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A Critique on Urbanization with a Contribution to Definitions and Theories

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A CRITIQUE ON URBANIZATION WITH A CONTRIBUTION
TO DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Sociology

and the

Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies

University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Edet Etim Okon

December 1971

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Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate
Studies of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of
Arts.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the professors in the Sociology Department of the University of Nebraska at Omaha for their joint efforts in developing a spirit of sociological inquiry in me and to American intellectual thinkers from whose books I have drawn most of the ideas found in this thesis.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. William T. Clute, the chairman of my thesis committee, who generously placed at my disposal his time; read the manuscript and provoked new ideas and lines of inquiry. Also I wish to thank the other members of my committee—Dr. Wayne Wheeler, Dr. Eugene Freund, and Mr. Andris Skreijs—for reading various drafts of the thesis.

Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Hoefker of Omaha who typed a later draft of the thesis free of charge and Mrs. Atim Edet Okon, my wife, who typed the rough draft, deserve my sincere thankfulness.

To my American friends—Mr. and Mrs. Joe Uhrich of McCook, Nebraska, who have contributed financially to my education, and members of North Side Christian Church in Omaha, who have given me social support and shelter—the thesis remains not only a token of remembrance but a concrete assurance that through their assistance, I have been able to attain this level in my academic career, a demonstrable mark of success in my academic mission in the United States of America.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Urban problems and literature on urbanization are growing simultaneously. Most major urban problems are accompanied by extensive research, and yet most of these problems continue even after the research has produced its major findings and recommendations. Failure to solve our urban problems can be attributed to incorrect findings, lack of intelligent application of the recommendations, and inadequate publicity of the findings and the recommendations.

When scientific inquiry stimulates research, the findings are stored in books which are accessible to only a few interested people. In this manner, a large volume of knowledge is kept in books and remains useless unless it is extracted from the literature for some specific purpose.

Research is frequently assumed to be primarily hypothesis testing via empirical research. However, library research is an equally important technique of inquiry. It requires the mastery of research findings, organizational technique, and the development of evaluative criteria and insight. Much can be gained from the available literature on urbanization if an intelligent use is made of this source of information. Insightful use of the literature facilitates the abstraction of ideas which may help modify, change,

and reformulate our research techniques as well as correct misconceptions and indicate areas of major research orientation and concentration.

The word "urbanization" is very familiar to both scholars and lay people; its meaning is taken for granted. The United Nations and the governments of individual countries spend large sums of money for research on urbanization, yet the problem of urbanization continues. No mention has ever been made indicating a single instance where the United Nations or individual governments have financed a study purporting to discover reasons why major researches on urbanization have failed to achieve the intended goals.

The thesis of this paper is that urbanization is conceptualized differently by various scholars and these differences are reflected in definitions and theories of urbanization. It is these definitional differences which have impeded the development of standard indices of urbanization, therefore studies on urbanization fail one after the other. Conceptual clarification, it is hoped, will move us many steps toward an understanding of urbanization and the development of a uniform code of what constitutes an urban area. In the absence of a conceptual clarification, our chances of successful results from studies on urbanization seem remote.

Therefore, the objective of this study is to develop some conceptual clarification. The definitions and theories of urbanization are evaluated in terms of their strengths and weaknesses.

The concept of entropy is introduced as an evaluative framework. The contribution of this evaluation in understanding urbanization is shown and explained.

The thesis is organized into five chapters beginning with the present Introduction. Chapter Two consists of a summary of the available literature on urbanization reflecting the opinions and scientific findings of leading scholars. The definitions and theories of urbanization are evaluated in Chapter Three. Chapter Four explains in considerable detail the new meaning of urbanization and how ecology provides an explanatory framework for the emerging definition of urbanization. Chapter Five presents the conclusion.

The city is undergoing rapid change and the contribution of this thesis is to show how conceptual clarification is an important asset in the understanding of this change.

