprints or officialdom. Second, that human attitudes, prejudices, preferences, sentiments, and notions should be fed as assumptions into the thinking machine that eventually produces a city or neighborhood

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2 Mc Entire, Davis, "Social Planning and Urban Renewal" in George Dugger, ed., The New Renewal (Bureau of Public Administration: Berkeley, 1961), p. 117.

3 Ibid., p. 118

> plan. . .. Third, that some sense of unifying community purpose should pervade a city's planning to represent a countervailing, if not overriding force to commercial and financial consideration.[4]

Two thoughts seem basic to the above. First, we are seeking ways to modify and change slum behavior relative to urban housekeeping and others and that this, in turn, will reflect on the physical condition of slum or lower-class areas. Second, in dealing with renewal we must concern ourselves with human feelings, attitudes and values in order to deal effectively with slum behavior. In doing so, we are recognizing that the city consists of people and does not exist merely for the benefit of business interests. Both reflect the basic philosophy with which this thesis urges the importance of social planning in urban renewal.

Social Action

One frequently-used technique to affect social change is social action. In general, this involves a neighborhood organization of interested citizens who seek to create a sense of pride and responsibility among neighborhood people. Mc Entire says that "even the best efforts of government and community institutions can probably not achieve a sufficient reorientation of attitudes and behavior of neighborhood residents unless there is created within the neighborhood itself a force for change."[5]

Mc Entire defines three roles for social action associations: (1) they provide a forum for discussion of neighborhood problems, needs, and methods of improvement, (2) they can advise community agencies and

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[4] Schorr, Alvin, Slums and Social Insecurity (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: Washington, 1963) p. 57.
[5] Mc Entire, op. cit., p. 121.

support their programs of education and assistance, and (3) to persons who directly participate in their work, they provide a training ground in the skills of organization and management.[6]

There are at least two essential conditions for successful social action. First, it must be an indigenous and independent neighborhood group. Outside assistance may be involved, but the initial motivation must be internal. Failure to assure this condition will make acceptance by local people of its leadership difficult, if not impossible. If the organization is not indigenous it becomes simply another outside group seeking to do missionary work in the neighborhood.

Second, the purpose of the organization whould be clearly defined and focused on common neighborhood interests. It should be remembered that renewal areas are by definition problem areas and that one of the basic difficulties is lack of concern and leadership. An ill-defined, diffuse purpose only serves to confuse and holds little interest for neighborhood people.

David Hunter lists Warren Haggstrom's four criteria by which to judge whether or not local action involving affected persons is likely to be successful. These are:[7]

(1) The person involved sees himself as a source of action.

(2) The action demands much in effort and in skill or in other ways becomes salient to major areas of his personality.

(3) The action ends in success and thus enhances his conception of his own worth.

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6 Ibid., p. 122.

7 Hunter, David, The Slums: Challenge and Response (The Free Press of Glencoe: New York, 1964), p. 163.

(4) The successful self-originated important action increases the force and number of symbolic or non-symbolic communications to him that he is a worthwhile person. In short, social action, to be effective, must interest and involve neighborhood people.

A short but vital digression is in order. In general, social action is of limited value in the initial stages of social planning in the worst slum areas. It was previously noted that areas subject to renewal activity normally contain two broad types of people: working-class and lower-class. The worst slum areas---i.e. physically, and in terms of crime, delinquency, disease, etc.---are inhabited by lower-class people. On author comments:

> Such people are more likely to have a limited time-perspective, a greater difficulty in abstracting from concrete experience, an unfamiliarity with and lack of confidence in city-wide institutions, a preoccupation with the personal and the immediate, and few (if any) attachment to organizations of any kind, with the possible exception of churches. Lacking experience in the skills for participation in organized endeavors, they are likely to have a low sense of personal efficacy in organizational situations.[8]

In short, it is not likely that lower-class people will have the skills or sense of involvement that will permit social action to be successfully initiated. James Wilson notes that "such people are usually the objects rather than the subjects of civic action; they are acted upon by others, but rarely do they themselves initiate action."[9]

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[8] Wilson, James, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal", in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4, November 1963, p. 245.

[9] Ibid., p. 245.

