RICE UNIVERSITY

THE CRISIS OF THE URBAN GHETTOS: THE PHYSICAL, SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF MINORITY GROUPS

by

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Thesis Director's signature:

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FOR THOSE WHO WILL UNDERSTAND

THE COMPLEXITY OF

THE PROBLEM
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INTRODUCTION

CRISIS OF THE URBAN GHETTOS.

Choice of subject for study: From time to time the author has been involved with various planning projects related to deprived classes in the U.K. and Canada. Recently he had the opportunity to see the slums of Philadelphia, New York and Boston. He has also had the opportunity to survey the Houston ghetto area while doing a "Housing Study Program" at the beginning of the first semester at Rice University. This direct and indirect participation in various programs and personal observation created a special interest for study of the "Crisis of the Urban Ghettos."

The problem of the Negro people is never fully sensed, as is evident in urban renewal programs and federal housing projects ostensibly created to alleviate these problems. The breakdown of the Negro family structure, poverty, and racial segregation are the fundamental sources of weakness of the Negro community which cause the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society in
urban ghettos. Regarding ghetto family structure, H.U.D. describes it in one of its publications, "A City for Man," as follows:

"The Ghetto traps the under-educated and ill-trained father in a home remote from job sources and with few jobs he can handle. Seeing bleak joblessness or under-employment as a sign of personal failure, he often leaves his family—for days—or weeks—or for good."

"Often mothers head large households. Alone, armed with little knowledge and less material resources, they struggle to raise their families."

"Children may see little point in going to schools that fail to recognize their individual needs. The television screens—and even their school books—tell of the world they do not see around them."

"Even when parents stay together, poverty, ignorance and a failure without hope take their toll. Boys and girls wander the streets—and back alleys, searching for something—something to do—something exciting."

"Parents do not know how to escape from poverty and youth does not know how to avoid it. So defeat is accepted—violence is close. Alcoholism and crime rates rise. Families fail and fall apart."³

The basic purpose of this study is to understand in greater depth the roots of the problems of minority groups and an approach to solve them. The problem is
physical, social and psychological, and is related to poverty and segregation. As these aspects are inter-related and interdependent, it has made the problem more complex in nature. This complex problem thus demands the approach of an interdisciplinary team. Their research findings and suggestions will help the architect reshape the physical design and planning process.

Section A analyzes the urbanization of America, the origin, process, and formation of today's center cities, the urban ghetto area, and its majority occupant, the Negro.

Section B reinforces from various research findings the fact that the problems of ghettos are related to physical, social, and psychological factors.

Section C investigates the complexity of the problem, the need for an interdisciplinary team, and the new role of the architect in solving the most demanding problem of American cities.

Footnotes have been added at the end of every section and a comprehensive bibliography completes the thesis.
"It is the city that has been the haven of the refugee, the hungry, the old as well as the young and enterprising. It has offered the availability to man to train for skill to fit an aspiration and it has offered him a greater variety of roles from which to make the choice; it has exposed to the hinterland the new techniques and inventions, nourished freedom in a world in which freedom is at a growing premium. Yet it is the same city that has now become the seat of privation, poverty and homelessness, and if the freedoms and hopes the city offers are not to wane and die, we and others must dedicate ourselves to finding the means for preserving it and giving it the dignity it needs for survival."

Charles Abrams
Section A:

ORIGIN AND PROCESS OF URBANIZATION.

EARLY URBANIZATION.

(1) *The Urbanization of America* (1860-1915)
    -- by Blake McKelvey

(2) *The Emergence of Metropolitan America* (1915-1966)
    -- by Blake McKelvey

The following facts have been gathered about early urbanization of America from the above mentioned books.

The United States became more urban in character during the early years of the twentieth century. There has been a steady influence of cities upon American life for quite some time. Older cities became powerful as the immigrants came from the old world. The native population also increased simultaneously. New cities formed in the West due to migration. Many people became rich through farming, mining, operating ranches, or becoming lumbermen. They developed these new sources of wealth. All these cities brought the ideas and aspirations of an urban America. At
the beginning of the nineteenth century cities spread along the coast, depicting the national economic life. The railroad network spread in the early 1850's, giving a new direction in national growth. Chicago is the best example of a city which utilized the transport and created a new urban setup. Slowly this city reached its maximum, showing its vitality (and at the same time the vulgarity and violence of urban America). The railroad also helped spawn the mining towns in mountains and agricultural villages in the plains. The railroad and the industrialists both helped increase the population of the United States, bringing more traffic, larger markets and greater profit for investors. People from every nation of Europe came to this country. They moved to Eastern cities or concentrated in large inland cities.

MIGRATION AND ETHNIC GROUP.
The prominent nationalities among immigrants were the Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, Scandinavians, Greeks, and Armenians. They brought a new influence
among American people. Although Americans speak the English language, the language underwent much modification. They gradually assimilated a variety of cultures. They ceased to be an extension of the British people and became wholly a new amalgam. Negroes immigrated quite early. During the foundation of the republic, there were approximately one-half million white persons and a quarter of a million Negroes who had migrated to the United States.