CHAPTER II

THE SUMMARY OF LITERATURE ON URBANIZATION

Introduction

A large migration of people from rural to urban areas leads to a development of a new way of life, a new form of social organization and a distortion in the shape of cities. These changes are reflected in such writings as: Gottman's (1961) Megalopolis, Greer and others (1968) New Urbanization, and Gan's (1962) writing on suburbanization. Cities suffer from ambiguous boundaries due to a high degree of peripheral growth, and as a result it is not known where the city ends and the metropolis and megalopolis begin. The Northeastern seaboard of the United States of America has become an area of ribbon cities sometimes known as the Megalopolis (Gottman, 1961) where big cities meander into one another in such a way that it becomes difficult to know where the influence of one ends and the other begins. Day by day people are leaving the cities for the suburbs, and cities are sprawling toward limits which can no longer be predicted. Koenig and others (1953:295-6) have summarized the views of Lewis Mumford regarding this sprawl:

The modern metropolis, maintains Mumford, has grown without plan, the underlying motive for its horizontal and vertical spread being primarily pecuniary. It has, therefore, turned into a shapeless monstrosity and become so large and unwieldy that no individual can comprehend more than a fragment of its complex life. Nature has been almost completely forced

out and an artificial environment substituted. Not only has the metropolis doomed hundreds of thousands, at times millions, of people living in it to a life devoid of the pleasures of healthy, natural living, but it has also spread its contamination for hundreds of miles around it—to many small towns and villages which have fallen under its influence. The modern metropolis has reduced life to activities based on paper and the stomach and sex. To remedy this situation the metropolis must find ways and means of counteracting its tendency to ever greater concentration of population and the multiplication of the facilities for congestion. It must also deal with its tendency to spread into neighboring areas and recognize the irrationality and disastrous results of bigness.

The urban phenomenon is not unique to industrialized nations of the West; the developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are experiencing enormous increases in the population of their cities. Some cities in developing nations are considered overurbanized when the continent as a whole is predominantly rural (Sovani, 1969:322). Overurbanization means in this sense that cities in the developing nations are experiencing an influx of people from the rural areas to the city in such extent that the city cannot provide for the expanding needs in terms of employment, housing, and health services commensurate with the rate of demographic growth. New terminologies such as 'Westernization' (Epstein, 1969:247), 'Modernization' (McElrath, 1968:34), and 'Detribalization' (Hellman, 1948:110) have been coined to depict urban life in developing countries.

An insight into the meaning of these terminologies reveals that the highly urbanized nations of the West, such as the United

States of America and England to mention only two, are facing the problem of overgrown cities while the developing countries are encountering not only this problem, but also the problems of enculturation, and nation building as well. McElrath (1968:33) states this situation very vividly as follows:

The people of Africa are building cities at the same time they are creating nations... Change in the organization of developing societies is accompanied by changes in the dimensions of social differentiation--those categories into which people are divided, and in whose terms they receive differential treatment by others. The rise (and fall) of different dimensions is often dramatic in urban sectors; hence urbanizing Africa, where change is kaleidoscopic, is a relevant setting in which to examine these dimensions. Increasing societal scale (variously labeled 'modernization', 'urbanization', 'industrialization') creates urban settlements and, with them, new patterns of action and new barriers to participation based upon social differentiation.

The problem of population growth, ambiguous boundaries, enculturation, and nation building are indeed concomitant results of a process known as 'Urbanization'.

Urbanization has differential effects from one country to another and from one period of time to another, and as such, it is conceived and defined differently. There is no clear-cut or agreed-upon definition of urbanization; neither is there a general consensus on what constitutes the index of urbanization (Davis: 1965; Reissman, 1970:207). Whether urbanization entails a change from non-complex to a complex form of activity, from primary to secondary relationships, or whether urbanization involves organizational transformation (Hoey, 1968) or organizational disruption and dis-

location, one thing remains apparent which is that there is no one frame of reference through which urbanization can be viewed and explained.

Urbanization is a complex process; this complexity is revealed by the array of definitions given by different scholars:

1. Urbanization, meaning that a sizeable proportion of the population lives in cities, has developed only in the last few moments of man's existence (Davis, 1955:429).
2. One index of urbanization: the proportion of the population living in cities of 100,000 or larger (Davis, 1965:4).
3. The urbanization of any population group may be partially expressed for any social dimension in terms of the percentage of contacts made in urban settlements (Stewart, 1958:157).
4. Urbanization no longer denotes merely the process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life. It refers also to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban which are apparent among people, wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influences which the city exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transformation (Wirth, 1938:5).
5. A still better measure of the degree of urbanization of the United States is found in the number of urban inhabitants and their distribution in cities of various sizes (Wirth, 1942: 831).
6. Urbanization, seen as a movement of a people into industry and cities and reflective of urbanism, has received considerable demographic attention. Urbanization is used with different

meanings, but generally it means the massing of people in cities and the industries (Anderson, 1959:68).

