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ABSTRACT

Louis Wirth's classic description of the social and psychological effects of urbanism is organized into a model for the purpose of reviewing relevant theory and empirical research. Evidence on predicted structural effects (differentiation, formal integration and anomie) and individual effects (sensory overload, role mobility, isolation and deviance) is, at most, mixed. The best-supported predictions are of differentiation and deviance. Alternative models of urban life are explored, and, in the process of the review, research directions are suggested.

"URBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE"

A Review and an Agenda

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What effects do cities have upon people? This question has been both one of lasting general intellectual interest (White and White, 1962; Schorske, 1963) and one of particular importance to sociologists. Answers to it have implications for theories of mass society, societal evolution (e.g., Redfield, 1947), ecological determinism (see Gans, 1962b), cultural diffusion (see Bruner, 1961) and social policy (e.g., Ogburn and Duncan, 1964).

Louis Wirth (1938) provided the most comprehensive and seminal of these answers. In the years since his classic article "Urbanism as a Way of Life," social scientists have conducted a great deal of research on urban phenomena. Yet, as one recent reviewer of the urbanization literature points out, Wirth's theory "remains an hypothesis yet to be subjected to the test of empirical research" (Hauser, 1965a: 22).¹

In this paper, we propose to present a model abstracted from Wirth's article. The model will be used as a framework for examining the empirical status of his propositions. In that examination, we will also tie Wirth's hypotheses into broader sociological theories and raise new issues for consideration. We will outline theoretical alternatives to Wirth's model. And, in the process of review, we will suggest directions for future research.

OUTLINING THE MODEL

Though very insightful, one drawback of Wirth's article was its presentation in a discursive, almost journalistic, manner. It is possible to extract lists of specific propositions from the essay (e.g., Morris, 1968), but the power of the work is that it forms an essentially complete middle-level theory—a dynamic model.

What follows is the author's abstraction from the Wirth paper of such a model: an attempt primarily to organize for review purposes the myriad phenomena which Wirth described and also to outline the basic mechanisms that he hypothesized produced those phenomena. The model, of course, is but one interpretation of the work and is debatable as a proper reading. Yet a

discussion of what Wirth "really meant" would serve little purpose other than that of intellectual history. The theory to be described stands—as does any idea—for inspection independently of its sources. Any other interpretations of the Wirth piece are welcome—as alternative models also to be tested. (In this process, we will by necessity lose many of the finer points and qualifications which Wirth made. It seems inevitable in seeking manageable and generalizable theories.)

The theory contains basically two arguments: a sociological one, quite Durkheimian (Durkheim, 1933); and, a social-psychological one derived from Simmel (1957). First, on the structural level, population size, density, and heterogeneity (Wirth's definition of the city) lead sequentially to structural differentiation, formalization of institutions, and anomie. Second, on the individual level, urbanism (in the demographic sense) leads to high levels of nervous stimulation, psychological overload, and adaptation in the form of social isolation.

Figure 1 represents an attempt to schematically depict Wirth's theory—reducing it, yet hopefully maintaining most of its richness. The specific variables were derived by aggregating similar concepts and synonymous terms used by Wirth. In the review below, we will define and discuss each element in detail. At this point, a few comments are in order: (1) Level of analysis ("structural-cognitive-behavioral") is used as an organizing dimension of the model. Wirth intermixes all three levels and separating them out should clarify the processes. This distinction assumes that structure operates on behavior through the mediation of cognition and is itself the aggregation of individual behavior. (2) The scheme is presented in the form of a block-recursive causal model (Blalock, 1969) and ideally should be subjectable to path analysis. However, none will be attempted here. (3) The model essentially follows the sociological argument in Wirth, but the social-psychological argument is represented by the link between "selection" and "isolation." Isolation, we shall argue, is a form of selection. (4) More feedback loops and interconnections could, perhaps should, be specified. (For example, size may affect deviance more directly

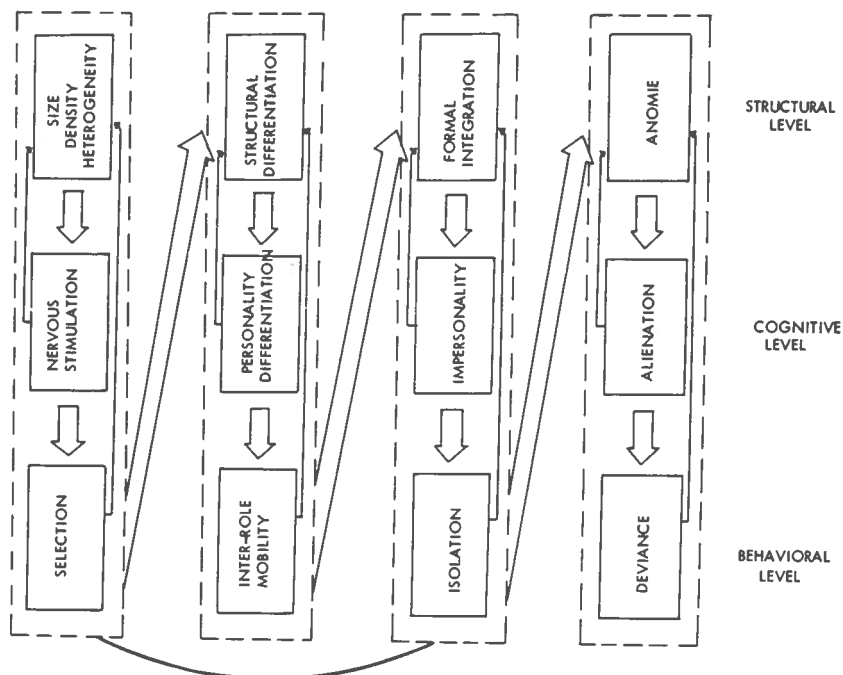


Figure 1: A MODEL OF WIRTH'S "URBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE."

by providing the anonymity useful for criminal escape.) However, for the present heuristic purposes, they are unnecessary.

Two important substantive implications are drawn from the diagram: That the model assumes a continuum in the degree of urbanism with a corresponding monotonicity in its effects, and that attributes of individuals form error terms in the model. Race, sex, occupation, education, income, class, and the like are taken neither as causes nor as effects and are therefore "noise." By the same token, the model should be applicable within each and all levels of those variables. These implications should be emphasized: If urbanism is a continuum, then adequate tests of the model should sample more than one point on that

continuum; and if individual attributes are "noise," then adequate tests of the model should control for them. Or, as Hauser (1970) points out, contextual effects cannot be established until individual-level effects are thoroughly controlled. These considerations will become important in our review of the research.

REVIEW OF THE MODEL²

In this section we will define each element of the model in turn and examine its association with urbanism. When possible, the connections of each with its preceding and following variables will also be reviewed. Finally, conceptual issues and research questions will be explored.

Urbanism: Size, Density, and Heterogeneity

Wirth defined the city as a "relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals." The immediate issue is: To what degree are population size, density, and diversity components of a single factor which might be termed "urban"?

A quite proper challenge has been tendered to treating urbanism as a single factor of three interdependent components, rather than as three distinct variables. Wirth did discuss the effects of each separately. Since, however, Wirth ascribed to each quite similar consequences and indicated that to produce those consequences the variables interacted, analysis of them as a single factor is therefore more true to the theory and more parsimonious than separate treatment would be. Furthermore, if they were considered as independent causes of different effects, one could not properly describe *urbanism* as a way of life, but, rather, would have to deal with "*size* as a way of life," and "*heterogeneity* as a way of life," which may ultimately be preferable, but is not the present theory. Finally, internal consistency is desirable in any operationalizable definition

which is used to distinguish a city from other phenomena and which attempts to be "inclusive enough to comprise whatever essential characteristics . . . different types of cities have in common" (Wirth, 1938: 7).³

Size and density, as might be expected, do covary (Duncan, 1957a), but associations with heterogeneity are more tenuous (Duncan, 1957a; Morris, 1968: 63-66). There are sufficient reports of homogeneous cities and heterogeneous rural areas to argue for separating the components (see Reiss, 1955). Among the other questions which arise are what forms of heterogeneity are important (e.g., ethnic, class, cultural, occupational), and to what degree do size and density generate heterogeneity (through differentiation and specialization)? Research designs to answer these queries should include broad samples of communities, measuring size, density, and various dimensions of diversity at different points in time and establishing both the synchronic and diachronic associations among the three variables. Efforts have been made in this direction (Hadden and Borgatta, 1965), but there is a paucity of detailed information about most communities—those at the lower end of the size distribution (especially below 10,000).

If size, density, and heterogeneity could not be accepted as a single factor, which one would best measure Wirth's urbanism? We shall set heterogeneity aside because of its definitional ambiguity, its low factor loading, and its apparent absence in many communities which common usage terms cities (see also note 3). Which, then, is more critical, size or density? The question is important for two reasons: First, population size is more crucial for the sociological argument in Wirth; density for the social-psychological one. Second, an answer would affect a decision about where to place suburbia on the rural-urban continuum. If size, then suburbs are parts of urban agglomerations. If density, then they are closer to rural places.⁴ In the following discussion, size will be considered the central variable, because it is more essential to the sociological hypotheses, and because size—population agglomeration—determines the other two factors, density and diversity.⁵

Nervous Stimulation

As population size, density, and heterogeneity increase, individuals who are part of that population are the (unwilling) recipients of increasing amounts of and increasing diversity in sensory stimuli calling for responses—both physical and social: other people, public messages, pleas for attention and concern. This raises the problem of "information overload" in the urban setting: more inputs than the human organism can handle. Simmel (1957) and, in a recent elaboration of Simmel, Milgram (1970) have stressed the importance of this feature of city life. A directly related problem is overcrowding (Hall, 1966).