TODAY'S URBANIZATION IN AMERICA.

Cities found themselves engulfed in slums.

"The American population became more urban from 1900 to 1950. The urban population of the United States grew by 66 million inhabitants. In 1960 70% of Americans, that is 125.2 million people, lived in urban zones, and 61.8% belonged to agglomerations of more than 100,000 people."^5

A particular form of urbanization took place in the central cities. In the course of the last decade the surface area of urban zones increased while their density diminished. In downtown areas the population gradually decreased while sprawl
occurred around their periphery, along the axes of communication. At the same time, next to business districts the ghetto areas decline is evident in most of the big cities. The houses are aging and badly maintained. The immediate environment—unclean streets, insufficient lighting, vacant lots, lack of proper schools and hospitals—complete the picture of deterioration. The city center is becoming more and more the gathering place of single people, the aged and the most disadvantaged social groups—the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. At the same time, a class of rich people live downtown close to all the facilities they need.

The concentration of the minority groups in slums is not a new phenomenon. It has acquired a new significance from changing social conditions and outlooks. In the past the immigrant groups, set apart from the general population due to poverty and physical appearance, formed compact ethnic communities, usually in the poorest housing areas
of American cities. These ethnic colonies have been taken over by Negro population (and in some cities, notably New York, by Puerto Ricans). These areas are expanding due to the rapidly growing population of these minority groups. There are many neighborhoods—in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco, which have been successively occupied by a series of minority groups—which we can find in the book Social Order of the Slum by Gerald Suttles.

Victor Gruen has vividly described in his book The Heart of our Cities in the "Flight and Blight" chapter the migration of Puerto Ricans and Negroes to New York. As he says,

"New York, for example, has a net in-migration of 30,000 Puerto Ricans and 10,000 Negroes annually. Inasmuch as about 50,000 whites leave the city every year, city officials estimate that by 1970 New York will be 28 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican, and Manhattan, the heart of the city, will house a million Negroes and Puerto Ricans, more than half its total population.

Chicago's Negro population is increasing by 35,000 a year; while Chicagoans simultaneously move out at the rate of 15,000 a year."

"St. Louis's Negro population has increased from 12 per cent to 30 per cent of the total population since 1940."
So Gruen suggests Negroes and Puerto Ricans are the latest occupants of urban ghettos of the east coast.

In some of the Southern cities they live in segregated sections of cities in deteriorated or deteriorating housing—as in Houston. Negroes are moving into center cities—while whites are moving to the suburbs.

OTHER LOW INCOME MINORITY GROUPS AND NEGROES.

PUERTO RICANS.

The residence pattern of the Puerto Rican population has been investigated only in the New York City boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. These three boroughs were the residence of four fifths of all Puerto Ricans in the continental United States in 1950 and they have continued to attract the bulk of Puerto Rican migrants since that date. With the rapid growth of Puerto Rican population since 1950, residential clusters of Puerto Ricans have both increased in size and multiplied in number. Their areas are similar in housing quality to the areas occupied by Negroes,
Map A. City of San Francisco, distribution of white Spanish-name population, by census tracts, 1950, and percent of population Negro, by census tracts, 1950.
with a high proportion of old structures and substandard dwellings. In slum areas outside New York, Puerto Ricans have settled mainly along the east coast from Connecticut to New Jersey, in a few Ohio cities, and in Chicago.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS.
The distribution of Mexican-Americans in San Francisco and Los Angeles is shown on map (A and B). In San Francisco they are scattered throughout the city with only a moderate tendency toward concentration in the lower west districts. In Los Angeles, on the other hand, nearly a fourth of the group is concentrated in one area where it represents more than 50 percent of the population. Mexican-Americans in Houston are similarly concentrated. The housing in areas where Mexican-Americans are living is similar in quality to that in Negro residence areas. Housing is old and dilapidated, with poor sanitary facilities.

But while urban slums are also occupied by Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, Negroes are predominately urban dwellers and their problems are
Map B. City of Los Angeles and adjacent area, distribution of white Spanish-name population, by census tracts, 1950, and percent of population Negro, by census tracts, 1950.
foremost. As Alphonso Pinkney documented in

**Black Americans**—

"Eighteen of the largest cities in the United States have Black population in excess of 100,000. These cities vary in population of Negroes in total population anywhere from 14 percent in Los Angeles and New York City to 54 percent in Washington, D.C."  

The Negroes are concentrated in the older section of central cities, in the urban ghettos. As Negroes are the dominant minority group in the ghettos, the rest of this thesis will be devoted to discovering the nature of their problems and a solution of these problems.

From Section A the following facts have been gathered.

Immigrants came from all over Europe to America. They brought varied language, culture, and had a greater impact upon American cities. America became more urban from 1900 to 1950. It took on a new form of urbanization. The suburban sprawl and at the same time the decline of residential areas near business districts is evident in almost
all the big cities of the east and west coasts. These areas were occupied by constant flow of low income Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They concentrated in these older residential areas of cities—in the urban ghettos. Negroes are the most prominent group in urban ghettos.
FOOTNOTES; Section A.