7. The paper describes an attempt to formulate and test a theory designed to explain differences among countries with respect to two related phenomena--urbanization and metropolitanization. In the former case, the theory seeks to account for differences in the proportion of the population residing in cities as such, while in the case of metropolitanization the concern is with differences in the proportion of the population residing in large cities (Gibbs and Martin, 1958:266).
8. Urbanization is a process of population concentration (Tisdale, 1942:311).
9. Urbanization is a process of becoming. It implies movement, not necessarily direct or steady or continuous, from a state of non-urbanism toward a state of complete urbanism or rather from a state of less concentration towards a state of more concentration (Tisdale, 1942:312).
10. One of the most striking aspects of the modern era has been increasing urbanization, that is, the increasing proportion of the world's population residing in cities (Hauser, 1955:427).
11. Urbanization is social change on a vast scale. It means deep and irrevocable changes that alter all sectors of a society (Reissman: 1970:154).
12. Urbanization in this context means not only the transformation of rural, agricultural, or folk society, but also the continuous change within the industrial city itself. Urbanization does not stop but continues to change the city into ever different forms (Reissman, 1970:156).
13. It seems more meaningful to me therefore, to regard urbanization as involving a process of movement and change; its essence is that it creates the possibility of discontinuity with some pre-existing set of conditions (Epstein, 1969:248).

14. Urbanization expresses the growth of towns at the expense of the countryside; it is a measure of the shift of population from one to the other. It is generally accepted that this is an actual movement; a migration of people from the countryside to the town, for, with some possible and recent exceptions, town populations do not replace themselves (Jones, 1966:16).

The whole list of definitions indicates that urbanization defies a universal definition. Some scholars do not even like to define the term urbanization because they feel that no definition will embody or express all the components of urbanization.

In the next chapter these various definitions of urbanization will be examined in considerable detail in order to identify the common elements in the above definitions. On the other hand, while scholars differ in their definitions of urbanization, they agree that the speed of urbanization, the world over, has increased considerably during this twentieth century.

One generalization can be made for the world as a whole, and that is that urbanization is still increasing rapidly and is likely to continue doing so in the foreseeable future (Jones, 1966:17).

In this study, urbanization is considered in terms of three different approaches: historical, social, and functional. The historical approach focuses on studies dealing with the development of cities and the attempts which have been made to explain the historical stages of the development from rural to urban mode of living. The social approach attempts to summarize studies which deal with urbanism or urban ways of life in terms of the effects of urbanization on individuals, social systems, and social institutions.

The functional approach summarizes the theories and methods of investigating urban phenomena.

Theories of Urbanization

Historical Approach

Scholars have brought different perspectives to the historical study of urbanization. Tisdale (1942:311-316) conceives the process of urbanization as the relinquishment of a nomadic way of life in preference for a sedentary one. The sedentary existence led to the development of agriculture, domestication of animals, and the development of technology which facilitated the accumulation of a food surplus therefore enabling the relinquishment of a section of the population from the farm to the cities.

Lampard (1965:529) claims that primordial urbanization most likely emerged in areas that contained diverse but closely juxtaposed subenvironments or cultures which, through social interaction, were symbiotically exploited. The study of urbanization in an area, he maintains, can be focused even on a single city because the presence of cities presupposes a process of urbanization.

The presence of cities presupposes a more or less attendant societal process of urbanization. The relation of urbanization to cities may indeed be construed, for present purposes, as one of 'cause' and 'effect'. Thus, while urbanization itself has never constituted a distinctive field of historical research, it is possible to gain some general notion of its incidence and form from the large and mostly unorganized body of writings on cities. From this literature one may derive an impression of the level of urbanization that obtains in a given area and also a sense of whether

the level is rising, falling, or holding stable. Variations in the incidence of urbanization, as indicated by changes in the numbers and sizes of cities, for example, are at once a matter of intrinsic and a proximate index of other change (Lampard, 1965:519).