It is true that the potential for interpersonal contact rises exponentially with size and density (Meier, 1962; Hauser, 1969; Milgram, 1970), and the overload argument does conform to common sense. However, there seems to be as yet no evidence that the average urbanite is—*ceteris paribus*—subject to greater stimulation than are average ruralites. While the number of persons per acre increases with city size, the average number of persons per room and per dwelling unit (where most of life is spent) actually decreases from rural to urban places (Duncan, 1957b; Carpenter, 1960; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971b; and my own analysis of 1960 census data).

Research ought to be directed toward accounting for—in the manner of time budgets—the time urban and rural people actually spend in crowded and other high stimulation situations.⁶ These findings should then be integrated with physiological studies of human responses to various forms of high stimulation.

Selection

The term selection is used here to encompass the different techniques people use to cope with conditions of high stimulation (see Miller, 1960). Among the techniques Milgram (1970) lists are blocking off inputs, giving less time to each input, and filtering them to reduce intensity. These processes can be

translated into Wirthian terms as "isolation," "transitoriness," "superficiality," and, in general, secondary relationships. They all involve the selection of which input, what aspect of it, and what degree the person will respond to.

There is evidence that organisms do react to overload in these selective ways (Miller, 1960), but no direct evidence is reported that urbanites behave this way (or need to) more so than do ruralites. (One could presumably test for the existence of such response habits in different populations by using the many available psychophysical techniques, in either the lab or the field. One could ask, for example, whether city dwellers have higher sound thresholds.) The evidence which is pointed to instead is either the assumed consequences of selection (i.e., the remainder of the Wirthian model) or the effects presumed to result due to inefficiencies in the selection procedure (e.g., irritability due to the overload). An index of such inefficiency might be the existence of subclinical neurotic symptoms (e.g., "nerves," "insomnia"). In a comparison of English city (dense) versus suburb (less dense), Pahl (1970: 125-127) reports no differences. Similarly, a six-nation study found no urban-rural differences in such symptoms (Inkeles, 1969a: 223-224). If these findings are replicated, we would then have to choose between rejecting the hypothesis or assuming that the adaptation processes are extremely successful.

It is germane to present here the issue of overcrowding, for the argument on this topic is that the density and stimulation of cities is such that adaptations are inevitably insufficient and "pathologies" must occur (see Hall, 1966; Carstairs, 1969).

Relying greatly on notions of innate, biological territoriality (Lorenz, 1966; Ardrey, 1966), theorists have pointed to studies of animals which demonstrated both physical and behavioral pathologies resulting from overcrowding (Calhoun, 1963; Dubos, 1970; Carstairs, 1969). The step, however, from animal behavior to human behavior is a shaky one (nor are the animal studies unchallenged; see Montagu, 1968). So more attention should be paid instead to recent social-psychological experiments on human crowding (Griffit and Veitch, 1971; Freedman

et al., 1971; Salzgeber et al., 1971; Baxter and Deanovich, 1970; Smith and Hayther, 1972). The results of these studies so far are mixed to unsupportive of the crowding-pathology notion, but they have only just begun.

At one level removed are areal studies of human crowding and pathologies. The association of population density to crime, morbidity, disease, and the like, is well known, but whether there is an effect of density independent of its correlates (class, ethnicity, age-structure, selective migration) is not at all certain (see reviews in Mitchell, 1971, and Freedman et al., 1971). One recent study of Chicago (Galle et al., 1971) argues that the only density which matters is person-per-room density—which is negatively related to urbanism (see above). Mitchell (1971) contends that even dwelling density need not be a problem if basic family functions can be scheduled properly.

This last point introduces one of the issues in crowding theory: (1) Space versus resources. The presumption in the theory is that it is loss of personal space which is critical. Yet, virtually all studies to date involve a concurrent decrease in other resources: food, water, attention, time, and so on. It should be feasible in experiments on both animals and men to manipulate space while holding constant or systematically varying other resources. (2) The earlier issue of how crowded are urbanites is relevant here. (3) Which is most critical, actual or psychological crowding? Social-psychological experiments should be able to tell us if the awareness of crowds—even independent of their immediate presence (as in an apartment house)—has an effect. (4) Studies should be done on the social meaning of crowding. Density tolerance seems to differ by occasion (Desor, 1971) and culture (Baxter, 1970; Hall, 1966). How would these social meanings relate to the day-to-day occasions of urban versus rural life?

Structural Differentiation

Individuals respond to urban stimuli differentially. Each attends to a somewhat unique (yet largely predictable) set of

persons, opportunities, and social interests. As total stimulation increases, the range to which each person responds narrows—i.e., becomes specialized.

This change, on the societal level, is termed structural differentiation. Smelser (1964: 261) describes it as a process whereby “one social role or organization . . . differentiates into two or more roles or organizations which function effectively in the new historical circumstances.” The number of distinct roles and institutions increases, as do the distinctions (specializations) among them. Examples include the division of labor resulting from the operation of comparative advantage; the separation of functions among kin, neighbors, and friends; and the specialization of the family. Physical space can also be conceived of as a structural dimension upon which differentiation—of land usage—can occur (e.g., the separation of home and work-place; ethnic neighborhoods).

This analysis follows Durkheim’s (1933) concept of “moral” (or dynamic) density: that social interaction under conditions of population concentration will generate competition, one result of which will be the division of labor (see also Schnore, 1958).

The association between structural differentiation and urbanism has commonly been assumed, and the former has even been considered the cause of the latter (e.g., Childe, 1951). Gibbs and Martin (1962) present empirical data to bolster this assumption: large correlations between a nation’s degree of economic diversification and its level of urbanization.⁷

Yet it is a different and more relevant question to ask whether population growth is associated with internal differentiation or causes it. The literature on preindustrial cities is conflicting on this point. Sjoberg (1965b) and Kolb (1954: 32), among others, suggest that such cities often were no more than collections of villages, differentiated only spatially and not functionally. On the other hand, Smith (1960) reports that preindustrial Japanese cities were differentiated. For modern American cities, Ogburn and Duncan (1964) demonstrate that the number of occupational specializations does increase with

city size; Keyes (1958) shows that the variety of "social facilities"—stores, associations, means of communication, and government agencies—also expands with community size; a small survey by Lasswell (1959) suggests that the number of social classes (perceived by students) increases with the size of towns.

What are needed are measurements of various types of structural differentiation (besides occupational and spatial) across a wide range of community sizes and levels of economic development. Schnaiberg's (1971) finding that, among Turkish women, urban residence is associated with less family production and more purchased consumption is one example. His study, however, is on the individual rather than the structural level of analysis. A problem to be coped with here was mentioned earlier—the dearth of detailed information about small communities.

Personality Differentiation

The differentiation of social institutions is reproduced in a differentiation of individual personality. This refers to the degree to which an individual's identity is divided among different and compartmentalized roles, associations, and interests—each with its own set of attitudes, beliefs, and habits (personalities—Mead's [1934: 142] idea of "multiple personalities" is similar). These different identities are insulated from one another by the segregation of time and situation. (For example: the tyrannical business executive can be a subdued husband at home and an egalitarian friend on the golf course—with little conflict among the different behavior sets.) Frankenburg (1965) uses a related concept, "role density," to highlight urban-rural differences: rural persons play different roles with the same people, while urbanites play different roles with different people. In the latter case, cross-role personality consistency could be less than in the former.

How fragmented are urban individuals' interests and ties compared to those of ruralites? The evidence is minimal either

way. Bell and Boat (1957) suggest that in their study of San Francisco men, informal ties were segmentalized, but Fried and Gleicher (1961) report the opposite, a great deal of overlap in ties (neighbor, kin, associate, and the like), in Boston's West End. Ethnic or class differences could account for the different results. In a small study of Santiago, Chile, natives and immigrants, Stephan and Stephan (1971) found that the long-time urban residents could identify a greater variety of roles in stimulus, TAT-like, pictures than did former rural residents. However, the effect was probably mediated by education.

If one assumed that personality differentiation presented a difficult identity management problem to people, then a prediction would be that manifestations of these difficulties—such as psychiatric disorders—should be greater among urban residents. The evidence on such disorders is mixed, some indicating that it is greater in urban areas (Clinard, 1964), some the reverse (Nelsen and Storey, 1969), and together being generally indefinite (Freeman and Giovannoni, 1969: 673-674; Trystram, 1970: 132). A recent review of nine assorted epidemiological studies in rural and urban field sites concludes that, overall, psychiatric disorders are more prevalent in urban places, and that the relationship varies by type—psychosis in rural areas, neurosis in urban—and largely within the lower class (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1971).

Time-budget and network analyses of city and country people could be conducted to examine the fragmented-interests assumption in this hypothesis (e.g., Reiss, 1959). Social and cognitive psychological experiments could be run on different populations to test the proposition that urbanites will have better learned to segregate cognitive elements. For example, can city people tolerate attitude-behavior and behavior-behavior dissonance across roles more than rural persons can?

