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MAGIC, MOBILITY AND MINORITIES

IN THE URBAN DRAMA

by
Jacob Joseph Eichenbaum

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Geography)
in The University of Michigan
1972

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Gunnar Olsson, Chairman
Professor Sally Cassidy, Wayne State University
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Assistant Professor Steven Stich
Professor Waldo Tobler

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Preface:

The Problem: Putting the "Social" Back Into Social Science

"Action is equal to reaction"
Isaac Newton

...or to be more contemporary...

"The love you take is equal to the love you make."
The Beatles in "Lullaby" on Abbey Road

Few persons engaged in an intellectual activity - be it science, art, philosophy, religion, astrology, or any other system used to predict, understand, or interpret the confronted universe - would seriously deny the profound influence of other people in shaping their ideal. Social scientists, who have promoted the social genesis of ideas, often called the sociology of knowledge, as within their province of study, and whose raison d'etre is human interaction, would be the most paradoxical exceptions. The body of knowledge which today we call "social science" is very much an outgrowth of the social philosophy and humanities of previous centuries. During the present century, however, social science has become increasingly dependent upon physical sciences for models and methods, upon governments and institutions for both social information and financial support, and upon individual people and peoples for experimental, observational,and survey data. Meanwhile, as the number of social scientists has grown, so has internal communication and interaction between individuals and subdisciplines. Thus, in pursuing his research and livelihood, it can hardly be disputed that the typical social scientist requires considerable inputs from society in general.

But does society - particularly those elements which support him with time, money, and information - get anything in return?

Of course, the answer is "Yes!" A galaxy of social science journals, books, reports, conferences, and classes is generated annually. But how useful has all of this been to the supporting elements of society? Not very, I contend, if not in fact harmful, despite the occasional exception.

Philosophers have probably profited most in that social scientists have gotten themselves into so many ethical and logical labyrinths that they will provide philosophy with years of interesting empirical material. Physical scientists have had their image boosted. But the others have fared less well. To the humanities, social science has offered up a jumbled jargon obscuring its general ignorance of the human condition. Governments and institutions have been furnished with reams of weary words and hollow numbers, often so doggedly detailed that they are instant musty archives or otherwise so hopelessly vague or mystically fabricated that they are uninterpretable in terms of any real situation. Ironically, people and society, as objects of study, have been the most poorly repaid. Social science has ponderously researched the indigent, the despised, the delinquent, and other problem groups but has contributed meagerly to their betterment, and often, due to its conscious and unconscious degradation of these groups, to their detriment. It has been, and in some circles continues to be, used to administer or justify war, racism, imperialism, cultural superiority, and the brainwashing of minds. It has made few real contributions toward a better society, the message of its most influential theories being alarmingly anti-social. This, of course, is my own opinion. Others have viewed

the situation more benevolently.

I suppose it is only too obvious that I wish the research proposed here to be otherwise. Yet, I too am a social scientist, and though I recognize the above pitfalls as serious occupational hazards, I too am likely to stumble. Evidently there's not much that will hold me up other than my ego!

So, the proposed dissertation is one which will try to give from whence it takes in an attempt to escape the exploitative role I find so typical of social science researchers. My most important aim is to develop a social model of mobile man which is both theoretically meaningful and practically applicable to the case study researched here. The following main sections will be briefly discussed in turn after which I will disclose the underlying premises, predilections and value judgements which have guided my work.

I.	The Magic Theater	For the philosophers
II.	The Hall of Mirrors	For the record
III.	A Matrix of Human Mobility	For society and my colleagues
IV.	The Different Languages of Urban Renewal	For my colleagues and the people and institutions studied
V.	The Urban Renewal of Corktown	
VI.	The Urban Drama	For present oriented planners and future oriented people, especially those of you that want to skip I - V

"The Magic Theater" is pleased to present the philosophical groundwork for this study. It is an attempt to synthesize four complementary attitudes used in understanding reality. Emerging from this synthesis

is my own interpretation of General System Theory which has guided much of my conceptual reasoning. Four "general systems" are described which are useful in classifying the theoretical structures of any discipline. One of these systems, called The Magic Generating System, is shown to be the most general, and is used as a mold in which to cast the broadest view of dynamic phenomena. Since buildings and people are the basic objects manipulated in urban renewal, the empirical focus of this study, I briefly discuss concepts of architecture and the psychology of personality in terms of the four general systems.

In chapter two, "The Hall of Mirrors", we gaze into the models social science has offered of cities, migration and migration with cities. These models each reflect a metaphor of man back at the viewer. Stepping through the looking glass we find that these metaphors are usually easily associable with a general system. This is my way of critically reviewing the literature on the broad theoretical work relevent to the particular empirical situation at hand: the movement of people in response to an urban renewal project.

Chapter three, "A Matrix of Human Mobility", provides a classification of human residence changes based on individual-social environment relationships. It serves to build upon the weaker reflections of chapter two and connect the conceptual properties of magic generating systems with empirical experiences. To illustrate these connections I use examples of ethnic movements in American history. One category of the matrix, labelled "refugees" is more intensively discussed. I go on to inductively develop a behavioral theory of refugee mobility based on several case studies.

Alternate theories of urban renewal are the concern of chapter four, "The Different Languages of Urban Renewal." Here four theoretical outcomes describing the effect of urban renewal on the spatial mobility of project area residents are discussed. One of these theories presumes the refugee situation while the others relate back to models discussed in chapter two. I then compare these theories with the empirical evidence obtained from previous studies on urban renewal.

Chapter five is called "The Urban Renewal of Corktown" and introduces the particular empirical problem at hand. The history of a multi-ethnic neighborhood in Detroit is outlined, both with respect to its inhabitants, its location in the magic generating region of Southeastern Michigan, and the magical geobiography of Henry Ford. A significant period in this history occurs in 1960 when the City of Detroit completed evacuation of the neighborhood, it having become an urban renewal project called "West End Industrial I". The relocation of families from the project area is quantitatively analyzed in order to provide a test of different theories of urban renewal and intra-urban migration.

Finally, "The Urban Drama" consists of a summary, conclusions and recommendations. Conclusions relate to the particular case study undertaken, the inductive generalizations made from other empirical work and their theoretical and philosophical implications. I make practical recommendations on two levels. First, accepting that urban renewal or any other city planning venture which forces people to move conceives of the city as a theater or operations - yet may continue to occur, I suggest ways of making relocation more humane. Second, I briefly outline a model of city planning as a magic theater, which is, in my opinion, practically more creative and ethically more humane.

* * * * * * *

Some readers will probably label this dissertation "radical." At the time of this writing, however, "radical" has so many connotations that it is hardly descriptive of my beliefs. Yet, since I expect this reaction, let me qualify the term by stating that if I am "radical" it is much more in the cultural sense than in the political. Certainly I want to see a better society - and soon - and I am optimistic that it can come about in the direction I want. But given the chicken-egg problem of whether to concentrate on individual or institutional change, I would opt to start with individuals; I would rather shock people than manipulate them. Given a choice between issue-oriented or politically oriented action, I would choose issues. While I am often disappointed with myself and others, I guess I have a rather stubborn faith in people as capable of spontaneous, creative and cooperative action. I guess I still believe in advocacy planning to be replaced by full participatory democracy.

Thus the ideas presented in this dissertation do not stem from any particular revolutionary political ideology. In fact, they center around a rather anarchistic championing of individuality, creatively free enterprise and informal culturally mediated organizations. If anything is radical about my ideas it is my way of presenting them. Godfrey Cambridge, in a commercial for Jockey shorts, has asked "Who says underwear has to be dull?" Underwear now comes in vivid colors, prints and stars and stripes. It has gotten much sexier. Unfortunately, the underwear revolution has not extended to dissertations.

Most social science dissertations, despite their occasional fine ideas and diligent work, are painfully boring. It seems as if they have

been processed through a "borifier." They may have something inherently communicable to say, but they say it so poorly or pompously that it isn't communicated very well. Typically they can communicate only to a narrow spectrum of specialists who are trained to digest statistical spaghetti, jargonical jambalaya, and fricasseed footnotes. Meanwhile, political administrators, the subject groups studied, and the intelligent laymen are left in famine.

Once again, I wish my work to be otherwise. But the years of speaking acadamese have taken their toll and it has been painfully difficult to return to a more coherent style. There are many techniques that would be useful to more effective communication and I have consciously used only two of them. First, I have deliberately chosen to use very common value-laden words to express key concepts such as "magic" and "refugee." While this sacrifices precision for the less than patient reader, it has the advantage of preserving my integrity. When the word for a concept carries obvious feeling along with it, the reader can share my attitudes instead of having them drowned out in a bland, obfuscating, pseudo-objective jargon.

Second, I have tried to supplement my academic prose with other media, such as graphics (maps and sketches), short insightful quotes, lyrics, verse, and humor. For those that can tune in to these media, I think they often cut to the heart of what my own words only obscure. Chapter one is the repository for most of my experiments with alternate media. I suppose this will in some sense polarize readers from the start but that is the gamble I have taken. The skeptical reader should be warned that what may seem to be a scavenged grab-bag of examples and

illustrations is really often an attempt to introduce elements of the ideas presented more formally in later chapters.

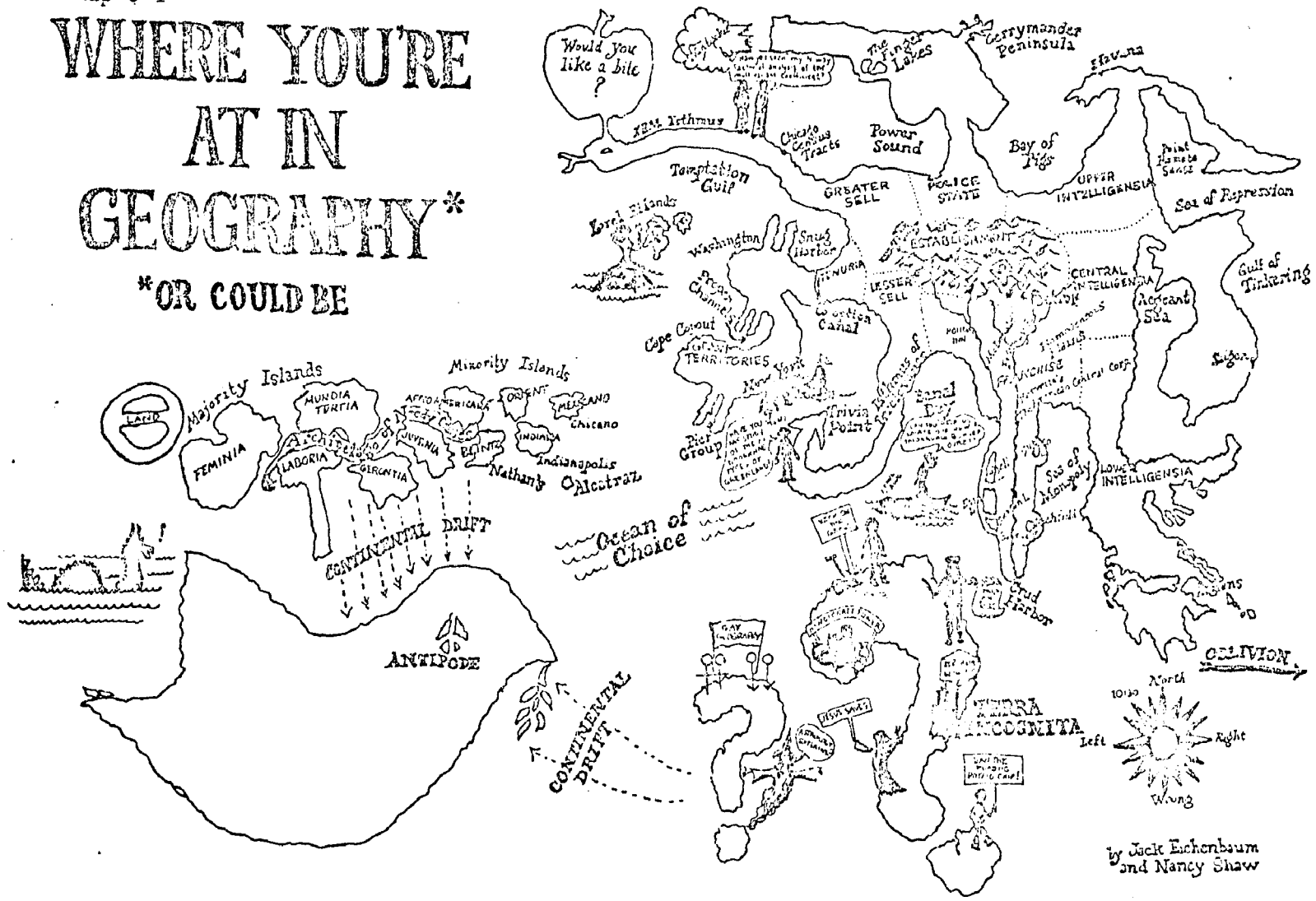
As a summary of my predispositions and as an initiation to alternate media I ask the reader to consider my travels on Map 0-1, "Where You're at in Geography* *or could be." About five years ago I drifted onto the map after a stormy voyage on the Ocean of Choice. I washed ashore on the IBM isthmus in the land of Greater Sell, but spent my vacations on the Minority Islands. Later I moved to the Minority Islands, refreshing myself occasionally on the Isthmus of Irrelevence, Mundia Tertia and Terra Incognita. This dissertation has been written on the island of Blintz, with several reconnaissance missions to the Grant Territories. At present I am taking depth readings of Snug Harbor, doing field work in Franchise, building a small cabin in the Minority Islands and camping in Terra Incognita.

Seattle, Washington
August, 1972

Map 0-1

WHERE YOU'RE AT IN GEOGRAPHY*

*OR COULD BE



by Jack Eichenbaum and Nancy Shaw

Acknowledgements:

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Abraham and Gertrude Eichenbaum and my late grandfather Elias Blum. They have fortified me with a precious cultural heritage which contains an empathy for the refugee, an understanding of prejudice, a love of cities and a respect for magic.

I also wish to thank my doctoral committee. My mentor, Gunnar Olsson, taught me respect for philosophy and his European elegance has been a necessary complement to my American spontaneity in the course of my education. My booster, Sally Cassidy, was an unfailing source of encouragement and understanding. Waldo Tobler was a dependable donor of both scrutable and inscrutable criticism. Peter Gosling got me money and position when I needed it and Steve Stich played a good squash game.

My numerous colleagues in Ann Arbor also aided in my intellectual development, particularly John Nystuen, Howard Mielke, John Clark and Stephen Gale. Chris Kirklin, Jan Lilien and Marie Nelson were of great help in analyzing data and preparing this manuscript. But it was Bill Bunge, Ron Horvath, Clark Akatiff, Gwen Warren and Bill Hawkins who made me see reality and made this dissertation into more than an intellectual game for me. In Detroit, Bill Davis and Norm LaZotte of the Boniface Community Action Center let me be useful while Richmond Hawkins and Homer Saunders of the Detroit Housing Commission gave me access to their data.

I am also especially grateful to Henry Ford. In addition to the magic of his making described in this dissertation, he also endowed the Ford Foundation which has financially supported much of my work.

Many other unique spirits have meant alot to me. They have been, are dwelling, or will be in the following magic-generating regions:

New York City
San Francisco
Leysin, Switzerland
London, England
Marrakech, Morocco
Sonoma County, California
1318-22 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Detroit, Michigan
East Lansing, Michigan
Michigan's Upper Peninsula
Seattle, Washington
The Olympic Peninsula

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Chapter 1. The Magic Theater

ANARCHIST EVENING ENTERTAINMENT
MAGIC THEATER
ENTRANCE NOT FOR EVERYBODY

Hermann Hesse
Steppenwolf

American geography would grow rather than shrink in stature and esteem were we to give greater scope to the aesthetic operation of our own imaginations, and, when we see sparks of artistry kindling the imaginations of our graduate students and geographical colleagues, were we to resist the temptation to stamp them out.

John K. Wright
"Terrae Incognitae"

The goal is to turn on everybody who can be turned on and turn off everybody else.
Theater has no rules, forms, structures, standards, traditions-it is pure, natural energy, impulse, anarchy.

Jerry Rubin
Do it!

Dramatis Personnae (in order of appearance)

The author
The spirit of the refugee
The spirit of Henry Ford
A Buddist monk
Chorus of geographers
A Madison Avenue copywriter, modishly dressed
Astrologer
Snoopy and friends
Primitive Man
Isaac Newton
Charles Darwin
Alfred Russell Wallace
Economic Man
Ludwig von Bertalanffy
Chorus of architects
Chorus of psychologists
Mrs. Jean Rosenstein, an elderly widow living in Los Angeles

Setting

The action takes place in the laboratory of the author, a cluttered basement room with a cobwebbed window in a midwestern University town. A copy of Herman Hesse's Steppenwolf and some brochures hawking 1971 Fords are prominent on a desk otherwise littered with more scholarly

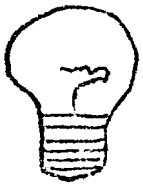
literature. Some pencils project from an Ehrlenmeyer flask. The author, a frustrated chemist, is attempting a new synthesis...

Every advance in culture,
commences, so to speak,
with a new period of wander-
ing...

Carl Bücher

As you read on in these pages, you will discover a special set of smart new Fords with uncommonly attractive features. Each one a better idea value for every kind of driver . . . every type of driving.

Act 1 The Grand Attitudes



1. All is One

OM MANI PADME HUM
Tibetan Invocation

("That is: in the One arises the Creative; and through the operation of the Creative, the collective is gathered into the synthesis; and from the synthesis, emanates the quintessence, the Idea, whose energy is again the One.")[2]

Perhaps the ultimate questions the inquiring mind poses is "What is the guiding force behind all reality?" This question is generally thought of as one of a religious or spiritual nature. For the Jews the answer was found in one God but for many nineteenth century scientists the answer was found in the deterministic laws of mechanics. Modern

physicists probing the unfathomable on the scale of the cosmos or that of subnuclear atomic particles often seek the same Truth. More earth-bound thinkers dwell on the oneness of ecology. And more likely than not, every academic discipline has its enthusiasts who see all phenomena as emanating from their subject matter.

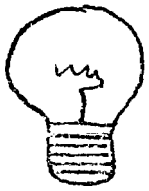
Whether "oneness" is to be found in Metaphysics, Life, Language, Perception, Culture, Nature, Process, Magic, God, Relativity or The Stars, is not important here. It is more the abstraction of the integrating synthesizing quest of men and the power of the harmony it brings to its adherents to which attention is drawn. Whether "oneness" is a product of scientific assumption[3] or intuitive feeling[4] is also not important. It suffices that this abstract attitude exists and that it brings pleasure and meaning to existence - from the Tibetan plateau to the student ghetto. In a recent newspaper article, headlined "Feeling oneness, tripping on truth" a student recorded his impressions upon exposure to a contemporary spiritual teacher:

> For myself and Bruce the experience reached its optimum when we dropped a psychedelic drug Thursday and went to hear Stephen talk. Then and there occured my spiritual enlightenment. I felt the Oneness. God ceased to be man's projection and became One and the same. The great dilemma of human existence, the disparity between oneself and everything else, was resolved.[5]

Geography has dwelled on this attitude both as a school of thought and in the teachings and feelings of maverick individuals. George Kimble holds that medieval geographers found refuge in the spiritual oneness of cosmology.[6] Ron Horvath and Clark Akatiff's recent course in "Metahumangeography" held the All is One attitude as its prime principle; one of its projects was an insightful paper written by a Vietnamese student, Nguyen Duc Tien, comparing modern geographic explanations with

the unified traditional Vietnamese explanatory system.[7] And so many of my colleagues will privately admit that they came into the profession as an escape from the pretensions of disciplines attempting to pigeonhole the unity of reality.

2. All are Unique



These five leading Scotches look pretty much alike.

They all look light.

And they taste light, too.

Where Scotches do vary is in smoothness.

And that's where we shine. People who know Scotch consider "Black & White" the smoothest of them all.

A time to take it easy . . . and enjoy a whole new cigarette. New L&M.

Imported, Genuine, Rare Sea Turtle Slices

Now at a new low price! only $1.49

Cooking with the Radarange microwave oven is a totally new way of preparing food.

If this were an ordinary gin, we would have put it in an ordinary gin bottle.

Charles Tanqueray

Vogue Tyres are Custom Built

We think you'll find all our music systems sound quite different from the ones you're used to hearing. Visit your local KLH dealer for a demonstration.

Your first drive will demonstrate to you that a Lincoln Continental or Continental Mark III is more than just another luxury car. These are cars apart and above.

The Hathaway man examines an old daguerreotype of Versailles, perhaps trying to find the exact salon that inspired his shirt, a unique pattern.

Advertising copy
Esquire

Personality is an abstraction which very clearly unifies those thinkers with a penchant for investigating uniqueness. The individuality of a particular human being is a dimension of astrology[8] and other mystical pursuits as well as a valid scientific subject in psychology.[9]

While psychologists, of all scientists, are most easily identified with the study of uniqueness, this attitude, I argue, creeps into any science. Thomas Kuhn[10] points out that the recognition of anomaly in a discovery - such as Lavoisier's confrontation with oxygen or Roentgen's experience with X-rays - signals the failure of scientific paradigms and the emergence of new theory. Modern physics continues to deal with the uniqueness of both elementry particles and various celestial entities, and chemistry is seen by Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen as a study of the "novelties" of physics.[11]

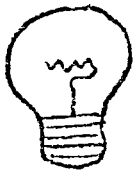
That things are always different from one another may be an outgrowth of prolonged observation, as in the case of specialized scientists and their elements, species, or cultures; intimate contemplation as in the case of Buddhists; culturally adaptive familiarity as in the case of Eskimos and their many words for snow; or a simple assertion as it appears to be for advertisers selling mass produced commodities. In all of these ways, this attitude helps structure reality, at least on one level, as an exciting, differentiated collection of entities, each with an essence all its own for us to explore.

This can perhaps help explain the allure and validity of some geographers' fascination with the regional approach most identifiable with Richard Hartshorne:

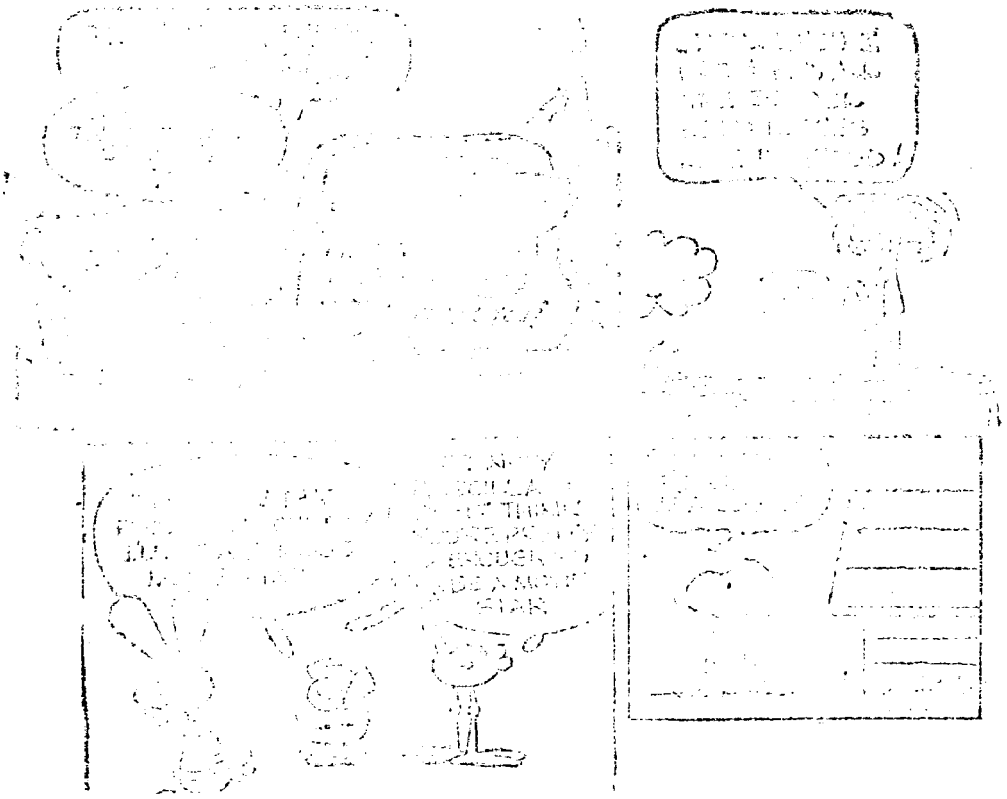
> ...no universals need be evolved, other than the general law of geography that all its areas are unique.[12]

True, many "uniqueness" studies in this tradition are boring and trivial- and anything but unique in their exposition. But let us not forget that the same underlying attitude is also responsible for earthly exploration and discovery and the extension of our knowledge of the variability of

the human condition. The ongoingness of such activity is well illustrated in William Bunge's founding of the Detroit Geographical Expedition and the Society for Human Exploration, among whose goals are to bring traditional regional geographic sensitivity to the academically underexplored areas of the urban West.[13]



3. All That Out There is Like Us



"The Flintstones" Hanna-Barbera
"Boner's Ark" Addison
"Peanuts" Charles Scultz
"Animal Crackers" Reg Bollen

(Clockwise from upper left)

A recurring theme in research detailing the world view of "primitive" societies is, for the lack of a more graceful word, anthropomorphization; almost invariably, primitive man seems to have understood nature as a vital, human system. Aneila Jaffé and Joseph Henderson[14]

have shown how the myths and art of primitive man reflect the animation of his environment in human terms and Alexander Spoehr[15] has shown how different cultures interpret natural resources with respect to their social structure. Technologically primitive cultures often embrace their ecology in their society; it is part of them, hence like them - Nature is "Thou." Mary Hesse likewise structures her discussion of the primitive ideas of action at a distance:

> In the mythopoeic explanations of the ancient world a great variety of analogies are between the processes of non-human nature, the functioning of the human body, and human society.[16]

She goes on to elaborate some of these analogies: organic growth and reproduction characterize an alive Nature; in the "analogy of attraction" man's sympathy, antipathy, love, and hate, etc. are ascribed to Natural forces; the magic of symbolic representation, as in Voodoo, is made responsible for natural events; the human artisan is the obvious analogue for the Creator.[17]

Similarly, this process of reasoning outward from human experience, is found to be characteristic of children. Certainly we are familiar with children's fondness for animated cartoons and comic books, their anthropomorphization of Teddy Bears and pets, and the readiness of their belief in the powers of magicians, ghosts and fairies. Jean Piaget, in his studies of modern Western children, finds that their conceptions of physical causality are revised in a series of stages as they age, but that they begin with a very anthropomorphic base:

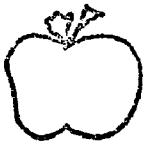
> Five stages may be distinguished in the explanations which the child gives of the movement of clouds. The first stage is magical: we make the clouds move by walking. The clouds obey us at a distance...The second stage is both artificialist and animistic. Clouds move because God or men make them move...During a third stage...clouds are supposed to

> move by themselves, though the child says nothing definite as to how this movement is affected.[18]

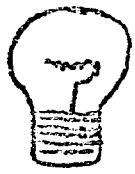
A later stage incorporates a "motor schema" in which "physical or mechanical necessity" is comprehended and finally a "correct" (sic) explanation is reached wherein clouds move because an independent wind "pushes" them.[19]

Lord Keynes has also said that Newton was "not the first of the age of reason" but "the last of the magicians."[20]
I.B. Cohen

I see modern science as also having found stimulation in the attitude "All That Out There is like Us." Even Isaac Newton, often admired as the innovator of cohesive impersonal abstract deductive science, was not immune from this view. The apple story aside, it is apparently not known exactly what inspired his laws of motion and his understanding of gravity; this does not seem to surface in his theoretical works. But from his more wordly writings we know that he felt that something sensual, if not sexual, lurked behind the attraction of masses:







> And now we might add something concerning a certain most subtle spirit which pervades and lies hid in all gross bodies; by the force and action of which spirit the particles of bodies attract one another at near distances, and cohere, if contiguous; and electric bodies operate to greater distances as well repelling as attracting the neighboring corpuscles; and light is emitted, reflected, refracted, inflected, and heats bodies; and all sensation is excited, and the members of animal bodies move at the command of the will, namely, by the vibrations of this spirit, mutually propogated along the solid filaments of the nerves, from the outward organs of sense to the brain, and from the brain into the muscles. But these are things that cannot be explained in few words, nor are we furnished with that sufficiency of experiments which is required to an accurate determination and demonstration of the laws by which this electric and elastic spirit operates.[21]

The situation is much clearer with respect to the development of evol-

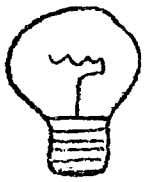
utionary theory by both Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. Each of them independently credit their ideas of "struggle in nature" to Thomas Malthus' human observations and each makes explicit references to plant and animal domestication for his views on "variation in nature."[22]

> In the next chapter the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from their high geometric powers of increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms.
>
> When we look to the individuals of the same variety or sub-variety of our older cultivated plants and animals, one of the first points that strikes us is, that they generally differ much more from each other, than do the individuals of any one species or variety in a state of nature.
>
> Charles Darwin[23]

> ...one day while lying in my bed during the cold fit, wrapped in blankets...something let me to think of the "positive checks" described by Malthus...These checks - war, disease, famine and the like - must, it occured to me, act on animals as well as man.
>
> ...such varieties (in wild animals) have strict limits, and can never again vary further from the original type, although they may return to it, which, from the analogy of domesticated animals, is considered to be highly probable...
>
> Alfred R. Wallace[24]

Theoretical geography has shared this same kind of reasoning - which has produced some of its most influential ideas. William Morris Davis' elaboration of "The Geographical Cycle."[25] an attempt to genetically explain land form development, clearly rests upon an analogy with human aging, and F. E. Clements' analysis of plant associations derives from similar organismic notions.[26] Contemporary geography continues to explore the ramifications of the same attitude. Yi-Fu-Tuan has added a humanistic spark to the understanding of mountains in seeing them as expressing the melancholy of human ruins.[27] Meanwhile, one of the most common quantitative approaches to the study of non-Western urban geography has been to apply Western concepts and models. "Us" in this case

is limited to particular cultural groups and "All That Out There" is taken to be everyone else.



4. All Us are like That Out There

> And God created man in His own image,
> in the image of God created He him...
> Genesis 1:27

> It is an essential characteristic of science that it progressively de-anthropomorphizes, that is, progressively eliminates, those traits which are due to specifically human experience.
> Ludwig von Bertalanffy

Religious and mystical uses notwithstanding, modern social scientists, particularly quantitative theoretical ones, are probably the most common adherents of this attitude. Relative to the physical and biological sciences, mathematization came late to the human sphere, the result being that most abstract modelling in the social sciences merely involves the explicit appropriation of formulations descriptive of non-human entities.[28] But the attitude is manifested in other ways. Historians and cultural anthropologists occasionally account for the unfolding of contemporary society in terms of the experience of peoples in other places and times. Frequently the attitude also surfaces on the level of self-comprehension. A psychiatrist, a friend, or the individual himself may try to explain the behavior or personality of an individual using another person as a model. Again, this involves an adjustment of "Us" to "Me" or "You" and "All That Out There" to "Him" or "Them."

The strengths of this attitude lie in its ability to illuminate human existence from a new direction. And here the social sciences have done much. But its major weakness is insensitive unsupplemented

adoption - so often the analogy chosen to illuminate "Us" overexposes one side of "Us," to put it mildly, leaving the rest of "Us" in the dark. The classic case involves the conception of "economic man." While the roots of this conception are clearly with Adam Smith, the equations and formal statements about his behavior stem from the explicit analogies to Newtonian mechanical equilibrium theory made by men like Alfred Marshall and Vilfredo Pareto.[29] Since then, whole societies have been planned and directed using these formulations - purely mechanical models. Writing in Europe, on the dawn of World War II, Peter Drucker analyzes the European outcome as follows:

> It is not that the standard of knowledge of the economists has deteriorated. It is the belief in the desirability and in the necessity of the sovreignty and autonomy of the economic sphere that is disappearing; and with the belief, the reality. The masses have realized that the exercise of free economic activity will not and cannot lead to the establishment of the free and equal society. They therefore refuse to regard economic behavior as "typical" and socially desirable behavior. They refuse to accept institutions simply because they serve economic ends, satisfactions simply because they are economic satisfactions.[30]

In geography the description of "Us" in terms of "That Out There" has been extremely common since its emergence as a quantitative theoretical science. Central Place Theory, for example, uses the mechanical image of economic man to describe "Our" consuming behavior and the purely geometric image of a homogeneous plain to describe "Our" environment. D. R. Stoddart details the impact of Darwinian models in human geography[31] and the recent publication Models in Geography[32] serves to illustrate the appropriation of many models of "That Out There" for examination of human systems. Quite recently the profusion of this attitude has led to a situation where a particular aspect of "Us" is likened by

models to a variety of "That Out There." For some this has implied contradiction and a bout in the academic arena but for others, different formulations are seen as complementary. The latter, a more positive spirit, is taken by Gunnar Olsson in his study of colonization and the spread of rural settlement.[33]

ACT II. General System Theory

General System Theory, at least as eloquently put forth by one of its founders, Ludwig von Bertalanffy,[34] has been rather mangled in its introduction to geographic literature. Of the published articles, Richard Chorley[35] perhaps best captures the spirit of it all. Unfortunately, Edward Ackermann's work[36] seems to have led to a confusion between General System Theory and Systems Analysis while Michael Chisholm[37] dismisses General System Theory as "an irrelevant distraction." The idea that General System Theory is a very open, permissive philosophy, capable of intergrating seemingly contradictory modes of thinking, has had to rest in unpublished manuscripts.[38] This is the position taken here. Indeed I wish to show very simply how all of the Four Grand Attitudes described above are incorporated in Bertalanffy's writings.

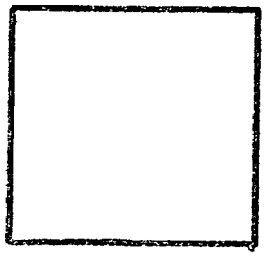
There are three important ideas that Bertalanffy builds on which clarify my position. The first is the idea of the "open system."[39] Classical physics, the basis of so much of most sciences, considers entities to be isolated from their environment, not to be influenced by external conditions; they are seen as "closed systems." Bertalanffy asks us to alternatively consider phenomena, more generally, as "open systems" in which environmental influences are not so denied. The attitude "All is One" is admissable only if systems are open. The second

idea is that modern science has evolved tools and analytical approaches which are not restricted to particular disciplines or particular subject matter.[40] This has led to the discovery "of structural similarities or isomorphisms in different fields."[41] For example, exponential growth laws can be meaningfully applied to bacteria, human beings, and scientific publications. Such discoveries are an affirmation of the potential value of unorthodox analogies and recall the complementary attitudes "All That Out There is like Us" and "All Us is like That Out There."[42] The third idea is that organization is a central concept, involving both wholeness and individuation.[43] Bertalanffy sees the elegant complementarity in the attitudes "All is One" and "All are Unique." His "ultimate precept" is that each man possesses a precious uniqueness.

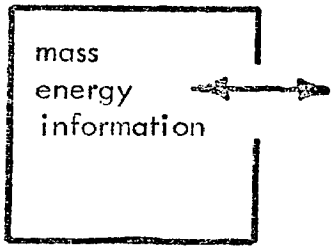
> Man is not only a political animal; he is before and above all, an individual. The real values of humanity are not those which it shares with biological entities, the function of an organism or a community of animals, but those which stem from the individual mind. Human society is not a community of ants or termites, governed by inherited instinct and controlled by the laws of the superordinate whole; it is based upon the achievements of the individual and is doomed if the individual is made a cog in the social machine. This, I believe, is the ultimate precept a theory of organization can give; not a manual for dictators of any denomination more efficiently to subjugate human beings by the scientific application of Iron Laws, but a warning that the Leviathan of organization must not swallow the indivudual without sealing its own inevitable doom.[44]

What remains to be done in this Act is to progressively develop four "General Systems," each of which is a conception of a real system.[45] Each possesses a more general quality of "openness." Each elaborates organization in a more general way. Each is associable with different philosophies. I will progress from the simplest to the most general system and then illustrate the utility of these constructs in analyzing the theoretical content of two qualitatively different subjects of

inquiry - architecture and personality.[46]

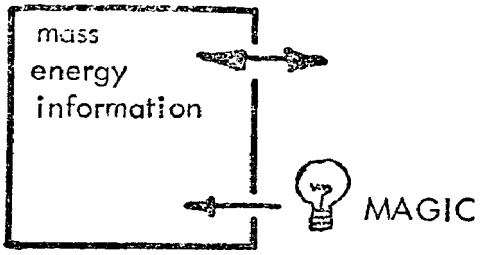


1. The Closed System

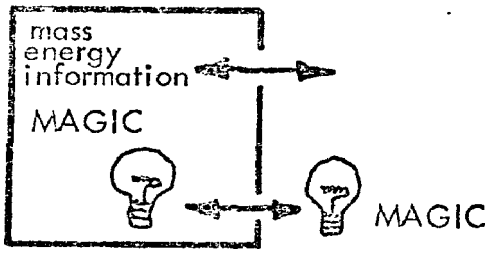


2. The Homeostatic System

SURROUNDINGS



3. The Deviation-Amplifying System

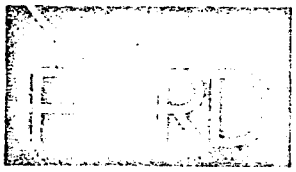


4. The Magic-Generating System

Figure 1 - 1 FOUR GENERAL SYSTEMS

The General Systems (See Fig. 1-1 for diagrams)

1. The Closed System



A BETTER IDEA FOR SAFETY: BUCKLE UP.

A closed system is one whose elements, those things inside it, behave imperviously to their environment. They are inexorably driven to a particular minimal state of organization called "equilibrium,"[47] from which any deviation is counterbalanced by changes tending to restore the same state. The nature of the equilibrium state is governed by the particular attributes of separate elements, which are fixed, and the properties of the environment at the time of "closure." This view of a system is philosophically akin to the Platonic concept of "pure form "[48] and is most thoroughly exploited in classical physics.

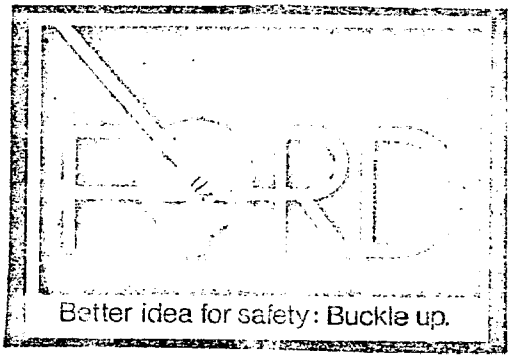
2. The Homeostatic System



Better idea for safety: Buckle up.

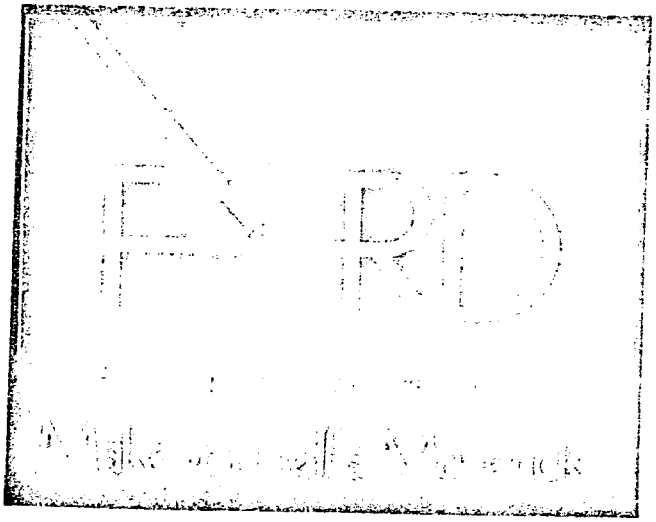
A homeostatic system is an open system, capable of exchanging mass, energy, and information with its environment, but only so as to maintain a constant state of organization, sometimes called "equilibrium." This system is dynamic in the sense that there is an ongoing exchange but the attributes of its elements and their organization are static. Philosophically, this amounts to functional analysis,[49] the overriding concern being the undisturbed functioning of the system; the view being rather thoroughly exploited in physiology and bureaucracy.

3. The Deviation-Amplifying System



A deviation-amplifying system is further open - to the extent that it can import "magic" from its environment. Magic, here, means a novelty, uniqueness, a deviation which acts so as to reorganize the system, building on the input of magic. Magic may be "good" or "bad." The elements of the system incorporate magic and their attributes undergo dynamic change. Philosophically, this system allows for Whitehead's process and creativity[50] and is epitomized by evolutionary theory in biology.

4. The Magic-Generating System



A magic-generating system exports as well as imports magic. Its elements are capable of generating their own novelties or uniqueness and can transmit this magic to their environment. The organization of both the system and the environment implicitly undergo dynamic change. Philosophically, this is more fully Whitehead than the deviation-amplifying system and also is compatible with Eastern ideas.[51] In Western science, which largely disdains magic, there is no generally accepted paradigm,[52] although the mathematical syntax for magic-generation exists. Topology, the mathematics of

converting croissants into bagels or pulling rabbits out of hats, has been used to study qualitative morphological discontinuities in biology and has been linked with dynamic field theory in psychology.[53]

Systems, Attitudes, and Scale

Each of the systems described above can be used to translate the conception of one realm of reality to another, admitting the attitudes "All That Out There is like Us" and "All Us are like That Out There." But only in the magic-generating system are the attitudes "All is One" and "All are Unique" simultaneously incorporated; an exchange of magic provides individuation and wholeness. The closed system denies that All is One. The homeostatic system denies that uniqueness or individuation can continue to develop. The deviation-amplifying system admits individuation from the environment but denies its origin within the system; All are not capable of magic generation.

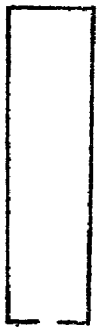
Each of the higher numbered systems incorporates all of the features of the lower numbered systems. The magic-generating system is thus the most general. Other system views are not "wrong" - they are more limited in features. In another sense this idea may be seen as a limitation of the spatial and temporal scale of the reality in question. When we freeze time at an instant and bound reality in space, there are no exchanges and we have an apparently closed system. When we slightly blur our boundary and observe for a short but finite period of time, we have an apparently homeostatic system. If our boundary is further blurred and we allow enough time, magic appears to creep in. Finally, given enough time and space to maneuver, magic seems to be generated within the system.

Systems and Architecture

The architect is concerned with creating a building. Theories of architecture are concerned with guiding principles and concepts behind this creative role. I will try to identify various architectural theories with the General Systems discussed above.



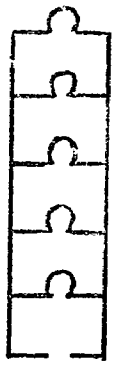
Monumental architecture of Egyptian, Classical and Medieval times can be interpreted as most representative of the closed system.[54] The pyramid is perhaps a paradigm. The building is constructed to withstand its environment, as a terrestrial approximation to an "ideal form" - Plato's "eidos." A harmonic geometry is its aesthetic guide and it is endowed with inflexible permanence. Such a closed system view has persisted through the ages where architects ignore surroundings, human use, and external changes in favor of an abstract a priori plan to establish internal order.



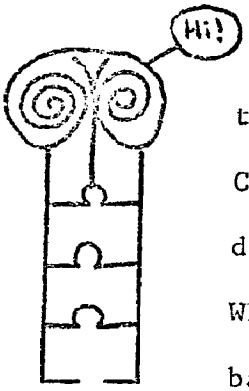
The homeostatic system is reflected in functionalist theory, where the form of a building is designed to accomodate the function it serves. Louis Sullivan explicitly called this form-function relationship "the metaphysical basis of our philosophy"[55] and Frank Lloyd Wright carried on in a more organic sense in attempting to aesthetically balance his buildings in their setting. Other functionalist architecture, based on mechanical views of "efficiency" or the moral idea that a building be an "honest" expression of its purpose, is also exemplary.[56]

A more dynamic view of a building as an artifact capable of externally prompted change can be linked to the deviation amplifying system. The flexibility of modular construction or Japanese sliding walls can

accomodate variability in use. Here architects interpret changing



function with flexible form - as an architect of early 20th century Amsterdam remarked, "...it is not really the architect who makes these plans - it is society."[57] This view is currently expressed in designs such as the transportable Habitat and mobile homes in the urban West, and in inexpensive homes capable of modular additions in the urbanized Third World.[58]



It is somewhat more difficult to pinpoint architectural conceptions echoing the magic-generating system. Clearly a building guided by such a principle would be endowed with inspirational value capable of exportation. While churches and shrines with majestic proportions and baroque ornamentation often fulfill this role, their shell is usually conceived as closed, static and eternal. They lack the open and evolving magic of a child's sand castle. The best practical contemporary example I can offer, given my own aesthetic values, is Barrio Gaudi. This new Spanish suburb incorporates the variety and fantasy of the Catalan Art Nouveau movement, created by Antonio Gaudi, in a new and evolving design for community living.[59]

"CRY ANSWERED"
Ann Arbor News
28 Nov. 1970

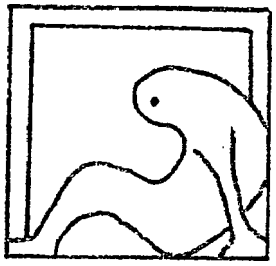
Systems and Personality

In this section I will dwell on psychologists' and psychiatrists' conceptions of the essence and behavior of the individual man. Whereas in discussing architecture, I assumed a rather free license in linking theory with systems, such relation-

ships are much clearer here. In fact, the Gestalt concept in psychology has explicitly popularized the treatment of personality as a whole or system.[60]

A classical approach to the conception of a person as a closed system has, according to Gardner Murphy, been a dominant theme in Western history, from the rise of bourgeosie achivement to the American frontier spirit.[61] He puts this well:

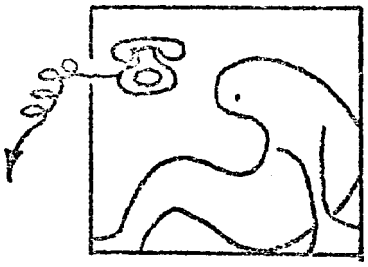
> ...there is and always has been, at least from Plato's time, a profound aesthetic satisfaction in the contemplation of an ordered and self-contained unity. Persons are even more interesting and beautiful than gems. Gems that flowed into the jewel case would be a nuisance and a mess; persons that insist on flowing into the environment are an abomination; they confuse the eye and muddy the soul. The encysted person must be idealized because he is so obviously ideal - that is, in Plato's sense, the <u>real</u> person. For the Platonist, the fluctuations, the fuzzy boundaries characterize only the <u>apparent</u> person.[62]



LOS ANGELES (AP) — "I'm so lone-
s- ly I could die," said the letter to the edi-
:s tor.
"My phone never rings . . . I'm the
only one on earth. How else can I feel.
All alone, see no one. Hear no one. Oh,
dear God, help me. . . .
"Will somebody call me?"
ion, The letter, containing a dollar bill and
lies, six stamps for anybody who would call
man or write, was signed Jean Rosenstein

Nevertheless, in contemporary psychology and psychiatry, largely concerned with social influences, clinical methods and therapy, such a view has no relevance and is sparsely advocated.

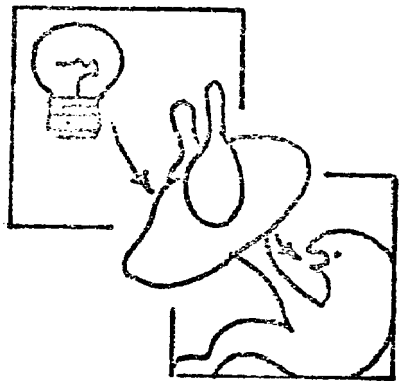
More common are theories dealing with the functional concept of a homeostatic



The Los Angeles Times printed the letter Thanksgiving morning, adding that Mrs. Rosenstein is an 81-year-old widow and retired nurse living alone in a tiny apartment on $200 a month.

Mrs. Rosenstein received so many calls Thanksgiving Day she finally had to take the phone off the hook.

"I hope the people will forgive me," she told newsmen Friday, slightly hoarse. "I just couldn't talk anymore.



Mrs. Rosenstein hadn't had time to open all her mail yet. People were still coming to the door Friday.

She turned down many telephoned invitations for Thanksgiving dinner and stayed by her telephone. But some of her visitors had thought of that.

"I've still got four complete turkey dinners in my refrigerator," she said.

Dozens of people stopped by her apartment. Many brought or sent flowers. Every table was covered with potted plants and the bathtub was full of flowers.

"I've got the most beautiful bathtub in the world," said Mrs. Rosenstein.

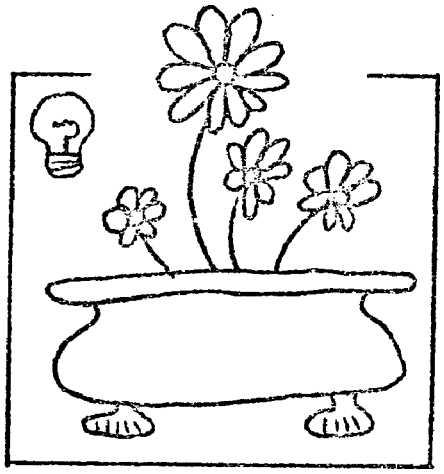
"I keep saying to everybody, thank you. But it isn't enough. I want to say more."

system, the overriding concern being the adjustment of the person and his personal stability. Personality is innate or fixed at an early age. This is a Freudian view. According to Bertalanffy's interpretation of Freud, "the basic function of the mental apparatus consists of maintaining homeostatic equilibrium."[63]

Theories which allow for the continuing development of personality promoted by external influences recall the deviation amplifying system. Emphasis is on the learning process and reinforcement; such approaches are called behaviorism or "stimulus-response."[64] But Bertalanffy calls this approach "psychological engineering:"

> Scholastic learning is best carried through by teaching machines... Conditioning with psychoanalytic background keeps the wheels of free enterprise going. Advertising, motivation research, radio and television are ways of conditioning or programming the human machine so that it buys what it should...[65]

Finally, personality is also seen as a magic generating system wherein the creative, non-survival aspects of man, such as play and exploratory behavior, are considered. This is most clearly brought out



in Gardner Murphy's dynamic field theory:

> Personality is social, but it is more ...Personality is considered here as a flowing continuum of organism-environment events. The general nature of these events, and the problem of individuality in their history, are considered jointly... The child, then, is not a mass of protoplams thrown into the midst of society to become the recipient of certain specific cultural molding processes, but rather an organic aspect of an interpersonal pattern of impulsive, demanding existence.[66]

The difference between deviation-amplifying and magic-generating theories of personality is well expressed in the recent controversy between B. F. Skinner and Noam Chomsky. While Skinner would explain personal creativity soley in terms of environmental influences and controls, Chomsky admits the autonomy of the personality, bestowing it with innate structuring capacity.[67]

Act III Soliloquy

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players
> They have their exits and entrances;
> And one man in his time plays many parts...
> William Shakespeare

The themes that have been developed in this theater - attitudes and systems - might be used to characterize methodology in any discipline besides geography. In fact, the objects I have scrutinized as systems were more the direct concern of architects and psychologists. But clearly it is an amalgam of buildings and people which is the direct concern of urban planning, which many geographers, including myself, wish to contribute to. More generally, the regional concept may be thought of

with respect to the four different systems discussed here. I have left it as an excersize for the reader to categorize such concepts as formal and functional regions, culture hearths and spheres of influence as illustrating different system properties.

My most important goal has been to show how the seemingly unrelated and conflicting attitudes nurtured in geography, which have often plagued me in my more dogmatic moods, might be seen as part of a complementary whole. Within this whole, each attitude and system concept is potentially useful. If my academic swords are beaten into plowshares, I shall be better equipped to till the Earth.

Notes - Chapter 1

1. See Alan Watts, The Two Hands of God (Toronto: Collier, 1969) for many such precedents.

2. Dane Rudhyar, The Astrology of Personality (Wassenaar, the Netherlands: Servire, 1963) p. 170.

3. Jan Smuts, Holism and Evolution (New York: McMillan, 1926).

4. Robert Lifton, for example, finds this feeling in man's quest for immortality and omniadaptability. R. J. Lifton, Boundaries (New York: Vintage, 1970) Ch. 3.

5. James (sic), The Michigan Daily Nov. 22, 1970 p. 4.

6. George Kimble, Geography in the Middle Ages (London: Methuen, 1938) p. 2ff.

7. Nguyen Duc Tien, "Problems in Geography and Vietnamese Explanatory System" manuscript, (Michigan State Univ., 1969). The course was offered at Michigan State Univ. in the academic year 1968-69.

8. Rudhyar, op. cit.

9. Gardner Murphy, Personality (New York: Harper, 1947).

10. Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962) Ch. 4.

11. Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Analytical Economics: Issues and Problems (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1966) Ch. 3.

12. Richard Hartshorne, The Nature of Geography (Lancaster: Assoc. of American Geographers, 1939) p. 468.

13. William Bunge, "The First Years of the Detroit Geographical Expidition: A Personal Report," Field Notes I (1969).

14. Aneila Jaffé, "Symbolism in the Visual Arts" and Joseph Henderson, "Ancient Myths and Modern Man," both in C. G. Jung (Ed.) Man and His Symbols (New York: Dell, 1968) pp. 255-322 and pp. 95-165.

15. Alexander Spoehr, "Cultural Differences in the Interpretation of Natural Resources" in William Thomas Jr. (ed.) Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1956) pp. 93-102.

16. Mary Hesse, Forces and Fields (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1965) p. 30.

17. Hesse, Ibid., pp. 30-3.

18. Jean Piaget, The Child's Conception of Physical Causality (translated by Marjorie Gabin) (New York: Humanities Press, 1951) p. 61.

19. Piaget, Ibid., pp. 61-73.

20. I. B. Cohen, Franklin and Newton (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956) p. 47.

21. Isaac Newton (Andrew Motte translation, 1729) quoted in Cohen, Newton, p. 105.

22. Loren Eiseley develops similar themes extensively in Darwin's Century (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1961).

23. Charles Darwin, The Origin of Species (New York: D. Appleton, 1861) p. 12, p. 14.

24. Alfred R. Wallace, Natural Selection and Tropical Nature (London: McMillan, 1895) p. 20, p. 23.

25. William Morris Davis, "The Geographical Cycle" The Geographical Journal 14 (1899) pp. 481-504.

26. See Hugh M. Raup "Trends in the Development of Geographic Botany" Annals of the Assoc. of American Geographers 32 (1942) pp. 319-54.

27. Yi-Fu Tuan "Mountains, Ruins, and the Sentiment of Melancholy" Landscape 14 (1964) pp. 27-30.

28. One could take an extreme position and define any purely mathematical model as "That Out There," a mathematical function being a rather fleshless entity. Here I only consider mathematical functions which are borrowed from original uses in describing non-human systems. This is elaborated in Chapter 2.

29. Alfred Marshall, "Mechanical and Biological Analogies in Economics" (1898) in A. C. Pigou (ed.) Memorials of Alfred Marshall (New York: Kelley & Millman, 1956) pp. 312-18, Vilfredo Pareto, Cours d'Economie Politique (Lausanne, 1896). See also the recent critique by Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, The Entropy Law and the Economic Process (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971), particularly pp. 1-3.

