OUR
INDUSTRIAL
URBAN
CIVILIZATION

NELS ANDERSON

ESSAYS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
AND SOCIAL WELFARE
KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

EDITOR: **K. ISHWARAN**

ESSAYS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, NO. 1

Editor

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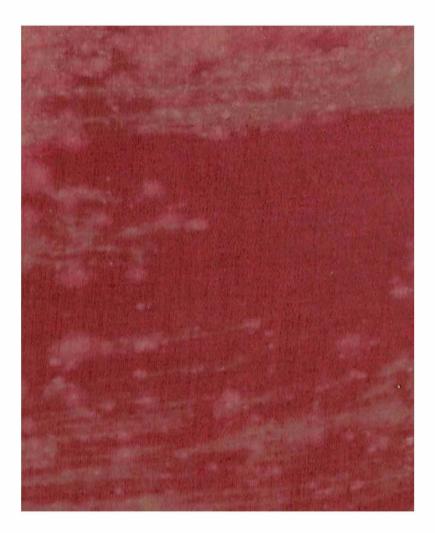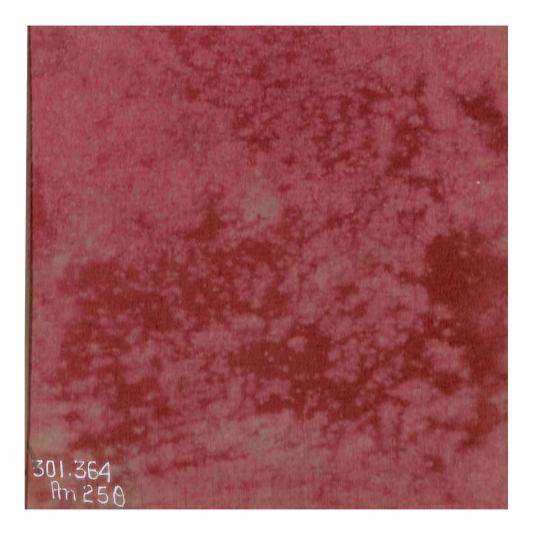and   Social   Welfare,   Karnatak   University*
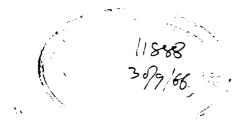
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NELS ANDERSON

Foreword

OUR INDUSTRIAL urban civilization is presented in the following pages with a new perspective. This book stands in its own right as contribution to the general corpus of sociological knowledge. It possesses, in addition, a special relevance for the present time when the process of industrial urbanization is more rapid and widespread than ever, affecting a greater part of the world than ever before. This process is now gaining strength in the developing countries, revolutionizing the agrarian way of life.

A study like this is of great significance because the less developed countries still constitute some three-fourths of the world's people. In particular, the analysis of the problems of industrial urbanization in relation to developing countries has remained a largely unmapped territory, though a few studies made in this region have all indicated its crucial importance. It is here that Dr. Anderson's work breaks new ground; it illumines with a wealth of facts, an area hitherto largely unexplored, and in so doing it firmly establishes the central impact of industrial urbanism on the lives of so many of us.

Industrial urbanism is characterized by non-agricultural ways of work, social mobility and transiency of contact, anonymity and impersonal social interaction, clock-regulated rhythm of life, man-made mechanical environment, egalitarian frame of reference and the like. Dr. Anderson brings out clearly the close interdependence of urbanism and industrialism in our civilization. Concentration of industries may lead to the emergence of great cities, giving rise at the same time to the lag in industrial development in other areas. He suggests that a responsible national government cannot ignore the imbalances resulting from excessive concentrations of industry and population in certain areas to the disadvantage of other areas which also have industrial potential.

Today there is a wide network of complex relationships between the small and great community. The contemporary world constitutes one wide system. Cities like London and Washington control the life of the remotest villages of Africa and Asia.

The village is now neither a self-sufficient unit nor a little republic as was often emphasized in the past. In the rural-urban relationship there is a two-way process of mutual contribution. Dr. Nels Anderson echoes similar ideas when he explains the fact that the city cannot grow and prosper unless the country also prospers. But his view that the relationship between urban and rural areas is one of exchange and not subordination and victimization of one party, may be more true of the United States of America and Europe than of the developing countries. In the less developed countries often one can see the city exploiting the villager's poverty and ignorance.

One can realize the initiative, inventiveness and resourcefulness of the urban people. It may not be the peasant who invented the steel plow and later the mechanized plow or artificial fertilizers, etc. It is often presumed that innovations emanate from cities and the urbanites set an ideal for the villagers to emulate. Perhaps one may lose sight of the role of folk culture which influences the city dweller as well. Not infrequently one notices the phenomenon of peasants setting an ideal or stimulating the urbanites to follow a part of their culture. The farmer in Northern Holland, for instance, practised family planning, popularly known as "French System" (i.e. having two children only) much earlier than the city dweller in the "Ranstad", that part of the area where the Dutch industries are located. Likewise, we know that the dresses and ornaments of the tribal and rural people become the fashions of film-stars in Hollywood or Bombay. Such instances can be multiplied, which indicate the reverse process of rural areas radiating innovations to urban areas.

In several aspects of rural-urban relationship, the big city, no doubt, has a unique role. It can attract, assimilate and utilize the individuals from the village interested in the arts, science and technology. The city is also a place which affords for each type of talent and capacity a stimulating milieu in which creativity and inventiveness find both encouragement and competent criticism. So also it is in big cities that the great museums of art, the great libraries and institutions of learning are found. Dr. Anderson emphasizes the significant point that the accumulation of wealth in property, talent, and the skill in the cities, as much as in agriculture, afford national strength.

The analysis of global trends of industrial urbanism is still more interesting. Each great city depends on other cities for its livelihood because of the world-wide industrial markets where the movement of goods is now the concern of world markets and world prices. More than the world-wide economic network, the social implications of global industrial urbanism are far reaching.

In our industrial urban civilization people read the same news, hear the same radio programmes, read almost the same books translated into their languages. A new melody is universally hummed, whistled or sung. Movie heroes become popular in countries other than their own also. The global stimulus and the global response are particularly manifested in matters of hair styles, the new length of the skirt and so on which are accepted globally within a few days.

This global orientation of the industrial urban civilization also extends to the various forms of global associations of sports, industry, business, etc. The same trend is evident in the publication of social science periodicals which have assumed international character. So also is the international exchange of scholars. Considerable amount of support for this trend may have come from the growing interest of the more developed nations in the industrialization of developing nations.

Cities have always been recognized as mass societies reflecting the complexities of agglomerate living. Nevertheless, uniformity in things and uniformity in the use of things may no doubt lead to similarities in thinking and in social values. Certainly all this suggests a high degree of uniformity in the capacity to respond, and an equally high degree of similarity of interests. In spite of this kind of universal uniformity in stimulus and response, distinctions and differences are found in the cities of the world. Hence one can safely speak of the personality of a city.

Order, in a sense, there is in the city. By that one need not presume that all is smooth in the city. Life, there, is still strained and competitive. Most of the conflicting goals are rarely realized. Planners may think that in order to overcome the evils of urban life a Master Plan is an ideal. But flexibility in such a plan is essential to meet the economic, technological and cultural changes that occur in our industrial urban civilization.

Urbanization in the developing countries poses its own peculiar

problems. Dr. Anderson examines the urgent demand for industrialization and the trend toward urbanization, as also the search for foreign aid, expert guidance and skill in these developing countries. He is quite aware of the deficiencies in government administration and the prevalence of corruption, nepotism and inefficiency. Moreover, the frequent interference by military leaders and the consequent lack of political stability creates hindrance to the balanced growth of cities. In his opinion these developing countries are passing through a cultural crisis endeavouring to retain old cultural traits while adopting new ones.

To Dr. Anderson, most major social problems of our industrial urban civilization do not wait on opinion agreement for their definition. They are hardly debatable, and are known to us by objective and verifiable methods. He discusses social problems of population change and mobility, amenities and problems of structure, problems pertaining to income, spending and saving, collective security and welfare, old age and retirement, slums and the like, which are rarely discussed in other books on urban sociology.

Notes on community research are of immense use to those engaged in research. While we are studying such international processes as that of industrial urbanism it is necessary to standardize our concepts and research methods so as to obtain fruitful results in many of the cross-cultural studies. In presenting this book I feel that we are not only giving a good deal of material in a brief form, but we are also providing an analysis of the urban social phenomena, the first requisite for the intelligent study of our industrial urban civilization.

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During the last week of June 1962, on his way back from Australia to West Germany, Dr. Nels Anderson, at our request, paid a visit to the Karnatak University. Sponsored by the Department of Social Anthropology, these lectures, now being published in book form, were delivered by him at this University. We are indeed very grateful to Dr. Anderson for his kind co-operation in our endeavour for international exchange in the sphere of social sciences.

I had the privilege of participating in 1957 in an International

Conference on Family Research organised by the Unesco Institute for Social Science, Cologne, West Germany, of which Dr. Anderson was the Director of Research. Ever since, my interest in cross-cultural studies has been inspired and guided by him, I have had to wait for five years to extend an invitation to Dr. Anderson to pay a visit to our University. His visit to Dharwar added strength to our interests in urban studies to which he has devoted a great part of his life.

Apart from allowing us to edit this book, the first in a series of Essays in Social Sciences, published by the Department of Social Anthropology of Karnatak University, he has honoured me by asking me to write this Foreword. Nothing can give a young student greater pleasure than to see his name associated with that of a scholar of such international eminence as Dr. Nels Anderson. I conclude this Foreword with the hope that interests persued by him will be carried forward by the younger generation.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the generosity of our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. D. C. Pavate, M.A. (CANTAB) for this continuous help and co-operation in all our activities, including, especially, the invitation extended by him to Dr. Anderson whose visit made this publication possible.

K ISHWARAN

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12 *July,* 1963

Preface

On 22 June 1962 I arrived at Karnatak University, Dharwar, Mysore State, India, for a week of rest and visiting. Things turned out differently. The argument I heard went like this: "Now that you have come to us, a good way for the faculty and students to get acquainted with you would be to give some informal lectures. For this you won't need preparation. We have already made a list of topics of interest to us."

I thought the topics were suitable, and I did make some notes to protect myself from rambling unduly. The lecture topics are the titles of the chapters of this little book. I have added an appendix, which summarizes a discussion on social research, the subject of a seminar with which I met. Later I was asked to write down the lectures, which I have done, using the notes as my guide. I have added some detail, along with some notes and bibliography.

The three lectures had already been grouped for me under the general theme, "Our Industrial Urban Civilization", which explains the book title. I did have the feeling in the presence of an audience that I was saying something pertinent to the general theme. But one rarely has that feeling when sitting alone putting his thought through a typewriter. One must then depend, as I am doing, on the generosity of the reader.

These chapters focus on what might be called a viewpoint which assumes that industrial urbanism is an increasingly global way of life, centering in great cities and radiating its influence outward.

Moreover, it is a highly competitive way of life, but also highly rewarding for man as he increasingly industrializes his work, thereby rendering his labor more productive. In this way he is able to raise his level of living and give himself more leisure.

With this development, the fabric of the urban industrial society becomes necessarily more intricately organized, which calls for special skills for its control and a high level of education for the citizens.

While there are region to region differences between urban agglomerates, similarities tend to multiply in those aspects which

are influenced by science, technology, the mode, and rational methods of effective administration. In these matters the course of development is in the same direction.

Development means continuous social change. Although social change in some respects is an easy transition from old ways and institutions to new ones, it is too much to expect social change in other respects not to give rise to forms or resistance, if not conflict.

Industrial urbanism is basically the same, whatever the political ideology of countries. In most respects it operates in similar fashion, and the direction of its development is much the same. Whatever the reservations and ideological rivalries, industrial urbanism, East and West, is interlinked in the same global net·works.

I take this opportunity to thank Professor Ishwaran, Head of the Department of Social Anthropology at Karnatak University, and his colleagues for many courtesies during my stay with them.

NELS ANDERSON

Bonn, Germany
25 December, 1963

Contents

Characteristics of Industrial Urbanism

WHATEVER may be our views about it, industrial urbanism has arrived in most countries, and there is a straining to achieve industrial and urban status in all the rest of the world. In some countries sixty per cent or more of the inhabitants live in towns or cities. At the present rate of urbanization, within three or four decades half of the world will be urban; in fact, more than half of the world seems to have that wish at the present time.

According to common usage, urbanization means the movement of people from rural to urban places of residence; they become urban in their way of life. It also means the movement of people from agricultural to non-agricultural work, which means that they become industrial in their occupations. By industrial is meant that they perform other than agricultural work.

People may become urbanized in their thinking and behaviour although they may not move to a town or city. They may become urbanized and not change from agricultural work to industrial occupations. Or they may become part-time farmers, although behaving and thinking like city people. Thus urbanization is a way of life that spreads from the cities outward. Our task is to describe it.

WHAT URBANISM MEANS

When we speak of urbanism as a way of life, we find ourselves describing it in terms opposite to ruralism. For example, we think of it as being more sophisticated and having a faster tempo. Moreover, towns and cities are different kinds of places from villages. In normal usage a town is a community of smaller size and less complex than a city, and we speak of small, middle and large cities, but a very large city may be called a metropolis. Normally, it is number of inhabitants that determines one from another and the rule differs from country to country. It tends to be com-

mon practice for people to use "town" and "city" interchangeably. "I am going to town," may mean going to any sort of urban place. One is "going to town," if it is only a journey from the suburb to the city center.

A place is known as a city not only because more population of many kinds assemble there; it is also because more work and more kinds of work are performed in it. The more urban a place becomes the more it is depended on by people living outside of it. Population density may be a feature of urbanism, but density, like numbers, does not make a city; it must be organized into a meaningful structure. Population and population density can be measured, but some other features that give a place urban character cannot. They give the city "color" or "atmosphere." One who can "sense" these qualities can also by them recognize differences as he goes from one city to another; San Francisco to Los Angeles, London to Manchester, Cologne to Frankfurt, Madrid to Barcelona, Bombay to Calcutta. Yet all these cities may be impersonal in their associations, rapid in their tempo, and transient in their contacts. Even while recognizing the differences, the cosmopolitan person can feel at ease in any of these places.

The government of a country, for many practical reasons, mostly identify villages, towns and cities in terms that can be measured. As a city grows from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand, it moves into another class. It may receive a new charter from the state or national government. Thus it is permitted to operate under a more liberal system of financing. People generally belong to places. Places are listed in categories by size; under 500, 500 to 999, 1,000 to 2,499, and so on to cities of a million or more. Thus it may be known from decade to decade how the population is changing, where it is increasing or decreasing. Vital statistics can be kept according to the same arrangement.

Demographic statistics are used for so many practical purposes that we are likely to use them in excess when we try to understand urban places. There is a tendency for some to think that if one city has more population than another it is also higher in quality. It is on the basis of place size, for example, that rural communities are distinguished from urban ones. In some countries any community under 2,500 inhabitants is called rural. In other countries any place under 5,000 is called rural. This is

2

indeed an arbitrary method of distinguishing rural from urban, but until a better method is found to meet practical needs this will continue. We know that a gardening community with more than 5,000 inhabitants would be called a city, although being rural. By the same method a suburb of 2,000 where all workers hold city jobs would be called rural. The social scientist can use the population-size idea, but he must supplement it with other methods of distinguishing rural and urban, town and city.

Some of the essential characteristics of urbanism and ruralism are psychological. It is often true that the urban man must think faster and may speak faster while keeping his thoughts to himself. He has a quick sense of humor which ever demands new forms of expression; he does not use old jokes. The urbanity of the urbanized man is evident in his ability to enter and exit from the impersonal role, as when walking with the crowd; his ability to utilize anonymity as privacy. He is likely to be mode-conscious in matters of dress, conversation and manners. The urban way of life may also be evidenced in one's possessions; television, radio, telephone, electric devices in the home, the type of kitchen, the many articles with which the home is decorated, especially types of books and pictures. Let us now list some of the more obvious characteristics of urbanism.[1]

1. *Ways of Work*

Urban work is usually described as industrial, which does not mean work in factories only; it is also work in commerce and transportation, in communication and the many kinds of services. Some work may not be different from work in the country, but the ways of work may be different. Types of public work peculiar to towns and cities are also industrial; being also non-agricultural. Emphasis is placed on the use of machines and on refined ways of organizing the work place in order to increase the productivity of workers. More than in the rural setting, work is sold and bought by the hour or other time units, for which reason quantity and

[1] For a penetrating analysis of the industrial urban civilization and its evolution, see Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961). Mumford is long recognized as a most cosmopolitan student of cosmopolitan urbanism. See also Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

quality of output must be reckoned carefully against labor, equipment and all other production costs. Work becomes naked, concentrated, productive activity separated from all non-work activity and interests. Non-work time, time gained from work separation, is leisure, and the more efficient man becomes in his work, the more leisure he gains. This is an urban trait.[2]

2. *Mobility and Transiency*

We could hardly imagine a city without movement of people; toward the city or away from it, or from one city to another. This follows because they have ever been centers of wealth, power and creativity. Mobility is stimulated and needed. Mobility increases as cities become more industrial, and because of mobility industry often increases. As more people move into a place more work must be found, and that usually means more in quantity and variety. Mobility also means moving about in the city; changes of residence. It means moving from job to job, occupational mobility. Occupational mobility may involve moving from a lesser to a higher position, or to a lower kind of work with less pay.

It is called social or vertical mobility if one in his work life moves to a higher occupation with more income or to a lower occupation with less income. His social status is thereby changed. This may call for moving to a residence more suited to his new status. Such mobility is much more characteristic of city than country. Often it is more expected in the city. For that reason social class barriers can be crossed easier in the urban than in the rural community. Thus in the lifetime of an urban man and family a variety of mobility must be assumed; changes of residence, job changes, occupational change and social status change.

The urban way of life has never been one of fixed enduring relationships. Even the most firmly rooted social forms and structures must change, whether rapidly or gradually. The individual may be subjected to many social, economic and cultural pressures to hold him within the embrace of fixed forms and structures; occupation, family, caste or other. From the outside he is also

[2] Robert Dubin, *The World of Work* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1958). Defines industrial work, describes the industrial organization for work and explores the trends in modern industry toward automation, the idealized automatic factory.

subject to pressures which impel him to move and change, to lay aside old forms and devise new ones, or he may try to adopt new social values while still clinging to old ones, trying to adapt the old to the new.

These different types of mobility usually mean transiency of contact, and transiency is a pervasive element of urban living. Continually making new contacts, one cannot retain all the old ones. One holds fast to those contacts most needed in the competitive life, for his daily problem is not to survive alone, but also to advance himself. The ever-changing flow of life demands mobility, and transiency of contact is an unavoidable consequence in the changing scene.

3. *Impersonal Social Interaction*

It is said that the stranger makes of the city the intriguing place that it always is. Here he finds his own kind of market, or he helps to change the market for disposing of his peculiar wares and talents. The conditions he needs, or finds, or helps to create cannot be afforded by the village. The stranger feels more free than in the village, since all he meets are as strangers to one another. Being in the multitude does not permit acquaintance with everyone. Acquaintance and contact must be selective and, in general, social interactions must be impersonal as they are also passing. This means that large areas of urban life assume certain qualities of anonymity, a necessary human adaptation.

Primary group interaction; between family members, between friends, or between neighbors is not absent. "Community" as a pattern of associations is not destroyed, but certain new forms, called "networks", replace old neighborhood forms to some extent.[3] Large family networks may diminish but friendship networks remain very much alive, although they change as new friends are added and some old ones fade into the background. They enable one to adapt to the secondary urban life. Thus the

[3] Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network* (London, Tavistock Publications, 1957). This is a report of a study of a small number of selected London families, each of a different occupational group. Families were interviewed periodically over a period of time. For most families neighborhood attachments were found to be weak, but they all had their social networks.

impersonality of urban life is a necessary and convenient way of urban living.

4. *Time and Tempo Compulsions*

Mainly due to the nature of industrial work, life in the urban community becomes "clock regulated." Like other unique characteristics of urbanism, this is frequently complained about. The critics do not understand that when great urban agglomerates come into existence there must be order, else work and the millions of daily journeys would result in confusion. Order means regularity and it also means punctuality. There is order if millions can go to their work places and return and if other millions can go shopping, go to school, go to find entertainment, if in the course of the day all needs are served by the same streets and transit facilities. This could not be without clock regulation.

The farmer is not dominated by the clock, for his life is strictly controlled by the cycles of nature, but urban life is increasingly separated from the rule of nature as it becomes increasingly industrial. Machine and mechanisms become more important. We think of the water-supply system, the drainage and sewage systems, the telephone and other communication networks, the street lighting and traffic control networks as mechanisms. All of these and the machines must be regulated by a more precise timing instrument, which is the clock. It is necessary if great numbers of people begin or stop work at the same time. All forms of transport must have their exact clock-determined schedules. Without this machine for marking time the work of other machines could not be coordinated. To use the machines, to adapt to the environmental mechanisms, to meet his appointments, urban man must be continually clock conscious.

Thus the urban way of life adopts a special kind of rhythm in which the going and coming of millions must be coordinated, and must move at a definite tempo. One half of the population cannot move at one tempo and the other half at another. That would mean confusion such as exists in some cities of developing countries where urbanism is itself developing.[4]

[4] Nels Anderson, *Work and Leisure* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961). A study of the social implications of increasing leisure, the changing nature of industrial work, new meanings of time in the indus-

5. *Family Living and the Individual*

Traditionally in rural life the family has been, and in large measure remains, the unit for most production and consumption. In the most complete rural tradition the status of the individual depends on his membership in the family, and traditionally that meant a joint family. In most urban relationships it is the individual and not the family that becomes the unit in the labor market, in citizenship and other relations with the community. As communities become more urban in their markets and work places, it becomes increasingly difficult for joint families to hold together. Moreover, the family tends to lose some of its old functions, in particular economic and educational functions.

As it has always been able in its history, the family is again adapting, this time by decreasing its size, moving in the direction of the nuclear form of the married pair and their children. This emerging form, which is already the standard family in the more industrial countries, tends to hold the individual member in his family relations, while releasing him in many other respects. The trend of change may differ from region to region, and the rate of change may differ, but the direction of change appears to be about the same.[5]

6. *The Man-Made Urban Environment*

We have already described the urban environment as man-made and mechanical. To the extent that this is true, the city has been called unnatural by many of its intellectual critics (most of whom live in the city and would be miserable if forced to live in the village). Trees, grass and flowers are selected and may be found only where man wishes them to be. People are separated from contact with the earth by pavements, and if there is natural soil in the parks they are not permitted to walk on it. The streets which belong to all the people are underlaid with water supply

trial society, effects of these changes on the life cycle in individuals and families, and diverse views about these changes.

[5] W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Technology and Changing Family* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1955). Concerns mainly the changes in the structure and functions of the urban family as it is deprived of certain traditional functions because of industrial encroachments and the rise of new institutions, mainly economic.