3 A City for Man, document was prepared by the Center for Community Planning for discussion and training purpose. Office of the Secretary/U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201, p. 29.


5 Roger Errera, The Americans and their Cities, EKISTICS Journal. Originally the author, who was the staff of the conseil d'Etat of France wrote this French view of the American urban scene for a special issue of the Parisian review 'Critique. The translation of this abstract of the original article was made by Beth Edelmann.


7 Victor Gruen, The Heart of our Cities. The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure, Flight and Blight, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1964, p. 82.

8 Reproduced from McEntire Davis, Residence and Race, final and comprehensive report to the Commission on Race and Housing, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960. Original map No. are 18, 19, replaced by A and B, page 64.
"Perhaps most important—its influence radiating to every part of life—is the breakdown of the Negro family structure."

"So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together—all the rest: schools and playgrounds, public assistance and private concern, will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation."

Lyndon B. Johnson
Howard University
June 4, 1965
Section B:

CONSEQUENCES AND EFFECT.

THE NEGRO AND URBAN GHETTOS.

Process of Urbanization of Negroes.

The Negroes faced many problems in the city. The majority of them moved from the rural South. They faced social, cultural, and economic problems. With their rural background, they did not understand the complexities of urban environment. They faced their greatest difficulty in finding good jobs, as their rural background was of no help in the industrial city. Slowly they accepted lower-salaried jobs, mostly of domestic nature. Some gradually raised their status, entered industry, and became skilled workers (as in the Detroit area) and became more urban in their life style. Others took very little initiative to upgrade themselves—and remained in the ghettos. As Negroes concentrated more in number in this area due to poverty (which left them with very little choice in living areas), these old sections of the cities became more crowded and
over-used, creating more shortage of living space for this particular disadvantaged group.

The earlier European immigrants had experienced the same process, but they generally upgraded themselves and were assimilated by middle class Americans. Negroes are still an unassimilated immigrant group. As the earlier immigrants depended on their own ethnic group, the Negroes depended upon their segregated Negro community when they moved to the city. But restricted freedom slowed down their progress. It is true that they are not new immigrants to the United States as were earlier Europeans, but at the same time they were never allowed fully to participate in American society. Thus, they lagged in acquiring education, occupation, skills and behavior standards which are the main criteria for participation. Alphonso Pinkney expresses in *Black Americans*² that from slavery and restricted freedom the lower income group Negro has carried forward a certain pattern of family life at variance with white middle class customs.
But today as the Negroes are staying in cities, the cultural gap between them and recent immigrants is becoming narrower day by day. They are getting more education and are raising their income. In the past two decades their progress has been more rapid than before. There are now many Negroes who have achieved middle class status economically and culturally, although the gap between living standards of Negroes and white Americans is still a vast one. These middle class Negroes are moving out of the segregated Negro communities to middle class life in America. But they cannot do so as freely as other white immigrants due to segregation.

City Tax Policy and Ghettos.
Cities' tax resources, spending policies, and the school system also affect the urban slum, as do restrictions on choosing a new home. Different cities and towns in metropolitan areas have different tax resources. They give vastly different quantity and quality of public service. The resources are connected to assessed value of
taxable property, which in turn depends upon the income level of residents and the amount of value of other industrial or commercial property. The variation in expenditure is considerable. As James B. Conant has pointed out,

"Wealthy suburban schools may spend $1,000 per pupil in a year and provide a staff of 70 professionals per thousand students; while slum schools, where the job of education is more difficult, often spend less than half as much and provide 40 or fewer professionals per thousand students."^5

It is also fact that within a single community the public service differs from one neighborhood to another. As residential location is a basic for provision of service, and as the poor are restricted as to choice of living area, they generally must accept the inferior service.

Residence and Mobility.
Residential location also brings forward certain social consequences. Many working class people felt it desirable and beneficial to live in distinct ethnic communities among friends and relatives. They can also avail themselves of the special club, church, or other neighborhood
institutions. Sometimes this neighborhood provides support against the different values of a middle class world outside. These neighborhoods are the first place where newly migrated groups come and begin to adjust themselves to urban life, so it is very helpful to them. From time to time they must vacate these neighborhoods for urban renewal or highway construction, and often find the move a shattering experience. Psychological and social aftereffects are expressed in the book *Grieving for a Lost Home in the Urban Condition* by Leonard Duhl.  

At the same time, the effect of suppression of their aspirations to move to higher status have severe consequences. Many Negroes are compelled to live in social circumstances that they do not accept as their choice of living. Bernard J. Frieden expressed in his article "Toward Equality of Urban Opportunity"—

"The significance of residential location can be seen most clearly in the case of the group of American society that has been most sharply restricted in its choice of where to live: the Negroes."
Further,

"non-white population grew from six million in 1940 to approximately 13 million in 1960."\(^8\)

It all happened in the central cities. The Negro population generally lived in a well defined segregated area. This resulted in mere de facto school segregation, as residential location is the usual basis for assigning children to school districts.