Consequently, the attempt to initiate social action from the outside usually stimulates suspicion, fear, and, ultimately, greater apathy. There is one exception. James Wilson notes:

> Except for organizations which are in some sense extensions of the family and the church, lower-income neighborhoods are more likely to produce collective action in response to threats (real or imagined) than to create opportunities. Because of the private-regarding nature of their attachment to the community, they are likely to collaborate when each person can see a danger to him or to his family in some proposed change; collective action in a way, not of defining and implementing some broad program for the benefit of all, but of giving force to individual objects by adding them together in a collective protest.[10]

It is this characteristic of lower-class people which Saul Alinsky plays upon to organize slum areas. This method will be analyzed shortly.

To sum up, social action is of limited value in situations where lower-class people are involved. This is due to certain characteristics of lower-class cultural experience. Nevertheless, in situations where working-class people (or even lower middle-class people) are involved social action has a role to play. The answer to lower-class areas will be seen later in this chapter as direct governmental improvement of the physical environment. At this point, then, we will briefly examine a few of the basic approaches to social action.

Two broad categories of approach seem evident: (1) the urban services or resources approach and (2) the organization of an internal group. The former depends more on outside support than does the latter.

In urban services approach seeks to improve various governmental and private services---i.e. schools, health and welfare services, employment services, etc.---and, then, aggresively press them upon the neighborhood,

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[10] Ibid., p. 245.

In general, the "big push" comes from government and civic institutions. Two examples may illustrate better:

(1) New York City's Neighborhood Conservation Program. This program centers on areas that were largely middle-class but were beginning to get significant influxes of southern Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The city increased public services and set up neighborhood city halls to bring the services to the people. Sponsors of the program included the city, settlement houses, churches, hospitals and universities. The idea is to have these local sponsers take over the program with the assistance of local citizens in advisory roles. James Cunningham notes that "while major planning, direction, and decision-making has come from city hall, the sponsoring agencies, citizen leaders and volunteers have played a large role in identifying neighborhood needs and in helping carry out some services."[11]

(2) New Haven's Community Progress, Inc. This approach involves a quasi-public organization on whose board sits both government officials and representatives of private interests such as business, industry, labor, education, and religion. Cunningham notes that "under this approach experts move into a neighborhood and begin to furnish imaginative new services to help people develop and neighborhoods improve. Some local people may be hired as staff assistants to help spread word of the new services to their neighbors, and citizen committees may be formed to help carry out the services."[12]

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[11] Cunningham, James, "New Approaches to Creating Strong Neighborhoods", in New City, Vol. 4, No. 4, May 15, 1965, p. 6.

[12] Ibid., p. 7.

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The second approach is internal organization. Internal organization usually begins with the entrance of an outside organizer. But the iniation of the program must be by internal groups---frequently churches. This approach may take two forms:

(1) Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation. As was previously noted this form is the one that has the most chance of success among lower-class people. Basically, Cunningham notes, this "approach is marked by conflict, militant action, a stance of demanding rather than working co-operatively with the resources of metropolis, and considerable citizen involvement."[13]

The basic philosophy of Alinsky and the Industrial Area's Foundation is summed up in the following quotes:[14]

(a) In the development of an organization for democratic participation. . .resentments and dormant hostilities must be brought up to visible surface where they can become transformed into problems.

(b) A people do not break through their previous fatalism of submerged resentment and frustration into open problems which can be faced and dealt with until they have a mechanism or a formula for effectively coping with these problems. Since their only resource lies in numbers, organization becomes the instrument for implementation of change and resolution of these problems.

(c) What kind of words are used by the leadership? They use the word "negotiate" instead of "conference", or "sharing", and understand the meaning of the word negotiate. Negotiate means meeting with others as equals, since the other party will not negotiate unless it recognizes that you have the power to compel negotiations.

In practice, Industrial Areas Foundation organizers enter a neighborhood at the request of local groups. They emphasize the local peoples' feelings of frustration and injustice relative to discrimination, poor

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[13] Ibid., p. 7.
[14] Ibid., p. 8.

local services, or poor housing maintenance. The program works up feeling and eventually an organization based on opposition to these problems that directly and visibly affect local residents. This organization seeks to control neighborhood planning and bargains with city authorities to obtain better treatment for the neighborhood.