Interrole Mobility

Due to their differentiated environment and interests, urban

individuals tend to move through more roles more often and more rapidly than do nonurban people. These moves are both cyclical and sequential. Over a day, an adult urban male may move from husband to commuter to executive to bridge-partner, and so forth. Meier, among others, has assumed that "there are many more public roles in urban life and any individual may alternate among scores of such roles within a single day whereas in rural life there is only a handful of alternative roles and in many days no more than one of them is played" (Meier, 1962: 8). Similarly, over a lifetime, the urbanite more than the ruralite will move through different life-cycle and occupational positions.

Whether there is a difference in diurnal mobility should be answerable by the time-budget approaches suggested above. Long-term mobility has been studied in a few ways, with mixed results.

One dimension for long-range mobility is status. There is evidence that mobility rates are greater in modern cities than in their hinterlands (Lipset and Bendix, 1964; Chevalier, 1955: 36), but this may not have been true in preindustrial cities (Sjoberg, 1960: 163-172). Greater amounts of mobility on various status dimensions should lead to lower correlations among these dimensions (especially under conditions of structural differentiation), implying less status consistency in cities. And small-scale studies support this hypothesis (e.g., Lane, 1968). But a recent examination of national survey data shows no difference in the intercorrelations of statuses within different-sized metropolitan areas (Goertzel, 1970).

Space is also a social dimension, and different places of residence can be considered as different roles on this dimension. Thus, residential mobility is relevant. Rates of such mobility do not seem to increase with community size. Change of residence has been found to be high in some rural areas (e.g., French villages: Wylie, 1964: 352) and low in urban ones (e.g., Boston: Fried and Gleicher, 1961). Comparative studies in the United States do not support the prediction of higher urban mobility (Duncan, 1957a; Reiss, 1955; Hadden and Borgatta, 1965; U.S.

Bureau of the Census, 1971a, 1968);⁸ One cross-cultural study, however, is supportive. Gordon (1970) found a positive correlation between community size and the existence of neolocality (the establishment of separate households by newlyweds) across cultures.

Mobility has been sufficiently studied so that we can consider its influences on other elements in the model. Many hypotheses have been formulated to the effect that interclass mobility disrupts primary relationships and social cohesion (which would be consistent with the present theory). Janowitz's (1970) review of the research material, as well as more recent data (e.g., Kessin, 1971), support these hypotheses and, thereby, the Wirthian model. However, the evidence is by no means uniform (see Bruce, 1970; Simpson, 1970) and there are also methodological problems in analyzing mobility (Blalock, 1966).

Residential mobility is also said to impede interpersonal relations and social integration (e.g., Ledrut, 1968). For example, transience is presumed to reduce an individual's interest in his locality (Janowitz, 1967: 120-122), but the evidence on this point is equivocal (Alford and Scoble, 1968). More clearly, it appears that friendship and other interpersonal ties can weather residential moves—if only through formal and impersonal mechanisms ("formal integration"; Litwak, 1960; Fellin and Litwak, 1963; Caplow and Foreman, 1950). One safe generalization is that "spatial mobility makes for city-wide ties; stability for local ties and most urban residents have both" (Smith et al., 1954: 284; also Rossi, 1955). As one last note supportive of Wirth, Angell (1947) found, on the ecological level, that mobility rates were negatively correlated with "moral integration" (low crime rates, high welfare effort) across a sample of large cities.

There is no need to exhort sociologists to study long-term mobility, and the tools for such study are available. What is still missing is consensus on its relation to urbanism and on its effects.

Formal Integration

As structural differentiation and role transience increase in a

system, new structures—new functional adaptations—arise to integrate both institutions and individuals (Smelser, 1964). In Weber's (1964: 324-386) sense of "formal," they involve rational and legal procedures for governing institutional processes and interpersonal interaction. The procedures are bureaucratic, and the interactions are of a secondary—rather than a primary—group nature. As in Durkheim's (1933) depiction of a differentiated society, it is the means of "organic solidarity"—functional, contractual relations—which maintain order. Consistent with this analysis, Wirth hypothesized the decline of kinship, neighborhood, and informal groupings and, in their place, the growth of formal agencies of affiliation and control: associations, corporate enterprises, codified and mediated methods of social control, and mass media.

There are three major areas of research on this topic: kinship, informal groups, and formal voluntary associations. A prevailing opinion is that the importance of kinship is less in urban areas, that extended family ties are replaced by nuclear family arrangements (Goode, 1963). There is reason to believe that kinship linkages are indeed different in the city. For example, kin may be dispersed over a wider range and be less often used for functional purposes than in the country (Litwak, 1960). Nevertheless, what is more striking in the relevant data is how kinship is being continually rediscovered in urban settings. The persistent strength of familial ties in cities has been reported by ethnographers from around the world.⁹ Comparative studies are rare, but one cross-cultural survey revealed no association between size of settlement and the prevalence of nuclear versus extended families in a culture (Gordon, 1970; see also Greenfield, 1961). In Ankara Province, Turkey, Schnaiberg (1971) found a correlation between urbanism and family nuclearization, but it was largely due to educational differences. In a small American sample, Key (1968) found family ties to be important in both rural and very urban areas, and he suggests that the family reemerges in cities because it becomes there the sole social support amid urban isolation. At this point, the most probable correct conclusion is that of two reviewers of the

literature—that kinship remains a major institution in the urban environment (Morris, 1968: 25; Greer, 1962: 90).

The same holds true for nonkin primary groups. Most of the studies cited in note 9 report strong primary relationships (see also Bell and Boat, 1957). In a study of time budgets, Reiss (1959) found that Nashville residents spent at least as much of their time in primary contacts as did nearby rural people of the same class.

Correspondingly, the level of formal associational memberships in cities seems lower than Wirth would have expected (Komorovsky, 1946; Dotson, 1951; Greer, 1962: 91). The data show either no correlation between membership and size of community (Wright and Hyman, 1958), even controlling for education (Curtis, 1971) or a curvilinear one where membership peaks in moderately sized cities (Key, 1968). Furthermore, two studies suggest that those formal ties which do exist do not replace primary ties but are perhaps used to further them (Bell and Boat, 1957; Axelrod, 1956).

Regarding formal social control, a recent study of urban police practice found that such control was in reality much affected by the personal relations between the complainant and the accused (Black and Reiss, 1970; Black, 1970). Reiss (1955) has argued that informal pressure should be just as strong in cities as elsewhere because the social worlds within which people actually operate (family, work group, and so on) are just as small. There are African data to support that argument (Bascom, 1963).

One problem in the research on these topics is the heavy weight of ethnographies. Though they are invaluable in opening new worlds of data, they are also limited—in replicability, in comparability (to be able to say something about relative differences), and in that they are particularly subject to the problem of an “investigator effect”—finding that for which one is looking. An ethnographer attempting to describe kinship in an urban community is quite likely to find it there (see the Lewis-Redfield debate on Tepotzlan).

In addition, a great deal of the generalization about institutions is based on individual-level data. We need empirical

research measuring the relative presence of formal versus informal institutions in different settings. For example, the number of associations per capita may actually decrease with a city size increase (Martin, 1959: n. 24). (In doing this research, guard must be kept against measuring an institutional form of "selective migration." That is, headquarters of formal organizations may locate in cities, but the urbanites there may be no more parts of them than are ruralites in the same country.)

At the same time, measurements should be taken of the degree to which an individual's actions are influenced by or employ formal institutions rather than informal ones. For example, are urbanites more likely to make occupational moves on the basis of public information (versus personal contacts) than ruralites (controlling for class; see Tilly, 1965)? Are they more likely to use formal rather than informal political influence?

Impersonality

Impersonality is the cognitive complement of a formally integrated social structure: An individual understands the world in terms of his formal roles and the formal rules of interaction. Interpersonally, it is an orientation to others on the basis of those attributes of the others which are relevant to specific activities—as "objects" or "tools"—rather than on the basis of whole and unique personalities. In Parsonian language, the patterns assumed to be characteristic of urbanites' value-orientations are universalism, achievement, specificity, affective neutrality, and self-orientation (Parsons, 1964: 58-67; noted also by Kolb, 1954: 33). Subsumed here by the concept of "impersonality" are Wirth's terms, rationality, secularism, pecuniary nexus, evaluating others according to their utility, sophistication, and toleration of differences.

General ethnographies of urban life tend to cast doubt on the suggestion of impersonality being an urban trait. They report the persistence of personalistic, particularistic attitudes in cities. For example, Gans (1962a: 89 ff.) stresses that his "urban

villagers" were person-oriented (versus object-oriented). Sjoberg (1960: 178, 191) stresses the particularism of preindustrial cities.

Bits of more quantitative data also fail to support the hypothesis: Bell and Boat (1957: 398) judged 85% of an urban sample not to be maintaining interpersonal ties solely for their utility. Stone (1954) found that half of a sample of urban shoppers were influenced by other than impersonal factors (nor was this variable related to rural-urban origin).