Segregation also caused limited choice in housing. As was mentioned earlier, low income is one of the reasons for accepting ghetto life (as choice is limited), but segregation limits the choice even more. Those who can afford a better home (the choice is also limited for them) compete for housing in a restricted market in which good housing is scarce and prices are high for whatever is available.

Thus, Negroes were forced to accept their place of living, which also slowed down their process of upward mobility. Lack of residential mobility thus leads to a lack of social mobility.
Probably this is most clearly expressed by Robert C. Weaver in his book *The Urban Complex* which compares present urban Negroes with earlier European migrant groups in cities.

Previous minority groups, he notes,

"moved out of the slums of yesterday into suburbs and middle class neighborhoods of today. This Nation offered them middle class status when and if they evidenced adherence to the dominant culture. For them there were and are real, tangible, and demonstrable rewards for industry, conformity, and ambition.

Similar rewards are far less general for non-whites. Thus, the degree of social and economic mobility among this group is less.

...it is both unrealistic and evidence of the projection of one's own middle class values to expect most of those who are denied middle class rewards to strive for what experience has demonstrated to be unobtainable to them."  

Regarding prejudice against housing with various minority groups consider the following statement from *Studies in Housing and Minority Groups* by David McEntire:

"There is somewhat less prejudice against Mexicans in this country than against Negroes. Professor Dodson reports that in San Antonio
one well-to-do and assimilated Mexican may live almost anywhere, whereas the Negro does not have as wide an area in which he can live and is subject to formal rules of discrimination. On the other hand, the Negro has a somewhat higher income than Mexicans. The outcome in San Antonio is that the Negro has somewhat better housing than Mexicans—a higher degree of prejudice is here overcome by greater economic capacity. The Puerto Ricans in New York have a different situation in which prejudice is probably lower than that faced by either Negroes or Mexicans in the South and the Southwest. The Japanese are in the most favored situation of all these ethnic groups. 10

Earlier it was stated that the experiences of urbanization by American Negroes were quite similar to earlier European immigrants. But the two groups did not experience one thing in common—racial discrimination. Slavery and restricted freedom led the poor Negro class to maintain a different living pattern. Their longer stay in cities made it possible for many of them to achieve success and join the mainstream of life in America. City tax and resource spending policy affected the urban ghettos, as residents accepted inferior service, segregation in school, and limited choice in housing markets. This suppressed their upward
mobility and caused lack of social mobility.

In the following pages the definition of urban ghettos will be clarified, after which the viewpoints of eminent social scientists and planners will be explored in depth to pinpoint the nature of problems in the urban ghettos.

**Urban Ghettos; an Inquiry into Definition.**

Under the title "Where Shall We Live?" a report of the Commission on Race and Housing describes the slum to be

"not merely a collection of dilapidated buildings, but form a complex of unhealthful conditions: crowding of dwelling space; overcrowding of buildings on the land with resultant scarcity of parks, playgrounds, and other amenities of open space; deficient sanitation, health hazards and fire hazards; inadequate public service; an unsavory mixture of residence with commercial and industrial land uses; and prevalence of vice, petty crime, criminals and gangs."


"The Urban Poor: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, live by and large in special districts: the ghettos and slums."
Further he added--

"No plumbing is substandard by United States Census Bureau measures."12

Herbert J. Gans' careful study of an Italian working class neighborhood in Boston13 argues that what appeared to the outside world as a slum was in fact no slum at all. It was a good place to live for those who wanted to live there. He would reserve the term slum only for areas which are proven to be physically, socially or emotionally harmful to their resident or to the larger community.

So the various social scientists have defined ghetto by its physical condition, by its latest occupier, or by its quality which may be harmful to its resident or immediate neighborhood.

SOME VIEWPOINTS.

To inquire in greater detail into the nature of the problems in ghettos, viewpoints are brought forward from the following writings by eminent sociologists and planners.
The article and books are,

1. "The City Poor" by Lee Rainwater.
2. People and Plans by Herbert J. Gans.
3. The City is the Frontier by Charles Abrams.

Mr. Lee Rainwater says the following concerning the lower class Negro community:

"In every society, complex process of socialization teaches its members strategies for living, for gratifying the needs with which they are born and those which the society itself generates. Inextricably linked to these strategies—are both the cause and the effect of them—are the existential propositions which the members of a culture have about the nature of their world and of effective action within the world as it is defined for them. In both white and Negro slum worlds (but especially in the latter), little in the experience that individuals have as they grow up sustains a belief in a rewarding world. These strategies that seem appropriate are not those of a good, family-based life or of a career. Rather, they are strategies of survival."14

The "survival of strategy" he defines in three broad categories. They are:


These people individually receive very little security and encouragement from membership in a family which can provide for and protect them or
from their experiences in the institutions in which he is expected to achieve—-the school, or, later, on the job. So they seek to elicit rewards and support from others by making themselves interesting and attractive as they expressed through their dress, music, dance, and language. This behavior is expressed as shiftless and immoral by moralistic middle class people because at its extreme it causes trouble for such an individual and his community as it often involves drug addiction, drunkenness, illegitimacy, etc.