This approach has some value, but it is this author's impression that more harm than good is done. For one thing, the approach is basically negative---i.e. it is against the city officials, the planners, the landlords and any other "oppressors." This may effectively stop injustice, but it may also stop any attempt at long-range programs to raise the overall status of the community. Once firmly based on an "agin" philosophy it is difficult to turn the organization to positive, long-range purposes.

Nevertheless, it is still too early to assess the overall impact of this approach. It may be that the arousal of concern is the first step to more positive action.

(2) Pittsburgh's Neighborhood Urban Extension. This approach is started, again, at the request of local groups. The sponsor, Action-Housing, Inc., sends in an extension worker who helps the local people organize a neighborhood council which becomes an instrument of planning and action. The extension worker and the neighborhood council "helps citizens begin to understand complex problems, assists them to make plans and helps to get the vast resources of the metropolis extended into the neighborhood."[15]

Direct Public Action---Social Education and Other Government Programs

Mc Entire notes that "changing the attitudes and behavior of people is usually thought of in terms of 'education': new ways of behaving

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[15] Ibid., p. 10.

have to be learned; the learning includes gaining a perception of new, desirable and possible goals and acquiring the technique of 'know how' of achieving them.[16] Thus, we need social education programs to teach new symbols to slum occupants that are better suited to the urban environment. What is needed is a broad-ranging program involving social workers, renewal agencies, various civic and private welfare organizations, and industry and business. We need not only to teach urban living, but also to institute industrial training and retraining programs so that slum occupants will be better equipped to meet the challenge of the modern world.

Beyond this we must assure opportunity by legal means to remove discriminatory blocks and imaginative programs to stimulate a healthy economic climate of opportunity. All of these kinds of programs are especially needed for lower-class situations. As Herbert Gans points out: "In the long run. . .the existence of a specific subculture is closely related to the availability of occupational opportunities."[17] Occupational opportunities are useless, of course, without the proper skills. Thus, social education and occupational opprtunities are interrelated prerequisites for an effective program dealing with lower-class slum problems. As David Hunter puts the issue:

> The objective of policy and action should be to make people better qualified to make free choices, and to increase the choices open to them. This means choices about what job to have, where to live, how long to stay in school, what to do with spare time, whom to marry and when, how many children to have, and all the other choices, big and little, that cumulatively determine who and what a person is.[18]

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16 Mc Entire, op. cit., p. 120/
17 Gans, Urban Villagers, op. cit., p. 249.
18 Hunter, op. cit., p. 199.

In this area it is clear that the federal government can be, and is at present, of great assistance. Such programs as the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are examples of such federal action.[19] Some of the main provision of these acts include:

(1) Vocational Education Act of 1963. This act provides several million dollars for a nationwide program of work-study for needy young people between the ages of 15-21 who are enrolled full-time in vocational programs.

(2) Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. This act provides for Labor Department Youth Opportunity Centers in 105 metropolitan areas which are staffed by people uniquely qualified to deal with the dropout and other marginally educated youths.

(3) Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(a) Title I ($412,000,000)
Part A: Job Corps
Part B: Work-Training Program
Part C: Work-Study Program

(b) Title II ($150,000,000)
Part A: Urban and Rural Community Action Programs
Part B: Adult Basic Education Programs

(c) Title V ($150,000,000)
Work Experience Programs (for adults)

These programs are ambitious, perhaps in the initial stages too ambitious for lower-class people. Hunter notes that "in most cases the first focus will have to be on literacy training rather than skill training. Skill training will probably have to be aimed at not too high a level."[20]

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19 "Federal Legislation and Programs for Underprivileged Young People", in American Library Association Bulletin, September 1964.

20 Hunter, op. cit., p. 162.

Improved welfare services are another area of concern. The 1962 federal Public Welfare Amendments give a guide as to desirable directions in this area. These include:[21]

(1) A strong focus on rehabilitation and the reduction of dependency by offering states financial inducement to provide more services and training to assistance recipients.

(2) Improvemnt of and more money for child welfare services.

(3) Provision of funds for day care of children of parents who are working or seeking work and permission to recipients to keep a certain amount of outside earning without reduction of relief payments.