30. Peter Drucker, The End of Economic Man (New York: John Day, 1939) p. 49.

31. D. R. Stoddart "Darwin's Impact on Geography" Annals of the Assoc. of American Geographers 56 (1966) pp. 683-98.

32. Richard Chorley and Peter Haggett (eds.), Models in Geography (London: Methuen, 1967). See particularly Chapters 9-11, 13-16.

33. Gunnar Olsson, "Complementary Models: A Study of Colonization Maps" Geographic Annaler 50B (1968) pp. 115-32.

34. Ludwig von Bertalanffy, General System Theory (New York: George Braziliar, 1968).

35. Richard Chorley, "Geomorphology and General Systems Theory" USGS Professional Paper 500-B (1962) pp. 1-10.

36. E. A. Ackermann "Where is a Research Frontier?" Annals of the Assoc. of American Geographers 53 (1963) pp. 429-440.

37. Michael Chisholm, "General Systems Theory and Geography" Trans. and Proc. of the Inst. of British Geographers 42 (1967) pp. 45-52.

38. Bryn Greer-Wooten, "General Systems Theory - A New Backbone for the 'Formless' Discipline of Geography?" Mimeograph, McGill Univ. (1965); G. David Russell, "General Systems Theory and Geography; a rejoinder" Mimeograph, London School of Economics (1968); Ben Wisner, "The Transition from a Organismic to a Systems Approach in Ecology and Geography" Typescript, Clark Univ. (1968); Jack Eichenbaum "Applying the General Systems Approach: Some Biology Lessons for Central Place Theorists" Mimeograph, Univ. of Michigan (1969).

39. Bertalanffy, op. cit. p. 39ff.

40. Ibid. p. 19ff.

41. Ibid. p. 33. Examples are sprinkled throughout the book.

42. The complementary of "Us" and "That Out There" has been broached beautifully, through phenomenology, specifically within the context of geography, by Yi-Fu Tuan. See "Geography, Phenomenology and the Study of Human Nature" Canadian Geographer 15 (1971) pp. 181-92 and "Man and Nature," Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 10 (Washington: Assoc. of American Geographers, 1971).

43. Bertalanffy, op. cit. pp. 46ff.

44. Ibid. pp. 52-3.

45. Those unfamiliar with the definition of a system might consult A. D. Hall and R. E. Fagen,"Definition of Systems" General Systems I (1956) pp. 18-28.

46. The particular differentiation of the Four Systems discussed

is original with me, although for the basis of the first three of them I relied heavily on Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967). For my purposes, definitions and terms are used in a particular way which are often at variance with Buckley's book and similar literature - which is not "standardized" itself. Other popular terms include "organismic" which is synonymous with "homeostatic" and deviation-amplifying, and deviation-counteracting which can be applied to both "Equilibrating" and "homeostatic" depending on the author. I am being consistent with Buckley's use of terms, except for a difference between "magic-generating" and "Deviation-amplifying" which is elaborated in the discussion.

47. Buckley, op. cit. pp. 8-11.

48. One discussion of the Platonic doctrine appears in R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of Nature (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) pp. 55-72. This connection has been made for the concern for "pure form" in geography by Jack Eichenbaum and Stephen Gale, "Form, Function, and Process: A Methodological Inquiry" Economic Geography 47 (1971) pp. 525-43.

49. Carl Hempel, "The Logic of Functional Analysis" in Llewellyn Gross (ed.) Symposium on Sociological Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1959) pp. 271-307. Also see Eichenbaum and Gale, "Form."

50. A. N. Whitehead, Process and Reality (New York: Harper, 1960). This is also discussed by Eichenbaum and Gale, "Form."

51. Rudhyar, op. cit.

52. Edgar Dunn has optimistically offered us a creative social learning metaphor as "The Emerging Social Science Paradigm" see Economic and Social Development (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971) Part IV.

53. See R. Thom "Topological Models in Biology" Topology 8 (1969) pp. 313-35 and Gordon W. Allport, "Preface" to Kurt Lewis, Resolving Social Conflicts (New York: Harper & Row, 1948) pp. vii-xiv.

54. See discussions of architectural ideaologies in Siegfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954) and Bruno Zevi, Architecture as Space (New York: Horizon).

55. Louis Sullivan, Kindergarten Chats (revised 1918) and Other Writings (New York: Wittenborn, 1955) pp. 99-100.

56. Edward DeZurko, Origins of Functionalist Theory (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957).

57. Giedion, op. cit. p. 715.

58. Miles Danby, "House Design" in Robert Chambers (ed.) The Volta Resettlement Experience (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970) pp. 164-78.

59. See "Barrio Gaudi" Architectural Forum (May, 1972) pp. 22-6.

60. Andras Angyal, Foundations for a Science of Personality (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941).

61. Gardner Murphy, op. cit. p. 9ff.

62. Murphy, Personality p. 10.

63. Bertalanffy, op. cit. p. 190.

64. C. S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (New York: Wiley, 1957) Ch. 11.

65. Bertalanffy, op. cit. p. 189.

66. Murphy, op. cit. pp. 7, 21, 769.

67. B. F. Skinner, "On Having a Poem" Saturday Review, July 15, 1972, pp. 32-5; Noam Chomsky, Problems of Knowledge and Freedom (New York: Pantheon, 1971).

Chapter 2. The Hall of Mirrors

"Mirror, mirror on the wall,
Who's the fairest of them all?"
The Wicked Queen

This chapter constitutes a critical review of models of cities, migration, and migration within cities. Several needs are simultaneously served by it and it is in no sense "complete" beyond these needs.

First of all the review is basically organized around the complementarity of the attitudes "All Us and like That Out There" and "All That Out There is like Us" in providing concepts of cities and migration. In the metaphorical sense of the title of this chapter, the models act as two-way mirrors of these human phenomena. The reflections or images are identified with the systems discussed in chapter one.

Second, reviewing models of cities provides part of the necessary background to chapter four in which theories of urban renewal are presented. Finally the review of migration models, based around the concept of man implicit in them, enables the identification of shortcomings, generally of a normative nature, both in terms of philosophical criteria and empirical applicability. These shortcomings are then attacked in chapter three where my own model of migration is explicated.

I feel that it is important to include the ideas of planners as well as those of social scientists in this review, for there is a continual interchange between the two as well as between their concepts and reality. Upon entering the heritage of thought, the images provided by social scientists and planners have a subtle way of influencing if not becoming reality. Men can respond to images of themselves and change to become more like the image or less like it. Planning can expand or limit the

alternatives open to human behavior. Thus the image of cities or migrating men which might at one extreme be only a passing reflection could, at the other extreme, turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is in this sense that some poetic and literary illustrations are also offered.

Models of Cities

> "New York, for example, like London, seems to be a Cloacina of all the depravities of human nature."
> Thomas Jefferson
>
> "He who is tired of London is tired of life."
> Samuel Johnson

"The failure of cities is an intellectual one.", says Edmond Bacon[1], "It is brought about by the failure of the intellectuals to generate a viable concept of a modern city and a modern region." Edmund Bacon is passing the buck, a typical ploy of city planners. I do not agree with his argument. Viable concepts do exist, but in much social science research, in dominant urban planning practices, and in the minds of the most influential Western men, they are ignored, in favor of more limiting concepts.

Most of the quantitative and/or theoretically oriented urban research done in social science can be classified as conceived in one of the systems frameworks discussed in the previous chapter. A large number of researchers, principally economists, and regional scientists and some geographers and sociologists have adopted closed system models, firmly grounded in economic equilibrium theory; the city is seen as the home of "economic man;" the center of laissez-faire capitalism; closed to forces not expressed in these ideas.[2] This approach can be traced to its explicit analogy with Newtonian mechanics, the archetype of closed,

equilibrating systems.[3] Examples can be found in August Lösch's central place theory[4] where the city is regarded only as a place of economic functions appearing in patterns of spatial equilibrium; or in more recent treatments of urban residential land use by William Alonso and Richard Muth.[5] In city planning the closed system view has also had great appeal but the optimum, ideality or equilibrium state has not related to economics so much as morality or religious perfection expressed through geometry. Here the city is seen as divorced from external influence but the heritage of thought usually relates back to architecture. Sybil Moholy-Nagy gives many historical examples of both realized and hypothetical city plans based on the geometrical symbolizations of a mystical cosmology.[6] She traces morally imposed circular and star pronged plans of walled fortresses to the concentric garden city utopias envisioned by Ebenezer Howard which promoted "the extraordinary obsession that linear living breeds vice and concentric living promotes virtue."[7]

Another school of thought has accepted the homeostatic model, in which society is likened to a steady-state living organism. The explicit analogy with such homeostatic or organismic systems was largely drawn by the followers of Herbert Spencer, in sociology.[8] This approach has not been popular for western urbanologists, probably because, in the face of the urbanward migration of the last century, most western cities could hardly be thought of in terms of a steady state. However, the viewpoint has been applied extensively by anthropologists in studies of "traditional" societies.[9] In fact the idea of a city possessing an unchanging tradition-bound level of technology and social, political, and spatial rigidity is the essence of Gideon Sjoberg's "preindustrial city."[10] Rhoades Murphey seems to further clarify the empirical evidence for this

focus in contrasting Western cities and Chinese cities - the former being the center of change, the latter the stronghold of tradition.[11] Nevertheless, the homeostatic-functional focus still emerges in contemporary sociology redressed as "order" in society as in the influential work of Talcott Parsons.[12] It is also an appealing metaphor for analyzing the physical input and output of cities illustrated by Abel Wolman's use of "metabolism."[13] In contemporary planning, the idea of a stable, carefully controlled city has received notable attention from Athelstan Spilhaus whose "experimental city" is designed with a pre-planned physical structure demanding a particular economic mix and population balance.[14]

A third approach, quite maverick and successful in its beginnings, conceives of the city in ecological terms, characteristic of deviation-amplifying systems. Urban society is studied as "human ecology" and the city is modelled as an evolving biotic community through the explicit analogies of Robert E. Park and others.[15] This outlook is still enjoying great popularity in current geography and sociology. The city as conceived in this view allows for the existence and maintenance of diversity, and more importantly admits the growth and changes which occur consequent to the arrival of diversity from outside the city.

Thus Karl and Alma Taeuber, in a very recent work on Negro segregation still make use of the ecological competitive metaphor in describing census tracks in terms of "invasion" and "succession."[16] Gerald Suttles similarly analyzes the development of ethnically divided gang "turf."[17] The gross simplified descriptions of the city - Burgess' concentric zone model and Hoyt's sectoral model[18] do allow for the elaboration of differentiation, growth, and at least in the former case,

neighborhood change. Planning conceived in terms of a deviation-amplifying system or ecological analogy has been reviewed by Gilbert Herbert[19] and recognizes as with Kevin Lynch[20] that "a city is a multi-purpose shifting organization" and that form should be designed to be flexible and plastic to accomodate unexpected change.

Another conceptual thrust in urban research does not so easily recall a "general system" so much as it betrays the attitude All are Unique. This school revolves around the contrasting of urban-industrial society with folk-traditional society. The launching pad is not a physical or biological system but human society itself, yet in such a way as to differentiate within human society rather than build on similarities. Many anthropologists and sociologists have played this game whose essential rule is to set up dichotomous ideal concepts as characteristic of traditional/rural and modern/urban societies. Some of the principal players have included Henry Maine (Status vs. Contrast societies), Emil Durkheim (Similar vs. Specialized roles), Max Weber (Charismatic vs. Legal-rational authority), Ferdinand Tönnies (Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft), Robert Redfield (Folk vs. Urban society) and the ever-jargonating Talcott Parsons (Particularistic vs. Universal preferences; Ascriptive vs. Neutral sentiment).[21] While this yin-yang game has continued, the rules have been subject to recent dispute,[22] as being mired in the logical problems of dichotomous concepts and the ethical problems of ethnocentric bias. Regional planning based on markedly differentiating urban from nonurban landscape seems to reflect the basic contrast these social scientists assume.[23]

These approaches constitute the bulk of urban social science research and yet are in a sense anti-social. The first three approaches are

grounded in explicit positive analogies to nonhuman systems. This would be fine if the negative analogy, an essential component of any analogical relationship between systems, expressing what is different were given equal attention.[24] In general this has not been the case, and I think this can be seen as due to the intellectually limiting nature of the model systems employed. If the reader agrees with me that human society, the system we experience most thoroughly, is quite obviously in possession of a "magic generator" (functioning in both morally positive and negative ways), then the limits of the partial analogies are readily apparent - they ignore the creative aspects of society; the cultural and technical innovations or "magic" which is produced internally.

The fourth idea, that of folk-urban contrasts, is unreproachable from the systems outlook but is suspect from a philosophic view and is tainted with anti-urban as well as ethnocentric bias. Even assuming that we have a good idea which societies are "traditional" and what they are like, in adopting such a methodology we are invoking only negative analogies. Ironically, when we have finally picked a model which includes people in it, we are led to only negative comparisons, diverting our attention from the common features of all societies. It is my feeling that this extraordinary situation has developed in an intellectual environment dominated by anti-urban philosophy. Morton and Lucia White have inquired into over a century of the generally "well-meaning" but anti-urban ideas of statesmen (e.g., Thomas Jefferson), writers (e.g., Henry James) and architects (e.g., Frank Lloyd Wright) documenting their tremendous influence on the political, economic, and cultural values we now inherit.[25] But in another work documenting the more impressionistic views of the city in literature, David Weimer concludes that "The city of American literature

is...several cities, whose meaning and appeal derive first of all from their singularity."[26] Here Stephen Crane's "Landscape of hysteria" is complemented by Walt Whitman's "the miraculous."[27]

These studies in metaphor impel one to accept contradictory views, as each is an expression of human feeling. For "a viable concept of a modern city" I wish to complement the models of a city in terms of "That Out There" with those reasoning outwards from "Us." The city can also be seen as a magic generating system where men are participating members in a dynamic creative society - an image which has been at the roots of many great religions and political philosophies, and at the core of social revolutions. The role of the city, a denser version of human society, is in bringing people together and facilitating the development of their creative potential - the city is a generator and diffusing agent of ideas, a laboratory of social experiments, and a place where the respect of a fellow man and his values may be engendered. This role is played time and time again - at academic conferences, at town meetings, at many public assemblies. Richard Meier has provided us with models of the city as a center of communication and as a transaction maximizing system.[28] Allan Pred places internally produced invention at the core of his historical urban growth models.[29] Jane Jacobs sees it as a focus of technological innovation sparked by the interbred diversity of human activity.[30] In planning, Christopher Alexander offers us a mechanism for sustaining human contact[31] while Richard Sennet pleads for a mixing of economic classes and cultural groups at the neighborhood level to foster mutual understanding and social change through nonviolent confrontation.[32] On a rather theoretical level, Kenneth Wilkinson strikes a responsive chord in asking us to consider the urban community as a

social field in which "novelty, whether ascribed to creativity or random happening is an integral feature..."[33]

Models of Man in Models of Migration

"Some people say I'm a no account
Others say I'm no good
But I'm just a natural-born travellin' man
Doin' what I think I should...
And I don't give a damn about a greenback dollar
Spend it as fast as I can..." American Folk Song

The foregoing has reviewed cities conceived as systems. Now human migration will be reviewed as a process. Instead of being principally concerned with a group of elements, the interest shifts to how elements change. But the elements of change in the migration process are men and the object of this review is to establish what concepts of man are inherent in the various conceptions of the migration process. Since processes of a different nature are associable with each of the four general systems, this review can take the same organization as the previous one.

Here it is equilibrating processes which have received the most attention, largely in geography, economics and regional science. The "social" gravity model, reviewed by Gunner Olsson[34], a bulwark of "social physics", is based on an explicit analogy with physical particles and Newtonian mechanics - migrating man appears as a passive mass, acted upon only by the invisible force of population clumps decaying over physical distance. In the analogy the mystique and sensuality of gravity expressed by Newton is lost. While the social gravity formulation has enabled some fair prediction, it offers no tenable behavioral explanations and is useless as a creative tool in planning. Models based on migration as a response to economic opportunity[35] favor economic man - an economically

"optimizing" but socially bankrupt bank account. Meanwhile, Julian Wolpert has suggested that the concept of utility from economic theory be used to develop a model in which all variables concerning the origin and destination relevant to the mover are used to evaluate "place utility."[36] Migration can then be seen as maximizing utility for the individual. While this approach allows for some differences between men (Wolpert would deal with subgroups of the population separately), and sees men defined in personal dimensions other than simply money, its premise that man is "intendedly rational" (optimizing, in this case) about his decision-making gives the model its equilibrating properties. There is no mechanism for changing an individual's utility perception nor any way of accounting for interpersonal relationships; the model represents the near-ultimate elaboration of classical economic theory.

As in urban theory, migration research has not dwelled much on homeostatic processes - recent migration effects hardly compel researchers to believe in a status quo. However, there has been much qualitative work done by anthropologists and sociologists with deviation-amplifying processes, characteristic of human ecology. Studies of ethnic group migration[37] and kinship effects[38] have usually been conceived in this way. Ellsworth Huntington's theories of selective migration are also illustrative.[39] But is is recent geographers who have led the way with more quantitative symbolic models. Torsten Hägerstrand seems to have been the first, and his model gives man the social power of communicating information.[40] Julian Wolpert has relaxed some of the assumptions relating to "rationality" in his earlier work and considers migrating man from a more behavioral standpoint, seeking a new ecological niche when he is subject to an environmental stress tolerance limit.[41] These last two attempts

represent the most general, flexible models presently ascribable to systems frameworks.

Finally, we come to the stochastic school - currently in vogue in most of the social sciences, in which traditional quantitative deterministic views have come to be reformulated probabilistically. The immediate effect for modelled man is to grant him some measure of free will, at least liberating him from an absolutely determining physical, biological, or cultural property. Gone is the dependence upon processes better understood from studying That Out There. Following Herbert Simon's suggestions, the stochastic notion can also be linked with the concept of "bounded rationality"("satisficing" instead of "optimizing" behavior) and the admission of a learning process.[42] This gives our man the more apparent human characteristics of fallibility (e.g., social scientists) as well as the ability to become less fallible - something like a magic generator! Unfortunately, the characteristic of man which has become most submerged in this methodology is his social nature. In their effort to establish "free will," the stochastic school has essentially ignored socio-cultural influences and controls, in effect relying on the attitude All are Unique.[43]

Obviously, arguments concerning the neglect of the negative analogy which necessarily arises when humans are compared to nonhuman systems are applicable here as well. Present too, are the influences of an anti-migration philosophy reflected in Western values toward gypsies, migrant workers, trailer dwellers, and strangers, and in countless researches of migration as a disruptive process neglecting its role in diffusion and social cohesion. But the more important task is to build constructively upon the humanistically appropriate aspects of the present work. Mono-

graphs on ethnic group migration and the culturally oriented studies of human ecology are attractive in that they at least recognize the "magic" of initial migrants in beginning the chain of migration which follows. Hägerstrand's formalization of this magic as an "active migrant" as opposed to a "passive migrant" and his recognition of the communication process are important building blocks. Akin Mabogunje, like myself, recognizes this in feeling that "the crucial moves which we need to understand and explain are those of the active migrants."[44] Stochastic models seem to provide another attack in that human uniqueness and free will would be the basis of the unprecedented move necessitated by a magic generating process. I express my doubt, however, that truly creative acts can be understood in any but a qualitative way.

Models of Intra-urban Migration

Before turning to my own elaboration, it is instructive to critically review the literature on intra-urban migration. Here criticism is more technically directed at first. Though this work is suprisingly sparse, it is clearly of great theoretical and practical importance, dwelling on the interface of urban theory and migration theory and fundamentally responsible for a great deal of urban change. To my knowledge, Peter Rossi's work[45] is the genesis of most quantitative contemporary research on intra-urban migration. Previous studies were largely limited to rather localized verbal description or rudimentary multivariate statistical analysis of aggregated data (e.g., census tracts) with little behavioral orientation.

Rossi's study was conceived quite broadly and, methodologically, is a clever and complementary blend of three different research designs: a

study of area mobility focusing of four rather different neighborhoods of Philadelphia, an investigation of the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of families as movers and stayers, and an analysis of the factors influencing the decision to move and the moving process. Among his most important conclusions are:

> "Each individual move is not a random event but is determined by a household's needs, dis-satisfactions, and aspirations."[46] (emphasis mine)
>
> "Mobility is the mechanism by which a family's housing is brought into adjustment to its housing needs."[47]
>
> "The mobility of an area affects its social integration...The opportunities for friendship and association on an informal level seem slight in a situation of diverse population types and impermanency."[48]

Despite his extensive effort, I believe that Rossi's conclusions are unwarranted and dangerous. This is due to instances of logically inconsistent reasoning and empirical neglect, rather than his "model of man." In his introductory discussion[49] he identifies areas containing a high proportion of foreign-born and Negro people as among the most mobile - these areas are then specifically excluded from his study to remove their "influence." One can hardly come to understand mobility by ignoring its most obvious instances! In fact the most mobile groups - the dilletante rich, nomads, trailer dwellers, footloose youth, migrant workers, etc. - often provide striking counterexamples to his conclusions regarding social integration. To me, human mobility, particularly in its broader, not necessarily spatial, sense is a necessary ingredient of social integration. Later in the book[50] Rossi identifies 39% of the household moves studied as externally forced (evictions, etc.). Thus, the "household's needs, satisfactions, and aspirations" have nothing to do with these moves.

Rossi's errors can at least be understood given the assumptions and clarity of his work. However, subsequent researchers, largely in geography, have failed to recognize these mistakes; they build on Rossi's conclusions, hence their danger. In geography recent articles on intra-urban migration[51] harken to Rossi for identification of variables, and base their research strategies almost wholly on the individualistic characteristics and desires of families or households. Forced moves and externally determined destinations are ignored. Other contributions, while not directly influenced by Rossi, make the same omission. In a recent review of the sociological literature on intra-urban migration the same theme emerges.[52] While it is admitted that voluntary residential mobility in urban areas would conceptually differ from involuntary mobility the latter possibility remains relatively unexplored.

I do not mean to wholly condemn this recent work for the above inadequacies. Clearly the contributors have made a good case for stochastic modelling and disaggregated data sets. Eric Moore[53] has detailed the inapplicability of variants of the "social gravity" model. Stephen Gale has endowed us with an extremely flexible and potentially valuable Markov-type model.[54] W.A.V. Clark has gone further in attempting to relate intra-urban migration to information flows, but his effort is mitigated in his use of only shopping contacts as spatial information inputs; this seems to foreshadow a devious return to "economic man."[55] Nevertheless, "social man" is quite lacking in all of the above research and for inspiration we must look back to more descriptive studies.

Walter Firey, in his study of social areas in Boston, focused particularly on the concept of cultural ecology.[56] The characteristics of residential areas were explained in terms of neighborhood sentiment and

values developed through historical social identifications. This is quite different from earlier ecological studies which saw urban area differentiation more as a result of "natural" processes. John and Leatrice MacDonald, in their work on social networks and ethnic neighborhood formation, have emphasized the importance of social relationships among migrants and the influence of formal organization in creating and channelling migration streams.[57] But it is William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, in their study of Polish migrants in America, who really put their finger on the missing social ingredient in migration theory:

> The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon.[58]

In summary, an inclusive model of migration must be a subtle blend of attitudes. Since moving is an action which occurs on the level of the individual, his uniqueness cannot be violated. We cannot reason from aggregate statistics to the level of the individual. At the same time the individual is both influenced by his surroundings and is often forced to move. The separateness of "All are Unique" must be merged with the wholeness of "All are One." Human migration can be understood, but only <u>in part</u>, by likening it to processes which occur in the nonhuman domain. But since an understanding of the latter, be it mechanics, gravity or ecology, is so often grounded in human experience in the first place it will not be complete without recourse to the human element. All That Out There and Us are complementary roots.

Notes - Chapter 2

1. Edmund Bacon, "Urban Process" Daedalus 97 (1968) pp. 1165-1178, quoted on page 1165.

2. Sam Bass Warner develops this idea in an empirical rather than a conceptual sense in his urban history of Philadelphia, The Private City (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

3. See footnote 29, Ch. 1.

4. August Lösch, The Economics of Location (New York: Wiley, 1967).

5. William Alonso, Location and Land Use (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964); Richard Muth, Cities and Housing (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969).

6. Sybil Moholy-Nagy, Matrix of Man (New York: Praeger, 1968).

7. Ibid. p. 76.

8. See the discussion by Walter Buckley in Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967) p. 11ff.

9. Carl Hempel, "The Logic of Functional Analysis" in Llewellyn Gross (ed.) Symposium on Sociological Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

10. Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City (New York: The Free Press, 1960).

11. Rhoads Murphey, "The City as a Center of Change: Western Europe and China" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 44 (1954) pp. 350-62.

12. Buckley, Sociology p. 15ff. Also see Alvin Gouldner's review of Talcott Parsons' American Sociology, titled "Disorder and Social Theory" Science 162 (1968) pp. 247-9.

13. Abel Wolman, "The Metabolism of Cities" Scientific American Sept. 1965 pp. 178-90.

14. Athelstan Spilhaus "The Experimental City" Science 159 (1968) pp. 710-15.

15. See the excellent introductory discussion to Walter Firey's Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1947) Ch. 1.

16. Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

17. Gerald Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968).

18. One summary of these models can be found in Peter Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966) pp. 177-8.

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Chapter 3. A Matrix of Human Mobility

The hub of this chapter is a classification of human mobility which attempts to reconcile individual and superindividual components of man's mobility. First a matrix is constructed in which movements are categorized with respect to the nature of the decisions involved in moving from one place and establishing residence in another. The categories so generated include what has been usually regarded as "migration" as only one of several empirical forms of movement. Other categories refer to abstract cases of completely independent mobility - which can be related to previously discussed models - and real cases of forced mobility labelled as "refugees," allocatees," and "slaves."

Empirical examples are given to elaborate the nature of the real categories of mobility. The examples have been chosen around the theme of the differing fate of various population components involved in the settlement of the United States. It is shown how the categorization is useful in understanding geographically unprecedented population movements. An attempt has been made to portray these movements from the "objective" overview of social history as well as from the "subjective" standpoint of an individual's experience, echoing the complementarity of All That Out There and Us.

In summarizing the outcomes of the different categories of mobility, their contributions to "magic," in this case unprecedented movement, and their relationship to ethnic and racial differences will be emphasized. The "refugee" category is singled out for more extensive empirical treatment. Several disparate cases of refugee experiences are

examined for their commonalities of individual and organizational behavior. From these cases a theory of behavior in refugee situations is proposed by inductive generalization. It is this theory which is used in the following chapter to supplement existing theoretical notions about relocation in urban renewal. In a developmental sense the matrix is simply the basis for the refugee concept but I feel that the more extensive treatment presented here can be used in illuminating population movements in a more general sense.

The Matrix

Migration has been typically defined as a voluntary and permanent change of residence.[1] This definition will be maintained here but I will also be discussing involuntary changes of residence. The term mobility will be used to denote all permanent residence changes whether they are voluntary or not. I will be looking at mobility as a function of voluntariness. Conceptually, human mobility therefore refers to all residence changes of persons ranging from those movements which, at the level of the individual, are completely free-willed to those which are completely forced upon the individual by outside agencies.

The moving process may be thought of as incorporating two decisions which involve location in space - the decision to move from the place of initial residence or origin, and the decision resulting in the selection of a new residence or destination. Previous migration theory has made use of the terms "push" and "pull" in the surroundings of migrants; the decisions proposed here are in a sense these notions as they relate to the individual. I define three categories of voluntariness for each of these decisions:

1. A decision made by the individual completely independent of external influence, purely on the basis of "free will" - the totally voluntary case.

2. A decision completely determined for the individual by outside agencies - the totally involuntary case.

3. Intermediate decisions incorporating varying degrees of external influence.

These categories, when applied to each of the two decisions define the matrix in Fig. 3-1.

Nine cells are present in this matrix which provide a basis for classifying mobility. This, however, is subject to philosophical predispositions. Following Thomas and Znaniecki's proposal that individual phenomena are always the combination of social and individual phenomena,[2] all cells of the matrix containing at least one completely independent decision are deemed as nonempirical cases - logically permissable but existing only in the abstract. In other words, I am saying that in reality all decisions contain a superindividual component; the individual is seen as an open system; his behavior is subject to family upbringing, cultural biases, and other constraints originating in his surroundings. Under this assumption, categories 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 are devoid of empirical content although it will be shown that they have abstract theoretical counterparts. As I have already defined migration as a voluntary phenomenon, it is clear that the migrant belongs only in category 5 since the three remaining categories each contain at least one totally involuntary component. These are, however, real forms of mobility, consisting of social and individual phenomena but where the former completely dominate the latter. Category 6, wherein the individual is forced to move but can influence his destination is composed of refugees; category 8, in which

Figure 3-1 A Matrix of Human Mobility

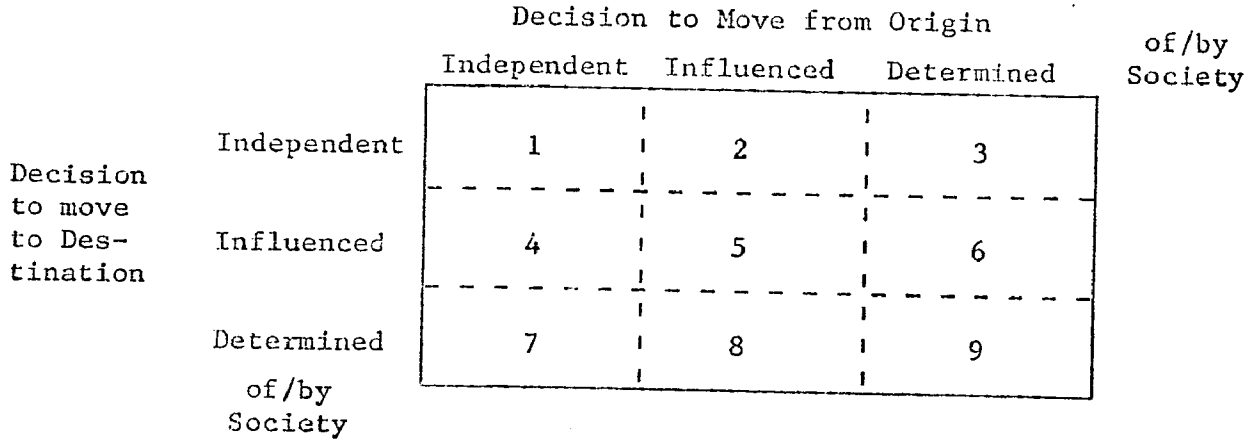
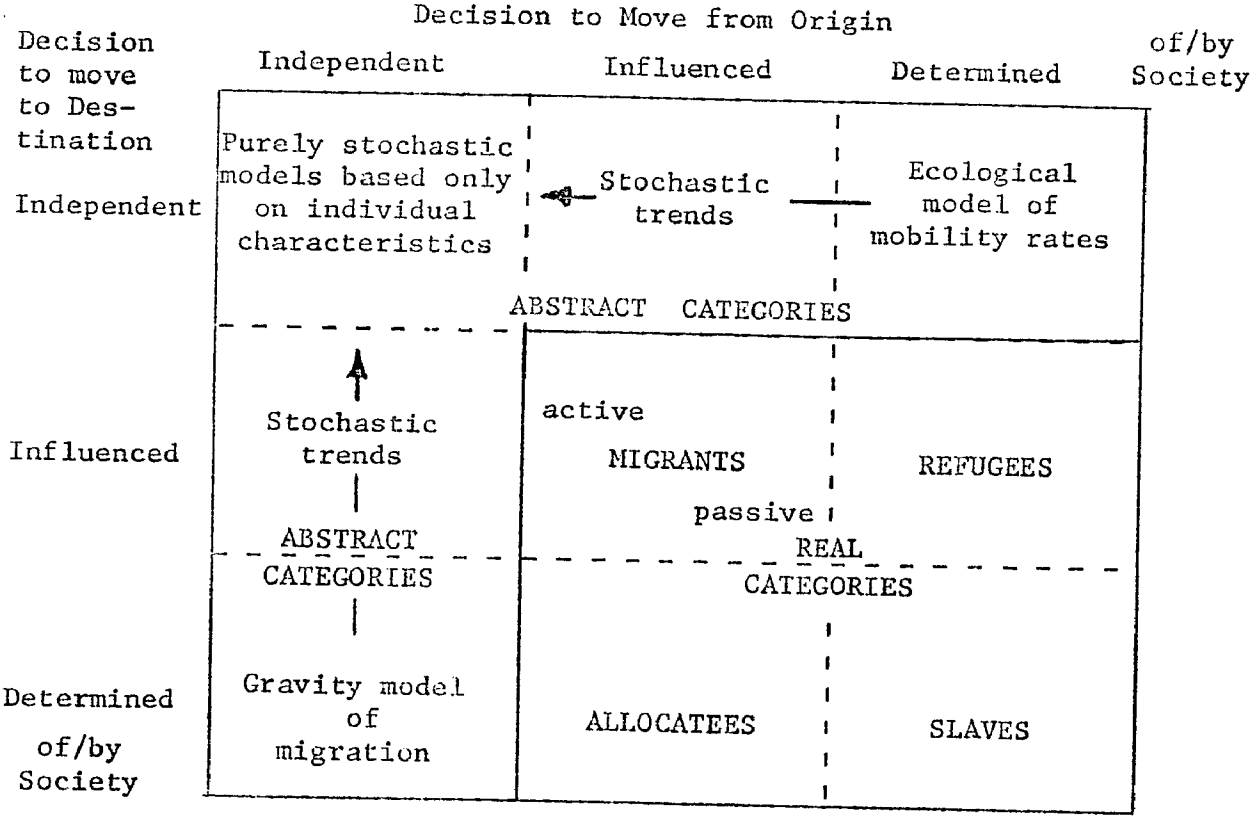


Figure 3-2 Matrix of Human Mobility Defined with Respect to Considerations in the Text



the destination is externally determined but the individual contributes to his decision to move contains allocatees; category 9, where both decisions are externally determined embraces slaves.[3] It might be argued that none of these three categories are empirically valid in that the individual always has the option of opposing the externally determining force. But what are the outcomes of such actions? Aside from the occasional successful resistance or escape, there are the alternatives of death or imprisonment, both of which deny the individual component in movement. The resultant labelling of categories appears in Fig. 3-2.

The above classification suggests a reorientation in research on human mobility. The real categories imply increased awareness as to the superindividual determinants of movement, and I wish to demonstrate that they have conceptual significance. This is what will be discussed in the bulk of this chapter. In geography, while Julian Wolpert[4] has considered a theoretical schema built around stress as a factor in migration, no other conceptual attention, to my knowledge, has been paid to forced move situations. Even in the domain of simple typologies, these movements have only been barely broached by Edgar Kant,[5] in geography. William Peterson,[6] in sociology, has considered some forced move situations in his typology but their implications do not seem to have been explored. Georges Sabbagh et al, in their study of intraurban mobility, have mentioned that "a conceptual framework examining voluntary residence changes will differ from one for involuntary moves"[7] but the latter framework has remained unconstructed. Yet before the real categories of mobility are discussed from this standpoint, I wish to briefly comment on the abstract ones and their relationship to migration models examined

in chapter two.

Cell number one treats both decisions as completely independent of external influence. This recalls stochastic modelling of migration based only on the internal desires and constraints of individuals or families.[8] Cell seven treats the decision to move as completely independent but considers the selection of the destination as determined. This is the case in the deterministic formulation of gravity models, though, of course, they are dealing with population aggregates as opposed to individuals.[9] In these models the decision to move is independent of the analysis - a pool of movers is assumed - while the selection of destinations is determined by completely superindividual factors - distance and population of places. Similarly, cell three, which treats the decision to move as externally determined but the selection of a destination as completely independent, recalls deterministic modelling of the mobility rates of areas. Eric Moore's formulation of mobility as a multiple regression model based on the aggregate characteristics of census tracts falls in this category.[10] Meanwhile, Olsson has discussed stochastic reformulations of the gravity model.[11] As such models loosen the abstract deterministic bonds on behavior, their effect is to shift toward more voluntary behavior, that is, toward cell four in the matrix. Were such relaxations applied to mobility rate models, they would correspond to a shift toward cell two.

Real Categories of the Matrix

While there are indeed models of migration whose properties reflect the real categories of the matrix, the discussion of the latter will emanate largely from an empirical point of view. But there are conceptual considerations which guide the presentation. First, there will be

an attempt to show how each category exhibits anomaly in population mobility - that is, how unprecedented movements or "magic," inexplicable in terms of theoretically pursued equilibrating, homeostatic or deviation amplifying processes, originate. Second, in view of the need for combining the individual and social components to mobility, an attempt is made to present sources of the involved individual's viewpoint. Here, once again, Thomas and Znaniecki provide an impetus:

> ... a nomothetic social science is possible only if all social becoming is viewed as the product of a continual interaction of individual consciousness and objective social reality.[12]

The examples chosen for illustrative purposes in the following discussion explore the common theme of the settlement and distribution of different population groups in the United States. They are more familiar as "history" than as "data." Here they play a role more usually fulfilled by contemporary statistical manipulations of "typical" populations; the sources of data generally employed by theorists on mobility. It is my feeling that these more extreme cases support a rather different theoretical thrust. Map 3-1, which may be regarded somewhat whimsically as a cartographic projection of the migration models discussed in chapters two and three is an attempt to provide additional understanding as well as a sneer or two. The explanation of graphic relationships between abstract models and empirical realities of human mobility are left to the intuitive capabilities of the reader.

A. Migrants

The movers in this category make a voluntary decision to leave a place and a voluntary decision to reside elsewhere. But both decisions are made under the influence of the surrounding social milieu. This is

Map 3-1

A Map of Migration Models

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main..."

John Donne (1624)



"No man is an island (Echo)
No man is an island (Echo)
He's a peninsula! (Mocking small voice)
(Laughter- fade into heavy rock)

Jefferson Airplane
(1968)

very much the kind of thinking suggested by Torsten Hägerstrand in his study "Migration and Area."[13] In this paper, concerned with the migration of Swedes, the emigration of Swedes to highly localized areas in America proved to be anomalously unquantifiable in terms of models dominated by purely spatial concepts as independent variables. The emigration effect led him to reconceptualize migration as a process incorporating social feedback, particularly around the notion that "one emigrant in selecting a destination is dependent on earlier migrants." Such a mover is termed a "passive migrant," his locational behavior accountable only in terms of the previous moves of others. On the other hand the relatively few pioneering movers, whose locational behavior is not so coordinated with that of others, allowing for a rather independent existence, are called "active migrants." For the migrant category of movers the passive migrant is the usual case and the importance of other individuals in understanding his behavior is implicit. Within the matrix in Fig. 3-2 he would be represented by the lower right corner of cell five. The active migrant, however, represents the extreme where this influence is minimal but is so important in structuring future movements. This would be represented by the upper left corner of cell five. Thus empirical discussion will diverge on this distinction, respecting Hägerstrand's conceptual contribution.

1. Passive Migrants

> And Ruth said: 'Entreat me not to leave thee and to return from following after thee, for whither thou goest I will go; and whither thou lodgest, I will lodge...'
> Ruth 1:16

The mass migration of European immigrants to the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave rise to

the often studied phenomenon of ethnic enclaves and ghettoes in urban areas. Fortunately for future researchers, many contemporary factual accounts and the prodigious efforts of the human ecologists at the University of Chicago during the 1920's provide a sizeable storehouse of knowledge from which the migration process leading to segregated urban population distributions can be understood.

John and Leatrice MacDonald have used the term chain migration to describe the major process instrumental to ethnic neighborhood formation. In their words and emphasis:

> Chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants.[14]

In the case of European immigrants, once migration of enterprising breadwinners from a particular origin had occurred, and these original migrants had achieved a modicum of financial security, they paved the way with information in the form of letters, and support in the form of money and social assistance for other breadwinners to come and settle in the same place. Later, nonworking dependents, the wives and children of breadwinners, followed in the same tracks. Thus the bonds of kinship, friendship and village ties provided the basis for a deviation amplifying social process resulting in the concentration of immigrants from one small European area in an American city. The establishment of a community with functions and services specifically provided for particular cultural tastes, such as churches, restaurants, grocery stores, clubs, and newspapers, could in turn attract other immigrants of similar national origins but different towns or villages to settle there and begin chains with primary contacts from other sources.

The MacDonalds have used the chain migration concept to account for the presence of highly origin-localized Italian neighborhoods in many American cities. Thus in Middletown, Connecticut, the majority of Italians came from Melilli in Sicily and in Norristown, Pennsylvania most came from Sciacca, also in Sicily. Larger cities like New York often displayed several districts of Italian neighborhoods grouped on the basis of village origins. In a few cases, the chain migration concept enabled the tracing of chains back to original settlers. Thus the clustered residences of Italians from similar towns in American cities were not chance phenomena, according to the MacDonalds, but the results of a social process distinguished by the obligations of immigrants to provide a stepping stone for their kind.

This thesis can be extended to account for the experiences of other ethnic groups in American cities. Louis Wirth's account of the development of the Jewish community in Chicago is quite amenable to a similar analysis.[16] The earliest Jewish immigrants came from proximate localities in Europe and provided considerable assistance to newcomers. He notes the residential segregation of Jews from German and Eastern European origins based partly on economic differences but also on synagogue affiliation. The clustering of Jews from a single village in the neighborhood around a small synagogue catering only to those people is also cited.

There are many objective accounts of the social history of ethnic migrations which portray the same development. But the subjective accounts of migrants themselves are an illuminating complement. A number of novels and autobiographies could be cited in this sense but one of the most outstanding sounces of such material is in Thomas and

Znaniecki's study of Polish peasants migrating to America. A large portion of their work consists of an assemblage of translated correspondence written by immigrants to those still at home in Poland and the responses of the latter. These letters evidence the ongoing social connections and financial obligations entwining people despite their physical separation, forming the matrix of their subsequent movement. The researchers also commissioned a lengthy autobiography of a Polish immigrant called Wladek born on a Polish village. His decision to go to America and settle in Chicago is embedded in the kinship and friendship relations which dominate his life. The migration appears passively in the wider context of social networks:

> "...We received a letter from sister Marya in America. She wrote that she intended to send 100 roubles to one of her friends in order that the latter might also come to America. I answered on the same day, asking her to send those 100 roubles rather to me and I would go to America..."[17]

2. Active Migrants

> Now the Lord said unto Abraham: 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the Land that I will show thee.'
>
> Genesis 12:1

The active migrant is distinguished by his pioneering characteristics. This pioneering can be absolute; that is, he can be the first settler in uninhabited territory, but more likely it is relative; he is the first settler of a particular social group to settle in territory already occupied by a different social group. In either case, the active migrant may be considered as the source of the voluntary chain migration process which frequently, but not always, ensues. In this sense he is identifiable with the "magic" or unprecedented event which is the genesis of a deviation amplifying process resulting in the concen-

tration of a social group in a particular area. The American examples used here will attempt to bear this out but will deal only with the relative case since the original settlement of the United States by Indians seems to have occurred without the accompaniment of written accounts.

We can begin by following up the particular examples used in the case of passive migrants. In two cities the MacDonalds were able to trace the chain migration process of Italians back to their genesis. The first Southern Italians in Utica, New York were found to be itinerant street musicians. In Middletown, Connecticut the pioneering settlers were a sailor and a circus act.[18] For the Jews in Chicago, Wirth reports that the first to arrive was believed to be a peddler who soon went to California. The earliest permanent settlers were merchants and other peddlers who had come to Chicago after first settling in Eastern communities. Wirth includes an account of one of these pioneers who relates that it was often customary at that time for single Jewish men arriving in New York to establish a travelling peddling trade stocked through a New York supplier.[19] In this way previously unsupplied hinterlands could be staked.

From these examples, it might be hastily concluded that the locational behavior of active migrants can be explained in terms of the nature of their occupation. Jobs implicitly entailing a wandering existence, such as that experienced by sailors, performing artists, or peddlers, would lead to situations of unexploited opportunity and a pioneering permanent base of settlement. But this may not be the complete story. The major empirical example to be discussed here - that of the American frontier pioneers in expanding white settlements beyond

the Appalachian mountains - yields conclusions about the active migrant which pertain more to his personality than his source of economic gain.

Robert Cotterill has given us an historical account of the origins of White settlement in Kentucky.[20] This area perhaps represents the least "relative" case of active migration. In the late eighteenth century, when White pioneers first explored and settled the region, it was not a place of permanent Indian habitation. To be sure, Indians had traversed the area and used it as an occasional hunting ground but only maintained villages on its extremities. The White pioneers were faced with a situation where the land, though rich in fur, timber, and agricultural potential, was remote from their civilization, given the transportation technology of the period. At the same time there was still available land in accessible parts of the East. No sources of supplies were established beyond the mountains and a pioneer had to live on his woodslore, initiative, occasional trading with Indians, and the small amount of equipment he could transport himself by horseback. While it is true that Kentucky lured some pioneer hunters in the fur trades, Cotterill finds a more basic reason for the establishment of settlements.

> By far the strongest motive in the early settlement of Kentucky and at the beginning practically the only one, was the love of adventure. The Allegheny Mountains were as great an incentive to the imagination of the frontiersman as they were an impediment to his movements... the wide solitude of Kentucky bore a special charm for those of the settlers who disliked the presence of many neighbors. To the pioneers the thought of wandering unrestrained through the silent forest, of sleeping under open skies and of living for indefinite time without human companionship, was so far from being terrifying that it was their ideal of existence. They were the true hermits.[21]

Daniel Boone, in the biography by John Bakeless,[22] certainly personifies this spirit in the active migrant. As a young man he pushed out of

his father's pioneering settlement in Western North Carolina to wander in Tennessee and Kentucky, crossing the mountains which had remained a practically impenetrable boundary to White settlers. After several exploratory trips he returned with a small party of settlers including his wife and daughter to establish a permanent settlement at Boonesborough in Kentucky. While the theme of profitable hunting and land grant claims continually figures in Boone's life, Bakeless dismisses this as the true motivation for Boone's behavior noting that he had forsaken his early secure settlements because he "loved solitude" and that his pioneering land claims were "a symbol of man's independence, something uniquely his own, carved by his own effort from the wilderness."[23] Later in his life, after continual exploration of the frontier, when Kentucky had begun to accomodate a steady trickle of settlers, Boone pushed on to pioneer in Missouri, followed by his family and adventurous frontiersmen. The proverbial "need for elbow room" lay behind these movements. Though his retreat in Missouri was located remote from neighbors, Boone, in his old age, said of his Kentucky exodus:

> They crowded me too much, I would not stand it and wanted to go on where I could not be crowded so much by neighbors; I am too much crowded now where I live in Missouri.[24]

B. Refugees

> So He drove out the man; and He placed at the east end of the garden of Eden the cherubim, and the flaming sword...
> Genesis 3:24

The United Nations, essentially defines a refugee as a person deprived of his country.[25] Here I broaden the term into a concept applicable to all forced moves brought about through social actions. Thus persons moving because of religious or political persecution or the ravages of war are placed in the same category as those moving because

of highway construction, river valley development, or eviction.

In the population redistribution history of the United States, it is easier to find examples of the destination results of refugee creating events than the causes. Certainly the latter are present but the former dominate the well known historical perspective. Early immigrants were refugees from religious persecution and the great influx of Germans in the mid-nineteenth century included large numbers of political refugees. Recent events such as World War II, the 1956 Hungarian rebellion, and the Cuban Revolution have been met with the modification of immigration quotas to enable refugees to settle beyond the 'golden door' announced by the Statue of Liberty.

The principle example to be used here is that of the movement of intellectuals from Europe to the U.S.A. in the decade prior to World War II. Considered in terms of numbers the movement is a small one, but in terms of its results, that of the shift in major research centers of several academic fields, it has far reaching significance. Of the noted intellectual personalities that came during this period the majority, as Laura Fermi notes,[26] came to escape religious and racial persecution although these were joined by many simply in a quest for better professional opportunities. To get around this problem, I will particularly focus on the movement of physicists and psychoanalysts where the refugee status is overwhelmingly predominant.

In both of these professions the expulsion was an outcome of the anti-Semitic purges initiated by Hitler. Yet as Freudian psychology and Einsteinian physics were essentially branded "Jewish sciences," non-Jewish scholars in these fields were also tainted by their association. Charles Weiner reports that when Hitler rose to power, "A series of

pamphlets and magazine articles was published in Germany, attacking all theoretical physicists as Jews or products of the 'Jewish spirit.'"[27] Similarly Marie Jahoda recalls "In October 1933 psychoanalysis was banned from the Congress of Psychology in Leipzig as a 'Jewish Science.'"[28] These events created a diaspora of scientists practising in these fields. Even more important they resulted in the disappearance of population groups having certain characteristics in a particular area; that is the communities of scholars of theoretical physics and psychoanalysis ceased to exist in Nazi-controlled territory.

The actual movements of these refugees was very similar to the chain migration process characteristic of passive migrants. Professional colleagues in other countries functioned as intermediaries in obtaining academic positions for the refugees, thus determining their places of residence. This resulted in concentrations of scientific talent analogous to the concentrations of ethnic groups. In both cases certain European nations such as Denmark, England and Switzerland provided refuge for scholars through academic contacts after the outbreak of the anti-disciplinary conditions in Germany. But after the onset of World War II the bulk of the affected scholars came to the United States if they had not already done so.

The importance of the aid given by individuals and organizations associated with the disciplines but outside the refugee source area cannot be underestimated. The English analyst Ernest Jones was instrumental in obtaining psychoanalysts' positions in Europe outside Germany whereas an informal committee, the New York Psychoanalytic Society, organized financial assistance in job placement from America in the mid-1930's. The American Psychological Association also established a formal committee

for the placement of European refugees which was particularly active after war broke out in Europe.[29] For physicists the English-established Academic Assistance Council and an exiled scholar group based in Zurich were among the organizations which played a role in intra-European movements while the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars became the prominent American channel. Naturally, the more eminent scientists with international reputations and influential professional contacts in friendly nations were able to make individual arrangements. Einstein had previously to the rise of Hitler begun work at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton and renounced his German citizenship in 1933.[30] Freud hung on in Vienna until the Anschluss of 1938 when he went to London followed by his more devoted colleagues; he died in 1939 whereupon many of his devotees joined the movement to America.[31]

Professional association, then, guided the relocation of refugee intellectuals in their intra-European movement and in their move to America. New York, the major port of entry, with its intense intellectual climate, its clustered settlement of similarly noted emigrés, and, most importantly as the headquarters of organizations offering assistance, received a large share of the refugee distribution. Not surprisingly, as Laura Fermi has discovered, the overall pattern of distribution of European intellectuals was similar to that of American culture in general; concentrations on the East and West Coasts with a few dense islands in the intervening spaces, such as Chicago. Mrs. Fermi also describes anomalies such as Black Mountain College in North Carolina, which, having attracted the refugee artist Josef Albers, created a unique intellectual communal life attractive to a subsequent clustering of refugee scientists and artists.[32]

The reminiscences of the physicist Leo Szilard provide a personal counterpart to this overview.[33] Leaving Germany a few days after the Reichstag fire in 1933, he took the train to Vienna. Through an academic associate he met Sir William Beveridge, later the founder of the British Academic Assistance Council, who suggested that he come to England. He used a fellowship at Oxford to finance his move to the United States in 1937, facilitating his desire to contribute to a defense effort as he suspected that war would break out. While he had no formal position when he came, collaboration on atomic fission research with Rabi at Columbia dictated his stay in New York.

C. Allocatees

> And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the Lord; and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel according to their divisions.
>
> Joshua 18:10

As defined by the matrix, the allocatee is only influenced in his decision to move but his destination is externally determined. The decision to move, however, will be supplemented by another decision incorporating the choice of an allocating organization. The allocating organization may have very broad or very narrow locational jurisdiction. For example, in the United States, both the Armed Forces, nationally, and the public housing administration on the urban level act as allocating organizations, whose services, when contracted, determine a subsequent residential location independently of further decisions on the part of the individual. But whereas the military organization may dispatch a soldier to a wide variety of bases, ships, outposts, or other facilities both in the United States and abroad, public housing assignments will be restricted to several projects within the city of application.

At various scales, many institutions act as allocating organizations for participants. Religious hierarchy can dictate where the services of a priest are to be provided; the Foreign Service can determine the assignments of its staff; the "draft" of professional football players selects the "home team" of aspiring athletes. In each of these cases, locational choice is usually denied the individual after his initial cooperation. Two historically prominent classes of allocation processes might also be mentioned here - colonization or land settlement schemes and refugees resettlement projects. The former have been practiced in such milieus as British North America when land holding companies allocated areas for pioneer settlers[34] and Israel where many unskilled immigrants, particularly those of an non-European origin, have been allocated to particular settlements based on preplanned economic goals and population mixes.[35] For international refugees since World War II, the kind of allocating services provided for intellectuals before the war are analogously available from an abundance of religious and political institutions.[36]

For a more detailed example of allocation prominent in American history the contract labor system serves well. This system has been extensively employed in utilizing minority groups, particularly as migrant laborers, and has often been responsible for the geographical anomaly of the aggregation of a sizeable population of some group concentrated in an area over a short period of time. For example in the movement of Southern Italians to the United States discussed previously, the MacDonalds emphasize the role of padroni in creating clusters of single Italian male laborers before voluntary chain migration processes developed.[37] The padroni were the Italian businessmen with contacts in particular villages who recruited labor at its source providing passage

money, jobs, and other services, simultaneously dictating the destinations of those contracted in this manner. Similarly Morton Rubin, in a study of mobility of Negroes from rural Mississippi, has traced a chain of anomalous destinations in Beloit, Wisconsin to its genesis as a pool of recruited laborers during World War I.[38] Present day migratory labor in the agricultural sector - such as that performed by Southern Blacks and Mexican-Americans continues to be allocated in this fashion.

But perhaps the most prominent example of allocatees in American settlement history is that of the Chinese. Following in the wake of decades of movement to Southeast Asia, Chinese contract labor from South China began to flow to the Western Hemisphere in the nineteenth century. Persia Campbell has described the competitive market for Chinese who were desired in many areas where primary economic activity such as mining and plantation agriculture demanded considerable quantities of manual labor.[39] Brokers in Hong Kong and Macao provided men destined for the West Indies, British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, Peru, and even, in one case, for the American South after the emancipation of Negroes. These unusual destinations can be understood only in terms of the geographically fluctuating need for cheap labor in large scale Western investment enterprises and the organized allocation process this demanded - the motivations of the Chinese themselves had little to do with where they were sent. For the most part, they were indentured laborers, their destinations being controlled by their creditors. To many Chinese, personally, this was known as the pig trade and in an account of a "pig" a Chinaman has described the experience of expecting to be sent to Singapore but ending up elsewhere due to the fluctuating needs of investors.[40]

The coming of the Chinese to California took place largely by an

allocative process.[41] While a few came more independently as chain migrants with transportation paid by relatives, the majority of the Chinese movement in the gold rush years was controlled by merchant brokers.[42] Essentially, all the Chinese who decided to come to America came from the Pearl River Delta area in South China. This region evolved, in the 1850's, five companies with representation in San Francisco, through which movement was channelled. The four most active of these companies were regionally organized within the Delta area while the least active one represented the whole area. Thus for most of the Chinese newcomers, the choice of an allocating organization was regionally dictated at their origin.[43] The laborers worked for the company employers who extended their credit and typically this involved mining. They were hired by the relatively few Chinese mine owners who employed extensive labor to exploit claims abandoned by Americans. Population figures for California by counties in 1860 and 1870 show that the Chinese were concentrated in the gold mining areas in the foothills of the Sierras where their totals reached from 30 to 70 per cent of the White population whereas on the coastal areas, with the exception of San Francisco, they were practically absent.[44] Gunther Barth has described the allocation of newcomers which resulted in this population distribution:

> The Chinese on landing in San Francisco usually remained there but a few days. They "then proceeded by the steamers to Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, and other points on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers." In these supply centers and in other outfitting posts agents directed the companies into the Mother Lode Country, distributing the miners into camps between Mariposa in the South and Downieville in the North.[45]

The indentured labor system also brought the Chinese out of Calif-

ornia. The 1870 census by state shows that, in addition to California, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada and Montana had more than a thousand resident Chinese.[46] The pattern of settlement was similar. Chinese owners of the gold and silver mines in these states employed indentured laborers supplied by the merchant brokers in San Francisco. Later, other allocative schemes, operating from California involved using Chinese to build railroads in Texas, as cane field workers in Louisiana, and as strike-breakers in the Northeast. Thus Barth describes how in the allocation of laborers to a shoe factory in North Adams, Mass. doubled the Oriental population of Massachusetts overnight.[47]

Ironically, the indentured labor system which was responsible for bringing the bulk of Chinese into the United States during the nineteenth century, was in a sense responsible for the exclusion of further Chinese immigration in 1882. What was generally a convenient means of seeking employment for the Chinese was brandished as a form of servitude by Americans who used this image to cover their fears of the cheap labor competition and the vast differences in life style which the Chinese embodied.