These are single-place studies, but they are consistent with two comparative and larger ones. Christie and Geis (1970: 318) report that, in an American national survey, "Machiavellianism"—a personality trait marked by exploitative, manipulative orientations toward others¹⁰—was unrelated to urban residence (though there are some more limited data suggesting that it may be positively associated with urban origin; Christie and Geis, 1970: 318-320). Analysis of survey data from six developing nations suggests that urbanism is not related to a psychological dimension of modernism once covariates are controlled (Aksoy, 1969).¹¹

One well-studied form of universalism is racial or ethnic "tolerance"—orienting to people on bases other than their ethnicity. If the model is valid, the larger the community, the less prejudiced the people, *ceteris paribus*. The evidence does indicate strongly that urban people are less prejudiced and also more in favor of civil rights measures (Selznik and Steinberg, 1969; Nelsen and Yokley, 1970; Fischer, 1971; Berelson and Steiner, 1964: 606), though there are negative findings (Stember, 1966: 226; Lever and Wagner, 1968). Controlling for associated factors like education reduces this relationship strongly, but may not eliminate it altogether or in all cases (Selznik and Steinberg, 1969: 114, 176; Fischer, 1971; Ross, 1972; Nelsen and Yokley, 1970).¹²

The development of instruments measuring these cognitive orientations would be helpful, particularly if they could be constructed to be more content-free than prejudice or modernism scales, much as the Machiavellian scale attempts to be. An interesting question which arises is whether, with regard to the

same type of relationship, urbanites tend to be more impersonal than ruralites. Are they more likely to view friends in light of favors (see Bell and Boat 1957), to more often consider contact with relatives as appropriate only for specific family occasions, to more frequently restrict after-work office conversation to work-related topics? This is asking in effect, what the relative emotional depths of urban versus rural relationships are—independent of the actual existence of those relationships (see Guterman, 1969).

Isolation

It is hypothesized that, in a formal social environment marked by impersonality, urbanites are isolated from each other. By this, we mean that they interact (at other than superficial levels) with fewer persons and less often than do ruralites. Compacted physically, yet isolated socially, the city populace is seen as a "lonely crowd." The members of the crowd are anonymous, aloof, and uninvolved. (The reader will also recall that isolation is considered to be a basic form of adaptation to psychic overload.)

Once again, ethnographies tend to cast doubt on the reality of such interpersonal estrangement (e.g., Gans, 1962a; Whyte, 1955; Young and Willmott, 1957; Suttles, 1968; Abu-Lughod, 1961; Liebow, 1967; see the review of African literature in Epstein, 1967). They discover many urbanites who are deeply involved in personal relationships. At the same time, isolation, or at least interpersonal distrust, has been noted in studies of small communities (Wylie, 1964; Lewis, 1960; Foster, 1967; Banfield, 1958; see also the discussion in Foster, 1960-1961).

In surveys, samples of urban residents report high levels of kin and friendship interaction (Greer, 1962: 91; Axelrod, 1956; Smith et al., 1954; Bell and Boat, 1957) and low levels of expressed sense of isolation (Seeman et al., 1971). Comparative studies on interaction are, as usual, rare. Key's (1968) study suggested that frequency of personal contact was not related to urbanism, but that the forms of such contacts were related in nonlinear ways to community size. (Group contact—both formal and in-

formal—peaked in the middle-sized communities, while family contacts—both immediate and extended—troughed in the center of the range.) Bultena (1969) found that elderly persons in a Wisconsin city were at least as likely to see their siblings and children as were the rural aged.

Three comparative studies on isolation also controlled for differences in the characteristics of the populations. One is the Reiss (1959) time-budget study, in which city (Nashville) persons were found to have as much primary contact as matched rural persons. An Australian study (Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963) failed to find an association between the nature of friendship ties among college students and the urbanism of their homes. Yet, in a study of East Coast hotel employees, Guterman (1969) found that large-city respondents reported less intimacy with friends than did small-town respondents. However, the results were marginally significant and due solely to the difference between New York and all other places. Overall, there seems little support for the isolation hypothesis.

Asking people in different places for detailed accounts of their interactions could clarify this point—at least with regard to reported behavior. The “small-world” technique (Travers and Milgram, 1969—having people attempt to reach a target person via first-name acquaintances) might be used to trace real networks in cities and small towns and would shed light on the nature of those networks.

A form of actual behavior studied relevant to this question is “prosocial behavior”—intervention by people to help others (see Darley and Latané, 1968; Krebs, 1970). The passive witnessing of the murder of Kitty Genovese by 38 people in New York City seemed testimony to urbanites’ isolation from each other. Stimulated by this event, social psychologists have conducted field experiments on the determinants of intervention. For example, Piliavin et al. (1969) found almost universal willingness to help stricken strangers on a New York subway train. But such help was not as forthcoming in Harvard Square (Staub and Baer, 1970).

Studies by Milgram’s students (Milgram, 1970) suggest that

there is comparatively less willingness to help strangers in the large cities than in small towns. However, a recent use of Milgram's own "lost-letter" technique (leaving addressed, "lost," envelopes—sometimes unstamped—in public places and measuring the relative rates of return) showed at least as much willingness to act in Illinois cities as villages (Forbes and Gromoll, 1971).

Such field studies of actual behavior hold promise, but there is a problem of interpretation. Darley and Latané (1968: 71) argue that prosocial actions are not as much a reflection of estrangement and motivation as of definition of the situation. In that case, their relevance becomes debatable. Actual observations of interactions and Reiss-type time-budget studies may yield more definitive evidence about the extent and character of urban interpersonal relationships.

Anomie

For both Durkheim and Wirth, a formally integrated, organic solidarity society could not be as cohesive and consensual as a society of mechanical solidarity. In their rootlessness and isolation, individuals are less subject to group pressures, and the cumulative effect is a condition of low normative cohesion in the society—anomie. Those norms which do exist have low consensus and little power (see Durkheim, 1951: 246-254; Merton, 1968: 185-249). Concomitantly, there is no sense of community, of collective life (Ledrut, 1968).

The anthropological studies of urban life cited earlier (note 9) tend to deny this description of anomie for both industrialized and preindustrial cities. (To the previous references can be added Janowitz, 1967, and Wirth, 1956.) African studies stress the role of kinship and ethnic groups in maintaining intragroup integration in urban areas (Bascom, 1963; Little, 1965; Miner, 1952; Hanna and Hanna, 1971). One French study even warns of overintegration and stifling social pressure in certain urban neighborhoods (Ledrut, 1968: 161-164).

"Harder" data are difficult to come by. In one study of

consensus on political issues, Ennis (1962) found that as community size increased, interclass consensus decreased (anomie?), but interreligious consensus increased (see also Key, 1961: 110-118). After a review of survey findings, Nelson (1969) concludes that anomie is not rife among urban migrants.

An obvious problem here is that of arriving at an index of anomie on the aggregate level. The usual technique is to measure individual alienation or the presumed behavioral indicator of anomie, deviance, but the latter index assumes what should be proven (see Wilson, 1971, for a study suggesting that anomie and deviance may in some cases be negatively related). One can find, however, a great deal of political data on the aggregate level. Yet an interpretational problem complicates their use.

It can be argued that a high level of political activity (e.g., for democratic politics: heavy campaigning, high turnouts) in a community is an indicator of normative dissensus and anomie. Cohesive communities do not have call for political conflict ("the end of ideology"). Also, formal participation (e.g., voting) can be considered an anomic substitute for informal, personal, conflict resolution. On the other hand, in democratic societies at least, political participation is itself normative, and, by this argument, a high level of activity would indicate integration. In addition, high levels of political behavior could reflect clashes between groups which, though disagreeing with each other, may be highly cohesive internally. Thus, political data, which are readily available on the aggregate level, have ambiguous implications for the present concerns.

The issue of political involvement will be picked up again shortly. Here we can say only that direct measures of anomie (other than general ethnographic descriptions) are lacking and sorely needed.

Alienation

In an anomic society, incongruencies arise between the understandings and motivations individuals should have—

"should" in the sense of normative oughts, functional needs of the system, and modal patterns—and those they actually do have. This lack of fit due to anomie we call alienation (see Jessor et al., 1968, for a similar usage). The confusion around the term alienation is historic. In order not to add to it, we will define it more precisely as composed of three (out of five) dimensions described by Seeman (1959): powerlessness, normlessness, and meaninglessness.^{1 3} These are personality-structure incongruencies in that cohesive (eunomic) systems adequately socialize a sense of efficacy in the performance of roles, adherence to the norms of those roles, and complementary expectations about the results of role behavior. Presumably, these are done less effectively in the anomic city.

There is an alternative model linking urban life to alienation. Durkheim (1951) suggested that urban life exposes people to such riches that their aspirations skyrocket beyond reason, and they suffer the alienating consequences of relative deprivation. This hypothesis finds some support in a Chilean study which discovered higher aspirations and lower satisfactions among central-city than among fringe-city migrants (Briones and Waisanen, 1969).

In any case, direct, adequate tests of either urbanism-alienation theory are minimal. Srole's (1956) anomia scale was intended as an index of a normlessness-meaninglessness psychological dimension. Surveys using it or similar items have failed to find an association (Mizruchi, 1969), have had it disappear after controls (Killian and Grigg, 1962), have found no association with rural versus urban *origin* (Bell, 1957), or have found mixed results (Nelsen and Frost, 1971; Rotondo, 1962; Prabhu, 1956; see also Germani, 1969: 20). However, all these studies involve very partial samples. In addition, the Srole scale is somewhat ambiguous as an alienation measure (and more like an index of despair). Though other operationalizations of the alienation dimensions have been formulated (e.g., Nettler, 1957), they are as yet to be applied systematically to large samples on this question.

One more comprehensively studied form of alienation is

political alienation, and, as an index of it, political noninvolvement. People who view themselves as inefficacious, political success as necessarily corrupt, or the political structure as incomprehensible should presumably participate less (at least in normative ways). Thus, urbanism should be correlated with more political alienation and less (legitimate) political participation.

There is, interestingly, a contrasting prediction in the political science literature. Theories of social mobilization (Deutsch, 1961) and centrality (Lane, 1959; Shils, 1961) suggest that, because cities are centers of communication networks and locales of political elites, urban residents should be more informed and more involved politically than their rural countrymen.