7

lines, sewers, conduits for electric power or gas supply. Lines of transportation may be on the surface, under the surface or overhead. Transit through the streets is regulated by systems of lights. In some cities entire blocks of buildings may be heated from a single plant, the hot air being conducted by a network of pipes to each room in each structure. There are intricate and far-reaching systems for communication. Being urbanized means to be informed about all of these systems so necessary to collective living. One must not only know about them but how and when to use them.

These are some of the characteristics of industrial urban civilization. Others might be named, such as the unique system of urban supply and consumption, but these are sufficient to support our earlier observation that the urban way of life is different. It is something new in human history.[6]

WHAT INDUSTRIALISM MEANS

As urbanism is descriptive of ways of living in cities, so industrialism relates to urban ways of work. In the course of industrial development, largely because of sharp and continuous competition between industrial enterprises, the individual industrial establishment is ever under pressure to improve its ways of work. To survive and prosper it must not only increase the efficiency of its work but the quality as well. That contest for more efficiency and better quality is continuous. With rising labor costs, industries have been forced to increase the productivity of the workers employed. This has not been done by forcing workers to move faster and to toil harder, but mainly by replacing hand labor with machines and then replacing these machines with better ones. It has also been achieved by devising ingenious methods for organizing the work process. In most industries unskilled labor has been gradually eliminated.[7]

[6] Their attention mainly on Western cities, Kvin Lynch and Lloyd Rodman ("A World of Cities," *Daedalus*, Vol. 90, No. 1, Winter 1961, p. 4) observe, "Although the city itself is five thousand years old, the metropolis is a new phenomenon, dating from a mere two hundred years ago. Its scale alone differentiates it from any older type of urban settlement."

[7] Beate R. Salz, *The Human Element in Industrialization*, a case study

8

This pressure to increase production and productivity tends continually to bring about changes in industrial work. It is well known, that many traditional occupations have been rendered obsolete, but they are normally not replaced by other occupations. The old tasks are fragmented into "jobs," but one who performs any of these jobs does not have it as an occupation. The job can be learned easily by any ordinary worker, and any worker may be transferred from one job to another. Even by learning to perform all the jobs, he still has no occupation. His security lies in his ability to meet work requirements, and these requirements change with each new machine as with each new product that is made. He must adapt in the same sense that the industry must adapt. In this context, while industry has been gaining in efficiency the worker has gained in shorter hours and higher wages.

Industrial work appears to be evolving with its orientation toward urban living. Its values and goals take form within the context of urbanism. Its tempo and timing are essentially urban, although it is also true that the urban tempo pulsates outward from the work places. We may add that urban life, while it has an existence apart, appears in large measure to be an adaptation to the basic requirements of the industrial work place. It is mainly in relation to industrial time-use patterns that the urban tempo, as just mentioned, is set. Indeed, most uses of time by urban man, whether for work or leisure, appear to be adapted to the time demands of the work place.

What this means is that in our civilization urbanism and industrialism are interdependent. A great industrial plant situated in the mountains or in some desert area is only physically isolated from the city. Its products are marketed in or through the city, while the center of control is in downtown offices and much of its ownership is urban. Whether the great industries of today or the handicraft industries of earlier days, they represent a kind of work that belongs to the city and rarely to the village. Practical reasons

of the Equadorean Indians in their mountain habitat to determine their capacity for urban living and adapting to industrial work. All the main elements of industrial urbanism are examined in relation to the life of the Indians. This is a special issue of *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (Vol. 4, No. 1, Part 2, October 1955, p. 266) published at the University of Chicago.

determine where industrial plants will locate. Some may be forced to locate near the source of raw materials, but for most industries the main practical consideration is nearness of a sufficient qualified labor supply. This usually means in or near a large urban agglomerate, which usually insures access to markets.

Most cities as they increase in size tend to accumulate a growing variety of industrial enterprises. This is due mainly to a considerable interdependence between types of enterprises. Industries producing consumer goods must get their equipment from machine producing industries. The technical side of this interdependence need not detain us here, but we do need to mention that with the accumulation and variety of industries the labor force of a city or area becomes one with a great variety in skills. A highly skilled labor force is an important resource to both community and nation. A skilled labor force is also an adaptive labor force. It is in this respect that most developing countries are weak; there is abundant labor but it is not trained. A community with only ten per cent of its labor in skilled categories is poor compared with a community with ninety per cent of its labor above the unskilled level.

While there are practical reasons for the concentration of industries in great cities, this trend gives rise to economic and population imbalance in some countries. This raises questions about the civic responsibility of industry. Should industries be permitted to cluster in certain places merely because this is the most convenient and profitable thing to do? Due to such clustering, increasing numbers of workers are attracted to these urban agglomerates in search of work. At the same time industrial development lags in other areas, and because of this lag the less industrial areas are disadvantaged. Various industries could locate in such areas and could operate profitably there, but perhaps with less convenience.

A responsible national government cannot ignore the imbalances resulting from excessive concentrations of industry and population in certain areas to the disadvantage of other areas which also have industrial potential. This is not a matter for examination here, but it is pertinent to this discussion. There is a growing conviction that industry within limits of reason must expect to assume a degree of civic responsibility and that may involve the

willingness to locate in areas where industrial work can contribute to national strength, since it is upon the national strength that industrial strength depends.

INDUSTRIAL URBANISM AND HISTORY

It is frequently pointed out that the cities of today are the product of a long evolution, and this has been demonstrated in various studies. While this may be true, the cities in such countries as Australia, Canada and the United States seem largely detached from history. On the other hand, one cannot walk the streets of London, Paris, Rome, Cairo, Athens or Bombay without being aware of the weight of past centuries. One sometimes wonders if the weight of past centuries is not too much of a burden. In each of these places, however, one becomes aware of other developments that appear to have little connection with the past.[8]

Life on the streets in most world cities is quite as modern in the very old cities as in the new. The same goods are found in the shops. The automobile "culture" is much the same. While all this is modern to the extreme, something comparable to it always existed and it was always called modern because it has always been traditionless, or mostly so. Various elements in our present industrial urbanism clearly stand without precedent. The great cathedral in Milan indeed reflects centuries of learning in the construction of edifices. This cannot be said of the modern skyscrapers which overshadow the cathedral. Perhaps much from the past has descended to the present in the craft of engineers and architects, but this skyscraper created by them is "out of the future." The expert, to be sure, can point to antecedent elements in the skyscraper, but they are hidden.

The steel structure of the skyscraper, like the modern uses of concrete, owes almost nothing to history, and this can also be said of the systems in the skyscraper for lighting, heating, venti-

[8] Henri Pirenne, *Mediaeval Cities, their Origin and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1925). The evolution of cities is associated with changes in commerce and industry. See also Robert E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1947); and also Aaron Fleisher, "The Influence of Technology on Urban Forms," *Daedalus*, Vol. 90, No. 1, Winter 1961, pp. 48-60.

lation and transport. The modern factory is also something new on the earth, not merely for the machines found there, but because it is a new kind of production unit. Each unit of space within it is committed to a particular use and all the particular uses from the bottom floor to the top are coordinated into a functioning whole. There are no space gaps or unrelated functions, but a single whole in which men and machines make up a producing organization. This factory does not stand alone; it can function only as many other plants and establishments also function. This is the production and distribution system which is unique to modern urbanism alone.

There are many linkages with the past if we would look for them, but in our moving from stage to stage attention is often so focused on the present and future that the history element in this process of growth and change fades and is forgotten. It is present in one form or other although little regarded, since it has so little to contribute. What is true of structures is not true of institutions. They linger on, often after their usefulness has diminished, if not vanished. This is seen in some religious institutions, in class and caste systems, even institutions of education, not excepting the universities in some countries.[0]

One evidence of the detachment of the modern civilization from history is seen in the efforts of many countries to promote tourism. While folk dances and folk singing are quite remote from everyday life, professional groups of entertainers revive and present these old arts for the tourists. Obviously these artists have a deep interest in the old dances and songs, but these have ceased to be the common property of the people except in some isolated places. Tourism also makes business with the artifacts of the past and tourists are taken to see old castles, old churches, fortresses, arenas and the like. Even the Communist countries offer the same reminders of ancient art, architecture and culture, using the same methods of promoting this business, while the present culture is far from such things.

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[0] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City* (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1960). The preindustrial city, still evolving in some regions, is seen in relation to changes in technology and industry, under the influence of which it has been transformed.

OTHER DEPARTURES FROM THINGS THAT WERE

In many ways the industrial urban civilization has turned its back on the past. We limit ourselves to three examples that seem to illustrate this observation. All three have been taking place since about 1800.

1. *The Idea of Urban Growth*

Cities have always been recognized as mass societies. By present standards most ancient cities were small, but for necessary reasons they were compact, ever giving the impression of mass. There were never more than two or three business streets, usually narrow streets and always packed with people. The packed pushing crowd, always complained about by the few, had apparently always fascinated the many. One reason cities were compact was that burdens always had to be hand carried, an inducement not to spread out. Another reason was that important cities were usually enclosed within walls. The great cost and labor of building walls apparently resulted in an enclosed area sufficient only to serve immediate needs.

However many people there were within the walls more would try to get in, which resulted in building houses taller, packing them close together and crowding people into the dwellings. Families with employment inside the city were often forced to live outside the walls, conveniently near, so that they could hasten inside in case of military attack.

Apparently the policy of walled cities, as apparently of all early cities, was not one of encouraging growth. The moving in of more people was discomfiting and painful. People were continually being put out of the walled cities or refused entrance. For the prevailing handwork economy, the inflow of people raised problems that the static organization could not cope with.

The modern city holds for an opposite policy regarding growth, since it has an opposite kind of economy, one that looks outward for strength.

2. *Walls and Roads*

Whereas the wall is a symbol of self-isolation, the road is a sym-

bol of access and mobility. Early cities understood commerce with ships or overland caravans, but this was luxury trade with far places. Trade with the immediate hinterland hardly interested the ancient or mediaeval city. Those who came with farm produce on their backs or the backs of animals, or who brought fuel, came over trails. The city itself had no interest in building routes or vending goods in the hinterland. Whoever would sell or buy came to the market in the town.

This policy or tradition of self-containment was probably not due to the wall, although it was more pronounced in cities with walls. Cities were willing to exploit their rural hinterlands, but not in expanding outward toward the hinterland. It was not until hand industry was replaced by powered industry that cities changed from being the market to a policy of seeking markets outside. Not until then did interest in roadbuilding develop. Cities now were growing and had to find more trade to live.[10]

3. *Communication and Contact*

Between people living in different early cities communication did not exist. One knew nothing about the people in the next city, except through the word of travelers and traveling merchants. An urban person could live his life in the same street, doing the same work and having the same circle of acquaintance. Residential mobility was hardly possible and occupational mobility was hardly imagined. There was the anonymous impersonal crowd at the urban center, but most residents belonged to their sets and circles as if in a village.

Modern urban life is a reversal of that ancient static order. It brought changes in work. With it came mobility; people entering the city to find work, finding work and settling. Old kinds of work had to compete with the new. New means of transit were introduced. The need arose for new means of communication for

[10] Even after industrial civilization began some cities were opposed to receiving the factory. Different Latin American cities were long opposed to industry. See Kingsley Davis, "Colonial Expansion and Urban Diffusion in the America," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1960, pp. 43-66. He calls attention to the differences in colonialism between industry-oriented Canada and the United States and a feudal land-orientation in Latin America where urbanism was subordinated to non-industrial interests, except mining.

now anyone might wish to send a letter to someone in the next town or to visit the next town. New contacts and the widening zones of acquaintance and exchange called for more frequent communication and more rapid communication. In these and other ways the modern city has broken with the statics of the old. It had to become more mobile in work and more facile in communication.[11]

ASPECTS OF MODERN URBAN GROWTH

In line with these and other changes, all of which make the urban agglomerate a different kind of city, there has evolved a different conception about the role of the city. It was always a market, but in a limited sense compared with the present. It concentrates not only on becoming a bigger market but on building and holding markets outside. Formerly the tailor in town made garments to measure for customers who came to him. Now the clothing factory makes garments in a large number of standard sizes for imagined and widely scattered customers who have a wide choice in fabric, color and style. The distribution chain separates the maker from the customer, much as a supervisory and management chain separates the workers in the factory from the owner. In this system of secondary relationships the maker and seller do not wait for the buyer to visit the city. They take their goods to him in towns and villages.[12]

The city never was merely one market; there are special markets for each good and each service. Each market may serve

[11] Karl W. Deutsch, "On Social Communication and the Metropolis." *Daedalus,* Vol. 90, No. 1, Winter 1961, pp. 99-110. Considers the nature of contact in the city, increasing personal contact, speed and range of contact, refined use of mechanisms in contact and resulting fatigue. "Whereas villagers thirst for gossip, city dwellers with more ample choices may crave privacy." However, he also notes that persistent privacy for some urbanites may lead to loneliness.

[12] Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Tradition, Foundations of Civilization,* 2 Vols. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1941). The first volume deals with the emergence of cities as they were able to have access to the surplus production of the villages. The city developed as a market, becoming a diversity of markets as it grew. It has always attracted persons of talent and the place of possible employment for surplus rural labor as well as a seat of authority.

customers who come in person as well as customers who send in their orders. Some markets are highly specialized, such as the street of exclusive shops where the fine lady goes to buy her gowns, but not far away may be the market from which ordinary dresses are dispatched in quantity to distant places. The ordinary doctor may be located in the neighborhood or village, but the medical specialist will be in the city, located in a limited area where one finds medical specialists of other kinds. The city is a market for such special services. Most special markets tend to cluster in this way; the publishing business, for example, the entertainment business, finance and insurance, machines and tools and so on. They carry on next to one another, each seemingly detached from the rest, although in secondary terms they are all interlinked.

All these activities in the city, making and selling goods or selling services have the one basic purpose of keeping the inhabitants in the urban agglomerate occupied serving one another, each as it were "doing the laundry for the other." While the impersonal exchange system must increasingly be perfected so that more can live within it, all in the final analysis depend on the producers of food who are not there. They can get from farmers their surplus of food only as they are able to give in exchange from their labor surplus the goods and services the farmers need or will accept. In some countries this land-city ratio shows three or four workers in the city for each worker on the land, evidencing the efficiency of farm labor when conditions permit.

The experiences of the more industrial urban countries seem to support the conclusion that the city cannot grow and prosper unless the country also prospers. High production industry and low production agriculture have little in common. If the one cannot buy when the two meet, then the other cannot sell. It may have once been generally true that the city man lived by outwitting the farmer, but in the more industrial urban countries that ceases to be the case. There it is no longer true that the farmer lives on land owned by a city family to which he must pay rent and other tribute. He owns his land he has learned to utilize his acres productively. His level of education like his level of living is not less, and he is a customer on the level of the industrial worker. It is only on this plane that industrial production in the city can

meet agricultural production on the land. The relationship is one of exchange, not of one party being subordinate to and victimized by the other. It is only as the land people can enjoy the benefits of industrialism that the urban way of life can have vigor.

There is another side to this evolution of agriculture in the more industrial urban countries, and this concerns the reason for the progressiveness of agriculture. It was initially not due to inventiveness and resourcefulness on the part of farmers, but instead to continuous pressure and stimulation from urban people. It was not the farmer who invented the steel plow and later the mechanized plow. It was the city man who made the plow and then he had to coax the farmer to use it. Urbanites invented reapers, hay rakes, hay balers, potato diggers, planting machines and many others, and so emerged in cities the farm implement industry. In the frontier countries where land was plenty farmers were eager to use these machines. While willing to accept new machines, the same farmers were slow to accept scientific methods of farming brought to them from outside sources. Gradually scientific methods of farming were adopted, but other ideas were resisted.

It must be added that when industry began making artificial fertilizers, farmers were skeptical. They could understand the traditional method of manure fertilization, but the idea of dusting powder on the land seemed foolish, until convinced by continuous demonstration. Today the fertilizer industry prospers. As already noted, old-time cities did not build roads, but when modern cities began building roads rural people were not interested. The modern farmer has now also become an automobile owner and he too wants good roads.

If rural areas become too crowded, it usually follows that those without land and only their labor to sell may find it necessary to migrate. They have no choice; they must go to towns or cities, where they are equally handicapped because they do not have the skills needed for industrial work. For them the city is a labor market. However, if farming is mechanized and agriculture becomes profitable, the farmer may be able to afford higher education for his children, all of whom are not needed on the land. Some will migrate to the city, not as unskilled labor but as skilled workers or white collar workers. For them the city is another kind of labor market. Occasionally individuals from the farm or

village may be interested in the arts, in science or some technological pursuit, but there is little demand in the home area for such talents. They too may migrate to the city, which means that for such the city is another kind of labor market. For many persons of talent the city may also be a refuge, since in the small place the person of unusual talents may be regarded as somewhat deviant in his interests. Thus for the talented ones the city becomes still another type of labor market.

Also the more advanced whole population becomes in education as well as level of living, the more likely it will be that country to city migrants will include persons of diverse skills and talents, not merely the unskilled. Migration in such a situation would not be due to need alone. In such an optimum situation it becomes evident that in the rural-urban relationship the big city in several respects has a unique role. It can attract and assimilate many people of many kinds. It can utilize many types of talent and skill. It affords for each type of talent and capability a stimulating milieu in which creativity and inventiveness find both encouragement and competent criticism. Some complain that the city makes merchandise of talent, but however true that may be, and whether evil or not, out of the seeming goalless gyrations things happen which raise the level of culture.

Here is another aspect of urbanism, as cities grow they do more than merely to accumulate people; more kinds of people are accumulated. The small city attracts from limited areas, the great city from very wide areas. There is a corresponding accumulation of wealth in property and that in talent and skill which, as much as agriculture, affords national strength.[13] The accumulations which characterize great cities include much more. It is in the big cities where the great meseums of art and cultural history may be found, the great libraries and most institutions of learning. Cities must save and accumulate in order to live, but in the process they also become preoccupied with those accumulations

[13] J. Russell Andrus and Azizali F. Mohammed, *The Economy of Pakistan* (London, Oxford University Press, 1958). Documented statistical study of the essential features of Pakistan's economic history; rural and urban, calling attention to low per capita income and high rates of unemployment; notes problems of agricultural development as well as those cf industrialization and urbanization.

that make for the good life. This proclivity and this competence are not rural, but rural life is everywhere better because of it.

GLOBAL TRENDS OF INDUSTRIAL URBANISM

At one time the ideal of a great city was to be able to stand alone. A rival city anywhere near had to be destroyed or reduced to impotence. The good reason was that the rival city might one day become strong and menacing. In our time cities compete economically as do countries. But the modern city does not see its way to economic security by destroying a rival. Each great city depends on almost every other for its livelihood. This tends to be more true as industrial markets become worldwide. Commerce in luxury goods, so much a part of trade in former times, is now of minor importance compared with trade in consumer goods; foods, fibers, and an endless variety of finished goods out of factories. Or trade concerns the movement of bulk cargoes of raw materials. The movement of goods whatever their kind is a matter of world markets and world prices.[14]

As already noted, cities acquired a new character with the rise of industrialism and one aspect of this new character is their interdependence. None is able to stand alone; however they may be in competition with one another, each is a market to many others. This is clearly seen in the linkages between the great city and smaller cities within its orbit. If we follow the lines of contact and commerce we find networks that are global in their reach. This concerns, on the one side, competition to distribute goods and services. On the other side, it concerns competition to control sources of raw materials; ores, oils, cotton, etc.

The global trend of industrial urbanism is more than economic, there are social implications. As more people in all world regions read the same news stories or hear the same radio programs or get thrills out of the same events, as when a space man circles the globe. What could be more global than tens of thousands of books being translated yearly into other languages, and publishers from a hundred lands meeting yearly to display their wares? The

[14] T. R. Batten, *Problems of African Development* (London, Oxford University Press, 1960, 3rd Edition). The first chapters deal globally with the economic problems of African countries and some of the phases of world markets which affect Africa, but Africans cannot understand them.

information networks are global in the extreme. Often there is global uniformity in popular response, as when a new melody may be universally hummed, whistled or sung. Movie heroes are rarely heroes in their own country alone. Global stimulus and equally global response is particularly evident in matters of the mode. Hair styles, the new length of the skirt, the latest in hats and such "creations" as a dance step become globally adopted, sometimes within the space of days.

All this readiness of people everywhere to behave uniformly with respect to the mode, for example, suggests a high degree of uniformity in capacity to respond and an equally high similarity of interests. Some intellectuals may answer that this is to be expected since stimulus and response are at the lowest possible cultural level, but that is debatable. Actually, this uniformity of response may be found at different cultural levels: indeed, high brows, middle brows and low brows can be found among all peoples. What is more pertinent to our discussion is that the influences to which people respond globally emanate from cities, usually the great cities. The contact network by which influences are spread globally extends from one great city to another, and each great city for its region becomes the center from which these influences radiate to smaller cities and lesser places. Since the new and the novel often challenge the old and the fixed, it is understandable that traditional ways fare not so well in great cities.

This global orientation as one characteristic of the urban civilization is not limited to universality of response to fads and styles; it also extends to various forms of global association. Most forms of sport have their world organizations. Industrial and business combinations have long been worldwide, but now the trade unions are following their example. Such world organizations as UNESCO have contributed to the speed at which global associations have been taking form, particularly international scientific organizations.[15] What we are observing in this multiplication of associa-

[15] Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community*, op. cit. The general viewpoint is that urbanism is global and necessarily must be because most major industries are global in their market relationships both for raw materials and for the distribution of their products. In consequence, most major voluntary associations tend also to be global.

tion networks is another manifestation of the pervading and outreaching influence of urbanism.

This trend toward globalism (or is it globality?) is strikingly evident in the social sciences. Even a casual examination of the periodicals and book titles in sociology, political science, economics and so on shows a growing trend toward comparative research. A national scientific journal that formerly rarely contained articles from colleagues in other countries now includes a great number of articles by foreign contributors. International journals increase in number. The international exchange of professors and research fellows increases rapidly. Considerable support for this trend in social science comes from the growing interest of the more developed nations in the industrialization of developing nations.

This growing interest in promoting the welfare, in raising the level of skill and culture and in ushering the developing countries into national maturity could not have been a century ago. Today the more advanced nations can do no other. They need new markets and new natural resources as much as the less developed regions need industrialization. The efforts got forth behind a facade of generosity and good will be different groups of nations which, for the most part, is genuine, although each group of nations points warningly at the alleged sinister motives of the other. The declared and undeclared motivations of each group are quite the same and equally normal to the global connectedness in which all are involved. This competition contributes urgency to the development of all areas because areas not urbanized and not industrialized are like roadblocks in the global networks.

COMPLEXITIES OF AGGLOMERATE LIVING

We have identified the modern civilization which centers in great cities as one of secondary association. Its organization and functioning is under indirect remote controls, not face to face primary controls as in the village. The individual in attending rationally to his own affairs contributes a degree of order to the entire agglomerate, which is not, as some argue, a chaotic mass, unguided and without direction. It moves and changes, but the critic sees no goal. We must answer that no goal is needed other than order

21

within itself. Many groups and groups of interrelated interests may have their own goals, and these as they are integrated with other groups of interests contribute to the order.