D. Slaves

> And there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty shekels of silver. And they brought Joseph into Egypt.
>
> Genesis 37:28

The slave category comprises those individuals who are uprooted from a particular place and moved elsewhere. They have no intervening decisions to make. This distinguishes them from the refugee-allocatee person who is forced to move but retains an element of choice with respect to an allocating organization. Thus to understand this kind of

mobility our attention is wholly directed away from the individual. Slave movements were responsible for the appearance of many individuals and groups in alien cultures in ancient times when slavery was an established consequence of war and justice. In traditional slavery, the forces responsible for removing an individual were not necessarily the same as those which deposited him. In the African slave trade, for example,[48] the removal of persons from their origin was accomplished largely by the taking of prisoners in intertribal warfare - these were then sold to coastal-based slave merchants, who on occasion also amassed slaves through kidnapping raids. On the West Coast of Africa the merchants were usually native while on the East Coast this role was often played by Arabs; rarely were Africans taken directly by Europeans. The transportation of slaves to Western Hemisphere destinations was effected by slaver ships operating under the company charters granted by nations or by free agents; these transporters were European and later also American. The final deposition of slaves was in the hands of the new owners, typically plantation bosses in the American South, the Caribbean colonies and the Atlantic coast of Latin America, who purchased the slaves at markets. Thus the locational transfer process consisted of at least three separate forced movements managed in turn by captors, slavers (the shipping trade), and eventual owners. Overall movement was guided by the need for servile labor but was repeatedly influenced by the vagaries of wind, disease, misinformation, blockades, and other political dictates as well as moral outrage.

In the matrix classification, however, "slavery" goes beyond the traditional meaning. It can be used to denote all movements of individuals which are effected without recourse to their decisions, whether or

not this results in labor-based bondage and its accompanying moral outrage. Therefore, in a locational sense, prisons and hospitals both deal in "slaves." Young children, whose movements are wholly determined by their parents, fall into this category, particularly apparent in the case of adoption. In each of these examples, as in the African trade, organization and social groups - the penal system, the medical profession, the family, the adoption board as well as the slave trader - are responsible for the often anomalous involuntary clustering of individuals - convicted murderers on "Death Row," children in a Catholic orphanage, as well as West Africans in Barbados.

For a well documented example of a slave movement we turn to the case of the Japanese on the West Coast of the United States after the outbreak of World War II in December 1941.[49] Rising prejudice due to the fear of coastal infiltration and collaboration led to the encouragement of voluntary movement of Japanese away from the Pacific Coast. By May 1942, however, a mandatory evacuation scheme of all Japanese stock residing in the region west of the Cascades and Sierras, and in coastal Southern California, whether U.S. citizen or not, was put into effect. The movement, directed by the Civilian War Relocation Authority under military advice, was highly organized geographically. The region to be evacuated was divided into 108 basic exclusion units following fixed boundaries, each containing about a thousand persons. These units were used to assign individuals to sixteen assembly points within the evacuation region such as fairgrounds, work camps, or race tracks from which wholesale relocation to remote relocation centers could take place.

The location of the permanent centers was controlled by several factors - the need for cultivatable land to ensure a productive labor

outlet for the agriculturally skilled Japanese, the need for relative isolation from population centers, the need for an area sufficient for at least 5000 people, and the inventory of land readily available for such purposes. The selection of centers resulted in the rather anomalous displacement of a total of over 100,000 people to two centers in Arkansas administered by the Farm Security Administration, farm centers in arid lands largely under the control of the Bureau of Reclamation in Utah, Idaho, and Eastern California, two centers on Indian Reservation land, one on the Kansas-Colorado border purchased from a ranch and a sugar beet company and one at an initial assembly point in the Owens Valley in Eastern California, leased from the city of Los Angeles which had acquired it in the course of aqueduct construction. Assignment of individuals to the various centers depended on the basic exclusion unit to which they belonged. An attempt was made to obtain a working balance of urban and rural people at each center as well as simplify transportation. This resulted in blocks of people remaining together through the procedure with mixing taking place largely during the assembly point sequence. One notable exception was provided in the course of the exclusion years - one center (Tule Lake, California) became the depository for all the "disloyal" people who expressed an interest in returning to Japan as well as those under government suspicion and their close relatives.

The distribution of Japanese in the United States during the 1942-44 period when the exclusion was in effect was thus radically altered by forced movement. Essentially all people bearing a certain characteristic, i.e. Japanese on the West Coast, were moved to remote areas. Their destinations were quite distinct from those selected by those Japanese who left more voluntarily when it was encouraged by the government previous

to the eventual necessity; these went primarily to established communities in Colorado, Utah and California where other Japanese were already residing.

To the War Relocation Authority directing the logistics of the movement it was seen nonlogistically as "...an equitable substitute for the lives and homes given up...". But to some observers and participants, it appeared differently - as a grim forced movement. As a visiting anthropologist, Robert Redfield wrote:

> The relocation center suggests an Army camp, for the Army built the centers and the inhabitants live in Army barracks arranged in the stark regularity that is usual in Army camps...Indeed, if to confine behind wire fences patrolled by soldiers a population chosen for confinement solely for military or political reasons is to set up an internment camp, then these relocation centers are in fact internment camps.[51]

In her autobiography, Mine Okubo describes her departure from Berkeley;

> At that moment I recalled some of the stories told on shipboard by European refugees bound for America.[52]

the locational decisions beyond her control while she was at the assembly point in Tanforan race track;

> Rumors about the site and date and conditions of the relocation were always arising...Although there was no official word or specific details, residents were putting two and two together and arriving - that we were going to a relocation center in Utah.[53]

and her arrival in Topaz, Utah;

> We were all eyes, hoping to spot something interesting on the flat, dry land which extended for miles in all directions. Suddenly the Central Utah Relocation Project was stretched out before us in a cloud of dust. It was a desolate scene. Hundreds of low black barracks covered with tarred paper were lined up row after row. A few telephone poles stood like sentinels, and soldiers could be seen patrolling the ground.[54]

Summary of Movement Forms

In terms of population mobility, "magic" refers to unprecedented movement. This would include the first arrival of a person having a certain characteristic, "C", in a certain area, "A", or the selective departure of all people bearing "C" in "A", i.e. the first Negro arrives in Boston, or the departure of all Jews from Germany. Both of these events are unprecedented in that they involve a qualitative change in population distribution. But we may also regard certain quantitative changes in population distribution as essentially unprecedented. Here the temporal dimension is important. When in a period of time, T, the arrivals of C in A or the departure of C from A is extraordinarily large compared to the time periods before or after T, these movements may be regarded as rather unique historical events unidentifiable with general trends, which only equilibrate, perpetuate, or amplify.

It should be clear from the examples given previously that forced population movements involving refugees, allocatees, and slaves are often responsible for qualitative magic in population mobility. The refugee process may void an A of C as in the case of the practitioners of "Jewish" sciences in Nazi Germany. The allocation process can establish C in A as in the case of Chinese in North Adams, Mass. The slave process can both void an A_1 of C, as well as introduce C to A_2 as in the case of Japanese leaving the Pacific Coast for a remote arid area in Utah. But perhaps the more important contribution to magic in population mobility stemming from forced population movements is in the quantitative sense - where unprecedently and unsubsequently large numbers of people are moved out of or into definable areas in extraordinarily short time spans. The key to this kind of magic, the "magician"

as it were, is a controlling social organization - the existence of a power superceding the individual with the means to articulate population movement.

In contrast, voluntary movement, or migration is not well articulated by such control. The establishment of C in A may occur magically by independent circumstances for active migrants as it did with Italian nucleations in American cities or in the pioneering determination of Appalachian settlers but the subsequent movement is comparatively slow and relatively dispersed. While the chain migration process involving passive migrants indeed results in spatial concentrations of arrivals and departures, it is temporally smoother, more an amplification of previous trends than forced movements. In Figs. 3-3, 4, 5, and 6 migration and the forced movement categories are compared diagramatically, illustrating the effectiveness of controlling social organization in creating anomalous population distributions.

One other feature of forced movements should be mentioned. The examples given previously to illustrate the various categories of movement in an American setting dealt largely with ethnically and racially characterized populations. Of course, the examples were not chosen randomly but nevertheless it is apparent that there is a close association between cultural and racial differences and forced movements. Many reasons for this association suggest themselves - the prejudice, fear, differential economic skills, and exploitation relatable to the segregating and lumping of people of different life styles - but these will not be explored here. Rather, to underscore the importance of forced movements in American settlement history we turn to a summary example of the native Indians, whose scattered and often rather nomadic population

Figure 3-3 Schematic Representation of Migration

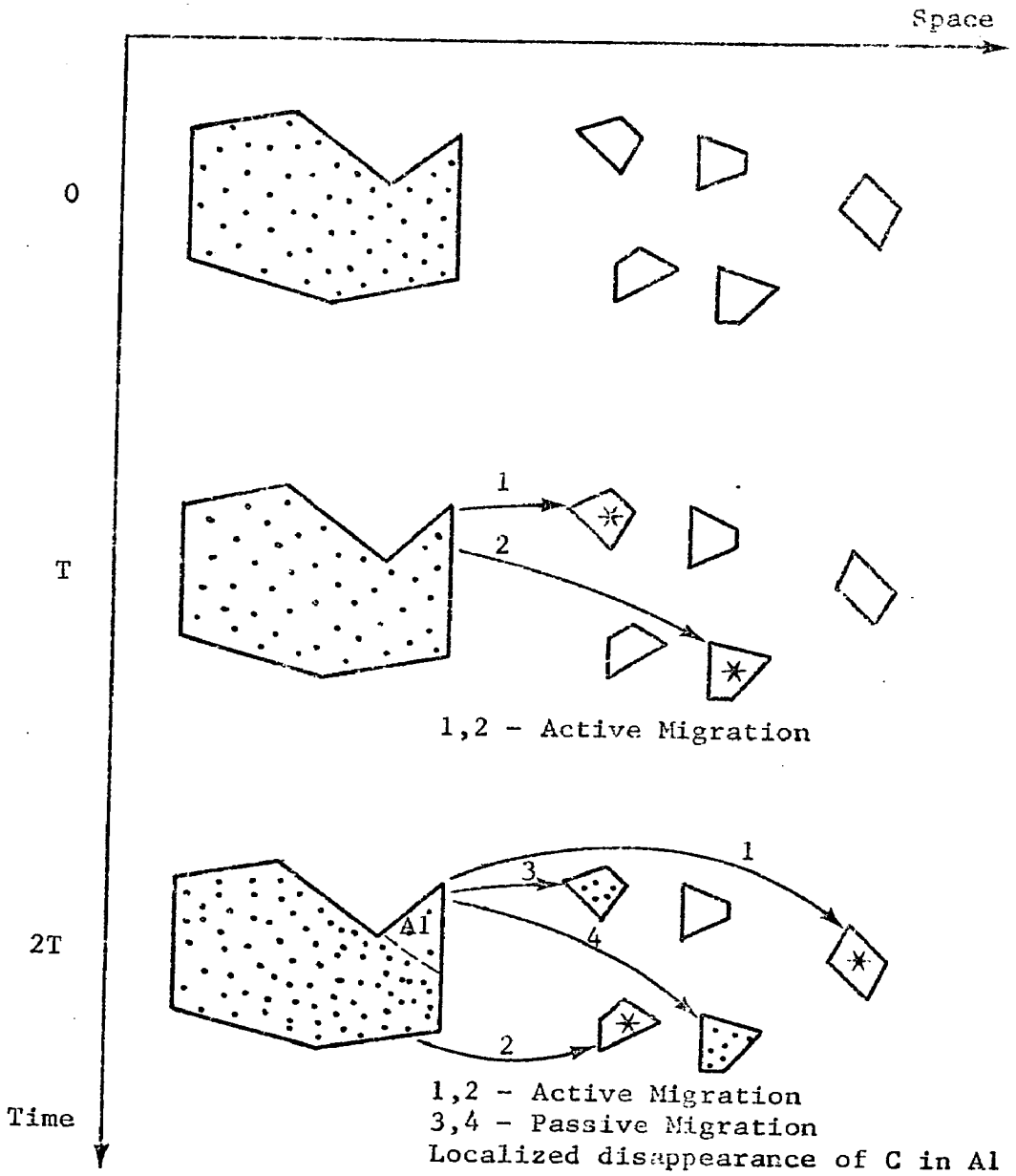
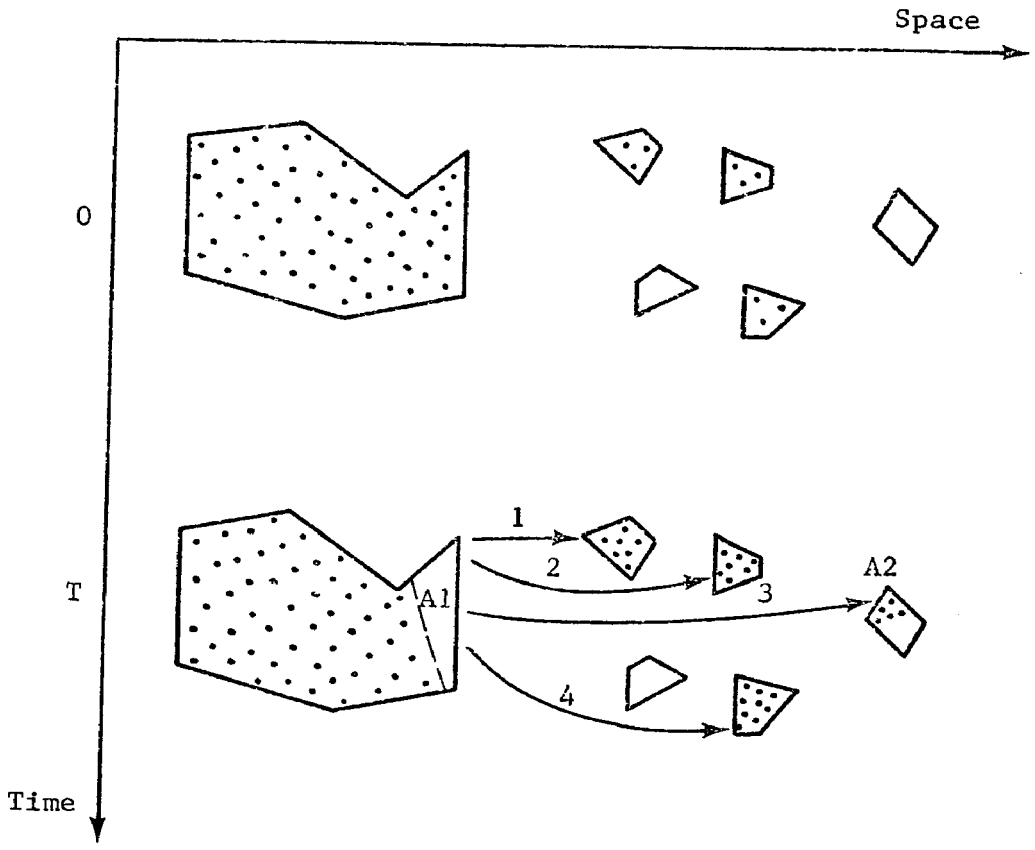


Figure 3-4 Schematic Representation of Refugee Process

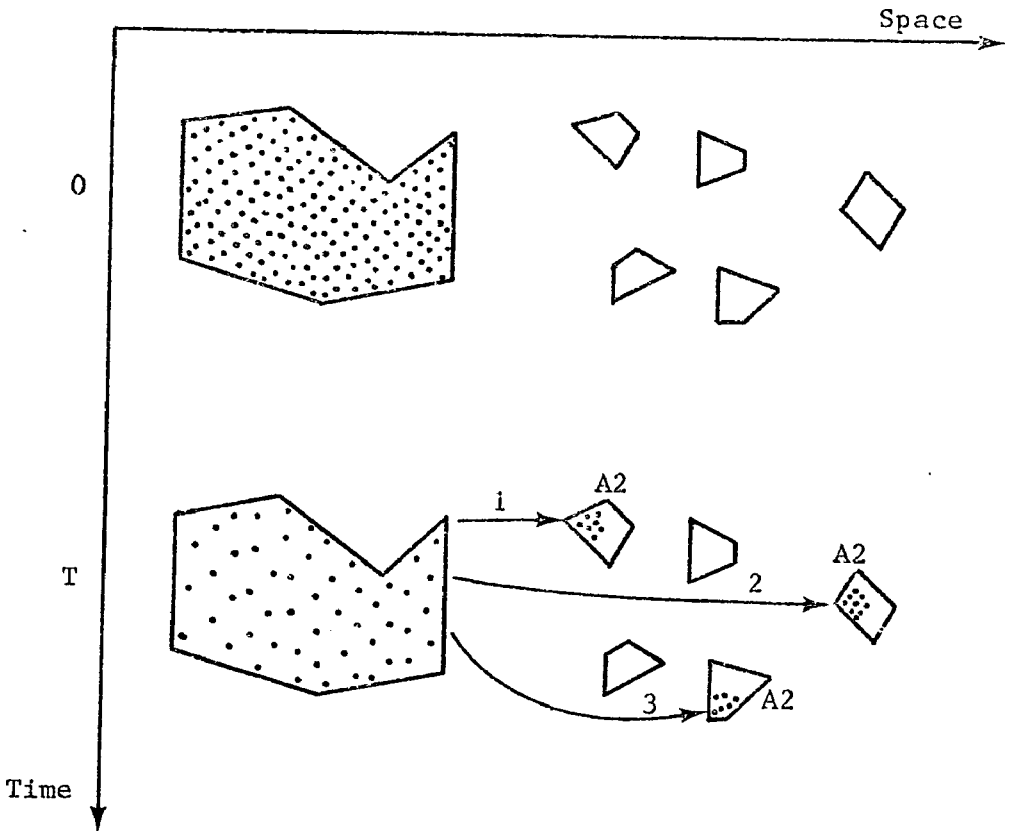


1,2,4 - Passive Migration
3 - Allocation

Possible Disappearance of C in A1

Emergence of C in A2

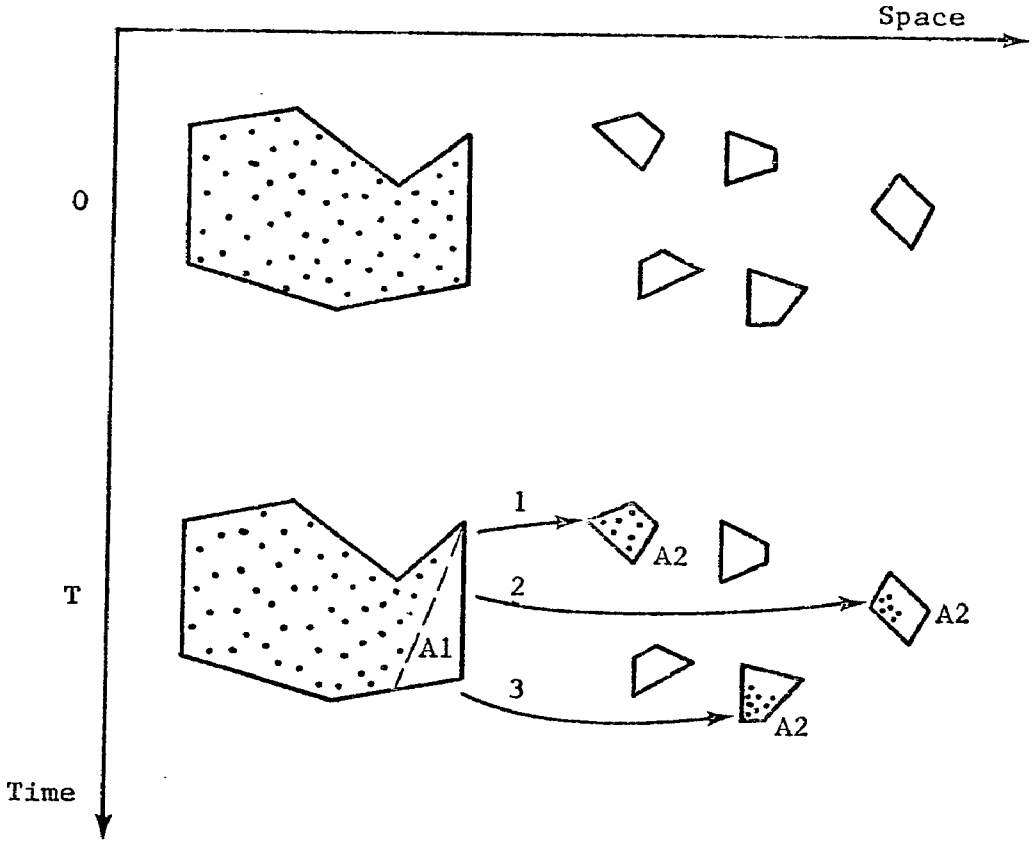
Figure 3-5 Schematic Representation of Allocation



1,2,3 - Allocation

Emergence of C in several A2

Figure 3-6 Schematic Representation of Slavery



1,2,3 - Slave movements

Possible disappearance of C in A1

Emergence of C in several A2

was drastically redistributed after the coming of the Europeans.

Literal slavery immediately followed the arrival of the European explorers.[55] Columbus reportedly sold over 500 Indians in Spain in 1494; the Portugese similarly took Labrador ("place of labor") natives to Portugal as early as 1500, and Indians were used as slaves in the early settlement of New England and the American Southwest. But perhaps the most important event, involving slavery in a locational sense, was the establishment of "permanent" Indian territory west of the Mississippi in the 1830's as a means of ridding the Southeastern states of their substantial settled Indian population.[56] In this period the tens of thousands of Indians belonging to five tribes - Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole - were forcibly removed from their villages in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to be relocated in an area of what is now Oklahoma selected by the American-lead exploring party. "Indian Territory," which was gradually shrunk by the U.S. government down to the Oklahoma territory, due to the continual westward thrust of white settlement, became a destination for refugee Indian tribes pushed off their land by treaty and by force. Meanwhile, particularly after the Civil War, the localized reservation solution imposed upon other tribes often involved involuntary spatial transfers of their members.[57] Thus, during the middle of the nineteenth century the Indian population distribution in the United States shifted from a relatively dispersed occupance of the whole country mostly to the area west of the Mississippi and within this area became concentrated in the Oklahoma territory and in the bounded reservations of various other territories and states.

But even this situation changed. The Dawes Act of 1887 began a strategy to break up the reservations and Indian lands to release more

space for white settlement.[58] The President was authorized to allot all tribal land to individuals, removing it from tribal control, using the same guidelines (160 acres per family) as for homesteaders, releasing the surplus for sale. This entailed an allocation process often managed by White surveyors called grafters. The grafters specialized in dealing in the allotment of reservation land, manipulating it for their own benefit. One notable scheme was to appoint themselves the guardians for orphaned children since these children were entitled to acreage. Selecting land for the children, the guardian could accumulate the best lands for rental or sale of timber. When Indian parents could not legally prove that their children were theirs, the child's allotment and fate could also fall into the hands of the grafter. Such procedures were responsible for the further reduction of Indian lands in Oklahoma and in South Dakota. In one anomalous instance, the Choctaws in Oklahoma refused to accept the allotment procedure and developed an emigration plan to Mexico.

In the early 1950's, Dillon Myer, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs and ironically the former director of the War Relocation Authority which handled the Japanese relocation during World War II, initiated new pressure intended to establish control over more reservation land.[59] On several occasions Indians were forced to sell land through fraudulent testimonies or withheld trust funds. Myer's administration also began an urban relocation project. Indians who could be recruited for urban based jobs were allocated to centers established in Los Angeles, Chicago, Denver and elsewhere, the aim being to put the Indians at a great enough distance from the tribe and hence weaken the tribal associations that were the strength of the reservation. Cities nearby reservations were not used for allocation. Finally, and quite recently, Indians have been made refugees

in several instances of water power development and flood control.[60]

From the locational point of view of the Indians, the American frontier conquest meant a series of forced population movements. Dee Brown's Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee emphasizes the Indian's accounts of their history. Below are some quotes which deal with forced mobility.

> The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die.[61]
>
> Parra-Wa-Samen of the Yampanka Comanches

> The soldiers came to the borders of the village and forced us across the Niobrara to the other side, just as one would drive a herd of ponies; and the soldiers pushed us on until we came to the Platte River. They drove us on in advance just as if we were a herd of ponies.[62]
>
> White Eagle of the Poncas

> They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it.[63]
>
> Red Cloud of the Oglala Dakotas

> It is presumed that humanity dictated the original policy of the removal and concentration of the Indians in the West to save them from threatened extinction. But today, by reason of the immense augmentation of the American population, and the extension of their settlements throughout the entire West, covering both slopes of the Rocky Mountians, the Indian races are more strongly treatened with a speedy extermination than ever before in the history of the country.[64]
>
> Donehogawa
> (Ely Parker, an Iroquois, First Indian Commissioner of Indian Affairs)

Behavior in Refugee Situations

Of the various categories of movement generated by the matrix the refugee case is singled out here for development. The purpose of this narrowed focus is to generate a theory of refugee behavior inductively based on several case studies. This theory will be elaborated for urban renewal in Chapter four and tested empirically in Chapter five.

As case studies, three different instances of behavior in forced move decisions will be referred to: populations displaced by World War

II, the flooding created by the Volta Dam project in Ghana, and the 1967 riot in Detroit. The first case is chosen for the extensive documentation which is available and its involvement with semantically familiar refugees; the second for an example in a non-Western cultural setting and in developmental planning; the third for its contemporary urban context. Despite the divergent environments and cultures in which these events occurred and the differing reasons for forced moves the situations all produced refugees and an attempt will be made to find the commonalities in their behavior. These commonalities will be discussed from the point of view of psychological reactions to the forced move, subsequent institutional influences, and resultant locational decisions. Psychological studies are mainly available from the World War II refugee studies but in all cases institutional and locational behavior has been documented.

Psychological State of Refugees

The central thesis to be promoted here is that the refugee has a need for "social-psychological security." That is, the forced move event disrupts an established life pattern and the affected individual, unable to regain this life in a physical sense, seeks at least its social component. Edgar Chandler, citing the findings of psychologists' research on World War II refugees states this succinctly:

> ...it is the very nature of the refugee that he has suffered a loss in group relationships and that he is now more isolated than in his native land. But psychologically...the situation is reversed. As long as a person lives in his accustomed surroundings he is, on the average, more likely to think and act independently and as an individual than after he becomes a refugee. The average refugee is not an isolationist,. but rather more inclined to follow group impulses and trends than the average citizen...according to the latest psychological belief, the majority of refugees compensate for their loss of group relationship, status, and recognition by identifying themselves more closely with fellow refugees from their native land and of their own religion.[65]

This hypothesis is well-supported by H.B.M. Murphey's research into the incidence of mental disorders among refugee populations, where the major factor in producing psychological instability in refugees was found to be social or cultural isolation.[66] Sonia Grodka and Gerhard Hennes, who have reviewed the settlement of European refugees in the United States under ethnic church auspices found that identification with nationality group, particularly for older people was "a psychological, social and spiritual necessity."[67] K. C. Cirtautas, commenting on the spiritual condition of the refugee found that he is at the mercy of circumstances with a fundamental attitude of distrust, his anxiety resulting from "the traumatic disturbance of his dependency on a protective social order."[68] Finally, in a recent review of the literature on the psychological problems of refugees, Henry David suggests that such syndromes are most manifest where the conditions requiring flight were particularly stressful.[69]

While the dam resettlement and riot incidents have not been studied from a psychological perspective, there is some evidence in each case that the above findings are supported. David Mair found that the riot victims he worked with had a shattered sense of self and well-being, avoiding institutional forms of aid.[70] And in his study of acceptance of innovation among Africans moved by dam projects, Robert Rugg hypothesizes "that in strange surroundings the settlers would be more inclined to cling to whatever was most familiar to them, that is, to their kinsmen and acquaintances and to the relationships that used to prevail among them."[71] In summary it is argued that the involuntary loss of one's home produces a psychological reaction typified by insecurity and helplessness which is met by movement through socially familiar channels.

Institutional Controls

The refugee's psychological condition might be taken as the fundamental determinant of his resultant locational behavior were it not for the fact that each refugee-creating event also seems to entail the creation of new or the involvement of existing superindividual organizations which serve to channel refugee movements. Many refugees thus become allocatees, once having made the decision to request the services of an allocating organization. In some cases, where the acceptance of aid from an allocating organization is practically necessitated, the refugee-allocatee combination verges on a slave movement.

The refugee populations generated by World War II were of course influenced and sometimes controlled by international organizations, national organizations, and private or religiously sponsored organizations.[72] In the case of the Volta Dam, all site selections for relocated groups were filtered through the Volta River Authority.[73] During the Detroit riot, an Emergency Relocation Project run by the Neighborhood Service Organization[74] was established as well as a voluntary group called Homes by Christmas,[75] although in neither case is there evidence of forced acceptance of assistance.

In all of these examples the organizations involved were operated in the interests of the people affected by refugee creating events. Nevertheless, each organization had its nexus of affiliations, political constraints and its own goals, which to some extent impaired its ability to handle individual needs in a totally flexible manner. Individuals being served by these organizations are thereby affected by these limitations. Thus, after World War II the various formal groups dealing with refugee problems were usually dealing with national governments or church admin-

istrations to establish resettlement schemes, were restricted by national immigration policies and Cold War tensions and were further burdened with the necessities of limited budgets, the maintenance of D.P. camps, etc.[76] The Volta River Authority, which had complete jurisdiction over the organized resettlement of flooding victims, was a branch of the Ghana government, reflecting its policy and very sensitive to the modernization goals and regional economic development which the dam was planned to bring about.[77] Finally in the case of the riots the Neighborhood Service Organization worked closely with the Detroit Housing Commission and the Michigan Dept. of Social Services, thus having access to the former's vacant housing stock and the latter's public shelter;[78] Homes by Christmas, in its operation, was influenced by its larger goals of comprehensive service and encouragement of self-determination in riot victims as well as by the largely White middle-class antiestablishment background of its nonprofessional volunteers who worked on a family-to-family basis with riot victims.[79]

Therefore, beyond the psychological factors motivating refugee locational behavior, the institutions drawn into the situation play an important role. Their presence appears to be an expected consequence of the fact that not only do many refugees, it their unfortunate dependent circumstances, require organized assistance, but that they also evolve or participate as a response to a situation caused by a social phenomenon. This is particularly demonstrable in the planned situation illustrated by the Volta Dam project. It is also proposed that these organizations, in offering their assistance in relocating individuals, are necessarily influenced by factors having little to do with the individual's own interests.

Locational Decisions

The location of destinations reached by refugees may be conceptually distinguished as to whether they are selected through individual initiative or determined by allocating organizations. In the former case it is the psychological needs of the refugee which are presumed to be the critical factor; in the latter the constraints of the organization.

Translating the needs of the individual into locational behavior, we would expect him to go to places where familiar social circumstances provide him with the security he seeks. Of course, the urgency of a forced move situation may dictate, at first, that he find a quick escape route which would result in a short distance move to get away from the threat to his personal safety. Thus we would expect individual refugees to relocate mainly in two ways - first toward those places where individuals or groups are able to provide the sociocultural element of their lives; second, perhaps more temporarily, toward nearby havens or refuges from the expelling force.

On the other hand, when allocating organizations are the locational determining agent, destination places reflect the contacts and constraints of the organization. These places may be dispersed within an area by an organization attempting to objectively match the requirements of individuals with available slots or may be concentrated through the employment of schemes dealing with large groups. In either case the distribution is likely to be quite different than the result of individual decisions due to the fact that the locational resources of the organization are dissimilar to those of the individual.

These generalizations can be substantiated by the case studies already referred to.

World War II

The immediate response to wartime conditions, on the European continent, in terms of refugee population movements escaping German control, has been discussed by Malcolm Proudfoot.[80] The difference between heavily organized and more individuated escape routes is prominent. On the individual end, expedient refuge was the rule resulting in concentrations in Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal and the Soviet Union. More geographically anomalous concentrations, such as Jews arriving in the U.S.A. and Palestine, or Poles in East Africa, and British children in the Commonwealth domains are clearly the work of organizations. After the war, when refugee relocation took place under more quiescent conditions the onus of personal safety became less of a controlling factor, and data assembled by the International Refugee Organization allow a further comparison between individual and organized relocation. The I.R.O. offered assistance to people who found resettlement through the sponsorship of friends or relatives already established in a country as well as to those whose only recourse was through government selection schemes. This data, compiled by countries of destination, reveals the expected difference.[81] Of a total of almost 900,000 refugees resettled between July, 1947 and December, 1950, about seven times as many moved through organized resettlement schemes as through personal nomination. But in Canada (2:1), Sweden (1:2), and most of Latin America (Argentina 1:2, Chile 3:1) this ratio was much lower whereas in Australia (21:1) and Great Britain (20:1) it was much higher. These striking differences reveal the political constraints influencing relocation. The effect of organizations manipulating resettlement is even more pronounced in the case of refugees whose age or disabilities stood

in the way of economic absorption. Special organizational arrangements, creating clusters of people with those characteristics in a particular place are the result, as in the case of a colony for the blind resettled in Norway.

A smaller scale example underscores the organizational and individual differences and the preference of individuals for social-psychological security. In her study of Polish refugees in Great Britain, Eleanor Brzenk found that the distribution of resettled people was quite different from that of the British.[82] Governmentally organized resettlement from temporary camps tended to follow the need for labor which would not be competitive with native labor interests and to an extent located relatively near the camp sites, producing concentrations in N.E. Wales and Huntingdonshire. Resettlement through individual choice tended to occur in urban areas of previous Polish settlement, London, Lanarkshire (Scotland) and Manchester. Close association between Poles produced voluntary "ghetto-like arrangements" within cities: "For psychological and social reasons, they found that the proximity of their countrymen was often desireable."[83]

The Volta Dam

Of the nearly 80,000 people affected by the floods created by the Volta Dam, about 2000 individual households (9000 people) elected to take cash compensation and move on their own.[84] Unfortunately data concerning their relocation does not seem to be available. However, the relocation and condensation of villages in the planning area of the Volta River Authority does reveal the differences between the desires of the people and the influence of organization.[85] Within a demarcated

area set aside by the V.R.A., villages were permitted to select their own sites subject to approval by the V.R.A. Fifty-two sites were finally decided on for the 737 villages in the flooded area. For thirty-two of those sites there was reasonable agreement between the people and the V.R.A. But in fifteen cases the people forced sites on the V.R.A. and in five cases the V.R.A. forced sites on the people. Where freedom of choice prevailed, village groupings took place along ethnic lines and the sites were confined mainly to areas of traditional occupance of ethnic groups. But the V.R.A. vetoed certain sites for technical reasons such as accessibility, water supply, and soil capability. The process of selecting compromise sites with villages often involved considerable negotiation:

> ...the people misunderstood the reasons for the choice and the advantages of the particular place. They were also reluctant to settle in unfamiliar surroundings away from the traditional homes of their kinsfolk. Where the settlers had to be settled on land belonging to people of other ethnic groups, compromises had to be found which satisfied fears of insecurity of tenure, their need for farming land, loss of identity, fear of chiefs losing jurisdiction over their subjects, fear of becoming subordinate to others, attachment to traditional heads and fears rising out of beliefs in ill omens.[86]

It is clear that the V.R.A.'s goals were concerned with economically rational regional planning. The initial idea was to create a hierarchically organized series of settlements ranging from 10,000 people to scattered hamlets.[87] But the tribal independence and group cohesiveness encountered resulted in a more homogeneous structure of villages largely in the 1-2000 range.[88] And even this compromise structure has proven to be rather unstable. In a case study of a resettlement village composed of different dialect groups, lack of social cohesion was identified as one of the major obstacles to community morale. Relationships between

people continued to function on the basis of extended families and old village allegiance, depriving the larger community of full interaction.[89]

The Detroit Riots

This example illustrates the differences between various kinds of organizational assistance as well as responses of individual families to an immediate emergency - the fires and chaos which forced residents of certain inner city Detroit neighborhoods to move in July, 1967. At least several hundred families were required to move for reasons of demolished homes and/or personal safety and for about a hundred of these families, data on temporary and permanent relocation is available.[90]

The first organized response to the families left homeless by the disturbances was by the Neighborhood Service Organization which established a relocation service for these victims.[91] Through this organization temporary accomodations were made available at the city's Public Shelter, the downtown Wolverine Hotel (where the relocation project was also administrated). The primary sources of housing for the relocation project were the Detroit Housing Commission and private landlords and realtors. From the former the housing units made available were locationally clustered, being situated in the eight public housing projects in the city. The latter sources, of course, provided more areally dispersed units.

The public shelter was not the only or even the principle resource for temporary relocation. Most refugee families, in fact, found accomodations on their own. Of about 100 families located in temporary dwellings and requiring further assistance more than a month after the riot, 10% were in public housing or in units provided by formal organ-

zations. Of the rest the vast majority had moved in with relatives, friends and neighbors. Only a handful had found housing on their own initiative. Despite the devastated physical environments of the riot neighborhoods, about 17% were living within a half mile of their original residence, usually with friends or neighbors, sometimes in their damaged original residence, and in two cases in apartments rented in the same area.[92] Thus, at least in the case of the immediate move, the major factor influencing relocation was the social linkage of the affected families. Outside of institutional arrangements such as public housing, virtually all of the moves outside of the affected neighborhood were through shared accomodations with previously known people, typically relatives.

In response to the needs of families who were handicapped by the riot, a private volunteer organization, Homes by Christmas, also emerged with its primary purpose being to secure <u>permanent</u> dwellings for riot victims, stressing ownership where possible. The philosophy of the organization centered around providing any necessary auxiliary services which might have been needed in addition to housing, and finding housing which met victim's <u>needs</u> rather than just that which was expediently available. To meet this task, a largely white middle class group of volunteers worked on a family to family basis with poor black riot victims, many of whom were sought out through a search procedure. While H.B.C. did not explicitly promote a policy of trying to get the families out of the riot area, its locational impact was in that direction. In 21 out of 36 cases in which H.B.C. helped find housing, the permanent address was located <u>further</u> from the original pre-riot address than the temporary, while in 13 cases where H.B.C. did not help find housing (but

did offer other assistance) seven permanent relocations were closer to the original. For this small nonrandom sample, the H.B.C.-assisted family moved, on the average, 3.8 miles from the original neighborhood to the permanent housing while others moved an average of only 2.4 miles. Thus, this organization, with the explicit philosophy of middle class "foster neighbor" assistance, had a dispersing effect as a refugee allocating organization.

Notes - Chapter 3

1. See Torsten Hägerstrand, "Migration and Area" in David Hannerberg et al (eds.) Migration in Sweden, (Lund Studies in Human Geography Ser. B No. 13) (Lund: Gleerup, 1957).

2. William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Dover, 1958) Vol. I, p. 44.

3. The terms refugee and slave are used here to refer to locational consequences. In this respect the individual I call a refugee and a slave entails similar locational consequences as the semantically more familiar refugee and slave. This is explained later in the text in each case. I wish the subjective impact of the words to be explicit.

4. Julian Wolpert, "Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress" Journal of Social Issues 22 (1966) pp. 92-102.

5. Edgar Kant, "Classification and Problems of Migration" in P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (eds.) Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962) pp. 342-54.

6. William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration" American Sociological Review 23 (1958) pp. 256-66.

7. Georges Sabbagh et al, "Some Determinants of Intrametropolitan Residential Mobility: Conceptual Considerations" Social Forces 48 (1969) pp. 88-98, quote on p. 89.

8. Stephen Gale, "Probability and Interaction: A Stochastic Approach to Intraregional Mobility" Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, 1969).

9. However, in that many geographic theorists have attempted to reason from aggregate to individual behavior, this is the view that such models provide of the individual. See Gunnar Olsson, "Inference Problems in Locational Analysis" in K. R. Cox and R. G. Golledge (eds.) Behavioral Problems in Geography: A Symposium (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1969) pp. 14-29.

10. Eric Moore, "The Structure of Intra-Urban Movement Rates: An Ecological Model" Urban Studies 6 (1969) pp. 17-33.

11. Gunnar Olsson, "Central Place Systems, Spatial Interaction and Stochastic Processes" Regional Science Association Papers 18 (1966) pp. 13-45.

12. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 5.

13. Hägerstrand, op. cit.

14. John and Leatrice MacDonald "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks" Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly 42 (1964) pp. 82-97.

15. Ibid. p. 93.

16. Louis Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1956) Chs. 9-11.

17. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 376.

18. J. and L. MacDonald, op. cit. p. 93.

19. Wirth, op. cit. p. 153-6.

20. Robert Coterill, History of Pioneer Kentucky (Cincinnati: Johnson and Hardin, 1917).

21. Ibid. p. 27.

22. John Bakeless, Daniel Boone (New York: William Morrow, 1934).

23. Ibid. p. 116.

24. Ibid. p. 394.

25. "A refugee is an individual who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country..." Henry David, "Involuntary International Migration: Adaption of Refugees" International Migration 7 (1969) pp. 67-105.

26. Laura Fermi, Illustrious Immigrants (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968).

27. Charles Weiner, "A New Site for the Seminar," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (eds.) The Intellectual Migration (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969) pp. 190-234.

28. Marie Jahoda, "The Migration of Psychoanalysis," in Fleming and Bailyn (eds.) The Intellectual Migration (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969) pp. 420-445.

29. Fermi, op. cit., pp. 146-50.

30. Weiner, op. cit., p. 207.

31. Jahoda, op. cit., p. 420.

32. Fermi, op. cit., pp. 95-8.

33. Leo Szilard, "Reminiscences" in Fleming and Bailyn, "The Intellectual Migration" pp. 94-151.

34. See Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (New York: MacMillan, 1904). This historical treatise approaches the development of settlements, particularly the Jamestown, Virginia colony from the proprietary nature of the companies holding land grants.

35. Judah Matras, Social Change in Israel (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

36. David, op. cit.

37. J. and L. MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 86-8.

38. Morton Rubin, "Migration Patterns of Negroes from a Rural Northeastern Mississippi Community" Social Forces 39 (1960) pp. 59-66.

39. Persia C. Campbell, Chinese Coolie Emigration (London: P.S. King and Son, 1923) p. 150ff.

40. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un, Against the American Chinese Labor Exclusion Act (translation of Chinese title)(Peking: Chung Hua Book Co., 1962) pp. 432-5 (Translation provided by Mr. Jui-on Louie).

41. There were three types of emigrants from China to the Western hemisphere during this period - indentured, contract laborers, and coolies. The first relied on a credit-ticket system wherein an indentured emigrant worked for his creditor until the debt was paid. The second involved specific locational contracts while the third pressed men into service through kidnapping and other means. The coolie trade is much more a slave movement due to the involuntary decision to move, but it was the indentured emigrant system which prevailed in California. See Gunther Barth, Bitter Strength (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964).

42. Campbell, op. cit., p. 28.

43. Barth, op. cit., p. 87ff.

44. See tables in Elmar Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1939) pp. 19-20.

45. Barth, op. cit., p. 113.

46. Sandmeyer, op. cit., p. 21.

47. These movements out of California are detailed by Barth, op. cit., Ch. 8.

48. See the discussion of the African slave trade in Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, Black Cargoes (New York: Viking Press, 1962).

49. Most of this discussion is based on U.S. Army, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1942). The text includes maps of the assignments made.

50. Mine Okubo, Citizen 13660 (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1946) p. 199.

51. Robert Redfield, "The Japanese-Americans" in W. F. Ogburn (ed.) American Society in Wartime (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1943) pp. 143-64.

52. Okubo, "Citizen 13660" p. 24.

53. Ibid. p. 109.

54. Ibid. p. 122.

55. Jack Forbes, The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964).

56. See the discussion in Grant Foreman, Indian Removal (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1953) Ch. 2 and Angie Debo, A History of the Indians in the United States (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1970) Ch. 7.

57. Accounts for particular tribes are discussed in Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

58. See Debo, op. cit., p. 251ff.

59. Ibid. pp. 312-3.

60. Ibid. p. 351 and Robert Euler and Henry Dobyns, "Ethnic Land Rights in the Modern State: Three Case Studies" Human Organization 20 (1961) pp. 203-7.

61. Brown, op. cit., p. 242.

62. Ibid. p. 351.

63. Ibid. p. 449.

64. Ibid. p. 176.

65. Edgar H. S. Chandler, The High Tower of Refuge (New York: Praeger, 1959) pp. 211-2. Recent research on political refugees in Africa indicates that the World War II findings with respect to Europeans may hold up non-culturally..."the refugee strives for physical and psychic survival early in the absence of improving the essential

meaning and value of country and human dignity on a personal basis...Rather than seeing himself as a liberated human being and potential freedom fighter, the refugee is estranged from himself and his cause. Indifference, despondency and determination occupy his life on an entire basis..." George L. Metcalfe, "Effects of Refugees in the Natural State" Refugees South of the Sahara, ed. by Hugh C. Brooks and Yassin El-Ayouty (Westport: Negro Universities Press, 1970) pp. 74-75.

66. H.B.M. Murphey, "Refugee Psychoses in Great Britian: Admissions to Mental Hospitals" in Flight and Resettlement, ed. by H.B.M. Murphey (Lucerne: UNESCO Bucher Ltd., 1955) pp. 173-94.

67. Sonia Grodka and Gerhard Hennes, Homeless No More (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1960) p. 32.

68. K. C. Cirtautas, The Refugee (Boston: Meador Press, 1957) p. 29.

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70. David T. Mair, "Victims of the 1967 Detroit Rebellion and Christian Affirmation" Unpublished M.S. thesis (San Francisco: San Francisco Seminary, 1970).

71. Robert D. Rugg, "Resevoir Resettlement in Africa" Unpublished M.A. dissertation (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1967).

72. David, op. cit.

73. Robert Chambers, The Volta Resettlement Experience (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970). The Volta River Authority was, from the beginning, in charge of the entire development planning project - dam construction, flooding, population resettlement and social welfare.

74. Ken Kelley, "Report on Emergency Relocation Project" Neighborhood Service Organization, Detroit, typescript.

75. Lynn Malley, "The History and Effect of Homes by Christmas" Senior thesis, Monteith College, Wayne State Univ., Detroit, mimeograph.

76. For example see Malcolm J. Proudfoot, European Refugees: 1939-52 (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), International Refugee Organization, Migration from Europe (Geneva, 1952?), and Murphey, "Flight."

77. Chambers, op. cit., Chs. 2 and 6.

78. Kelley, op. cit. However, according to Sally Cassidy of the Homes by Christmas organization the housing stock "disappeared when needed."

79. Malley, op. cit.

80. Proudfoot, op. cit., Ch. 3.

81. International Refugee Organization, op. cit., p. 37.

82. Eleanor Brzenk, "The Distribution of Polish Refugees in Great Britain" Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Evanston: Northwestern Univ., 1959).

83. Brzenk, "Polish Refugees" p. 112. Once again the European experience has its recent counterpart in Africa. "...the direction of flight of refugees, apart from the physical factor of access and the factor of control, may be based on the perceived advantages inferred from the formal and informal channels of communications available to potential refugees. This information may come from all variety of sources - previous refugees, tribal contacts in another country, etc." Thomas Hovet Jr., "Boundary Disputes and Tensions as a Cause of Refugees" in Refugees South of the Sahara ed. by Hugh C. Brooks and Yassin El-Ayouty (Westport: Negro Univ. Press, 1970) p. 23.

84. Chambers, "Volta Resettlement," p. 147.

85. Ibid. pp. 59-52, pp. 113-16.

86. Ibid. p. 49.

87. Ibid. p. 43.

88. Ibid. pp. 145-6.

89. Ibid. pp. 200-1.

90. Data collected by Homes by Christmas made available by Sally Cassidy,Monteith College, Wayne State Univ., Detroit.

91. This service was described in Kelley, op. cit.

92. Calculations based on raw Homes by Christmas data. See note 90.

Chapter 4. The Different Languages of Urban Renewal

Urban renewal is a widespread phenomenon of contemporary America. Since its legislated entrance into the American urban vocabulary in the 1954 Housing Act the term has represented the large scale planned redevelopment or rehabilitation of physically deteriorated areas of hundreds of American cities under governmental auspices. Whether or not it has "renewed" cities is not at issue. The municipal acquisition of privately owned land, the displacement of entranched businesses and residence, the demolition wrought by bulldozers and the subsequent new construction are familiar events to the urban public. They are objectively accountable in terms of structures, acres, parcels, persons, profits, costs and construction.

But there is no one uncontested interpretation of these objective descriptions. Depending on one's role as bystander, observer, planner, victim or beneficiary, as well as one's ideology within these roles, the framework in which the events of an urban renewal project are viewed differ widely. Within these different interpretations, the objects manipulated in the real world have different conceptual significance, are given different names and are related in different ways. Each interpretation constitutes a different language - not just in the metaphorical sense of providing a unique syntax for interpreting reality but in the very literal sense of employing different nouns for objects and different predicates for their attributes and relationships.[1]

I will be briefly outlining four such languages of urban renewal as they are suggested by planners, social scientists and critics concerned with the phenomenon. The basis of three of these languages has been

previously discussed in the second chapter while the third chapter has served to develop the last. I will be looking intensively at the displacement of residents[2] in an urban renewal area and how they are labelled and regarded in each language, with particular attention paid to where these displaced residents are expected to move to. Thus, each of the languages of urban renewal will be extended into a theory of relocation of displaced residents anticipating the geographic distribution of moves. As a prelude to the following chapter which is concerned with testing these different theories in an empirical setting, the empirical literature on urban renewal relocation will be summarized with respect to these theories.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to link the broad theoretical notions pertaining to cities and geographic mobility to a specific contemporary urban issue. The controversial urban renewal program, involving both concepts of the city and migration, is a pertinent example. Certainly, as the major governmental planning tool used in the contemporary American city, it deserves to be investigated in this sense.

1. Urban Renewal in the Language of Individual Behavior: Displaced Residents as Migrants

> "Mobility is the mechanism by which a family's housing is brought into adjustment to its housing needs."
>
> Peter Rossi

Urban renewal projects entail two processes which are of intense interest to urban geographers - intra-urban mobility and land use change. Typically, a project will involve the displacement of site residents, the subsequent construction of new residences of different densities and costs and in some cases commercial or industrial structures, and the

eventual immigration of new residents. It is not unreasonable to presume that urban geographic theory should be applicable to the prediction and explanation of the effects of urban renewal, particularly in that, as a foray in planning, it is hopefully partly based on the knowledge of urban geography - or at least if it isn't, offers a sort of experiment by which scientific notions might be tested.

Ironically, the assumptions of most current geographic theory concerned with intra-urban mobility and land use change explicitly deny the interference of publicly supported planning in urban systems. Recent models of intra-urban migration,[3] and land use change[4] are both built around the notion that the actions of individual families in moving or individual parcel owners or occupants in modifying site usage can be aggregated into a realistic picture of urban spatial change. For out put, these models have generally yielded an interpretation of moves and land use change as a probabilistic function of other variables.

This research constitutes a language in which to talk about urban renewal. The land use change occuring due to an urban renewal project may be regarded as an aggregate of individual parcel changes.[5] The residence changes effected by the project may be regarded as the moves of individual families based only on individually constrained needs. The displaced families are simply "intra-urban migrants," in the language of this research, although with respect to the matrix in the previous chapter they are "abstract movers." While urban renewal clearly imposes the need for moving on the families, their selection of a destination may be hypothetically likened to that of the intra-urban migrants studied in this approach.

James Simmons' review[6] of recent intra-urban migration research

provides us with empirical expectations. It has been found that the majority of moves are generated by the need to adjust housing to the life-cycle of a family. Destinations are selected largely around the size and facilities of the dwelling unit; the new neighborhoods chosen have ethnic and class make-up similar to that of the origin. The aggregate expectation of moves is nearby, in the same sector of the city, skewed toward the suburbs as a response to the new construction on the periphery of the city. Outward moves are preferred by households with young children and new owners. Thus, in a purely geometrical sense, distance variation in moves should be mainly related to the life-cycle status of the family unit, directional variation is largely bimodal reflecting the tendency of a family to move mostly inward or outward within the same sector.[7]

2. Urban Renewal in the Language of Physically Deterministic Planning: Displaced Residents as Patients, and Relocation as a Deviation-Amplifying Process

> "...we were surprised and delighted to learn that all the dilapidated furniture had been replaced...the house was neat and clean; the family had made friends with their immediate neighbors and one of them was driving the...children to school in her carpool."
>
> A New Haven Relocation Officer

The historical roots of American notions about urban blight and the legislative antecedents of urban renewal are the basis for another language. To carry out an urban renewal project, it is usually necessary to invoke the power of "eminent domain" so that a municipality may acquire privately owned land. While this is reasonably straight-forward where the land is needed to serve a public function, in urban renewal it is to be

transferred to other private ownership, a process which has generated considerable controversy on constitutional grounds. It was the language of early urban environmental planning which justified the granting of this power.[8]

Since the emergence of large districts of shabby dwellings housing the poorer classes in Industrial England, the slum or blighted area has been a major target of urban planning. In the nineteenth century, blighted areas grew rapidly, and as statistical information on health and crime within urban districts became available, correlations were established between physically deteriorating housing on the one hand, and disease and social pathologies such as crime or vice on the other. The intellectual climate of Darwinism and the popularity of notions of environmental determinism promoted the interpretation of these relationships, by some influential observers, as epidemic and causal: physically eroded housing or slums spread like a disease and also caused human problems.[9] The solution suggested by these interpretations was to demolish the malignant physical structure and rehouse its occupants in decent structures. In terms of processes, the "magic" introduced from the superior physical environment to the residents was supposed to have a positive effect on their social life. This is a <u>deviation-amplifying</u> view of the relocation process.

Certainly other justifications contributed to the advantages of this proposal - slums were an eyesore to nonresidents, hurt business and reduced taxes. But it was the more humanitarian rationale which enabled legislation toward these ends in the United States. The slum clearance programs of the New Deal, enacted in 1937, were accompanied by public housing programs.[10] Urban blight was removed through demolition and its

inhabitants were rehoused in areas of large scale new construction. In this way the public as a whole might benefit - the city could be rid of a cancerous area and the former residents of this area could improve as people, impelled by the wholesomeness of their new surroundings.