(4) Extension of assistance grants to provide federal sharing of payments to needy children where parent was unemployed.

There is also a great need for the improvement of education in slum areas. Vast increases in money, quality of physical plant, quality of teachers, and new teaching techniques are required. Beyond this, Hunter comments:

> Probably the most important mission of the schools in the slums is to convince slum children and youth that they are part of America and can be successful. This sounds trite, but it points to the greatest deficiency in the schooling process in slum schools. The task of the schools is to provide the foundation upon which all can build the skills necessary to perform some remunerative economic function sucessfully.[22]

It should be remembered, as previously noted, that education without corresponding opportunity is worse than useless---i.e. it can lead to severe deviant disorders. But the subject of slum education is too vast to be dealt with in detail here. All that can be done here is to point out this area of concern.

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21 Ibid., p. 163.
22 Ibid., p. 110.

Last, but by no means least, we come to government action with respect to the physical environment. The role of the physical environment in slum problems was previously discussed (see Chapter 4). At this point, a few basic direct actions that government can take that will alleviate this aspect of the slum problem will be discussed.

First, strict enforcement of adequate housing codes is of vital importance. Poor housing condition is not only the result of poor housekeeping by occupants---it also derives from overoccupancy and low owner maintainence. At present, code enforcement tends to be lax in many cities and, further, penalities for code violations are not harsh. Part of the reason for this may be shortages in the housing supply---i.e. if the codes were rigorously enforced there would simply not be sufficient room for the people displaced. If so, these shortages may be alleviated by other actions below. In any event more rigorous and effective enforcement of housing codes is necessary.

Second, government taxing power can take the profit out of slums. At present deteriorated slum housing is an investors paradise---it costs little to maintain, tax depreciation is high, and income is also relatively high. Taxation on the basis of income rather than property condition might well lessen resistance to measures taken to improve the lot of low-income family housing.

Third, government policy (especially federal) should adopt attitudes toward regulation, lending, insuring and investing that will encourage the expansion of housing supply for lower income families. Beyond this, vast expansion of public housing programs may be necessary. Hunter ties up a whole bundle of these issues as follows:

> The role of government should be to adopt regulatory, lending, insuring, investing, and taxing policies that will encourage the private building of housing for lower income people in the city and outside of it, will take some of the excess profits out of overoccupied and undermaintained slum properties, and will stimulate the organization of the building industry along more modern, mass-production lines, using new materials and techniques and reducing some of the cost-increasing restrictive practices. . . that now characterize it.[23]

Fourth, it is vital to improve municipal services. It is important that the quality and level of services be increased in slum areas. Part of the disorder of slum areas may be due to poor municipal housekeeping. Further, slum residents have little voice at city hall---the lack of municipal services is another indication of the low esteem in which society holds him. If we are to break the spell of apathy, city government must show a genuine concern.

Fifth, the actual physical process of urban renewal plays an important role. All forms of renewal: redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation are involved. Since this thesis is directed at urban planners it is assumed that no extended discussion of these tools is necessary. Nevertheless, it would seem that the discussion of causal factors implies a greater reliance on rehabilitation and conservation than on redevelopment.

Conclusion

This has been a complex and broad-ranging chapter. We will now try to bring the major points to a focus.

The city---of which the slum is a part---is a complex special system, a spiral of physical and social components. Therefore, an effective

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23 Ibid., p. 210.

program dealing with slum problems must comprehend the broad range of physical and social aspects of the problem.

Social action is a primary tool to aid in social change. For lower-class situations, however, it has limited value due to the utter lack of adequate cultural experience relevant to American society of the people. Nevertheless, social action does have valid application in working-class areas or middle-class areas that are beginning to deteriorate.

Social education and other direct government programs are much more valuable in lower-class situations. These programs---ranging from teaching urban housekeeping, to job training, to social welfare, to education, to control of the physical environment---encompass the whole range of slum problems.