Some critics complain that this secondary seemingly chaotic way of life in which they recognize no order has destroyed the old-fashioned neighborhood way of life. "Community" based on proximity of residence may be found here and there as it fortuitously may take form, although not a fixed trait of urban life. But community life goes on as other forms of "community" take shape.[16]

In those countries where the industrial urban civilization is somewhat more mature, these other forms or models of community living are evident. They are in fact relationship networks between people of like interests. Individuals with many contacts may be associated in different networks, but the individual who is not deft in making contacts, who cannot make friends or attract them can be much more lonely in the city than in the village. For those who can adapt readily, urban complexity is not baffling. They learn how to function within and to utilize the secondary instrumentalities and organizations of this secondary society.

We need to remember that the secondary character of urbanism is essential if order is to exist in the agglomerate. In the course of the day workers of every level must move quickly in this direction or that to their places of employment. Later with the same dispatch and minimum of confusion they must find their way home. Housewives must be able to circulate about on their shopping excursions and be able to arrive home at the appointed time. Children must be able to find their way to school and back, or to play areas. One evidence of order is that children rarely get lost. The urban center teems with work activity during the daylight hours. Then as if by magic it empties and fills up again with people having other interests, mainly the leisure interests of the evening.

[16] Elizabeth Bott, op. cit., sees urban life in terms of person to person contact networks. For community life in opposite terms, see Roger Le-Tourneau, "Social Change in the Muslim Cities of North Africa." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, No. 5, March 1955, pp. 527-35. Besides characterizing the Muslim cities in process of rapid change, the article describes the effects of over urbanization, the ring of makeshift shanty-towns surrounding each city. He notes the struggle of young persons to gain education and advance in their employment and the difficulties encountered because of job competition and family obligations.

It empties and fills once more, this time with those who do the cleaning and sweeping or who make deliveries so that work can begin with the morning. Without guidance from any central control, the entire city can change its face and its stance in the course of two or three hours. Clearly the secondary agglomerate is not without order.

We find the reason for this order in the interrelatedness of the many types of organizations for work, leisure and other interests. People join various formal impersonal organizations because this is a way of getting things done they cannot achieve as individuals. Each organization in its way orders and regulates some particular aspect of agglomerate work and living, at the same time adapting its interests to other organizations. In and through these the individual also learns to adapt himself to urban complexity. Naturally, not all urbanites join organizations, which does not diminish the importance of this form of association. Some workers, for example, may not know the utility of the trade union, or understand the discipline needed for effective trade unionism. Nonetheless, the trade union has a place in associated community life, and all workers benefit from it. People learn slowly how to form mass associations and how to use them, how to control them, and to accept the guidance and control which mass organization can and usually does exercise.

The modern urban agglomerate cannot function and be enjoyed as a form of community living except as it becomes a place of orderly relationships. The same is true of the village, but there the order is on a different level and makes use of other controls, which can hardly operate in the city. This does not mean that the city, with its contractual relationships and rule of law, is dominated by the rule of law alone. The fact is that government and the rule of law play only a small part in regulating the work and life of the modern agglomerate. Regulation is largely the work of the organized formal groups, plus the influence of a great variety of informal groupings.

Let us return again to the idea of neighborhood. Many welfare groups and social scientists assert that neighborhood is the natural and most desirable form of community living. Many schemes have been developed for promoting old-fashioned neighborhood life in cities. It is believed that neighborhood makes for whole-

some family living and that it exercises a moral control over the individual. The converse of this is that without the neighborhood the family is subject to easy break up and the individual is unduly exposed to disorganizing influences. To meet this challenge, social settlements and other institutions have been founded in the slums, and new housing developments have been designed to promote such neighborhood associations and informal groupings. Since such efforts have never been more than partially successful, some observers are asking if the ideal of the neighborhood can be realized in the urban community. Some ask why people living near each other need to be neighbors and was the old fashioned neighborhood as ideal as often pictured? Even in modern villages the old-fashioned neighborhood hardly exists, at least in places near the city.[17]

The less importance of neighborhood does not mean that urban life is without other types of primary groupings, or that urban man is incapable of or susceptible to various types of intimate and friendly interaction. On the contrary, urban man finds these satisfactions in types of association which are peculiar to the anonymous, impersonal and dispersed nature of the urban agglomerate. He has his network of acquaintance and friends, social contacts which may scatter through the whole city, although none of these contacts may reside in the street or quarter where he lives.

One may have a group of friends in the sphere of his work, another in the sphere of his leisure interests, and still other friends in connection with his church or club activities. All his friends may not know one another, nor is that necessary. Each figures somehow in the daily or weekly round of his life, and the different circles of acquaintance and friendship may overlap. All of these

[17] Marshall B. Clinard, "The Delhi Pilot Project in Urban Community Development," *International Review of Community Development*, No. 7, 1961, pp. 161-69 (published by International Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Rome). This is a report of an experiment in establishing neighborhood cooperation in the slums; under the direction of the Department of Urban Community Development, New Delhi. See also M. B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Population, Delhi," *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization*, Calcutta (now Delhi), Unesco Research Center, 1956, pp. 144-225. A report of villagers forced to migrate to find jobs, although finding little employment and no welcome in the cities.

may or may not be known to other members of one's family. The husband and wife may have many friends in common, but all the acquaintances of one may not be known to the other. Thus, "community" to the urban man becomes a sort of individualized identification with the wider community life.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

Cities are always being compared by various statistical methods; things compared are measured or counted. By these means comparisons can be made on the basis of population, classification of population, labor force, industrial productivity, housing, transportation and all sorts of comparative information can be obtained regarding public properties and functions. By means of many quantitative comparisons, one city is measured against another. It may be very similar in some respects or very different in others. Behind such measuring we usually find assumptions of excellence; a city is less advanced in some respects, more advanced in others, Usually what the many areas of advancement or the opposite mean is well recognized. Thus in many areas of comparison cities are rivals; for example, level of education, skills in the labor force, productivity of labor, level of health, miles of paved streets, new housing, area of play space or parks per thousand inhabitants, increase of industrial jobs compared to population increase; comparable areas are without limit.

One observation is pertinent here; in most areas where statistical comparisons are made and in which development or improvement moves in a universally accepted direction, cities tend toward similarity. A city ahead of the procession will be high in units of play or park space per thousand population, hospital beds per thousand population, level of education, percentage of homes with bathrooms, percentage of skilled workers and technicians in the labor force, level of sales in stores, value of goods and services produced and so on.

Cities may be similar in other respects, which may not be quantitatively measured. The seasoned traveller may find uniformity in hotel service, restaurant menus, the entertainment in night clubs and the goods available in the leading mid-town stores. The tempo of life and mid-town behaviour may vary little from city

to city. But the seasoned traveler is also aware of many differences.

In the course of time, with increasing exchange of "know-how" and technical information from region to region, the similarities between cities will multiply. These similarities will be greatest as regards work methods and technological devices; elevators in buildings, air-cooling mechanisms, gas and electric apparatus. Also there would be similarities in artifacts and ways of doing things for which knowledge is of scientific origin. Similarities would be expected in the popular arts and, as noted above, in the mode. Doubtless this uniformity in things calling for uniformity in the use of things, may lead to similarities in thinking and in social values.

In this uniformity-inducing spheres of technology, science and the mode there remain wide areas for region to region difference in what may be called styles of urban civilization. These differences would relate mainly to cultural life and social institutions, elements of any culture which tend to be defined and regulated by tradition.[18] Particularly where such distinctive cultural traits have received the sanction of law, they are likely to carry on. This does not mean that these traditional elements will not change gradually with continued exposure to changing conditions of work and life in the urban community. For example, in some countries certain traditional handicrafts, performed since ancient times by particular groups, will carry on in spite of sharp competition from industries producing the same goods. It would be surprising if such crafts did not lose ground, although some of them would continue as arts.

In many respects, the qualities that lend a cultural identity to a city need not lessen its effectiveness as a work place, or detract from its quality as a place to live. A city may be known for its

[18] Ephraim H. Mizruchi and Robert Perucci, "Norm Qualities and Differential Effects of Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3, June 1962, pp. 391-99. Describes the functions of norms as the institutionalized mechanisms or rules of tradition-controlled conduct. A *proscriptive* norm is one that rejects or forbids, emphasizing "thou shalt not." Goals are pointed to by negative implication. *Prescriptive* norms are more positive in that they make certain behavior forms mandatory, the ready-made prayer, for example. They prescribe what shall be said and what done, when, how and where.

unique history, for its ethnic, religious and class or caste character, as for unique types of work which it may perform; differences which make for identity. Cities in Germany, for example, are known to be orderly and clean, and their government free of corruption. The cities in Holland and the Scandinavian countries are also proudly clean, orderly and efficient. Nonetheless, there are points of proud distinction between German cities, such as Hamburg, Frankfurt and Munich. American cities are known for tempo and hurry, their impatience with things traditional, and the eagerness with which they rebuild to be more modern and more efficient. Yet they differ in many qualities of their life; Boston compared with New York, San Francisco compared with Los Angeles, or St. Louis compared with New Orleans.

Similarly, towns and cities in the Arab world have a uniqueness of their own, yet each differs from the other. The same holds for the Far East, India for example. Bombay and Calcutta are as different from each other as either is in comparison with cities of Western Europe.

While cities, in the interest of efficiency and economy, need to be similar in many respects, this need not prevent them from being different in other respects. Distinctive differences are much to be desired. On the basis of these features a city may be described as a "personality."

URBAN ADMINISTRATION AND ORDER

The urbanized man feels at ease in his mechanized environment mainly because he is in control. It is order which he has designed, and much of it can be regulated by pushing buttons, pulling switches or moving levers. If mechanisms fail he does not stand helpless; he knows how to put them again into motion. His world is not one of guess and chance, but one of order. His man-made environment can be manipulated by rational means in terms of understandable cause and effect sequences. The more urbanized man becomes in his training and outlook the less prone he is to sit and wait for things to happen, and the more disposed he is to *make* things happen. So much is this civilization the product of human creativeness and control that its inhabitants do not stand in awe before it. The man of this civilization may be interested

27

in the mysteries of the universe only to the extent of wanting to know how things operate and how they can be manipulated somehow for his advantage.[19]

In these terms the industrial urban civilization tends to be one of order and rational control. Otherwise, the urban agglomerate would behave and be both unpredictable and chaotic. One may ask how there can be order in a civilization so committed to change and redesign. The answer in part is that change and design are assumed and accepted in the moving equilibrium of life and work. The direction of change is not altered, and man himself is the principal change-inducing agent. The changes he brings about are usually made with the purpose of utilizing the existing order more to his advantage. While he may change the order somewhat, he does not lessen its effectiveness; often he aims to improve it.

Industrial work, as we have described it, is the usual work of the urban community. It is most effective when performed in organized work places, integrated with other organized work places; another aspect of urban order. Tasks become specialized and specialization leads to interdependence of activity. It is also true, as we are often reminded, that urban life individuates, in that it bestows upon the individual a status in addition to his membership in the family and other primary groups. The impersonal ways of urban work is largely responsible for this individuating process. Citizenship is not less impersonal, but through it one belongs to the agglomerate in civic terms, as he belongs economically to it in the realm of work. In work he is joined through production networks. Other workers, most of them unknown to him, depend on his work as he depends on theirs. In this very different sense from historic relationships, one belongs to the modern urban community as he participates in work and other activities. Mainly it is this participation in its many forms that makes the order of the city.

When we consider the urban center in which there is plenty to do for all who are willing and able to work, we find that the order needed for the operation of the interrelated work networks is the

[19] Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, Harcourt, Brace 1934). At many points in this volume the role of order is considered, but especially in the first chapter.

basis upon which social and political order rests. This order in political and social matters may be variously affected by changes in the sphere of work; the introduction of new machines or the making of new products, as it may be affected by changes in the labor force, such as changes in the level of skill and the measure of employment.

In places where large aggregates of people depending on industrial employment are fully employed, the organization for work tends not only to be orderly, it tends to be one of planning for industrial continuity. Such an urban agglomerate is more than likely one of integrated public administration under capable leadership. This must be added; the more advanced the urban agglomerate becomes in administration and in providing itself with work, the more it is likely that the people will be organized in various formal special-interest organizations, such for example, as trade unions, employer associations and the like. This kind of community depends on the integration of diverse interest groupings, since each in some way contributes to order and environmental control.[20]

As can be seen, in the more advanced urban agglomerates particularly, urban man is continually stimulated by his needs, and the likelihood of need, to provide himself not only with the essential substances, but with other benefits associated with urban living. The competitive nature of urban living stimulates him to be resourceful and inventive. He has succeeded only as he has been able to establish and maintain the necessary order. This has been a slow learning process, and a continuing one, because with other kinds of advancement, the order needed to control the environment must also change. The learning process is many-sided, for example, man must not only learn ever anew how to build cities, he must also keep on learning how to live to advantage in them. This learning has moved rapidly in some regions, less so in others, but the direction is about the same.

[20] L. P. Green, *Provincial Metropolis: The Future of Local Government in Southeast Lancashire* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959). This is a study of Manchester, England, and its region. It concerns the problems of a city trying to live on terms with its hinterland, socially, economically and politically and the difficulties involved.

EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Since the time before history when the first town established the first market, which was the beginning of cities, the need was there for some authority to regulate the dealings between buyers and sellers. Weights and measures had to be established, money values had to be decided, disputes had to be resolved; in fact, authority was needed even to establish such a market. This authority to keep things in balance, when organized, becomes government. Whatever it may be at times in practice, at least in theory, government exists as a service, performing work for people which they cannot perform so well as individuals or as groups. Ideally, government is an agency which belongs to all the people and which is used by them for performing diverse kinds of work.[21]

Each level of government serves in some special way, but it is local government that is expected to be the principal civil authority and public servant in the community. Although many cities in the past have been governed by tyrants, even the tyrant could not neglect certain basic public needs, such as guarding against disasters; fire, flood or an armed foe. Whether government was efficient or corrupt, it might have helped, but it could not prevent cities from becoming centers of inventiveness and enlightenment. The continuously urgent necessities of mass living compel the formation of governing authority, and the changes in urban life and work force such authority through an evolution, which has moved in the long run in the direction of greater efficiency. In general, it appears that as technology has advanced and as the efficiency of industrial administration has increased, in some comparable measure the quality of local government has improved.

The larger and more complex the urban agglomerate becomes, the more varied and numerous become the contacts of people with government. There is increasing contact with all levels of

[21] William A. Robson, Ed., *Great Cities of the World* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1954). Twenty world cities are described, mainly with respect to their political organization and the administrative capability of their respective governments. This includes public financing. At one extreme, some cities are chronically corrupt; at the other extreme, some are habitually honest. Yet each type may be badly administered for different reasons.

government, but all except a small part of this is at the local level. There is no type of work or non-work interest that is not also a concern of some bureau or department of government. The integrity of private insurance companies and banks must be checked periodically by public inspectors. Other inspectors concern themselves with sanitary conditions in food selling and food serving establishments. Work places must be guarded against hazards. Traffic must be kept under control. Facilities must be provided; a new pavement on the street through the industrial district, a swimming pool in a tenement area, there are services for health, training and education, for the care of animals and for safeguarding trees and flowers in the parks. Public authorities represent the city when distinguished visitors arrive. They lead parades and direct festivals on state holidays. This and more is public administration.

Actually, the more democratic and service-motivated government becomes, the more people in towns and cities are prone to use public departments for getting things done. This evolution is accompanied by a corresponding evolution in other areas of community life. If government developes in this, it usually means that industrial organization and management have also advanced. There is also likely to be a rise in the level of education and a rising level of skill in the labor force. The level of public administration usually reflects these other characteristics, which may be called the quality level of the community.

For any large community the core problem is one of devising effective ways of collective living, a much more involved problem today than in former times. It is more involved partly because people today have higher living standards. They need many more kinds of goods and services, drawn from diverse regions. They demand more services and comforts. Modern agglomerates are much greater in size and in geographic area; more comprehensive, complex and responsive service networks are needed, which calls for a firm coordination of public and private administration. Apparently there is little prospect of escaping the large urban type of community, city, metropolis or megalopolis, whatever we call it; this form of collective living and working has arrived in the world and man must learn to manage his affairs in it or be frustrated by it.

PLANNING THE GOOD LIFE

Utopian cities are places of order to the last detail from which the many irritations of everyday life have been excluded. Perhaps because many writers of utopias were urbanites, offended by the confusion and ugliness they knew, they created dream cities. The bleak city that inspired utopian dreams has about disappeared in most of the countries where those writers lived. In spite of their present deficiencies, the modern cities in those countries now have advantages the utopias lacked. The technical developments could not have been envisaged by the utopian writers. Whatever other faults these modern cities have, they do not have the utopian shortcoming of having reached the end of their evolution.[22]

Life in the modern city is still strained and competitive. There is order, as we have noted, but it is not a final order; rather, it tends ever to be a compromise between something worse being left behind and something not yet achieved. Modern agglomerations are vigorous, flushed with expectancy and intent, and ever striving toward a variety of conflicting goals. There is planning, but the goals are rarely realized in full, so planning starts again. This quality of being alive and expectant, if not challenged, is absent from utopia. Utopia is outside the sphere of competitive strain and goal striving and for these reasons, compared with real cities, utopia would be a dull place for most people who know the modern city and who do not feel submerged in it.

The real city is more to be desired, precisely because it is so unfinished and susceptible to being redesigned and reorganized. It is an open field for the planner, and there are many planners

[22] For one interested in the literature on utopia, see Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York, Boni and Liveright, 1922; Peter Smith reprint in 1941); David Riesman, "Some Observations on Community Plans and Utopia," *Yale Law Review,* December 1947, pp. 173-200; Raymond Ruyer, *L'Utopie et les Utopies* (Paris, Presses Universitaries de la France, 1950). Another type of criticism of the city looks backward and we are asked to return to old-fashioned neighborhood life. Some hold that the movement from city to suburbs is expressive of this view. The argument leaves many questions unanswered. For a well-put argument condemning urban life and extolling the village, see Baker Brownell, *The Human Community* (New York, Harper, 1950).

as well as plans. The master plan, to which most great cities are committed, is an ideal, a vision of what the city would like to be in two decades or three. While the ideal of the master plan may never be realized, it points to a general goal to which lesser related plans are oriented. The general goal may change in details from time to time, but the idea of a general goal is not abandoned. This commitment to flexibility is consistent with reality, since views about the good life in the urban community change with economic and technological changes, indeed with cultural changes also.

It may be said that as cities gain in planning experience they pass the point of visualizing absolute objectives, although still concerned with planning. It is perhaps also being recognized that shortsightedness may be a common fault of most plans. The planner cannot foresee the changes which may be ushered in by changing technics and the conspiracy of events. One example is the automobile. Even after it was gaining popularity in the period from 1910 to 1920 there were few who could foresee how social life and even the shape of our cities would be changed by it. Another unforeseen innovation was the use of steel in the construction of large buildings. Today it is widely recognized how the physical aspect of cities have been changed by steel. Technology will doubtless bring other changes. Changes will be seen in the family and other social grouping, changes in cultural interests and changes in ways of work. These in different ways may affect the structures and functions of urban agglomerates.

Planning, as the term is applied to the industrial urban civilization, is a multidimensional concept. To some it means the pattern of streets, parks, housing areas and so on; the distribution of space occupancies. Others may have a special interest in planning the distribution of industrial sites and related facilities. Still others are preoccupied with housing programs and the redevelopment of slum areas, arguing this is the first essential to the good life.

There is good reason to believe that towns and cities will continue to grow for some time, perhaps for another generation, since millions of people are due to leave agricultural ruralism for industrial urbanism. A decade or two decades may be needed in some countries now depressed by unemployment before industria-

33

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lization will overtake urbanization. It is to be expected that all industrial cities will experience a shortening of the week and the trend toward rising wage scales will spread to all regions resulting in higher levels of living. This will result in more leisure time for most workers, more leisure consumption and increasing demands on the leisure industries. Thus planning for the next two decades or so must visualize a population with more industrial work but also with more leisure and more money to spend. More people will own automobiles and this will complicate planning cities for the good life.[23]

There is no single idea of what the good life is, or should be. In any area it would be differently conceived by different social and economic classes, as also different notions about it would be held by the young and the old. In connection with our discussion two observations about the good life are pertinent. The first is that most efforts to envision and define the good life are found in urban situation. Rural man, although his way of living may be poor by comparison, is much less likely that urban man to feel restless about it and to dream about something better. Envisioning the good life is mainly an urban preoccupation.

Our second observation concerns the competitive nature of the various images of the good life, which is reflective of the competitive nature of urbanism. For people who live in cities, striving to live usually means striving to live better. Step by step the good life comes to be realized even while the debate goes on about what the good life is or should be. There is no single goal because of so many men of many minds, neither is there any final goal. But the competitive striving goes on, and this may be the most vital characteristic of urbanism as a way of life, one which is natural to towns and cities.

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[23] For considerable bibliography on leisure, see Nels Anderson, *Work and Leisure,* op. cit.; also Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, Editors, *Mass Leisure* (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1958). This is a book of well selected readings and bibliography.

Urbanization in Developing Countries

In our previous discussion we examined urbanism and urbaniza-
tion, and we used the term "community" without defining it. For
our purposes a refined definition of community was not needed.
We used the term in the sense of the man on the street, meaning
usually the place where one lives (village, town, city).[1] Our pre-
sent topic calls for some clarification of terms. We find there is a
tendency when speaking of urbanization in connection with de-
veloping countries, to give the term a wider meaning than the
mere moving of people from rural to urban residence and from
agricultural to non-agricultural work. In the wider sense, "urbani-
zation" tends to be associated with "development," as if urbani-
zation were or might be some sort of program. We will not use the
term in that sense.

Other clarification is needed, for example, "developing coun-
tries," a term that appears to find utility because it does not "point
the finger." This is a suitable point of beginning.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF "DEVELOPING"

When the American foreign aid program was launched following
the war, its first objective was to contribute to the economic re-
covery of countries devastated during the war. Later the idea
of aid was extended to the less advanced countries and regions.
The word "backward" was avoided because it carried a degree
of stigma, pointing the finger at "backward" areas. "Underde-

[1] Ralph L. Beals, "Urbanism, Urbanization and Acculturation," *Ameri-
can Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, No. 1, June 1951, pp. 1-10. Also Nels Ander-
son, "Urbanism and Urbanization," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.
65, No. 1, July 1959, pp. 68-73. For definitions of community and urban-
ism, see Nels Anderson, "Diverse Perspectives of Community," *International
Review of Community Development*, No. 7, 1961, pp. 15-32 (Publication
of International Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centres,
Rome).

veloped" was used instead because it had a more neutral ring, but this very soon changed, for "underdeveloped" came to be loaded with all the negative implications of the banned word "backward."

Objections some countries might have to being called underdeveloped may be seen as pardonable pride, or it might be called false pride; it is nonetheless a kind of pride that leads to international ill feeling. Significantly, it is not a kind of pride to be found only in the less advanced countries. Whatever the truth may be, this kind of pride is not concerned with facts negative to it.