The 1949 and 1954 legislation which shaped current urban renewal practice can be seen as an outgrowth of the New Deal programs.[11] In the language of the latter, land use change is effected to convert blighted areas into unblighted ones and residents of blighted areas are regarded as patients to be cured by movement to unblighted neighborhoods. Although urban renewal legislation does not guarantee the latter proposition, specifying only that standard units be a criterion for rehousing,[12] it is clear that the evolution of thought behind urban renewal is in this vein.

In terms of the original urban environmental planning goals, the theoretical expectation of where to find residents displaced by urban renewal is simple. Their relocation is to be guided by ecological rather than spatial considerations; they should be found in physically standard areas, presumably allocated by planners. While standardness, blight and other terms relating to the physical condition of housing are notoriously subjective and poorly defined,[13] census data, which are often the primary source of information of physical conditions of housing, at least provide something approaching a nationwide standard. At the very least, displaced residents should be found living on census blocks which are composed of physically standard housing units, the block being the smallest unit of areal aggregation of data.

3. Urban Renewal in the Language of Economic Planning: Displaced Residents as Costs and Relocation as an Equilibrating Process

> "If we had the money we'd buy a big house in the suburbs and I don't care how much time it takes to get downtown."
> A friend of the author

The enactment of federal legislation in 1949 provided only for urban redevelopment which was predominantly residential. Subsequent revisions in 1954 permitted considerably more industrial and commercial use of renewal land.[14] Cities began to see how urban renewal could aid their shrinking tax base by providing large scale parcels for high tax paying businesses. Increasingly, the focus in many cities was diverted away from the social problems of blight and the rehousing of residents to the economic advantages of redevelopment. Certainly, the private concerns undertaking investment in redeveloped areas are most prone to the profit motive.[15]

In the language of economic planning, urban renewal can be considered purely in terms of dollar value cost-benefit analysis. Thus the "pure theory" (sic) proposed by Otto Davis[16] considers only land acquisition, improvements and interest as costs to be offset by the benefits of municipal tax gain. Redeveloped land would conform to those uses resulting in the optimum return dictated by competitive economic equilibrium. Relocation of displaced residents is considered only as an incidental cost in the land acquisition process.

The movement of residents "costed out" in this manner can, however, also be approached from the viewpoint of land economics. William Alonso has considered relocation in this way.[17] He argues that residential location is a trade off between space and accessibility to downtown which, in American society, is usually manifested by the rich residing in low density on cheap distant land while the poor live in high density on

expensive central land creating the familiar ringed urban residential structure. Inner city renewal forces the residents to move outward to slightly less accessible, less densely utilized land.

Were a renewal area to displace residents of mixed economic resources we could expect one of two outcomes. First we could assume that their central location was a manifestation of atypical (at least for the wealthier) personal values demanding high accessibility, in which case their relocation would be as nearby as possible, maintaining centrality. Alternatively, we could assume that the mix of economic class in the area was a disequilibrium condition, and would approach equilibrium in relocation, which would be an equilibrating process. In other words, given the impetus to move, the higher income families would relocate at greater distance, the lower income families retaining the central locations. No directional component to relocation is predicted.

4. Urban Renewal in the Language of Political Control: Displaced Residents as Refugees and Relocation as a Homeostatic Process

> "Something of me went with the West End."
> "I felt like my heart was taken out of me."
> "I felt cheated."
>
> Former residents of Boston's West End

As urban renewal has made its impact felt on the inhabitants of inner city areas it has become impossible to escape the fact that the vast majority of relocated people have been poor, elderly, or of various racial and ethnic minority groups, and often a combination of these categories. For example, the disproportionate effect on black people has prompted some critics to call the urban renewal program "Negro removal." The general powerlessness and repression of inner city residents, partic-

ularly blacks, in preventing urban administrators from usurping their neighborhoods among other struggles has become a popular theme in socio-political analysis. Eldridge Cleaver[18] and Martin Oppenheimer,[19] among others, make extensive use of the analogy with European colonialism, seeing the inner city, usually the black ghetto, as a colony of a bourgeois political establishment.

A recent definition of colonialism by Ronald Horvath[20] enables urban renewal to be explicitly placed in this framework. Colonialism is seen as a form of inter-group domination where settlers in significant numbers migrate permanently to the colony from the colonizing power. This is in contrast to imperialism wherein control is maintained without migration. Urban renewal can be portrayed as a mechanism by which land is taken from power-deprived inner city residents for the residential, commercial or administrative functions of the power structure. Urban renewal thus effects a change in political control of the inner city - from an imperialistic relationship to a colonial one.

In this language the spotlight is on the population forced to move by the display of power on the part of an urban administration. The displaced residents are analogous to the refugees created by colonial adventures in land aquisition. To understand the resultant movements, we may consider them to be refugees and consult the generalizations on refugee behavior discussed in the previous chapter. In urban renewal we may assume that the locational decisions made take place over a long enough time so as to emphasize the need for social-psychological security as opposed to immediate personal safety. Thus we would expect to find displaced families near their friends and relations or members of culturally familiar groups. This is a homeostatic view of the relocation

process, residents resisting the change. If, however, formal organizations such as a public housing administration were utilized to allocate destinations, the anomalous clustering of individuals due to organizational goals might also result.

The four different languages of urban renewal each regard the displaced residents in a different light. Moreover, they entail very different processes interactant in relocation even though, in a purely locational sense, similarly placed destinations might result. The following chart summarizes the various outcomed of relocation in each case.

Language	Relocation Process	Locational Outcome
1. Individual Behavior - the "Migrant"	Intra-urban migration based on family life-cycle needs	a. Relationship between family cycle stage and distance b. Same directional sector as origin c. Similar ethnic and class make-up at destination compared to origin
2. Physically Deterministic Planning - the "Patient"	Deviation-Amplifying Guided movement away from blighted areas	a. Destinations in physically standard neighborhoods
3. Economic Planning - the "Cost"	Equilibrating Optimization of space-accessibility trade off	a. Destinations at slightly greater distance from city center or b. Positive relationship between income and distance
4. Political Control - the "Refugee"	Homeostatic Maintainence of social-psychological security	a. Destinations near friends, kin or cultural group b. Possible anomalies due to organizational allocation

It should be readily apparent that the different locational outcomes are by no means mutually exclusive. While certain relationships may be found to exist, this is by no means also a confirmation of the process, hence the confirmation of the appropriateness of the language or theory, should relationships hold up only in a spatial test. Indeed, it is even conceivable that the locational outcome for each language would be fulfilled in a given situation. Evidently, refutation will be simpler than confirmation; for the latter some way of examining the process will have to be provided. As a prelude to my own empirical work, let us turn first to other empirical investigations of people displaced by urban renewal.

Research on Relocation in Urban Renewal

There has been very little research directly concerned with the location of residents displaced by urban renewal. Some studies have described the general geographic pattern projected by the chosen destinations but offer little in the way of confirmed support of the theories proposed above; investigations of spatial form have not been related to any generating process, rather they have remained mostly at the level of simple unanalyzed descriptions.

Research efforts have instead been directed more toward the social and economic consequences of relocation, on the level of the family. Several extensive studies have been undertaken to ascertain the effect of the move on such objective indicators of journey to work and church, rental payments, size and quality of dwelling unit and tenure status. Several other potentially objective items such as the extent of neighboring, shopping patterns and contacts with original neighborhood have been studied through the rather subjective method of interview recall.

Finally, in some cases an attempt has been made to measure purely subjective psychological feelings evoked toward the old and new homes and neighborhoods, the changes wrought by the forced move, the administrative personnel encountered and general satisfaction.

These studies, though they do not pertain directly to spatial location, do at least have some bearing on the underlying attitudes and preferences which are bound up in the process through which destinations are selected. To this end some further studies in a comparative perspective are of value - research done in other countries where slum-dwelling families have been typically rehoused by a directing authority and are thus more accessible for post-relocation feedback.

The following presentation of previous research adheres to the order in this overview. First the simple spatial observations of urban renewal relocation will be discussed, followed by its social, economic and psychological concommitants and then the findings on related kinds of planning done in other cultural settings. One American study, documenting particularly the differences between forced and voluntary moves will be discussed separately for its summary value.

Spatial Observations

The earliest report I have found relating to the spatial outcome of forced intra-urban relocation occured prior to urban renewal but was essentially the same in its operation. In 1933, a blighted New York tenement neighborhood, overwhelmingly Italian in population composition, was cleared for the purpose of building municipally funded housing.[21] A vast majority of the households (83%) moved to "adjoining blocks" whereas the longest moves (1%) were to Italy. This report contains only one

interpretation bearing on the process:

> It is interesting to note that several families who resided in the same tenement in the condemned area moved in groups to occupy flats in the same house in a new location.[22]

As for the urban renewal studies, Chester Hartman has provided us with an overview.[23] In these studies no breakdown of location by any population characteristic is given and only distance of spatial variables is investigated. In the majority of cases the regularity observed was similar to the case above - a tendency to relocate in the immediate vicinity of the area from which dislocation took place. Thus in such cities as Portland, Oregon, Minneapolis, Buffalo and Baltimore a majority of relocated families could be found within two miles of the project site. In smaller cities such as Morristown, New Jersey and Providence even more clustering was observed while the only significant departures from the trend occured in large cities such as New York and Chicago, which, it might be noted, have well developed public transportation systems.

In another comprehensive survey of urban projects displacing residents between 1954 and 1957, Harry Reynolds came to similar conclusions.[24] He estimated that about half of all such moves in this period were within a mile radius of the original residence.

Ironically, two projects where point-mapping was undertaken to get a clearer picture of relocation patterns produced less regular results. Hartman's own finding on a sample of the residential relocation from the West End project in Boston was that there was an absence of any large scale clustering; the redistribution of households conformed to a "shot-gun" pattern. Similarly, in discussing the relocation of a portion of the former population of a project area in Washington, Daniel Thursz

observed the lack of any proximate concentration, holding that "the analogy of leaves on an autumn day is more applicable."[25] Thus while short distance moves seem to be a frequent outcome of urban renewal displacement, they are by no means always the result.

To my knowledge only one test of the environmental location hypothesis that families will be found in physically standard neighborhoods has been made. Using data for a San Francisco project, Nathaniel Lichfield discerned that 74% of the families, most of whom had clustered around the project area, moved to blocks where the physical conditions were superior to those at their original location.[26] However, his conclusions are suspect in that the physical data employed were collected in 1949 while the moves occurred in 1959. And not surprisingly, he also noted that the majority of the clustered residents would have to relocate again due to continued urban renewal, indicating that they were still living in blighted areas!

Social, Economic and Psychological Comcommitants

In terms of nationwide coverage, the most comprehensive study of relocation was undertaken by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1964-65.[27] The Bureau completed interviews with a sample of 2146 families who had been displaced during the summer of 1964. Among the relevant findings were that 85% of the families moved to physically sound housing. Racial differences were also examined, the findings indicating that nonwhites made less gains in this area, on the average, as a consequence of the move. There was a negligible increase in average number of rooms. For renters, on the average this cost more than 10% than their original rent, and there was a small increase in home ownership. About 10% of the

families reported different places of employment after moving and there was a trend toward greater journeys to work, less convenient shopping and increased distances to church.

This report was hailed by urban renewal officials as a refutation of criticism of the relocation program but Chester Hartman has in turn criticized this study on several grounds.[28] He found fault with many of its definitions, its sampling biases and its failure to disaggregate the data by city size, and he charged the study with bias introduced by one federal agency reporting at the request of another. In Hartman's own study of Boston's West End and survey of several projects in other cities he concluded that while there were selective gains in housing welfare, there were unselective personal and financial costs incurred by displaced families.[29] These conclusions were backed by the significant research on neighborhood interaction and the psycho-social effects of dislocation and subsequent adaption done on the same West End project population Hartman investigated.[30]

Marc Fried has called the principal psychological syndrome observed in the West End studies "grieving for a lost home."[31] The majority of displaced residents exhibited feelings of painful loss, longing, depression, helplessness, anger and a tendency to idealize the "lost place" as if they were mourning a lost person. Two components of the grief reaction are what Fried has termed the fragmentation of the sense of spatial identity and the fragmentation of group identity. In relocating away from the West End, the residents were deprived of their familiar environmental experience of "belonging" and jarred loose from stable social networks, an outcome which is likely for the urban working class whose lives are often inextricably entwined in an immediate environment.

The close knit weave of neighborhood relations in the West End had already been documented by Herbert Gans,[32] prior to the urban renewal project.

Reflecting further on the nature of the working class neighborhood in a forced move situation, Fried has also held that its protective structure delays residential mobility until social mobility is desired and achieved.[33] Thus, although many residents may have been in various states of readiness to utilize the displacement as an opportunity, for most it represented an unwanted break with "home."

> Coping with the transition to a new social and residential experience, leaving a situation of embeddedness within a familiar and beloved place, undertaking a struggle with challenges which were not sought and which so often go beyond available psychological or social resources necessarily pose extremely difficult problems...Hypothetically, relocation can be conceived as an opportunity for change, for greater assimilation, for social mobility. However, the freedom to use these opportunities must first be achieved internally...[34]

Few seemed to have reached this stage in the West End. Hence, the relocation problem tended to be perceived very differently by the residents compared with the relocation administrators, leading to selection of replacement housing chosen to alleviate the psychological loss.

> Since social criteria are more important to many West Enders than physical criteria, they may reject on this basis the units offered to them by relocation officials. Conversely, they may relocate themselves in dwelling units that are substandard by federal provisions but not by the West Enders' priority of social over physical values.[35]

While the West End studies are by far the most ambitious in their attempts to unravel the psychological feelings of displaced residents, two other researchers tend to agree with their findings. In a study of residents who moved from two Detroit sites, Shirley Terreberry noted that 80% had no intention of leaving and more than two thirds felt estrange-

ment from friends; for about 40%, a "sense of loss" was never fully compensated.[36] Peter Marris' overview of official relocation reports in five large cities led him to conclude that the social needs of many inhabitants of urban renewal neighborhoods are overriding:

> When such a community is disrupted, people are bereft of all moral support. They are likely to burrow back as fast as they can into the protective culture of the slums.[37]

An International Perspective

Like the United States, many other countries have developed strategies for dealing with deteriorating areas in cities. Unlike the United States, however, most of these schemes have placed much more stress on relocation aspects and have, in many cases, directly moved displaced residents into new housing areas meeting modern physical standards.[38]

One such planning venture in Glasgow, where experiments with slum clearance and variants of public housing have been made since 1866, has provided a direct test of the urban physically determinist thinking which inspired the initial concern.[39] In a study of families rehoused for more than ten years compared to families still living in slums the researchers found that there were no differences in mortality or juvenile delinquency rates between the groups. There were no improvements in income or job security for those rehoused. About one fifth of the rehoused group still maintained their old neighborhood contacts with the proportion rising for those rehoused for longer periods. The authors are forthright in their refutation of the notion that the physical quality of housing determined social welfare:

> ...it is abundantly clear that many rehoused slum families require a great deal of help and encouragement to make the transition from slums to a new life: this study shows again that the eradication of slum sickness does not come with the mere erection of new houses.[40]

The "grieving for a lost home" syndrome discussed previously has received support from studies in widely different cultural settings. In Puerto Rico, England and Nigeria reports have documented the psychological and pragmatic difficulties caused by severance of social and economic networks and spatial identity established prior to relocation.[41] Predevelopment surveys in Czechoslovakia have indicated a general reluctance of slum based families to move, despite the carrot of new housing, due to the fear of disrupting delicate neighborhood contacts.[42] This finding dovetails with the American experience in urban renewal relocation administration where many residents decline opportunities to move into public housing despite its economic and physical advantages.[43] In this case, however, avoidance of public housing is at least partially due to its stigmatic symbolism in American society.

Extremes of Organizational Involvement in Residence Change

One final and rather recent study has been singled out for separate discussion in that it relates to most of the issues brought up so far in the more specifically focussed research. William Key's report on the consequences of forced relocation in Topeka, Kansas[44] entailed a study design which is rather conducive to the testing of hypotheses suggested by several of the languages of urban renewal.

Key's research depended on the simultaneous collection of data on four population groups in Topeka from 1961 through 1964. Two groups were forced to move; one because of an urban renewal project, the other because of highway construction. Both populations were similar in a socioeconomic sense but the urban renewal group received specialized social services, relocation counseling and financial aid, whereas the highway group were only reimbursed for their property. Two groups of

voluntary movers were studied simultaneously; one of an area geographically adjacent to both the urban project and the highway construction, the other from another part of the city. The samples were of further interest in that each was composed of Mexican-Americans, Negroes and whites.

Some observations of the spatial distribution of moves were made which are interesting. The families displaced by urban renewal showed the greatest tendency to remain in the same area whereas the voluntary movers moved the greatest distances and more frequently moved out of town. The Mexicans showed the shortest moves in all groups tending, particularly in the urban renewal case, to stay near an area containing their church and a factory which employed most of them. Overwhelmingly, in the forced move cases, Negroes moved to one area of the city and to blocks which were already inhabited by other Negroes; there was more dispersion of the voluntary moving Negro population. Among the white population, higher income groups and car owners in the forced move samples seemed to move in a more dispersed pattern. While younger families showed a tendency to move further no consistent pattern emerged for other age categories.

Urban renewal families showed the greatest gains in ameliorating overcrowding within the housing unit and the highway group the least - some uncrowding was noted for voluntary movers. The gains made by the urban renewal group were attributed to relocation agency aid. All groups improved the physical quality of their housing on the average but the most improvement was made by the voluntary movers. No significant changes in extended family interaction seemed to have occurred as a result of the move for any of the groups, nor was there any change for the respondents' feelings of spatial identity toward their local neighborhoods. But the

urban renewal group seemed to have a greater attachment to people in the old neighborhood and showed the greatest difficulty in getting to know people in their new neighborhoods. There were also some indications that both forced-move groups tended to locate closer to their relatives than they did before the move.

As far as subjective feelings were concerned, the forced move groups felt more depressed and less positive before moving than the voluntary movers. Key attempted to quantify a grief index for comparison with Fried's West End study[45] and found less grief manifested in the Topeka forced-move cases. Racially, the Mexican group showed the most grief - attributed to close ethnic feelings and their Latin character like the West End Italians - and Negroes the least. Older people, among age groups, were deemed to have suffered the most psychologically from forced-move situations.

The findings show a significant difference between forced move and voluntary move situations both in underlying feelings and in overt behavior. This indicates the general inappropriateness of the language of individual behavior and the irrelevance of intra-urban migration research for forced movers, though among younger people and higher income groups uncomplicated by ethnic or racial factors, these notions may be more applicable. The refugee hypothesis is supported by much of the affective data findings and also in that many of the differences in behavior between the highway and the urban renewal group were attributed to organizational aid.

Preliminary Conclusions

Considering all the research in urban renewal relocation reviewed above, a few comments as to the relative merits of the different languages

of urban renewal may be made.

First it seems clear that the language of physically deterministic planning may be quite inappropriate in the U.S.A. There has been no move on the part of legislation to insure that relocation to physically standard neighborhoods takes place and there has often been an avoidance of public housing on the part of displaced residents. Nevertheless, there has never really been an appropriate test of the hypothesis.

In light of all the other factors involved in choosing housing in a displaced situation, the language of economic planning seems far too limited in its approach, and too rigid in its assumptions to be very realistic. While there has been some mention of amelioration of overcrowding, no significant tests have been made of any distance-income hypothesis.

The Topeka study seems to clarify the distinction between intra-urban forced move situations such as those caused by urban renewal and the need-centered voluntary moves which have been more the concern of intra-urban migration research. Given the extent to which the psychological and attitudinal research on urban renewal correlates with refugee syndromes are the variable nature of organized relocation assistance, the refugee hypothesis seems to be pertinent, though it is apparently more appropriate for certain ethnic or age groups than others. Yet, since much relocation assistance, when given, has gone into providing individual housing units which meet family needs, the migrant hypothesis is also partially supported. In any event, it is evident that no one of the four languages suffices to completely interpret all available empirical results.

Clearly, spatial distributions by themselves do not point to a single language. The propensity of dislocated families to relocate nearby their

original home could be interpreted in all the languages. Intra-urban migration theorists could claim that individual housing needs were met in the adjacent region. Physically determinist planners might claim responsibility for relocating people to a nearby housing project. Economic planners might say that the whole group demanded high accessibility rather than space. Critics of the political power of urban renewal might hold that the people were steadfastly adhering to a familiar social and spatial order or were spatially manipulated by the city. Thus an array of processes can evidently lead to the same spatial form; further research on the spatial impact of relocation will necessarily have to consider both form and process to be able to make any inferences in terms of social behavior.[46] It is this kind of research which will attempt to differentiate between the discussed hypotheses in the case study presented in the following chapter.

Notes - Chapter 4

1. This literal sense of language is akin to the technically defined term "pragmatic meaning" in the philosophy of science. See the discussion on semantical concepts in Arthur Pap, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Science (New York: Free Press, 1962) Ch. 1.

2. The phrase "displacement of residents" is used here as a neutral or objective term, being replaced in each of the different languages.

3. See the discussion in Chapter 2.

4. See L. S. Bourne, "A Spatial Allocation-Land Use Conversion Model of Urban Growth" J. of Regional Science 9 (1962) pp. 261-72.

5. That is, we would ignore the planned nature of redevelopment, zoning changes, etc. which are typical concommitants of urban renewal.

6. James Simmons, "Changing Residence in the City" Geographical Review 58 (1968) pp. 622-51.

7. This research has been discussed in John S. Adams "Directional Bias in Intraurban Migration" Economic Geography 45 (1969) pp. 302-23.

8. A good discussion of the legal struggle involved in urban renewal, granting the power of eminent domain, appears in Wilton S. Sogg and Warren Wertheimer "Urban Renewal: Problems of Eliminating and Preventing Urban Deterioration" Harvard Law Review 72 pp. 504-52.

9. A review of some of the literature on this proposition may be found in Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1963) Ch. 1. With regard to urban renewal, one spokesman has written: "The social and psychosomatic effects of blight in the depressed areas are well documented: disease, crime, broken homes and numerous other evidence of social deterioration. Any attempt to live a constructive life weakens in this atmosphere." Reuel Hemdahl, Urban Renewal (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1959).

10. In both Charles Abrams, The City is the Frontier (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) and Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), the historical intertwinement of slum clearance and public housing construction is underscored.

11. This thesis is advance by Greer, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

12. The legal relocation requirement for physical and occupancy standards "may not permit any housing to be used as a relocation resource which would be classified as 'structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance' under the criteria used to justify clearance in a project area..." and for locational standards: "re-

location housing will be reasonably accessible to places of employment of displacees and in areas generally not less desirable in regard to public utilities and commercial facilities than areas in which they currently reside..." Urban Renewal Administration-Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Renewal Manual (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1965) Section 16-2.

13. Greer, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

14. Ashley A. Ford and Hilbert Fefferman, "Federal Urban Renewal Legislation" Law and Contemporary Problems 25 (1960) pp. 635-84.

15. For example, a manual has recently been published which guides the investor through bureaucratic thickets explicitly toward lucrative profits. See Daniel S. Berman, Urban Renewal: Bonanza of the Real Estate Business (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

16. Otto Davis, "A Pure Theory of Urban Renewal" Land Economics 36 (1960) pp. 220-6.

17. William Alonso, "The Historic and Structural Theories of Urban Form: Their Implications for Urban Renewal" Land Economics 40 (1964) pp. 227-31 and Location and Land Use (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964).

18. Eldridge Cleaver, "The Land Question and Black Liberation" in Post-Prison Writings and Speeches (New York: Random House, 1968) pp. 57-72.

19. Martin Oppenheimer, The Urban Guerrilla (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969).

20. Ronald Horvath, "A Definition of Colonialism" Current Anthropology 13 (1972) pp. 45-57.

21. Fred L. Lavanburg Foundation, "What Happened to 386 Families Who Were Compelled to Vacate Their Slum Dwellings to Make Way for a Large Housing Project" (New York, 1933) 12 pp.

22. Ibid. p. 5

23. Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families" Journal of the American Institute of Planners 30 (1964) pp. 266-86.

24. Harry W. Reynolds Jr., "Population Displacement in Urban Renewal" American Journal of Economics and Sociology 22 (1963) pp. 113-28.

25. Daniel Thursz, Where are They Now? (Washington: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capitol Area, 1966).

26. Nathaniel Lichfield, "Relocation: The Impact on Housing Welfare"

Journal of the American Institute of Planners 27 (1961) pp. 199-203.

27. United States Housing and Home Finance Administration, "The Housing of Relocated Families: Summary of a Census Bureau Survey" Ch. 11 in James Q. Wilson (ed.) Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966) pp. 336-52.

28. Chester Hartman, "A Comment on the HHFA Study of Relocation" Ch. 12 in James Q. Wilson (ed.) Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966) pp. 353-58.

29. Hartman, "Housing."

30. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press, 1962) and "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning" Journal of the American Institute of Planners 25 (1959) pp. 15-25; Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation" Ch. 12 in The Urban Consition (ed. by Leonard J. Duhl) (New York: Basic Books, 1963) and "Transitional Functions of Working Class Communities: Implications for Forced Relocation" Ch. 6 in Mildred Kantor (ed.) Mobility and Mental Health (Springfield: Charles Thomas, 1965) pp. 123-65. The first citation, known primarily for its description of an Italian working class neighborhood, was researched just prior to the redevelopment of the area.

31. Fried, "Grieving."

32. Gans, "Urban Village."

33. Fried, "Transitional Functions."

34. Ibid. p. 149.

35. Gans, "Human Implications" p. 20.

36. Shirley Terreberry, "Household Relocation: Residents' Views" Part IV in Eleanor Wolf and Charles Lebeaux (eds.) Studies in Change and Renewal in an Urban Community (New York: Praeger, (1969).

37. Peter Marris, "The Social Implications of Urban Redevelopment" Journal of the American Institute of Planners 28 (1962) pp. 180-6.

38. Louis Campanello, Stadsförnyelse ur Internationell Synvinkel (Urban Renewal from International Points of View - English Summary) (Stockholm: Statens institut för byggandsforskning, 1968)

39. Thomas Ferguson and Mary Pettigrew, "A Summary of 718 Slum Families Rehoused for Upwards of Ten Years" Glasgow Medical Journal 35 (1954) pp. 183-201.

40. Ibid. p. 201.

41. Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, "Family Adaptation of Relocated Slum Dwellers in Puerto Rico" Journal of Developing Areas 2 (1968) pp. 533-40; M. Young and P. Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957); Peter Marris, "Reflections on a Study in Lagos" in Horace Miner (ed.) The City in Modern Africa (New York: Praeger, 1967) pp. 39-54.

42. Jiri Musil, "Sociology of Urban Redevelopment Areas: A Study from Czechoslovakia" Ekistics 24 (1967) pp. 205-9.

43. Martin Millspaugh, "Problems and Opportunities of Relocation" Law and Contemporary Problems 26 pp. 6-36; Chester Hartman, "The Limits of Public Housing" Journal of the American Institute of Planners 29 (1963) pp. 283-96.

44. William H. Key, When People are Forced to Move (Topeka: The Menninger Foundation, 1967).

45. Fried, "Grieving."

46. Jack Eichenbaum and Stephen Gale, "Form, Function and Process: A Methodological Inquiry" Economic Geography 47 (1971) pp. 525-44.

Chapter 5. The Urban Renewal of Corktown

We now turn to a particular empirical case study in order to test the different theories of relocation due to urban renewal. The data to be analyzed are from the official files of the Relocation Office at the Detroit Housing Commission concerning its West Side Industrial I urban renewal project. Up until the time it was acquired by the Detroit Housing Commission, the project area, as well as the more immediate surroundings left unredeveloped, was known as Corktown. Originally a neighborhood settled by Irish immigrants, Corktown experienced continual population change until, by the time acquisition in the project area began in 1958, it was an atypically mixed neighborhood of Blacks, Southern and Northern-born Whites, Mexican-Americans, Maltese and a sprinkling of other groups...something of a Melting Pot.

In testing the hypotheses outlined in chapter four I will be referring to the relocation of most of the families residing within the West Side Industrial I project area at the time of land acquisition. The hypotheses will be tested in an order closely following the organization of Chapter four. But before this analysis is presented, I wish to present a historical account of the neighborhood under consideration. This is offered in order that the reader have a qualitative grasp of the situation which complements the human insensitivity of statistics. Naturally a neighborhood history, however, brief, cannot be divorced from events in the larger community, in this case Detroit. And as events in the history of Detroit happen to be inextricably enveloped in the geobiography of Henry Ford, he too is considered. Thus the following chronological perspective on Corktown is an amalgam of

phenomena occurring within Corktown, within Detroit and within the realm of Henry Ford.[1]

A. Corktown (1846-1960) R.I.P.

> History is bunk.
> Henry Ford

1. Corktown before the Model T (1846-1908)

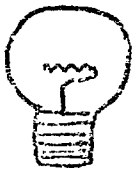
> A Turk, a Jew or an Atheist may live in this town, but no Papist.
> Couplet said to have appeared on the gate of the town of Bandon, County Cork, Ireland, ancestral home of the Fords.

In the early nineteenth century Detroit was essentially a frontier outpost. Its first spasm of growth came with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 which enabled continuous water transport from New York City to Lake Erie and up the Detroit River. From 1825 to 1837 a trickle of Irish-born settlers, including victims of intermittent famine in Ireland, attracted by Michigan's agricultural potential, began to settle in and near Detroit. These settlers included relatives of William Ford, Henry's father, who came from County Cork. Unlike most of the residents of County Cork who were Catholic, the Fords were of English Protestant stock and were living among other Protestants on land confiscated by the English in the 16th Century and settled by the Crown.[2]

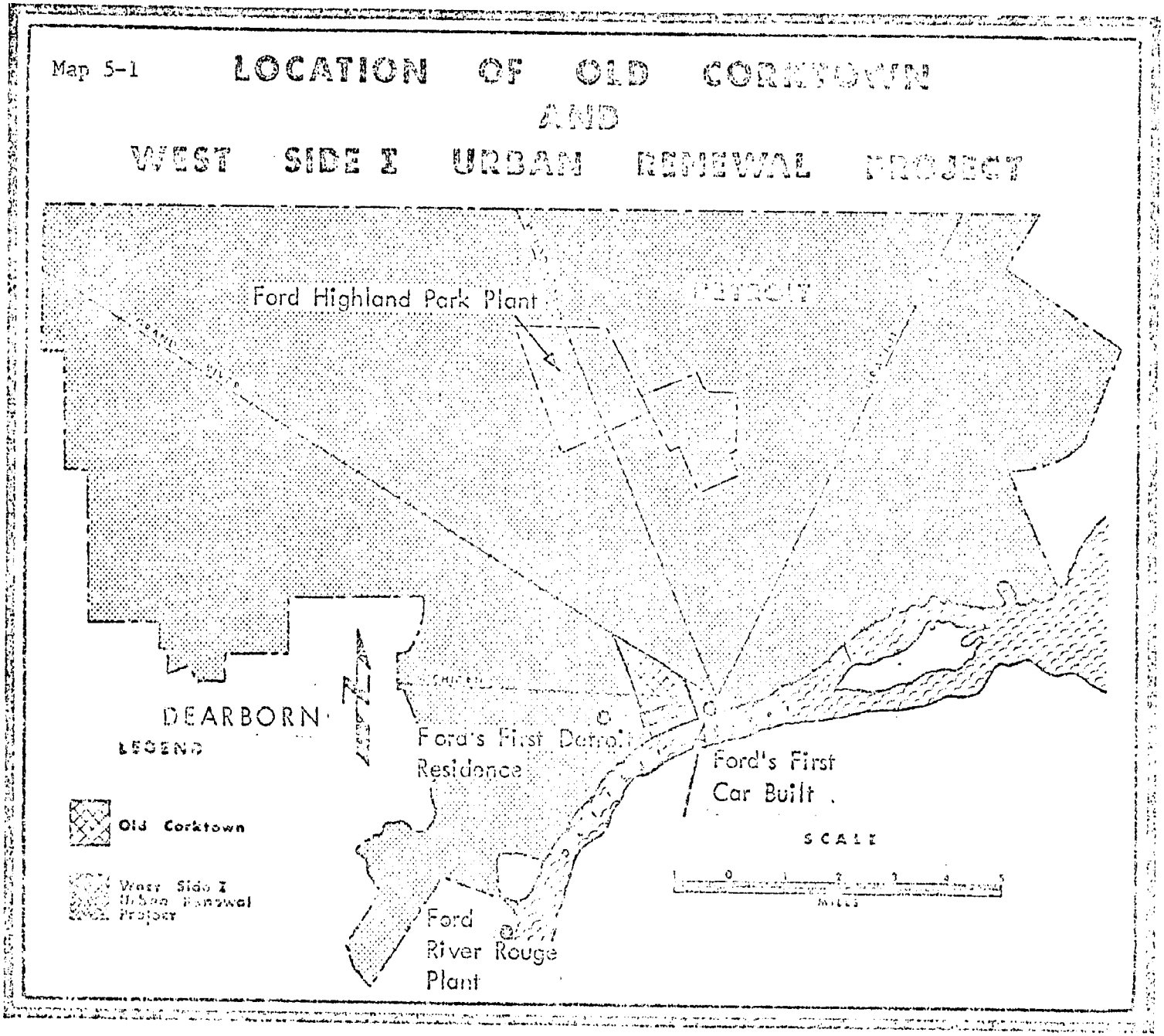
By 1846, when a severe potato blight caused widespread starvation and death in Ireland, the predominantly Irish district of Corktown had already emerged on the near West Side of Detroit. While the more affluent people of Detroit were donating money toward winning the

Mexican War, the Irish community was attempting to aid famine victims- "Although Mexicans might die and be damned, Irishmen must be saved from famine."[3] The potato blight also began an unprecedented stream of impelled movement out of Ireland and it is not unreasonable to regard many of those who left as refugees. William Ford left County Cork in 1847 and settled in an agricultural area just west of Detroit near his relatives who had previously established themselves as independent farmers and had provided the assistance typical of the chain migration process. On July 30, 1863 Henry Ford was born on the Ford farm near Dearborn, now a Detroit suburb.[4]

In the latter part of the 19th Century, Detroit was a fast growing innovating industrial center with a diversified economy already enjoying the fruits of American technological invention. Its first electric light shone in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Corktown's parish church, in 1879.[5] In the same year, as a boy of sixteen fascinated by the machine age, Henry Ford came to Detroit

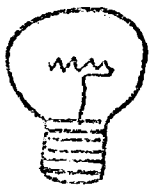


to work at his first job with the Grand Trunk Railroad, despite his father's wishes for him to be a farmer. He lived just west of the Corktown area (see Map 5-1) at 452 Baker (later Bagley Avenue near 24th Street).[6] Corktown continued to be a heavily Irish neighborhood, fed by a steady flow of starved Irishmen - during this period it is estimated that ninety percent of the residents of Holy Trinity Parish, coincident with the old Corktown area (see Map 5-1) were natives of Ireland or of Irish descent.[7] A principal employer of Irish immigrants was Ireland and Matthews, plumbing supply manufacturers, whose job availability apparently reached the ears of many Irish upon debarking in New York who made directly for Detroit.[8] The Irish made Corktown


Map 5-1
LOCATION OF OLD CORKTOWN
AND
WEST SIDE I URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT
Ford Highland Park Plant
DETROIT
DEARBORN
LEGEND
Old Corktown
West Side I Urban Renewal Project
Ford's First Detroit Residence
Ford's First Car Built
SCALE
Ford River Rouge Plant

into a typical 19th Century ethnic stronghold, complete with effective ward political control and characteristic Irish cultural activities.

Meanwhile, in 1882 Henry Ford left Detroit to try his hand at farming and timbering, and, in the process, got married. By 1891, however, the city of Detroit with its industrial boom and mechanical fascination, again became his home; he was made a night engineer at the rapidly growing Edison Illuminating Company.[9] In 1893 the Fords moved to a house at 58 Bagley Avenue, just east of Corktown (see Map 5-1) where he began mechanical tinkering in an adjacent shed. He built his first car there in 1896 and in 1899 he quit his job at Edison to become superintendent at the Detroit Automobile Co., the first carmanufacturers in the city. By 1903, cars were no longer an unfamiliar sight in Detroit. Over eight hundred cars were said to be in use and a growing market for them existed. In June of 1903 the Ford Motor Co. was incorporated and formally capitalized and the first Fords were put on the market. Ford immediately began research on an inexpensive car with popular appeal.[10]



2. Corktown, the Model T and Assimilation (1908-1921)

> He smok' da cigar weeth da beegor da band,
> Da "three-for-da-quart" ees da kind;
> Da diamond dat flash from da back of hees hand,
> Eeez da beegest Giuseppe could find...
> For Giuseppe, he work at da Ford.
>
> Edgar A. Guest

The unprecendented sales success of the Model T Ford introduced in 1908, rapidly changed the organization of the Ford Motor Co. and the economy of Detroit. Ford annual sales went from 6,398 in 1907-8 to 933,720 in 1920-21.[11] By 1910 the company had moved its major manufacture from its Piquette Avenue plant to suburban Highland Park where

the modern assembly line method of production was perfected (see Map 5-1). The astronomical growth of the company and its appetite for relatively unskilled labor was reflected in the growth of employees on the roll of the home plant - from an average of 450 in 1908 to more than 50,000 in 1920.[12] And not only were job opportunities in Detroit enormously magnified by the Ford expansion and its multiplier effect but wage policies were dramatically liberalized by "The Five Dollar Day" instituted in 1914.

Naturally, the economic attractiveness of Detroit's great industrial boom, coincident with a decade of flood-tide immigration rates, attracted huge numbers of foreign born workers into the city. It is in this period that the ethnic make-up of Corktown began to change significantly. As established residents of Detroit during the entire period, many Irish quickly profited from economic expansion and, with automobile ownership within the grasp of the more skilled working man, began moving to newer neighborhoods much further from the center of the city but accessible by car. The surplus of low-cost conveniently located housing in an established Catholic community thus became available to Maltese and Mexican immigrants.

While the definitive origins of the Maltese and Mexican communities in Detroit are not known, it is clear that Corktown, while remaining a predominantly Irish area, also became the nucleus of settlement for both these ethnic groups during these years. The Maltese coming to Detroit at this time were generally migrants drawn by economic incentive. Having been subjects in a British Colony they had some familiarity with English and, due to the presence of the large British

Naval installation in Malta, not only had experience in long-distance travel but were unusually skilled in industrial mechanics. For such people, industrially booming Detroit was the most obvious American destination choice and soon possessed the largest Maltese community in the United States, fed also by Maltese immigration through Windsor, Ontario.[13] With the Mexicans, the instability of their homeland, particularly during the revolutionary period of 1910-12, created a more refugee-like situation. Most of the earliest settlers were not unskilled Mexican peasants living near the U.S. border. Rather the movement stemmed largely from Central Mexico and included a significant number of skilled workers and shopkeepers. While the first American residence for these people was typically in the Southwest, the Ford-sparked Detroit boom evidently attracted considerable numbers.[14]

Thus some Maltese and Mexican workers residing in Corktown were among the polyglot and diversely-origined laborers to profit from Ford's "Five Dollar Day." But the company did not view this wage policy as a purely philanthropic act. Henry Ford felt that an efficient labor staff should be properly rewarded but that these rewards should only be administered to those workers whose lifestyle was such that higher wages would not increase cupidity or be regarded as easy money. "The man with the larger amount of money has a larger opportunity to make a fool of himself."[15] The Detroit of this era "had its alien colonies of Slavs, Magyars, and Italians, its crowded slums, its illiterate and unassimilated masses...cheap rooming houses (where) these men used to same bed in eight-hour shifts...saloons, gambling dens, and disorderly houses. At the Ford plant the foundry workers,

common laborers, drill press men, grinder operators and other unskilled or semi-skilled hands were likely to be Russians, Poles, Croats, Hungarians or Italians..."[16] A University of Michigan sociologist held that factory workers did not need more money so much as instruction in using their money.[17]

To encourage the "Americanization" of his workers (in keeping with the assimilationist opinion of the times), keep them sober and on the job, using economic leverage to weed out undesirable employees, and promote his personal philosophy, Henry Ford first established the Five Dollar Day, in actuality, as a profit sharing scheme in which only qualified workers could participate.[18] The company established the "Ford Sociology Department" whose staff investigated the lives and homes of workers to determine which were qualified. Among the customs which could disqualify workers were the use of liquor, divorce or separation, physically unwholesome households, the sending of funds to the "old country," and the practice of taking in male boarders. In general, women and single men under twenty-two were also denied the extra income. At the same time the Sociology Department also taught English and elementary lessons in hygiene and home economics, assisting workers toward the "normal American standards of life," enabling the foreign-born to bypass the "professional exploiters of foreign language groups."[19] Thus not only did the Sociological Department attempt to inculcate some of the values which were later to influence the people of Corktown in federally administered Welfare and Urban Renewal programs, but it paralleled the "Melting Pot" phenomenon which was already developing in Corktown, at least in a residential sense. Jonathon

Schwartz has described the symbolic Melting Pot ceremony at the Ford plant, in which workers, on learning basic English, would parade onto one side of a stage in native dress and leave in American style clothing.[20]

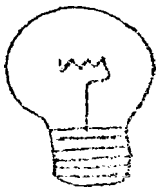
3. Corktown, River Rouge and Alienation (1921-1929)

> The wall beside his desk in Hitler's private office is decorated with a large picture of Henry Ford. In the antechamber there is a large table covered with books, nearly all are a translation of a book...published by Henry Ford.
>
> N.Y. Times, Dec. 20, 1922

Detroit's booming industrial growth continued with few interruptions into the 1920's and Henry Ford's automotive empire grew simultaneously. In the peak years of 1923-5, U.S. sales of Ford vehicles exceeded two million annually.[21] While component production and assembly plants were opened up throughout the United States, manufacture was still centered in the Detroit area, and by 1929 Ford operations on River Rouge and Highland Park employed more than 110,000 workers.[22]

The building of the River Rouge plant in Dearborn to the southwest of Detroit during this period (see Map 5-1) was one of Ford's greatest industrial accomplishments and still stands as perhaps the greatest single example of vertical integration and productive concentration.[23] The River Rouge plant grew out of Ford's obsession for total control of his own facility; by 1919 he had bought out his existing stockholders pursuant to his dream. With "no stockholders, no directors, no absentee owners, no parasites" to be responsible to, the company acquired its own mines, forests, foundries, steel mills, glass factories,

railroad and shipping fleets and concentrated its linkages on the River Rouge. No longer was Ford subject to the shortages and fluctuating prices of his more important supplies; his quest for power and industrial independence extended from iron ore mines in Northern Michigan to coal mines in Appalachia, to rubber plantations in the Amazon Basin developed with the aid of Thomas Edison to his large tractor plant in County Cork, Ireland.



Ford was unable, however, to completely control the cultural mix of his labor force. The European immigration which had previously supplied the unskilled labor force of Detroit was abruptly curtailed to a trickle through the Immigration Act of 1924. By January, 1929, when vast quantities of labor were required to meet the demand for the recently introduced Model A Ford, the 32,000 applicants that stormed the River Rouge plant were of a rather different origin chan those that responded to the Five Dollar Day:

> Among these seekers of employment who milled outside the Ford hiring office were southern sharecroppers, vying with Mexican beet pickers and unemployed coal miners from Kentucky and West Virginia.[24]

Such cultural groups were precisely those that began settling in Corktown during the 1920's. The neighborhood continued to supply centrally located low-cost housing as its more affluent car-owning residents moved to newer peripheral neighborhoods. Negro settlement on Detroit's West Side began essentially during World War I when large numbers of southern Negroes were recruited for Detroit's labor supply and the Negro population "outgrew" its traditional East Side ghetto.[25] Mexicans

continued to come to Corktown, adding to the original Mexican settlement, spurred by the magnet of the perceived Ford labor mecca.[26] Their ranks were swelled by many migrant farm laborers who came to Detroit after seasonal jobs in Michigan's sugar beet industry.[27] Appalachian-born in-migrants had previously been settling in the "Cass Corridor" just to the north and east of Corktown and it is assumed here that their entrance to Corktown was due to its availability and propinquity.[28]

The change in immigration laws which affected the ethnic make-up of immigrants to Detroit and Corktown was also reflected in Ford's relationships with his workers. As America grew newly isolationist and drastically restricted European immigration, Ford became decreasingly interested in the assimilation and social welfare of his employees and in 1921 the idealism of the Sociology Department died, replaced by the idealism of the River Rouge Plant. The practical need for the Department, in terms of attracting labor, had dwindled in the post war recession. It was about this same time that Ford began his anti-semitic crusade in his newspaper The Dearborn Independent. From 1920 until 1927, when he published a formal apology, Ford's weekly attacks on the Jews, "the conscious enemies of all the Anglo-Saxons mean by civilization," were distributed widely.

> Still later, say the American editors of the unexpurgated American editions of Mein Kampf, Adolf Hitler, at work on his magnum opus, copied certain passages almost verbatim from the original text of the Dearborn Independent.[29]

4. Corktown, Depression and War (1929-1945)

> "The Rouge is so big that it is no fun any more."
> Henry Ford

The production of automobiles, catering to a prosperous market, naturally hit the skids during the depression years. Saddled with the high overhead of the Rouge plant, Ford undertook a decentralization of some of his dwindling production during the 1930's. He launched a village industries program wherein manufacture of many components was centered in rural areas, checking the migration of farmboys to Detroit. In this period of lowered demand and increased unemployment Detroit ceased to be a mecca for the immigrant worker.

During the depression, then, the processes of population change affecting Corktown were reversed; its stock of low cost aging housing was not in demand. Mexico repatriated many of the Mexican workers who were laid off their jobs and had difficulties receiving relief. The Mexican Colony in Corktown thus declined in numbers.[30] Similarly, unemployed Maltese began to leave Corktown, finding jobs particularly in Great Lakes cargo transport and passenger ferry boats. Others dispersed into rural areas in agricultural trades.[31] With job opportunities scarce and housing available in their more traditional area of settlement in Detroit, it is also unlikely that many new Blacks or Southern whites came to reside in Corktown during this period. And the Irish continued to leave.

By 1938 the Detroit Housing Commission had begun a study of Corktown as a possible site for low-income public housing construction. The New Deal's Housing Authority had earmarked $5 million for a slum-clearance project in Detroit and in its stagnating condition, close-in Corktown was a prime target area.[32] A survey of the area revealed that 19% of it was vacant and 57% of the dwellings were "substandard." But the

Detroit City Planning Commission envisioned the area as more appropriate for commercial and industrial use and "slum clearance" plans were shelved.

During World War II housing goals were forgotten anyway. The great productive capacity of the automobile industry in the Detroit area was harnessed for military purposes and Detroit became known as "The Arsenal of Democracy." Not only were the Highland Park and River Rouge plants turned over to military production but Ford also built, using government funds, a new bomber plant at Willow Run twenty miles west of Detroit. Employing more than 40,000 workers at its peak, the Willow Run plant used Ford pioneered mass-production methods to turn out upwards of 500 planes per month.[33]

Unfortunately most of the influx of workers to the Detroit region, consisting particularly of Appalachian Whites and Southern Blacks could not be housed near the Willow Run plant. The Republican administration of Washtenaw County, in which the plant was located, was not to be inundated with public housing and New Deal union workers as residents. Thus the bulk of new workers sought accomodation in the now crowded conditions of wartime Detroit and depended on time consuming and expensive commutation.[34]For Blacks added to the labor force at the River Rouge plant a similar problem emerged. The city administration of Dearborn was determined to keep the town white and these workers too flocked to Detroit.[35] Once again Corktown received new residents, adding to the Black and Appalachian white populace already established there. Mexican labor was also drawn to Detroit and, as before, continued to concentrate in the Corktown area.

The Wartime political atmosphere of anti-fascism and renewed American global involvement caused Henry Ford to openly reform his personal philosophies.[36] As a major architect of "The Arsenal of Democracy," Ford renounced his anti-Semitism, suppressing attempts by both the Mexican government and the Ku Klux Klan to republish his anti-Semitic propaganda. He swallowed his isolationist sentiments and rapidly converted his industrial properties for their contribution to the war effort.

5. Corktown becomes Westside Industrial I (1945-1960)

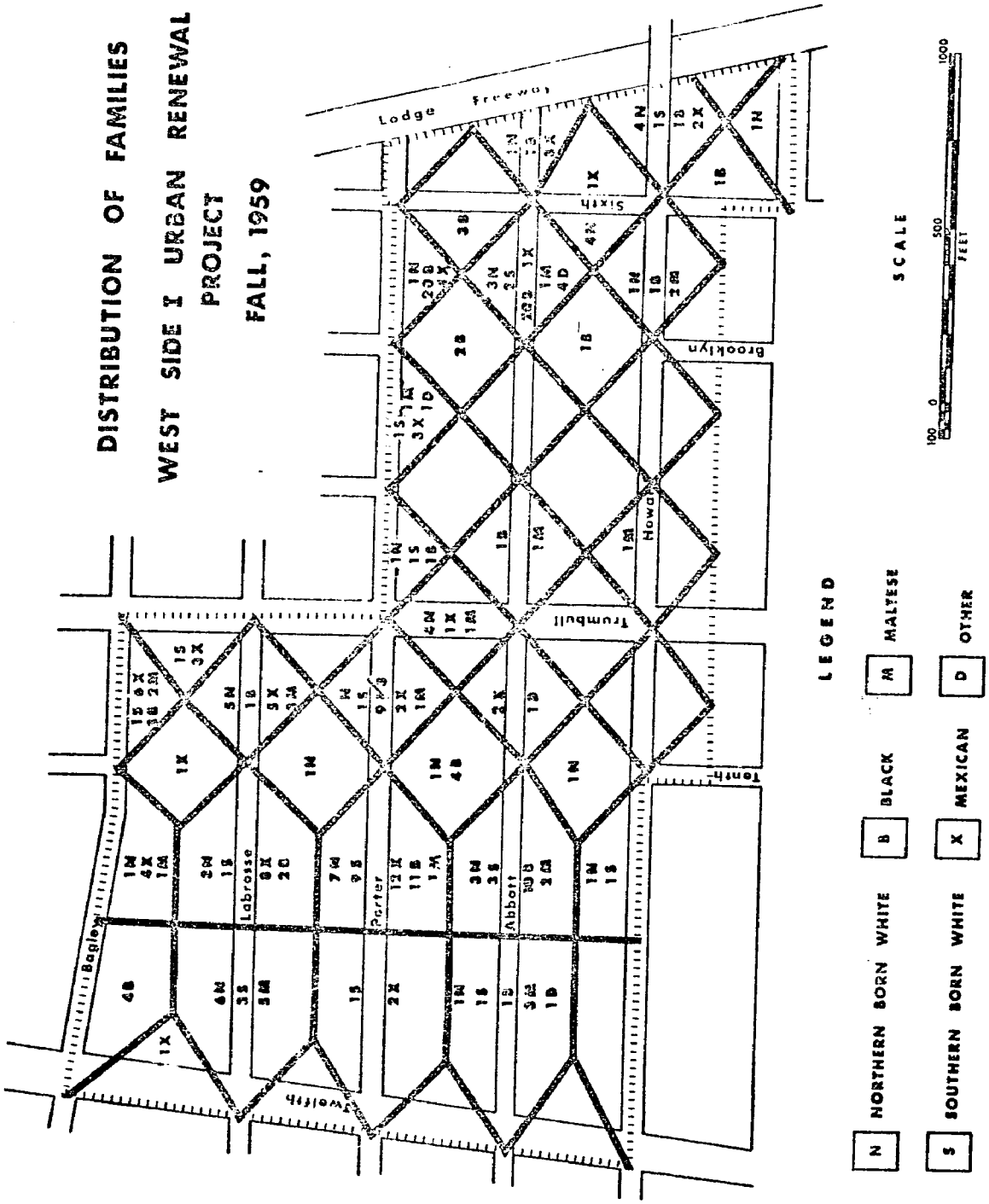
In the last chapter of the life of Corktown, the major determining force became the city of Detroit, specifically the direct influence of the Detroit Housing Commission and City Planning Commission.[37] To be sure, the Ford Motor Company as well as the general industrial sector of Detroit prospered once again, but growth was more gradual and diffused over the larger metropolitan area. Yet despite the growth of the region, Corktown's housing stock remained unimproved and some of its residents began to move to suburban areas. The construction of the Lodge Freeway in the early 1950's at the eastern edge of the neighborhood accelerated this process, particularly for Maltese people.

Corktown was eyed by the City Plan Commission as an area in which redevelopment could return industrial and commercial activity to the city, increasing its dwindling tax base. In 1954 the Commission succeeded in establishing Corktown as a "blighted area" for formulated a redevelopment plan making it eligible for funds from the recently enacted federal Urban Renewal program. But Corktown was not a typical "blighted area." It was multi-ethnic in character and contained a

substantial proportion of proud homeowners and middle class residents intermingled with renters and the poor (see Maps 5-2 and 5-3). It also provided a setting for institutional housing for two more unusual groups - the nuns of Holy Trinity Convent and the men of the Corktown Coop, a charity-run rehabilitative center.