Sjoberg (1960) maintains that a proper classification of cities will reveal the process of urbanization. By placing societies along three technological stages--folk, feudal, and industrial, he claimed that the city developed in the feudal society. The claim is based on the assumption that the feudal society had an agricultural and technological base in terms of animal and human sources of energy for production, and hence it was capable of providing a base for urban life. The classification of the city under pre-industrial and industrial enabled him to conclude that the structure or form of pre-industrial cities--whether in medieval Europe, traditional China, India or elsewhere--resembled one another closely and in turn differed from modern industrial urban centers.

Mumford's (1938) Culture of Cities demonstrates that for each cultural advance in European life a new form of city emerged. Jones (1966:52) makes a similar contention as seen below:

There are many towns in Britain which have preserved something from all historical stages of growth; and if you walk from the center to the outskirts, you find yourself first in narrow medieval streets, then in dignified Renaissance terraces, followed by Victorian by-law streets and finally in the open suburbs of today.

Redfield's (1941:338) study of Yucatan communities shows the various stages of urbanization as a folk community transforms

itself into an urban community. This study led to his development of a folk-urban continuum theory.

The most general conclusion is that the same relative order—an order corresponding to their relative positions on the map: city, town, peasant village, and tribal village—serves to range the four communities studied so as to represent the progressively increasing or decreasing extent to which several general social or cultural characteristics are present.

Redfield maintains that transition from folk to urban follows a linear development. On the contrary, Reissman (1970:208) claims that the development from feudal to industrial society is simultaneous on the following index of urbanization—growth in the proportion of population living in the cities; the development of large-scale manufacturing and the large-scale organization of private and business services; the emergence of middle class of entrepreneurs and professionals, and the development of nationalism.

The origin of the city is very complicated, even though it is a recent phenomenon when viewed within the context of man's historical existence on earth. Although the city is assumed to be the product of man's technology (Ray, 1968) yet man has neither complete control nor a full understanding of the cities. The city has increased in complexity and has generated numerous unanticipated consequences which challenge man's imagination. Man begins to wonder whether he possesses the city or the city possesses him (Peterson, 1946:6).

Social Aspect

Much effort is spent in studying the effect of urbanization

on urban residents. In the course of these studies, two schools of thought have developed about the effect of urbanization on the social life, social institutions, and behavior patterns of those living in the cities. One school of thought claims that urbanization is accompanied by the conditions of social breakdown and anomie (Wirth, 1938) while the other school maintains that there is urbanization without a condition of breakdown (Lewis, 1952). Urbanization has generated conditions of stress and conflict among many urban residents as reflected by rapid changes in family structure, secularization of ethnic values and practices, occupational uncertainty, shifting status of women, rising individualism and impersonality, and anomie amid political strife.

Wirth (1938) explains social disorganization in urban areas in terms of size, density, and heterogeneity and concludes that the urban mode of life consists of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighborhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity.

Stein (1960:29-41) summarizes the work of Chicago sociologists who associated urbanization with social disorganization, moral decay, high divorce rate, juvenile delinquency, broken homes and mental disorders. These sociologists used the concept of 'natural areas' in investigating effects of urbanization on the social life and institutions. Delinquency, they maintained, reflects a dis-

organized community life.

Studies conducted in two folk communities of River Bottom (Bennett, 1944:123-131) and Strington (Passin and Bennett, 1943: 98-106), respectively, indicate that a change in economic level of the people through mechanization of agriculture resulted in the development of status system, the decline in both the church and the family as agencies of social control, a breakdown in traditional beliefs and attitudes associated with agricultural magic, and above all a gradual change from relatively homogeneous economically unstratified communities to relatively heterogeneous stratified types.

This alteration can be attributed to economic change and the various cultural and socio-economic processes subsumed in the term 'Urbanization' (Bennett, 1944:125).

We may conclude that a transition of a community from a state of relative social homogeneity to heterogeneity is accompanied by a condition of social breakdown.

Other people have advanced an alternative view which tries to explain community, family, personality disorganizations, industrial strife, and dissolution of ethnic subcultures in terms of the nineteenth century ideology which emphasized individualism, rationalism, change, and freedom as an inevitable course of progress (Nisbet, 1953:4).