Instead, the term "developing" is coming into use, and its usefulness rests largely in its ambiguity. One can very well ask what country is not developing, while tacitly recognizing that some are at the head of the procession and others back in the rear. It is not a procession that reaches a plateau and there the strain of "developing" can be eased.

For practical purposes there must be concrete comparisons, if for no other reason than to determine how much more one country stands in need of aid than another. It is then that measurement must begin: extent of industrialization with respect to population, productivity of industry, productivity of agriculture, per capita income, rate of population increase, birth and death rates, miles of road and railroad—there are many quantitative approaches. These result in the rating of countries in a series from the most advanced to the least advanced. Any country in the series could still be called developing.

This ambiguity can be avoided if we, if only for this discussion, speak of certain countries as being *more developed* and others as *less developed*. A less developed country would be one lacking most of the usual advantages which derive from the industrial urban civilization. There would be an awareness of these deficiencies and a recognized need of programs for coping with them. Apparently a country does not object to being recognized as less developed in relation to particular needs so long as it can go forward with efforts to promote one type or other of development program.[2]

[2] Bert F. Hoselitz, "Cities in Advanced and Underdeveloped Countries," *Confluence*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1955, pp. 321-34 (Part II of a special number on "The Relation of Advanced to Underdeveloped Countries"). Note that

The less developed country is also one that must have outside help. It is not enough to recognize needs and be ready to cope with them; the means are needed for putting a program into operation. Outside help may mean aid in financing a development, aid in providing machines and equipment, perhaps even hand tools, and aid of a guidance nature. It is in this area that the country gets its rating; the contributions it can make in bringing a development project to completion. Obviously, there are natural resources or the development would not be needed. The least developed country is one whose labor force is both illiterate and unskilled. It has no experience in the organization of large-scale projects and no upper level personnel competent to plan and direct a complex undertaking. Most of these developing countries at the lower end of the scale as of the present do have at this time certain resources. Some industries are operating; there is some mileage of roads and railroads, even though not in good repair; there may be limited supplies of coal and some facilities for generating electric power, although far from enough.[3]

However limited the resources at hand, even the least developed country builds its pride on its potential, what it can become, once it attains the first level of self-sufficiency, or perhaps the next level of self-sufficiency. For reaching such goals, outside help is needed.

SELECTED TYPES OF LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Many of these developing countries at the lower end of the scale were not in existence or even taking form at the close of World War II. Certain of them had not even experienced an "apprenti-

in 1955 "underdeveloped" was a quite acceptable word among scholars who then would not have used the word "backward." In this article Hoselitz observes that urban people in developing countries have less citizen consciousness and city consciousness than urbanites in advanced countries.

[3] J. Apertet, "De nouvelles sources d'energie pour les pays insuffisamment developée," *Tiers Monde,* Tome 2, no. 5, janvier-mars 1961, pp. 1-26. Note that "insufficiently developed countries" is the term used in this article written seven years after that by Hoselitz in Note 1. The following table compares certain selected countries for per capita income and per capita consumption of energy. TEC is the unit of energy; equivalent of a ton of coal consumed by the most modern methods. A ton of coal

ceship" in self-government. Some have been in existence a century or more. Some were able to organize themselves in their struggle for freedom, but are quite incapable of organizing themselves for self-government, and may be even less able to organize their economy for work. While some have some form of continuing government, they are strangers, except in terms of lip service, to democratic administration. What they all lack is sufficient industrialization to raise their level of living, but some are much more able than others, if given financial aid, to bring about such development. Some measure of industrial development is under way in each of these countries. Some would be able to go far and fast within a decade, but with others a decade is needed merely to set the stage for the industrialization needed.

Let us look at five characteristic countries, each developing at some point lower than the hypothetical average. Each is representative in various respects of others that might be grouped in the same category. Since this type of comparison must be anonymous, we may take the liberty of ranging these countries in a descending order for their existing potential.[4]

equals one TEC; a ton of petrol equals 1.3 TEC; 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas equals 1.4 TEC, and 1,000 kilowat hours of hydraulic power equals) .4 TEC.

Country	Population (millions)	Annual energy consumption in TEC per capita	1958 per capita income, value in new French francs
United States	175	7.6	10,300
Canada	17	5.2	7,250
United Kingdom	52	4.7	4,800
Belgium	9	3.8	4,400
German Federal Republic	52	3.2	3,800
France	45	2.4	4,000
Japan	92	0.9	1,250
Mexico	32	0.7	1,250
Greece	8	0.4	1,500
Brazil	63	0.3	400
India	397	0.2	300

[4] The rating of these countries from Land A to Land E is based partly on the writer's acquaintance with three of the countries and partly on various data about all five. The array from A to E is more of a common-

Land A

This country is rich in natural resources. Agriculture has a long history but needs modernization. Mining and power generation, essential to industry, are poorly developed. Traditional work methods and high unemployment in cities stand in the way of technological development. Level of skill and education can be raised to meet the demands of an efficient industrialization, but it may be difficult to induce the labor force into line with the tempo, precision, punctuality and regularity demands of industrial work. While there is congestion of population and considerable unemployment in towns and cities, perhaps 80 per cent of the population live in villages or on the land. Many of these will migrate cityward later.

The central government is responsible, liberal and informed, but without experience in managing some of the development programs being undertaken. Or if officials are competent and reliable, they lack trained personnel. Local government tends to be weak, although less exposed to corruption than to the domination of particular groups or classes. The aspect of inefficiency in government as in industry may be in large part due to the lack among functionaries of professional training and the respect for work standards which such training usually brings.

While there is a liberal public policy, in particular at the upper levels, and an official recognition of social needs, the attitudes of professional dedication are too frequently lacking; traditional conceptions of the official who enjoys status more than work are conspicuously present. On the, other hand, good public administration is hampered by poverty and unemployment. Public services are often under pressure for more service than is possible.

Most of the needs can be met in Land A as industrial employment increases, and not unlikely as unemployment diminishes the efficiency of industrial work will increase. This country needs financial aid and some guidance, but the potential for attaining a reasonable high level of administrative and management leadership is present. With further development of industry, prospects for self-financing of new industry will increase. The major diffi-

sense order, although approximately correct. A statistical comparison would hardly be necessary for the purposes of this treatise.

culty is that all problems are great and all appear to be equally urgent. No approach to any problem appears to be enough, and this applies to the most efficient efforts.

Land B

Although not richly endowed with natural resources, these are sufficient, including hydraulic power potential, for industrial development more than needed for the population of Land B. People here have lived mainly from limited agriculture and handicrafts, manufacture being more limited. For centuries this country was ruled by small principalities and kingdoms, each a feudal system without concern or capacity for economic development.

The central government is liberal, informed and responsible. National, state and local governments are remarkably corruption free. All levels of government are dedicated to economic development and social advance.

While there is crowding on the land and peasant poverty, the poverty is less deep than formerly and the crowding diminishes due to cityward migration. Modernization of agriculture moves slowly, partly because of lack of finances for development and partly because time is needed to permit more people to leave the land for industry, which in turn waits for more industrial development. A share of the villagers who might otherwise be unemployed in agriculture, continue to live in their villages, although they have full-time or part-time jobs in industry. They cannot move from the villages until houses can be erected in the town.

This is a Communist land in which all industry is public property. Each type of industry is administered by a trust or commission and, while there is a type of control in which all workers participate, administration is under management groups who operate technically much after the manner of capitalist enterprises. The basic obligations of each industry include growing bigger, achieving efficiency, providing more jobs but not at the expense of efficiency. Industry for the present is faced with the task of training workers in the industrial skills, but there is also a lack of upper level persons with technical and management training.

While there is no unemployment, a considerable part of the labor force is inefficiently employed because facilities are lacking for more effective work. Efforts are made to transfer employable

women from agriculture to industry, this necessitates establishing industries that can utilize such labor.

Land B stands in need of capital for industrial development, but capital for erecting factories is not enough. There must be good roads, an efficient railroad system is needed and electric power developments must also be constructed. Where almost no school facilities existed before, the demand is now for modern schools suitable for an industrial population. These needs, with an urgent demand for housing, all press for priority.

Land C

This is a country of aristocratic tradition, with its roots in a fabled feudalism the memories of which linger on in the ruling families. The national government, among its other faults, is highly centralized to the extent of being restrictive of both provincial and local government. Government has long been the proprietary interest of various old family groups who use the national authority to garner to themselves various forms of financial and industrial control, which holds in some respects for provincial and local government. In brief, government is systematically and fervently antidemocratic.

Natural resources conducive for industrial development are limited, but if fully utilized could relieve much of the unemployment. What has long been lacking has been the incentive and imagination to initiate developments, and there appears to be latent fear of the changes industrialism may bring. Leadership of the kind needed tends to be discouraged. While levels of living in the cities are low and employment opportunities limited, this does not discourage rural to urban migration from depressed villages. For many the idea of security is a public job but nepotism and favoritism often determine such appointments.

Although Land C has maintained its low level economy on even keel, the effort has been more in the direction of holding firm than in venturing. It has difficulty in keeping pace with developments oriented to the tempo of the industrial urban civilization. Industrialism is desired and various developments are being encouraged but not sufficient to meet needs. The lack of vigor tends not to be conducive to investments from without. There is some evidence that the desire for more industry is increasing and it

promises to force a retreat from the tenacious defence of the old order. Those in control have come to the point of seeking outside aid to promote industry which promises more work, as it also yields gain. While industrialism brings benefits, it also brings the various urges for freedom and expression. This is beginning to be evident in Land C.

Land D

This is a country of abundant natural resources in minerals and forests. It is rich in agricultural potential. There is a lack of roads and railways. The country is not overpopulated, but because of present economic disadvantages in agriculture, considerable rural labor has migrated to the cities. Industry has not developed fast enough to provide the needed jobs. Increasing industrialization waits on foreign investments. These investments wait on the building of roads and railroads and the provision of other facilities such as electric power.

The history of Land D is one of vast estates under the control of a type of feudal aristocracy opposed to the introduction of industry. Civil authority throughout has been interwoven with church authority. Although agriculture is mainly of the plantation type, here and there are farming areas. However, it has not been and is not likely to be a country with a peasantry. Since the land is not overcrowded the possibilities are favorable for modern mechanized farming. Agriculture waits for better inland transportation and marketing organization.

Not only is industry needed in the cities, it is especially needed in the smaller cities. Industrial decentralization should lessen the present excessive migration to the large cities. The principal obstacle, according to competent observers, is the lack of an industry-mindedness among the national leaders, many of whom stem from the old feudal land-owning families.

There is an equal lack among many national leaders of experience in public administration. They are likely to be more concerned with sectional rivalries for power than in the routine of substantial public service. Their thinking is closer to the values of the earlier feudal period when families contested for power. Government in the firm, informed, impersonal and professionally responsible sense has yet to be evolved. Until then industrial de-

velopment is likely to be slow and hesitant. Before industrialization can acquire strength and the essential steadiness in public administration it must acquire these qualities, which is difficult so long as government is ever on the verge of crisis and so long as public policy is unpredictable.

In its rural life, Land D retains its traditional form of organization with the church the central institution of the community. This backward-looking way of life holds to the forms and norms of the old feudal order, which tend to be resistant to the influence of the approaching industrial urban civilization. This way of life contributes little in preparing persons who will migrate to the city for adapting easily to the ways of work and living there. When they arrive in the city from the backward village they must not only be trained for industrial work, but much unlearning is needed for adaptation to urban living. Many of these migrants, returning to their villages, do live as well as in the city, as far as subsistence and shelter are concerned, but they find city life more exciting in spite of its insecurities.

Land E

Most of the disadvantages of all categories of less developed countries are found in concentrated form in Land E. It is a country of ample natural resources, but most of these can hardly be developed until roads and railroads have been constructed. Other developments must wait until electric power can be provided. Land E is rich in hydraulic electric potential. First the money must be found for erecting the power plants, which is not likely to come from private sources, and public financing in Land E is hardly possible.

The towns and small cities in Land E are poorly serviced with electric power and water supply. Most of these began as trading centers and some have become the locations for small consumer goods industries, such as processing vegetable oils. The usual institutions needed for community living, including schools, hospitals, fire protection services and services for order are poorly developed. Experience in organizing and operating such institutions and services is lacking. This had always been the responsibility of foreigners who made little or no effort to train the native leadership, nor were native leaders concerned about such things.

Most of the workers live in housing of their own improvising, located mostly at the periphery of the town or city.

To some degree outside capital has promoted plantations here and there, but small farming for producing money crops, a means of keeping more people on the land, is conspicuously neglected. Where such agriculture has been attempted the effort has been detrimental both to farm land and pasturage. If the natives do not lack the elemental knowledge of agriculture necessary to the situation, they lack the means with which to work. Frequently the employable men wander away to the towns and leave farm work to the women and old men. The hard truth is that, unless agriculture can be made to produce the foods needed, the level of living in the towns cannot rise, although food prices will.

Also, before industrialization can go forward there must be a trained labor force. There is a shortage of skilled workers and an equal shortage of workers who can read and write. During the governing period of the colonial power only casual attention was given to education. Money for education was placed at the disposal of the dominant church. The church accepted responsibility for founding elementary schools. Since the funds were limited, few schools were established, and in schools that were established priority was given to religious instruction. This means that the facilities and organization for elementary education are yet to be provided. Secondary education which is needed for training clerical workers must also be provided. Almost no steps had been taken by the colonial power to train more than a marginal number of natives for entry into the professional, specialist and management occupations. Such work belonged to outsiders.

This means that Land E formed a government before there was a trained personnel to serve as functionaries. Few of the leaders who formed the government have enough training and experience to comprehend even the most elementary tasks that government must perform. Putting a nation of people to work calls for much more organizing ability than is available at present. There are industries, but these are not able to operate at a level of efficiency sufficient to raise the depressed wage levels. Moreover, the amount of industry is less than half enough. It is, mainly, industry that can function moderately well with unskilled labor. The more elaborate industries calling for precision per-

formance cannot be established until the level of skill of the labor force is higher.

COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE TYPE CASES

Each of the countries included in the above descriptions is typical of several others that might be named. They may be seen as so many categories. Our commonsense effort to arrange them in descending rank order from Land A to Land E can only be approximately correct. The arrangement is less important than the categories are as clusters of developing countries somewhat similar in their characteristics, which means all those in a particular category face about the same problems in somewhat the same measure. Putting any two or three countries into a single category for comparison with other categories is to invite objection, since even in the presumed similarities there are contradictions.

Each of these typical cases stands in need of financial aid from the outside although they differ in the urgency of this need and in their ability to get on without it. Each of these countries looks to increasing industrialization as its most important need. Each is confronted with some type of urbanization problem, people are piling up in towns and cities, but only in Land B is this piling up under a degree of control. Finally, to name but one other similarity, the urban way of life in each of these countries is considerably less developed than it must become for convenient, orderly and otherwise satisfactory urban living.

Our task is to consider some of the problems which are common to all these type countries, and we limit ourselves to the following five:

The urgent demand for industrialization
Spontaneous trend toward urbanization
The search for investment capital and outside aid
The urgent demand for expert guidance and skill
Deficiencies in governmental skills and integrity

If we see this list as an array of needs, they would be common to all developing countries, whether at the more developed or the

less developed end of the scale. However, these needs can become so acute in some countries that geographically remote, although economically linked countries may be disturbed by them. Self-sufficiency is the goal toward which the idea, "developing," leads, but self-sufficiency involves relationships between countries.[6]

The Urgent Demand for Industrialization

Significantly, the burning determination of less developed countries to attain advancement is an ambition stimulated by contact with outsiders and by influences from elsewhere. The industrialization they hope to develop is not native to their lands. For some of these countries the idea of a money economy, necessary ever for the most elementary forms of trade, had to be acquired before the wish for industrialization could become articulate.

In some cases, the countries that began as colonies had to be schooled for nationhood, even before they began demanding it. Such preparatory steps were not taken by certain colonizing powers, and demands for nationhood began without schooling for it. Other developing countries have long experience in nationhood but they have not acquired the means or ability to industrialize. But each to some degree must become more industrial. Somehow the idea tends to be cherished that once a country industrializes itself, other problems will take care of themselves; it being little realized how problem-provoking industrialization can be.

For any country, industrialization must serve two purposes; it must provide goods and services for people within the country, and it must provide goods and services for export. Goods and services exported provide credit with which the country, can procure other kinds of goods and services from other countries. An industrially self-sufficient country can produce most types of goods and services it needs and have a surplus for export. Its labor force is competent for all types of work. It may have to import

[6] Self-sufficiency is not used here in any absolute sense. The self-sufficiency of a developing country is an approximate measure of its ability to proceed on its own capabilities and resources, with more confidence and effectiveness than previously. Before the arrival of outsiders, the developing country perhaps had a kind of self-sufficiency satisfactory for its then level of culture. It had a subsistence self-sufficient economy, which is no more and it must find a new equilibrium in world networks.

cotton and wool, but it can manufacture cloth in quantity and then manufacture the cloth into clothing, also in mass quantity. The less developed country may produce cotton or wool, but it is not able to manufacture it into cloth or clothing. It may lack the capital, the technical knowledge and the necessary skilled labor force.

Thus the less developed of the developing countries tend to attract the less complex industries at first from which much of the product is exported for further processing. In return, these countries import most types of consumer goods. This means also that the least developed countries are fortunate if within their borders there are resources in coal, minerals, oil or water power that can be developed. This type of industrial beginning can pave the way for consumer industries later, as the levels of skill and living rise

Spontaneous Trend toward Urbanization

Industrialization, moreover, always leads to some degree of urbanization, which means the movement of people from rural to urban places and away from agricultural work. Urbanization in turn creates a situation which demands an increase of industrialization. Towns grow to be cities, and small cities become large ones. That tendency is understandable, since cities offer work opportunities and economic prospects not found in rural life. Whether all who migrate to cities realize their hopes or not, the illusion carries on and cities continue to attract migrants, a distressing problem in the lesser of developing countries.

In countries where industrialism and urbanism have a continuing history of at least a century we also find cityward migration, but industrialization and urbanization (in-migration of people) tend to be in balance. The mark of the developing country is that industrialization is far outdistanced by urbanization.

Apparently urbanization has always been a worldwide phenomenon, necessary since urban populations tend not to reproduce themselves. However, since World War II, for substantial reasons well known to most of us, cityward migration has increased to the point of pain in many regions. The problem aspect of this sudden flight from the land is most acute in the developing countries, where the acuteness of the situation may not be measured by numbers alone, that is, the employment needs of a country

are not to be measured by unemployment in a city excessively burdened by in-migrants.[6]

It is doubtful that in some countries life in rural areas from which people are fleeing is more depressing in 1962 than it may have been, for example, in 1932. In 1962 the urge is stronger to get away and the possibilities to move may seem more feasible than in 1932. Once they arrive in the city and become involved in the struggle for employment, they encounter endless difficulties, but the possibility of finding employment is always present. At any rate, the struggle may be more inviting than a return to dead-end life in the village.[7]

The Search for Investment Capital and Outside Aid

As we have already noted with respect to the representative developing countries described above, large amounts of capital are needed for public works and facilities, as well as for industrialization. Often the public works are needed before industrialization can begin. Such money may come from public or private sources, either in the country or from abroad; it serves to give a solid base for the entire economy, not industry alone. The farmer also needs roads. Urban people need electric power for many uses. A water supply system and sewers may serve industry, but they serve other needs as well. Some such developments must be made specifically to get industry started. A coal field in the hills is useless unless a railroad line is extended to it. In some cases an entire region will be available for industry if an electric power project can be completed. This calls not only for capital but for ability on the part of government.[8]

[6] William R. Bascom, "Urbanism among the Yoruba," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, No. 5, March 1955, pp. 446-54. The Yoruba of West Central Africa have long had an urban civilization with handwork industries, but the impersonal way of life did not develop. It appears that the old order is being disorganized with the approach of the work ways of the new industrialism.

[7] Pandhari Nath Prabhu,, "Social Aspects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay," *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization* [Calcutta (now Delhi), Unesco Research Center, 1956], pp. 51-106. Describes the poor condition of migrants from the villages trying to settle in urban employment. Notes also among these a changing attitude toward caste barriers.

[8] Ritchie Calder, *Agony of the Congo* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1961).

Such development projects call for engineering experience, rarely found in the developing countries. Bringing large developments to a successful conclusion, a hydraulic power plant, for example, calls for management ability and for the services of specialists. Such ability may have to be brought from outside, and even some types of skilled labor may have to be obtained abroad. Usually it is the major development and the industrialization resulting from it that brings the developing country into the global markets; steel, rubber, chemical, oil, etc. Such industrialization is depended on by industry elsewhere, and by them links of interdependence develop between advanced and developing countries.

Whatever the ideological differences between capitalist and non-capitalist countries, and however each group may attack the motivations of the other, each is compelled by its own economic needs to become involved in promoting industrialization of any developing country having natural resources upon which the global industries can feed. This does not imply a lack of integrity in the moral, welfare, and ideological arguments used by either the capitalist or non-capitalist nations while endeavoring to gain access to such resources. About the same technologies and economic methods must be used, as well as the same principles of trading in values, once either group enters an industrial development. The country that extends aid expects finally to receive benefits in return, an attitude with which we can have no quarrel.

This contest for possession and advantage assumes the aspect of a three-sided exercise; a rivalry between countries willing to extend financial aid, and the developing country playing one rival against the other in order to get the best deal possible. It may be said, then, that if the developing country does possess exploitable resources, financial aid for industrial development will be forthcoming.[0]

Report on a journey through the Congo by one long acquainted with the region. It points to resources, needs and deficiencies and relates the story of the Belgian occupation and policy in the colony including failures and deficiencies. One principal fault is Belgium's failure to provide education and teach skills, especially the skills of management and administration. Almost no steps had been taken to ready the people for self-sufficiency.

[0] Bert F. Hoselitz, "The City, the Factory and Economic Growth." *American Economic Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, May 1955, pp. 166-84. Calls

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The Urgent Demand for Guidance and Skill

Of the five type cases of developing countries described above, only the first two have attained a degree of self-realization, and control over their respective development programs. Each has its regional plan for development. While each stands in need of investment capital, each is also attaining a capital-forming capacity of its own, sufficient for providing public works and services.

These two countries, however, although to a lesser extent than the other three, stand in need of personnel at the "know-what and know-how" level. They turn for guidance and instruction to the more advanced countries. If, for example, a plant for making cement is placed into operation in Land D, the firm supplying the machinery would send technicians to Land D to train the local personnel in all aspects of operation and repair. Outside administrative personnel may also be needed until Land D personnel is prepared to take over the management. The assumption in the borrowing of technicians and other "know-how" persons is that by this device the developing country will acquire some expert capacity. Such aid may be needed in a great variety of fields besides industry; agriculture, branches of public administration, education, welfare and so on. Another assumption is that the developing country will eventually educate its own experts.

The loaning of experts by the more developed countries, unlike most financial aid, is not a matter of account. They are sent at the cost of the more advanced country, although others may be in the employ of the developing country. Also at the expense of the advanced country there may be a program of exchange with another country of students, professors, specialists and others for purposes of study and experience. This service is extended also to developing countries.