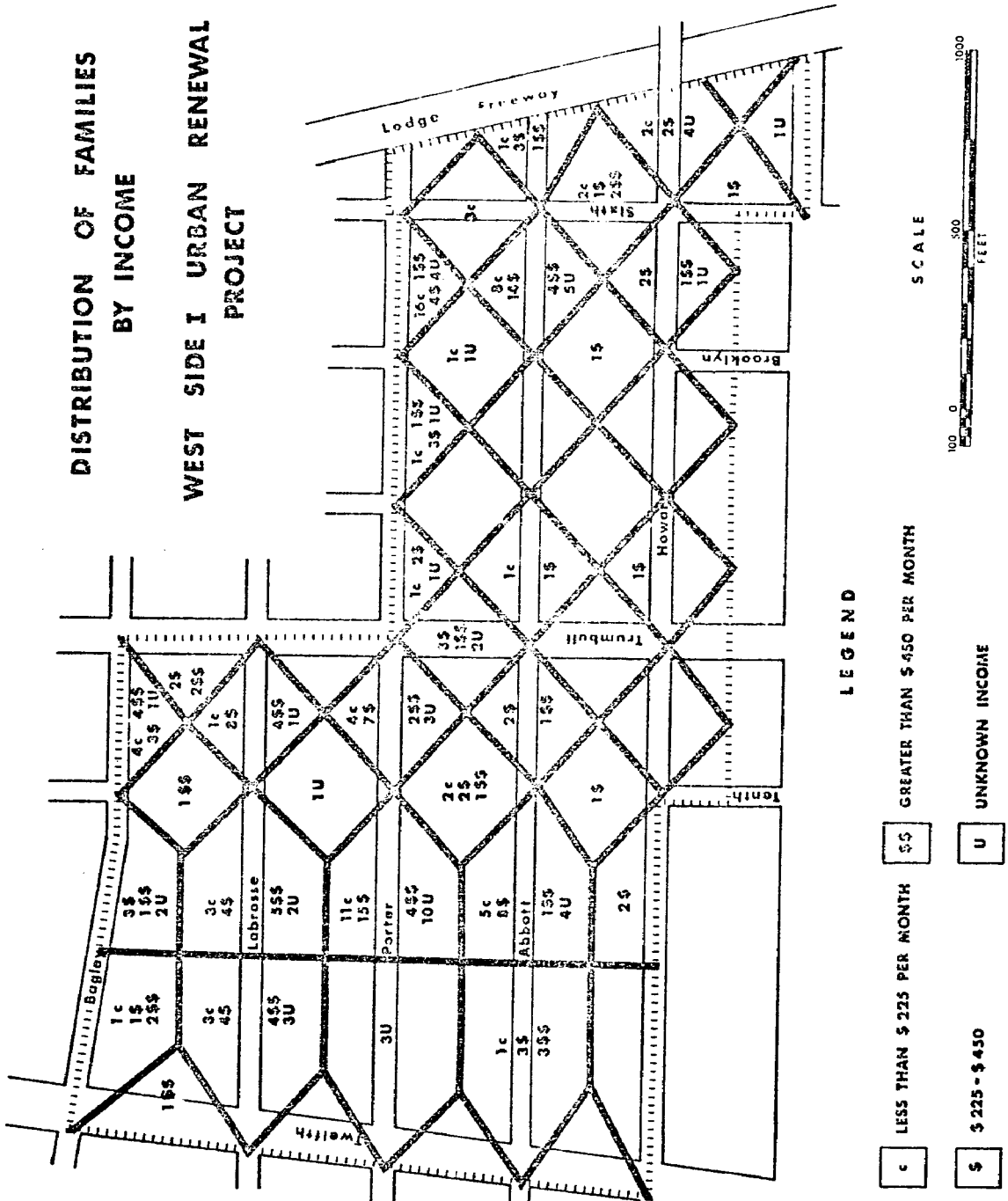
While its original Irish residents were practically all gone, an organization of older established residents called the Corktown Home Owners Association emerged as neighborhood preservationists defending the area from its "blighted" label. The relatively prosperous Maltese belonged to fraternal organizations which also sought to defeat the impending redevelopment. Father Clement Kern at Holy Trinity acted as a general advocate for the Mexican population and the poorer residents. Several years of hearings, protests, and public meetings ensued, with residents continually protesting the slum designation of the area and the means by which the designation was determined.

But in the end such activities failed - in part because of the bureaucratic insensitivity of the city (like most cities during the early days of urban renewal) and, more ironically, in part because of the fragmented organization of the various neighborhood interest groups how, though residentially integrated, were not socially cohesive. The handful of small businesses in the area had neither the power nor the organization to maintain their interests. The city's urban renewal plan went through. By 1958, the Housing Commission began acquiring land and relocating residents, a process which was completed by June, 1960. Fortunately, but only in a relative sense, relocation was not a huge obstacle. At the time, due to suburban growth, Detroit had a rather high vacancy rate in housing and the displaced residents were more


DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES
WEST SIDE I URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT
FALL, 1959
Lodge Freeway
Sixth
Brooklyn
Trumbull
Howard
Tenth
Eighth
Bagley
Labrosse
Porter
Abbott
LEGEND
N NORTHERN BORN WHITE
S SOUTHERN BORN WHITE
B BLACK
X MEXICAN
M MALTESE
D OTHER
SCALE
100 0 500 1000
FEET

Map 5-2

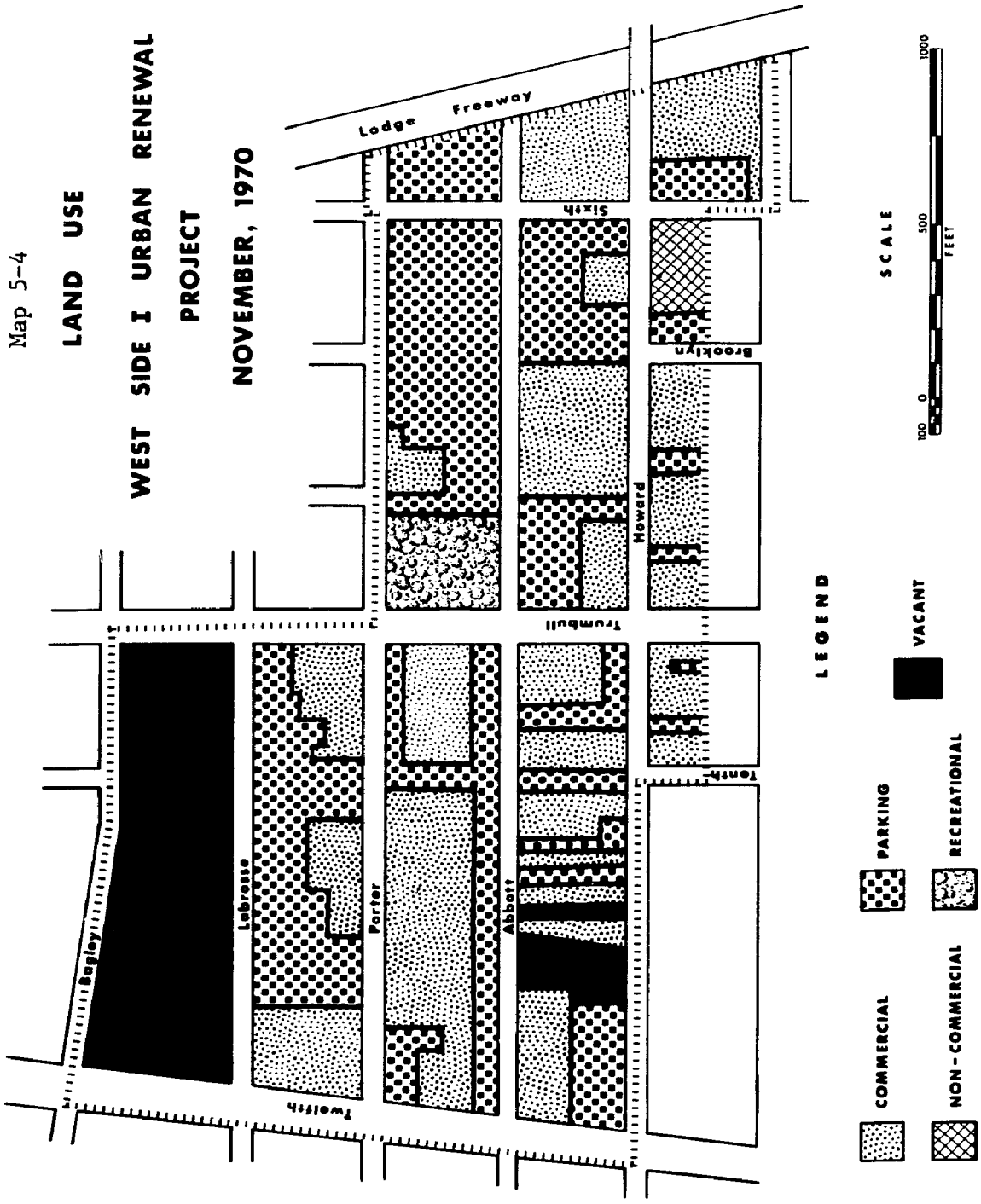
Map 5-3


DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES
BY INCOME
WEST SIDE I URBAN RENEWAL
PROJECT
Lodge Freeway
Baglay
Labrosse
Porter
Abbott
Howard
Brooklyn
Trumbull
Tenth
Walkh
LEGEND
c LESS THAN $225 PER MONTH
$ $225 - $450
$$ GREATER THAN $450 PER MONTH
U UNKNOWN INCOME
SCALE
100 0 500 1000
FEET

financially able than in most project areas. Most of the better-paid job holders worked in the automobile industry or for its suppliers, the largest single employer being the Ford River Rouge Plant.

6. Westside Industrial I (1970)

Map 5-4 indicates what happened to the redeveloped neighborhood in the ten years subsequent to relocation. From an essentially residential neighborhood was created an inner city version of a suburban industrial park, complete with vacancies. The predominant land use was automobile parking lots which surrounded low rectangular commercial buildings with spacious lawns. Building occupancy was largely taken up by offices and warehousing facilities. The only quasi-"residential" function was a Holiday Inn located opposite the park. The only non-commerical building was a Salvation Army service center which was also the only structure surviving demolition. The vacant "superblock" in the northwest corner of the project was a site upon which the Internal Revenue Service was supposed to have built a data processing center. Instead it was weed filled and posted with "No Tresspassing" signs. To even the most casual visitor the area presented a great contrast to its immediate surroundings which still consisted of largely low income residences and scattered commercial structures.


Map 5-4
LAND USE
WEST SIDE I URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT
NOVEMBER, 1970
Lodge Freeway
Sixth
Brooklyn
Howard
Trumbull
Tenth
Twelfth
Porter
Abbott
Lebrosse
Bagley
LEGEND
COMMERCIAL
PARKING
VACANT
NON-COMMERCIAL
RECREATIONAL
SCALE
100
0
500
1000
FEET

B. Analysis of the Relocation of Corktown's Residents (1959-1960)

This data analysis will be presented in several parts. First, preliminary data considerations, detailing sources and limitations are discussed. Next, a brief overview of the population mix in the project area prior to relocation and the simple geographic dispersion of this population after relocation is presented. Third, locational analysis, appropriate to testing various languages of urban renewal detailed in chapter four, is undertaken on the data for this case study.

1. Preliminary Data Considerations

The basic source of data for analysis was the files of the Detroit Housing Commission's Relocation Office relating to the West Side Industrial I project. At the time the city acquired each parcel of land in the project area an interview was taken by a relocation office employee with each household occupying premises on the parcel. The form used is reproduced in Appendix I. Data from each of these forms for families, defined here as two or more individuals occupying the same non-institutional premises, were tabulated. Data for single persons were very much incomplete and were omitted. Data for families who had moved in 1958 due to an initial round of acquisitions were unavailable. No data were available for families who had moved prior to any acquisitions. Thus this study includes only those families moving after acquisitions in 1959-60, a total of 270.

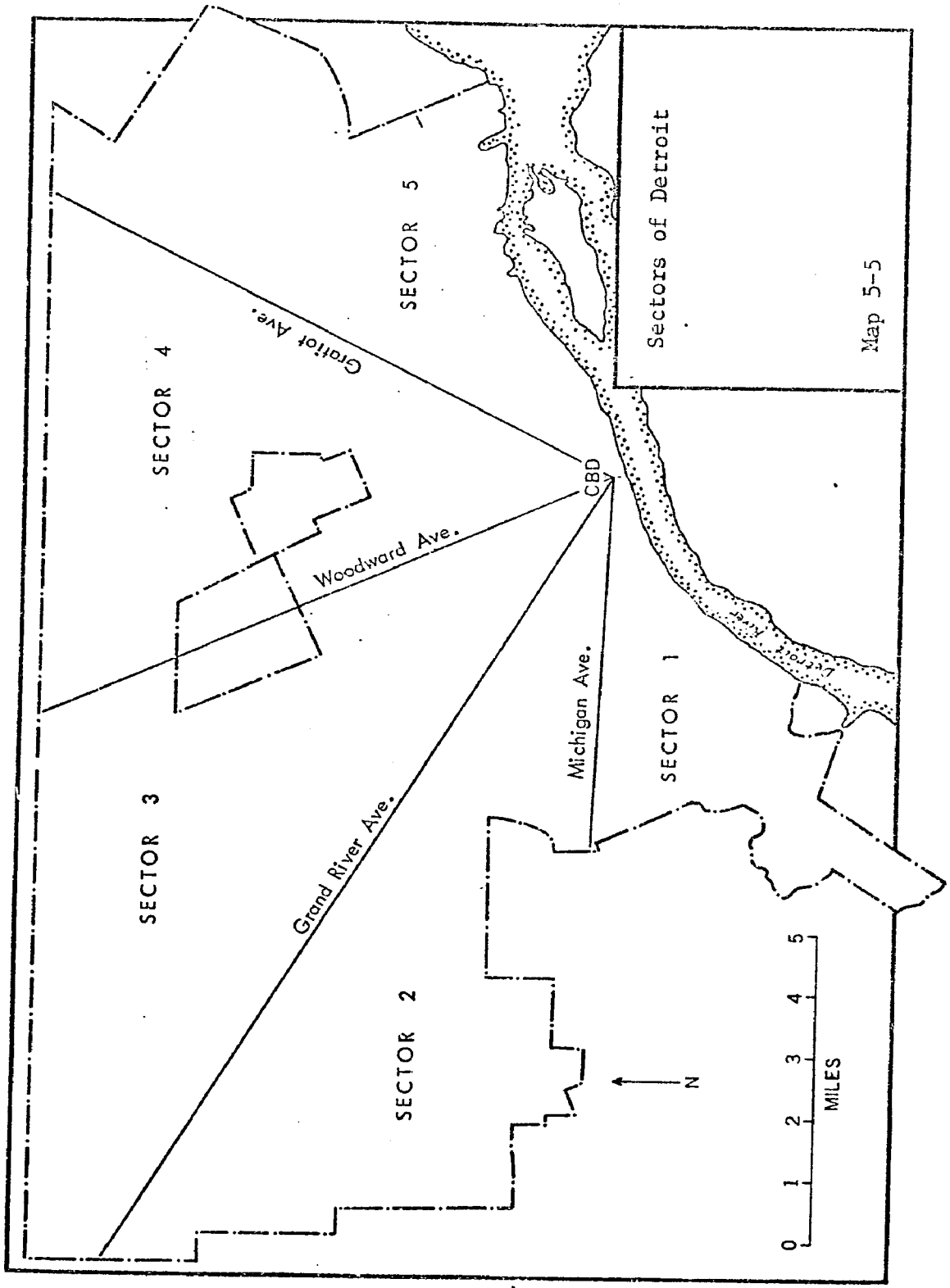
Raw data were categorized and tabulated, appearing in Appendix II. The only constructed definitions made from the original data were those pertaining to "ethnic groups." "North" was defined for birthplaces in a non-Confederate and non-border state, Canada or the British Isles.

"South" was defined for birthplaces in Confederate or border states. "Mexican" was defined by Spanish surname and either American or Mexican birthplace. "Maltese" was defined by birthplaces in Malta. Racial characteristics were defined in the interview. White Detroit-born household heads were also singled out as a special group though they were hardly "ethnic" in the traditional sense.

Exact locational data consisted of the addresses of families on the project site and in "permanent" post-relocational units, the addresses of jobs held by members of the family and the addresses of personal references given by the household head. The addresses of all housing units suggested by the Relocation Office to families were also used. A coordinate system was established using the 1960 census tract and block Map of the City of Detroit.[38]

The Intersection of Gratiot Avenue and Eight Mile Road was given the value X=7000, Y=7000 where one unit of the coordinate system was equivalent to 20 feet. For purposes of calculating distance, the Central Business District (C.B.D.) was defined as the intersection of Woodward and Michigan Avenues. The major radial thoroughfares; Michigan, Grand River, Woodward, and Gratiot Avenues and the Detroit River served to define sectors I through V (see Map 5-5). All addresses were given coordinates and a sectoral notation using this system. In the case of addresses within the project area, all premises on the same "block", defined by the intervals of hundreds used in the street numbering system, were given the same coordinate - the centroid of the block.

An auxiliary source of data was the city block census statistics for Detroit in 1960.[39] From these data, for each block determined as


Sectors of Detroit
Map 5-5
SECTOR 5
SECTOR 4
SECTOR 3
SECTOR 2
SECTOR 1
Grand River Ave.
Woodward Ave.
Michigan Ave.
Gratiot Ave.
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

an actual destination or suggestion of relocation, was computed the percentage of dwelling units on that block in "sound" condition (as defined by the census), the percentage of occupied dwelling units of non-white occupance and the percentage of occupied dwelling units in which there was a density of more than one person per room.

A final source of data, which does not surface in statistics, was the impressions gleaned by personal experience with the project area, the surrounding neighborhood and the city of Detroit. I had worked as a volunteer at the Boniface Community Action Center near the project area during 1969-70 and through this formal connection had come to know the people of the surrounding neighborhood, which to some extent approximated the housing conditions and population mix of the project area. This familiarity I broadened with independent field work, and making qualitative decisions. When I was confronted with unexplained data correlations and relationships, various informed community members suggested hypotheses for subsequent testing.

2. Locational Overview of Residents Before and After Relocation

It is important to establish that the original neighborhood, i.e. the project area, was unusually mixed with respect to ethnic groups and income prior to relocation. Map 5-2 shows that all ethnic groups were represented throughout the area. While there was some tendency for Blacks to cluster toward the eastern end of the project and for Maltese to be located in the western end, residential integration even on the small scale of a block was considerable. Nevertheless, this does not imply that social integration was necessarily taking place. The situation in some of the surrounding blocks in 1970 was similar yet

groups were markedly differentiated in church affiliation, tavern frequented, club membership, etc. Even among younger people, while casual acquaintances with all groups existed, there was a general social segregation by ethnic group - at least on the level of Maltese, native white, Mexican, and Black - for more intimate associations.

Map 5-4 shows that segregation by income was also not common. On many blocks resided a "poverty class," earning under $225/month, a "lower class" earning between $225 and $450/month, and a "middle class" earning more than $450/month (1960 values).

Both of these situations were, and still are, rather unusual for Detroit. Certainly, in a gross sense, Detroit conforms quite closely with the Burgess pattern wherein the richer families tend to live farther from the center of town; the poorest families living in centrally located areas like Corktown. Moreover, at least in terms of black and white, Detroit is and was highly segregated with distinct black ghettos and white preserves.[40]

After displacement the general destination of families was as follows (Item 21 in Appendix II). Two hundred thirty-six families moved within the city limits of Detroit, sixteen outside the city limits but within the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, nine others elsewhere in the United States and nine could not be traced. In general, I will be concerned only with the intra-city moves, i.e., the 236 moves within Detroit.

This distribution is shown in Map 5-6 and is tabulated by distance and sector in Table 5-1. Only a slight majority of families moved less than two miles. This is somewhat more of a dispersion than that generally observed in chapter four for urban renewal projects of other

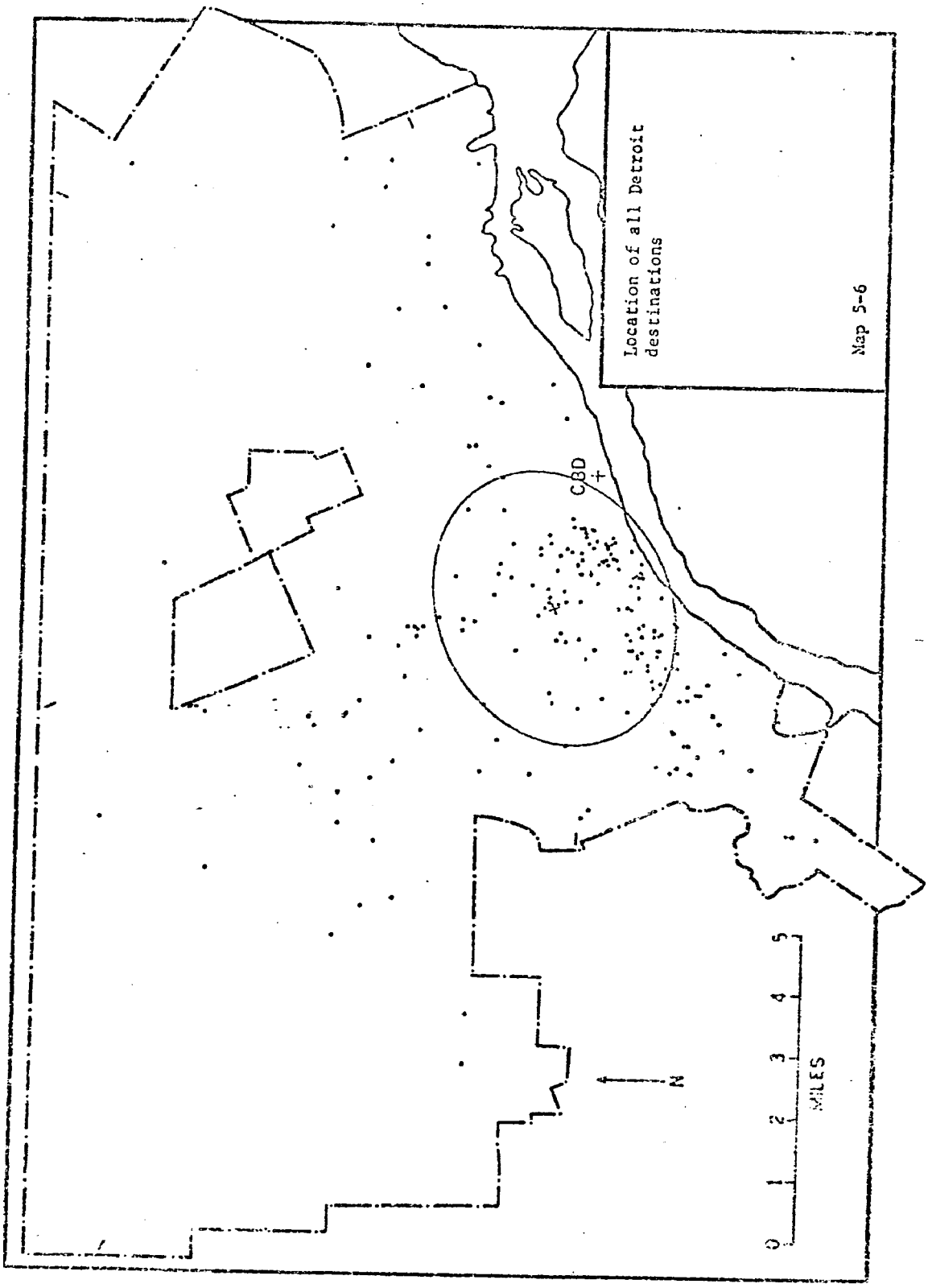

Location of all Detroit destinations
Map 5-6
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

Table 5-1 Locational Distribution of All Intracity Moves

Distance Moved by Families from Their Origin N=236

	0-0.5 mi.	0.5-1 mi.	1-2 mi.	2-4 mi.	4+ mi.
N	35	31	61	69	40
%	14.8	13.1	25.9	29.2	16.9
Cum. %	14.8	27.9	53.8	83.0	100.0

Distribution of Destinations by Distance from C.B.D. N=236

	0-2 mi.	2-4 mi.	4-6 mi.	6-8 mi.	8-10 mi.
N	93	90	38	10	5
%	39.4	38.1	16.1	4.2	2.1
Cum. %	39.4	77.5	93.6	97.8	100.0

Average Distance from C.B.D. = 2.87 miles

Distribution of Destinations by Sector N=236

	Sector I	Sector II	Sector III	Sector IV	Sector V
N	101	61	45	10	19
%	42.8	25.9	19.1	4.2	8.1
Cum. %	42.8	68.7	87.8	92.0	100.1

cities. More than three quarters of the families moved within four miles of the C.B.D. and more than two fifths stayed in the same sector. However, the general outward trend is clear, there seems to be no area of heavy clustering other than near the origin, and the fact that almost twice as many families moved to Sector V than Sector IV, a greater directional shift, is an apparent anomaly.

3. Testing the Languages of Urban Renewal

a. Individual Behavior: Displaced Residents as Migrants

Using age groups as surrogates for family life-cycle stages, the hypothesis that families with young children tend to move outward may be tested. Table 5-2 presents the data. Ironically, in the typically child-laden ages of 25-44, the distance moved from the C.B.D. was least. It was greatest for the oldest families. Considering that there are some cases of extended families where grandchildren may be residing with elderly households heads, Table 5-3 presents a breakdown of extra-nuclear family composition by age groups. From this, it seems clear that such effects ("vertical relations" or three-generational families) are minimal, present in less than ten percent of the elderly categories. Expected family life-cycle distance relationships do not hold here.

The directional predictions do not bear out well either. From the sectoral distribution of destinations in Table 5-1 we see that more than half of the families changed sector and are also faced with the anomalous number of destinations in Sector V, the least probable. When moves are analyzed with respect to the angle formed between destination, origin and the C.B.D., as in Table 5-4, we find that while the distri-

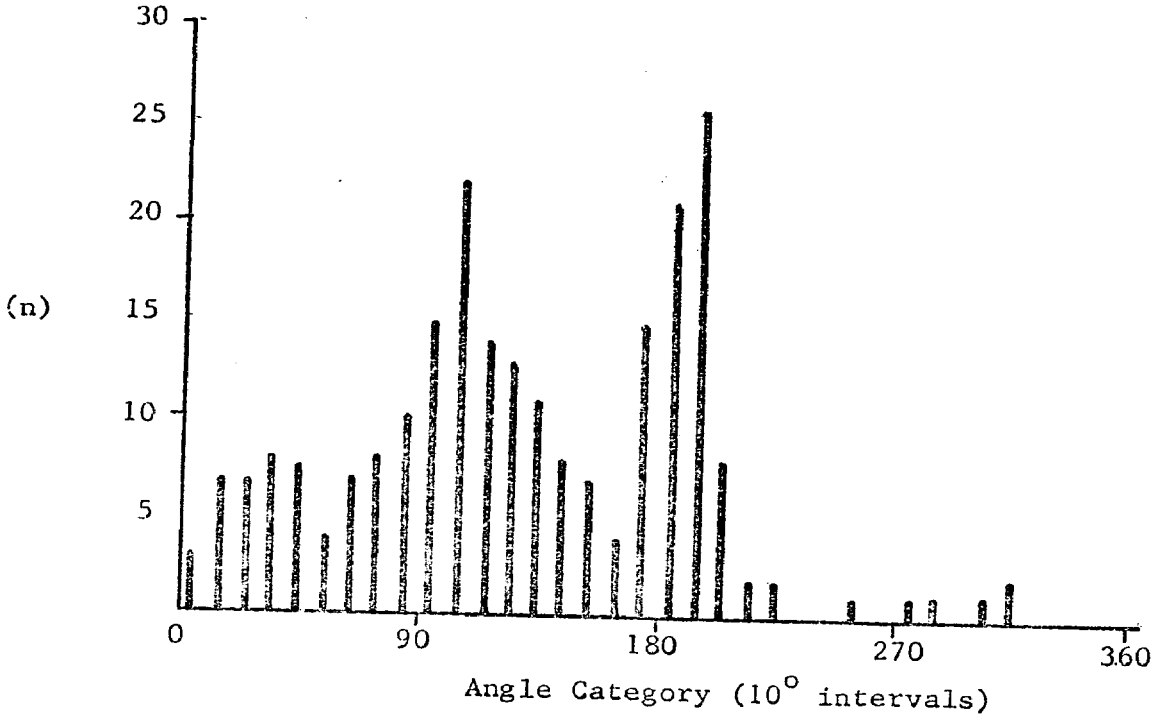
Table 5-2 Distribution of Destinations in Detroit by Age of Household Head and Distance from C.B.D. (8 cases unknown)

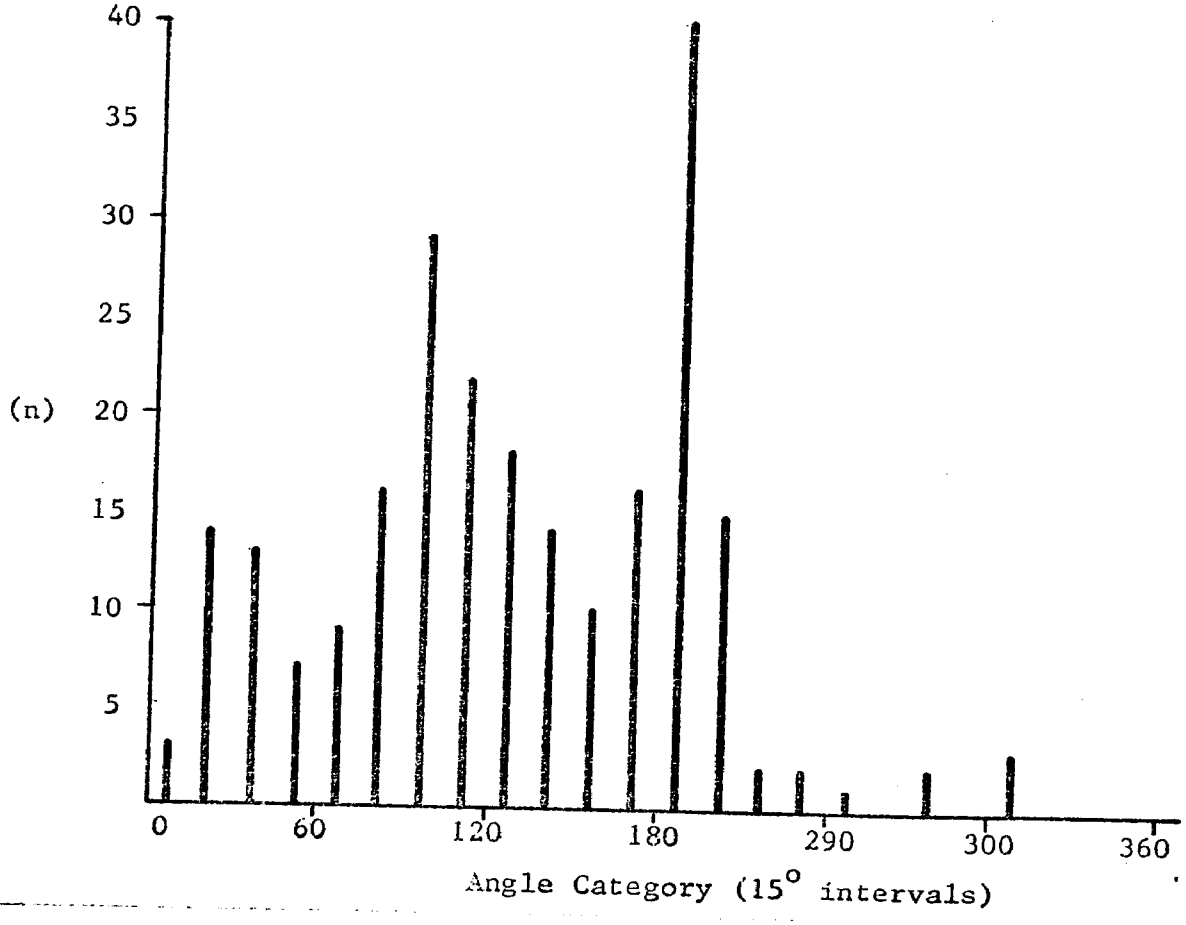
Age in Years (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4-6 Miles	6-8 Miles	8-10 Miles	Average Miles from C.B.D.
Under 25 (12)	41.7% (5)	50.0% (6)	8.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	2.54
25 - 34 (48)	47.9 (23)	39.6 (19)	10.4 (5)	2.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.51
35 - 44 (58)	48.3 (28)	39.7 (23)	10.3 (6)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (1)	2.43
45 - 54 (45)	28.9 (13)	40.0 (18)	20.0 (9)	11.1 (5)	0.0 (0)	3.16
55 - 64 (40)	30.0 (12)	40.0 (16)	20.0 (8)	7.5 (3)	2.5 (1)	3.22
65 & over (25)	40.0 (10)	24.0 (6)	24.0 (6)	4.0 (1)	8.0 (2)	3.34
Total (228)	39.9 (91)	38.6 (88)	15.4 (35)	4.4 (10)	1.7 (4)	2.87

Table 5-3 "Family" Status of Different Age Groups (8 cases unknown)

		Age Groups					
		Under 25	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 & Over
Nuclear Family Only	%	83.3	98.0	89.6	86.7	82.5	72.0
	(n)	(10)	(47)	(52)	(39)	(33)	(18)
Only Vertical Relations Present		0.0	2.0	3.5	8.9	7.5	8.0
		(0)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(2)
Only Horizontal Relations		16.7	0.0	0.0	4.4	10.0	12.0
		(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(4)	(3)
Only Children that are Relations		0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	4.0
		(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Non-Relations		0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	4.0
		(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Other		0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
		(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n)	(12)	(48)	(58)	(45)	(40)	(25)

Table 5-4 Directional Distribution of All Intracity Moves





bution is indeed bimodal, one peak occurs near 90°. Thus while there is an outward tendency expressed by the peak near 180°, there is also a marked transverse tendency which is not predicted.[41]

The block census data do not permit us to test whether the destination neighborhoods, defined here as the census block, have the same economic class mix as the origin.[42] Block data give only average housing values. However, ethnic mix, at least along racial lines can be compared.[43] Table 5-5 shows that a similarity of racial composition of origin and destination neighborhoods was not the general rule. While Blacks tended to move into rather similar racial situations, there being a small increase in non-white composition at destination blocks, Whites tended to move into much more homogeneous situations.[44] For Maltese, this effect was most pronounced, the average Black proportion at destinations being one third that at origins. The general increase in racial homogeneity particularly among Whites does not support the expectations of neighborhood similarity.

In summary, in this case study, the displaced families do not behave locationally as do the hypothesized intra-urban migrants. These tests have been of locational outcomes; the process of "adjusting to household needs" cannot be tested since the data were inadequate in providing a measure of these needs.

b. Physically Determinist Planning: Displaced Residents as Patients

The major premise here is that displaced residents will be found in physically standard neighborhoods defined by the census block data on "sound" housing and crowding, Table 5-6 reveals conditions at destination blocks by tenure. For owners, about two

Table 5-5 Comparison of racial composition at origin and destination blocks in Detroit by ethnic group. (N=229, excluding "other")

Group (n)	Average % Black at origin block	Average % Nonwhite at destination block
Whites born in Detroit (14)	28.0	15.5
Other northern born white (34)	17.6	12.9
Southern born white (22)	27.4	20.0
Mexican born in S.W. U.S.A. (36)	18.6	12.9
Mexican born in Mexico (19)	19.2	9.6
Maltese (22)	15.6	5.2
Northern born black (17)	67.9	58.4
Southern born black (65)	56.8	64.2
All black	59.1	63.0
All white (147)	20.2	12.6

Table 5-6 Physical condition at destination blocks in Detroit by tenure (1 case unknown)

% Dwelling Units at Destination Block in "Sound" Condition	Owners (n)	Owners %	Renters (n)	Renters %	All (n)	All %
0 - 11%	(3)	4.0%	(27)	17.0%	(30)	12.8%
11 - 20%	(1)	1.3	(12)	7.6	(13)	5.5
21 - 30%	(2)	2.6	(8)	5.0	(10)	4.3
31 - 40%	(2)	2.6	(15)	9.4	(17)	7.2
41 - 50%	(3)	4.0	(10)	6.3	(13)	5.5
51 - 60%	(7)	9.2	(13)	8.2	(20)	8.5
61 - 70%	(4)	5.3	(16)	10.1	(20)	8.5
71 - 80%	(4)	5.3	(5)	3.1	(9)	3.8
81 - 90%	(11)	14.5	(18)	11.3	(29)	12.3
91 - 100%	(39)	51.3	(35)	22.0	(74)	31.5

Overcrowding at Destination Blocks in Detroit by Tenure (1 case unknown)

% Dwelling Units at Destination Block with More Than 1 Person/Room	Owners	Renters	All
	n=76 9.0%	n=159 18.1%	n=235 15.2%

thirds moved to blocks on which more than 80% of the housing was standard. For renters this proportion was only a third; moreover 17% moved to blocks where less than ten percent of the housing units were sound. Considering all families, less than half moved to blocks at the 80% level or better while more than one eighth were found in the least sound blocks. This compares very unfavorably with statistics for Detroit as a whole since the 1960 census found that 85.8% of the housing units were sound - thus an "average" block would have at least 80% of its units in sound condition.[45] Evidently most families were moving into somewhat "blighted" neighborhoods. And since areas in which more than 50% of the housing units are not sound qualify for urban renewal, more than a third of the families are in jeopardy of redisplacement.[46]

Table 5-6 also gives a measure of "overcrowding" at destination blocks; the percent of dwelling units containing more than one person per room. In all of Detroit in 1960, 8.8% of the housing units were so occupied.[47] Thus while owners found housing at about the average density, renters moved into blocks on which twice as many units were overcrowded as average. For all families, the overcrowding was two thirds greater than average.

Clearly, the families were not to be found in Detroit's physically better neighborhoods. But we can also test if there was indeed an improvement in the physical conditions of individual units - which is the scale that urban renewal legislation speaks to directly.[48] Here we run into difficulty with definitions. The origin unit was graded by the interviewer as "good," "fair" or "poor" while destinations were graded as "standard" or "substandard." According to the director of relocation,

"good" is somewhat equivalent to "standard" while "fair" and "poor" are somewhat equivalent to "substandard" although different criteria were employed.[49] Using these measures, however, we find from Table 5-7 that nearly a fifth of the families moved into substandard units including more than a tenth of those who were previously living in good units. Thus while the great majority of those in "fair" or "poor" units moved to "standard" units, there were some cases of decrease in quality.[50] It is obvious from the table, also, that owners fared much better than renters in maintaining physical quality after the move.

Table 5-8 summarizes the change in crowding at origin and destination units. Here, the displacement did little to relieve densities for the most crowded families. For families living at densities of greater than two persons per room initially, in no case was crowding reduced to less than 1.25 persons per room and more than four fifths of the families continued to live at a density of greater than two persons per room. For renters living at the lowest densities (less than 0.75 persons per room), more than half experienced an increase. In general, there was a density increase on a unit level and owners fared no better than renters.

Finally we can test whether job accessibility, considered in urban renewal legislation[51] was maintained. Table 5-9 shows, by family income level, whether a jobholder moved closer or farther from his place of work. As can be seen, distance to workplace increased in more cases than it decreased. It is particularly significant to note that this was especially true for the lower income families; whereas the effect is neutralized for the middle class families, earning more than $450 per month.

Table 5-7 Physical condition of origin and destination units for those moving within Detroit

A. All Forms of Tenure (3 cases unknown)

Destination Condition	Origin Condition: Good %	(n)	Fair %	(n)	Poor %	(n)	Total (n)	%
Standard	89.5	(51)	77.4	(113)	83.3	(25)	(189)	81.2
Sub-standard	10.5	(6)	22.6	(33)	16.7	(5)	(44)	18.8
Total	100.0	(57)	100.0	(146)	100.0	(30)	(233)	100.0

B. Owners Only (1 case unknown)

Destination Condition	Origin Condition: Good %	(n)	Fair %	(n)	Poor %	(n)	Total (n)	%
Standard	100.0	(28)	94.6	(35)	90.9	(10)	(73)	96.1
Sub-standard	0.0	(0)	5.4	(2)	9.1	(1)	(3)	3.9
Total	100.0	(28)	100.0	(37)	100.0	(11)	(76)	100.0

C. Renters Only (2 cases unknown)

Destination Condition	Origin Condition: Good %	(n)	Fair %	(n)	Poor %	(n)	Total (n)	%
Standard	79.3	(23)	71.6	(78)	78.9	(15)	(116)	73.9
Sub-standard	20.7	(6)	28.4	(31)	21.1	(4)	(41)	26.1
Total	100.0	(29)	100.0	(109)	100.0	(19)	(157)	100.0

Table 5-8 Crowding condition of origin and destination units for those moving within Detroit

A. All Forms of Tenure (82 cases unknown)

Destination Crowding (p/r)	Origin Crowding (persons/room) Less than .75 %	(n)	.75 - 1.25 %	(n)	1.25 - 2.00 %	(n)	2.00 + %	(n)	Total (n)
Less than .75	44.8	13	10.9	5	0.0	0	0.0	0	18
.75 - 1.25	51.7	15	47.8	22	33.3	14	0.0	0	51
1.25 - 2.00	3.5	1	30.4	14	45.3	19	18.9	7	41
2.00 +	0.0	0	10.9	5	21.4	9	81.1	30	44
Total	100.0	29	100.0	46	100.0	42	100.0	37	154

B. Owners Only (22 cases unknown)

Destination Crowding (p/r)	Origin Crowding (persons/room) Less than .75 %	(n)	.75 - 1.25 %	(n)	1.25 - 2.00 %	(n)	2.00 + %	(n)	Total (n)
Less than .75	100.0	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	2
.75 - 1.25	0.0	0	72.7	8	42.1	8	0.0	0	11
1.25 - 2.00	0.0	0	18.2	2	42.1	8	22.7	5	15
2.00 +	0.0	0	9.1	1	15.8	3	77.3	17	21
Total	100.0	2	100.0	11	100.0	19	100.0	22	54

C. Renters Only (60 cases unknown)

Destination Crowding (p/r)	Origin Crowding (persons/room) Less than .75 %	(n)	.75 - 1.25 %	(n)	1.25 - 2.00 %	(n)	2.00 + %	(n)	Total (n)
Less than .75	40.7	11	14.3	5	0.0	0	0.0	0	16
.75 - 1.25	55.6	15	40.0	14	26.1	6	0.0	0	35
1.25 - 2.00	3.7	1	34.3	12	47.8	11	15.4	2	26
2.00 +	0.0	0	11.4	4	26.1	6	84.6	13	23
Total	100.0	27	100.0	35	100.0	23	100.0	15	100

Table 5-9 Accessibility to jobs by family income categories (n=119, 17 cases unknown)

Monthly Income	Distance to Job Decreased by Moving	Distance to Job Increased by Moving
Less than $150	2	1
$150 - 225	2	3
$225 - 300	2	9
$300 - 375	10	15
$375 - 450	13	19
$450 - 525	9	8
$525 - 600	6	5
Greater than $600	8	7
Totals	52	67

In summary, the displaced residents did not fare too well as "patients." They were to be found on deteriorating blocks compared to the "average" Detroit block. While there was a pronounced increase in occupancy of "standard" units this is probably the least objective test in this case.[52] For the more crowded families there was not much movement to less crowded quarters and there was a decrease in job accessibility, especially for poorer families.

c. Economic Planning: Displaced Residents as Costs

Since the origin neighborhood contained families of quite mixed economic status, it must be assumed in the language of economic planning, that a disequilibrium condition was in effect or that the wealthier families were voluntarily trading off space for accessibility.

In the latter case, we would expect that after displacement, all families should exhibit very similar destinations with regard to distance from the C.B.D. A glance at Map 5-6 shows this is not the case. While many families clustered near the origin, there was a definite dispersing trend particularly in Sectors III and V. Alternatively we might predict that the typical economic-equilibrium pattern of income-distance relationship might be exhibited. Table 5-10, which details this relationship, shows this is not the case either. Instead of the higher income families locating further from the C.B.D. than the poorer families, they seem to be found closer in. Other than this somewhat inverse relationship, there seems to be no particular regularity to income-distance relationships.

It might be argued instead that each family chooses its own accessibility - space trade off, but that at least the families choosing

Table 5-10 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household and distance from C.B.D., in percentages (41 cases unknown)

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4-6 Miles	6-8 Miles	8-10 Miles	Avg. Miles from C.B.D.
Under $151 (39)	46.1% (18)	41.0% (16)	10.3% (4)	0.0% (0)	2.6% (1)	2.55
$151-225 (25)	32.0 (8)	32.0 (8)	24.0 (6)	8.0 (2)	4.0 (1)	3.31
$226-300 (26)	46.2 (12)	23.1 (6)	26.9 (7)	3.8 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.80
$301-375 (27)	44.4 (12)	37.0 (10)	14.8 (4)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.41
$376-450 (37)	24.3 (9)	46.0 (17)	21.6 (8)	8.1 (3)	0.0 (0)	3.40
$451-525 (19)	31.6 (6)	42.1 (8)	15.8 (3)	10.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	3.15
$526-600 (9)	44.4 (4)	44.4 (4)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.28
$600 + (13)	46.2 (6)	46.2 (6)	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.30
Total (195)	38.5 (75)	38.5 (75)	17.4 (34)	4.6 (9)	1.0 (2)	2.87

Table 5-11 Average distance from C.B.D. for different categories of crowding conditions at destination units in Detroit

	Crowding Conditions (persons/room) n=154						
Average Distance From C.B.D. in Miles	0.0-.5	.5-.75	.75-.9	.9-1.1	1.1-1.25	1.25-1.5	1.5+
	2.49	3.20	2.84	2.76	2.45	2.91	3.00

low density would be located farther from the C.B.D. This would certainly seem to be true of Detroit in a gross sense. Yet, by using Table 5-11, it is seen that even this weaker predictive notion does not hold up. Using room density as a surrogate for total living space, it is apparent that there is no positive relationship between distance and dwelling space. Oddly, the most crowded families were found at higher than average distances from the C.B.D.

In brief, the language of economic planning has failed to be of much use in interpreting the spatial outcome of displacement in this case study.

d. Political Control: Displaced Residents as Refugees

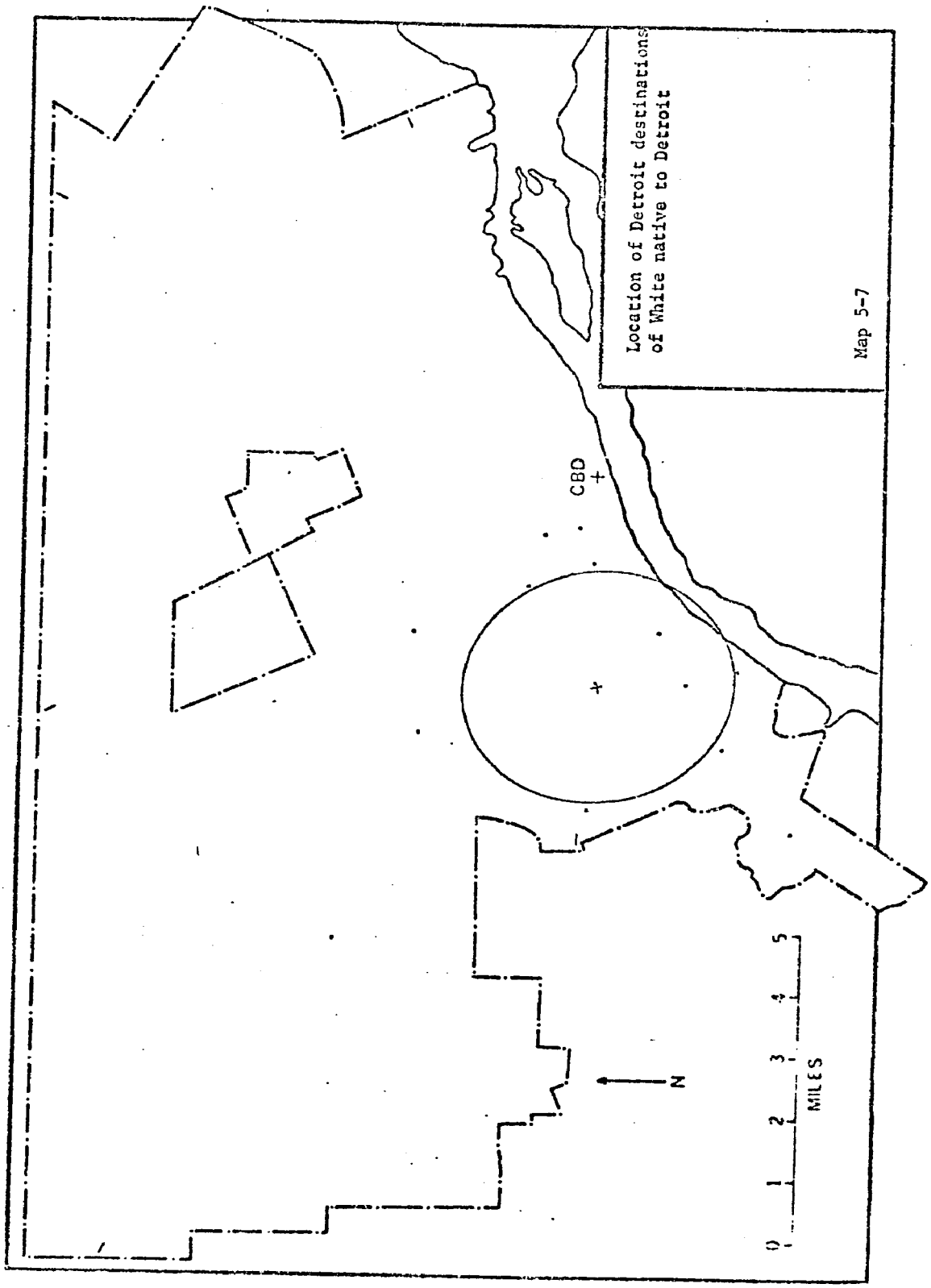
In this language, relocation is assumed to operate along social channels; destinations are predicted near existing locations of friends, kin and cultural groups. More anomalous destinations could result from the interference of allocating organizations.

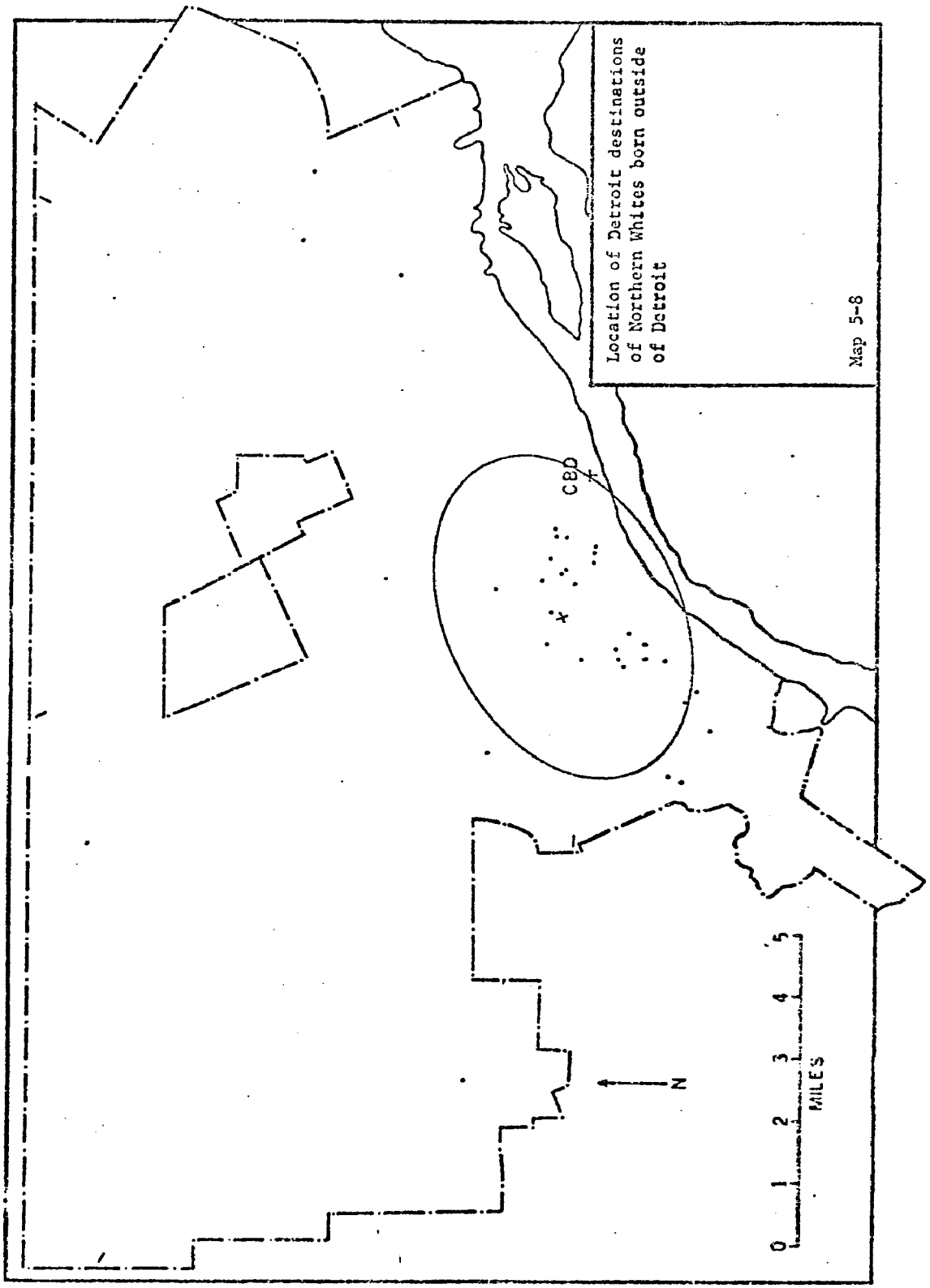
One way of testing movement through personal channels is through the use of the data on references. A priori, if the distance moved by a displaced resident is more than ten times as great as the distance from this destination to a reference location, then the probability that such proximity is due only to chance is less than one in a hundred.[53] However, among the 236 families moving within Detroit, this situation existed in only thirteen cases; thus only about six percent of the families could be considered as directly influenced by location of their listed references. While it is indeed possible that the destinations of many others reflect movement near personal associations other than the references given, the data on this is not available. On

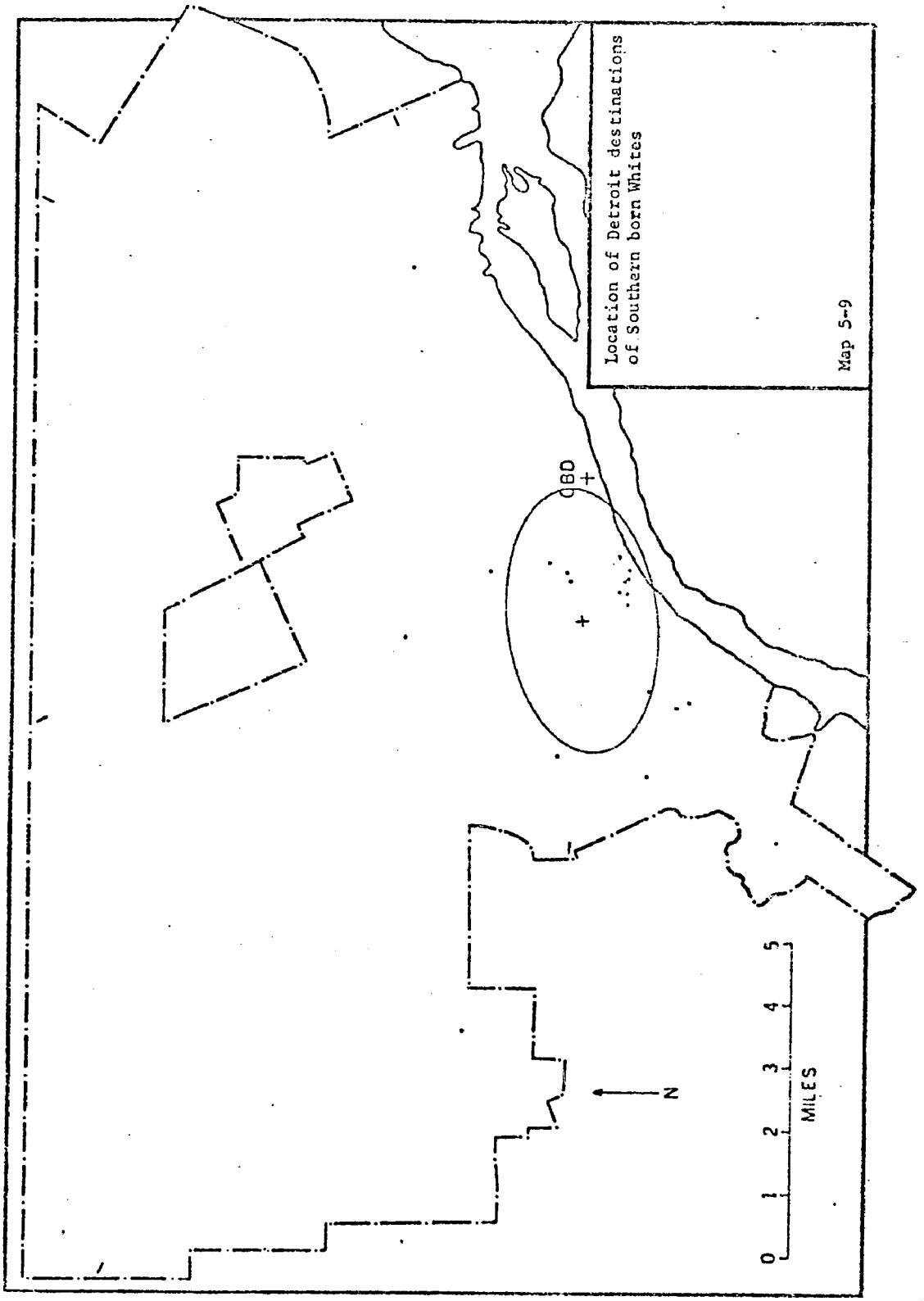
the other hand, only twelve families' locations were actually determined by formal allocating organizations - five accepted destinations assigned by the Public Housing administration and seven accepted suggestions made by the Relocation Office of the Detroit Housing Commission. This accounts for only another five percent of the families.