The sense of cultural disintegration is but the obverse side of the sense of individual isolation. The historic triumph of secularism and individualism has presented a set of problems that looms large in contemporary thought. The modern release of the individual from traditional ties of class, religion, and kinship has made him free; but, on

the testimony of innumerable works in our age, this freedom is accompanied not by the sense of creative release but by the sense of disenchantment and alienation. The alienation of man from historic moral certitudes has been followed by the sense of man's alienation from fellow man (Nisbet, 1953:10).

Scientists have conducted experiments on population, overcrowding, and human behavior. They have discovered that under crowded conditions men become more competitive, somewhat more severe, and like each other less, whereas women become more cooperative and lenient and like each other more (Ehrlich and Freedman, 1971:10). Can we, therefore, on the basis of this discovery, impute most of family disorganization in urban areas to men since conditions of high density have an adverse effect on their social functioning? On the other hand, can we assume that the social problems we face in our urban areas are the effects of the nineteenth century ideology which emphasized complete freedom and individualism? If the search for this freedom was agitated by the nineteenth century urbanization, we may conclude that urbanization causes social disorganization in urban areas.

We must also investigate and discover whether or not there are cultures and values of the people which make adjustments to urban way of life easier. The imposition of a new plantation system on the traditional culture of the Puerto Rican sugar production resulted in the development of a new type of culture which is superficially folklike in some ways and yet might be labeled "urban in others" (Mintz, 1953:4). This study shows that traditional culture

may resist conditions which might attempt to transform it into urbanism or it may take up a new way of life which is neither folk nor urban.

Other empirical studies create another version about the effect of urbanization on the social life and the social institutions. Whyte's (1943) study of Boston slums indicated that the slum institutions themselves were relatively stable; highly structured relationships existed among corner gangs, racketeers, politicians and police. Oscar Lewis' research (1952:31-42) in Tepoztlan revealed that residents who moved from their native folk society to Mexico City still maintained their family cohesiveness and the extended family ties increased in the city. There were few cases of divorce, and a real devotion to the Catholic religious life still continued.

Homans (1950:265) maintains that kinship relations are not maintained unless they serve some purpose for those involved. Many studies in West African cities indicate that the extended family serves as a source of shelter as well as provides for the economic, legal, and religious needs of its urban members (Aldous, 1962:6). Another study shows that the Yoruba, a long-settled urban people in Nigeria, have maintained their traditional extended family patterns (Bascom, 1955:448). A study of slum clearance in Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria, shows that friendship networks, daily meetings, and family discussions went on in spite of a wholesale demolition of the neighborhood and disruption in family group (Marris, 1960:124). In

Leopoldville, a large city in the Congo, the unemployed and new arrivals turn to their relatives for shelter and sustenance (Comhaire, 1956:11).

In highly urbanized countries, such as the United States of America, studies reveal that interaction with relatives is important in all ages and socio-economic groups (Axelrod, 1956:17). Most people in urban areas have close friendship ties with at least one relative (Bell and Boat, 1957:394), and a large number of families in urban areas maintain mutual assistance pattern and continue to participate in one another's lives (Sussman, 1953:23).

Two opposing ideas--urbanization with a condition of social breakdown, and urbanization without a condition of social breakdown--present a challenge which calls for further research.

The Functional Approach

The city is a container of urban activities, a congeries of individual men, a constellation of institutions and administrative devices; it is both artifactual and mental. We must know how these things interplay with each other to bring about variety in urban social forms. The German sociologists and anthropologists, (Sennett, 1969:12) Weber, Simmel, and Spangler, claimed that large impersonal bureaucracies, the rule of rational exchange and rational law, the lack of warm personal contact between city men were the main features of city culture.

The Chicago sociologists (Sennett, 1969:14) were interested in knowing how rationality, emphasized by the German scholars, was

expressed in the physical arrangement of the city itself and how the geography of the place was a concrete expression of the division of labor and the fragmenting of social roles. They believed that the city was not only a container but also a sorter of the contents into specific areas known as "natural areas".