Not infrequently the developing country, while clearly in need of qualified personnel in public and private work, may be unaware of the need, or unconcerned about meeting it. There may

attention to differences in the industrialism found in advanced and developing countries, and the problems that must be faced in developing countries. Notes the kind of help needed to raise the level of competence in such countries and the difficulties that must be overcome in helping the less advanced peoples to achieve industrial work and urbanism.

be hesitancy about acquiring the trained public functionary who would have a professional dedication to rational work methods; he might be a disturbing influence. An industrial plant may be operating at small gain. With efficient engineering and management, the same plant might become an economic asset. The fear of change stands in the way. Incidentally, this resistance to change in the interest of efficiency and productivity is often met with even in the advanced countries. The expert invited to do the "make-over" job, if he takes the assignment seriously, may soon find himself without support.

Before the developing country can make effective use of specialized top personnel the level of education and skill of its labor force may need to be raised. As the manager cannot be effective without a trained office staff, neither can he be effective without trained foremen and inspectors in the shop. Nor can the foreman be effective if the workers are not skilled and reliable. This holds with no less force in the public service. Often in the developing country the leaders in government, particularly elected officials, may give lip service to the idea of trained functionaries, but they weave and waver when asked to put the ideal into operation. Not infrequently the use of trained functionaries in the developing country comes on the insistence of the outside country having interests at stake calling for prompt efficient performance.

Deficiencies in Governmental Skills and Integrity

Government in any country at times may become corrupt, and any government may lapse occasionally into inefficiency. Moreover, any public official at times may become routine and stereotyped in his work. Even lesser public officials at times may assume the authoritarian manner with the public. In the more advanced countries where people may, and do, continually scrutinize and criticise the performance of governmental offices, these faults, along with such others as favoritism and nepotism, cannot remain hidden from public censure.

Most developing countries are inexperienced in the ways and work of government, while in some developing countries government has become the proprietary domain of certain privileged classes. Whether one or the other, government in a developing country may be the weak link in its development chain. Moreover,

in all but a few of these countries, there is no tradition of public scrutiny and censure, no enlightened and sensitively changing public opinion of which those in authority must be aware. Under these conditions government may carry on but it does not flourish, since government can hardly evolve on the basis of internal stimulus; it must continually be under public scrutiny and stimulus.

It is to be expected, then, that government in the developing countries would be weak and inefficient, which does not necessarily mean corrupt government. However, conduct may assume negative forms known as *misfaisance and nonfaisance,* without resort to *malfaisance.* The public official may say with pride that he never stole public money or took a bribe. Yet he may be wasting public funds through careless work, neglected work, ill-advised work or because of other inefficiencies.

Weak government may be steeped in favoritism; the elected official may name trusted friends to key positions, believing perhaps they can be relied upon, but this also serves to keep himself in power. A minister may name members of his family to public positions. This is not looked upon with disapproval in some developing countries. But this is nepotism at the expense of the public, not at the expense of the individual as in business. A partial explanation may be that in the developing country secondary government has not yet outgrown the ways of community control in the village where the management of local affairs is a continuing struggle between families and other tightly knit factions.[10] In the village things rarely get done and if they do not the consequences may not be serious. In the city things must get done and if they do not the consequences may be serious and costly.

In no country can industry function effectively if government is not equally efficient. The efficiency of one depends on that of the other, and the efficiency in one compels efficiency in the other. Up to a point industry may endeavor to control government and

[10] Oscar Lewis, "Aspects of Land Tenure and Economics in a North Indian Village," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 4, No. 3, April 1956, pp. 279-302. In addition to examination of socio-economic problems of such villages, the administrative difficulties are noted. Often the most practical and necessary task cannot be undertaken because of old animosities between groups, usually over trivial issues. Impersonal objective cooperation for getting things done is rarely found.

to subvert it. This has been done with impunity in some developing countries by certain great corporations, but subversion of this type ultimately defeats itself, especially if a diversity of competing industrial interests emerges. As this complexity of industrial interests increases, the likelihood of any one dominating government diminishes, while the demand for efficiency in government increases. This is apparently what is in process in Land D where for so long government was dominated by rural feudal families. As various industrial groups emerge changes in government may be expected.[11]

URBANISM AND STYLE OF LIFE

There is probably no developing country that is not consciously, however irratically, endeavoring to become industrialized or more industrialized. More people will move from agricultural to non-agricultural work. It also means that more people will be living in cities, adapting to urbanism as a way of life. The transition from ruralism to urbanism in most of these countries is a socially disorganizing experience. This has been the experience of the older industrial countries. Cities in developing countries today are probably not more chaotic in their life, or unsanitary in their streets or more unhealthy than some industrial cities of Europe were between 1800 and about 1830. Compared with the cities of that time, these cities now being industrialized are no lower in their standards of living or in the level of income. They are much better off because industry comes to them after two centuries of maturing experience, and they have the advantage of two centuries of experiment in urban living available for their learning.

As when the Industrial Revolution was getting under way, those who migrate from rural life and work face the need of adapting to urban life and work. For the individual who migrates and must adapt faces a personal problem; this may vary in its complexity but it has ever been present. In the developing country the move

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[11] Harold E. Davis, Ed., *Government and Politics in Latin America* (New York, Ronald Press, 1958). Emphasis is placed on the social and economic aspects of government. Numerous examples are seen of inefficient local government revealing nepotism, civic indifference and waste, and a general lack of citizenship consciousness in the population.

is to a situation of developing industrial urbanism, from a primitive type of agriculture in most cases. Perhaps the transition has much in common with moves from a backward agriculture to the crude industrial urbanism of Europe in 1800. It is far different with Europe today, because the rural life there has been so urbanized that moving to the city presents relatively minor problems. The more urban all the people of a country become in life style, the easier the transition.

In the developing country the migration of the individual is rarely a private matter. He is part of a family compact and migration does not relieve him of his obligations and loyalties. Distractions in the town may tempt him from his commitments but he does not escape the pressures of his village. Family members follow him and he meets others from the same village. In the town is a transplanted bit of the village and he is part of it. The disturbing town influences extend also to the village. The chief complains that his wives no longer obey him. While he still enjoys the perfunctory respect of his people, he complains that they no longer come to him for advice. Thus while the migrant is changing his style of life in the place of his destination, town influence is changing the style of life in the village of his origin.

Rules or norms by which persons in the lineage have status in the village may not hold in the town. At the work place the older brother may find himself in a subordinate position to a younger brother who gained more training. Thus two systems of super and subordination come into conflict. In the town women are able to earn wages and to feel sufficiently independent to leave an improvident husband. Children grow up detached from the old social controls. However underdeveloped the cities in these developing countries, they stand for a new life style and the rural rules for collective living do not apply. Until new rules are designed and accepted, life for the unadjusted may be one of confusion.

To the outsider, most towns and cities in the developing countries have a depressing effect; dusty streets, sometimes muddy; lack of sanitation and little concern about it; confusing traffic and lack of order; none of these evidences of backwardness discourages the immigrant. His standards are not the same. The variety of inducements for fun are not greater in the most sophisticated city. The cultural level may be lower, but the measure of enjoy-

ment may not be less, nor is the challenge of the lower life style less.

But these newly urbanized people, because of the very primitivity of these agglomerates, face unusual hazards in their living. Because of poverty, many of these people may be forced to subsist on the poorest foods. When they do have money they may consume certain unsuitable foods in excess, while neglecting other foods needed for a balanced diet, and which may be available at lower prices than they pay for unsuitable foods. There is none to give them dietary advice, nor is there much awareness that such advice is needed.

Fortunately, most developing countries are in the warmer regions. People do not face the seasonal problem of procuring warm clothing, providing themselves with warm bedding, or the more costly problem of space heating. The miserable housing available to workers and their families in these urban agglomerates meets the minimum requirements for convenience and shelter, although rarely meeting minimum requirements for sanitation and health security. Piped water is usually available, but sewers and drains are often lacking.

Among these developing countries is an occasional outstanding city where fine buildings, proud institutions, paved streets, bright-light areas, business blocks and the normal amenities meet the eye of the stranger. National pride and the national display of culture make their home in such places. But these are central areas, and only part of the city is on display. Behind this false front much is hidden from view. However, the central area glitter is symbolic of much that urbanism means to most people; activity, brightness and distraction. These stand in bold contrast to the dull sameness, the set ways of doing things and the fixed relationships of the tradition-oriented hinterland.[12]

12 Harold A. Gould, "Castes, Outcastes and the Sociology of Stratification," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1960, pp. 220-38. Notes that most countries with a caste history have large cities but these contain a small part of the population. Cities are only now being industrialized and only now is the industrial urban way of life taking form. Old ways of work and life still continue strong. The domination of old top families is still strong in trade, land ownership and official positions, all of which assumes a stratified society which tends to retard social and economic change.

THE IMPORTATION OF "KNOW-HOW"

As the advanced countries continue learning from one another, so it is to be expected that the developing countries can learn from them. What can be learned, how much can be learned and how the learning should be brought about, are questions to which many answers, often conflicting, are given. The answers would depend on which developing country may be the learner and which country the teacher. We discover that it is seldom a simple matter of teaching and learning; politics may enter the relationship, and mixed motivations may also be involved, either on the part of the teacher or the learner. The entanglements aside, the idea of importing knowledge and skill, "know-how", concerns technical guidance, management skills, techniques in research and planning, as well as many particular types of conveyable knowledge and experience.

Conveying know-how involves more than is generally realized by some who go to developing countries in some expert capacity. Not all who know, can teach, and not all who teach well among their own people can do the same among a less advanced people, where the relationship is often delicate. When teacher and learner are at widely separated cultural levels, the learner may be unduly sensitive and at times distrustful. Moreover, the teacher may not recognize that much that he is giving does not fit the situation, or it might fit if another approach is used. He may be unable to make another approach, or unable to.

Most of this teaching and learning is not of the classroom type. It goes on in connection with work projects, with research and planning, with industrial management or public administration. It frequently amounts to a meeting of two ways of work and two attitudes toward work; teacher on one side and learner on the other. If the way of the teacher prevails, the learner must retreat on some point. The teacher, who may be an engineer on a hydraulic power construction, can operate effectively only as he gets cooperation from native enterprises and public officials. He encounters tardiness in keeping appointments, failures in making deliveries, or failure to perform tasks agreed upon. What the teacher brings and offers is something the developing country·

needs and must have to attain proclaimed goals. The minister may proclaim the goal in all eloquence at a public ceremony, but he is hard to find when the mundane details of reaching the goal must be attended to.

Two ways of work, differences in tempo, opposite attitudes on matters of regularity and promptness, place learning country and teaching country in contrary positions in any effort to get something done. These differences are deep-rooted and are not removed by declaration of purpose, or efforts to convey and receive know-how. Work in the know-how country is usually an eager pursuit, impersonal and competitive. The values are expressed in production statistics, unit costs, and rising curves. The developing country may admire this type of industrial urban culture, but it remains to be seen if it can accept the discipline needed to attain and hold such an industrial urbanism with its rational ways of thinking and work. It means setting aside familial-centered ways of work and casual approaches in terms of "good enough if just enough."[13]

The industrial urban civilization cannot function casually; the mechanical linkages between its diverse activities call for precision and dependability. Interdependence characterizes all parts of its structure, although the parts may be widely dispersed. Developing countries, eager for industrialization, have little choice but to accept the unrelenting demands such a course of development will impose upon them. It would be a mistake to assume that this adaptation cannot be made, but it would be a hazard to guess how much time will be needed.

LEVELS OF SKILL AND EDUCATION

The education race now on between capitalist and non-capitalist

[13] Ernest Beaglehole, *Social Change in the South Pacific* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1957). Contains numerous observations of work ways and capabilities of these island people. Also see Ralph Linton, "Cultural and Personal Factors Affecting Economic Growth," See Bert F. Hoselitz, Ed., *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 78, "I would back certain Polynesian and Swahili mechanics of my experience against nine-tenths of American garagemen for integrity and mechanical know-how." The thesis is that most people can gain technical know-how if given the training.

countries, with its unthinking neglect of the social sciences, may result in world benefits not intended or anticipated. In the advanced countries where the level of education is rising, with increasing pressure on the universities; the cost of providing facilities and professors has become a considerable burden. This growing eagerness for higher learning now spreads, as like a fad, to the developing countries, encouraged also by scholarship awards from the more advanced countries.

One substantial reason for this trend is the growing demand of industry and government for specialists and other university trained personnel. There is also the growing determination of young people, in developing countries also, to prepare themselves for upper level careers. Perhaps the most important reason for this surge of interest in higher learning is social. The urban life style makes its own demands on education. The illiterate person may get on well in the village, but in the urban community he finds the going not so easy. For full participation, one must be able to read the newspapers. Radio programs, in the main assume a somewhat educated audience, an audience with at least an elementary education. But a fuller understanding of the newspaper calls for even more education. In other respects, the ways of urbanism tend toward sophistication, and this tendency increases. Cities may vary in sophistication from region to region, but even in the developing countries urban life calls for learning. Moreover, the very increase of education among certain classes tends, in the competitive urban situation to stimulate a wider determination to obtain it.

Urban living also calls for skill; one must understand the man-made environment and how to operate within it. This means more than the skills needed for one's work, skills which all must have to live safely and conveniently in the modern urban house. However, the essential skills are those one needs to earn his living, in the learning of which he has invested time and money, whether the learning was done in school or through an apprenticeship. For certain artisan crafts much of the learning is done under an apprenticeship. With increasing industrialization the traditional idea of apprenticeship declines as one after another the old artisan occupations become outmoded.

The nature and changes in most forms of industrial work at the

handwork and clerical levels have become so unpredictable that apprenticeship becomes impractical, and greater dependence is placed on schooling. While the initial purpose of universal elementary education was life and citizenship orientation, it is now deemed to be equally necessary for work orientation. It is basic for much of the learning one must acquire at the work place. This need is being recognized in the developing countries, even where tardiness marks the school program.

Developing countries generally recognize that before industrialization can proceed to a firm grounding there must be a high level of skill in the labor force. Skills can be taught to illiterate people; this is well-known, and it is equally well-known that skills can be taught easier if workers have at least an elementary education. It is also recognized that industrialization in all its forms, including all forms of urban work, calls for increasing numbers of clerical workers. These white-collar workers must have education beyond the level of the elementary school, another practical reason for elementary education.

It is also being recognized in developing countries that the emerging non-traditional systems must build up their own corps of specialists in the independent professions, in laboratories, in front offices and in the public departments. For producing such the universities are needed.

Naturally in the long run these promotion efforts in the interest of higher education in the developing countries will bear fruit. We hear complaints from some of these countries that too many of the higher educated young persons enter the labor market with less interest in performing service than in self promotion. They want positions only in the chief city, not in small places where they are badly needed. They tend to assume attitudes not unlike those of certain politicians who are striving for status and influence. What is lacking, apparently, on the part of many college graduates in these countries are attitudes of dedication. This complaint may be exaggerated; especially since it is aimed mainly at young persons who have earned their degrees in Western universities.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF PROFESSIONALISM

We use the term "professionalism" in the best sense, meaning an attitude of dedication to the quality of the work encompassed by one's occupation. The lack of it is one of the deficiencies as we noted in the public services of certain developing countries. The lack of it is evident also in casual attitudes toward one's work, although not necessarily a lack of integrity, rather a lack of concern about integrity. It is characteristic of most professions for one to have his norms for work quality and behavior. It is the traditional attitude and pride of the preindustrial artisan in his craft, except that our attention turns to a wide range of higher level "craftsmen", sometimes called the intellectual and professional elites of our civilization.[14]

The lawyer has a professional code to which he must adhere at the risk of losing the good will and fellowship of his colleagues. The code of the medical man is no less strict. The certified accountant also has his professional code, and the same holds for a variety of other specialities, social work, for example. A professional code extends beyond the mere matter of the improper use of one's special training, it concerns also the work itself and one's attitude toward his work. For a professional person the work is the master.

Our industrial urban civilization has given rise to a diversity of new occupations which tend to acquire a professional character. The personnel officer in a corporation is no less a professional than the engineer of the firm. Police and other law enforcement officers are no less professional than the school teacher. Each of these and others as well have their standards for good work. They have their professional associations and their occupational journals.

Pride of profession may relate in part to the fact that the specia-

[14] Edward Shils, "The Traditions of Intellectual Life; their Conditions of existence and Growth in Contemporary Societies," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1960, pp. 177-94. p. 186, "The modern elites of the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa have come to the aspiration of modernity in a situation in which their own countries were largely devoid of any institutional framework for the conduct of a modern intellectual life."

list has acquired a body of knowledge unlike that of another special occupation, one of different reasons for status. It may relate even more to the work and the proper ways of performing it. Such work is usually made a matter of record. One writes down what was done, when it was done, why, how and by whom. It is not haphazard performance, but work that can be traced and verified. These are professional standards, but they are also the standards of many other kinds of modern work.

Without such standards industry and business in our civilization could scarcely function. Each transaction involves obligations and assumptions of reliability, and here we are confronted with another aspect of professionalism; it can inhere in a position as well as in a profession. The functionary in an enterprise, trained in business administration, is also a person with a code which commits him to the efficient performance of seemingly routine tasks, but it is this performance that makes up the system and order of modern enterprise. One may be able to play tricks with the position and the records, but not for long; the system finally brings irregularities to light.

What we are saying is that industry and business in their advanced stage constitute a form of disciplined work which is professional in its essence. The public services are related to all work in the private realm, and they too must be professional to a corresponding degree, else industry and business may be hindered rather than helped in their operations. All work in the industrial order, whether public or private, is interdependent. As can be seen in any world city, all work moves with the same tempo; public work cannot have one tempo and private work another.

These observations about professionalism apply no less to the developing countries. If, as many reports indicate, they do not, that does not mean a permanent difficulty. If industrialism takes root and flourishes in these developing countries, the professional standards of work so essential elsewhere, or equally effective ones will be necessary. Similar demands for professional training will be made and similar attitudes of professional pride will evolve. There as in the more advanced countries, the disciplines evolving in private work will be demanded of public work. This is imperative if business and industry in the developing countries hold the line with their competitors elsewhere.

CULTURAL AND CAPABILITY POTENTIAL

Quite naturally, many questions are being asked in all regions about the future of developing countries. These questions in some cases may be motivated by one type of bias or other, racial bias in some cases, or they may be motivated by unrealistic sentimentalism. Other questions are asked by those having no time for bias or patience with it, persons who see real problems ahead. The most we can do in concluding is to mention some of these questions. We do not have the answers, in fact answers are not yet in sight; only time can tell.

But time is not telling, and we can only guess how much time is needed for one development or another to unfold. Although we live in a world of fast-moving events, some developments move so slowly and in such irregular manner that trends can hardly be detected, or if trends are evident their meaning is not clear.

The emphasis we have placed on industrialization is not inconsistent with present thinking. In terms of social dimensions, industrialization is the least challenging perspective, when viewing the needs of developing countries. It concerns concrete and practical matters that are least debatable. Clearly, industrialization must be given highest priority. Some overpractical people see, or will see, no problem beyond industrialization, as if once work is provided all other problems will take care of themselves. First must come industry, the means to work. There must be factories, roads, power plants, houses; and agriculture must be made more productive, then people can have food in greater abundance. Granted that all this can be done, what then?

This practical approach wrestles with questions about financial aid, getting factories into operation, teaching industrial skills, and finding foreign markets for the industrial and agricultural products of the developling country. This basically economic approach is understandable to most people, it is of the essence of our modern civilization. Its importance is so great and so immediate that most other questions about these "becoming" countries, the follow-up questions are pushed into the background. We can be sure that industrialization will be realized, and so the agricultural development because this is needed by the rest of the world as

much as by the developing countries.

There are questions about the ability of the developing countries to acquire the necessary management skills, and to acquire also the skills necessary for effective public administration. In these areas there is skepticism. Many believe that the peoples in these countries do not have the capacities either for the management of enterprises or the administration of public services. Those who hold this view can point to many examples supporting their argument. The answer must be indirect. We need to ask ourselves how much time was needed for gaining the knowledge and the arts of industrial management and public administration in the countries now recognized as being the most advanced. Professionalism in both of these functional areas was a full century in reaching present maturity. Some of the developing countries are still passing through their first decade of their trial-and-error learning. Admittedly, this is a wait-and-see answer to a very pertinent question, but no better answer is available as yet.

It is well known, as already noted, that none of the developing countries has a skilled labor force. This can also be said of some countries said to be advanced. A skilled industrial labor force is one with a great capacity for adapting to the many kinds of work changes taking place in the industrial process. It does not mean a labor force merely with a high proportion of handwork skills, although that may be an asset. Industrial skills are of a general type in particular areas of production; metal products, electric fixtures, clothing, autos, rubber products, toys, shoes, plastics, chemicals and so on. There is plenty of evidence that these skills can be readily acquired by any people, more easily acquired if the skill training is preceded by at least an elementary education.[15]

[15] During World War II this writer observed the training of large numbers of Iranians for mechanical work by the American forces, including auto driving and repair. Also two assembly plants were established for trucks (lorries) shipped in crates from the United States. By a gradual method, these plants, first completely manned by American soldiers, were being operated efficiently with Iranians on the assembly line, with Americans only in supervisory positions. Some Iranians were elevated to minor supervisory positions. Considerable additional training and education would have been needed before Iranians would have been prepared for top supervision.

Questions are also asked about the likelihood that the developing countries will be able to achieve a high level of urbanism. Many of the cities in these countries are distressingly chaotic. Amenities are lacking or in poor repair; control of structures and facilities is scarcely evident; and equally absent is the type of order needed for agglomerate living. There is plenty of evidence to support the critic who doubts that the needed capabilities can be developed. Urban living is itself a kind of education involving the entire agglomerate. As seen in the most advanced cities, urban living is also a form of mass discipline. Can these qualities and abilities be acquired, can the facilities be provided and the order achieved? Again, there are only the wait-and-see answers. It is not possible to foresee what will be accomplished in the course of a decade, or two decades.

In this area of query, however, prospects seem favorable. If voluntary associations, business groups and others can take form in developing countries, they will appear in the cities. Here too the elites are concentrated. It would be surprising if pressures for development and improvement did not appear. Cities with these assets are not likely to be content with backwardness.

As far as internal politics are concerned, there is an evident lack of maturity in most developing countries. We find varieties of curious political structure and behaviour. The course of political life is unpredictable and often on the verge of crisis, with frequent interference by the military. This lack of political stability is one of the principal barriers to industrialization. The chief prospect for improvement is the evolution of a strong industrial and business economy, and that means also a productive agriculture. Political maturity must come, but when and how are open questions.