These, then, are the programs involved in action to help alleviate the slum problem. But, as of yet, it is a largely disconnected mass of programs. The next chapter, among other things, will touch on the need for coordination among all these programs in order to effectively meet the slum problem.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATION FOR PLANNING AND URBAN RENEWAL

Summary

The thesis presented here is not a wholly new interpretation of the slum problem. It is hoped, however, that the material presented will offer some new insights for planners---especially those urban planners involved in urban renewal. While the ideas might not be new, it may be suspected, judging from the actions or many renewal agencies around the country, that these ideas may be news to planners. In any event, the ideas presented are urged as prerequisites for effective renewal programs. The purpose of this section is to summarize some of the more important findings of this thesis.

The city and its parts are understood as a complex system of physical and social factors. A people, through time, develop a culture---i.e. a set of concepts or symbols---which regularize and regulate the life of its society. This society operates within the context of a physical world---the natural habitat. Man---as a social and physical animal---has repercussions on the natural habitat and, in turn, the natural habitat effects, limits, or provides advantages for man. Thus, the city is a mass of interrelated factors---none of which can be fully comprehended independently.

Human behavior derives from an individual's cultural experience. That is, behavior is the result of an individual's stored symbols to what means what. The individual perceives, via cultural images, the meaning of a given situation and the effective alternatives for action open to him. His response, then, depends on the images or concepts which have developed through experience. Naturally, other individual's reactions effect the content of these images.

Thus, slum behavior---as defined by the dominant culture's values---may arise in two basic ways. First, an individual may not have the dominant society's cultural images as to the meaning of a situation due to newness to the society or acculturation in a deviant sub-society. This includes the rural migrant and the long-time slum resident who has accepted the sub-culture of the slum.

Second, blocks---artifical and "natural"---may limit an individual's effective alternatives. Prejudice, lack of skill or ability on the part of the slum dweller, and lack of resources may effectively prevent an individual from responding in a socially (i.e. relative to dominant society) approved way. Further, the resulting sense of frustration may lead to severe deviant behavior.

In general, slum behavior can be categorized as: (1) poor housekeeping, (b) deviant behavior, and (c) lack of need for achievement. Poor housekeeping habits and certain forms of deviant behavior (i.e. crime) are seen as definitely slum behavior---i.e. they have a negative impact on society as a whole and on the slum dweller. One might question, however, whether or not the lack of the need for achievement---i.e. the lack of felt need to be upwardly mobile---is necessarily slum behavior.

All people who live in proposed renewal areas are <u>not</u> "slum dwellers." We must differentiate between working-class and lower-class people. The lower-class---exhibiting the worst forms of social deviance---must be distinguished from working-class people whose worst sin is that they do not share the status aspirations of the middle class.

In a related area we must recognize that it is a big, probably impossible in most cases, jump from the lower-class to the middle-class.

Yet we exhort the lower-class to emulate the middle-class. A more realistic approach is to conceive of the lower-class as moving up to the working-class, and the working-class to the middle-class.

It is concluded, then, that the public has a right and responsibility to provide the greatest possible effective opportunity for all people. If people are able to effectively strive to meet their legitimate aspirations, it is believed that the slum problem must improve.

Programs to deal with slum problems must be broadly conceived as dealing with both physical and social aspects. Only in this way can they maximize their effectiveness.

Finally, it is recognized that slums and slum behavior is a broad social problem. It was pointed out in Chapter 5 that assimilation into a society reaches a crucial point at the structural stage---i.e. large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions at the primary group level. If structural assimilation occurs all others will follow. This means that the full solution of slum-related problems waits until our society has sufficiently changed its values to permit full assimilation---if it ever does. Thus, in the last analysis, the problem is one that effects the whole structure of our society. The programs dealt with here, then, are only partial solutions. Ultimately, the question is what kind of social order does America desire?

Relevance of Action Program to Behavioral Model

The purpose of the program of total action outlined in chapter 6 is, of course, to minimize the causal factors of slum behavior. It is believed that if such a program is carried out, patterns of behavior that are better suited to the contemporary urban habitat will be reinforced

among slum dwellers. Further, it is believed that such a result would facilitate the upward mobility of those who desire to be upwardly mobile. Ultimately, it is hoped that much of the socially undesirable slum behavior patterns will be extinguished. What is socially "desirable" and what is socially undesirable is not easily defined. In general, "undesirable" behavior was seen as that kind of behavior which as a negative impact on an individual (i.e. behavior forms which effectively block desired and legitimate goals---e.g. mobility) and on the individual's society (i.e. crime, poor housekeeping, etc.). Beyond this, the author is not prepared to go at this time.