Park, McKenzie and Burgess, observed that various groups, institutions, and sub-communities distributed themselves within a limited land area and this arrangement influences their relationship with one another. Park claimed that this distribution is not at random but rather it is a product of forces that are constantly at work to effect an orderly distribution of populations and functions within the urban complex. The locations of these different phenomena are what Park called "natural areas". Stein (1960:22) summarizes Park's views about natural areas as follows:

They are 'natural' because they are not planned, and because the order that they display is not the result of design, but rather a manifestation of tendencies inherent in the urban situation; tendencies that city plans seek--though not always successfully--to control and correct. In short, the structure of the city, as we find it, is clearly just as much the product of the struggle and efforts of its people to live and work together collectively as are its local customs, traditions, social ritual, laws, public opinion, and the prevailing moral order.

Having realized this distribution, Park decided to apply the concept of plant and animal ecology to the understanding of urban phenomena; he called this "Human Ecology".

Human Ecology is an attempt to apply to the interrelations of human beings a type of analysis previously applied to the interrelations of plants and animals. The term symbiosis describes a type

of social relationship that is biotic rather than cultural. The biotic social order comes into existence and is maintained by competition... .
(Park, 1936:1).

The importance of ecology, whether viewed as a theory, or a technique of inquiry in the study of both rural and urban communities cannot be overemphasized. Human ecology or urban ecology, as most people like to call it, is one of the major contributions which sociologists have made to the systematic study of both the rural and urban phenomena. The following concepts are borrowed from plant and animal ecology--environment, competition, dominance, symbiosis, and invasion; these concepts have helped in a systematic understanding of our cities and in the development of ecological theories such as Burgess' concentric zone theory, Hoyt's sector theory, and Harris and Ullman's multi-nuclei theory.

Even though ecological methods have been used by human geographers and sociologists in the study of communities, Park's major contribution lies in his ability to transform the passing observations of urban scene into important social insights to enable systematic analysis of urban phenomena.

Sociologists, both urban and rural were at work studying the human community by methods which subsequently have been called ecological long before human ecology was recognized as a distinctive field of scientific activity. A series of significant maps of the spatial distribution of vital and social phenomena in England had appeared in Henry Mayhew's London Labor and London PoorVon Thunen's Der Isolierte Staat had given a theoretical framework for the understanding of successive concentric zones of land use of a region (Wirth, 1945:483).

Human ecology has gained a wider momentum for research in rural and urban communities since its inception. Between 1925 and 1939, studies of communities using the concept of human ecology had grown very considerably in number (Quinn, 1940:191). The concept of "natural areas" has given rise to intensive urban research and the publishing of many books such as those summarized by Stein (1960:35-43):

1. The Jack-Roller and Brothers in Crime by C. R. Shaw. These books demonstrate the mechanisms whereby a slum socializes its residents to crime.
 2. The Gold Coast and the Slum by H. Zorbaugh. This book shows that a single section in Chicago could encompass several natural areas in close physical proximity.
 3. The Ghetto by L. Wirth. This book shows the need of paying attention to specific subcommunity in terms of the effect of urbanization on its social organization.
 4. Mental Disorders in Urban Areas by R. Faris and H. Warren Dunham. The book deals with the prevalence of mental disorders in selected areas of the city and advances a set of hypotheses showing the relationship between the subcommunity milieu and mental disorders.
- All these books demonstrate some of the effects of urbanization on various communities.

The second school of ecological thought claims that the assignment of the concept 'Competition' to a key role in human ecology

is, in fact, premised largely on the biological interpretation of the subject. This school maintains that the competitive hypothesis is a gross oversimplification of what is involved in the development of pattern, structure, or other manipulation of organization (Hawley, 1944:401). Human ecology, according to this school of ecological thought (Hawley, 1944:405), is the descriptive study of the adjustment of human populations to the conditions of their respective physical environments. It is the development and the form of communal structure as it occurs in varying environmental contexts. The distinctive feature of Hawley's work lies in the conception of the adjustment; this is the principal working hypothesis in human ecology.

This present analysis does not attempt to deal with the differences which exist between the two ecological schools of thought. The concept of ecology serves as an outstanding method of approach to the study of urbanization. The comparative approach which emphasizes the differences between rural and urban is becoming obsolete as the cultural differences between them are almost bridged through diffusion of their respective traits.

Conclusion

The literature on urbanization reflects the opinions and scientific findings of leading scholars. The findings are arranged under the historical, social and functional headings.