In evaluating both these hypotheses, two distinctions must be made:

- (1) The attitudinal component of psychological involvement (nonalienation) must be distinguished from the behavioral component of participation (especially voting). These two variables, though associated across individuals, appear to operate differently across communities.¹⁴
- (2) Local interest and activity should be analytically separated from extralocality (e.g., national politics; see the discussion in Verba and Nie, 1972).¹⁵

The data available on urbanism and political alienation are inconsistent. Studies of voting turnout in the United States find it positively associated with city size (Milbrath, 1965) or unrelated (Alford and Lee, 1968). But, in France and Japan, rural areas turn out more (Tarrow, 1971; Wylie, 1964; Ward, 1960; Kyoguku and Iké, 1960). Other studies use dependent variables which cross over the distinctions we drew on attitudes, behavior, and locus of interest. In an American sample, Finifter (1970) found a statistically significant but very small, independent, positive effect of city size on alienation. However, the French and Japanese data show less alienation from politics in

the cities than in the countryside (Tarrow, 1971; Kyoguku and Iké, 1960); two international surveys yield essentially no independent effect of urbanism (Inkeles, 1969b; Nie et al., 1969; see also Burstein, 1972).

Political phenomena provide riches of data, but what to expect in terms of Wirth's model is unclear (see discussion above). Even when such clarity appears, the task will remain of measuring and investigating other aspects of the total alienation predicted of urbanites.

Deviance

A society of weak normative cohesion and poor personality-structure integration is predicted to have greater amounts of deviance. We mean deviance in its broadest sense, as behavior different from that which is normatively expected (by the society's center [Shils, 1961] and in terms of dominant, explicit norms). Such behavior may be illegal, odd, or simply innovative (as in new life styles). Associated with such deviant behavior would be less condemnation of others' deviance (or again, the tolerance factor). It is this problem of "public misbehavior"—both criminal and noncriminal—which Wilson considers the source of "urban unease" (Wilson, 1968).

The innovative nature of urban life has been stressed in histories of the city (see Turner, 1941; Jacobs, 1969), and there are some empirical data to suggest a correlation between residence and invention (Ogburn and Duncan, 1964; Thompson, 1965: 49-50).¹⁶

Criminality, especially with regard to property crimes, is clearly related today to community size in many nations (Wolfgang, 1970; Westergaard, 1966: 8; Szabo, 1960; Hauser, 1957: 221-233; Ennis, 1967; this is reflected in attitudes as well—Nelsen, Reed, and Tish, 1971). The data with regard to preindustrial cities are less certain. Sjoberg (1960: 249) reports high crime incidence in such cities. But, Bascom (1963) reports crime to be low in preindustrial African cities, and a study of nineteenth-century Massachusetts crime statistics concluded that urbanization had a "settling" effect (Lane, 1969). Data on

violent crime are also mixed, some—especially American—showing higher rates of criminal violence in large cities than in small towns (Wolfgang, 1970; Ennis, 1967), others showing trends in the opposite direction (Szabo, 1960). A historical review of city violence reveals that urban-rural differentials fluctuated greatly through different periods in European history (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969).

A less serious form of deviance might be termed “moral deviance”—e.g., alcoholism, divorce, illegitimacy. The generalization about these forms of deviance is that they occur more often in cities than in the countryside (Clinard, 1964; Dublin, 1963; Trice, 1966). It should be noted, though, that there are reversals: suicide in France (Gemaehling in Friedman, 1953: 347); divorce in Washington state, Japan, and Egypt (Lillywhite, 1952; Kawashima and Steiner, 1960; Abu-Lughod, 1964); illegitimacy in Scandinavia (Westergaard, 1966: 7-8). In terms of *attitudes* on moral issues, city people are more deviant or nontraditional regarding a whole gamut of topics.¹⁷

One such moral issue is religion. The evidence in modern societies supports the proposition that “the larger the community, the lower the level of religious observance” (Argyle, 1968: 425; see Nelsen, Yokley, and Madron, 1971; Carlos, 1970; Photiadis, 1967; Schnaiberg, 1971; Butterworth, 1962; Berelson and Steiner, 1964: 606). In contrast, preindustrial cities have been noted as places of great religious importance (Sjoberg, 1964: 140; 1960; Lewis, 1952; Textor, 1956; Husain, 1956). This latter observation may be confounded, however, with the problem of what anthropologists term “great” versus “little” cultural tradition in preindustrial societies. (Urban elites may have what is for all practical purposes a different religion from the rest of the population.)

Another form of deviance is political. There is much evidence that leftist orientation—assuming that it is deviant from center political values—is generally greater in cities (Lipset, 1963: 264-267; Carpenter, 1960; Sears, 1969: 409; Beers, 1953; Marx, 1969: 52—but not Haer, 1952). Tolerance for political nonconformity is also correlated with urbanism (Stouffer, 1966,

though the association disappears once population characteristics are controlled, as indicated by my reanalysis of tables presented by Stouffer [1966: 120-121].

Violent political deviance is often conceived of as an effect of urbanization, but empirical data from Europe do not support such an assumption (Tilly, 1969a, 1969b), nor does political violence seem to be associated with migration to cities (Nelson, 1969). The Tilly and Nelson data reinforce the warnings of historians that sociologists have been somewhat blind to the disorder of small communities (Lane, 1970; Smith, 1968).

Social scientists have available a great deal of data on deviance—criminal statistics, demographic reports, voting records, attitude surveys—and generally the evidence tends to support Wirth. Yet, for all the data, rarely have covariate factors been controlled and the independent (or interactive) effects of urbanism assessed (for some efforts, see Schnaiberg, 1971; Gastil, 1971; Photiadis, 1967). This is a simply stated need. A more complex problem is to differentiate deviance, both by *type* (e.g., deviant from whose norms) and by *context* (e.g., in an atheistic society, are city dwellers more religious?). This is also a way of asking for a clarification of the social disorganization concept which appears in most of the general writing on urbanism.

Malaise

There is an implication in Wirth and other writers that, beyond the behavioral consequences of urbanism, there is a further one: malaise. Urban life is portrayed as colored with unease (Wilson, 1968), disturbance, and melancholy (see discussion in Seeman, 1971). This is, however, not logically necessary in terms of the model we have outlined. There is no a priori reason why isolated, alienated, or deviant persons should be unhappy.

Yet an argument can be made that, in an environment where one is surrounded by deviance (public misbehavior for Wilson), beset by stimuli which tax one's psychic capacities, and bereft of close personal ties, malaise should be expected.

Some support for this hypothesis is provided by surveys which show that people in cities desire to live in smaller places (United States: Gallup, 1970; Harris, 1970; Netherlands: *Polls* of the summer of 1967). However, when people are asked to reflect upon their personal conditions, they give little support to the argument that city people are less happy than rural persons. The Srole anomia scale cited above has some face validity as a measure of despair, and, as indicated, it seems unrelated to urbanism. Cantril's (1965) fourteen-nation survey in the early 1960s showed that urbanites rated their life situations higher than did ruralites. Even in America in 1971, there was no greater personal malaise in the larger cities than in the small towns (Cantril and Roll, 1971: 70-71),¹⁸ nor were the worries of urbanites much different from those of others (1971: 60-61).

In this data, though, covariates may be masking an actual difference, since city dwellers are better off economically than country people. Survey data I am presently analyzing suggests, however, that there would be little difference if that were controlled.

EVALUATION

The model which we have abstracted from Wirth needs first to be evaluated in terms of logic. It is not obvious that each step follows from the previous, largely because the nature of the phenomena is so complex that there are unstated assumptions and unspecified mechanisms involved in each linkage. But the arguments are in line with basic sociological and psychological knowledge.

Serious questions can be raised about the model's logical consistency. For example, might not the malaise which is said to arise be cathartically expunged on ethnic scapegoats, thereby negating much of the universalism of urban life? Similarly, might not the problem of overload be such that the selection process becomes rigid in a biased, personalistic way? Milgram (1970) suggests that, under overload, race becomes an easy selection criteria for deciding whether to help other people.

Might not the differentiation of the population isolate subgroups from each other such that their internal normative cohesion is maintained? The immense scope of the theory makes such problems almost inevitable.

However, the specific model we presented in Figure 1 is but one effort to abstract Wirth—largely for the purpose of organizing the issues—and not necessarily the only possible scheme. What is more central to urbanism as a way of life is the proposition that *urbanism* per se (size, density, and heterogeneity) causes certain social and psychological phenomena. That is the essential proposition, no matter the specific mechanism proposed. An ideal test would utilize processual analysis, but clean time-series data (i.e., where urbanism is the only independent variable changing over time) is rare, if at all existent (see Berger, 1960). With cross-sectional data, we are left only the question of whether urbanism, all else being equal, is associated with certain social phenomena.

First, is urbanism associated with isolation, deviance, rationality, or the like? Most of the studies in the literature cannot answer the question because they are not comparative (or are comparative only in the sense that the object of study was compared to an ideal-type contrast).

Second, is urbanism independently associated with these phenomena? To answer that question, comparative data must be subjected to controls for covariates. Here, our model is quite useful because it points out that not *all* other factors should be controlled. Some, such as interrole mobility and formal associations, play an intermediary role in the causal processes. But, most social and psychological variables—as we argued earlier—are extraneous to the model and should be controlled out. The fact that, in the United States, for example, city people are disproportionately non-Protestant, well-educated, and of foreign parentage, or that large cities are disproportionately in the Northeast, is not inherent in the model and should be excluded. Only a handful of studies do that.¹⁹ (It would be a plausible hypothesis that urbanism's effects are mediated through increases in class or occupational status—but it would be a very different theory from the one under consideration.)