When he fails to satisfy himself by "expressive strategy" because he may not be able to develop such skills or does not get the right audience, there is a great temptation to adopt violent strategy. The individual uses force because he cannot persuade others to give in to his demands. It is not accepted very much among lower class people. Those who adopt this need justification. At the minor level it may be a shoplifting by a teenage girl, or an adult's shooting his spouse
because of infidelity, or coldblooded violence
out of a sense of desperation, of deep insult to
the self, or of insult from the world in general.

3. Depressive Strategy.
Here the goals are increasingly restricted to the
bare necessities for survival not as social being,
but simply as an organism. This is the strategy
often adopted by lower class men and women as
they grow old—the strategy of retreat and self¬
isolation. Discussing strategies, Rainwater says,

"Along the way, many lower class people follow
mixed strategies, fluctuating among the excite¬
ment of the expressive style, the desperation
of the violent style, and the deadness of the
depressed style."15

He expresses his opinion by saying,

"I conclude that lower class styles of life are
not persuaded because they are seen intrinsically
desirable. The people involved feel constrained
to act in these ways because of the deprivations
and threats to which they find themselves subject.
The lower class does not have a separate system
of ultimate values. Lower class people do not
really 'reject middle class values.' It is
simply that their whole experience of life
teaches them that it is impossible to achieve
a viable sense of self-esteem in terms of those
values."16

Mr. Rainwater finds from his extensive study of
'Pruitt Igoe' Housing Project, St. Louis, Missouri that the life there is nothing but a 'triangle of pathology' and gives the following behavior as hallmarks of the triangle of pathology as expressed by middle class people.

The behaviors are:

1. High rates of school dropouts.
2. Poor school accomplishment for those who stay.
3. Difficulties in establishing stable working habits on the part of those who get jobs.
4. High rate of dropping out of the labor force.
5. Apathy and passive resistance in contact with people who are "trying to help" (social workers, teachers, and so on).
6. Hostility and distrust toward neighbors.
7. Poor consumer skills—carelessness or ignorance in the use of money.
8. High rate of mental illness.
9. Marital disruptions and women as heads of homes.
10. Illegitimacy.
11. Cruelty to children or indifference to children's welfare.
12. Property and personal crimes.


14. Destructiveness and carelessness toward property, one's own and other people's.  

For middle class people these behavior patterns are disturbing, but they are even more disturbing to lower class people who must live with them, since they are quite aware of the uniqueness of a decent life. They know how things might be different in that life. Further, Mr. Rainwater expresses in his study,

"They know what they would like if only they had the resources of the average working class men. They would want a quiet, rather 'square' life in a quiet neighborhood, far from the dangers, seductions and insults of the world in which they live. They attach no preference on intrinsic value to families where the mother is left in charge or to a high incidence of premarital sex resulting in unwanted pregnancies, or to living alone as a deserted or divorced wife and having a boyfriend because you're afraid that if you remarry your public assistance will be cut off and your new husband may not be a stable provider. These ways of life develop when there seems to be no other choice. But because there are a few people around in the immediate neighborhood who are more fortunate and live a more stable life, and because they know from observation how the other half lives, lower class people are not easily confused between how they must
live and how they would like to live.

What they might wish to preserve from the expressive heritage of lower class ways (particularly when, as among Negroes, those ways provide kernels of potentially valued ethnic identity and not just a class identity) they feel they can preserve while living a more stable kind of life. Lower class people would not find it nearly so agonizing as apparently some intellectuals feel they would, to try to preserve what is intrinsically valuable in their cultural heritage while they escape what has provided painful and destructive."

So we can see that although he suggests in his article that poverty is the major urban problem, poverty is not an absolute term; it is relative to the total resources of the society which provides a life of particular material quality.

Probably we find the same thought when Herbert J. Gans discusses today's urban crisis in his book, People and Plans. As he says,

"Cities today have many critical problems, but two are uppermost: poverty and segregation. My studies have convinced me that the urban crisis is that our cities are becoming the major place of residence of the poor Americans, many of them non-white. I argue that this is the urban crisis partly because poverty amidst affluency and segregation in a democracy are social evils, but also because poverty and segregation causes, directly or indirectly, all the other problems of the city."
Poverty and segregation are the basic causes of the slum, for when people cannot afford to pay for decent housing and are kept out of some areas by their color, they cannot help but live in overcrowded circumstances in the oldest and least desirable buildings of the city. And when men are unemployed or under-employed, whatever their race, they cannot play their proper family roles, and this results in the broken families, illegitimacy, and welfare dependency currently found in both white and non-white poor families. Poverty and segregation breed despair and alienation, feelings of hopelessness that are soon translated into actions that then become social problems.