Urbanization is associated with the development of agriculture, domestication of animals, and technology. However, there

is no substantial evidence about the origin of urbanization. The number of cities and the urban residents have increased tremendously. Cities sprawl because of the increasing population in urban areas.

Many scholars assume that urbanization is accompanied by a condition of social breakdown while others contend that there is an urbanization without a condition of breakdown.

Different theories are formulated to explain urbanization; some of these theories remain obsolete as urbanization passes from one stage to another, however, ecology remains a current urban theory. Definitions of urbanization vary from scholar to scholar and from country to country. Some of these definitions are contradictory and others complementary.

CHAPTER III

EVALUATION OF DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES OF URBANIZATION

Classification of Definitions

The definitions of urbanization were presented on pages 7-9 of this study. This chapter will focus on classifying these definitions into different dimensions. Terminologies used in defining urbanization will be explained to remove semantic problems. The definitions of urbanization will be evaluated; this evaluation may result in the elimination of some definitions and in the formulation of a new definition of urbanization. The classification of the definitions is presented in Figure 1. The definitions are grouped under demographic and cultural dimensions. The demographic dimension is subdivided into A, B, and C subclassifications which are proportion, movement or migration, and concentration, respectively. The cultural dimension focuses mainly on cultural change.

Failure in defining the terms used in explaining urbanization is common among scholars who attempt to elucidate urbanization. Some writers use different words which are synonymous in meaning in defining urbanization; for example, proportion and percentage, migration and movement, and transformation and change. Others use terms which lack particular referents, such as pre-existing condition (Epstein, 1969:48), mode of life and transformation (Wirth,

FIGURE 1

DIMENSIONS OF URBANIZATION

Demographic Dimension			Cultural Dimension
A	B	C	D Cultural Change
Proportion (Davis, 1955)			
Percentage of urban contact (Stewart, 1958)			
Movement (Anderson, 1959) (Jones, 1966) (Lipstein, 1969)			
Migration (Jones, 1966)			
Concentration (Tisdale, 1942)			
			(Reissman, 1970) (Wirth, 1938)
Social change Transformation			(Reissman, 1970) (Wirth, 1938)
Mode of Life			(Anderson, 1959) (Lipstein, 1969)
Discontinuity with pre-existing set of conditions			

1938:5), and concentration (Tisdale, 1942:311). In grouping and analyzing these definitions of urbanization, apparent contradictions, confusion of ideas and ambiguities in the terminologies become apparent; the combination of these conditions tends to confound the whole meaning of urbanization.

In an attempt to evaluate these definitions of urbanization, it becomes necessary to remove these terminological ambiguities. Thus, proportion or percentage refers to the distribution of a nation's population between the rural and urban areas. It shows the relationship between the number of citizens living in cities and the total population of a given country. Movement and migration are considered synonymous in meaning and imply a shift in population from one geographical area to another within a country. The percentage of urban contact refers to a degree of interaction between the rural and urban resident; this may promote cultural exchange between the two groups of people. Concentration is a collection or aggregation of people. Tisdale (1942:313) claims that a band of wandering people may concentrate in different places with differential density and that this togetherness may be called urbanization of a sort. He claims that urbanization is togetherness of a progressive nature resulting in an increasing concentration. A group of wandering people may concentrate at a place and develop a closed society or struggle to maintain territorial right, but this would not be considered as an example of urbanization unless it continued to experience a persistent pattern of increasing population density.

Transformation, change, discontinuity with some pre-existing condition, and change in the direction of mode of life are classified under the cultural dimension. These terms are vague because they have no particular referents. These terms, however, emphasize economic and social change. Economic change refers to innovation in agricultural practices and economic organization. Social change refers to a modification in established pattern of interhuman relationships and standards of conduct. Discontinuity with some pre-existing condition means a break with patterns of life and practices which are associated with rural areas and which seem to be obsolete and dysfunctional in urban areas.

Definitions of urbanization are grouped under two broad categories; the strengths and weaknesses of each category will be appraised to discover which of these categories best defines urbanization. The concept of entropy will be used as an evaluative criterion for these definitions. Entropy is used in this study to refer to a stage in which all the citizens of any given country reside in cities. A careful explanation of the meaning of entropy is done in the succeeding paragraphs.