A further problem is that of urbanism versus urbanization. By necessity, many of the studies cited confound the effects of moving to a city with the effects of being in a city. City-ward migration is another factor in need of control.

Thus, there is little evidence of sufficient quality to draw an adequate conclusion for or against the theory. Yet one can get a feel of the data. Such a feel suggests that Wirth was wrong or not well supported on many specifics (kinship, isolation, malaise), but correct on a couple of critical ones, differentiation and, especially, deviance. For many parts of the model (e.g., selection, personality differentiation), it would be wrong to say that there is even a feel in the data.

One theme which emerges in much of the writing about Wirth is that he may have confounded class with urbanism. Much of his description of urban life seems applicable to either the lowest classes (social disorganization) or the highest classes (sophistication, rationality)—groups which are particularly visible in the city—but not applicable to the large middle mass. An even stronger theme is that the model is particularly inapplicable to preindustrial cities, suggesting that Wirth, in spite of his own warning, confused the effects of urbanism with those of industrialism (Morris, 1968: 22; Gans, 1962b: 627; Ledrut, 1968: 180; Kolb, 1954).

Dissatisfaction—whether just or not—with the Wirthian model of urbanism's effects has led to reformulations.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS

Alternative analyses of urbanism as a way of life can be grouped into three types, to which we shall add a fourth.

Substitution of Social for Ecological Factors

The argument of this school—termed “nonmaterialist” by Sjoberg (1965a)—is that “the variables of number, density and heterogeneity . . . are not crucial determinants of social life or personality” (Lewis, 1965: 497). What are critical are class,

ethnicity, stage in life cycle, and values (see also Gans, 1962b; Kolb, 1954; Reiss, 1955).

Consistent with this view would be an interpretation of urbanism as an *addition* to rural lifeways rather than as a substitute for them.²⁰ In this perspective, urban residents have rural relationships (i.e., primary ones) plus opportunities for impersonal ones (see Bell and Boat, 1957). The coexistence in African cities of new mutual-aid associations and traditional kinship organization is an illustration (see Hanna and Hanna, 1971).

Supportive of this analysis are studies which discover distinctive ways of life—even communities—within the city (e.g., Suttles, 1968; Janowitz, 1967; Greer, 1956; Wirth, 1956). Sometimes these life styles are essentially continuations of peasant ones (Gans, 1962a; Willems, 1970; Butterworth, 1962).

To the degree to which there are no urban-rural differences, or those differences which do exist are attributable to the distribution of specific groups across the urban-rural continuum, this argument is supported. If independent effects of urban residence are established, then special urban (ecological) mechanisms must be accommodated by the nonmaterialists.

Societal Level of Analysis

According to this approach, "the nation, rather than the city, is the meaningful unit for analysis of urbanization" (Reissman, 1964: 196). Cities are but the most visible and extreme cases of what are societywide phenomena. They are quantitatively but not qualitatively distinct from nonurban sectors of the nation.

Some authors expand on this argument by applying Wirth's own model to the national level. They discuss population size as a central factor, but in terms of societal scale and mass society (Greer, 1962; Morris, 1968; Stein, 1964; Pahl, 1970; Reissman, 1964). The effects are the same as those which Wirth proposed for cities, but they occur throughout the society (perhaps first in cities).

Other writers change the independent variable, focusing on "technical" versus "natural" milieu (Friedman, 1953), the

degree of overlap in the roles people play (Frankenberg, 1965), or nationalism (Reissman, 1964). Again, the effects on the national level are essentially the same as the Wirthian ones: isolation, alienation, and anomie.

An important conclusion of this analysis is that the city as a distinctive cultural entity does not exist or is disappearing (Martindale, 1958).

Analyses of differences within a single country at one point in time are not very germane to this approach, since the nation is the unit of concern. However, to the degree to which there are any internal urban-rural differences of substance and duration, this theoretical approach is challenged.

Specification

There is a large range of theories which accept the Wirth model in whole or in part, but which specify the particular conditions under which it holds true. One approach is to specify by urban typology: some kinds of cities generate this phenomenon, others do not (Ledrut, 1968; Lopez, 1963; Redfield and Singer, 1954; Abu-Lughod, 1968; Cahnman, 1966). This is particularly critical in former colonial territories, where European-founded cities differ from traditional native cities. Another distinction is to specify by the fundamental values of the society's culture: e.g., urban anomie is considered a Western condition (Kolb, 1954; Hauser, 1965b).

Most commonly, the condition which is specified is pre- versus postindustrialization: urbanism as a unique way of life develops in the cities of an industrialized and predominantly urbanized society (Handlin, 1963; Powell, 1962; Redfield, 1947; Lefebvre, 1968).²¹ Further elaborated, this theory suggests that, as a society passes into a postindustrial state tightly knit by mass communications and transportation, urban-rural differences are once again minimal (e.g., Firey et al., 1957).

Failure to find urban-rural differences in the nonindustrialized world supports this theory. However, at the same time, this

revision of Wirth requires some evidence of differences in industrializing societies.

Convergence

There is often the hypothesis, in both the societal-level and the specification approaches, that urban-rural differences are decreasing in the modern world. Perhaps the most specific variation on this theme is Sjoberg's (1964; see also Germani, 1969). In preindustrial society, life in the urban centers epitomizes cultural ideals (e.g., worship at the temple). Some urban-rural differences exist because rural persons are too impoverished to fulfill those ideals. In transitional societies, the urban elite is adopting new life styles just as the peasantry is becoming able to achieve the old—a process which has been termed "lagging emulation" (Friedl, 1964). Urban-rural differences are now acute. With completed industrialization comes the mass society, convergence, and the disappearance of urban-rural differences.

One problem with the hypothesis is the confounding of class with place of residence (urban elites versus rural peasantry). Another is the need to clarify the mechanism of convergence. Are the causal variables diffusing (e.g., scale) or just the resultant effects (e.g., attitudes)?

In any case, valid tests of this theory would require data on the extent of urban-rural differences in nonindustrialized societies (now or in the past), the degree to which they were due to urbanism and the nature of the differences in modern societies. To date, there are only lesser bits of evidence. Many observers report general declines in city-country contrasts (e.g., for France: Trystram, 1970; Wylie, 1963). Suicide rate differentials are said to be declining in the United States (Dublin, 1963), as are differences in anti-semitism (Stember, 1966: 226). On the other hand, differentials in homicide seem constant or increasing (Wolfgang, 1970). Regional differences in American opinions seem not to be decreasing (Glenn and Simmons, 1967). Wright and Hyman's (1958) study of

associational membership found that the overall urbanization of counties did not affect urban-rural differences within the counties. Wylie (1964: 38) found that the introduction of communication and transportation into a French village did not seriously affect human relationships, but Lewis (1960) found that they did in a Mexican town. The fragmentary nature of these items underscores the need for systematic cross-cultural historical comparisons.

Urban Subcultures

The theories just discussed certainly do not exhaust the possible reformulations of urbanism as a way of life. Here, we will add another. It draws heavily on the work of the non-materialists cited above, but differs in that the ecological nature of the city is a factor. Briefly, it argues that cities are the sites for many diverse and flourishing subcultures, and it is that characteristic which generates some urban-rural differences.

Largely because of the opportunity structure of the city, it both attracts and generates certain population types. It attracts individuals such as single males for heavy labor (largely in Asia and Africa), single females for lighter work (Western nations), individuals overspecialized in their home communities or in need of special services. Its economic opportunities also attract kinship groups as whole ethnocultural units. The more culturally diverse the city's hinterland, the more diverse the migrants it attracts.

The city generates types, in that its numbers support the emergence of specialists of all sorts: surgeons, dog shampooers, sociologists, jewel thieves, and so on.

This growth of diversified groups results in two conflicting processes: subcultural intensification and cultural diffusion.

Intensification means that those groups which existed as social entities outside the city have stronger beliefs, values, and normative cohesion (the opposite of anomie). Those groups emerging as distinctive aggregates in the city establish cultural values and norms. Intensification occurs in at least two ways: (1) The numbers in each group at different points in their

growth reach critical masses such that subcultural institutions can develop (e.g., political power and national churches for ethnic groups; hangouts for bohemians; bookstores for intellectuals; museums for artists; and 'turfs' for each group). These institutions strengthen the subculture and attract more of its members to the city. (2) Contrasts with other subcultures intensify people's identification with and adherence to their own. Whereas Wirth thought that the clash of different values in the city might negate all values, this argument suggests that internal cohesion is strengthened by contact. Epstein (1967), in his review of urbanization in Africa, notes that conscious tribal identification emerges in the city because people come to realize that the rest of the world is different from their own group.

As the intensification process occurs, a force in the opposite direction is also in play, diffusion. No matter how isolated a group is in the city, it will occasionally be touched by other groups. The rate of diffusion of values into the group will vary (depending, for example, on the openness of the subculture), but it will occur.