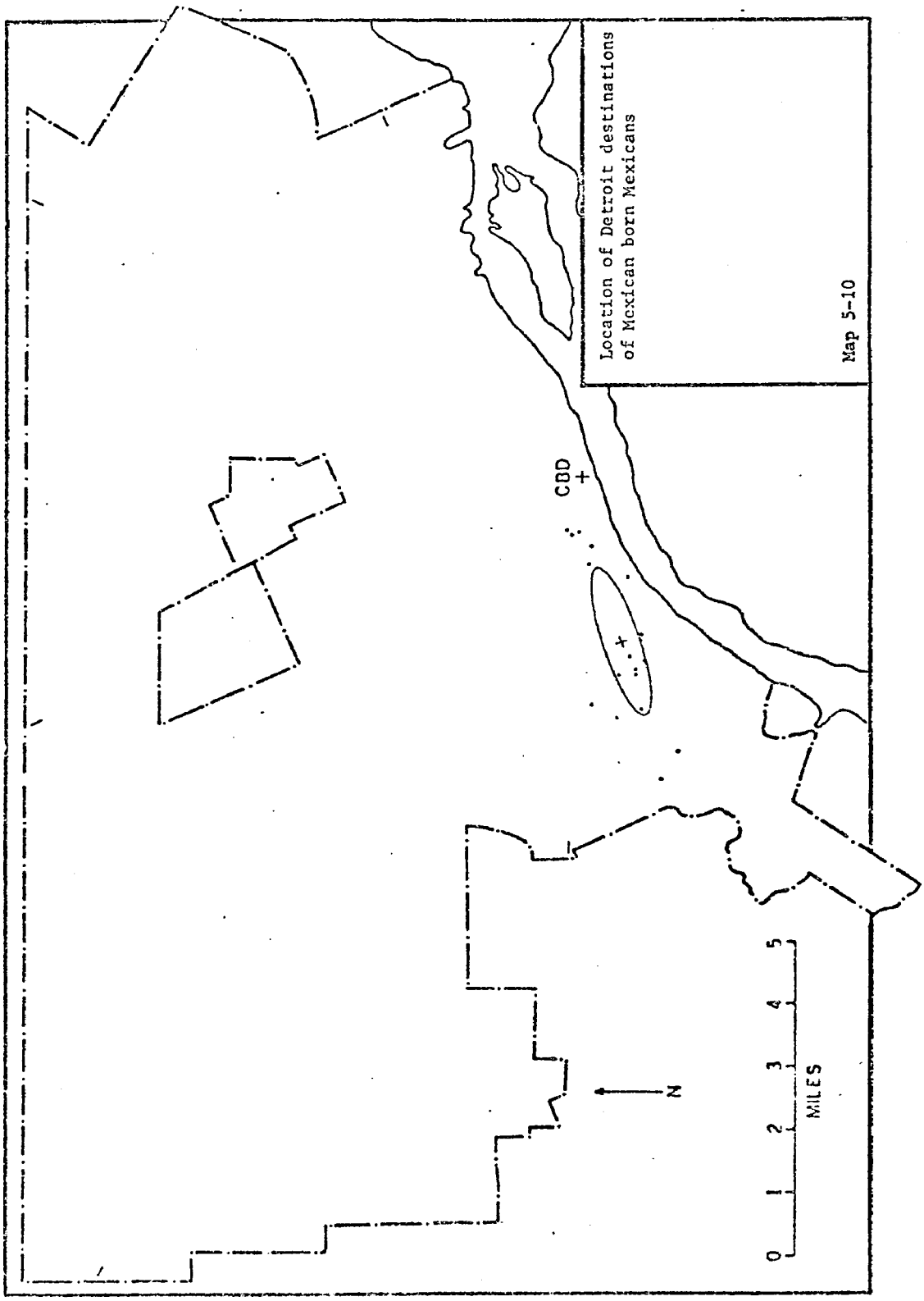
Thus, on a strict individual level, only slightly more than ten percent of the families were proven to exhibit locational behavior of refugees, although the data were not adequate to a reasonable test. However, if we focus on the cultural level as a surrogate for movement which maximizes "social-psychological security," a more conclusive picture emerges. Maps 5-7 through 5-16 show the destination patterns for each of the eight different ethnic groups and the combined Black and the combined Mexican groups. Visually there are clear differences. Mexicans of both American and Mexican origin showed a sharp tendency to cluster in the same westerly direction away from the C.B.D. Blacks of both northern and southern birth were the only groups to move north and east of the renewal area to any significant degree. The Maltese families showed a striking tendency to disperse to the outer-most areas in comparison to the other groups. In general, the maps indicate that relocation destinations are rather differentiated by ethnic group. This dovetails with the previously discussed finding (Table 5-5) that segregation of Blacks and Whites increased at the block level.

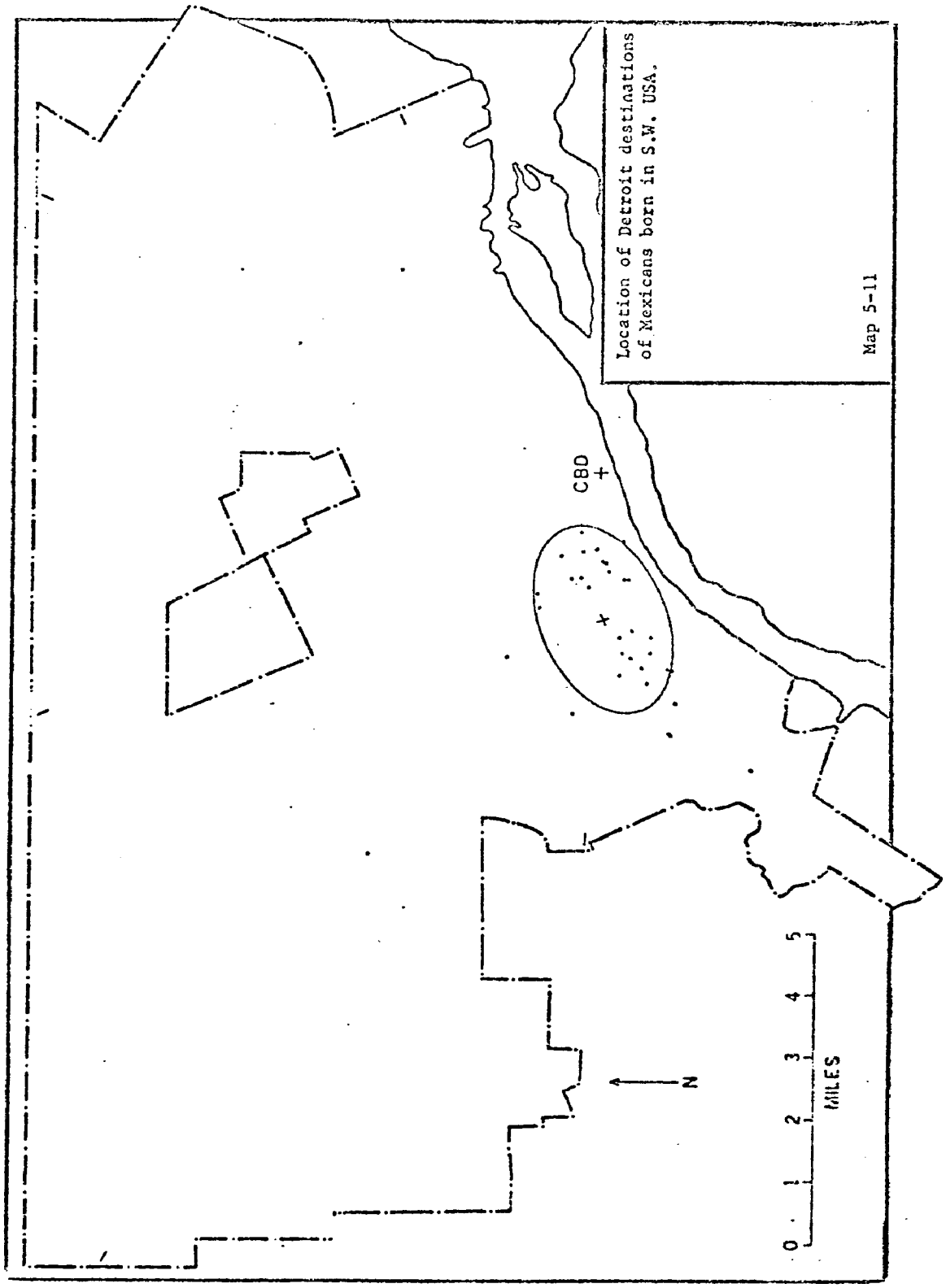
But before any statistical consideration of the relationship between ethnic identity and relocation is considered, it is necessary to prove that the ethnic variable is responsible for greater differences in the spatial pattern of relocation than other theoretically relevent

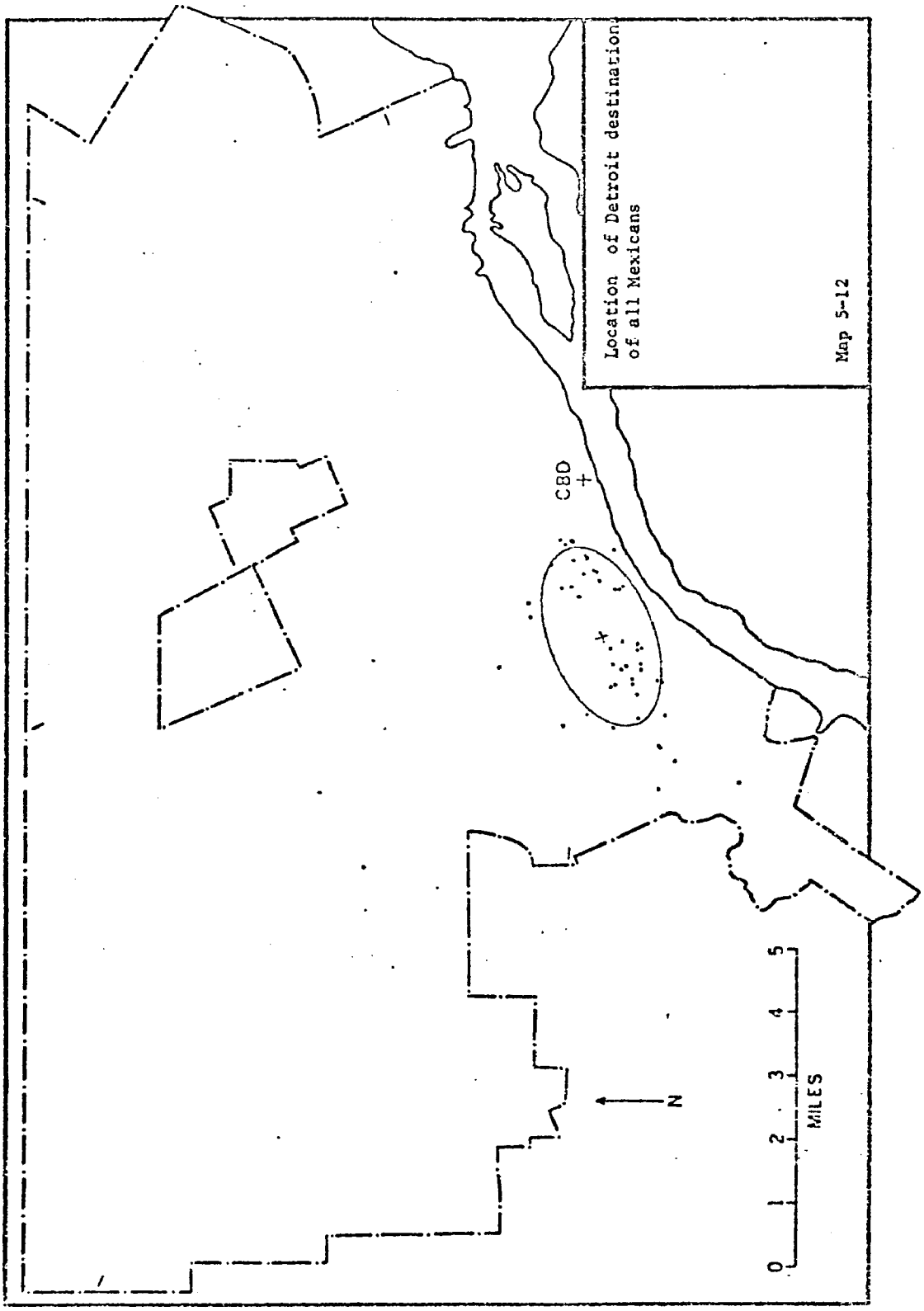

Location of Detroit destinations
of White native to Detroit
Map 5-7
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

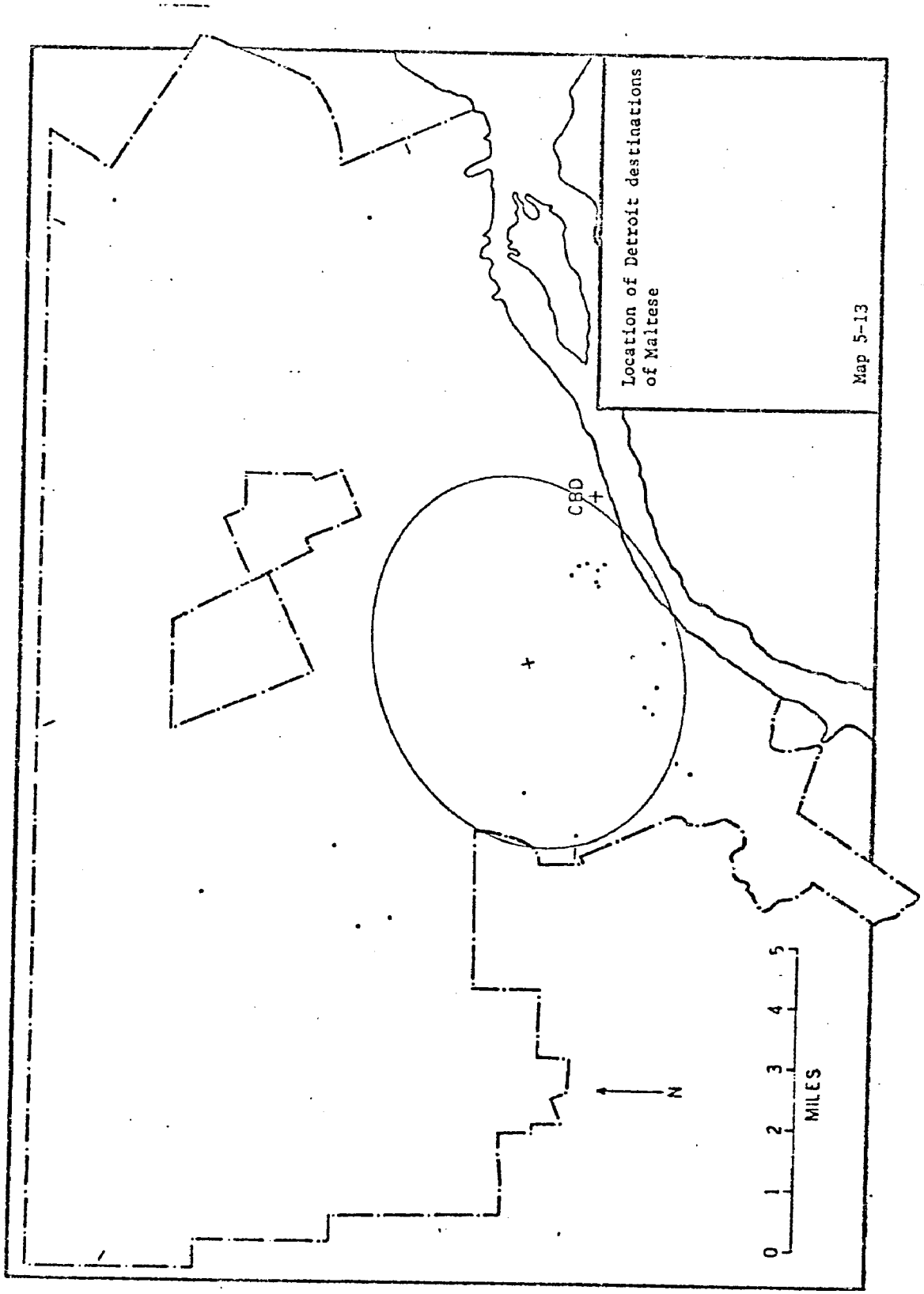

Location of Detroit destinations of Northern Whites born outside of Detroit
Map 5-8
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

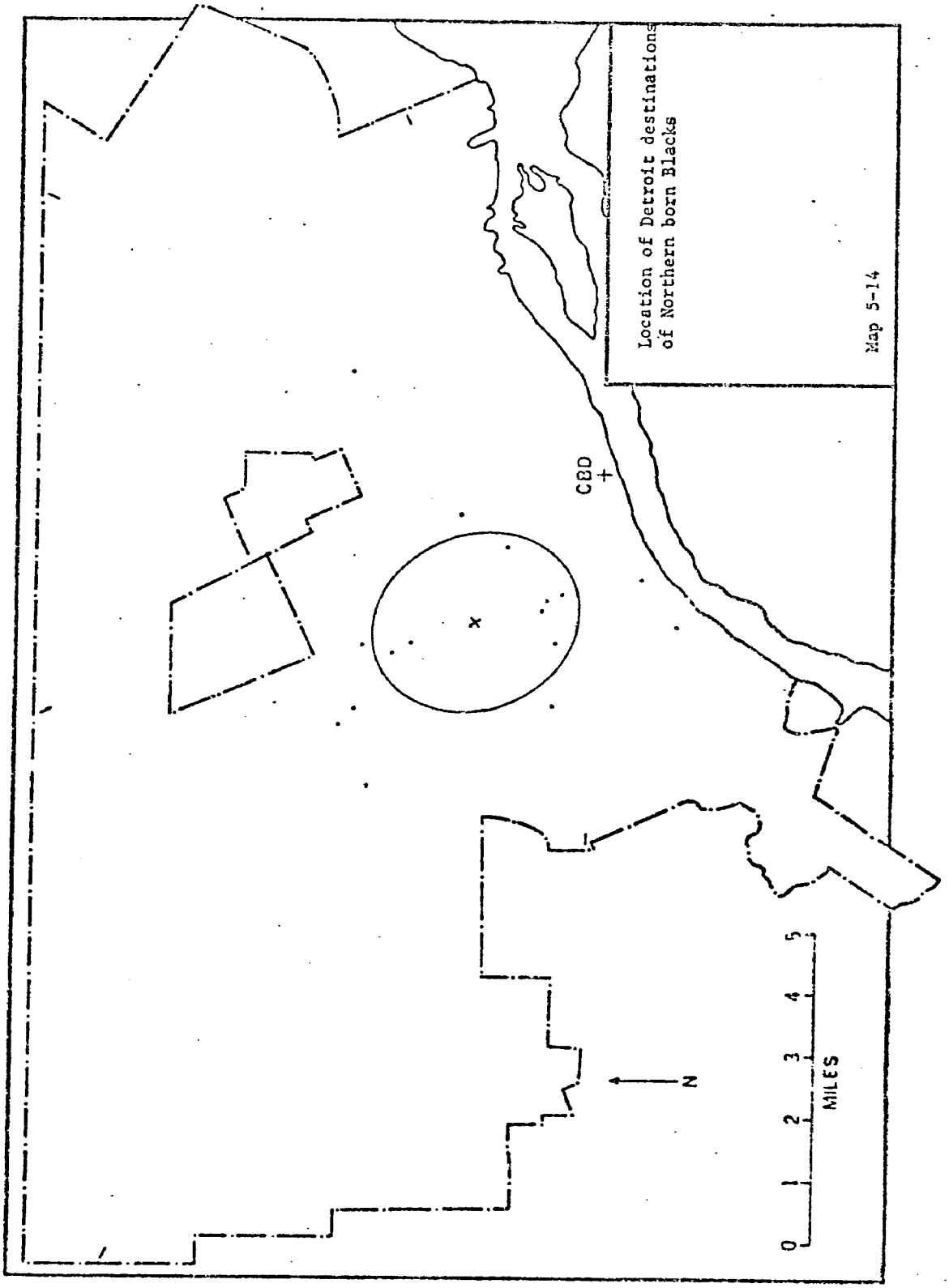

Location of Detroit destinations
of Southern born Whites
Map 5-9
BD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

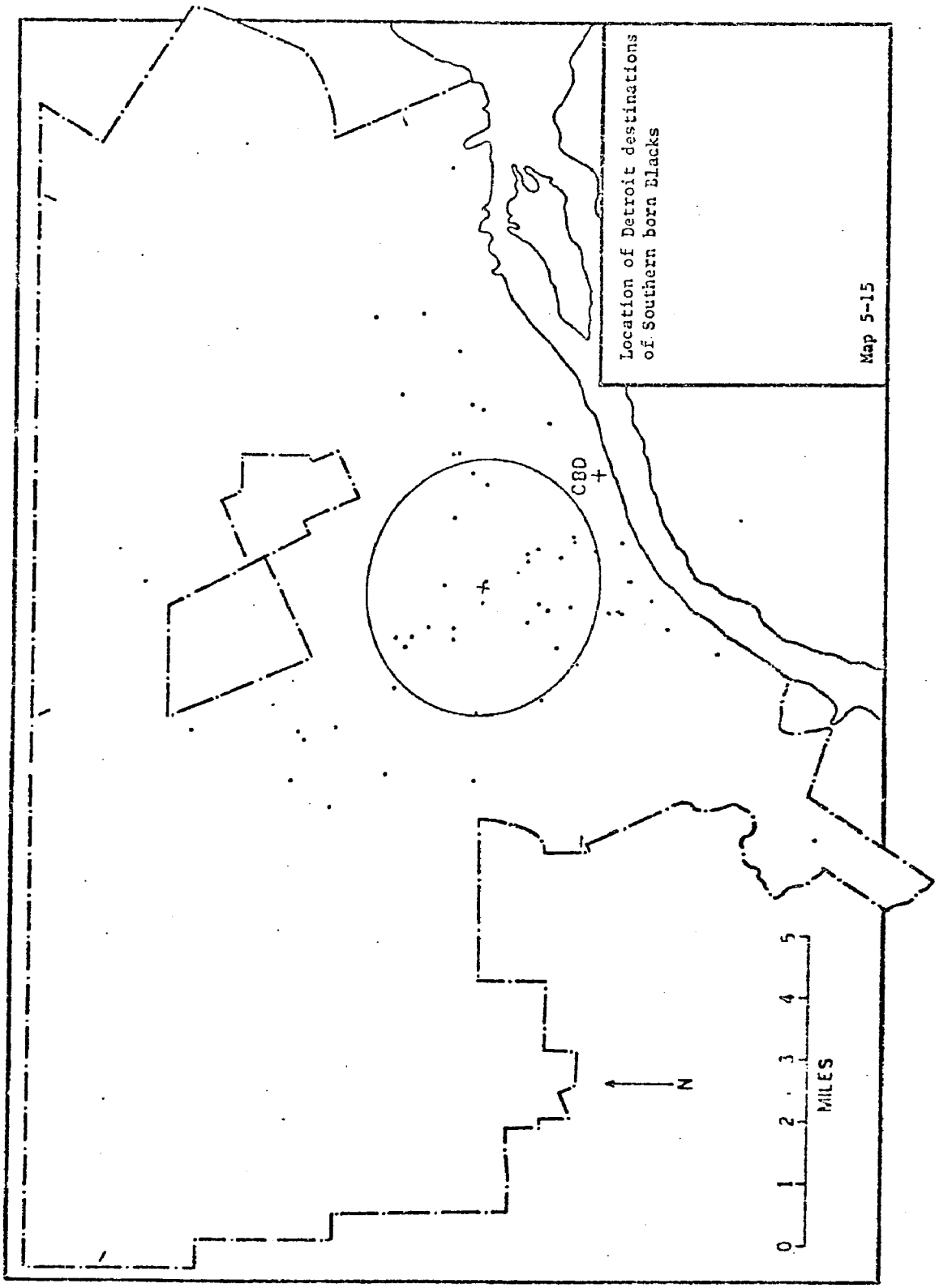

Location of Detroit destinations
of Mexican born Mexicans
Map 5-10
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

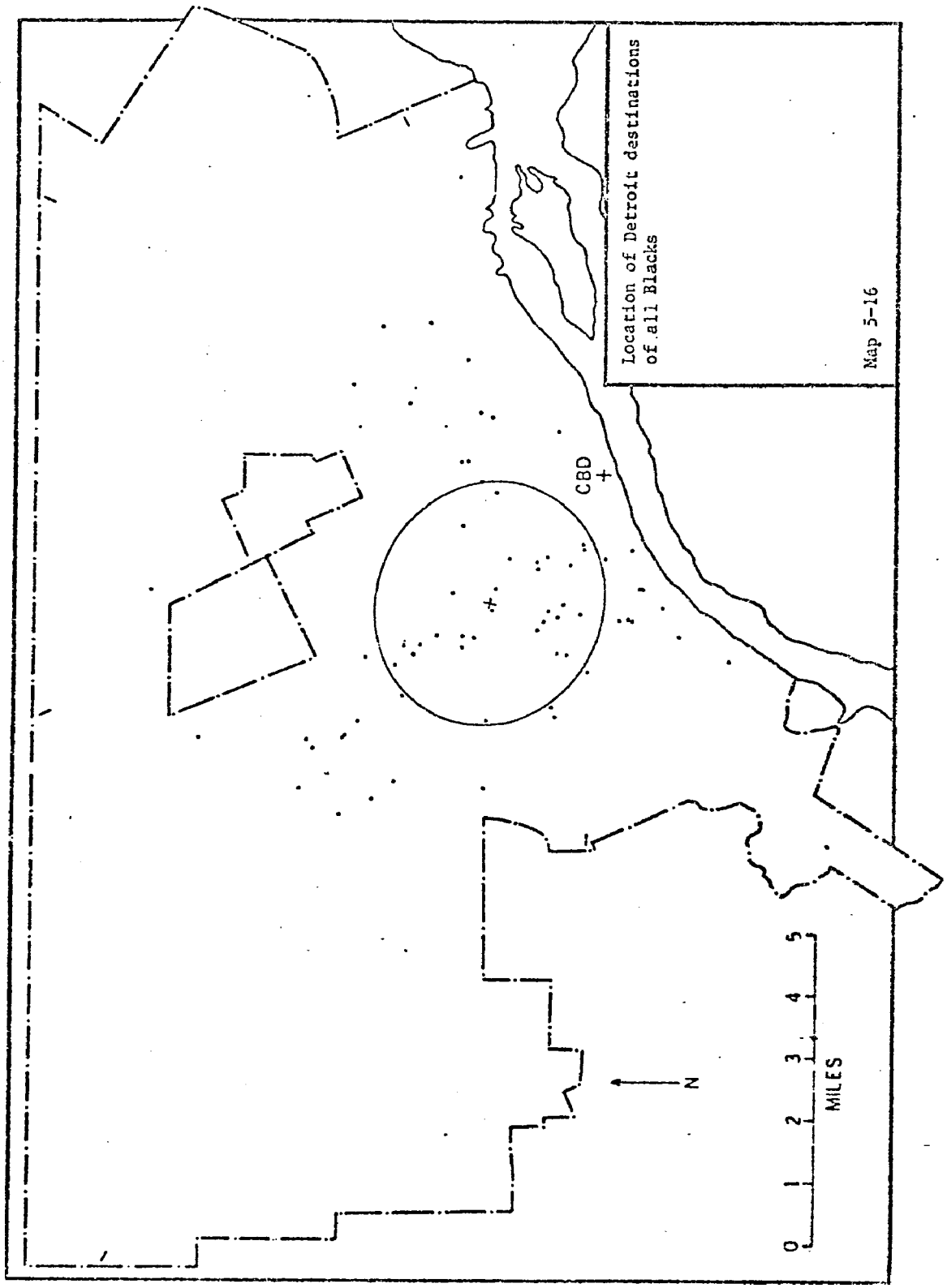

Location of Detroit destinations of Mexicans born in S.W. USA.
Map 5-11
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of Detroit destination of all Mexicans
Map 5-12
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of Detroit destinations of Maltese
Map 5-13
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of Detroit destinations of Northern born Blacks
Map 5-14
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of Detroit destinations of Southern born Blacks
Map 5-15
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of Detroit destinations of all Blacks
Map 5-16
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

variables. To test the assertion that ethnic identity is a significant determinant of destinations, we may compare it to income, the determining variable of the language of economic planning, and age, the surrogate variable for "family life cycle" in the language of individual behavior. We can relax the quantitative aspects of distance relationwhips in the latter two languages and just see which of the three variables - ethnic identity, income, and age - is responsible for the most differences in the spatial pattern of destinations.

Tables 5-12 through 5-17 show the breakdown of destination into distance and directional categories for each of the three variables.[54] For each table a chi square analysis indicates the significance level of the relationship; the lower the significance level, the greater the differentiation.[55] It can be seen that for both distance and direction, the ethnic group distribution shows the lowest significance level and thus is responsible for the most differentiation. While income produced significance levels less than 0.5 for both distance and directional categories it is clearly not as strongly related to locational difference as ethnic identity. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to isolate the effects due to different variables by controlling for each independently.

In Appendix III the same kind of analysis is repeated, but by controlling for income level, ethnic group, and tenure in successively different tables. Tenure is included in that the city of Detroit is highly structured with regard to rental housing, most of it available rather near the C.B.D. Thus the decision to rent will automatically influence at least distance relationships and we wish to separate out this effect from income and ethnic variation. In order to preserve the

Table 5-12 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by Ethnic group of household head and sector

Group (n)	Sector I	Sector II	Sectors III, IV, V
White born in Detroit (14)	50.0% (7)	21.4% (3)	28.6% (4)
Other Northern Born White (34)	50.0 (17)	29.4 (10)	20.6 (7)
Southern Born White (22)	54.6 (12)	31.8 (7)	13.6 (3)
Mexican Born in S.W. U.S.A. (36)	66.6 (24)	30.6 (11)	2.8 (1)
Mexican Born in Mexico (19)	84.2 (16)	15.8 (3)	0.0 (0)
Maltese (22)	50.0 (11)	31.8 (7)	18.2 (4)
Northern Born Black (17)	11.8 (2)	29.4 (5)	58.8 (10)
Southern Born Black (65)	16.9 (11)	21.5 (14)	61.6 (40)
Total (229)	43.7 (100)	26.2 (60)	30.1 (69)

$X^2 = 74.5$

Degrees of Freedom - 14

Significance level << .001

Table 5-13 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by ethnic group of household head and distance from C.B.D.

Group (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles	Avg. Miles from C.B.D.
White Born in Detroit (14)	28.6% (4)	28.6% (4)	42.8% (6)	3.52
Other Northern Born White (34)	38.2 (13)	35.3 (12)	26.5 (9)	2.91
Southern Born White (22)	63.6 (14)	22.7 (5)	13.7 (3)	2.46
Mexican Born in S.W. U.S.A. (36)	47.2 (17)	44.4 (16)	8.4 (3)	2.30
Mexican Born in Mexico (19)	31.6 (6)	57.9 (11)	10.5 (2)	2.38
Maltese (22)	31.8 (7)	22.7 (5)	45.5 (10)	3.70
Northern Born Black (17)	29.4 (5)	47.1 (8)	23.5 (4)	3.07
Southern Born Black (65)	38.5 (25)	41.5 (27)	20.0 (13)	2.91
Total (229)	39.8 (91)	38.4 (88)	21.8 (50)	2.87

$X^2 = 25.0$

Degrees of Freedom = 14

Significance level .05 - .02

Table 5-14 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household head and sector

Monthly Income (n)	Sector I	Sector II	Sectors III, IV, V
Under $150 (39)	23.1 % (9)	41.0 % (16)	35.9 % (14)
$150-225 (25)	28.0 (7)	32.0 (8)	40.0 (10)
$225-300 (26)	42.3 (11)	19.2 (5)	38.5 (10)
$300-375 (27)	37.0 (10)	33.3 (9)	29.7 (8)
$375-450 (37)	46.0 (17)	10.8 (4)	43.2 (16)
$450-525 (19)	63.2 (12)	21.0 (4)	15.8 (3)
$525-600 (9)	88.9 (8)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)
$600 + (13)	53.8 (7)	30.8 (4)	15.4 (2)
Total (195)	41.5 (81)	26.2 (51)	32.3 (63)

$X^2 = 29.1$

Degrees of Freedom = 14

Significance Level .02 - .01

Table 5-15 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household and distance from C.B.D.

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles	Avg. Miles From C.B.D.
Under $150 (39)	46.1% (18)	41.0% (16)	12.9% (5)	2.55
$150-225 (25)	32.0 (8)	32.0 (8)	36.0 (9)	3.31
$225-300 (26)	46.2 (12)	23.1 (6)	30.7 (8)	2.80
$300-375 (27)	44.4 (12)	37.0 (10)	18.6 (5)	2.41
$375-450 (37)	24.3 (9)	46.0 (17)	29.7 (11)	3.40
$450-525 (19)	31.6 (6)	42.1 (8)	26.3 (5)	3.15
$525-600 (9)	44.4 (4)	44.4 (4)	11.2 (1)	2.28
$600 + (13)	46.2 (6)	46.2 (6)	7.6 (1)	2.30
Total (195)	38.5 (75)	38.5 (75)	23.0 (45)	2.87

$X^2 = 14.0$

Degrees of Freedom = 14

Significance Level .50 - .30

Table 5-16 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by age of household head and sector

Age in Years (n)	Sector I	Sector II	Sectors III, IV, V
Under 25 (12)	25.0% (3)	25.0% (3)	50.0% (6)
25 - 34 (48)	41.7 (20)	23.9 (11)	35.4 (17)
35 - 44 (58)	46.5 (27)	22.4 (13)	31.1 (18)
45 - 54 (45)	42.3 (19)	33.3 (15)	24.4 (11)
55 - 64 (40)	50.0 (20)	25.0 (10)	25.0 (10)
65 and over (25)	36.0 (9)	28.0 (7)	36.0 (9)
Total (228)	43.0 (98)	25.9 (59)	31.1 (71)

$X^2 = 6.3$

Degrees of Freedom = 10

Significance Level .80 - .70

Table 5-17 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by age of household head and distance from C.B.D.

Age in Years (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles	Avg. Miles from C.B.D.
Under 25 (12)	41.7% (5)	50.0% (6)	8.3% (1)	2.54
25 - 34 (48)	47.9 (23)	39.6 (19)	12.5 (6)	2.51
35 - 44 (58)	48.3 (28)	39.7 (23)	12.0 (7)	2.43
45 - 54 (45)	28.9 (13)	40.0 (18)	31.1 (14)	3.16
55 - 64 (40)	30.0 (12)	40.0 (16)	30.0 (12)	3.22
65 and over (25)	40.0 (10)	24.0 (6)	36.0 (9)	3.34
Total (228)	39.9 (91)	38.6 (88)	21.5 (49)	2.87

$X^2 = 16.9$

Degrees of Freedom = 10

Significance Level .10 - .05

statistical integrity of the chi square tests for small samples it was necessary to collapse the ethnic variable into three categories - Black, White, and Mexican and the income variable into three categories corresponding to the poverty, low, and middle income groups discussed previously. Emerging from this morass of statistics is a confirmation of previous trends. Allowing ethnic identity to vary among controlled income categories produced lower significance levels than vice versa for both distance and directional categories. The lowest significance levels were found in cases where ethnic identity was permitted to vary among controlled tenure categories.

Thus, for this case study, we may conclude that ethnic identity, of the theoretically important variables, seems to have had the greatest effect in differentiating family destinations. We will proceed with a more detailed discussion of this differentiation.

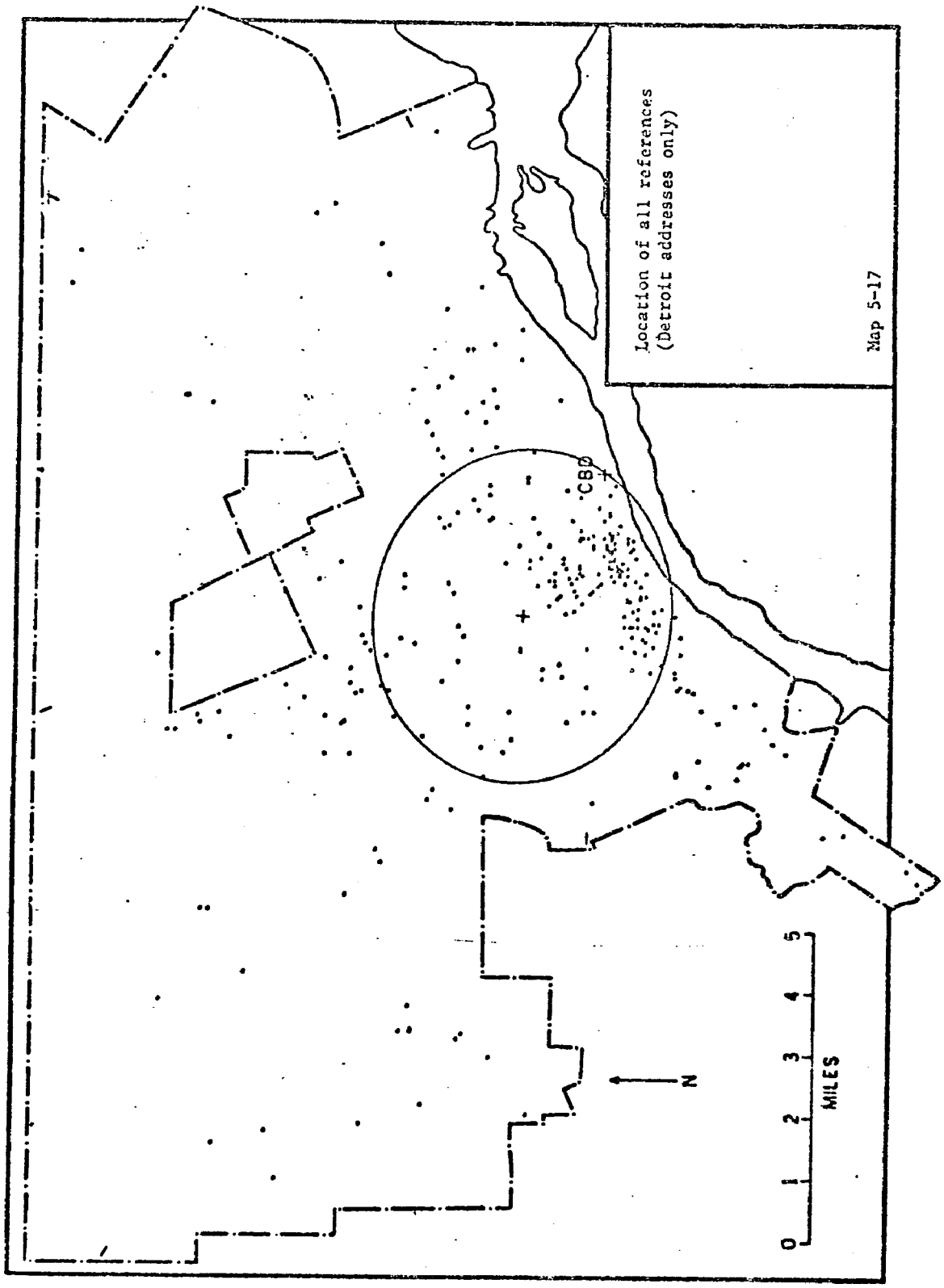
The pre-eminence of the ethnic group variable in creating significant differences in relocation patterns suggests a test of the refugee hypothesis at the aggregate level. Instead of comparing the destinations of individuals with the location of the particular references they gave, we may compare the distribution of all destinations of a given ethnic group with the distribution of all references given by that same group. The point distribution of references for an ethnic group can be regarded as a measure of the collective awareness of that group of the city as seen through personal contacts. If refugee-like behavior is taking place in the search for post relocation housing, then the point distribution of references for a group should in some way be correlated with the point distribution of selected destinations; members of the group would be moving to areas which were known by that

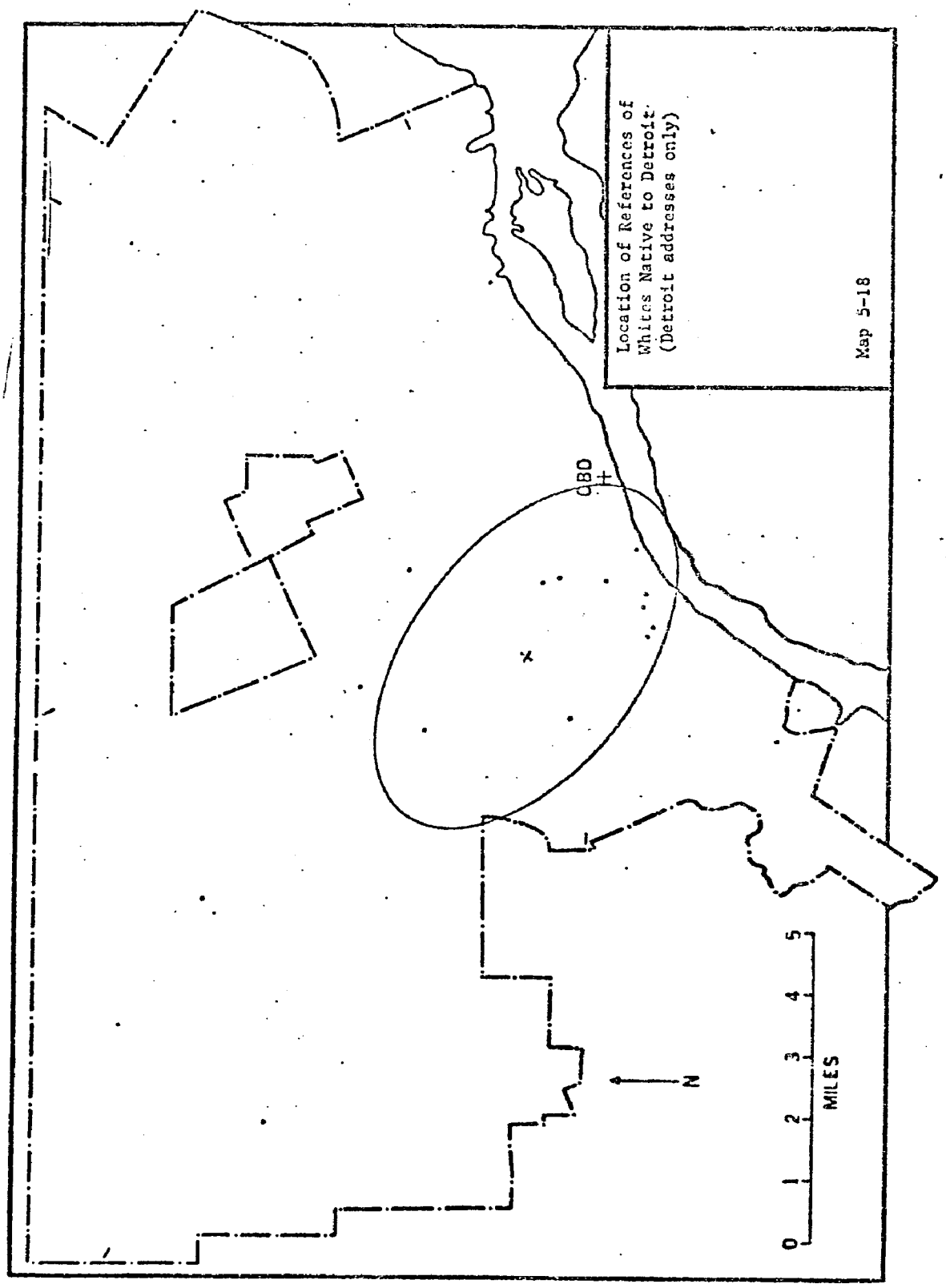
group, hence offering a degree of social-psychological security. This should be particularly the case for groups like the Maltese, Black, and Mexican which are easily recognizable ethnic subcultures.

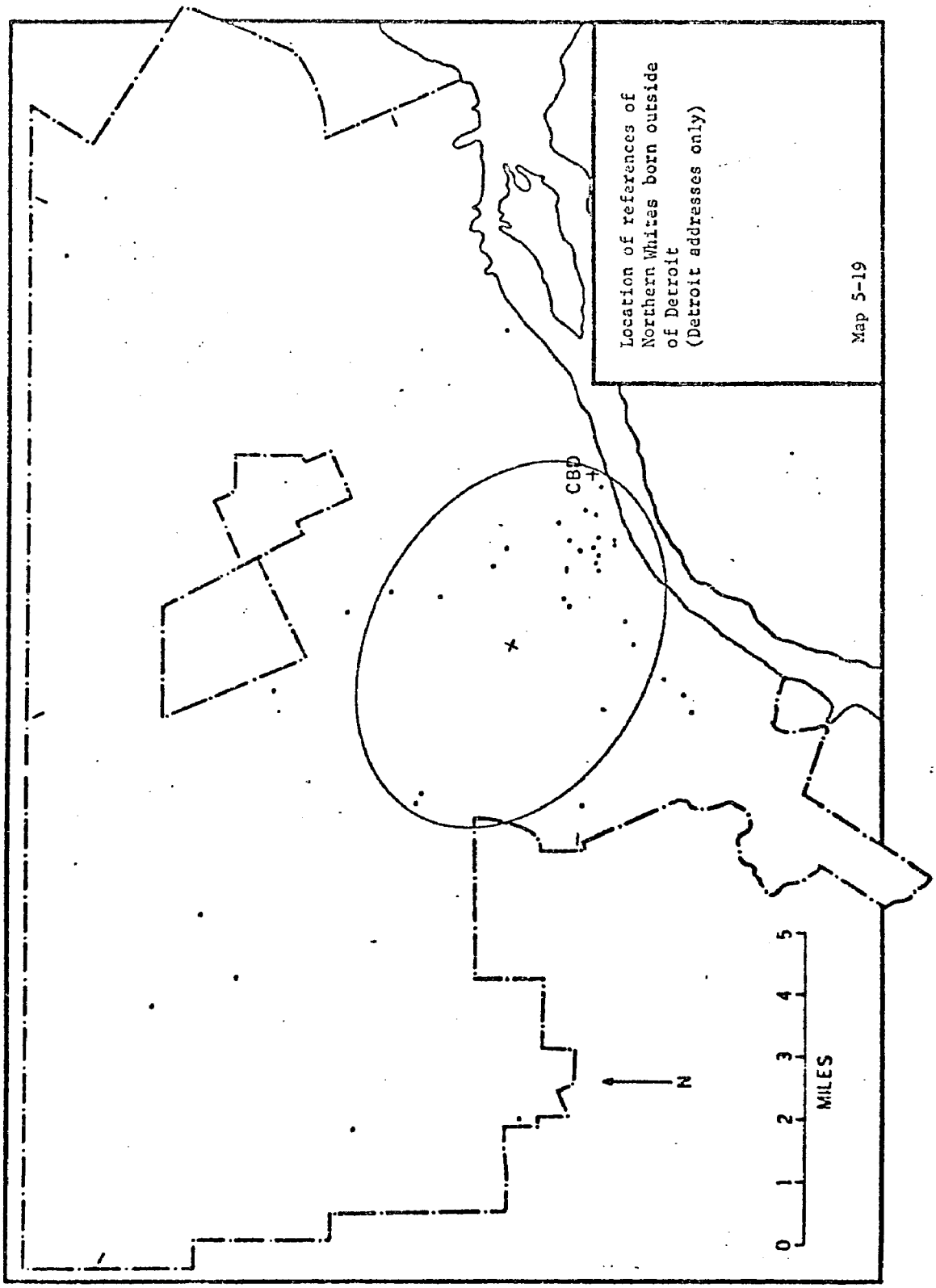
Maps 5-17 through 5-27 show the reference pattern for the families as a whole, for each of the eight groups and the combined Black, and combined Mexican groups. Visually, these maps show some of the same features as the destination maps (Maps 5-6 through 5-16). For the Mexican groups, reference location seemed to predominate to the west of the project and was quite concentrated there. For Blacks, particularly among southern-born, there was a comparatively large number of references located to the north and east of the project. The references of the Maltese were of a rather dispersed nature. The other groups showed references somewhat dispersed on the west side.

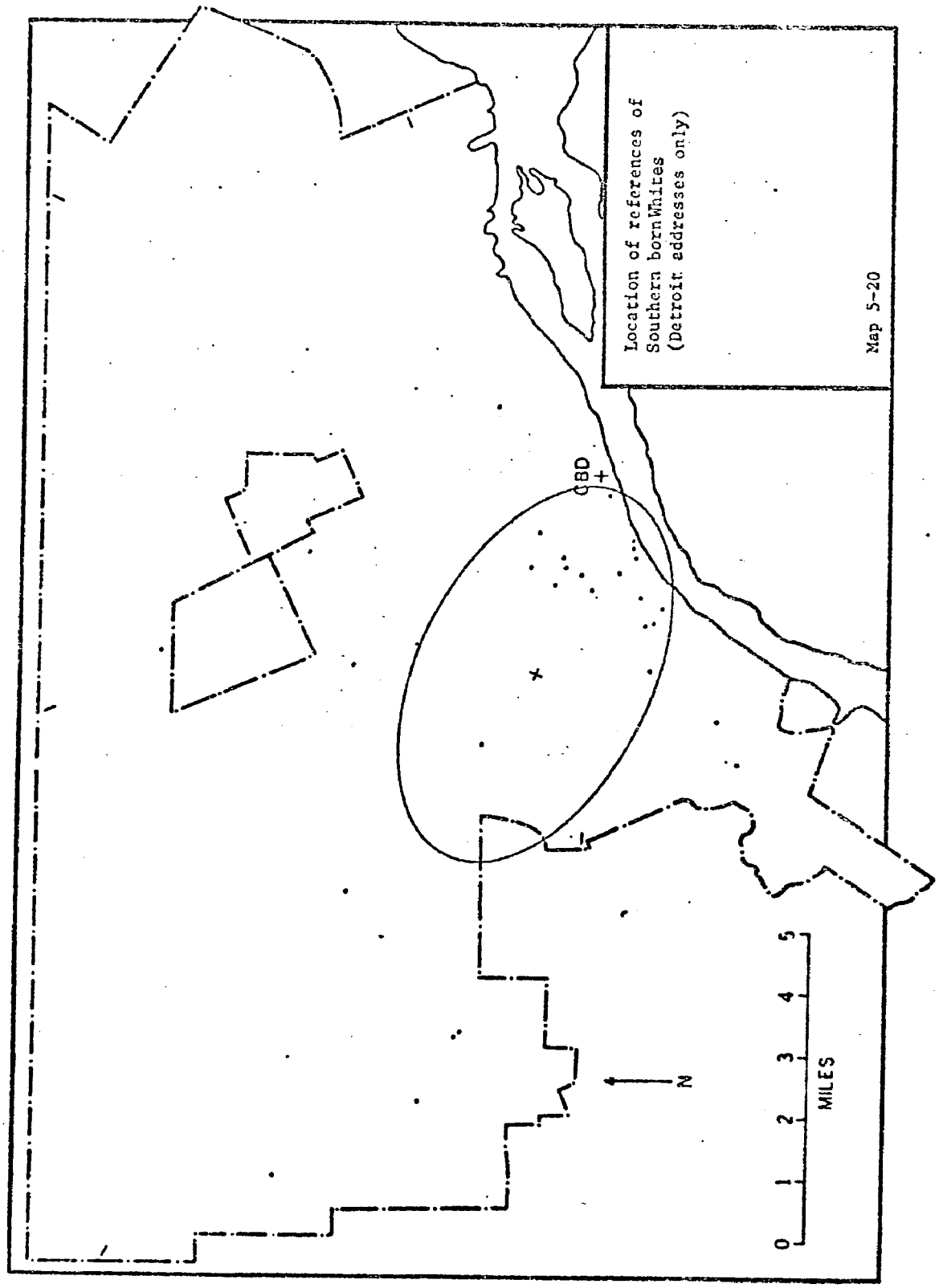
But simple visual comparison does not in itself justify acceptance of a correlation between the patterns. In an attempt to quantitatively show similarities, two different methods were employed.