It might be useful to apply this general concept to some of the specific causal factors outlined in previous chapters. A primary causal factor of slum behavior was seen as a cultural deficiency among rural migrants which left them unprepared for life in a modern American city. Programs of social education---i.e. good housekeeping, job training or retraining, basic education, etc.---are designed to remedy this cultural deficiency as measured vis-a-vis urban American middle-class culture. In short, these programs seek to lessen and eventually eliminate (if possible) cultural blocks which may put rural migrants at a disadvantage.

It was also noted that the slum has a distinct sub-culture which may deviate from American middle-class culture. Thus, social education programs would also aid those slum dwellers who, although not themselves rural migrants, have been acculturated into the slum sub-culture. These groups also suffer a cultural deficiency vis-a-vis the "mainstream" of American culture.

Another causal factor was seen as inadequate effective alternatives. These are what have been called here "mechanical" limitations. One mechanical limitation is money. The right to move into good housing, to send children to college. etc., are useless the people have the economic means to do so. Expanded job opportunities which lead to higher incomes are prerequisites to expanded effective alternatives for slum dwellers.

A second mechanical limitation was seen as the over-all social environment of the slum dweller. For one thing the slum home does not usually supply the books, "cultural" activities, etc., functional for success in American society. Educational and social welfare programs seek to make up some of this deficiency. For another thing, the over-all social environment of the slum may be depressing---it may be pervaded by a certain feeling of hopelessness (see above: Chapter 4, pp. 42-44). The purpose of all the above programs is to lift this feeling of dispair and replace it with hope.

Another causal factor in slum behavior was seen as blocks resulting from a characteristic of American middle-class society---i.e. prejudice, especially prejudice against skin color. It has been said that even if an individual has been properly acculturated to American middle-class society, he may fail to respond to middle-class ways because he is kept "in his place" by the dominant elements of society. No program of government action will solve this problem---it is a problem in human emotion and prejudice. Legal prejudice can be eliminated, but, as was frequently noted before, ultimately the problem is one of the basic type of social order that will exist in America in the future.

Implication for Planning and Urban Renewal

We have, so far, examined the nature of the slum problem and some of the ways we can approach solutions. The final sections of this chapter will focus on the implications of the above analysis to urban planning and urban renewal. Two areas of concern will be explored: (1) the need for a coordinated approach to the application of the action programs, and (2) the lessons that the above analysis holds for planning and renewal.

A Coordinated Approach

It has been said that the slum problem is in reality a spiral of physical and social factors. The solution to these problems was seen in a broad-based program attacking all facets. But, obviously, unplanned, piecemeal application of the programs must, at best, result in something less than maximum effectiveness. What is needed is a coordinated program of physical and social planning and action within the framework of urban renewal.

One major area of concern is the uncoordinated nature of federal programs. There is a need to coordinate these programs not only with urban renewal, but also with each other. It is strange that the federal government urges planning upon local governments and, yet, seems unable to plan and coordinate its own actions. The frequently proposed department of urban affairs (i.e. a cabinet post) may provide a partial answer provided sufficient control over programs or authority to plan for federal participation in local communities is granted. Even this, however, would probably leave major gaps---i.e. health and welfare planning, highway planning, etc.---due to the existence of many independence minded government departments and agencies. At any rate, there is an urgent need for

the federal government to exert the utmost effort to coordinate and, thus, maximize the results of its own efforts.

The second major area of concern is local coordination of physical and social planning in urban renewal. A recent thesis by Edward Ward has outlined a possible approach to this problem.[1] There is no need to review the proposal in detail here. Basically the structure proposed by Ward involved a hierarchy of goals, policies and plans derived from the several interested groups: a welfare council and private social agencies, government and public departments. Ultimately these groups would center in a policy making board. Ward says that "this board would have representation from both the public and private sectors. It would have the responsibility of stating goals and selection of policies for the total social unit at appropriate or relevant levels of decision making."[2]

These goals and policies would be fed into a central planning agency which would have the responsibility of comprehensive planning for the total social unit. The duties of this body "would encompass the identification, testing and evaluation of goal and policy alternatives, and responsibility for conducting and coordinating research, the study and analysis of the social unit, and the development of a comprehensive plan."[3] This comprehensive plan involves both physical and social factors.