The counterplay of diffusion and intensification suggests that the diffusion process will have a number of interesting characteristics. First, it will be delayed by the intensification process. So, for example, immigrant parents resist acculturation; their children welcome it. Second, diffusion is likely to occur first with relatively superficial cultural items (e.g., dress, superstitions, political attitudes, rituals, and the like) and only later with deeper items (kinship structure, *weltanschauung*, cultural values, and so forth). From this argument follows the prediction that urban-rural differences (as created by the specific subcultures of the city) should be greater for superficial than for fundamental beliefs and values. Third, though diffusion is likely to go from the top down (center-periphery; Shils, 1961), the intensification process may lead to diffusion both ways (e.g., the spread of black ghetto slang, music, and dress to middle-class white youth). Fourth, we may find that the development of urban life styles is qualitatively the same as urban-to-rural diffusion.

What evidence is there for this hypothesis? Not very much. But there is some which is supportive. Regarding the development of diverse population types, we would refer to the size and heterogeneity discussion above. Ethnic heterogeneity through attraction is, however, not necessary for the present argument. The degree of ethnic diversity would depend on the nature of the hinterland (and be affected by such things as political boundaries). That generation of types occurs is supported by data showing that certain specializations require minimum levels of population size for their emergence (Ogburn and Duncan, 1964; Keyes, 1958).

With regard to the intensification process, there are numerous descriptions of the "village" nature of urban life (e.g., Doughty, 1970; Bruner, 1961; Halpern, 1965; Abu-Lughod, 1961; Petersen, 1971; Epstein, 1967; see also Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). On the other hand, Seeman et al. (1971) failed to find major differences in values across different residential and class groups in Los Angeles.

One important topic in connection with intensification is criminal subcultures. Whereas the Wirthian model explains urban deviance by the breakdown of norms, in this approach most deviance is seen as due to subculture deviance from center-society values. The group nature of crime, especially urban crime, seems clear (Shaw and McKay, 1964; Miller, 1958; Wolfgang and Ferracutti, 1967). Greater criminality in cities might therefore be explained by an intensification process for criminals (e.g., growth of an underground)—as well as an intensification process for criminals' targets (i.e., the concentration of wealth and the wealthy). The same intensification process would operate with regard to other deviant subcultures: homosexuals, prostitutes, hippies, political dissidents, and the like.

Our notion of the diffusion process is paralleled by the observations of Sjöberg (1965b) and Aksoy (1969) that cities are where "modernizing agents" (professionals, entrepreneurs, media-connected opinion leaders) are located. Changes may occur in the attitudes of other sectors of the urban populace

simply due to proximity. In support, there is Schuman and Gruenberg's (1970) finding that the median educational level of a person's city affected his attitudes on race independently of his own education. Other findings of such contextual effects also support the proposition (see suggestive evidence in Bruner, 1961; Schnaiberg, 1971; Tomeh, 1964; Key, 1961: 110-118).

The suggestion that superficial aspects of culture will be more malleable—and thus be reflected more in urban-rural comparisons—than basic values is difficult to document. Many of the ethnographies which report the persistence of group values in cities state, at least implicitly, that other features do change (dress, job, daily habits, and so on;—see discussion in Hanna and Hanna, 1971: 135-137, 145-165). In a small survey, Archer and Archer (1971) found that Maori children forgot much cultural information in the city, but there seems to have been some persistence of basic (at least, kinship) values (D. Archer in a personal communication dated November 22, 1971).

An important implication of these ideas is that research on urbanism must be directed at testing for contextual effects. Correlating an attribute of an individual—place of residence—with individual effects is not sufficient. The character of his social context (e.g., size of college-educated population, numbers of minority-group members) is critical in explaining his social-psychology. This theory also implies that the distribution of population types across space, though associated with urbanism, is more critical than the urban-rural distribution. There may be cases where that association is disturbed by special circumstances, and, in those cases, the distribution of subgroups will better account for the variance in effects. For example, Reiss (1955) mentions the concentration of prostitutes in a small midwestern town due to nearby mines which employed many single males. Another example is the college town.^{2 2}

A third research implication is that network analysis is critical for understanding both how subcultures stay internally integrated and for how the diffusion process crosses group boundaries. Fourth, this view is content-free in its predictions of effects. That is, urban-rural differences which develop need

not be such that the urban effects are more progressive, anomic, rationalistic, and so on. What they are likely to be (because of emergent groups) is new and deviant. They deviate from earlier—now disproportionately rural—values and attitudes, irrespective of specific content. Thus, in a society marked by a suspicious and hostile view of human nature, urban-rural differences, if any, should be in the direction of less estrangement in cities. (There is some evidence for this type of reversal in divorce rates for prewar Japan; Kawashima and Steiner, 1960; and Goode, 1963: 360-365.)

SOME FURTHER ISSUES

Suburbia

The question of suburbia was briefly raised in connection with the size-versus-density problem. If population size is the major independent variable, then suburbs should be on the urban end of the continuum. If density is critical, suburbs are more properly placed toward the rural end. A compromise on the question might be that, while size is the most critical variable, within population agglomerations density comes into play. In that case, do the data support generalizations about city-suburban differences similar to Wirth's propositions about urban-rural differences?

There is a significant number of studies which suggest not. Certain general investigations of suburban life have stressed the overwhelming importance of class as opposed to residence (Berger, 1960; Gans, 1967; Wattel, 1958; Willmott, 1963). Similarly, many of the specific factors predicted to be associated with density are not. *Heterogeneity*: Kish (1954) found that suburbs are internally homogeneous, but the suburban belt itself is made up of heterogeneous communities. As such, it seems much like a city which is differentiated internally into neighborhoods. *Stimulation/selection*: Subclinical neurotic symptoms as indicators of overload difficulties did not differ by city/suburb in an English study (Pahl, 1970: 124-127). *Formal integration*, at least as measured by the decline of

extended kinship, seems greater in the suburbs, contrary to prediction (Tallman and Morgner, 1970; Young and Wilmott, 1957). *Impersonality*, as very roughly measured by racial attitudes, did not differ by city/suburban residence in a recent study (Campbell, 1971: 122-123). *Anomie*—if we accept voting rates as an inverse index of it—actually is higher in suburbs (Greer, 1962: 40). *Alienation*: Seeman et al.'s (1971) report on attitudes in Los Angeles of alienation (and impersonality and malaise, as well) describes essentially no city/suburb differences.

However, there are some strong findings in the predicted direction. Studies of neighboring (*Isolation*) have found more socializing in the suburbs, a difference which persisted after various controls for population composition (Tallman and Morgner, 1970; Tomeh, 1964; Fava, 1959). *Deviance*, in terms of major crimes, occurs less frequently in the suburbs (Wolfgang, 1970; Ennis, 1967). Also, religious involvement seems greater in the suburbs (Carlos, 1970; Tallman and Morgner, 1970—but not in Zimmer and Hawley, 1959).

A major problem in studies of suburbia—also faced in less acute form by rural-urban studies—is that of selective migration. The people who move to the suburbs may be seeking neighboring, nuclear family life, and the like (Bell, 1959; Fava, 1959). A second problem is that of covariates such as class and stage in the life cycle, which are operating strongly in city-suburb comparisons. A third problem is the political arbitrariness of city-suburb boundary lines. What is suburbia in one metropolitan area is a city neighborhood in another. Problems notwithstanding, the continued growth of suburbs makes the question an imperative one for urban sociology.

Place of Residence Versus Place of Origin

We have included place of origin as well as place of present residence without treating the differences between the two. While one might interpret effects of place of origin as due to the place's degree of urbanism, the Wirthian model seems much more a synchronic one with regard to its effects on individuals. Indeed, comparisons which might demonstrate urban versus

rural origin to be more important than urban versus rural residence would support a subculture thesis over Wirth's theory.

Nonmonotonicity

As stated at the beginning, we have predicted monotonic relationships between urbanism and its hypothesized effects. In the complexity of the phenomena, however, it is not unlikely that certain immediate effects will work in opposite directions, leading to curvilinearity in ultimate effects. (For example, as size increases, intergroup contact may increase in the direction of lessening prejudice. But intergroup competition may also increase, especially in large cities. The result would perhaps be the least prejudice in the medium-sized cities.)

This introduces the issue of optimum city size—"that with which equivalence of marginal cost and marginal benefit is associated" (Spengler, 1967: 69; see Ogburn and Duncan, 1964; Duncan, 1957b). Most discussions of optimality revolve around economic or physical factors (e.g., Thompson, 1965), relatively less with regard to psychological or other social phenomena. One case of the latter is Dahl's (1967) discussion of the optimum city size for democratic politics. Some nonmonotonic functions no doubt exist, and their specification would make an understanding of urbanism much more sophisticated. But this sort of research, even more than others, requires comparative analysis along a wide and well-measured urban-rural gradient.

Confounded Processes

Urbanization, as a historical process, usually occurs concurrently and interactively with other powerful processes: industrialization, bureaucratization, Westernization, and democratization. But, no analytical understanding of it will be achieved until sociologists cease to use these terms interchangeably and begin to disentangle them from each other. Statistical methods for such disentanglement exist, but perhaps more useful would be comparative studies of those cases in which the processes did not cooccur (e.g., preindustrial cities versus small factory towns). Furthermore, the effects of urbanization as a social

change process must be distinguished from the effects of urbanism as a settlement type.^{2 3}

CONCLUSION

Ideally, a review should conclude with a summary of empirical generalizations upon which further research can be based. In regard to urbanism as a way of life, the frankest conclusion would echo Hauser's statement at the article's start that it is "yet to be subjected to the test."