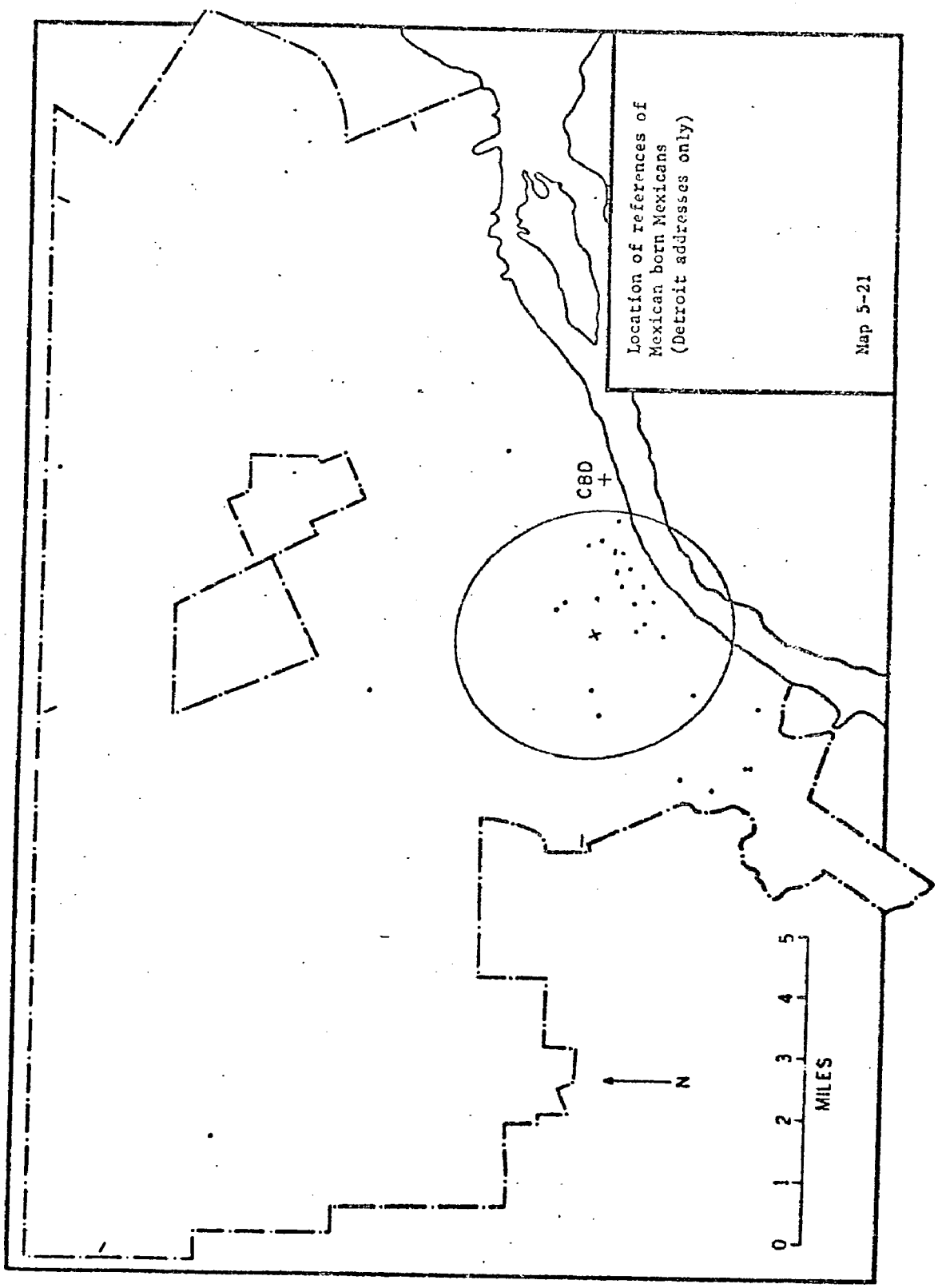
The first involves using established categories of distance from the C.B.D. and sector to compare the distributions. Table 5-18 shows the breakdown of destinations and references into two mile distance bands for each ethnic group. A chi square analysis for each set was performed. The significance level thus determined indicates the degree of confidence that distributions are the same; the greater the significance level the more confident we may be that the distributions are alike. It is seen that in five of the eight cases, the significance level is greater than 0.5; thus there is better than a fifty-fifty chance that these distributions are alike. The most significant misfit occurs among Mexican-born Mexicans where the significance level

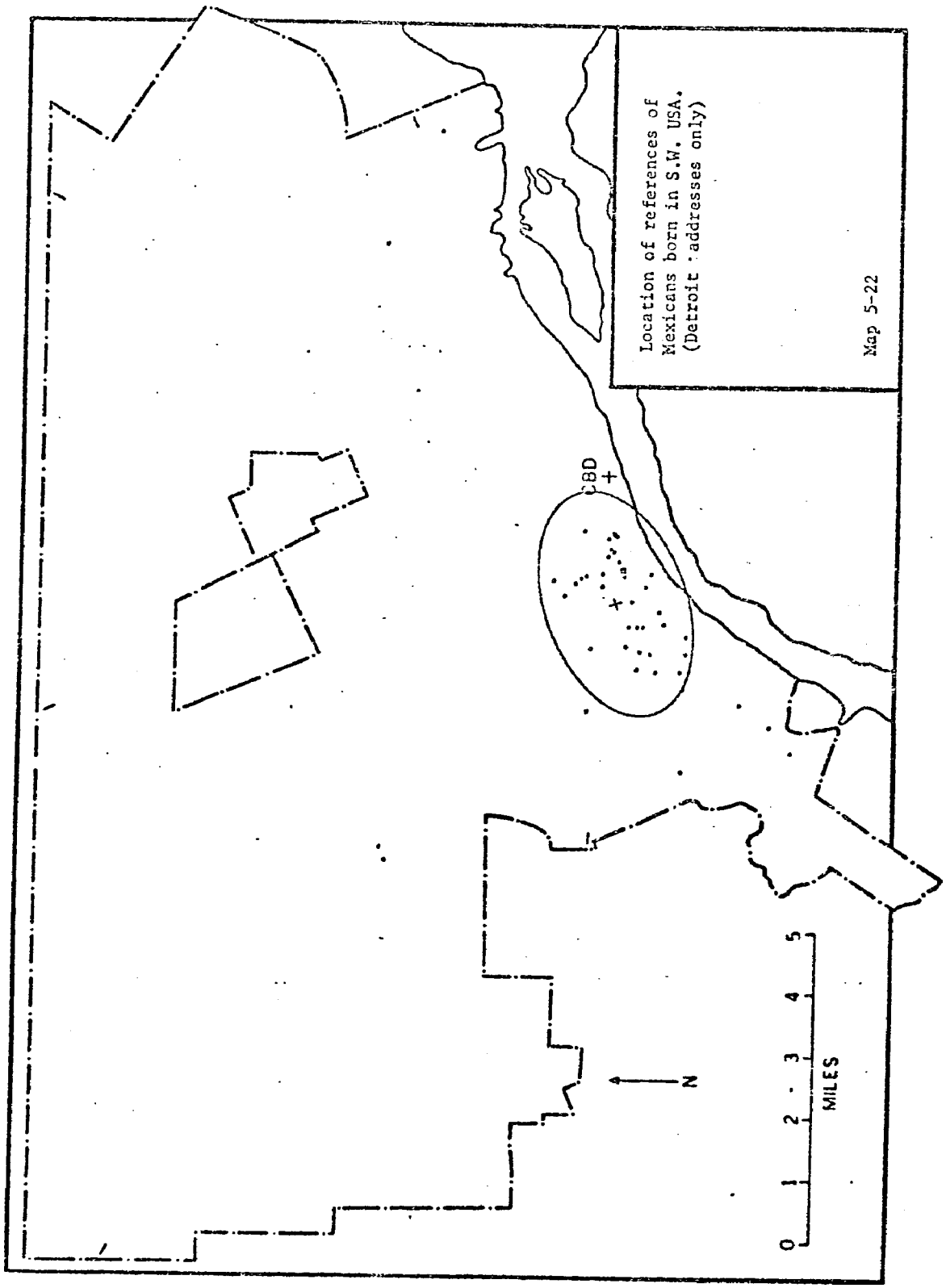

Location of all references
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-17
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

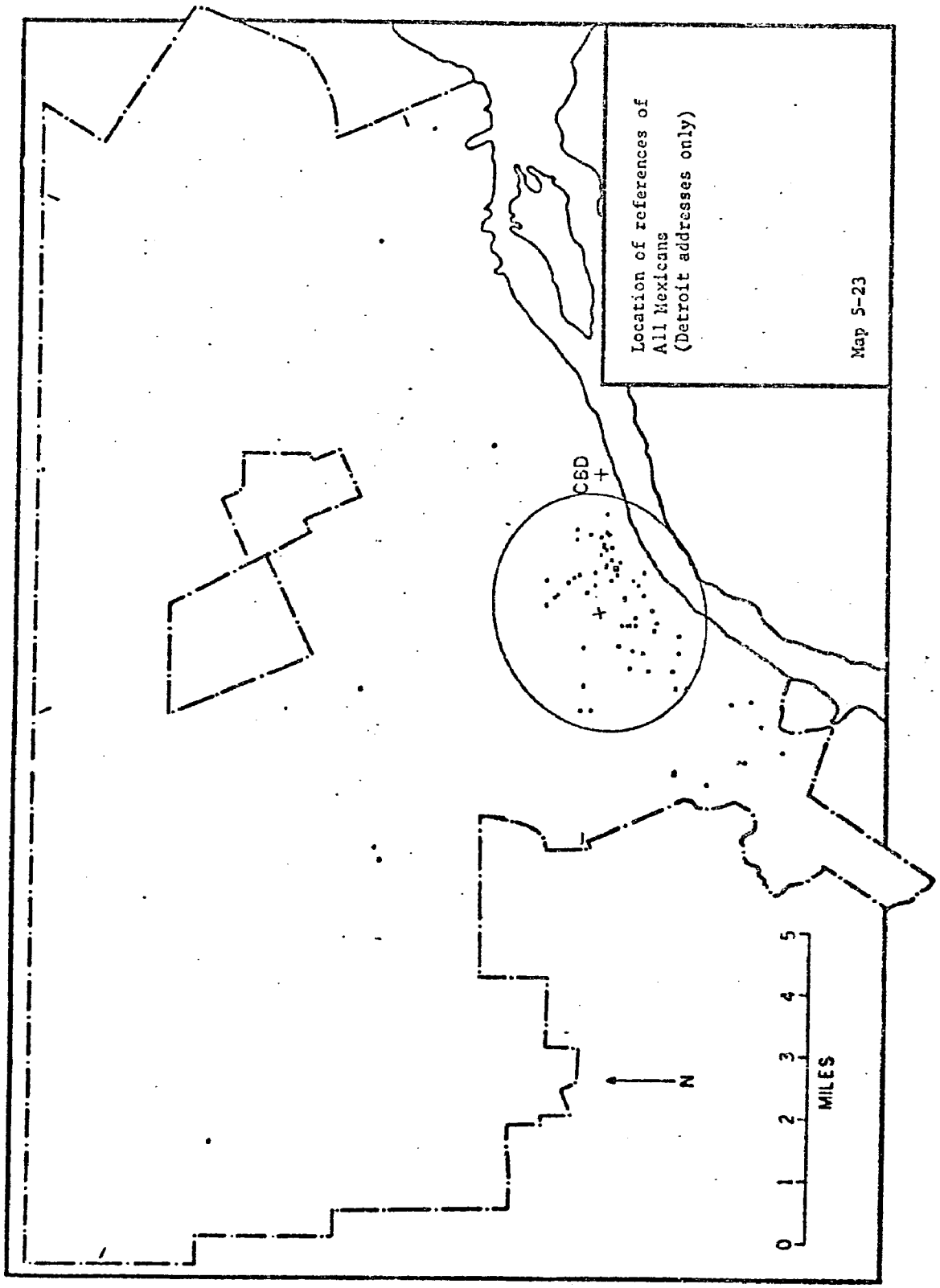

Location of References of Whites Native to Detroit (Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-18
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

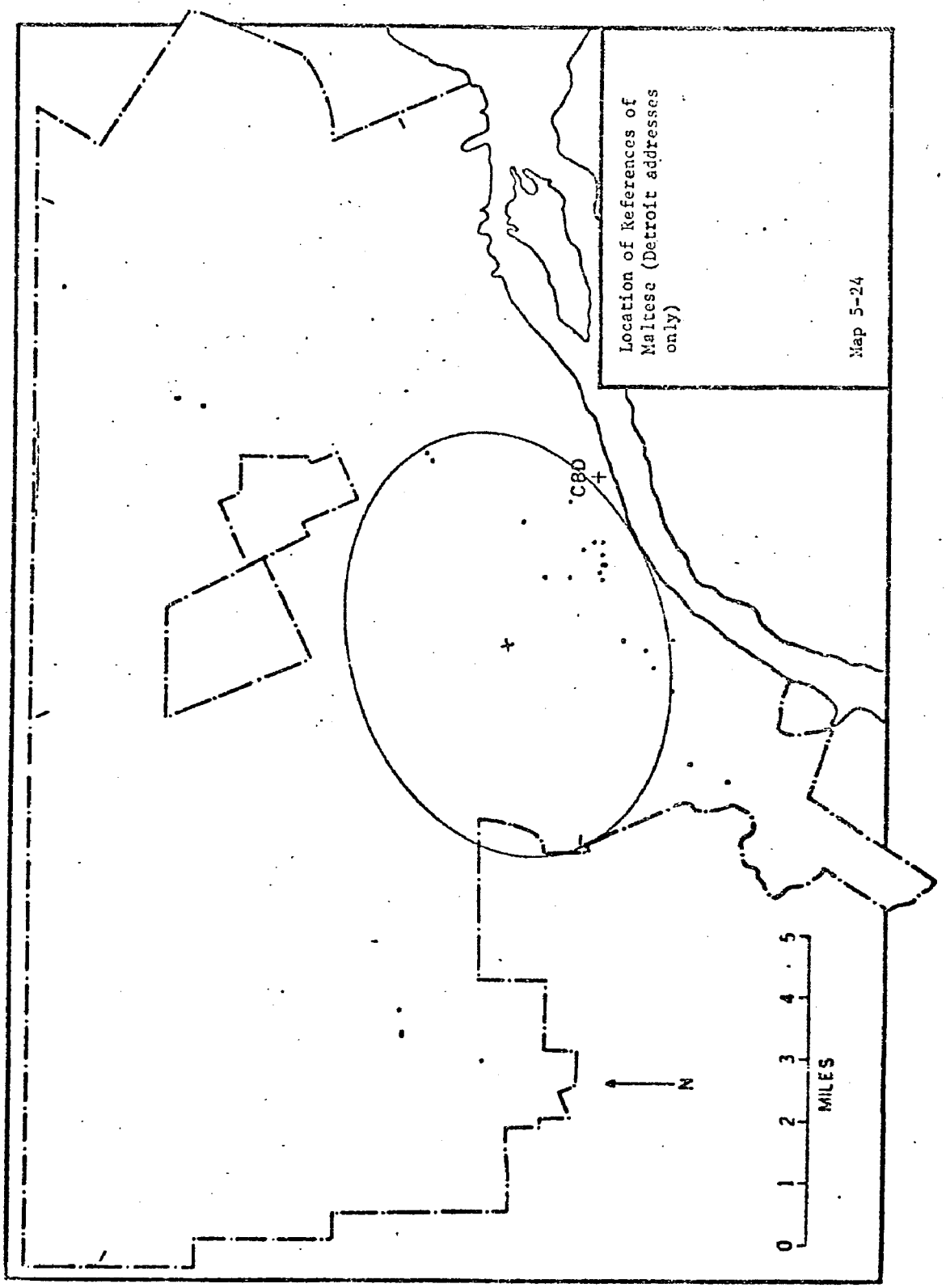

Location of references of Northern Whites born outside of Detroit (Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-19
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

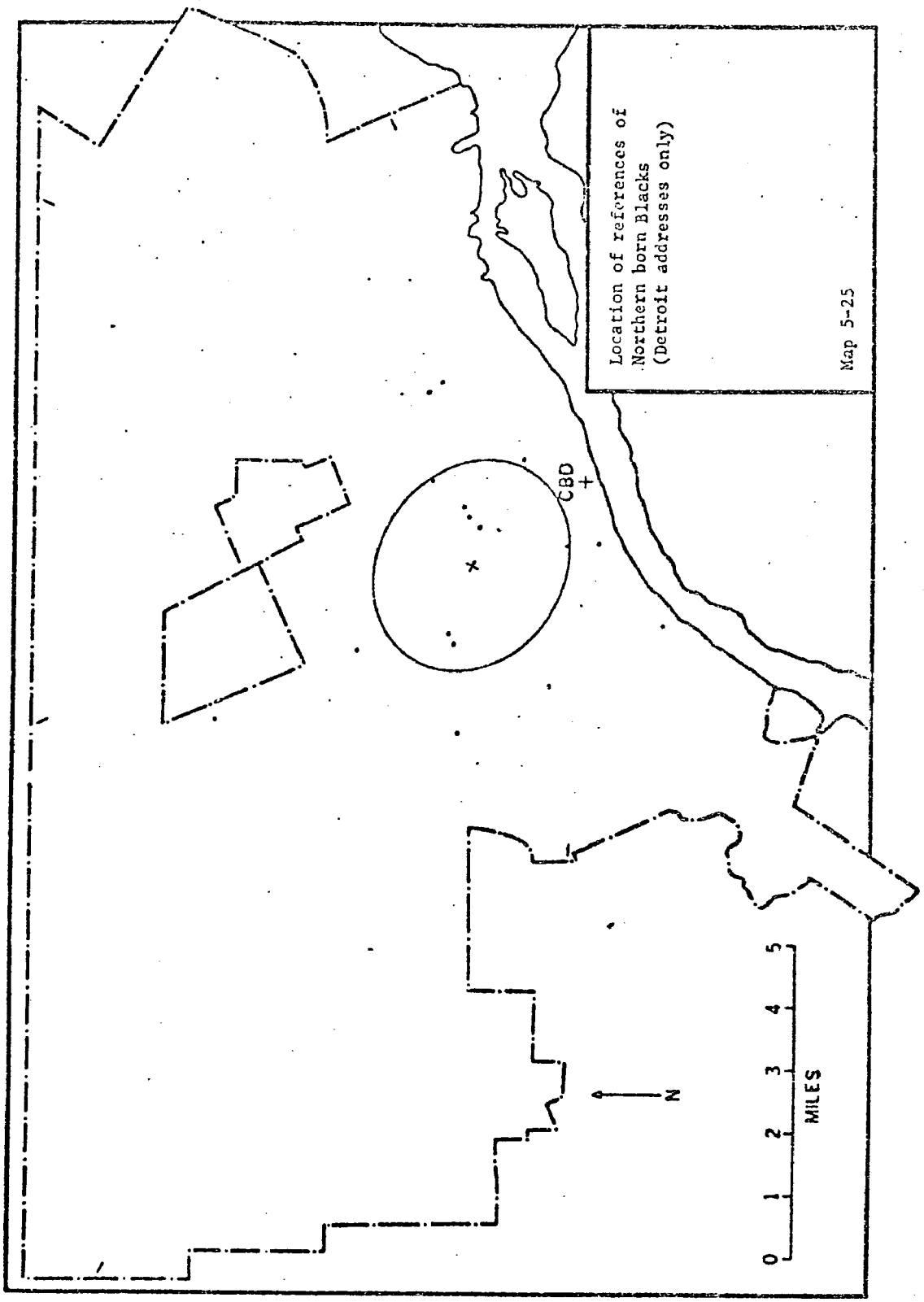

Location of references of
Southern bornWhites
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-20
BD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

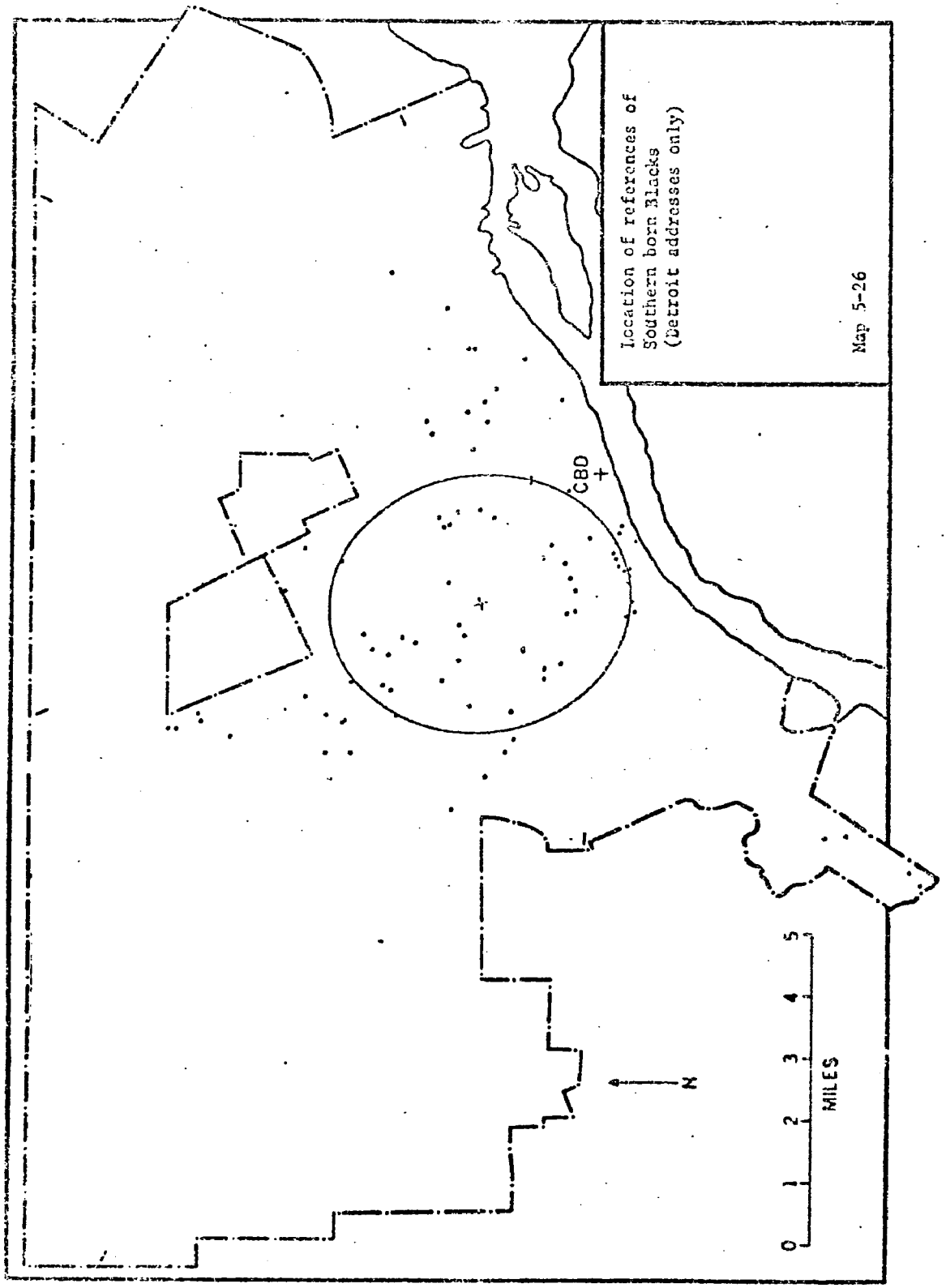

Location of references of
Mexican born Mexicans
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-21
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of references of Mexicans born in S.W. USA. (Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-22
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of references of
All Mexicans
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-23
C6D
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of References of Maltese (Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-24
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of references of
Northern born Blacks
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-25
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES


Location of references of
Southern born Blacks
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-26
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

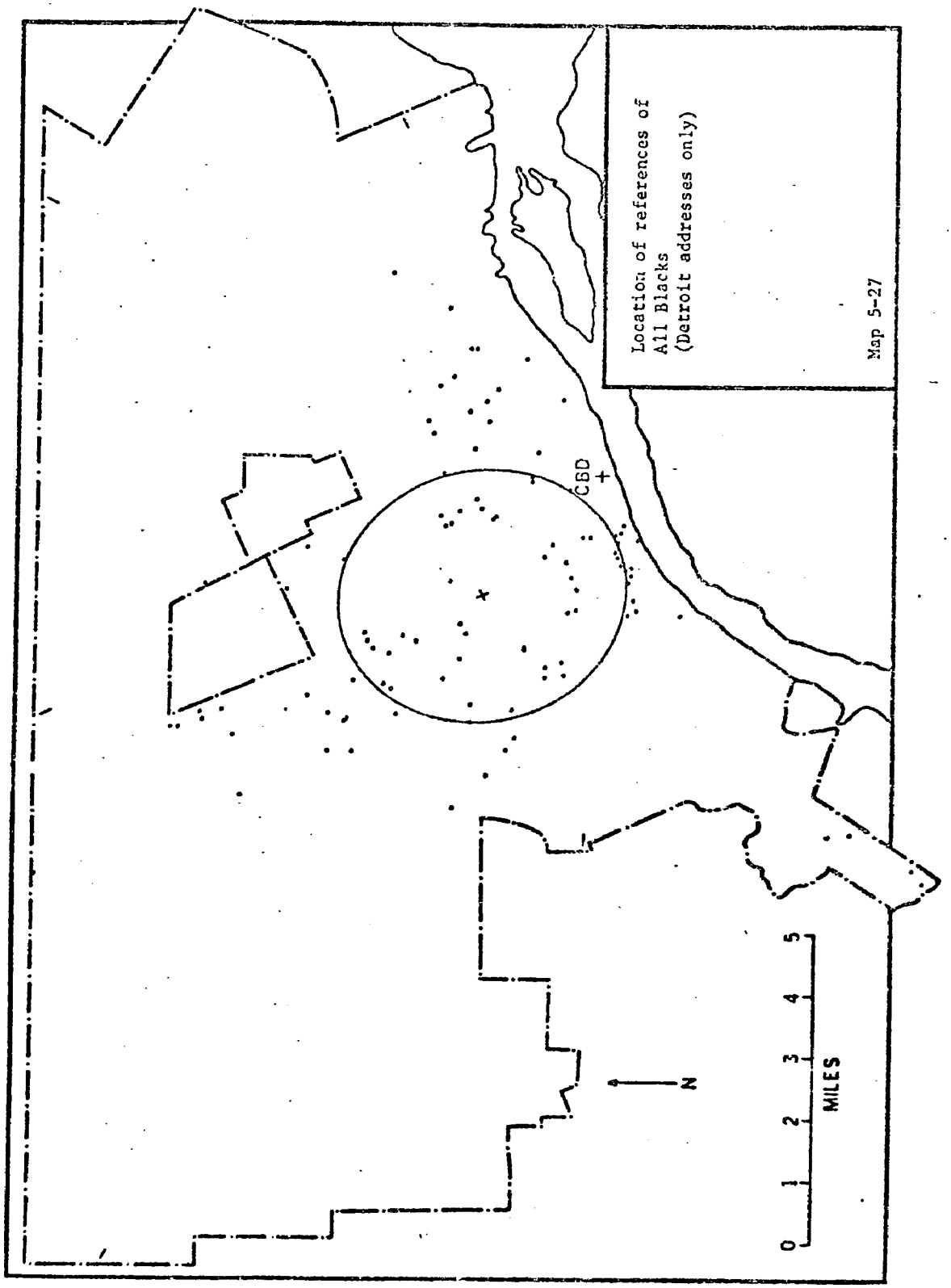

Location of references of
All Blacks
(Detroit addresses only)
Map 5-27
CBD
N
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

Table 5-18 Comparison of distribution of destinations within Detroit with distribution of references within Detroit by ethnic group and distance from C.B.D.

Ethnic Group		Distance from C.B.D.										
		0-2 Miles		2-4 Miles		4-6 Miles		6-8 Miles		8-10 Miles		Total
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
(a)												
Native White	Dest	4	(28.6)	4	(28.6)	5	(35.6)	1	(7.1)	0	(0.0)	14
Detroit	Ref	6	(37.5)	5	(31.3)	3	(18.8)	0	(0.0)	2	(12.5)	16
$X^2 = 0.46$												
** Degrees of Freedom = 2												
Significance Level = .80												
(b)												
White Born	Dest	13	(38.2)	12	(35.3)	6	(17.7)	1	(2.9)	2	(5.9)	34
in North	Ref	19	(48.7	9	(23.1)	5	(12.8)	0	(0.0)	6	(15.4)	39
Except Detroit												
$X^2 = 2.32$												
* Degrees of Freedom = 3												
Significance Level = .51												
(c)												
White Born	Dest	14	(63.6)	5	(22.7)	2	(9.1)	0	(0.0)	1	(4.6)	22
in South	Ref	14	(48.3)	5	(17.2)	4	(13.8)	2	(6.9)	4	(13.8)	29
$X^2 = 2.87$												
** Degrees of Freedom = 2												
Significance Level = .24												

Table 5-18 (Cont.)

Ethnic Group		Distance from C.B.D.										
		0-2 Miles		2-4 Miles		4-6 Miles		6-8 Miles		8-10 Miles		Total
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
(d)												
Mexican Born in U.S.A.	Dest	17	(47.2)	16	(44.4)	2	(5.6)	1	(2.8)	0	(0.0)	36
	Ref	27	(52.9)	17	(33.3)	5	(9.0)	2	(3.9)	0	(0.0)	51
	X^2 = 1.36											
	** Degrees of Freedom = 2											
	Significance Level = .51											
(e)												
Mexican Born in Mexico	Dest	6	(31.6)	11	(57.9)	2	(10.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	19
	Ref	18	(56.3)	7	(21.9)	5	(15.6)	1	(3.1)	1	(3.1)	32
	X^2 = 6.80											
	** Degrees of Freedom = 2											
	Significance Level = .03											
(f)												
Maltese	Dest	7	(31.8)	5	(22.7)	5	(22.7)	3	(13.6)	2	(9.2)	22
	Ref	13	(40.6)	7	(21.9)	5	(15.6)	1	(3.1)	6	(18.8)	32
	X^2 = 0.63											
	* Degrees of Freedom = 3											
	Significance Level = .89											
(g)												
Northern Born Black	Dest	5	(29.4)	8	(47.1)	4	(23.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	17
	Ref	6	(37.5)	7	(43.8)	2	(12.5)	1	(6.3)	0	(0.0)	16
	X^2 = 0.27											
	** Degrees of Freedom = 2											
	Significance Level = .87											

Table 5-18 (Cont.)

Ethnic Group		Distance from C.B.D.										
		0-2 Miles		2-4 Miles		4-6 Miles		6-8 Miles		8-10 Miles		Total
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
(h)												
Southern Born	Dest	25	(38.5)	27	(41.5)	9	(13.9)	4	(6.2)	0	(0.0)	65
Black	Ref	30	(33.0)	30	(33.0)	21	(23.1)	9	(9.9)	1	(1.1)	91

$X^2 = 3.74$

* Degrees of Freedom = 3

Significance Level = .29

* All distance categories greater than 6 miles were combined for X^2 test.

** All distance categories greater than 4 miles were combined for X^2 test.

is as low as 0.03. Table 5-19 shows the same kind of analysis repeated for sectoral variation. Here the distribution of references and destinations is compared among the five sectors defined for Detroit. Chi square analysis reveals that in six of the eight cases the significance level was greater than 0.5. Once again the Mexican-born Mexican group showed the lowest level at 0.15.

The second method of comparison involves the consideration of mean properties of the distributions expressed by the ellipse of standard deviation[56] shown graphically on each of the destination and reference maps. The size, position and orientation of the ellipse define several properties of the distribution. The orientation of the major axis defines the direction along which points are distributed with maximum standard deviation and its length is equal to this standard deviation. Similarly, the length of the minor axis of the ellipse is equal to the minimal standard deviation. The standard distance of the distribution is defined as the square root of the sum of the squares of minimal and maximal standard deviation and is a measure of the dispersion of the whole distribution. The area of the ellipse contains all points within this two-dimensional counterpart to standard deviation. Its center is at the mean value of X and Y coordinates for all points. Its coefficient of circularity is representative of the evenness of the distribution in all directions.

These properties of the ellipse of standard deviation may be used to compare the reference and destination distributions for each group. If, as would follow from the refugee hypothesis, destination distributions are to be considered "predictable" from the reference distributions, then the ellipse for a destination distribution should be

Table 5-19 Comparison of distribution of destination within Detroit with distribution of references within Detroit by ethnic group and sector

Ethnic Group		Sector 1 n	1 %	2 n	2 %	3 n	3 %	4 n	4 %	5 n	5 %	Total
(a)												
Native White Detroit	Dest	7	(50.0)	3	(21.4)	4	(28.6)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	14
	Ref	7	(43.8)	4	(25.0)	4	(25.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(6.3)	16
$X^2 = 0.13$												
** Degrees of Freedom = 2												
Significance Level = .94												
(b)												
Whites Born in North ex. Detroit	Dest	17	(50.0)	10	(29.9)	4	(11.8)	0	(0.0)	3	(8.8)	34
	Ref	16	(41.0)	11	(28.2)	10	(25.6)	1	(2.6)	1	(2.6)	39
$X^2 = 2.51$												
* Degrees of Freedom = 3												
Significance Level = .47												
(c)												
Southern Born White	Dest	12	(54.6)	7	(31.8)	2	(9.1)	0	(0.0)	1	(4.6)	22
	Ref	12	(41.4)	11	(37.9)	3	(10.3)	2	(6.9)	1	(13.5)	29
$X^2 = 1.15$												
* Degrees of Freedom = 3												
Significance Level = .77												
(d)												
Mexican Born in U.S.A.	Dest	24	(66.7)	11	(30.6)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	1	(2.8)	36
	Ref	37	(72.6)	12	(23.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	2	(3.9)	51
$X^2 = 0.57$												
** Degrees of Freedom = 2 Significance Level = .75												

Table 5-19 (Cont.)

Ethnic Group		Sector 1 n	1 %	2 n	2 %	3 n	3 %	4 n	4 %	5 n	5 %	Total
(e)												
Mexican Born in Mexico	Dest	16	(84.2)	3	(15.8)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	19
	Ref	21	(65.5)	8	(25.0)	1	(3.1)	2	(6.3)	0	(0.0)	32
$X^2 = 2.07$												
*** Degrees of Freedom = 1												
Significance Level = .15												
(f)												
Maltese	Dest	11	(50.0)	7	(31.8)	2	(9.1)	0	(0.0)	2	(9.1)	22
	Ref	15	(46.9)	9	(28.1)	2	(6.3)	6	(18.8)	0	(0.0)	32
$X^2 = 1.04$												
* Degrees of Freedom = 3												
Significance Level = .79												
(g)												
Northern Born Black	Dest	2	(11.8)	5	(29.4)	8	(47.1)	2	(11.8)	0	(0.0)	17
	Ref	2	(12.5)	3	(18.8)	4	(25.0)	5	(31.3)	2	(12.5)	16
$X^2 = 4.58$												
* Degrees of Freedom = 3												
Significance Level = .21												
(h)												
Southern Born Black	Dest	11	(16.9)	14	(21.5)	25	(38.5)	6	(9.2)	9	(13.9)	65
	Ref	18	(19.8)	18	(19.8)	29	(31.9)	16	(17.6)	10	(11.0)	91
$X^2 = 2.83$												
Degrees of Freedom = 4												
Significance Level = .59												

Table 5-19 (Cont.)

Ethnic Group		Sector 1 n	1 %	2 n	2 %	3 n	3 %	4 n	4 %	5 n	5 %	Total
(i)												
Other	Dest	1	(14.3)	1	(14.3)	0	(0.0)	2	(28.6)	3	(42.9)	7
	Ref	3	(18.8)	1	(6.3)	3	(18.8)	3	(18.8)	6	(37.5)	16

* Sector categories 4 and 5 were combined for X^2 test

** Sector categories 3, 4 and 5 were combined for X^2 test

*** Sector categories 2, 3, 4 and 5 were combined for X^2 test

similar to the ellipse for the reference distribution. This may be tested in several ways. Let us define the following quantities:

Sd = standard distance of destination distribution
Sr = standard distance of reference distribution
Ad = area of destination ellipse
Ar = area of reference ellipse
Cd = coefficient of circularity of destination ellipse
Cr = coefficient of circularity of reference ellipse
$\Delta\emptyset$ = angle between major axis of both ellipses
D = distance between centers of both ellipses
Ap = area common to both ellipses (area sucessfully predicted)
An = area contained in destination ellipse not contained by reference ellipse (area not successfully predicted)
Ap/Ar = fraction of reference ellipse which predicts successfully
An/Ad = fraction of destination ellipse not successfully predicted

A quantitative analysis involves comparing Sd with Sr, Ad with Ar, and Cd with Cr. Furthermore, paticularly in the case where circularity is low (and thus the orientation of the ellipse is significant) $\Delta\emptyset$ becomes a measure of similarity of orientation, the smaller the closer. Finally Ap/Ar would be closer to 1.0 and An/Ad would be closer to 0.0 the more similar the distributions. Table 5-20 shows these quantities for each ethnic group, the combined Black and combined Mexican groups, and all the families.

The most striking thing about Table 5-20 is its propensity to give statistical indigestion. Each of the statistics provides a different aspect of the ellipse comparison and a careful examination reveals that in most cases contradictory interpretations are quite feasible. It would be possible to select out a method of most favorable comparison as well as a method of least favorable comparison. But, for the sake of integrity, all are presented with detailed interpretation left to the interested reader. There are, however, several points which can be gleaned, relatively objectively, from this analysis. First, the different ethnic groups are generally well differentiated by such

Table 5-20 Statistics describing relation between standard deviational ellipses for destination and reference distributions in Detroit.

Ethnic Group	Sd Miles	Ad Sq. Miles	Cd	Sr Miles	Ar Sq. Miles	Cr	$\Delta\emptyset$	D Miles	Ap Sq. Miles	An Sq. Miles	Ap/ Ar	An/ Ad
Native White Born in Dt.	2.60	3.06	0.989	3.36	4.45	0.559	43.2°	1.21	1.91	1.15	0.43	0.38
Other Northern	3.03	3.85	0.651	3.49	5.29	0.692	46.6°	0.91	3.27	0.58	0.62	0.15
Southern Born White	2.25	1.97	0.545	3.43	4.64	0.554	29.7°	1.22	1.77	0.20	0.38	0.10
Mexican Born in Mexico	1.17	0.25	0.231	2.71	3.43	0.940	81.9°	0.68	0.25	0.00	0.07	0.00
Mexican Born in SW USA	1.71	1.28	0.600	2.02	1.55	0.564	1.8°	0.22	1.11	0.17	0.72	0.13
Maltese	3.64	5.89	0.754	3.92	6.68	0.683	1.8°	0.29	5.57	0.32	0.83	0.05
Northern Black	1.97	1.78	0.864	2.10	2.01	0.817	30.4°	0.97	1.10	0.68	0.55	0.38
Southern Black	2.53	2.96	0.846	2.85	3.77	0.920	65.5°	0.37	2.81	0.15	0.75	0.05
All Mexican	1.56	1.02	0.534	2.33	2.50	0.812	4.9°	0.31	1.02	0.00	0.41	0.00
All Black	2.44	2.72	0.859	2.76	3.51	0.932	52.0°	0.18	2.71	0.01	0.77	0.00
All	2.69	3.26	0.744	3.10	4.91	0.831	28.3°	0.45	3.14	0.12	0.64	0.03

Terms defined in the text

measures as standard distance and ellipse area. Second, the analysis shows a relatively strong concordance on all counts for the Maltese groups; for this group Sd and Ad are the largest as are Sr and Ar; $\Delta\emptyset$ and D are small; Ap/Ar is nearest 1.0 and An/Ad is near 0.0. The Mexican-born Mexican group shows perhaps the greatest misfit - although when combined with American-born Mexicans the patterns are much more similar. Finally, in all cases Sr and Ar are greater respectively, than Sd and Ad. This indicates that, if the refugee hypothesis is adopted on the cultural level (as was indicated, at least, by the chi square analysis) there is a general tendency not to disperse as much as possible. The reference ellipses seem, in general, to predict patterns more dispersed than the actual destination patterns.

Thus while the chi square tests seem to support the refugee hypothesis, the tests involving comparison of standard deviational ellipse properties fail to offer further rigorous confirmation. Nevertheless, of the four hypotheses tested, the refugee hypothesis does seem to be the least inappropriate at this point.

Fortunately, it is possible to bolster this rather weak confirmation by resorting to data which can begin to relate directly to the process involved, i.e. how individual families actually went about selecting destinations, instead of the aggregated form-to-process reasoning applied thus far. At this point, quantative spatial analysis is abandoned and we may consider all of the original 270 families living in the project area, including those whose moves were outside Detroit or unknown. In many instances the family files, when perused carefully, yielded information reflecting on the process itself.

Table 5-21 shows a breakdown of the families by the various processes, defined ad hoc for this study, through which they moved. The first two categories - public housing assignment and relocation office suggestion, those involving the formal allocating organizations expected in refugee situations - have already been mentioned. The next category, in which destinations were found to be shared with another family accounts for another eleven families. Certainly this sharing process is a reasonable response to the kind of insecurity faced by refugees. Five more family destinations were found to be "miscellaneous determined situations" in which, from the notes made in the family file, it was clear that the destination was the result of a dependent social relationship. These cases included such situations as an apartment house caretaker being found a similar position by his landlord, a nightwatchman accepting a dwelling provided by his employer, etc. Seventeen families were found to be living in close proximity to references; in addition to the thirteen previously determined by proabalistic methods,[57] four of the nine moves outside the Detroit S.M.S.A. were to the original state of birth and these were added to this category.[58] Finally, eighteen families were found to be "chain followers." These were families who selected destinations at the same street address as one of twelve "chain initiators." By noting the dates of moving and the coincidence of addresses it was possible to establish twelve cases of chain movements paralleling the chain migration process discussed in Chapter three. It seems reasonable to assume, while we lack direct confirmation of any communication involved, that the choice of destinations at the same street address did not occur by coincidence.[59] This assumption is further supported by the fact

Table 5-21 Destination Selection Processes Followed by All Families

	n	%
Public Housing Assignment	5	1.9
Relocation Office Suggestion	7	2.6
Shared Quarters	11	4.1
"Chain Followers"	18	6.7
Miscellaneous Determined Situation	5	1.9
Moved to Reference Neighborhood	17	6.3
Total Assumed Allocated	63	23.6
"Chain Initiators"	12	4.4
Family Initiative	186	68.8
Unknown	9	3.3
Total	270	100.0

that, in all cases "chain followers" either lived on the same block or were of the same ethnic group as "chain initiators," indicating that primary social relationships were involved either through neighboring or cultural association.

By summing the number of families in the first six categories of Table 5-21, we are able to account for nearly one fourth of the total as formally allocated or more informally influenced in finding destinations via personal contacts. This, of course, leaves the large majority of families still categorized as moving through their own initiative. Undoubtedly, a large proportion of this group also adopted similar behavior.[60]

There is one more area in which available data directly reflect on the refugee process hypothesis. This concerns the relocation of the institutionally housed groups residing in the project area - the Holy Trinity Convent and the Corktown Coop mentioned in the historial overview. While these were omitted in the quantitative locational analysis as not being "families" their destinations and the associated decision making were readily ascertained. In both instances, relocation was accomplished by means of formal allocation. In the case of the convent, decision making was at the level of the parish church, and the convent, in order to be accessible to the remaining parishioners in the surrounding neighborhood, was moved to the rectory of Holy Trinity Cathedral which was just opposite the project area. In the case of the Corktown Coop, the transient single male residents participating in rehabilitative therapy were all moved to a large home, a former YMCA property in an industrial area on the western outskirts of the city. Decision making was at the level of the Board of Directors, none of

whom lived with the men.[61] The movement of both groups, en masse, is in line with formal allocation expected in refugee situations and certainly quite different from that which would result from the members of institutions moving individually!

In summary, given the relative success of the refugee hypothesis on the quantitative level, at least when compared the general inapplicability of other hypotheses, it seems reasonable to admit the language of political control as having considerable explanatory value for the relocation of residents in this particular urban renewal project.

Notes - Chapter 5

1. For a similar but extensive treatment of a neighborhood in Detroit see William Bunge, Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971).

2. Allan Nevins, Ford, The Times, The Man, The Company (New York: Scribners, 1954) p. 23.

3. Arthur Pound, Detroit, Dynamic City (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940) p. 174.

4. Nevins, op. cit., p. 21ff.

5. Norman Beasley and G. W. Stark, Made in Detroit (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1957) p. 79.

6. Nevins, op. cit., pp. 70-8.

7. John C. Lodge, I Remember Detroit (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1949) pp. 183-5.

8. Beasley and Stark, op. cit., pp. 78-9.

9. Nevins, op. cit., p. 119.

10. Ibid., Ch. 8-12.

11. Ibid. p. 644.

12. Ibid. p. 648.

13. Paul Spiteri, "History of Maltese Immigrants in the State of Michigan" paper prepared for the Maltese Migrants Convention, Valletta, Malta, August 1969; Conversation with Michael Cefai, a former Maltese parish priest.

14. Norman D. Humphrey, "The Migration and Settlement of Detroit Mexicans" Economic Geography Vol. 19 (1943) pp. 358-61; Conversation with Rose Aguilar of LASED (Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development) and neighborhood residents.

15. Henry Ford, My Life and Work (Garden City: Doubleday, 1926) p. 129.

16. Nevins, op. cit., p. 553.

17. Warren Thompson quoted in Nevins, op. cit., p. 553 (note).

18. Qualified men earning wages below $5 per day were given the extra increment to bring their earnings to $5 per day. The extra money was not formally in wage. See Ford, op. cit., pp. 127-8.

19. Nevins, op. cit. p. 558; John R. Lee, "So-called Profit Sharing System in the Ford Plant" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 55 (1916) pp. 297-310.

20. Jonathan Schwartz, "Henry Ford's Melting Pot" in Ethnic Communities of Greater Detroit ed. by Otto Feinstein (Detroit: Monteith College, 1970)

21. Allan Nevins and Frank E. Hill, Ford, Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933 (New York: Scribners, 1957) p. 685.

22. Ibid. p. 687.

23. Historical material on the River Rouge plant and international expansion may be found in Nevins and Hill, op. cit. and Charles Sorenson, My Forty Years with Henry Ford (New York: Norton, 1956).

24. Keith Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1948) p. 217.

25. Sidney Glazer, Detroit: A Study in Urban Development (New York: Brookman Associates, 1965) p. 107; Donald Deskins, "Residential Mobility of Negro Occupational Groups in Detroit 1837-1965" Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1971.

26. Humphrey, op. cit.

27. U.S. Senate, "Restriction of Western Hemisphere Immigration" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1928) esp. pp. 137-45. The participants in these hearings were senators, mostly opposed to Mexican immigration because of "problems of assimilation" and agricultural businessmen who depended on cheap Mexican labor. Mexicans, as it turned out, were more docile and willing than Europeans at beet picking and were more available than natives who were flocking to work in the automobile facories!

28. Jerome C. Thomas, "The City of Detroit" Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1928. In this discussion of the urban geography of Detroit in the Burgess framework, Corktown is portrayed as a classical "transition zone" with slums and ethnic pockets. To my knowledge no substantial research on Southern White immigration to Detroit in this period has been done although there has been evidence of chain migration of Southern Whites at other periods. See B. H. Luebke and J. F. Hart, "Migration from a Southern Appalachian Community" Land Economics 34 (1958) pp. 44-53.

29. Sward, op. cit. p. 159.

30. Humphrey, op. cit.

31. Spiteri, op. cit.

32. Detroit News, "Corktown To Be Or Not To Be" Dec. 9, 1938; Robert J. Mowitz and Deil S. Wright, Profile of a Metropolis (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1962), Ch. 3 discusses the Urban Renewal of Corktown.

33. Allan Nevins and Frank Hill, Ford: Decline and Rebirth (New York: Scribners, 1962) Ch. 8; Roger Burlingame, Henry Ford (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955) Ch. 9.

34. Sward, op. cit. pp. 431-41.

35. The career of Mayor Hubbard who was first elected at this time and is still in office is described by William Serrin, "Mayor Hubbard Gives Dearborn What it Wants - and Then Some" New York Times Magazine, Jan. 12, 1969, pp. 26ff.

36. Sward, op. cit. Ch. 36.

37. Mowitz and Wright, op. cit.

38. Detroit City Plan Commission, "City of Detroit, 1960 Census Tracts and Blocks" (Map scale: one inch equals 2000 ft.).

39. U.S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Housing: 1960 City Blocks "Detroit, Michigan" Vol. 3, part 204.

40. See William Bunge et al, "A Report to the Parents of Detroit on School Decentralization" Field Notes No. 2 (1970) and Gwendolyn Warren et al, "The Geography of the Children of Detroit" Field Notes No. 3 (1971).

41. See note 7, Chapter 4.

42. The basis census data do give average values for home ownership and rental but do not give any measure of deviation from average. Moreover, housing values are not necessarily reflective of income.

43. It is assumed that nonwhite population is a reasonable measure of black population. In Detroit, other racial minorities are generally negligable in comparison.

44. The block measure used by the census - the territory bounded by streets - is larger than that defined for origin blocks in study - that of residences facing across streets. This if anything should tend to made ethnic mixing more homogeneous since a larger area would be used. Thus if the census had data on facing blocks available, these would probably show even greater segregation tendencies.

45. U.S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 1.

46. In fact, this is just what did occur in the ten years subsequent to the acquisition. Projects in some of the adjacent areas called C.B.D. No. 1, Westside Industrial No. 2, and Ash-Humboldt continued to displace residents.

47. U.S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 1.

48. See note 12, Ch. 4.

49. Conversation with Homer Saunders of the Relocation Office of the Detroit Housing Commission.

50. The Relocation Office is legally bound to provide alternative suggestions to families taking substandard accomodations. In these cases, the family refused the suggestion and stayed in "substandard" housing.

51. See note 12, Ch. 4.

52. Not only are the criteria used for determining "standardness" both culturally and temporally variant, there is also the difficulty imposed by the agency having to show success in relocation. Independent assessments, done by personnel not affiliated with the relocation office would be desireable.

53. The area circumscribed by moves of distance 10r is $100\pi r^2$. The area delimited by the condition that a move be within distance r of a reference is πr^2. If housing is assumed to vary directly with area than there is one chance in one hundred that the move will result in the given proximity of a reference.

54. Sectors III, IV, and V were merged into one category and distances greater than four miles from the C.B.D. were merged into one category in order to fulfill conditions for chi square testing with small samples.

55. This is opposite to the way chi square testing is normally used.

56. Robert Bachi "Standard Distance Measures and Related Methods for Spatial Analysis" Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association Vol. 10 (1963) pp. 83-132; Douglass B. Lee, "Analysis and Description of Residential Segregation" Unpublished M.S. thesis, Cornell Univ., 1966. The computer program "Plotting of Bivariate Standard Deviations," prepared by Waldo Tobler at the Univ. of Michigan was used in analysis.

57. See earlier discussion and note 49.

58. These included one return to Kentucky and one to Tennessee by Southern-born Whites and two returns to Texas by American-born Mexicans.

59. Another possible explanation for this phenomenon would be movement to apartment houses guided by landlords. Certain landlords have been known to canvass urban renewal neighborhoods for tenants. This process would be one of allocation but this is also subsumed under the refugee hypothesis.

60. A number of the files indicated that the family's expectation was that lodgings would be found by landlords or relatives. The actualization of the instances was unprovable from the files. From conversations with displaced persons and from attendance at urban renewal interviews for other projects, my feeling is quite strong that a majority of families turn to familiar social resources for help. This is even true for the non-forced moves studied by Peter Rossi. See Shy Families Move (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955).

61. Conversation with Jimmy George, president of the Corktown Coop.

Chapter 6. The Urban Drama

> In any scientific discipline that is asked to help solve real-world problems, there are three alternate routes. First, renewed concentration on standard theoretical questions in the hope that the elegant formulation of model, hypothesis, and theory for their own sake will someday somehow reveal some useful applications...Second, one can define theoretical objectives by observing real problems and phenomena, and achieve theoretical discoveries of merit while working toward their solution...Third, one can sound the tocsin, abandon further work on theory, and rush all available knowledge and theory to the rescue of society...
>
> Wilbur Zelinsky

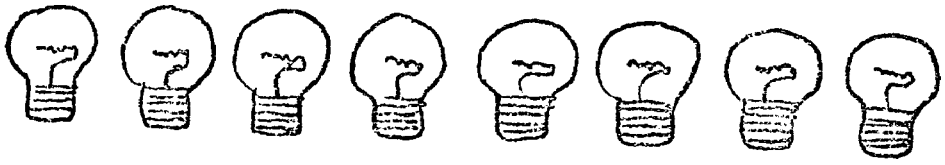
I have been aptly described by one of my colleagues as having "grasshopper intellectual tendencies."[1] That goes for my nonintellectual interests also. Fortunately, this dissertation has been a fine exercise in learning to discipline them. And now that the time has come to apply what I have learned, I am once again the elusive grasshopper. I want to take each of the three routes which Wilbur Zelinsky has proposed.[2]

Each route is associable with a strategic approach for solving problems, requiring the geographer to play a different role.

> ...and one man in his time
> plays many parts.
>
> W.S.

The geographer can act as <u>diagnostician</u> from a lofty theoretical perspective, as <u>prophet</u>, forcasting the outcome of present trends, and as <u>architect of utopia</u>, brazenly presenting a vision of a better way. The three sections of this final chapter cast myself into these roles. In the first I try to summarize the theoretical contributions of my work to the academic disciplines trampled on. In the second, I discuss the

problems to be overcome if current relocation schemes continue. Finally, I present a rudimentary model of an ideal urban renaissance.

Encore: 

the-a-ter, the-a-tre

1. a place where plays, opera, motion pictures, etc. are presented; expecially a building expressly designed for such presentations.

The lights have come on in The Magic Theater and it is time for curtain calls.

The theme of the play has been The Magic-Generating System and the recasting of social science phenomena as a Magic-Generating System has enabled the development of several theoretical insights. Previously, human mobility has been seen largely in the framework of more limiting systems; the anomalies due to forced moves have remained outside the scope of theory. The Matrix of Human Mobility developed in Chapter three permits forced and voluntary moves to be reconciled within a simple formulation that includes both the individual and the social components of mobility. It also identifies the sources of magic or anomaly in human movement.

From the matrix, one category of moves dealing with "refugees" was examined more intensively. The refugee assumed the starring role. A comparison of three refugee generating situations - World War II, an urban riot, and the construction of an African dam - led to an inductive theory of refugee behavior and its spatial consequences. This theory was shown to have relevence to the understanding of

relocation due to urban renewal and took its place along side more traditional interpretations of this process. A case study in Detroit provided an empirical test of these different interpretations of relocation and the portrayal of urban renewal as a refugee-generating process was shown to have more explanatory value than any other single interpretations. The residents of Corktown responded to their displacement not so much as individual migrants, nor so much as economic men maximizing their locational utility, nor so much as the enlightened beneficiaries of social planning, but more as refugees, seeking to maintain a sense of social-psychological security in their disrupted lives.

These results have bearing on intra-urban mobility theory more generally. While intra-urban mobility has been generally portrayed as a mechanism by which a family's housing is brought into adjustment with its housing needs, we all recognize by now that this is only a normative view of the mobility process in the city. So many moves are for less desireable reasons. In addition to urban renewal, freeway construction, code enforcement, private redevelopment and evictions which are obvious instances of forced moves, there are many other situations which develop in the city, such as rent or tax increases, racial change, blockbusting tactics, deterioration of city services, and pollution which more subtly generate mobility. Since these reasons have little to do with the higher aspirations of families, we might expect that mobility in these cases also assumes some aspects of the refugee model. The same could be said of mobility on a larger scale due to war, political and cultural discrimination, famine, disease, and a host of natural disasters.

Other members of the cast also deserve critical notice. Economic man, in all his optimizing disguises, has been the perfect archfiend. Henry Ford played well in his Jekyll-Hyde role of generating plenty of good and bad magic. His indirect influence in shaping Detroit's ethnic make-up, his obsession for total control over people and material, his facelifting of the American city through the mass produced automobile, and his admission of his mistakes characterize him as one of the most colorful geniuses of our century. Our hats off also to the supporting cast and choruses for their character portrayals and resounding voices.

The City as a Theater of Operations

> ...rapid economic growth may before long offer the lower class the incentives...needed to bring its members into normal culture.
>
> Edward Banfield
> (emphasis mine)

> Urban insurrections and other forms of urban political violence are historically more advanced forms of collective protest...
>
> Martin Oppenheimer

the-a-ter, the-a-tre

2. any place resembling a theater, especially one having ascending rows of seats, as a lecture hall, surgical clinic, etc.

3. Any place where events take place; scene of operations; as, the Pacific theater of war.

In most of our popular books and mass media, the city is described as a theater of operations. The dominant planning metaphor, whether in the conservative tradition of Edward Banfield[3] or the liberal tradition of New Deal slum clearance is that of the sick city. Its buildings, neighborhoods and peoples are diseased. Their illnesses are diagnosed variously as cancer, arterial congestions, consumption, pallor, the

"gray" sickness, or disadvantigitis, cultural pleurisy, and chronic poverty. Urban blight is epidemic. An assortment of cures have been injected or shoved down the patients' throats. This will probably continue since the patients are prone to addiction, hypochondria and psychosomatic manifestations. You tell people that they and their buildings are sick for long enough and they begin to believe it and act it. And as long as they believe it you get to play doctor, nurse, surgeon, orderly, or anaesthesiologist.