Despair and hopelessness also express themselves in juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity, and crime as well as in pathological forms of escape—mental illness, alcoholism, and drug addiction—and then later leads directly to yet more crime.  

He also agrees, with Lee Rainwater, that these people have no choice other than to follow this pattern of life, thus bringing more unsafe neighborhoods to the center city. He says,

"Poor people do not want to become school drop-outs, unwed mothers, drug addicts, or rioters; they are literally forced into self-destructive anti-social acts because, seeing no other choice, they grow desperate. These acts make for unsafe neighborhoods and streets, particularly in the slum, but also in more affluent neighborhoods.

Our institutional ways of coping with desperate acts and desperate people—public welfare payments, police protection, prisons, and
rehabilitation centers, mental hospitals, and addiction treatment centers, among others—are expensive and must be funded from the public treasury, even though the poor people whom they 'serve' pay little in taxes."

As the number of poor people increase in the city, it brings lower tax receipts against more costly municipal services, with result that cities find themselves in financial straits.

The spread of slums encourages people to enlarge America's suburban sprawl, and they become less interested in center city development as the number of non-white increases there. The crisis is not with the city, basically, but with its social and economical inequality in the society. As Gans continues,

"It is poverty, not race, that breaks up families, and it is poverty, not race, that creates the fears which drive more affluent whites to the suburbs. These fears are not of the Negro per se, but of the slum dweller, the poor Negro. It is a class fear more than a racial fear--the same class fear that led to discrimination against the Irish, Jews, Italians, and other European immigrants when they were poor."

In his book, The City is the Frontier, Charles Abrams, referring to the Negroes' housing problems,
points out,

"The Negro's housing and the neighborhoods to which he is relegated play and will play an important part in shaping the environment that conditions his prospects.

The poor housing conditions under which the Negro lives affect his employment opportunities, his income, his education, and his training. Lack of training and equipment, combined with prejudice, are responsible for his low income. Low income enforces slum life. Slum life, low income, and lower level of training and education reinforce the stereotype that he is less fitted for jobs."24

It is evident in Section B that urban ghetto dwellers are affected by overcrowding, segregation and low income. Mr. Lee Rainwater stresses that the major cause of urban problems is poverty and Mr. Gans also suggests poverty and segregation as the causes of urban problems. In The City is the Frontier Mr. Abrams stresses the cause of Negro housing and neighborhood conditions; so probably the cause of the problem is that poverty and segregation force the lower income Negroes to accept the dilapidated shelter and poor living conditions.

This affects the social structure of the Negro
family and slowly the whole neighborhood. The depressed feeling or the act of violence in urban ghettos are the outcome of this phenomenon.

Thus poverty and segregation are the main cause of the physical, social and psychological problem of the urban ghettos.
FOOTNOTES; Section B.


8 Ibid.


10 Glazer and McEntire, Editors, Studies in Housing and Minority Group, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960, p. 3.


15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.


22 Ibid. 279

23 Ibid.

"Perhaps by applying our measuring rods to the great needs of the mentally ill, we may emerge with something valuable for the mentally well. That is, we need here a 'module' deriving not from the size of a man's body but from the way in which he disposes of that body in social relationships."

Humphry Osmond, M.D.
Section C:

APPROACH.

POVERTY AND SEGREGATION.

In Section B segregation in housing and schools has been discussed to some extent. In the following pages I shall discuss poverty and explore the major factors related to it. In the course of examining the literature related to poverty, the author has come across various social issues such as housing, health, education, and birth control. There is a varied opinion by various authors and critics of social science about the relation of these factors to poverty. Some have stressed social issues as interdependent factors with poverty, and others have seen their relation as independent. But there is a clear indication that housing, health, and income are major social issues related to poverty from the very beginning of urban development.

Housing.

There is a long history of studies associated with overcrowded and dilapidated housing. One can
refer to Octavia Hill, social reformer in the 1880's in England, who regarded better dwellings as an instrument for building character. Poor conditions of housing have been associated with loss of self-esteem, lack of privacy, poor health, difficulty in household management, and inadequate child rearing, in a research report on "Slums and Social Insecurity" by Alvin Schorr.²

Health.

Numerous studies deal with health and its relation to poverty. A research under the heading "Calorie-Deficiency and Starvation" by A. Keys³ has suggested parental deficiencies in mothers can lead to organic and mental defects in their children, often making them physically and mentally disadvantaged, with little likelihood that they will be unable to maintain an independent income in their adult life.

Another paper by Frederic Tisdall on the relation of nutrition to health⁴ indicates that nutritional deficiency, if sustained over a long period
of time, can lead to a chronic state of depression, apathy, lethargy and low motivation. It may be suggested that low income very often causes dietary inadequacies, which in turn contribute to greater illness. These incapacities created by illness both handicap the family's earning capacity and cause high medical expenditure. This process thus gives impetus to the downward mobility of this social class. Thus, health is directly related to poverty. Probably this can be best exemplified by giving example of a skilled worker whose sudden long-term hospitalization forces him to join the group of unemployed or to move from skilled to semi-skilled to unskilled work, and then to unemployed.