My impression of the material is probably the reader's as well: that the data, if they exist, are often inadequate and, when adequate, are often contradictory. This is partly due to a paradox in the nature of the urbanism research. The best studies directed to the issue have usually been small-scale in scope and sample (e.g., Reiss, 1959; Tomeh, 1964). At the same time, the better large-scale studies (e.g., Inkeles, 1969a, 1969b) have been directed at other questions and have treated urbanism only tangentially. (These studies do point to a rich lode of data yet to be mined through secondary analysis.) In general, most of the studies do not adequately test the propositions because of the comparison/covariates problem we have repeatedly underlined. However, they do provide a base of information from which to work and have served to raise many important issues—no mean feat.

We are left with some apparent clichés. Cliché 1 is that research is needed. This is more than just a cliché, however, because many sociologists have actually closed the book on the entire topic. (Witness the promiscuous use of the word urban to mean a type of human being or life style.) Cliché 2 is that comparative work which also controls for extraneous variables is required. Yet, this is again more than a cliché, for the conclusions which sociologists have drawn about Wirth's theory have been based largely on studies which failed to meet either logical requirement. Cliché 3 is a call for cross-cultural and historical work. Somewhat more than a cliché as well, it is based on the fact that, in 1972, America is at the far extremes of the industrialization and urbanization dimensions. If the specifi-

cation theories (pp. 218-219 above) have any value, they tell us that we are unlikely to learn much that is generalizable about urbanism from home studies alone.

Among the points we have tried to stress about the research to come are: (1) the need for a holistic conceptualization of the issue—a model; (2) distinction among levels of analyses; (3) search for measures appropriate to each level: aggregate measures for structural variables, attitudes and perceptions for cognitive ones, and as close as possible to behavior for the behavioral level; (4) examining the interplay among these levels, especially in terms of contextual effects; (5) testing the model's various assumptions (e.g., that life in cities is really lived significantly more under conditions of high stimulation than is nonurban life; that deviance is a reflection of anomie); (6) use of varied social-science techniques to test the assumptions and propositions (e.g., psychophysical studies of selection; field experiments on isolation; historical studies of development); (7) comparison, controls, and cross-cultural contexts—so that we can describe urban-rural differences, explain them and generalize about them; and (8) discipline in thinking about the problem. Whether and in what ways cities affect social relationships is still, as Wirth himself said, an open question.

NOTES

1. Two recent statements by sociologists testify to the unresolved status of the question. While a recent introductory textbook asserts that "history and an increasing number of empirical studies prove Wirth plainly wrong" (Worsley et al., 1970: 264-265), a recent article states, "As is well known, urbanization . . . involves a change in attitudes, values and institutions (Wirth, 1956)" (McKinney and Bourque, 1971: 402). Wirth felt the indeterminacy as well: "Evidence has not been accumulated in such a fashion as to test critically any major hypothesis that has been proposed [by me]" (Wirth, 1969: 166).

2. Due to the immense variety of phenomena which Wirth associated with urbanism, we will be touching on many fields of the social sciences—personality, family, deviance, stratification, and the like. In each, the coverage will be necessarily restricted to correlates of urbanism. And it will inevitably appear superficial to those better versed in each. For this, apologies are rendered in advance.

3. There is an alternative interpretation of Wirth's definition: that something will be called a city *if and only if* all three phenomena are present. This leads to

greater problems: establishing the necessary thresholds for size, density, and, most ambiguous of all, heterogeneity (a problem Wirth also wished to avoid); creating a dichotomy instead of a continuum; and resurrecting hoary debates about the nomenclature of large, single-tribe or -industry settlements (see Krapf-Askari, 1969: ch. 2). Wirth's definition was inductively arrived at as a means of describing the commonalities of those things common sense loosely calls city. An if-and-only-if interpretation seems unnecessarily constricting.

4. Tests of the relative importance of size versus density could be made by comparing on various dimensions commuting suburbanites who expose themselves to center-city density versus those who do not commute and are exposed therefore only to size.

5. It has been argued that the concept of an urban-rural continuum is not useful (Duncan, 1957a; Dewey, 1960). The point is that there *is* a continuum of size. What Duncan and others are dealing with is whether that continuum is related as predicted to other variables. To the degree to which it is not, Wirth's theory is wrong. But, nevertheless, there is an epistemological reality to city size and an important research question about its correlates.

6. One intellectual problem is what might be called the "New York syndrome"—a tendency to picture city life as a constant existence in Times Square, or at least Manhattan. Of course, most city residents live and work under far different circumstances.

7. Interestingly, Gibbs and Martin argue only that the division of labor is a *necessary* (but not necessarily *sufficient*) cause of urban growth. Yet, their reported correlations are so high (approximately .8, .9) as to suggest that either the former is also *sufficient*, or that urban growth feeds back to stimulate differentiation (see Hoselitz, 1960).

8. A census study of migration histories showed that the number of residences which respondents had lived in was curvilinearly related to community size, peaking at the center of the range (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1968: 70-75). The latest census shows virtually the same percentage of nonmovers for the 1969-1970 period for both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971b: 45).

9. Kinship has been found to be important in the cities of North America (Axelrod, 1956; Greer, 1956; Gans, 1962a; Whyte, 1955; Suttles, 1968; Garigue, 1956; Lewis, 1965, 1952; Butterworth, 1962); Europe (Chombart de Lauwe, 1965; Willems, 1970; Halpern, 1965); Africa (McCullough, 1956; Aldous, 1962; Bascom, 1963; Schwab, 1968; Gutkind, 1969; Krapf-Askari, 1969); Asia (Lambert, 1962; Palmore et al., 1970; Bruner, 1961); and preindustrial cities generally (Sjoberg, 1964: 140; 1960: 159). On the other hand, studies which support Wirth include those on Japan (Dore, 1959), black Americans (Rainwater, 1965), and Africa (Hellman, 1956). It should be noted that studies in underdeveloped countries run the risk of confounding urban-rural differences with the effects of migration (Germani, 1962). For that matter, mobility in general may generate a spurious urban kinship association (Winch and Greer, 1968).

10. Christie and Geis (1970: 3-4) define a Machiavellian by the following qualities: (1) relative lack of affect in interpersonal relationships—treating others as objects; (2) lack of concern with conventional morality—utilitarian views; (3) lack of gross psychopathology—realism; and (4) low ideological commitment. There are strong parallels with the impersonality complex as we have defined it.

11. "Psychological modernism" here refers to cognitive factors such as openness

to a new experience, independence from authority, and political awareness (Inkeles, 1969a).

12. It might be argued that the abstract thought component of intelligence relates to the rationality/sophistication attributes predicted of urbanites. Whether that is true or not, IQ scores do tend to be higher in urban areas, but the small differences seem attributable to correlated factors such as class and selective migration (see Chopra, 1968; Emmett, 1954; Smith, 1943).

13. Powerlessness is defined as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks"; normlessness as "a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals"; and meaninglessness as "a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes can be made" (Seeman, 1959).

14. In France, ruralites express less interest in politics but participate more than do urbanites (Tarrow, 1971). In Japan, ruralites express less interest and are involved less, but do *vote* in greater numbers than do urbanites (Ward, 1960; Kyoguku and Iké, 1960).

15. The prediction derived from Wirth is that local participation will decrease relative to extralocal participation with increases in city size. There is some support for this idea in American (Verba and Nie, 1972), Japanese (Ward, 1960), French (Kesselman, 1966) and other foreign data (Nie et al., 1969).

16. As another piece of evidence, a recent American survey shows that urban people are slightly more likely to agree that traditional ways of handling problems are inadequate (Cantril and Roll, 1971: 70-71).

17. An examination of many American and foreign polls shows urbanites to be less traditional than ruralites on issues such as nudity, marijuana, divorce, and sex roles.

18. For those wishing to look at the figures, it should be noted that at least the first paperback printing of Cantril and Roll has two misprints on these data. The correct figures with regard to "future" ladder ratings show virtually a straight line across community size (A. H. Cantril in a personal communication dated November 24, 1971).

19. One might argue that the model predicts population differentiation of many sorts and that that character of cities is lost by controlling for population composition. However, it is differentiation and heterogeneity among attributes which are predicted, not the attributes themselves. One indeed should not control for the *variance*. But, the fact that the *means* (e.g., average education, median income, and so on) vary from city to country is not predicted and should be controlled. For example, that there should be more occupational specialization in cities is part of the model. That a larger proportion of the city populace is on the high end of the occupational status scale is not. Therefore, one should not control for occupational specialization, but should for occupational status. Furthermore, when we look at individual data (e.g., attitudes) and try to establish a contextual effect (of community size), all the individual's characteristics except those specified in the model should be controlled (Hauser, 1970).

20. This point was suggested by Lee Rainwater.

21. Mizruchi (1969) suggests the opposite: that anomie exists in that part of the society which is not the prevalent form: cities in rural societies, small towns in urban ones.

22. College towns raise an interesting issue. By the subculture model, academia is an institution which should be predominantly urban-located. We might conceive of college communities as colonies settled by and dependent upon cities. Following that line of thought, what happens in those societies for which transit and communications are so well developed that urban-spawned subcultures can be dispersed in space? Presumably, urban-rural differences would decrease. Small towns would have special subcultures, and nearby rural populations would be affected. Thus, we are led to another version of the convergence argument.

23. Halpern (1965) has raised another intriguing question about a phenomenon that might be termed "self-fulfilling urbanism." To what degree have popular conceptions of urbanism—which are much like Wirth's—shaped city life, both by attracting people selectively and by leading people to act in what they consider urban ways?

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