Political influences from the outside may, on the one hand, be an aid to internal political maturing. On the other hand, outside politics, because of rivalry between the dominant powers, may be detrimental to this internal maturing. From year to year, even from month to month, a developing country may change its position, leaning toward the West today and toward the East tomorrow. The prospect seems ever present that some developing country will become a dictatorship and there are some who believe that this is the only alternative to the instability of govern-

ment in some of these countries. On the other side, there is the possibility that East-West contest will move out of the "Cold War" stage to become a relationship more of economic than political rivalry.[16]

Among the delicate questions are those that involve race relations, and almost every developing country presents its own unique type of racial problem. Questions in this area are delicate, and are often avoided by those who speak frankly and ably on economic matters. Heretofore racial equality was not a characteristic of the less developed regions. Rather, there existed a type of uneasy racial equilibrium with a dominant (usually minority) race in the ascendancy and the other subordinate to it. Advantages in terms of power and wealth were with the dominant racial group. The relationship was sustained by strongly fixed attitudes on the part of those in power. The arrival of constitutional equality eliminated this power, but it would be unrealistic to expect the attitudes to change easily. There was the prospect that the subordinate group, on gaining equality, might develop its own prejudical attitudes against the previously dominant group. This, fortunately, has been the case only in isolated instances.

Nonetheless, racial problems do exist in different forms in different regions. It would be much too much to expect any rapid disappearance of racial prejudice or, for that matter, of religious prejudice, which is frequently very strong among peoples who have felt most the weight of racial prejudice. What is heartening is that public opinion against racial prejudice grows stronger and the developing countries have had a considerable part in promoting this change.

Finally, there are the questions about the cultural potential of the developing countries. We must consider as culture all the characteristics of a people; their work ways, their institutions, their aspirations, their social and religious values and so on. These we

[16] Pitirim A. Sorokin, "Mutual Convergence of the United States and the USSR to the Mixed Sociocultural Type," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1960, pp. 143-76. The thesis is offered that countries after revolution tend to be governed by rigid ruthless methods and often with attitudes arrogance toward certain other countries. Then follows a trend toward relaxation on internal rule with more conciliatory attitudes towards the outside. In such terms, it is predicted that such a trend seems apparent in East-West relationships.

5

have been considering in this concluding section. Each developing country is passing through a cultural crisis, endeavoring to retain old cultural traits while adopting new ones. Most of the difficulties of adoption which have been enumerated involve some type of contest between an old culture refusing to yield and a new one trying to emerge. This contest, as in the advanced regions, is not one that may some day reach a final resolution; it will continue so long as social change continues.

Social Problems of Industrial Urbanism

WE turn our attention now to social problems, which are problems concerning people in their relations with other people. Or they may concern these relations as affected by situations. Any situation which concerns people in their everyday affairs may give rise to social problems, which means that social problems tend to be an expected aspect of living. However, we are to consider such problems as they relate to our industrial urban situation. We recognize, of course, that not all problems which seem to be either urban or industrial are entirely urban or entirely industrial. Obviously in our civilization, to be sufficiently concerned about a social problem to locate it and define it, is usually prefatory to doing something about it. This is the point at which complexity begins; what should be done, if anything? How should it be done? By whom or by what agency should it be done? Thus a social problem may have many dimensions, and to examine some of these is pertinent to our topic.

DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Any condition recognized as disturbing by a considerable number of people may become a social problem. The determination is made by most people in a particular area of association; neighborhood, village, town or city, and it is not necessary that all persons in such an area are in agreement; often they are not. Playing football in a village on Sunday or other religious holiday might be considered immoral by most people in the locality. In the city some people, but not the majority would be offended by such behavior. The definition, then tends to be a matter of majority opinion in the locality.[1]

In some countries public opinion may be opposed to gambling;

[1] Insofar as a social problem concerns human conduct and relations it is called deviant behavior. We quote from George A. Lundberg, Clarence C. Schrag and Otto N. Larson (*Sociology*, New York, Harper, 1954, p.

it being held that gambling is an exploitive business designed to victimize the customer; that chronic gamblers often fail to support their families, but the most telling argument is that gambling tends to accumulate in the town a class of undesirable persons who may also be involved in crime and vice. But in some countries gambling under state regulation is permitted, and a tax is usually imposed, which means that the state shares in the gains. The "evil" is permitted under the assumption that it is less an evil if regulated.

Another consideration in any definition of a social problem is the time element. Boxing, the so-called "manly art of self-defence," was once regarded a brutal pastime and was banned in some countries, so was cock fighting. While cock fighting is still banned in these countries, boxing has come to be considered a very proper sport, although commissions have been established for regulating it. At the present time there are movements trying again to ban boxing; first, as a brutal form of entertainment, and second, because boxing has become a business often under control of criminal elements.

A common feature of social problems is that they may exist for a long time before being recognized. During the early decades of the Industrial Revolution infant mortality in most cities was high, as it is today in some developing countries. It was regarded as a natural phenomenon, something that people had to accept, especially poor people. As medical knowledge advanced, it was recognized that most infant deaths could be prevented. Then it was that a high infant death rate was called a social problem. What had previously been assumed to be the will of God now became a social problem, mainly because man had found a way to do something about it. Now we are being reminded that lowering the infant death rate may aggravate another kind of problem, especially in overpopulated countries of low living standards and high birth rates.

323) "A social problem is any deviant behavior in a disapproved direction of such a degree that it exceeds the tolerance limit of the community. Deviant behavior that exceeds the tolerance limit of the community usually results in public action designed (a) to protect society, (b) to reform the offender, and (c) to warn everyone that deviations beyond a certain point will not be tolerated."

In many cities around the world people have lived for centuries in dwellings of low standard; cramped for space, ill-ventilated, unsanitary, poorly lighted and lacking in all amenities now regarded necessary. In the literature of preindustrial cities we find almost no mention of the quality of housing, although much about the grandeur of palaces. Houses often lacked windows and facilities for indoor cooking, but people living under such conditions were usually the least offended by them. Housing reform campaigns had their beginning about a century ago, but the point of interest is that these were not initiated by people living in slums; indeed, people most affected had little concern about such reform. That lesson had to be gradually absorbed through a variety of learning channels until today in the more advanced cities even the very poor recognize the slum as a social problem. Their usual reaction is to utilize any means to move away from it. Slums tend to be abandoned as people enter higher levels of living.

Still another perspective concerns diversity of opinion about social problems in the complex community, different segments of the population holding to different views. Should we ask a wide sample of people how leisure time should be used, we would receive a variety of answers, some of them contradictory. Answers would vary as between age groups; teenagers, unmarried adults, parents rearing children, and old people. Again, the answers would differ as between persons of limited means and those with more money. And there would also be different answers from those of low, middle or higher education. People may be classed intellectually as low brows, middle brows and high brows, and in terms of these levels they would differ about the right way to use leisure. In the urban community opinions about the use of leisure might differ with nationality groups, racial groups or religious groups. All might agree that increasing amounts of leisure is a social problem, but there would be little agreement about the sort of social problem it is. Under such a condition of diversity, programs for leisure would be hard to achieve.[2]

[2] Nels Anderson, *Work and Leisure* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), Chap. 4, "The Provoking Gift of Leisure." Also see Edward Gross, "A Functional Approach to Leisure Analysis." *Social Problems.* Vol. 9, No. 1, Summer 1961, pp. 1-8, and Nelson N. Foote, "Sex as Play." *Social Problems.* Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1954, pp. 159-63.

Some might argue that such diversity of opinion is itself a social problem, since it leaves the urban agglomerate without unanymity of purpose and without a comprehensive control. If that is a social problem, it is not one about which we can hope to do very much. It is this very diversity that gives the urban way of life its vitality and creativity. We do better to turn our attention to problems about which something can be done, problems that can be worked at.

PROBLEMS SEEN IN GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

Most major social problems of our industrial urban civilization do not wait on opinion agreement for their definition. They are hardly debatable, and are known to us by objective and verifiable methods. Of many that might be named, we limit ourselves to ones with which most of us are familiar, and concerning which most of us know something out of our experience or our study; for example:

Problems of population change and balance
Problems of mobility and migration
Amenities and problems of structure
Income, spending and saving
Collective security and welfare
Old age and retirement

We would agree if someone asked if politics is not also a social problem. Again we would agree if someone reminded us that health and sanitation are basic social problems. Also we agree that no problem is more social than crime and delinquency. But our space is limited, and this list serves our purpose. Most social problems not named overlap these in our list, much as these overlap one another. Moreover, we need to keep in mind that some of these phenomena we are about to examine may be urban on one side and rural on the other. Rural and urban fade into each other. The urban agglomerate is not self-contained; it is a wide distribution of people working and living in relation to a common center. The problems are the incongruities which appear in the course of working and living in this habitat.

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION CHANGE AND BALANCE

Concerning the composition of its population, the urban community is never static. The agglomerate may grow or decline, but it rarely stands still. Although the number of inhabitants may not change greatly for decades, the composition may change. The median age of the population may rise, having a higher proportion of old people, and more people living longer. Or the age level may lower, perhaps because of a rising birth rate, while the inmigrants may include a preponderance of younger persons. Either direction of change brings its own type of problems. Again, the urban population may be heavily weighted with persons in their middle years, many of them being migrants to the urban labor market. The labor market in one city may attract a large number of women workers, while that of another city may be more favorable to male in-migrants. In one case the urban population would include more women than men, while in the other case men may outnumber women. Each type of imbalance may present a different type of social problem, while the severity of this problem would vary from year to year.[3]

Young cities in the developing countries tend to attract large numbers of employable younger persons and most of these will be men, particularly if there is considerable unemployment in the city of destination. This may mean they may be shelterless for periods until jobs can be found. Most jobs available are likely to yield a low wage, which means that married migrants from villages are not able to bring their families. The surplus of able-bodied unattached men may result in various types of vice and delinquency, either because of their poverty or their loneliness.[4]

[3] Louis Dublin and A. J. Lotka, *Length of Life* (New York, Ronald Press 1948). A comprehensive recognized work on the techniques used in analysis of population trends and characteristics.

[4] Guy Spitaels, "Consideration sur le Chomage, Leopoldville," *Revue de l' Institute de Sociologie* (Bruxelles), 1960-1961, pp. 55-72. Study in 1959 of 23,157 jobless men among the 80,832 men in the labor force of Leopoldville, Congo. Of the total number 30,717 were single. Of the 80,832 all but 8,168 came from places outside Leopoldville. Of the 23,157 unemployed men 23.6 per cent were under 25 years of age, 50.1 per cent were under 30 years, 68.9 per cent were under 35 years and 81.7 per cent under 40 years of age.

71

In advanced countries the urban labor market, because of employment diversity, is better able to provide work for women, notably in the clerical occupations. Since in the rural areas in such countries work opportunities are more favorable for men, there is a tendency for employable women to migrate cityward. This tends to increase the proportion of marriageable women in these cities, perhaps more women will be present than the marriage market can absorb, making an opposite type of social problem from that in developing cities.

A balanced population is one able to maintain its size, and is also balanced in composition; deaths do not exceed births, and one sex does not greatly outnumber the other. Balance also means that the young normally marry when they reach the age of marriage for their society. It is not balanced if for economic or work reasons and excessive proportion of young men or of young women postpone marriage for as much as five or ten years beyond the usually expected age. Nor is a population in balance if certain social classes in the urban agglomerate have unduly low birth rates, while other social classes have high birth rates. Such an urban population may be considered to be out of balance if the number of persons over sixty years of age exceeds the number of children under fifteen. Whatever may be regarded as balance or imbalance would tend to change from year to year with changing rates of births, deaths, marriages and migrations.

PROBLEMS OF MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

Social problems may result if the moving about of people or of sections of the population disturb social relationships at a rate faster than adjustment takes place. The nature of the problem depends on how much moving about is done and by which sections of the population. Any moving about may be identified as mobility, such as movement from village to city or city to city, involving change of residence and change of place of work. It is migration to move from one country to another, especially if resulting in change of citizenship. It would be mobility if families change residence from one part of the city to another, but it would not be migration, and it is not usually regarded as migration if moves are from one part of a metropolitan area to another, as

from city to suburb. The two terms, mobility and migration, in some applications are sometimes used interchangeably, which is not a fault if the meanings are made clear.[5]

Varieties of movement identified as mobility would include: (1) one may change his place of residence but retain his place of work; (2) he may change his place of work but retain his place of residence; (3) he may change from one kind of work to another kind, calling for different skills and capabilities and yielding a different rate of pay, which is occupational mobility; (4) one may change from one social class to another as his incomes rises or falls, which is social mobility, often called vertical mobility. Occupational mobility, residential mobility and social mobility, being related in some cases, may take place about the same time.

Moving about of any kind, whether it involves entry into a new residence, a new area of residence, a new work place or a new occupation, calls for some degrees of adaptation on the part of the person moving. Others must adapt to him. If the one moving is not welcome, inequalities may be imposed upon him. With respect to work, he may get the least desirable assignments and the lowest pay. He may encounter difficulties in finding a place to reside and thus be forced to travel far to his place of work. He and his family may be forced to adopt unaccustomed ways of living. If his move was a migration, it may help him psychologically if he can find others with origins similar to his own, and of similar social and economic status. This helps to explain why in any large city people are found to be clustered. Others may gather among their own kind for other reasons; being perhaps advantaged people who come together to mutually enjoy or to protect their advantages. Either type of clustering may give rise to social problems; the exclusive "Gold Coast" or "Snob Hill" at one extreme and the immigrant slum, Negro quarter, or other at the opposite extreme.[6]

[5] Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948). A study of voluntary and forced (mainly war-connected) migrations in Europe during recent decades.

[6] Everett K. Wilson, "Some Notes on the Pains and Prospects of American Cities," *Confluence*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 1958, pp. 1-15. In his concluding paragraphs Wilson makes this observation about the unsettled

When any type of mobility in the urban agglomerate increases beyond what is ordinary, this in some way may be problem inducing. For example, in times of irregular employment workers may cling to their jobs but they may move from higher rent to lower rent dwellings. In times of full employment, when leaving a job involves little risk, workers may begin "shopping" for better positions and higher pay. Employers become concerned about the "turnover" problem, since each new worker employed involves a loss until he adapts to the work. While the worker may gain some advantage in job to job mobility, he may also lose his seniority in position and the status one enjoys at the work place, which tends to increase with length of service.

Prosperity mobility may give rise to other problems. As incomes rise, it is likely that people will try to live better. They may begin the search for better housing. The worst houses come to be abandoned. The people who move may be unwelcome in the better neighborhoods where they locate, and that may lead to conflict. Another kind of problem arises in the areas abandoned, one that is serious in some Western cities; slums in the urban central areas become deserted. Such areas of "blight" like a strange new wilderness, must be redeveloped. The point of interest in this residential mobility as in job mobility is that the urban situation, under favorable conditions, affords choices and one sees a possibility of improving his position. This is not a characteristic of the village, better said, it is rarely a characteristic of the village where choices are few.

Social problems arising out of mobility and migration may have a double character. This is seen in country to country migrations; the person who moves becomes involved in one situation in the place of his origin and later another in the place of destination. The migrant leaves at the place of origin family and friends to whom he may have obligations. He may continue to retain rights or hold property in the place of origin. Often the assumption is that he will return. At the place of destination he wins friends, acquires property and he may also assume obligations. He may

nature of urban mobility, "Mobility and rootlessness in urban life acquire additional significance as they imply a transiency in group affiliations and allegiances. Physical mobility is only the external symbol of shifting multiple memberships and the associated ways of thinking and feeling."

find himself torn between obligations, between new interests and old ones. On the other hand, he may fail at the place of his destination and feel himself degraded at the place of origin. Demands made upon him at the place of origin may exceed his ability to pay. On the other hand, if he is successful in the place of destination he may endeavor to evade his obligations at the place of origin. The problem assumes one aspect in the place of origin and quite another in the place of destination.[7]

The demographic problems of mobility and migration may be of a different character, and also different at place of origin and of destination. This is seen when we consider rural to urban migration within a country. Within a particular country a population may appear to be in balance with respect to age groupings, but the urban age distribution may be very different from the rural, each being out of balance in a compensatory relation to the other. This is seen when we look at the rural and urban age distributions in a selected European country:

	Under 20 years	20 to 59 years	60 years plus	Total
Urban population	204	681	115	1,000
Rural population	272	538	190	1,000

For each thousand urban people 681 are in the active work-capable years, but there are only 538 in this age group for each thousand rural people. The younger group and the older group are larger in the rural areas. Clearly this is a country with a high age level, and it is also a country with a very slow rate of population increase.

Another type of mobility which in various ways has social implications is the increasing amount of circulation by people in connection with their work and other relations. Increasing proportions of people in all countries become owners of motor vehicles;

[7] William I. Thomas and Florian Zanaiecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), 2nd edition, 2-volume revision without shortening the initial five volumes published from 1918 to 1920. Collections of letters and life stories from migrants to America and from their relatives in Poland, which reveal how the same migrant may be one problem in his land of origin but quite another problem in his land of destination.

also increasing numbers make journeys on railroads, ships and airplanes, all of which makes for social change in the direction of greater cosmopolitanism and away from many traditional isolations. In different ways circulation mobility creates social problems, in particular those which involve conflict between old ways and institutions and emerging new ones.

AMENITIES AND PROBLEMS OF STRUCTURE

Various incongruities in urban life relate to physical conditions in this mechanized industrial habitat. Some would say that the most serious consequence is that this environment separates man from nature, and this may be a social problem, albeit a little vague. But it does turn our attention to the structural aspects; houses, work places, facilities such as stores and offices, institutions such as schools and hospitals, churches and social buildings; recreation facilities including parks, playgrounds and sport fields; streets, water lines, sewers and communication networks. Structures are of many kinds, serve many uses and each in some way makes its demands on human behavior. The demands are not only for highly uniform behavior but, in large measure, behaviour in unison and "in step." Some adapt easily to this situation, many do not or can not. That is one kind of problem, the ability of the individual to adapt.

Another set of problems concerns responsibility for all the physical properties, private and public; it may be called municipal housekeeping. Properties wear out or go out of date. Besides maintenance there must be replacement. Such housekeeping calls for continuous efficient administration and it also involves what in administration is called "space control," the one phase of municipal housekeeping that is seldom in complete order because the many uses to which the space of the urban agglomerate are put tend ever to be rearranged. This is the sphere of urban planning, to bring order in the uses of space, and to suit planning control to the ecological facts of the situation.[8] Municipal house-

[8] Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology* (New York, Ronald Press, 1950). This comprehensive book deals with relations between population and the uses of space in the urban community. It takes account of the distribution and pattern of land uses, but does not take into consideration such physical properties as buildings, water supply and sewage networks, and

keeping includes also the protective services against fire, unsafe structures, the hazards of escaping gas or of unsanitary conditions. Failure in any of many respects may result in difficult problems.

Obviously the adequacy and convenience of the urban habitat for living depend largely on its properties and facilities for work, and these may be of high quality or of low quality. If work places are well constructed, in good repair and orderly, work is likely to be efficient and productive. Places of poor construction, in poor repair and disorderly can hardly be efficiently used for work, whether the place is a factory, laboratory or clinic. Where industry is not prospering, this may be reflected in all other structures of the community. Houses will be in poor repair, streets and other public properties will appear neglected and public services will be deficient. Such conditions may be seen in cities that have had a long history of unemployment; the structural aspects of the community reflect depression. This again is reflected in community morale, the tempo of life on the street, all of which reminds us of the interdependence between urban man and the physical elements in his habitat.

As implied above, the urban agglomerate tends to have a structural wholeness. All space is occupied and used in some integrated manner. Each and every structure not used for some social or religious or other non-work purpose, is some sort of work place, but none among these is an isolated work place. It is linked with diverse other work places in an overall interdependence of work. This means an interdependence of areas where different types of work are performed. Moreover, all are connected by the same networks of water supply, gas and electricity, telephone, public transportation, even the same sewage system. The entire agglomerate, whatever the incongruities affecting detail, becomes a single pattern of ordered interrelated activity in work and living.

In such terms we can speak of the urban environment as a mechanized one, each part of it being geared to and contributing to the wholeness. Man must learn how to work in such an environment and how to live in it. The demands on him are very different from those in the village. Moreover, the hazards of working and living in this environment are not only different but greater than other structures. This failing is common to sociologists, mechanisms and the mechanical character of the urban environment are littled noticed.

77

the hazards confronted by man in the village. The demands of this environment are manifold, precise and continuous. One does not escape them even during his hours for sleep. He must be alert and continually adapting because there is no element in this environment that is not in process of change. Here we are confronted with one of the most serious of social problems associated with urban living; the increasing variety of nervous ailments.

Modern urban man does not work hard in the sense of the peasant. Toil has been taken out of much of his work because industry has found laborious toil an unprofitable way of work. Thus more work is given to machines, which tends to multiply the variety of machines in the mechanized environment. Work is thereby relieved of muscular fatigue, only to impose greater strains on the nervous system. The eye and the hand must be continuously coordinated in making quick decisions. This applies to all alike in the non-work sphere of urban living so it appears, but in the sphere of work there is a difference, for here the strains tend to be greater for the higher level occupations. Those who have the most responsibility for planning, integrating and supervising work are the most exposed to strain and the most conscious of tempo. The man in the front office, more than the man in the shop, is the more likely to suffer from what the Germans call "manager sickness."[9]

Most cities of the world have not reached such a high state of structural wholeness and functional integration. While urban agglomerations in the developing countries are moving in that direction, many additional steps have yet to be taken before they become the functioning mechanized environments we have described. In the meanwhile, and until they acquire such completeness, they suffer from multiple incongruities, and have yet to acquire many facilities that take the frustration and time waste out of urban living. The skill level of labor must be higher, and it will rise with mechanizing the environment.

[9] Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1954). An analysis of work in the industrial urban civilization and in the Western world. See also Nelly Xydias, "Labor Conditions, Attitudes, and Training in Stanleyville, Belgian Congo," *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara* (Paris, UNESCO, 1956), pp. 275-367.

While the lack of organization and facilities in an urban community may give rise to a wide array of social problems, other problems may arise once the organization and facilities have been achieved. The difference is that living is more satisfactory with the structural developments than without. Life in the agglomerate then moves with more regularity and urban living has more of a wholeness than otherwise.[10]

INCOME, SPENDING AND SAVING

It is true that most economic problems have their social implications, but equally true that most social problems have their economic implications. In the thinking of some, most of the ills of society will tend to disappear, once the economic difficulties are removed. The notion is that most social problems can be traced to low income, and the conclusion is that if the wage level is raised most people will be able to manage their own difficulties. Or underemployment may be cited as the cause; the cure would be full employment. The economic argument often takes this line: If the worker is underpaid and under-employed, he and his dependents are disadvantaged, but industry is also disadvantaged. Unless the worker has money to spend, the consumer industries suffer from lean markets. Clearly, industry fares better in a country with a per capita annual income of $2,000 than in a country with a yearly income of $200 per capita. However sound such an economic argument may be, it underestimates the complexity of social problems, even those that appear to be wholly economic in origin.