Bruce Dohrenwend in a paper, "The Social Psychology; Nature of Stress,"\(^5\) indicates internal and external constraints as factors in mental health. Internal factors were referred to as those acquired through heredity or past experience, while external factors include diet, climate, occupation, social class, etc. The poor endure
illness as a result of situational stress which results from their low income and job security.

Sociologist Arthur B. Shostak has stressed birth control in relation to poverty, and Leon H. Keyserling has stressed race, education, and family structure as related to poverty. Thus, the problems of the ghetto are quite complex.

It was indicated earlier that segregation has played a role in Negro history since the period of slavery. Through the years segregation has taken varied form; its degree and quality differed from place to place. The middle class Negro can be taken as evidence that the nature of segregation changes as one improves his standard of living.

COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM AND NEW APPROACH.

I have cited research findings to show that housing, health and income are the social issues related to poverty as independent or interdependent factors.

As along with segregation, the nature of low-
income Negro family life and social structure became more complex in ghettos. At the same time, theirs is an increasingly urbanized, industrialized and technologically sophisticated group of people who are progressing toward more success. The Negro population is becoming increasingly urbanized and also more conscious of its social status. The present nature of action in the urban ghettos has created a much greater impact than before in this progressive group. It has provoked action by federal and local government and evoked interest among private institutions and individuals. Various social and governmental organizations such as city planning agencies, housing and renewal authorities, community action agencies, and model cities programs are all responding to this challenging task. At the same time people from many disciplines related to social science are directing their research more to these issues and thus accepting the complexity of the problem.

The author feels that the complexity of the problem
of urban ghettos has worked as a generator for the betterment of cities, demanding a new approach in physical design concepts and planning programs. Various disciplines related to social science are actively searching for some new answers in urban physical development. Louis Kriesberg, William Michelson, and Robert Gutman have contributed the latest papers in this field. Mr. Kriesberg has searched for answers for desirable locations for public housing projects. Mr. Michelson is interested in finding the people's mental reaction to basic arrangements of space. Mr. Gutman is interested in how architecture influences human behavior and social organizations, and has stressed the need of bringing close these two subjects at the university.

Lisa R. Peattie, lecturer in urban anthropology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has suggested that the work of social anthropologists can be of great help in large development programs. It brings various field-work based information (which she has experienced in "Guyana Project") and gives ample opportunity for the architect to
re-examine the questions related to physical design concept.

Various research findings of the social sciences and related fields have brought into focus that their interest in this field has opened a new direction with greater validity for solving the urban ghetto problem. As the problem is a physical, social and psychological phenomenon, and as the previous discussion shows the interest of those in various disciplines who have brought new dimension in thinking of man's environment in much greater depth, I suggest at this point that the approach for solving the urban ghetto problem needs an interdisciplinary team—one whose research findings will help the architect incorporate the physical design concept and planning program and, thus, meet the crisis of urban ghettos. With this tool (the interdisciplinary team) the architect must enter a new professional role to solve the ghetto problem. From a fairly narrow base he has to move to a broadly comprehensive base. The pieces (the various research findings)
may have to be added unsystematically, with views superimposed over old ones at the beginning, as they are quite new to the problem. But gradually it will bring more and better understanding to work together.

The process may be long, but it has a great potentiality and promise. At this point the author senses another factor which enhances the city's design: That is, the nature of the urban ghettos and their demands have brought a scope of greater understanding among these various disciplines along with architecture which will help to project a better environment in the future for urban America.

The architect will benefit from contact with those of various disciplines. Their collaboration will help him to analyze the problem from various social factors, and thus it will bring a more satisfactory result in physical design concept.
INTERDISCIPLINARY TEAMS AND ARCHITECT.

Probably the author could close the chapter at this point; but, being in the profession of architecture, felt it important to clarify in greater detail the role the architect has played so far in the urban community and what will be his role in working with an interdisciplinary team.

There is a new demand and a new trend among students of various universities\textsuperscript{14} in the social fields, and in architecture and planning to learn more about urban ghettos and their problems. I am referring particularly to architects who are already in the profession, those who possess a maturity in physical design concept and its practical feasibility as they must work with the interdisciplinary team to reshape the physical design and must enhance their knowledge to have a better understanding of the various disciplines.

It is evident from previous experience that architects for some time have been engaged in working with interdisciplinary teams, but so far
their work has been confined to certain fields, mostly related to physical design, close to their professional background.

Architects working with related disciplinary teams can be generally categorized into three types. They are:

1. Architects who collaborate with planners, landscape architects, and engineers (civil, mechanical, and electrical) to design buildings like hospitals, schools, or clinics. The architect is more restricted to site location and distribution of various services, giving more stress to physical design. They are based on mostly pre-accepted physical connection and technical information. He also stresses on-site planning related to topography and its relation to physical structure. This is the most common nature of an architect's work.