Ultimately the urban renewal agency would prepare and implement detailed renewal action plans and programs. Concern for both physical and social aspects would be included.

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1 Ward, Edward, The Integration of Social and Urban Planning in Urban Renewal. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Michigan State University: School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, 1964. x.
2 Ward, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
3 Ibid., p. 65.

It is not implied that this proposal is the final word. It is, however, a useful way of visualizing a coordinated program or physical and social renewal. Ideally, too, the whole process would take into consideration a coordinated program of federal action. In any event, it is urged that some coordinated program of this sort is necessary in order to maximize the effectiveness of urban renewal.

Lessons for Planning and Renewal

It would appear that within the context of the analysis and philosophy contained in this thesis we can derive a number of lessons relative to urban planning and urban renewal. These include:

(1) Slum problems are complex---an interrelated mass of social and physical aspects. Failure to recognize this has limited the effectiveness of urban renewal to date. Urban renewal must, then, be conceived of in broad societal terms rather than as a mere matter of physical redevelopment.

(2) Urban Renewal and slums must not be merely conceived of as a problem in municipal economics. Renewal was originally developed as a program to, in the words of the 1949 Housing Act, provide "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."[4] William Grigsby notes that "faced with declining ratables and rising costs for municipal services, cities have used federal renewal funds for projects that would shore up local finances."[5] He notes that over 25 per cent of communities receiving federal aid do not have a single residential reuse project---"instead they have demolished slums and blight areas to

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[4] Grigsby, William, "Housing and Slum Clearance: Elusive Goals", in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 352, March 1964, p. 109.

[5] Ibid., p. 109.

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6 Ibid.,

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create sites for commerce and industry."[6] Again, "it appears that not over one-fifth of the three billion dollars donated to local communities under the federal renewal program have been earmarked for projects intended to improve the living accomodations of lower-income families."[7]

No one argues with the use of renewal funds for providing land for "higher" uses in principle. But the figures do suggest a need to re-examine priorities. Failure to provide for accommodations of relocated people leads only to greater densities, higher rates of deterioration, and greater slum problems. In the context of the philosophy of this thesis, first priority should be given to the alleviation of the plight of lower-class slum dwellers, not the city budget or the financial ledger of business firms.

(3) The above suggests that renewal programs should not be permitted unless the following conditions are fully met: (a) There should be adequate relocation housing (both public and private) at the price the relocatees can afford and of the type they are satisfied with. (b) Effective programs of social planning and government action must be an integral part of the renewal plan. Admittedly, the federal Workable Program is an attempt to secure something along these lines. But the Workable Program, in practice, is far from effective. What is required is a strict federal supervision which assures, beyond doubt, that the conditions are being carried out.

(4) Renewal should be carried out with a sensitive understanding of the values, attitudes and ways of life of the people affected. The barbaric approach of destroying a sub-society without attempting to

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6 Ibid., p. 110.
7 Ibid., p. 110.

replace it with an effective alternative (i.e. merger into the larger culture and society) is unworthy of any enlightened society.

(5) There is a need for a more careful and sophisticated analysis of proposed renewal areas---and, as a corollary, better and more sensitive criteria for what is a slum. Gans' analysis of Boston's West End indicates that that area was not really a slum---i.e. a problem for itself or society in general---such that redevelopment was called for. Wholesale destruction of neighborhoods cannot be supported morally or even economically given the magnitude of the problem and the limitations of the resources.

(6) The above point would seem to indicate a need for more emphasis on conservation and rehabilitation. If a neighborhood is essentially sound, but deteriorating or in danger of deteriorating, effective social and physical programs are called for, not redevelopment.

(7) In sum, the purely physical planner should play a more subordinate role in urban renewal than he does at present. This does not mean that he is necessarily subsidary to the social planner. But it does mean that within the framework of renewal sensitive and cooperative relationships between physical and social planners are required. Physical criteria sould not dominate urban renewal.

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