Whatever the ideology of a country, incomes tend to be graded from high to low, according to occupational categories. Whatever the country, the professor is better paid than the chauffeur, the secretary better than the cleaning woman. The salary of the manager tops the wage of the skilled worker, and the top level politician

[10] Gyorgy Kepes, "Notes on Expression and Communication in the Cityscape," *Daedalus*, Vol. 90, No. 1, Winter 1961, pp. 147-65. Quoting from p. 152, "The bigger the city area, the greater the need to make the component parts (buildings, streets, districts) distinct in character and with clearly defined boundaries. They must be sensed not only in their individual characteristics but as part of the overall background pattern. The individuality of a group or unit must also be realized in its functional connectedness with the social, economic and cultural whole of the city."

lives more sumptuously than the local political functionary. More-over, in every country, regardless of economic ideology, the un-skilled worker and all who perform the ordinary tasks find themselves hard pressed to live within their means, even in times of relatively full employment.[11]

Where division of labor exists, some types of work afford higher prestige than others and accordingly the benefits are unevenly distributed. Industrial work has acquired a refined pattern of distinctions, work being distributed to many prestige levels accord-ing to learning required, skill requirements, responsibility carried and other job features. There is inequality of income, but there is also the assumption each type of work is paid according to its worth. The distance between high incomes and low incomes may be great, and this "gap" tends to be narrowed by two approaches. It is narrowed from the upper end by imposing taxes; the higher the income the steeper the tax. This relieves the tax burden on low incomes. The other approach is to establish minimum levels for wages and to diminish the number of unskilled jobs.

By these devices the spread between high incomes may be nar-rowed, it is not eliminated. However much it may be narrowed, it is not likely to approach equality, and apparently the most ardent egalitarian does not expect this to happen. There would still be highest incomes and lowest incomes and those earning least would still be the poor folks and some might still be des-cribed as in poverty. This term is relative. Poverty in European cities in 1900 was less deprived of material things than poverty in 1850, but it was less secure than 1962 poverty in the same cities. We may say then that the income situation in the urban society tends to improve as industry becomes more productive and urban life better organized.

Man participates as a citizen in the modern civilization through voting and other expected political activities. But he participates economically as he earns and spends his money, which may in-

11 W. Lloyd Warner and Others, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York, Harper, 1949). Companion to the study by August B. Hollingshead, made in the same small American city (*Elmtown's Youth*, New York, John Wiley, 1949). This town is one in which there is no group in depressed poverty, although there is a lowest income class which is the low social class. Both studies deal with the social class structure and the neverending struggle for status.

fluence his citizenship participation. Through his consumer spending, he attains, in part at least, his social status which, in turn, may figure in his community participation. Ours is a money economy in which spending is called for in connection with almost all interests and activities, whether they relate to work or other aspects of living. This money measure of all things may be called a fault of our civilization. If it is a fault, it is also quite universal. Apparently it must be accepted if we wish to enjoy the benefits of mass industrial production, which needs mass consumption, else it could scarcely operate. On the one hand, when industry is efficiently operated it provides man with goods and services. It also gives him money to spend and increasing leisure. On the other hand, man must pay for his leisure and other advantages of this civilization. This he does mainly through consumer spending.

During the beginning phases of industrialization in any country, saving may be considered a great virtue, especially if the money saved is converted into capital to promote industrial development. Saving is less of a virtue in a period of full employment, particularly if industrialization is well rooted and workers have reasonable economic security.

Actually, whatever the philosophy of a people regarding saving may be, most studies of this matter show that relatively little saving is done. The top ten or fifteen per cent do most of the saving, middle income groups come out about even and the lower tenth of all earners are often "dissavers." Much of the saving done by most people is accumulation for future spending; it is the reverse of instalment plan buying. One may save for his vacation or holiday, parents may save for the education of children or the family may save to buy an automobile or to make the first payment on a home. Some saving is done in various private insurance schemes. However, in those countries with universal social insurance schemes saving by workers is done automatically through payroll deductions, and there is less felt need for voluntary saving.[12]

[12] R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958). Among other types of social and economic content, this study presents information on income, saving and spending among Japanese families in Tokyo where family budgets are so "tight" that much borrowing exists

Except for very modern farmers, saving has never been a characteristic of rural life. For people who own land need to save only from crop to crop or to meet food needs of people and animals through a winter season. Saving is one of the great imperatives of urban living. Cities came into existence and grew only as urban people were able to accumulate wealth in different forms. They enjoy only indirectly the security of food-producing land. But the modern urban agglomerate through the organization of its work and life, has come to rely on corporate saving and public saving, as in social insurance. It does not depend so much on the saving of the ordinary citizen. Not infrequently, it is argued that the ordinary citizen contributes to this security by his consumer spending.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND WELFARE

Collective saving and saving through public programs or private group schemes represent a type of secondary group version of traditional collective security on the part of families and other primary groups in the village. One in need was cared for as a right. It was not charity, which needy people seem to instinctively dislike. Charity for the needy developed in cities, particularly since the Industrial Revolution, but charity was never more than a marginal service. It probably always did more to assuage the conscience of the rich than to relieve the needs of the poor. Charity was never able to cope with mass need, as in seasons of unemployment. Gradually various forms of public welfare were instituted, and finally in most industrial urban countries comprehensive social security programs have evolved. A country with a complete program of old-age pensions, accident insurance, medical services, unemployment insurance, family allowances for children and so on is sometimes called a "welfare state." In these terms collective security in secondary society tends to perform in its own impersonal rational way what primary groups traditionally did in the village.

Such programs of collective security, if not already developed,

(with interest) between friends and relatives to meet costs from payday to payday. Every expenditure must be weighed. Household economy becomes a fine art involving the whole family.

are taking form in most countries. They tend increasingly to be operated as professional public services supported by industry and the workers. They are operated on the same rational administrative lines that prevail in good private enterprise.[13] In some countries, besides the public welfare programs, there are various supplementary private welfare funds initiated by industries, cooperatives, trade unions and other organizations. This type of collective security and welfare in different ways adds stability to a national economy. For example, unemployment insurance and sickness payments enables families, temporarily without income, to continue to spend as consumers. Indirectly, industry benefits.

Curiously, although leaders in business and industry have generally opposed all forms of collective security and welfare, and although they benefit indirectly from such programs, their resistance continues. There is a deep and very old conviction that progress is best insured if people must face a certain degree of uncertainty and insecurity. This element of insecurity is needed to spur people on, whereas the "welfare state" concept serves to put people at ease and they cease to strive because, for example, they need no longer fear old age in poverty. The persistence of this conviction tends to stimulate from time to time various proposals for weakening collective security programs.

The trend toward collective security has given rise to the professionalization of welfare administration, the values of which should not be overlooked. Traditionally, private charity welfare was often regarded as ineffective and unrealistic because of sentimental motivations. Early public welfare was often used by politicians for promoting their private ambitions. Professional social work tends to eliminate both of these faults, while at the same time bringing to welfare work the dignity which ideally inheres in all public service. It establishes standards of performance which make it difficult for any service to be exploited by its beneficiaries.

Most of the developing countries have their programs of collective security and welfare, but only in exceptional cases are

[13] J. Henry Richardson, *Economic and Financial Aspects of Social Security* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1960). An International perspective of the theory and practice of public welfare programs and trends.

83

these programs effective. The principal weakness is the lack of financial support, which can hardly be expected until industrialization advances and unemployment sufficiently reduced so that reserve funds can be accumulated.

OLD AGE AND RETIREMENT

In countries with collective security programs old age is not the problem it once was, but even with pension systems old persons may be found on the assistance lists. In general, these pensions are adequate and old age has ceased to be end-of-the-road poverty, although it remains a social problem because, for different reasons, the industrial urban civilization has not yet found a use for old people. Its values are utilitarian and the old person, unless he commands wealth or power, or may have special capacities for the labor market is in a difficult position. No previous civilization had this problem because down through history the old people were in control.

The position of the old in developing countries is not unfavorable, if we look at the native cultures, but the native cultures are being modified or superceded by industrial ways of work and the kind of social organization that is characteristic of industrial society. This means a competitive wage system on a money economy, and the worth of a man inheres in his ability to hold a job. It remains to be seen whether or not old age in these countries will be secure as formerly in some kind of kinship care system.[14]

Compared with Europe, for example, the expectation of life in developing countries is much less, but there as elsewhere the life span is increasing, and will increase more. There too the percentage of old people in the population will rise. For practical reasons, as practical men see them, the industrial system avoids the employment of persons who are approaching old age. Industries with older persons in their employ tend to follow an industrial tradition of forced retirement at the age of sixty-five. In special cases, labor shortage for example, older persons may be

[14] Wilma Donahue, Ed., *Free Time* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958). The problem of old age and retirement in the United States seen in relation to the uses of free time by the aged. See also Nels Anderson, *Work and Leisure,* op. cit., Chap. 8, "With Time on their Hands."

retained after reaching mandatory retirement age. This retirement rule does not always hold for specialists and management personnel who may still be working after reaching the age of seventy or older.

Medical knowledge, which has given man in some countries as much as ten years of additional life expectancy since 1900, has also strengthened his body until he may still be in full vigor when he reaches mandatory retirement age. Often the skilled worker at sixty-five is still able to perform his work well. This rule, which has become so institutionalized, is followed even by universities, and professors are forced to retire at sixty-five, the age at which many are at the prime of their productivity. This retirement policy reveals a curious inability of the industrial system of employment to effectively cope with a type of problem that calls for individual treatment. The same applies to government; a minister may serve his country well although he is past seventy, but a functionary in the minister's office (who may help write speeches for the minister) is forced to retire at sixty-five.

The modern civilization is so competitive and belongs so much to the young, that it has not taken time to learn how to utilize the unique competence of age. This statement is made in full recognition that retirement with pension is a proper exit for many at sixty-five. They are not able to go on, and some for the same reason may have to retire earlier. On the other hand, to force retirement on a person who is still capable of good, even creative work amounts to something akin to an antisocial act.

In addition to these economic aspects, old age is one of the difficult social problems of our modern civilization. As the extended or joint family declines in the urban agglomerate, it becomes increasingly customary for old people to live separate from their married children. Where frequent contacts are not possible, or not desired, old age may become a lonely experience. Although the old may not be in economic need, they may feel neglected, and they may actually be neglected. It often happens that the old person who has spent his best years in employment, had not during his lifetime developed capacities within himself for using free time. He could use leisure when he was a worker, but when retired he has no leisure, only free time which he has never learned to use. He may have saved money for his old age, but he failed

to prepare psychologically for it. Life for him must begin again.[15]

The problem of old age is in large part, as implied above, one of social feeling and human rights, but values of social utility are involved. It may be ten to fifteen years of the individual's life. He still has potential as a citizen (in this role perhaps high utility), as a neighbor, as a member in organization, and it remains to be seen what status he may acquire.

WOMEN AND OTHER MARGINAL GROUPS

Life in the urban community is intrinsically democratic and innately tolerant. It is democratic in its own impersonal competitive way, not always in the way ideally associated with democracy, a relationship between equals. Urban life is egalitarian in its frame of reference and it often is that when articulated in one type of pronouncement or other. In fact, it is shot through with all sorts of inequalities, and few of us would recognize it otherwise. Much of the vitality of urban life inheres in these relationships between unequals, with the less advantaged maneuvering for position and status, while the more advantaged ones endeavor to hold the line, but the line rarely holds firm.

Urban life is tolerant, indeed, but the tolerance is more neutral than positive. Often it is more expressive of indifference than of rationalized attitude. It may be called an attitude of detachment toward things that do not concern one personally. In this sense, one tolerates in the urban situation what he might not in a village, because here there is no social compulsion to make him care. But this attitude of not caring or taking notice may in one way or other lead to rationalized attitudes of tolerance. At any rate, in the urban situation attitudes of considered tolerance may be more freely expressed than in the village.

It is, however, in the various types of personal relations where

[15] Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960). A good part of this study deals with the adjustment problems of older persons and their married children, comparing the suburban study with an earlier study in a London poor area. It was found that most old people in these areas are able to maintain their family bonds, apparently more so than in the United States. See also Harold L. Willensky, "Life Cycle, work Situation and Participation in Formal Associations," in Robert W. Kleemeier, Ed., *Aging and Leisure* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 215-42.

we find behavior that is not democratic and attitudes that are not tolerant. Let us look first at work relations. It is in these where the marginal groups find themselves disadvantaged. One belongs to a racial, religious, national or other group that is not fully accepted. He might be accepted in an unskilled position but not in a position calling for skill. This kind of intolerance is familiar and we can leave it with the observation that in urban life it does not remain fixed and enduring. Members of the disadvantaged groups break through the prejudice barriers. The group may gain acceptance and then instead of striving for assimilation may, having gained status, strive to retain its identity, becoming itself exclusive.

These phenomena of democracy and tolerance as they relate to the sphere of work are no better illustrated than in the grudged admission of women, not only to different occupations, but even into the labor market. This has been both a special and continuing social problem. Early in the Industrial Revolution there was little bias and no protest against women entering the factories doing a kind of work that had not yet acquired status. Decades later there were attitudes of shock when women tried to enter medical schools. The wish was called "not natural." Slowly in different countries women were accepted as school teachers, but more years had to pass before married women were admitted to teaching positions.[16]

Today in most industrial urban countries women are accepted in different types of clerical work and certain positions, such as secretary, have come to be identified as "women's work," which usually means that men would hesitate to enter such callings. Formerly secretaries were men. Women have tried, and continue trying, to enter various skilled occupations, always meeting resistance. This bias, however tends to vanish in times of national crisis, as in war, when they are encouraged to enter all sorts of occupations but, once the crisis is past, they are expected to withdraw, although not all are willing to do so.

[16] Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, *Women's Two Roles, Home and Work* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956). A study of the contradictory position of women in Western society who endeavor to follow careers while at the same time assuming the responsibility for a household and family. Advances by women in the labor market are noted and the various prejudices against women in the labor market are examined.

Quite aside from bias, women are in a difficult position when they enter the labor market because, although they prepare for a career and may become established in a chosen occupation, they encounter difficulties if and when they marry, and this is another phase of the social problem. For the married women, the carrer comes into conflict with social expectations and, if they become mothers, with other responsibilities. Rarely is the married woman able to perform her career role and her wife-mother role without neglecting one role or the other, unless she earns enough in her work to employ a substitute in the home. Or the working wife-mother may be fortunate enough to have her mother or other female relative to care for the home. This possibility is usually absent in regions where the typical urban domestic unit is the nuclear family. If difficulties arise and the home role is neglected, social blame focuses on the woman and not on the husband. She is deemed to have failed in her primary role.

It appears, then, that the industrial phase of our modern civilization is no more effective in using the work of women than of older people. But in all previous civilizations both women and older people had their work roles. The various types of bias confronted by women are not all merely so many expressions of unthinking prejudice. Some are thoughtful conclusions, but some are prejudices, as when the middle class father objects to his wife or daughter entering the labor market, believing it to be a reflection on his ability to support them. Many who have studied this problem are of the opinion that the married woman with a job is able to work out a solution easier if her husband is willing to share the housework, and there appears to be an increasing tendency for modern husbands to do that.[17]

THE CONTINUING PROBLEM OF THE SLUM

Much of the story of urbanism over the past two centuries is told

[17] Viola Klein, "Married Women in Employment." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* Vol. I, No. 2, September 1960, pp. 254-61. Report on a British nationwide sample of employed married women, made in a situation of labor shortage. It was found that husbands generally did not disapprove their wives being in the labor market. Contrary to expectations, it was found that unskilled workers were more inclined to oppose the employment of their wives than white collar workers.

in negative perspective in the evolution of the slum; usually the area of poorest residence, occupied by the poorest people, many of whom lodge there only because there is no area of lesser status. Slums are of many kinds, and any slum, like any other urban area, is subject to change. Often the slum that is *removed* has in fact *moved* to another location. The slum may be a socially disorganized area, but again it may be a neighborhood type of community. Slums may diminish in size as levels of living rise, but they do not wholly disappear. Most of the literature on slums has appeared since about 1870, and much of this focuses attention on housing, amenities and sanitation, also on room crowding. The general objective has been to secure legislation establishing housing and sanitary standards. Such goals have been achieved in part and gradually.[18]

Most of the slums described in the literature are in and near urban centers, but there is a tendency in the developing countries for slums to be immediately outside the cities as well, the better housing being near the urban center. Mainly, these are cities that have not yet developed rapid transport systems which would enable middle class and upper class people to form suburban communities. Most edge-of-town slums are makeshift shanty-towns, and not infrequently the inhabitants are segregated voluntarily, the clusters including individuals or families from the same area of origin or lineage group. One reason for the clustering of persons of similar origin is mutual aid in finding employment or support in time of unemployment. Most of the occupants of outlying slums in the developing countries are newly arrived from the hinterland and they have not become fully adapted to urban life. There is a tendency within such improvised slums for the people to retain and enforce the rules of life of the villages, although individuals may break away as they are able to gain employment and achieve adjustment to the urban situation.

In countries where slum reform efforts were most articulate, the motivating elements were individuals or organizations with

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[18] *Urban Land Policies,* New York, United Nations Secretariat, Document St/SCA/9. 1952. This is a report on land use practices in cities, being concerned mainly with cities in developing countries. Much of the space is given to problems of traffic congestion, slum housing and to urban planning efforts, or obstacles to planning.

a determination to effect social improvement. They would help people to help themselves, "to lift themselves up" to a better way of life. Such reform movements, which paralleled industrial development, found that most of the social problems about which they were most concerned; drunkenness, crime, vice, naked poverty, centered in the slums. Such voluntary movements have not been characteristic of developing countries. In these countries the same problems are left to the lineage groups, the church or the police. This does not mean that voluntary welfare groups do not exist; where they do, they operate differently.

As industrialism proceeds and as trade unions take form, they begin to make demands which have reform implications; raising of wages, bettering of working conditions, promoting programs of housing, all of which relate to slums and slum living. They look to employers for better wages and working conditions, but they demand of government the housing programs. Perhaps the trade union, in making these demands on government, will ally itself with one political party or another. It is the politician seeking votes who promises reform, but it is for the trade union to hold him to his pledges.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE GOVERNMENT

Although the politician, once elected, may forget some of his pledges, he does not forget all; some good deeds must be performed against the next election. It is usually something visible to which he can point with pride. While we do not say this of the corrupt politician, we must agree that the opportunist in local politics is a natural product of urban agglomerate living, whether in capitalist or non-capitalist countries and his level of citizenship consciousness, if not the same, is usually a little higher than that of people in his area. He can be effectively used by organized groups aspiring to get things done. If improvements are to be made through the instrumentalities of government, it is the politician who knows what can be done and how to go about it. He usually knows how much to ask for and when and how to make demands.

Views differ on the role government should play in dealing with social problems, and in which problems. At the one extreme

are those who usually stand against local, state or national government involvement in coping with social problems, or they insist on minimum involvement. It is argued that the more government does for the people the less people will do for themselves, that even helping people to help themselves can be demoralizing. This argument adds the thought that people will cease to work hard if the threat of insecurity is removed. Persons holding this view would oppose building houses for the poor, as they would also oppose old-age insurance and other welfare programs. But it must be added, persons of these views are normally of middle and upper classes.

Opposed to this view are those people who argue that government belongs, or should belong to the people, and people have the right to make use of the departments and branches of government for performing any work that they cannot perform so well privately.[19] They argue that, although most work should be private, certain kinds of work for the public good are more effectively performed by public means. According to this view, people should build their own houses if they have the means. But if some people do not have the money and are not likely to have enough money to build their houses, it is not in the public interest to leave them stranded in slums. In the interest of good citizenship, health and the welfare of children, public housing should be provided. It is argued that the provision of housing may relieve other problems associated with the slums.

Further, according to this view, if public money is used for housing it benefits only a section of the population, but this money is not a gift. It is a loan which is gradually returned to the government. Government may make some public improvement which tends to improve the quality of houses in the areas and which benefits the people because living conditions are improved. Such benefits are not easily measured except in the satisfactions that people feel. It is one kind of satisfaction when people realize that how, when and for what to utilize the instrumentalities of government. This is infinitely more to be desired and more in keeping

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[19] Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), in particular Chap. 12, "How Communities Get Things Done," which concerns methods in Western communities of utilizing government.

with our civilization than the relation to government assumed by those of the other extreme; government remote from the people and detached from their problems, except in emergencies.[20]

The distance between these extremes is considerable, and considerable learning is necessary before a community can move from a remote relationship, making no use of government, to an informed relationship, making full use of government. In the course of learning, the authorities must learn the service obligations of government and how they can be extended. The public needs to learn the ways and possibilities of public service and how they can be utilized. This double learning process has moved far in some countries, while in other countries it is only getting under way.

National governments, in approaching social problems, often have types of competence which are lacking or cannot be expected in local governments. Often, since social problems are rarely local, national governments must be concerned about them, which means that national governments may take the initiative in formulating programs. The same program may assume a different character in the village than in the city, but central government participation in method, approach and objective may contribute to this learning process.

The logic of national participation in social programs rests on the superiority of central authority and its responsibility for local government. But national efforts to meet social problems must be implemented in local communities, which perform functions according to nationally designed methods, and often with financial aid from the central government. In these terms social problems coming to public attention tend to be the concern of national and state, as well as local government. This usually makes for a more comprehensive approach; local handling being too often both limited and particularistic, if not frustrated by local fractional rivalries.

[20] L. Gray Cowan, *Local Government in West Africa* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1958). The principal object of this study is to compare local government in French occupied and English occupied African areas. The British tradition tends to encourage local initiative, according to the form in England. The French tradition is one of centralized control through the prefectures as in France. The conclusion is that the British system of decentralized control is more flexible and adaptive.

HOW SOCIAL SCIENCE MAY BE USED

We have delayed this look at social science in our cursory examination of social problems in the industrial urban civilization, but in concluding we must ask about the contributions social science inquiry can make to our understanding of these problems, and perhaps to their solution. We are careful not to speak of one social science as against another because social problems are never in the domain of one discipline only, which is not to deny that each discipline has its own proper approach and its own proper interest. Moreover, each of these branches, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, political science, social economics and others, needs to have its own special field of study, since therein lies its strength. But this may be a weakness when one social science or another confronts a social problem in its own terms alone. No social problem can be seen whole from a single perspective, much of its many-sidedness may escape the viewer dedicated to a single discipline. The researcher, with the aid of other disciplines follows his problem outward as his time and ability permit.

In his study of a social problem, the sociologist is not less a sociologist if he cooperates with the economist or the social geographer, nor is the economist or geographer less representative of his discipline. Moveover, the sociologist does not weaken his position if he spreads his data for others to view. On the contrary, he is strengthened, since knowledge is not lost by giving it away, rather it is supplemented and made more firm by criticism from other disciplines. For practical reasons, the social scientist, whatever his special field, does well to forget his dedication to a single discipline, at least while he is assembling and analyzing his data. This is necessary also if the social scientist deals with lay people who are not concerned about the assumed limitations each social science holds as its own.

One major difficulty faced by all social sciences is the unwillingness in many places to use their services, or to see the value of their kind of fact finding. The attitude generally among practical men in government as well as industry is one of giving priority to experience and commonsense knowledge over careful inquiry and verification. Thus factories are located without considering future needs for housing space. Housing may be built according to

pleasing layout and architectural design, while disregarding living requirements. Only later is it learned that the houses are not convenient for housekeeping. On the basis of social research it is fairly well established that skyscrapers may be suitable for hotels in the city, but they are not suitable for family living when built in housing developments, yet in some countries this know-ledge, if known, is ignored. Sometimes for construction economy reasons.