2. The social-minded architects who have shown more interest in incorporating the values of social science in physical design concept.
Probably the work of Professor Robert L. Geddes\textsuperscript{15} can be quoted as the best example of this kind. As Professor Geddes says, "Architects are concerned with social order, not merely the physical." In the development of this thesis, he was strongly influenced by Dr. Humphry Osmond, a psychiatrist, and Director of Research in Neurology and Psychiatry for the State of New Jersey. He has applied this theory while designing the dormitory of the main campus of the University of Delaware. According to Dr. Osmond and Professor Geddes, architecture can willfully foster or discourage social group formation. There are many other architects who are thinking, teaching, writing, and working in this direction, such as Sim Van Der Ryn and Christopher Alexander at Berkeley, De May in Boston, Conklin in New York, and Bassetti in Seattle.\textsuperscript{16}

3. Architects involved in urban renewal and public housing projects where the involvement is limited to federal and local policy programs. Thus, the architect's role is narrowed more to programming,
cost control and its implication in physical design. As a matter of fact, architects were called upon to design the building when the site was chosen, policies were set, programs were fixed, and priorities and budgets were established.

These three categories of architectural services establish the fact that architects are well enough in position to accept the broader comprehensive base to work with the interdisciplinary team. But as the nature of work of the interdisciplinary team is very different from the architect's previous experience, he must enhance his knowledge in the sphere of their work. Probably it is a point of contradiction about asking other disciplinaries to enhance knowledge towards the architectural profession; but I shall stress my point that the architect has to understand his discipline more in depth as he is the one who is ultimately responsible for giving final shape to physical design. As I have mentioned before, the process will be slow, but
the move will be towards a satisfactory answer
and gradually there will develop a common
language to strengthen the interaction of the
interdisciplinary team.

To further support my point of the architect's
responsibility to physical design concept,
sociologist William Michelson's viewpoint will
be more justified, as he says

"Note that the sociologists are not determin¬
ing the design or construction of homes,
neighborhoods or cities from their research. They are rather offering suggestions for optimum spatial arrangements with considera¬
tion for stated criteria of mental health,
family, and community organization and the like."17

So I suggest that as the architect comes forward
to solve the urban ghetto problem, he must join
the interdisciplinary team and enhance his
knowledge so he may cooperate more fully.

Before I suggest the nature of knowledge which
the architect will have to acquire, I shall
express my viewpoints regarding the attitude he
must form if he wishes to work for this new set
of clients.

I am not demanding such devotion as that of Donilo Dolce, the late Mahatma Gandhi, or the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.; but to work for the ghetto people the architect must keep two basic aims behind every comprehensive program. They are:

Elimination of poverty from society, and elimination of involuntary segregation in the United States.

He also must understand more deeply his new set of clients and judge their values not from his professional standpoint and preconceived background, but from their standpoint.

Considering the nature of complexity of the urban ghetto problem as it has been realized through the process of this study, the author anticipates that the following spheres of knowledge will help the architect to understand better the various disciplinaries.
They are:

1. The various functional systems related to social policy, such as employment and manpower development, mental health, welfare, recreation and law.

2. The various academic disciplines related to urban ghetto environmental factors, such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, urban government and politics and urban economics.

3. The basic philosophies and approaches of various professional groups are operating in the field of social policy, community organization, public health professionals, educators, etc.

4. More detailed understanding of the work of developers, real estate brokers and financial institutions.

5. The political process which determines social policies.

6. The structure and function of the urban ghettos and the history and culture of Negroes.
Thus it is evident at this point that the architect must orient himself with a completely new background to accept the new role.

CONCLUSION.
As the Negro has moved to the city, he has become more conscious of his status, aware that others in the urban environment enjoy better housing, better jobs, higher standards of living. The nature and complexity of their problem in urban ghettos have had a great impact on the various disciplines of social science and related fields. This impact has generated the demand for an interdisciplinary team to work with architects for a new approach in physical design concepts. This complexity also forces the architect to change his process of creative thinking, and brings these various disciplines together to work cohesively for a better urban America.
FOOTNOTES; Section C.

1 Requsted from *Progressive Architecture*, April, 1969, p. 154.


9 Louis Kriesberg, "Neighborhood Setting and the Isolation of Public Housing Tenants," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, January, 1968, p. 43. Mr. Kriesberg is a sociologist at the Youth Development Center at Syracuse University.


13 Ibid.

14 The University of Chicago, Columbia University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are all engaged in this nature of work.


16 Sirn Vanderyn is an Assistant Professor in the College of Environmental Design at the University of California, Berkeley. His office with Sandford Hirshen specializes in housing programming, analysis and development.


17 See Footnote 8.


The late Mahatma (Great) Gandhi—The man who pioneered in non-violence to bring India's freedom—a saint and a politician.

The late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.—Negro spiritual leader who also preached non-violence for Negroes—a follower and admirer of the late Gandhi.

19 Please see reading list of bibliography.
SECTION D

BIBLIOGRAPHY
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Books


Articles


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