Some people don't believe it any more. Among them are Blacks who are sick of being "renewed" by being "removed," students who prefer landscaped parks to vacant lots and housewives and children who object to their residential streets being turned into major arterials. First they stop listening to the doctor or refuse to fill their prescription. Later they run through the gamut of malpractice suits. Finally they resort to civil disobediance in the form of "riots," illegal demonstrations, barricades and other forms of collective action. The police and the National Guard fight back. The city is still a theater of operations but the operations are no longer surgical; they are paramilitary.[4]

But the show must go on. And it does. It is becoming something of an extravaganza. Considering only the productions involving persons displaced by federal programs in the U.S.A., the cast has grown enormously.[5] Public housing construction condemned an average of 3500 housing units per year from 1937 to 1949. Adding the demolition wrought by urban renewal, condemnation averaged some 25000 units per year from 1949 to 1958. With Interstate highway construction commencing in 1958, federal programs consumed approximately 75000 units per

year through 1967. All told, more than one million housing units were destroyed between 1937 and 1967, thus displacing several million people. The federal bulldozer has not rested since 1967. In 1970 alone, it is estimated that about 200,000 persons were displaced by federally funded projects. These estimates and statistics do not include displacement resulting from state and local programs or from private redevelopment. Recent estimates of private demolition suggest that it is about as widespread as public action. It is not unreasonable to believe that currently about a half million people per year are forced to move in the United States.

It is not difficult to see how the reality of this situation provides semantic support for the Language of Political Control as opposed to the Language of Physically Determinist Planning. The governments on local or federal levels and the administrators of programs are no longer seen as planners or doctors but as imperialists turned colonialists. The neighborhoods are no longer spoken of as blighted areas but as battlegrounds. The buildings become fortifications and the people become refugees, occasionally pressed into guerrilla warfare. The argot of the streets become da langwidge of da peeple

FUCK WORDS

Graffitti seen in
Padelford Hall elevator,
University of Washington

when the Queen's English fails to portray the situation in words they can derive meaning from.

Still the show goes on. Yet, in all fairness, the urban doctors - planners, administrators, and legislators have begun to see the validity of their patients' complaints and are beginning to speak their

language. Benefits available to residents displaced by federal programs have been liberally increased through several rounds of legislation and some benefits are available to residents in adjacent areas.[6] Centralized relocation services for each city are being developed to coordinate various efforts.[7] Local relocation agencies have begun to employ a larger staff, consisting of social workers, paramedical personnel, neighborhood residents and other people who can smooth over disruption in the lives of families, provide sensitive and individualized attention, and begin to meet other needs a displaced family may have in addition to housing.[8]

But this is hardly enough. To some extent, given the fact that an unwilling displaced family can never be "fairly" compensated for the loss of its home, the increased monetary benefits are merely a placebo. Even accepting the inevitability of such situations, we are still a long way from "just treatment" of persons displaced by public action. Robert Eadler, who has made an exhaustive study of this problem,[9] concludes that we still need a vast supply of low cost or subsidized housing to meet the demand increased by demolition. He also suggests that if the criteria for "satisfaction of the displacees" are to be met, we must remove all arbitrary limitations relating to fiscal compensation, we must support the impoverished relocation agencies much more amply, we must speed up and improve communication between local administrators and residents, and we must include state and local actions within the new federal standards. Moreover, in that the power structure's tolerance limit for change in this area is being reached, we must find ways of actualizing these ideas.

Unfortunately, there is still another problem to be dealt with if

urban planning is continued to be thought of as a theater of operations. If it is understood that displaced residents at least behave as do refugees, then the importance of their cultural affiliations becomes paramount. Since most displaced residents are either old, poor, or of some racial or ethnic minority group - or some combination of the three- their cultural affiliations, environmental perception, and psychological needs under a stressed situation are likely to be quite different than those of the typical administrator or planner. In directing relocation from a project area, the administrators and planners must be sensitive to these differential values - in short they must become or employ urban anthropologists.[10]

Data from the Corktown case can serve as an illustration. Table 6-1 gives some idea of how different characteristics varied among the different ethnic groups. Of particular interest is the way these differences cannot be explained by the usual sociological model of family life cycle, or the Marxian model of economic class. The best example is furnished by comparing the Maltese families with the Mexican-born Mexicans. The groups possess very similar age structure, high religious affiliation (measured by attendance of children at parochial schools), minimal welfare support, relatively high incomes, and similar longevity in Detroit and at the origin address. Yet the Maltese originally owned much more expensive homes and bought more expensive homes after relocation. They obviously have a culturally related predilection toward more expensive property than the Mexicans. Maps 5-10 and 5-13, which show the distributions of the two groups, also support this notion. The Maltese were the most dispersed group,[11] relocating in areas containing newer housing, while the Mexican-born

Table G-1 Selected Characteristics of families by ethnic group

	Native White Detroit	Northern Born White Ex. Dt.	Southern Born White	Mexican Born S.W. U.S.A.	Mexican Born Mexico
N	17	37	27	38	23
% Heads Under 35 Years	25.0 *	8.3 *	34.6 *	29.7 *	0.0
% Heads Over 54 Years	25.0 *	50.0 *	23.1 *	5.4 *	43.5
% Heads in Detroit > 20 Years	100.0 *	78.3 **	7.7 *	23.5 **	68.2 *
% Heads at Address > 10 Years	35.3	31.4 *	11.5 *	15.2 **	62.0 *
% Supported by Welfare	25.0 *	8.1	3.7	13.2	4.5 *
% Income Less than $150/Month	6.2 *	22.6 **	5.3 **	22.6 **	5.3 **
% Income Greater than $450/Month	25.0 *	16.1 **	15.8 **	22.6 **	52.7 **
% Families with No Male Head	17.6	8.1	18.5	34.2	13.0
% Three Generational Families	23.5	13.5	18.5	5.3	17.4
% Religious School of Families with Children in School	33.3 **	41.6 *	0.0 **	76.2 **	100.0 **
% Own at Origin	17.6	35.2	18.5	34.2	60.9
% Owned Origin Value > $10,000	0.0 ***	60.0 ***	0.0 ***	0.0 **	11.1 **
% Origin "Good" Condition	41.2	36.7 **	31.8 **	20.0 *	15.0 **
% Origin "Poor" Condition	17.6	16.7 **	18.2 **	31.8 *	15.0 **
% Leave Detroit	17.6	5.6 *	15.4 *	5.3	17.4
% Own at Destination	23.5	33.3 *	17.4 **	33.3 *	63.6 *
% Owned Destination Value > $10,000	75.0	33.3 ***	33.3 ***	12.5 ***	25.0 ***
% Destination Substandard	5.9	8.3 *	19.0 **	19.4 *	13.6 *

* Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but less than 10% of total

** Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but less than 30% of total

*** Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but greater than 30% of total

Table 6-1 (Continued)

	Maltese	Northern Born Black	Southern Born Black	Other	All
N	27	19	71	11	270
% Heads Under 35 Years	4.0 *	64.6 **	33.9	18.2	24.7 *
% Heads Over 54 Years	64.0 *	8.5 **	18.4	54.5	29.3 *
% Heads in Detroit > 20 Years	65.0 **	66.7 *	24.0 *	66.7 **	46.2 *
% Heads at Address > 10 Years	55.0 **	11.1 *	12.7 *	40.0 *	25.5 *
% Supported by Welfare	0.0 **	47.4	21.7 *	0.0	14.3 *
% Income Less than $150/Month	0.0 **	44.4 *	28.6 **	9.1	19.0 **
% Income Greater than $450/Month	47.4 **	0.0 *	12.5 **	18.2	21.3 **
% Families with No Male Head	19.2 *	47.4	18.4	9.1	20.4 *
% Three Generational Families	29.6 *	0.0	8.5	9.1	13.0 *
% Religious School of Families with Children in School	77.8 ***	33.3 **	6.9 **	50.0 **	42.2 **
% Own at Origin	70.4	10.5	15.6	54.5	13.5
% Owned Origin Value > $10,000	86.8 **	0.0	28.6 ***	20.0 **	38.6 **
% Origin "Good" Condition	66.7 **	0.0 **	14.3 **	50.0 **	27.1 **
% Origin "Poor" Condition	4.2 **	35.3 **	25.4 **	25.0 **	21.6 **
% Leave Detroit	18.5	0.0 **	3.0 *	36.4	9.9 *
% Own at Destination	69.2 *	17.7 **	19.7 *	63.7	34.3 *
% Owned Destination Value > $10,000	55.6 ***	50.0 ***	55.6 ***	60.0 **	42.6 ***
% Destination Substandard	3.8 *	35.2 **	27.7 *	18.2	17.9 *

* Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but less than 10% of total

** Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but less than 30% of total

*** Computed on available data; missing cases excluded from total but greater than 30% of total

Mexicans were the most clustered, locating in what is an area of heavy Mexican settlement. While the Mexican-born Mexicans were considerably wealthier than their American-born counterparts, and had been in Detroit longer, a comparison of Maps 5-10 and 5-11 shows that they clustered more than the latter also! This anomaly can be explained by the fact that the Mexican-born have a large investment and involvement in the business community centered along Vernor Avenue and Bagley Avenue (the major axis of the ellipse of standard deviation!) while the American-born are not so directly involved.[12]

Other comparisons stress other important differences. The southern and northern-born Black groups differ markedly with respect to age, income, welfare support, and fatherless families. The northern-born Black group is evidently something of a "welfare mother class" and probably required rather different housing than the southern-born Black families. The three "White" groups also showed distinguishing characteristics. Of note are the avoidance of southern Whites for religious schools, and their briefer tenure in Detroit and at the original address. While they were about as financially able as the other White groups they were much more likley to relocate in substandard housing. The native White group invested heavily in new property and, as can be seen by comparing Map 5-7 with Maps 5-8 and 5-9, were less likely to live close to one another.

Thus, I believe I have made a good case for administering relocation with an increased sensitivity toward ethnic affiliation, and differential, culturally attributable needs. To some extent, this has already been begun for the elderly and the poor.[13] But meanwhile, planners' notions of "blight","substandardness", "decent" and

"accessibility" are heavily biased toward the perceptions of the native White, Christian, middle-age, middle-class car owner. And they continue to force foreign-born nonwhite, non-Christian, non-middle-age, poor pedestrians to move.

Apparently, to correct these biases, there will have to be considerable support of basic research done by urban anthropologists into the perceptions and needs of the different cultural groups to be uprooted. Herbert Gans' study of Boston's West End Italian-Americans is remarkable in this regard,[14] though it apparently was not influential enough in easing the impact of relocation on these families. The administrators of the Corktown relocation had little anthropological information at their disposal, and while they did try to work closely with the displaced residents, they were extremely limited in financial resources.[15] Oddly enough, developing nations, such as Nigeria and Ghana, have expended much more energy and money to attack just these problems in the course of their own urban renewal and dam projects.[16] Actually, this isn't so odd at all when we consider that such notions as "Americanization", "assimilation", and "Melting Pot" have been part of our administrative heritage at least since the days of Henry Ford's Sociology Department![17]

Catering to the life styles of different cultural groups being displaced does seem to imply that the planner or administrator will have to relinquish some of his control over the theater of operations. While he will retain the power to determine who shall move, what shall be destroyed and what shall be built, he will lose the power implied in making divergent cultural groups conform to some ideological standard. For one unfamiliar with the variety of folk ways possessed by

multiorigined Americans, this will probably be something of a shock. The person in charge should be prepared for this. For example, in the case of Corktown, there is some knowledge of the life styles of its previous residents. There is every reason to believe that the southern born Whites are indeed "ethnic" - at least in the sense of having very different life styles from the northern "norms." Although they come from "frontiersman" stock,[18] they are hardly the isolated individual in their social relationships; within the confines of a large city they depend heavily on friends, kin and neighbors of similar backgrounds.[19] They are extremely distrustful of welfare, having been neglected by government for years, and have developed their own medical beliefs, having been isolated and neglected by modern medicine for years.[20] This would indicate to the administrator that these people will be difficult to treat as patients! Among the Mexicans born in rural Mexico or the Southwest are ingrained certain attitudes relating to home furnishings. Rugs and heavy furniture were not used since they hid dirt and insects, which were much more of a health hazard in Mexico than in Detroit.[21] Thus an administrator who might regard such a home as "poorly furnished" should not come to the immediate conclusion that income is dictating this habit. The Maltese, at least in Malta, center most of their social life around the parish church.[22] This was not true of the Maltese in Corktown, at least in 1959-60, when they were leaving. There was no parish church at this time - it had to be abandoned in the early fifties, when the construction of the Lodge freeway to the East of the project area forced a good part of the Maltese community to move.[23] Thus it is not surprising that without their own church as a community focus, the Maltese

dispersed as much as they did.

These have just been examples. Obviously, the administrator wishing to do a thorough job would try to understand as best as possible the different life styles of the peoples to be uprooted. Then each group or individual could be helped to the most amenable, suitably located housing, in a way which did not trample on his values. This could be done through the employment of professional anthropologists or through the employment of interested neighborhood residents, though in the latter case it is less likely that the administrator will be able to maintain as much control! Were resources for this not available, a simpler but less complete approach would be to try and insure that relocation is at least geographically suitable, forgetting housing qualities. One source of data which could be used is that of the addresses of the references of the particular groups to be displaced. This information is found on the urban renewal interview form and can be simply plotted on a map in the way that I did in Chapter five. Clustering of references in one part of the city would indicate logical places in which either to build or seek housing. But this also takes time and money. And the relocation agency has always been the most impoverished and overloaded cog in the operation of urban redevelopment. At the very least, I would suggest that the administrator read a book. It is by H. G. Barnett and it is called Anthropology in Administration.[24] It deals largely with the author's experience in administering Pacific Island Trust Territories but also draws upon American experiences in dealing with the Japanese in internment camps and the Indians on reservations, and with Dutch adventures in Indonesia. The book can be taken in two ways, both within the

metaphor of a theater of operations. Should the administrator regard himself as a surgeon, it can be used as a guide to more painless surgery. Should he regard himself as a colonialist, it can be used as a guide to quell native rebellion. Meanwhile, the show must go on.

The City as a Magic Theater

> the-a-ter, the-a-tre
>
> 4. a) the dramatic art; drama.
>   b) the theatrical world; people engaged in theatrical activity.
> 5. theatrical technique, production, etc. with reference to its effectiveness: as, the play was good theater.
>
> mag-ic
> (adj.)
>
> 1. of, produced by, used in, or using magic.
> 2. producing extraordinary results, as if by magic or supernatural means.

As an idealistic architect of utopia, I would model the city as a magic theater - a good place for people and a place of extraordinarily effective human activity. The fundamental difference between the city as a magic theater and the city as a theater of operations is in the locus of magic. In a magic theater, magic can be created inside the city; it is a magic-generating system. (See Fig. 1-1) As a theater of operations, magic must be imported into the city from a distant university or government office. In the case of a neighborhood, which is more usual, magic is not generated within but at City Hall or the City Planning Commission - the doctor's office. These are cases of

deviation-amplifying systems (Fig. 1-1), and often they have not even worked as planned. While it is true that urban renewal, slum clearance and freeway building in our cities have been conceived as bringing unprecedented change, or magic, to the buildings and people of a city, they have often failed miserably. People have often reacted so as to resist the changes planned for them by the planners; as a homeostatic system (Fig. 1-1). New buildings have often failed to attract tenants and freeways have often created more congestion than they have eliminated. Neighborhoods destroyed for urban renewal have sometimes not been rebuilt and are left to die as vacant junkpiles, precipitating abandonment and deterioration in adajacent areas.[25] They have effectively become closed systems (Fig. 1-1) which nobody cares about any more. These unintentional results could be said to be partly true of the West Side Industrial I project in Detroit -- and it is by far not the most obvious example. We have seen, in Chapter five, how the displaced residents behaved similarly to refugees in their search for social psychological security rather than better housing and upward social mobility. We have also seen (Map 5-4) how certain portions of the project area - quite valuable land - remained as weed-filled vacant lots surrounded by "No Tresspassing" signs for more than ten years after housing demolition.

But in the conception of the city as a magic theater we will not dwell further on these failures. My purpose is to be positive and constructive. There have been signs that American city planning practices have been changing. In fact, the Model Cities program conceives of certain neighborhoods in the city called model neighborhoods, as generating their own magic in renewing themselves, with

expertise and financial aid imported. So far, this has only been the conception but at least it has been a conception in the right direction. Sherry Arnstein has concluded that the citizen participation which is the cornerstone of the Model Cities program has hardly been attained in its true sense.[26] Diagramatically, this can be shown as a ladder of citizen participation (Fig. 6-1) on which ascending rungs represent higher degrees of citizen participation.

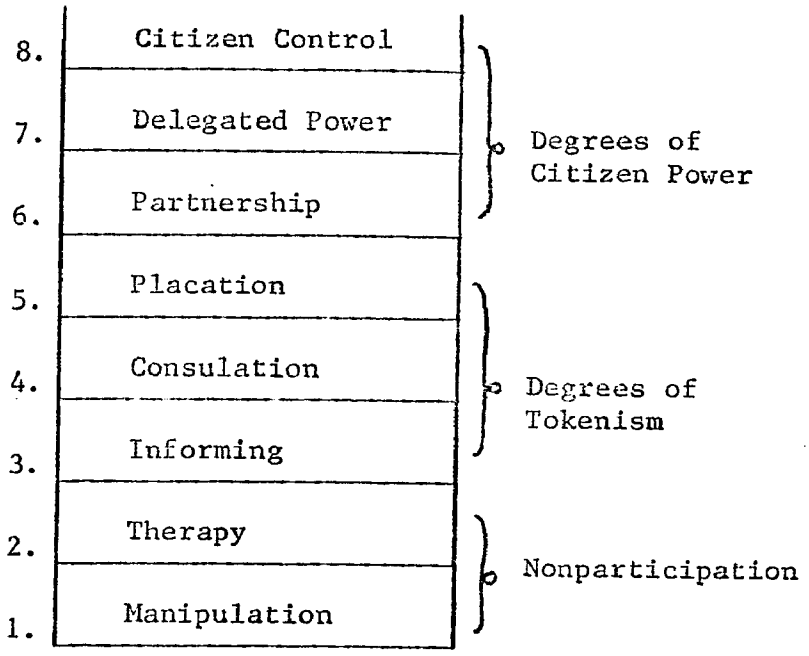


Fig. 6-1 A Ladder of Citizen Participation (after Sherry Arnstein)

Arnstein argues that while urban renewal programs are characteristically at Level 1, and public housing administrators function mostly at Level 2, Model Cities programs operate typically at Level 5 and have been known to advance as high as Level 7. Level 8, which would be characteristic of the city conceived as a magic theater has yet to be attained, but would seem to be a worthy goal.

Another possible route to the magic theater lies in advocacy planning. When architects and planners act only so as to transform the ideas of citizens in an area of a city into a concrete reality using the expertise of the former, we are closer to a magic generating system - the ideas for innovation, though not their transformation, are coming from within. The advocacy planning process is time consuming however, in that it requires a continuous flow of feedback between citizens and planners in order that the citizens understand what they are getting. But taking this route, it is possible to actualize such rarities (in contemporary America) as mixed developments housing lower, upper and middle income groups, as was recently accomplished in Brookline, Massachusetts.[27] It is also necessary for the advocacy planner to identify which element of a community to be responsible to in that not all members could be expected to be equally interested or active. Frank Elmer and Duncan Sutherland have a conceptual framework for distinguishing this element; they suggest working with the "active structuralists" - persons who actively manipulate their environment to bring their perceptual experiences into harmony with their emotional lives.[28] These people can be identified operationally as those who practice street art - such as tenement wall murals and graffitti. In fact, the active structuralists, in their artwork, provide a "form of continuing citizen participation."

But perhaps the best statement about participation and process in advocacy planning, in that we are working with a magic theater metaphor, has come from Lisa Peattie.[29] She views the city as an "ecology of dramatic performances" and advocacy planning as a drama staged periodically between the citizens and the planners. Below she reviews

some of her experiences in planning with a community in the Roxbury area of Boston:

> ...I suddenly began to see the "community" of Lower Roxbury as a dramatic performance. The community organizers were staging and directing; sometimes they edited a basically improvisational script. There were main actors, the officers and active members of the organization. And there was a supporting cast, those members of the community who could be gotten out to meetings and to public hearings and whose crowd noises at such occasions might intimidate the redevelopment authority. There were props, suggesting with some limited physical means a surrounding environment; the maps and reports our group was producing fell into this category.[30]

She also considers the "squatting" of a group that, in a protest directed at the redevelopment authority, invaded a parking lot and set up shacks and signs. This is compared to the squatter invasions of land around Latin American cities:

> ...I remembered that the Latin American squatters can be quite theatrical too, with their flags, their public statements, their visual expression for the hunger for land and the home of one's own, and that the South End squatters, for all their theatricality, had a serious purpose, a real aim, in view.[31]

There is a third route to the city as a magic theater which can complement both the Model Cities and advocacy planning approaches. It is to conceptualize both the people of an area and its buildings as magic-generating systems. In this model, people are not replaced. Rather, they grow, learn and express their individuality in social creativity. The buildings then change the people. People evolve and buildings evolve in the same urban ecosystem. Architects and psychologists not to mention the geographers, as "experts," gradually disappear, though, of course, they still continue to exist as academics.

> In our little community
> there is no Art, we just
> do everything as well as
> we can.
>
> The Balinese, Craig
> Johnson, Pat Bentley,
> Nola Ahola, Margaret
> Meade, Marshall McLuhan
> and others and Don Scott

Meanwhile, psychologists and architects can be useful in stressing the conceptualization of the magic-generating system in their subject matter - thus influencing the politicians who have the power to return the power to the people. They can also be useful in pointing out ways in which to release the creativity of people and expose the plasticity of buildings.

In psychology, some of the most exciting research I have come across of this nature has been published by J. W. Getzels and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi.[32] (In the city as a magic theater everyone will be known by their first name!) They have inquired into the roots of creativity in the artist and have found that the most creative artists spend considerable time in the exploration of materials as found; their major activity is discovering the problem itself which is accomplished more through the media used than with the initial arrangement. Csikszentmihalyi has gone even further in identifying play as the basic activity in which human beings develop creative behavior.

> Play is going...Play is action generating
> action...Play is grounded in the concept
> of possibility...[33]

In terms of the city as a magic theater, then, I would encourage the residents of an area to regard its structures with the flexibility and vitality that a child does his sand castle.

Much architectural criticism has dwelled on the glorification of individual heores. But certain critics have taken the trouble to document socially evolving architecture, whose creators are either anonymous or forgotten. Even in ego-conscious America, the cultural tradition of barn-raising has left us with some evolving adaptive structures of noteworthy aesthetic quality.[34] More generally, throughout the human occupance of the Earth, magic-generating architecture has evolved - as streets in Perugia, Italy, as maze-like suqs in Marrakesh, Morocco, as cave-like grottoes in weathered rock, as pueblos in New Mexico, as folded gables in Germany, as Dogan villages in West Africa.[35] The city as a magic theater is alive and well. A recent New York Times article found it to be living in Portugal.[36]

CLANDESTINE CITY NEAR LISBON GETS REPRIEVE

Collapse of Illegally Built Apartments Caused Scandal

But Brandoa Stood in Quake so Razing Order Was Lifted

BRANDOA, Portugal, March 24 - This community of 12,000 people, which recently faced demolition because it had been built illegally and was tainted by construction scandals, has been reprieved because it withstood an earthquake that caused extensive damage in other areas.

...A mass of stark concrete apartment buildings, barely a stone's throw away from Lisbon, Brandoa is a "clandestine city" without water supply, electricity, sewerage facilities, paved roads or schools.

For 10 years, because housing has been a principal deficiency in this country of about 10 million people, buildings of four stories and more have been rising here. At the end of February a nearly completed seven-story building collapsed. There were no injuries because the accident occurred after the workmen had gone home, but it put Brandoa, and with it the whole problem of clandestine construction, in the limelight.

...'Drastic Action' Ordered

Antonio da Costa de Macedo, Mayor of Oeiras, the municipality of which Brandoa is a part, declared that "drastic action must be taken." He ordered the demolition of all Brandoa buildings under construction or not yet inhabited. Further, the local authorities were directed to make a strict inspection of occupied structures.

...Then a violent earthquake struck Portugal, Spain and Morocco. Many houses in the Lisbon area and in southern Portugal cracked or caved in and parked cars were destroyed by falling cornices, balconies and

chimneys. Controversial Brandoa, just six miles northwest of Lisbon, remained unscathed and the tide of opinion turned.

Nothing fell at Brandoa, the inhabitants as well and the builders pointed out to the press and the authorities. It was said that it would be criminal to demolish a city that had resisted an earthquake so well.

The public and the press took another look at Brandoa and discovered that the case was much more complex than had initially appeared. People began to ask who was responsible for clandestine cities.

...In the beginning Brandoa was built after dark. Families and friends would pool their energies and labor all night to put up a few modest walls that they called a house. Then they would pay the fine for illegal construction, achieving de facto legality. Later the contractors and builders arrived, bought up the cheap lots and began to build large apartment buildings openly by day. The National Republican Guard would appear, impose fines and take its commission.

...After the accident at Brandoa, the Lisbon Tenants Association, which has long denounced the authorities on housing, deplored the "inertia and indifference" of municipal officials on the problem of clandestine construction. At the same time, Lisbon's liberal newspapers said that indiscriminate demolition of clandestine construction was no solution.

The demolition of Brandoa has not begun. Instead, Mayor Costa abruptly announced his resignation for reasons of health.

Recently, the town hall respectfully "invited the persons responsible for this clandestine construction at Brandoa to proceed with legalization within the next 30 days." It was also announced that by the end of summer Brandoa would have water, utilities, paved streets and schools.

Notes - Chapter 6

1. This was pointed out by Anne Larimore.

2. Wilbur Zelinsky, "Beyond the Exponentials" Economic Geography 46 (1970) pp. 498-535.

3. Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970).

4. Martin Oppenheimer, The Urban Guerilla (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969).

5. Robert P. Eadler, "Toward Just Treatment of Persons Displaced by Public Action" Unpublished Master's thesis in Urban Planning, Univ. of Washington (1972).

6. See the discussion of the Uniform Relocation Act of 1970 in Eadler, op. cit. p. 85ff.

7. Robert Groberg, Centralized Relocation (Washington: National Assoc. of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1969).

8. Alvin A. Mermin, Relocating Families (Washington: National Assoc. of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1970); Paul Niebanck, Relocation in Urban Planning: From Obstacle to Opportunity (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

9. Eadler, op. cit. Ch. 6.

10. See Norman Johnson and Peggy Sanday, "Subcultural Variations in an Urban Poor Population" American Anthropologist 73 (1971) pp. 129-43 Homer Saunders of the Relocation Office of the Detroit Housing Commission recalls a particular difficulty created by the displacement of some Turkish people in Detroit where even language was a barrier.

11. This is also shown quantitatively in standard distance measures. See Table 5-20.

12. Discussion with neighborhood residents, particularly Arturo Sanchez.

13. Niebanck, op. cit. has made a special study of the elderly. Most legislation having to do with social planning in the city relates to lower income people.

14. Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

15. Conversation with Homer Saunders and Richmond Hawkins of the Relocation Office of the Detroit Housing Commission.

16. Gabriel Onibokun, "Sociolcultural Constraints on Urban Renewal Policies in Emerging Nations" Human Organization 29 (1970) pp. 133-39; Robert Chambers (ed.), The Volta Resettlement Experience (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970).

17. Jonathan Schwartz, "Henry Ford's Melting Pot" in Ethnic Communities of Greater Detroit ed. by Otto Feinstein (Detroit: Monteith College, 1970) pp. 274-83.

18. Frank Barna, "The Frontiersman as Ethnic" in Ethnic Communities of Greater Detroit ed. by Otto Feinstein (Detroit: Monteith College, 1970) pp. 285-94.

19. Research in progress by students of Dr. Rolland Wright, Monteith College.

20. Ellen Stekert, "Focus on Conflict: Southern Mountain Medical Beliefs in Detroit" in Ethnic Communities of Greater Detroit ed. by Otto Feinstein (Detroit: Monteith College, 1970) pp. 49-91.

21. Norman D. Humphrey, "The Mexican Peasant in Detroit" Unpublished PhD. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1943.

22. Jeremy Boissevain, Saints and Fireworks (London: Athlone Press, 1965).

23. Conversation with former parish priest, Michael Cefai.

24. H. G. Barnett, Anthropology in Administration (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1956).

25. David Stoloff et al., "Housing Abandonment" Architectural Forum 134 (April, 1971) pp. 42-5.

26. Sherry Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" J. of the American Inst. of Planners 35 (1969) pp. 216-24.

27. Warren Boeschenstein, "Design of Socially Mixed Housing" J. of the American Inst. of Planners 37 (1971) pp. 311-18.

28. Frank Elmer and Duncan Sutherland, "Urban Design and Environmental Structuring" J. of the American Inst. of Planners 37 (1971) pp. 38-41.

29. Lisa R. Peattie, "Drama and Advocacy Planning" J. of the American Inst. of Planners 36 (1970) pp. 405-10.

30. Ibid. p. 406.

31. Ibid. p. 407.

32. J. W. Getzels and Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, "Portrait of the Artist as an Explorer" Trans-action 3 (1966, no. 6) pp. 31-5 and "The Concern for Discovery: An Attitudinal Component of Creative Production" J. of Personality 38 (1970) p. 91-8.

33. Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, "An Exploratory Model of Play" American Anthropologist 73 (1971) pp. 45-58.

34. Charles Dornbusch, Pennsylvania German Barns (Allentown, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1956).

35. See Bernard Rudofsky, Architecture Without Architects (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964) and Streets for People: A Primer for Americans (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969); Sybil Moholy-Nagy, Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture (New York: Horizon Press, 1957).

36. Marvine Howe, "Clandestine City near Lisbon Gets Reprieve" The New York Times March 25, 1969.

APPENDIX I

Facsimilie of
Site Occupant Relocation Record

Form C of D-136-RE 1-58)

DETROIT HOUSING COMMISSION

Interviewer_____ Date_____ Project _____
Family Number_____

SITE OCCUPANT RELOCATION RECORD

Front Building ☐ Rear Building ☐
Front Entrance ☐ Side Entrance ☐ Rear Entrance ☐
1st Floor ☐ 2nd Floor ☐ 3rd Floor ☐
Block No._____ Date Acquired _____
Parcel No._____
Unit No._____

A. CENSUS DATA

1. Address_____ Phone _____
2. Head_____ Spouse_____
3. Owner_____ Tenant_____ Subtenant_____ Roomer_____
4. If Owner, is property owned free and clear? Yes ☐ No ☐
5. If buying on land contract, amount of equity?_____
6. Other_____
   Amount of equity?_____
7. Race: White ☐ Non-White ☐ Other_____
8. Family of: U. S. Citizen ☐ Alien ☐
9. Family of: Veteran ☐ Serviceman ☐
   Deceased Veteran ☐ Disabled Veteran ☐
   Serial No._____ Claim No._____
   Service Connected? Yes ☐ No ☐
10. Birthplace_____ Years in City_____ Years at Address_____
11. Child Expected?_____ Due_____
12. Illness in family?_____

B. INCOME DATA (Earnings)

13. Employment and Earnings. (List all persons employed including part time)

NAME	EMPLOYED BY AND ADDRESS	TYPE OF WORK AND BADGE	SOC. SEC. NO. AND PENSION	RATE OF PAY (GR.)	HOURS PER WEEK
	Since			Per	
	Since			Per	
	Since			Per	
	Since			Per	
	Since			Per	

C. OTHER INCOME

14.

NAME	SOURCE	CASE NUMBER	CASE WORKER	AMOUNT
				$

15. Total Amount (Annual) Income $_____ 16. Eligible for P. H. Yes ☐ No ☐

D. FAMILY COMPOSITION

17. Number of Persons _____ Adults_____ Minors _____

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	MARITAL STATUS	DATE OF BIRTH	SCHOOL
	HEAD			

E. RENT DATA AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

18. Previous Rent $_____ per _____
19. Paid to: (Landlord or agent)_____
20. Rent Paid Up to: (Date)_____
21. Rent Includes: Heat_____ Electricity_____ Gas_____
22. Utilities Not Included in Rent $_____
23. Unit Furnished Yes ☐ No ☐
24. Site Rent $_____ per month_____
25. Effective Date_____
26. Unit Private?_____ Shared?_____
27. Number Rooms—Private_____ Shared_____
28. Total Number Rooms in Dwelling Unit_____
29. Condition of Unit: Good_____ Fair_____ Poor_____
30. Housekeeping: Good_____ Fair_____ Poor_____

F. RELOCATION REQUIREMENTS

Public Housing ☐
Purchase ☐
Rent ☐
Undecided ☐
Preferred Location_____
Maximum Monthly Rent or Payment $_____
Maximum Amount Down Payment $_____
Number Bedrooms_____
Total Number Rooms_____
Remarks_____

G. SPECIAL RELOCATION PROBLEMS

DATE	INTERVIEWER	INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

H. NOTICES TO FAMILY

Informational Statement

Issued_____ Delivered by_____
Remarks_____

Notice to Vacate

Issued_____
Remarks_____
Court Action_____
Remarks_____

I. RELOCATION REFERRALS

Referred to_____
Referred to_____
Referred to_____
Referred to_____

J. RELOCATION RECORD

Temporary Relocation (Sub-Standard Housing)

Address_____ Date_____
Site Transfer ☐ Sub-Standard Off Site ☐
Address_____ Date_____
Site Transfer ☐ Sub-Standard Off Site ☐

Permanent Relocation

Family Initiative ☐ Unknown ☐
Relocation Office ☐ Eviction ☐
Type of Housing: Old ☐ New ☐ Public ☐
Private Rental ☐ Unknown ☐ Private Purchase ☐

Relocation Payment

Moving Expenses $_____
Direct Loss of Property $_____
TOTAL $_____

New Address_____ Zone_____
Date Moved_____ Phone_____
Date Case Closed_____ By_____

K. REFERENCES

Name _____ Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Phone _____

RECORD OF INTERVIEWS AND TELEPHONE CALLS

DATES	

APPENDIX II

Raw Data

1. ETHNIC GROUP OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	N	%
Native White - Detroit	17	6.3
White - Northern U.S., Canada, British Isles	37	13.7
White - Southern U.S.	27	10.0
Mexican Born in U.S.	38	14.1
Mexican Born in Mexico	23	8.5
Maltese	27	10.0
Black Born in North	19	7.0
Black Born in South	71	26.3
Other	11	4.1
Total	270	100.0

2. AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Under 25	14	5.2	5.3
25 - 34	51	18.9	19.5
35 - 44	68	25.2	26.0
45 - 54	52	19.2	19.8
55 - 64	45	16.7	17.2
65 +	32	11.8	12.2
Unknown	8	3.0	-

3. YEARS IN DETROIT

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
0.1 - 0.5	1	0.4	0.4
0.51 - 1.00	1	0.4	0.4
1.01 - 2.00	3	1.1	1.2
2.01 - 5.00	14	5.2	5.7
5.01 - 10.00	44	16.3	17.7
10.01 - 20.00	68	25.2	27.4
20.01 +	117	43.3	47.2
Unknown	22	8.1	

4. YEARS AT ADDRESS

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
0.1 - 0.5	52	19.3	20.8
0.51 - 1.00	31	11.5	12.4
1.01 - 2.00	20	7.4	8.0
2.01 - 5.00	39	14.4	15.6
5.01 - 10.00	44	16.3	17.6
10.01 - 20.00	50	18.5	20.0
20.01 +	14	5.2	5.6
Unknown	20	7.4	

5. INCOME SOURCE OF FAMILY

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns & Other
Job(s) only	164	60.7	62.8
Social Security and pension only	23	8.5	8.8
Welfare or charity only	38	14.1	14.5
Relatives or alimony only	1	0.4	0.4
Unemployment or other compensation only	6	2.2	2.3
Part welfare or charity	8	3.0	3.1
Part job, except welfare	21	7.8	8.1
Other	4	1.5	
Unknown	5	1.9	

6. NUMBER OF JOBS IN FAMILY FOR WHICH ADDRESS COORDINATES COULD BE DETERMINED

	N	%
No jobs have coordinates	129	47.8
One job has coordinates	131	48.5
Two jobs have coordinates	10	3.7

7. MONTHLY INCOME OF FAMILY

	N	%	% Excluding Part. Inf. & Unknowns
$0 - $150	42	15.6	19.1
150 - 225	29	10.7	13.2
225 - 300	29	10.7	13.2
300 - 375	34	12.6	15.4
375 - 450	40	14.8	18.2
450 - 525	20	7.4	9.1
525 - 600	9	3.3	4.1
600 +	17	6.3	7.7
Partial information	8	3.0	
Unknown	42	15.6	

8. ELIGIBILITY OF FAMILY FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
No eligibility	87	32.2	36.6
Eligibility	151	55.9	63.4
Unknown	32	11.9	

9. NUCLEAR FAMILY STATUS

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns & Other
Couple	73	27.0	27.7
Family	132	48.9	50.0
Woman with children	55	20.4	20.8
Man with children	4	1.5	1.5
Other	5	1.9	
Unknown	1	0.4	

10. OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD OUTSIDE OF NUCLEAR FAMILY

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns & Other
No others present	231	85.6	86.2
Vertical relations, including in-laws	17	6.3	6.4
Only horizontal relations	15	5.6	5.6
Only children that are relatives	3	1.1	1.1
Non relatives	2	0.7	0.7
Other	1	0.4	
Unknown	1	0.4	

11. SCHOOL STATUS OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
No children, no school-age children	115	42.6	51.6
Attending public schools only	62	23.0	27.8
Attending both public public schools and religious schools	7	2.6	3.1
Attending religious schools only	39	14.4	17.5
Unknown	47	17.4	

12. NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

	N	%	No. Persons	Cum. No. Persons
2	79	29.2	158	158
3	39	14.4	117	275
4	42	15.6	168	443
5	43	15.9	215	658
6	27	10.0	162	820
7	19	7.0	133	953
8	7	2.6	56	1009
9	5	1.9	45	1054
10	3	1.1	30	1084
11	4	1.5	44	1128
12	1	0.4	12	1140
13	1	0.4	13	1153

13. NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD

	N	%	No. Adults	Cum.No. Adults
1	45	16.6	45	45
2	171	63.3	342	387
3	41	15.2	123	510
4	11	4.1	44	554
5	1	0.4	5	559
6	1	0.4	6	565

14. NUMBER OF REFERENCES GIVEN BY FAMILY WITH ADDRESS COORDINATES

	N	%
None	53	19.6
One	73	27.0
Two	144	53.3

15. TENURE OF FAMILY AT PLACE OF ORIGIN

	N	%
Own - mortgage or land contract	32	11.9
Own free and clear	50	18.5
Income property	4	1.5
Own (Total)	86	31.9
Rent	173	64.1
Share with another family	3	1.1
Caretaker	8	3.0
Rent (Total)	184	68.2

16. MONTHLY RENTAL VALUE OF PLACE OF ORIGIN OF FAMILY

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
$0 - $30	14	5.2	5.8
31 - 40	43	15.9	17.7
41 - 50	95	35.2	39.1
51 - 60	54	20.0	22.2
61 - 70	23	8.5	9.5
71 - 80	10	3.7	4.1
81 +	4	1.5	1.6
Unknown	27	10.0	

17. OWNERSHIP VALUE OF PLACE OF ORIGIN

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns & N.A.
Under $4000	1	0.4	1.8
4000 - 5999	7	2.6	12.3
6000 - 7999	15	5.6	26.3
8000 - 9999	12	4.4	21.0
10,000 - 11,999	16	5.9	28.1
12,000 - 13,999	2	0.7	3.5
14,000 +	4	1.5	7.0
Unknown	28	10.4	
Not applicable	185	68.5	

18. NUMBER OF ROOMS AT PLACE OF ORIGIN

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Unknown	10	3.7	
One room	3	1.1	1.2
Two	37	13.7	14.2
Three	40	14.8	15.4
Four	19	7.0	7.3
Five	37	13.7	14.2
Six	35	13.0	13.5
Seven	41	15.2	15.8
Eight	25	9.3	9.6
Nine or greater	23	8.5	8.8

19. CONDITION OF DWELLING UNIT AT PLACE OF ORIGIN

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Good	64	23.7	27.2
Fair	121	44.8	51.5
Poor	50	18.5	21.3
Unknown	35	13.0	

20. GENERAL LOCATION OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Detroit	236	87.4	90.5
Elsewhere within Detroit S.M.S.A.	16	5.9	6.1
Outside S.M.S.A.	9	3.3	
Unknown	9	3.3	

21. TENURE OF FAMILY AT PLACE OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Own - includes mortgage or land contract	67	24.8	26.5
Own free and clear	7	2.6	2.8
Income property	13	4.8	5.1
Own (Total)	87	32.2	34.4
Rent	153	56.7	60.5
Share with family	12	4.4	4.7
Caretaker	1	0.4	0.4
Rent (Total)	166	61.5	65.6
Unknown	17	6.3	

22. CONDITION OF DWELLING UNIT AT PLACE OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Standard	206	76.3	82.4
Substandard	44	16.3	17.6
Unknown	20	7.4	

23. NUMBER OF ROOMS AT DWELLING UNIT AT PLACE OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Unknown	92	35.9	
One room	1	0.4	0.6
Two	5	1.9	2.9
Three	17	6.3	9.8
Four	25	9.3	14.5
Five	31	11.5	17.9
Six	51	18.9	29.5
Seven	26	9.6	15.0
Eight	9	3.3	5.2
Nine or more	8	3.0	4.6

24. MONTHLY RENTAL VALUE OF PLACE OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
$0 - $30	3	1.1	2.3
31 - 40	16	5.9	12.1
41 - 50	37	13.7	28.0
51 - 60	44	16.3	33.3
61 - 70	22	8.1	16.7
71 - 80	9	3.3	6.8
81 +	1	0.4	0.8
Unknown	47	17.4	
Not applicable	91	33.7	

25. OWNERSHIP VALUE OF PLACE OF DESTINATION

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns & N.A.
Under $4000	2	0.7	3.7
4000 - 5999	6	2.2	11.1
6000 - 7999	5	1.9	9.3
8000 - 9999	18	6.7	33.3
10,000 - 11,999	6	2.2	11.1
12,000 - 13,999	7	2.6	13.0
14,000 +	10	3.7	18.5
Unknown	47	17.4	
Not applicable	169	62.6	

26. TENURE PREFERENCE OF FAMILIES

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
Own	82	30.4	35.2
Rent or caretaker	122	45.2	52.4
Public housing	29	10.7	12.4
Undecided or unknown	37	13.7	

27. LOCATION PREFERENCE OF FAMILIES

	N	%
West side	82	30.4
Same neighborhood, near Holy Trinity	10	3.7
Near job	8	3.0
Other	34	12.6
Already decided where	23	8.5
Move with landlord	8	3.0
Unknown, undecided, no preference	105	38.9

28. DAYS NEEDED TO MOVE BY FAMILIES

	N	%	% Excluding Unknowns
0 - 5 days	13	4.8	4.9
6 - 10	16	5.9	6.0
11 - 20	32	11.9	12.0
21 - 40	66	24.4	24.7
41 - 80	53	19.6	19.8
81 - 160	65	24.1	24.4
160 + days	22	8.1	8.2
Unknown	3	1.1	

29. NUMBER OF REFERALS GIVEN BY RELOCATION OFFICE TO FAMILIES

	N	%
None	188	69.6
One referal	61	22.6
Two	18	6.7
Three	1	0.4
Four	2	0.7

APPENDIX III

Supplementary Chi Square Analysis

Table 1 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household head and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for ethnic group.

A. All White Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Under $225 (7)	28.6% (2)	28.6% (2)	42.8% (3)
$225-450 (34)	44.1 (15)	23.5 (8)	32.4 (11)
$450 + (16)	31.3 (5)	50.0 (8)	18.7 (3)
Total (57)	38.6 (22)	31.6 (18)	29.8 (17)

$X^2 = 4.2$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .37

B. All Mexican Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Under $225 (9)	55.6% (5)	44.4% (4)	0.0% (0)
$225-450 (34)	55.9 (19)	32.3 (11)	11.8 (4)
$450 + (18)	61.1 (11)	38.9 (7)	0.0 (0)
Total (61)	57.4 (35)	36.1 (22)	6.5 (4)

$X^2 = 3.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .46

C. All Black Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Under $225 (23)	39.1% (9)	47.8%(11)	13.1% (3)
$225-450 (40)	25.0 (10)	35.0 (14)	40.0 (16)
$450 + (7)	14.3 (1)	71.4 (5)	14.3 (1)
Total (70)	28.6 (20)	42.8 (30)	28.6 (20)

$X^2 = 7.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .09

Table 2 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by ethnic group of household head and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for income level.

A. Income under 225 dollars/month

ethnic group (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
White (7)	28.6% (2)	28.6% (2)	42.8% (3)
Mexican (9)	55.6 (5)	44.4 (4)	0.0 (0)
Black (23)	39.1 (9)	47.8 (11)	13.1 (3)
Total (39)	41.0 (16)	43.6 (17)	15.4 (6)

$X^2 = 6.1$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .19

B. Income 225 - 450 dollars/month

ethnic group (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
White (34)	44.1%(15)	23.5% (8)	32.4%(11)
Mexican (34)	55.9 (19)	32.3 (11)	11.8 (4)
Black (40)	25.0 (10)	35.0 (14)	40.0 (16)
Total (108)	40.7 (44)	30.6 (33)	28.7 (31)

$X^2 = 10.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .03

C. Income 450+ dollars/month

ethnic group (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
White (16)	31.3% (5)	50.0% (8)	18.7% (3)
Mexican (18)	61.1 (11)	38.9 (7)	0.0 (0)
Black (7)	14.3 (1)	71.4 (5)	14.3 (1)
Total (41)	41.5 (17)	48.8 (20)	9.7 (4)

$X^2 = 7.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .10

Table 3 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by tenure and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for ethnic group.

A. All White Household Heads

Tenure (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Own (27)	25.9% (7)	25.9% (7)	48.2%(13)
Rent (42)	50.0 (21)	33.3 (14)	16.7 (7)
Total (69)	40.6 (28)	30.4 (21)	29.0 (20)

$X^2 = 8.3$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .01

B. All Mexican Household Heads

Tenure (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Own (29)	31.0% (9)	65.5%(19)	3.5% (1)
Rent (48)	72.9 (35)	18.8 (9)	8.3 (4)
Total (77)	57.1 (44)	36.4 (28)	6.5 (5)

$X^2 = 17.1$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .0002

C. All Black Household Heads

Tenure (n)	0-2 miles	2-4 miles	4 + miles
Own (16)	0.0% (0)	37.5% (6)	62.5%(10)
Rent (66)	39.4 (26)	40.9 (27)	19.7 (13)
Total (82)	31.7 (26)	40.2 (33)	28.1 (23)

$X^2 = 14.8$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .0006

Table 4 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by ethnic group of household head and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for tenure.

A. Own

Ethnic Group (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
White (27)	25.9% (7)	25.9% (7)	48.2%(13)
Mexican (29)	31.0 (9)	65.5 (19)	3.5 (1)
Black (16)	0.0 (0)	37.5 (6)	62.5 (10)
Total (72)	22.2 (16)	44.5 (32)	33.3 (24)

$X^2 = 23.5$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .0001

B. Rent

Ethnic Group (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
White (42)	50.0%(21)	33.3%(14)	16.7% (7)
Mexican (48)	72.9 (35)	18.8 (9)	8.3 (4)
Black (66)	39.4 (26)	40.9 (27)	19.7 (13)
Total (156)	52.6 (82)	32.0 (50)	15.4 (24)

$X^2 = 12.7$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .01

Table 5 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by tenure and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for income level.

A. Income Under 225 Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
Own (5)	0.0% (0)	60.0% (3)	40.0% (2)
Rent (34)	47.1 (16)	41.2 (14)	11.7 (4)
Total (39)	41.0 (16)	43.6 (17)	15.4 (6)

$X^2 = 5.0$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .08

B. Income 225 - 450 Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
Own (34)	5.9% (2)	41.2%(14)	52.9%(18)
Rent (81)	51.8 (42)	28.4 (23)	19.8 (16)
Total (115)	38.2 (44)	32.2 (37)	29.6 (34)

$X^2 = 23.4$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .0000

C. Income 450 + Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
Own (20)	35.0% (7)	50.0%(10)	15.0% (3)
Rent (20)	50.0 (10)	45.0 (9)	5.0 (1)
Total (40)	42.5 (17)	47.5 (19)	10.0 (4)

$X^2 = 1.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .45

Table 6 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household head and distance from C.B.D. in percentages controlling for tenure.

A. Own

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
Under $225 (5)	0.0% (0)	60.0% (3)	40.0% (2)
$225 - 450 (34)	5.9 (2)	41.2 (14)	52.9 (18)
$450 + (20)	35.0 (7)	50.0 (10)	15.0 (3)
Total (59)	15.2 (9)	45.8 (27)	39.0 (23)

$X^2 = 12.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .01

B. Rent

Monthly Income (n)	0-2 Miles	2-4 Miles	4 + Miles
Under $225 (34)	47.1%(16)	41.2%(14)	11.7% (4)
$225 - 450 (81)	51.8 (42)	28.4 (23)	19.8 (16)
$450 + (20)	50.0 (10)	45.0 (9)	5.0 (1)
Total (135)	50.4 (68)	34.1 (46)	15.5 (21)

$X^2 = 4.7$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .31

Table 7 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household head and sector in percentages controlling for ethnic group.

A. All White Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Under $225 (7)	28.6% (2)	42.8% (3)	28.6% (2)
$225 - 450 (34)	47.1 (16)	29.4 (10)	23.5 (8)
$450 + (16)	62.5 (10)	31.2 (5)	6.3 (1)
Total (57)	49.1 (28)	31.6 (18)	19.3 (11)

$X^2 = 3.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .46

B. All Mexican Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Under $225 (9)	55.6% (5)	44.4% (4)	0.0% (0)
$225 - 450 (34)	67.6 (23)	26.5 (9)	5.9 (2)
$450 + (18)	83.3 (15)	16.7 (3)	0.0 (0)
Total (61)	70.5 (43)	26.2 (16)	3.3 (2)

$X^2 = 4.1$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .39

C. All Black Household Heads

Monthly Income (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Under $225 (23)	8.7% (2)	39.1% (9)	52.2%(12)
$225 - 450 (40)	12.5 (5)	15.0 (6)	72.5 (29)
$450 + (7)	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	57.1 (4)
Total (70)	12.9 (9)	22.9 (16)	64.2 (45)

$X^2 = 4.1$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .39

Table 8 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by ethnic group of household head and sector in percentages controlling for income level.

A. Income Under 225 Dollars/Month

Ethnic Group (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
White (7)	28.6% (2)	42.8% (3)	28.6% (2)
Mexican (9)	55.6 (5)	44.4 (4)	0.0 (0)
Black (23)	8.7 (2)	39.1 (9)	52.2 (12)
Total (39)	23.1 (9)	41.0 (16)	35.9 (14)

$X^2 = 11.4$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .02

B. Income 225 - 450 Dollars/Month

Ethnic Group (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
White (34)	47.1%(16)	29.4%(10)	23.5% (8)
Mexican (34)	67.6 (23)	26.5 (9)	5.9 (2)
Black (40)	12.5 (5)	15.0 (6)	72.5 (29)
Total (108)	40.7 (44)	23.2 (25)	36.1 (39)

$X^2 = 40.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .0000

C. Income 450 + Dollars/Month

Ethnic Group (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
White (16)	62.5%(10)	31.2% (5)	6.3% (1)
Mexican (18)	83.3 (15)	16.7 (3)	0.0 (0)
Black (7)	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	57.1 (4)
Total (41)	65.8 (27)	22.0 (9)	12.2 (5)

$X^2 = 17.6$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .001

Table 9 . Distribution of destinations in Detroit by tenure and sector in percentages controlling for ethnic group.

A. All White Household Heads

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (27)	48.2%(13)	29.6% (8)	22.2% (6)
Rent (42)	50.0 (21)	28.6 (12)	21.4 (9)
Total (69)	44.3 (34)	29.0 (20)	21.7 (15)

$X^2 = .02$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .99

B. All Mexican Household Heads

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (29)	86.2%(25)	13.8% (4)	0.0% (0)
Rent (48)	56.3 (27)	35.4 (17)	8.3 (4)
Total (77)	67.5 (52)	27.3 (21)	5.2 (4)

$X^2 = 7.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .01

C. All Black Household Heads

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (16)	0.0% (0)	12.5% (2)	87.5%(14)
Rent (66)	19.7 (13)	25.8 (17)	54.5 (36)
Total (82)	15.8 (13)	23.2 (19)	61.0 (50)

$X^2 = 6.4$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .04

Table 10 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by ethnic group of household head and sector in percentages controlling for tenure.

A. Own

Ethnic Group (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
White (27)	48.2%(13)	29.6% (8)	22.2% (6)
Mexican (29)	86.2 (25)	13.8 (4)	0.0 (0)
Black (16)	0.0 (0)	12.5 (2)	87.5 (14)
Total (72)	52.8 (38)	19.4 (14)	27.8 (20)

$X^2 = 45.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .0000

B. Rent

Ethnic Group (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
White (42)	50.0%(21)	28.8%(12)	21.4% (9)
Mexican (48)	56.3 (27)	35.4 (17)	8.3 (4)
Black (66)	19.7 (13)	25.8 (17)	54.5 (36)
Total (156)	39.1 (61)	29.5 (46)	31.4 (49)

$X^2 = 32.9$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .0000

Table 11 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by tenure and sector in percentages controlling for income level.

A. Income Under 225 Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (5)	60.0% (3)	20.0% (1)	20.0% (1)
Rent (34)	17.7 (6)	44.1 (15)	38.2 (13)
Total (39)	23.1 (9)	41.0 (16)	35.9 (14)

$X^2 = 4.4$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .11

B. Income 225 - 450 Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (34)	35.3%(12)	23.5% (8)	41.2%(14)
Rent (81)	40.7 (33)	22.2 (18)	37.1 (30)
Total (115)	39.1 (45)	22.6 (26)	38.3 (44)

$X^2 = .31$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .86

C. Income 450 + Dollars/Month

Tenure (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Own (20)	75.0%(15)	20.0% (4)	5.0% (1)
Rent (20)	55.0 (11)	25.0 (5)	20.0 (4)
Total (40)	65.0 (26)	22.5 (9)	12.5 (5)

$X^2 = 2.5$
Degrees of Freedom = 2
Significance Level = .28

Table 12 Distribution of destinations in Detroit by income level of household head and sector in percentages controlling for tenure.

A. Own

Monthly Income (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Under $225 (5)	60.0% (3)	20.0% (1)	20.0% (1)
$225-450 (34)	35.3 (12)	23.5 (8)	41.2 (14)
$450 + (20)	75.0 (15)	20.0 (4)	5.0 (1)
Total (59)	50.9 (30)	22.0 (13)	27.1 (16)

$X^2 = 10.3$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .04

B. Rent

Monthly Income (n)	Sector 1	Sector 2	Sectors 3-5
Under $225 (34)	17.7% (6)	44.1%(15)	38.2%(13)
$225-450 (81)	40.7 (33)	22.2 (18)	37.1 (30)
$450 + (20)	55.0 (11)	25.0 (5)	20.0 (4)
Total (135)	37.1 (50)	28.1 (38)	34.8 (47)

$X^2 = 11.1$
Degrees of Freedom = 4
Significance Level = .03

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