While the social scientist professionally may be teaching in a university, he is also a teacher of the public, and imparting know-ledge to the people en masse may be his more socially important role. Social problems are his special concern, and it is his task to be continuously informed about them. It is not enough for him to make studies and then deposit his reports with public or other officials who have little time to read. Nor is it enough to write about his researches in the professional journals which are read mainly by colleagues in his special field. What he knows about social problems must also be told in talks before organized groups, in talks or interviews over the radio, or made known to the people in newspaper articles. In the final analysis, it is the man on the street who needs the information; it adds to his citizenship consciousness.

As we look over the scene, we find that social science enjoys in the different world regions a high and rising status. Formerly the idea of a professor participating in community life meant for him to become a politician. His usefulness in that role was rarely greater than that of any other politician, although there have been notable exceptions. Today the more acceptable role of the social scientist is that of advisor to government or industry or private groups, although he may be found also in administrative positions. More than ever, he is able to obtain funds for research into social prob-lems, which means that when he speaks or writes he is usually more convincing than in earlier times before empirical research was so well developed. His usefulness is greater, too, if his servi-ces are used in various administrative roles. This trend, as we would expect, is greatest in the advanced countries, and least in the developing countries. It must be added that the trend toward more empirical methods of fact finding is moving upward. One example of this is the increasing use of opinion polls in politics,

marketing research, consumer trends and so on. Both business and government make increasing use of population sampling methods, and there is equal interest in trend studies not using statistical methods.

STUBBORN PERSISTENCY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

A famous military strategist once made the observation that peace following a war is usually an interlude during which the rival factions can regroup to carry on the contest later. When this observation was quoted by a well known labor leader, he argued that the same may be said about industry and labor relations. The end of a strike means an interlude for making ready when again the contest between labor and management will begin. Many workers are not discouraged by the continuing contest, so long as they find some gain has been made with each interlude. Others are of the opinion that the contest could go on without the strike. Some advance the claim that if the workers possessed the work places, that would put an end to this contest for advantage. It is now known that where workers have taken possession, the contest goes on in other forms. It is out of such contests for advantage that many social problems arise, while the social problems in turn make for contest.

If this observation is true, or reasonably true, it is not necessarily a discouraging prospect. A civilization without social problems, something that many men have dreamed about, might be painfully dull. Such would need to be a civilization under control, so under control that art would come to a standstill and science, the great disturber of things as they are, would be stifled. One motivation of science is to bring about change. In a civilization without social problems the stimulating influence of competition, normally the inspiration for technological advance, might still be present in some tame form, and we would have to expect an equally tame advance of technology. A problem-free civilization means utopia, but the very freedom from problems would take the spirit out of utopian life. This is something that most writers of utopias, ideal communities in vision (meaning "nowhere" in Greek), have not been willing to see some virtue in continuing competitive relationships, without which the present civilization

95

would not have been likely.[21]

It is only the exceptional individual who would hope for such a state of perfection. It might dampen some of his most treasured ambitions. Most people, and these are not necessarily the educated, are too preoccupied to be concerned about a world without social problems. Actually, most people are neither disappointed or surprised if a social problem, seemingly solved, appears in some other form later, although its old identity may not be recognized. It means that the effort must start over again. We find no better illustration of this continuity and endless pursuit than in the efforts of organized society to cope with juvenile delinquency, which tends to assume new forms with each generation. And with each generation comes the prediction that civilization is going down and will fall as Rome did. Unemployment appears again and again, if only briefly, and public aid must be given to the needy, and each time again the prediction is heard; it was bread and circuses that brought about the fall of Rome.

The tenacious nature of many social problems, their tendency to change even while being treated, is no reason for giving up the effort. Even if there is no agreement about how much effort should be exerted, it is folly to hold that most problems, if left alone, will solve themselves, although that might be true of some problems. It is also true that to ignore certain social problems is equal to encouraging them, amounting to a surrender of order and authority. An example would be the crowding of unemployed workers into certain cities; measures taken may not be wholly effective but they may have some alleviating influence. If a community will have order and authority, these can be enjoyed only at the cost of continuous vigilence.

Moreover, we find this encouraging fact about recurring social

[21] Karl Mannheim, "Utopia," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, Macmillan, 1948), Vol. 15, pp. 200-03. The matter of change in utopia is not so much the concern of the utopia creator who is intent of showing an ideal in which the incongruities of reality are absent, making the utopia document a propaganda device. "Therefore the utopian element may be said to operate not only as a collectivizing force in political activity but also as an underlying thread which knits together the conception of reality as held by the different classes of a collectivity. It is this utopia, this ultimate point of reference which determines what questions shall be posed as to social events."

problems; there is usually a tendency toward improvement. When we consider the struggle against the slum and slum poverty, and particularly against slum housing, we find it is not the same slum from decade to decade. The quality of the housing improves, more amenities are found in the dwellings, infantile death rates diminish, street sanitation tends to improve, inside bedrooms have vanished, etc. The slum is so rated in relation to other areas at the time.[22]

Finally, while social problems may change their face in the course of their persistency, they may also be aggravated or relieved by technological change. While the automobile certainly aggravated certain social problems, it also aided in diminishing the size of slums in many cities, aided by the rising standard of living. The automobile and other forms of low-cost rapid transit made it possible for increasing numbers of families to move from city slums to better housing in the industrial suburbs. Such trends are encouraging, but it is also encouraging that many social problems concern only fractions of the total community, rarely do they concern the same people continuously.

[22] The well known writing pair, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, in *The Bleak Age*, (East Drayton, England, Pelican, 1949, 1st printing, 1934) were able to look back and recall how British slums were two generations earlier. It must be added that they had a good part in bringing about the change.

7

Some Notes on Community Research

THESE observations are based on three kinds of experience the writer has had with social research over a number of years: participation in different types of research projects, helping in planning and obtaining funds for research projects, and having at times the responsibility for distributing public funds to research projects and for observing the effectiveness of their operation. These notes relate mainly to certain important aspects of social research which are rarely mentioned in books on research method. Indeed, certain writers of books on research are themselves sometimes guilty of certain faults herein mentioned.

ARRIVAL OF BIG RESEARCH PROJECTS

In the course of two decades forms of research have become a type of big business, the principal example being opinion polling. Learning by sample interviews what people do or wish or what they think is a kind of research that can be planned with reasonable accuracy, carried out with reasonable promptness, and operated within estimated cost limits. Moreover, it produces types of information that has a market value.

Opinion polling is only one type of big research; community studies represent another type. Most of these can properly be called big, compared with typical research projects of a generation ago. They normally continue at least a year and normally are performed by work teams of ten members or more, and a team may include persons from different disciplines: sociology, economics, geography, psychology and so on.

Such research projects are big in another sense, much more money is spent for their operation than formerly. They must be planned and they operate on time and money budgets. They normally are undertaken for specific reasons: to secure information on a social problem for a public department, to provide informa-

tion needed by business or industry, or information needed by voluntary associations.

RESEARCH IS ORGANIZED WORK

A research project that is planned and undertaken to secure information for whatever purpose can be, and usually is, fully as scientific as any research idealized in the circle of scholars, but it is much less than formerly a kind of hobby interest casually pursued; it has assumed the character of work. The project is usually an assigned task exactly defined in cost terms. As work, research, on the one hand, can be dull and routine; on the other hand, if it is effectively organized, social research can be intriguing. It depends on the devices used to identify the team with the pursuit. Identity follows naturally if all members of the team stand ready, as necessity requires, to perform any task associated with the project.

When research in mere work, "directed" by someone sitting secluded in a front office, who can be seen only by appointment, team morale takes on the character of clerical work in a plant. Effective research is hardly possible if the team is stratified in terms of superiors and inferiors, and if tasks are correspondingly stratified; the director passing orders to his assistants, the assistants passing these orders on to their assistants. Rank, and the line of authority can and must exist, but they are none the less secure if informally understood, rather than being formally defined by charts on the wall, and vocally sustained. As workmates, team members are all committed to the needed organization for the work. But as scholars and students of the problem being examined they are equals. Research is work, but ideally it is the kind of work that all team members can or will do, else the team is a stratified staff.

THE IMPERATIVE OF PLANNING

Formerly it was assumed that the requirements of research planning had been served if the researcher had in mind a clear idea of the problem, if he had thought his way through a likely set of hypotheses to be tested, if he had made a rough guess of the time

needed and an equally lump-sum estimate of the money needed. It often happened that the estimate of time was not sufficient, or it might have been sufficient had the work been systematically organized. Money usually ran short, often because too much had been unwisely spent at the outset of the work, leaving but a lean fraction for the concluding phases. For such planning deficiencies no criticism was aimed at the researcher, and he rarely saw need to criticise himself for his obvious lacks.

In big research today it is recognized that spending money for work is buying a service and, however interesting in scientific terms the work may be to him, the researcher is selling a service. When he is confronted with a task, he also faces the need of planning the how, what and why of doing it. If it is a community research, he must be able to see the whole in terms of separate parts; for example, history and site information, organized groups and institutions, work and economic organization, interviewing key personalities, taking questionnaires into the field, and many other parts leading to report writing. It is possible within reasonable limits to estimate how many man-weeks or man-months are needed for each type of work. This is one aspect of planning.

Besides estimating the different kinds and amounts of labor needed on a research, planning involves the notion about scheduling the work. Some types, for example, history and site information, organized groups, might continue for the duration of the project. Other types of work of shorter duration would be scheduled for the most opportune time. One aim of planning is to keep all members of the team occupied and to use each member on different types of work. This increases the usefulness of team members to the total work.

Finally, whatever the elements of a particular project plan, the time schedule within which it must operate demands respect, and this holds for the schedule for spending project funds. Neither requirement needs to become a form of tyranny over the work. This is hardly possible where the work is organized.

PUTTING THE PLAN ON PAPER

We can think of a research project as having two plans, one of which must be written, while the other need not be. The first

is the plan for obtaining funds. It describes in language understandable to the average person the purpose and justification of the project. It indicates what work is proposed, by whom it would be done, when and where. It specifies how much time will be needed for the operation, and how much money. The description of purposes and methods need not be put into scientific jargon, nor is it necessary to spread out the array of hypotheses, except in very general terms.

The other plan has the function of implementing the written plan, just described. On the well organized project it is the property of the team; their understanding of what the project is about, an awareness of its phases and how the phases make up the whole, and the team evolves the time-work schedule. There is an understanding of the methods to be used for the different aspects of the project, and the team freely uses technical research language in its discourse. While the details of the unwritten plan may continually change as work proceeds, it does not depart far from the basic frame of reference, the written plan. The implementation of the written plan calls for many adaptations to unforeseen situations, some of them frustrating, and keeping the project on course.

The written plan, which assumes the character of a contract, and in some cases is a contract, tends to be unencumbered with details about implementation. It centers instead on the budget, which must necessarily be both general and specific. It tends to be specific in the various categories of costs; rent, light and heat; office materials, communications, printing; travel and accommodation; salaries, indicating the number of persons according to grade; advisory and technical assistance; other items, including a reasonable per cent of total cost for unforeseen costs. The plan is general in that it sets the maximum limits for categories of cost, leaving freedom of choice in them.

For projects financed from public funds it is customary to require a somewhat detailed budget. Incidentally, most community projects are financed from public funds. When public money is expended, there must be an accounting of uses to which the money was put. Later there must be an audit to determine if the money was used according to plan and for the uses intended. Private money allocated for research is normally subject to less

detailed verification. The public audit is not only concerned about how funds were spent, it also takes account of the time schedule, either set forth or implied in the plan.

TIME AND MONEY LIMITATIONS

Many researchers are prone to argue that scientific work cannot be timed to the clock or the calendar, as if the orderly mental process called scientific thinking, like inspiration for the artist, had to wait for the mood. The plea that one "must have time to think" is not without merit if one is actually under pressure of work, but it can also be an excuse for the faulty organization of one's work. On the practical side, which the researcher cannot afford to ignore, if social scientists hope to gain and hold the confidence of leaders in government, industry and voluntary associations, they must be able to conform to schedules both in using time and in spending money.

Time and money tend to impose their schedule in most human activity. Work in social research can hardly expect to be excused from these demands. In these terms, a project may be said to have a time budget, much as in using its funds according to plan it has a money budget. These budgets, in many respects, tend to be interdependent.

As the project team goes about its schedule making and decides how much of each type of work will be sufficient, it is guided both by the latitudes and limitations inhering in the budget. The budget is generous in that it does not prescribe when, how or by whom the different phases of work will be performed, nor for that matter does it prescribe into what phases the work must be divided. It must be specific on maximum amounts of money allowed for designated purposes, and it sets time limits. But within the time scheme of the written plan and its budget the project team has various ranges of choice.

At this point some will inject the observation that such conditions would hardly apply to a research project financed from private funds. Often the money from private sources is given to a university or some non-profit agency for administration and expenditure according to a plan and budget which was the basis on which the money was granted. A similar supervision would have

to be assumed by the university or other agency. However, if there is no outside supervision of expenditures, this is all the more reason why the project team should impose upon itself both a time budget and money budget with full and open accounting, else suspicion and conflict may develop within the team.

It must be mentioned that the well-managed project may be able to secure aid on its own initiative from other sources. It may obtain rent-free offices, or be given the use of a public automobile. It may be able to secure volunteer help, as interviewers for example. Or funds from another source may be given for adding to the project some related bit of research. In these different ways the project may be able to save money on some phases of its work, which can be used to strengthen other phases.

APPROACHES TO THE COMMUNITY

There are many kinds of studies carried on at the community level: health, housing, employment, recreation, education, consumer behavior, vice and crime, mobility and so on. Each type of research calls for a special kind of approach to the community, as each type would concern different leaders and groups in the community. But any research before it can effectively get under way must make its approach to the proper organized groups and authorities because it needs their good will and perhaps cooperation. It would have difficulty proceeding without their good will and cooperation. The presence of the project and its purpose must be known by all who might have a proper reason to be concerned. This means that contacts must be made well in advance.

Contacts and approach may be considered the door-opening introduction to the undertaking, indeed, it is not unrelated to the research itself, meeting the leaders is also an exercise in fact finding, for they can be used during the life of the project as an important source of information.

One of the tasks of the project team is learning how to enlist the considered support of those elites who may have an interest in the problem under study. The initial contacts should be made, at least with top personalities, by the project director. Commitments of good will and cooperation should be confirmed by him in writing with expressions of appreciation.

103

KEY PERSONS AND INFLUENTIALS

In research jargon, such community leaders are referred to as "influentials." Contacts with influentials should be made at points when their advice can be asked for or information of interest can be given them. Either approach opens the way for information obtaining conversation.

Another type of contact is the "key person," one who knows the community or some aspect of its life. While influentials may also be so classed, the key person need not be an influential, except in an area or in a section of the population. He may be the owner of a cigar store at a busy corner, a taxi driver or a beggar. A scrub woman may be as good a source of information in one respect as a society matron in another. The use of key persons as sources of information is essential to any community research, although more so on some projects than others. Each must be approached somewhat on his own level. In terms meaningful to him, the purposes of the research should be made clear. With proper handling informal relationships can be established, but he is not to be used in the sense of a spy. It is desirable if each member of the project team establishes a number of such contacts.

This emphasis on the use of key persons is not made without reason. It is sometimes a neglected feature of community studies. Sometimes the researcher cannot bring himself to make such contacts with ordinary people. We need to keep in mind that the utility of both influentials and key persons, particularly the key persons, appears in one other important respect. Community studies are rarely carried through without encountering misunderstanding. A project may be suspected by some as having some sinister purpose, something behind the declared reasons for its existence. These attitudes if permitted to spread can operate to the injury of the research. One antidote for this kind of social poison is a wide distribution of influentials and key persons. These serve as a counteracting influence because they are "in the know." Team members are not diminished in their stature as researchers and the project does not diminish in quality by such contacts.

HYPOTHESES AND ANALYSIS

It is well known that research projects in social science endeavor

to obtain verifiable information on problems and situations concerning which a great amount of information already exists. Much of this information is based on limited observation and common-sense analysis. It may be correct, again it may be only partially correct, but frequently it is dead wrong. Frequently, too, such misinformation may be the basis of bias, and the bias may even take the form of resistance to the research. Under such circumstances and in the course of his preparations, the researcher must make ready an array of hypotheses. He is able then to convert some of these prevailing notions into hypotheses and fit them into the theoretical scheme of research objectives to be tested.

The project may be thought of as having four major stages: preparation, data assembly, analysis and report writing, but through all these stages the hypotheses are kept in mind. They are weighed against each bit of information assembled, and occasionally they may need to be rephrased. Certain hypotheses may turn out to be not pertinent. That is noted, and perhaps a more pertinent one is substituted. However, there is always the danger that preoccupation with testing the hypotheses may divert attention from equally important related data. Thus the function of the hypotheses, in large part, is to impart the element of order or discipline to project thinking.

Analysis is another name for those mental processes which relate to testing the hypothesis. It is the comprehensive weighing of research findings, not merely a concentrated effort reserved for a certain stage of project development. This thinking about things pertinent must go on continuously and it should be shared by all members of the team. This is what takes most of the dullness out of the routine stretches in project work. What is usually identified as the analysis stage then becomes one in which thinking about the wholeness of the materials assembled brings to attention certain open spaces calling for additional data, or other data. This is not easily done if analysis is deferred to a late period.

FILING SYSTEMS AND PROJECT ORDER

The assembly of materials during the field work stage of a research may very well be rendered ineffective if a system is lacking for the

identity and placing of the data assembled. However common-place this observation may be, it is also the most frequently violated rule of research. It is not only a matter of devising a filing system, but a classification of the data must be had which serves the needs of the particular research. Otherwise very useful data may be misplaced or it may be overlooked at the point when it might serve best.

There is no one ideal filing system; any system is sufficient if it performs effectively, and if it avoids complexity. Whatever the system for data-filing order, it should be understandable to all members of the team, and there needs to be attitudes of respect for it. If great amounts of material are assembled, it may be necessary to design a card file. The pertinence of these remarks is this: a business cannot operate without an effective filing system, and neither can a research project.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH OTHER RESEARCH

The ideal for community research is two or more similar projects, each operated in a different locality, or even in a different country. They would have similar objectives, utilize similar methods, have certain hypotheses in common and keep in continuous contact. Each project would lend strength to and gain strength from the others, and the comparative reports would command much more respect than in the case of isolated projects. Since this ideal is still not in sight, other comparative devices must be used. The directors of comparable projects can exchange information and by this means a degree of comparability may be realized. Where such possibility of comparison exists, the project team would be at fault in not using it.

THE WORK OF WRITING

Some very able researchers may not enjoy the gift of easy writing, but in the essential writing of research the ability to coin pleasing phrases is not necessary. It is sufficient if the writing is direct, simple and clear. For some uses this may be preferable. If one can think a thought clearly, the words are already there to express it. Even when writing is not a great labor, the matter of putting

thought on paper is too often delayed, the notion being too often accepted that writing does not begin until data are assembled and the analysis is complete. It is a safer course to think of writing, like analysis, as something which goes on throughout the project.

Whenever any incident, interview, case study or other project-connected matter needs to be written about, it should be put on paper in such a form as if it might be utilized directly in the final report. With such a procedure in effect, team members tend naturally to be writing conscious in each document prepared by them. With this in mind, an appropriate system for tables and charts can be designed in the course of project work.

Much of the essential writing can be done even before the analysis has been completed, particularly on phases of the project already complete and, even if these sections must later be rewritten, time has been gained. Early writing affords time for viewing the wholeness of the work. If there are deficiencies or open spaces, these come readily to attention in the writing. The needed material can be brought out of the files or otherwise obtained. However, if writing begins late, this is not always possible.

PREPARATION OF REPORTS

Writing is the preparation of reports, but reports are more than mere tasks of putting thought on paper. Consideration must be given to the uses of reports. They are normally addressed to particular audiences; the public at large, the officials of a governmental department, or they might be written as if addressed only to those in the scientific echelons. In the traditions of social science, the last named audience is most to be desired; then the report can be replete with detail about methods and analysis. If the report is addressed to the public or to leaders of affairs, it must be stripped of refinements which merely lend a scientific flavor to such a production. Then methodology and analysis, as well as the testing of hypotheses, must be told in very general and easily understandable terms for lay readers. The emphasis then is on the findings, arranged in a way to attract attention. There is no reason why the team members may not also write more-to-their-liking articles about their research for publication in the scientific journals.

Report writing may also involve delicate considerations, in particular if the problems under study are sensitive ones about which there is sharp difference of views. Certain organized interests may object to the publication of certain findings. On the issues involved, the research team is presumably neutral, but it cannot completely ignore some of the facts of community life. This is a problem faced continually by social scientists under dictator governments. Where the scientist is left to make his own choice, he may elect to delete from his report the materials most offensive to one section of the public, which is an affront to opposing sections of the public. What is often done is to present the findings in full, with a minimum of comment, or the objectionable data are hidden in tables which can be found by the scientist, but may be overlooked by the layman. Or if found by laymen they may disagree about the meaning.

What we have said is this: we are never sure about the fate of knowledge gained from social research. It may be used, or it may be ignored at first, but utilized later. Of this we are sure: it is not lost.

Index

Work and fatigue, 77-78; and the good life, 33-34; and income, 79-80; industrial, 28; and old age, 84-85; public and private, 50; and research, 100; Norms, 3-4

Work ways and "know-how," 58-59

Working wives, 87-88

Writing and reporting, 106-107

Xydias, Nelly, 78

Young, Michael, 86

Znaiecki, Florian, 75

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

by

NELS ANDERSON AND K. ISHWARAN

IN THIS work two outstanding sociologists, one from the West and one from India collaborate to introduce some of the more salient features of Urban Sociology. Mainly because industrial urban civilization is revolutionizing the human community a new perspective of community life must be found. Finding this new perspective is a lively interest among social scientists generally. For sociologists, however, it is a particular interest, because many of the problems involved lie within their field of inquiry.

In the urban community the change-compelling forces are not only most potent, they are also most varied in their forms and least predictable in their trends. This makes the urban community an intriguing subject for study and, however much it is studied, study must go on; because change goes on.

In this work the authors have described industrial urbanism in terms of such recognized characteristics as high mobility and social mobility, transiency of contact, anonymity and impersonal social interaction, clock-regulated rhythm of life, man-made mechanized environment, egalitarian frame of reference and so on. They find that the social implications of these attributes are far-reaching. The influence of the city does not stop at its political border. It reaches out to change the way of life in every village and hamlet.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

1. Dimensions of Urbanism
2. Community and Urbanism
3. Changing Urban Populations
4. Human Ecology and Urban Space
5. Group Behaviours and Structures
6. Work and Leisure Under Urbanism
7. Government and Political Behaviour
8. Social Welfare Under Urbanism
9. Social Control in Urban Society
10. Utilizing the Physical Environment

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