The Concept of Entropy

Entropy is a stage in which all the citizens of a given country live in cities. Implied within this concept is the notion that rural populations are completely depleted. It is the demographic aspect of urbanization at the one hundred per cent level.

Source of Entropy. — Entropy is not a completely new con-

cept. Davis (1955:437) refers to a situation in which all the citizens live in cities as a state of complete urbanization.

Our present degree of urbanization in advanced countries is still so new that we have no clear idea of how such complete world urbanization would affect human society; but the chances are that the effects would be profound. In visualizing the nature and effect of complete urbanization in the future, however, one must guard against assuming that cities will retain their present form.

Emry Jones (1966:17) supports the idea of complete urbanization with the following statements:

If the present-day trends do continue, then we may only be a century away from complete urbanization.

This is the source from which the concept of entropy originates. Why the idea of complete urbanization is rejected in favor of entropy will be explained in the succeeding paragraphs.

Usefulness of the Concept of Entropy. — Entropy refers to only the demographic dimension of complete urbanization; it can be observed and measured statistically unlike a state of complete urbanization which may also include cultural dimensions as well. As rural areas are completely vacated, the interacting force between the rural and urban which creates difficulty in discerning what aspects of behavior are occasioned by either urban or rural ceases. As the city becomes the sole container of the nation's population, cultural changes which manifest themselves can justifiably be attributed to urbanization alone. This thesis prefers to deal with the observable index of urbanization, entropy, rather than the more general and vague concept of complete urbanization.

Why The Concept of Complete Urbanization Is Rejected In This Thesis. -- Complete urbanization is interpreted to embody both cultural and demographic aspects of urbanization. The problem of using cultural factors as indicators of complete urbanization is acute. A state of complete urbanization implying both the demographic and cultural dimensions would be difficult to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy among rural residents even more so with urban residents.

Complete urbanization in a cultural sense may be achieved even when all the citizens of a given country do not live in cities. Stewart (1958:152) claims that the demographic distinction between urban and rural in terms of a residential population has limited value, and with increased local mobility, social and economic space no longer coincides with residence. The rural-urban fringe (Weheim, 1942:228) is really an extension of the city itself, both actual and potential; therefore, the rural people (Whitney, 1949:49) are thoroughly urbanized as their counterparts who live within the political boundaries of the urban places. Therefore, the state of complete urbanization in a cultural sense cannot be measured; it is a matter of assumption. It is difficult to assign a state of complete urbanization to any given country when some of her citizens are still living in the rural areas.

Wagner (1970:52-53) associates urbanization with a revolution and a development of a universal mentality or outlook. The term 'universal mentality' involves cultural connotations. Hellman

(1948:110) maintains that urban residents are not easily detribalized. Detribalization, in this sense, implies the dropping of or the rejection of tribal modes of behavior and the loosening of or a complete break of social relationship with those living in tribal areas. The rural migrants may work in the cities, yet they are not of the city since they do not commit themselves to urban way of life. These cultural variables cannot be measured statistically and accurately, therefore the idea of complete urbanization is rejected in this thesis.

The Concept of Entropy Versus Wirth's Hypothesis

Urbanization lacks reliable postulates upon which assumptions and predictions about urbanization are based. Wirth's (1938) urban theory assumed size, density, and heterogeneity as the key features upon which aspects of the city life could be systematically related. Most of Wirth's assumptions inferred from size, density, and heterogeneity are not supported by empirical findings. Many research findings on urbanization in non-Western countries present critical evidence regarding Wirth's assumptions.

Abu-Lughod's study (1961:31) at Cairo in Egypt claims that Louis Wirth's statement of the differences between the rural and urban ways of life have been misused. He maintains that many of the concepts almost self-evident to sociologists studying American cities have proved less valid when applied to the growing body of data about non-western and preindustrialized cities. Abu-Lughod maintains that the culture of Cairo fails to be characterized by

anonymity, secondary contacts, and other attributes of urban life since migrants to Cairo are active creators of a variety of social institutions whose major function is to protect migrants from the shock of anomie. Middle East culture also places a high value on personal relationships even at a sacrifice of privacy and internal development. The extended kinship group serves to increase the number of primary ties far beyond what western sociologists, reasoning from their own experience, dare to assume possible. Egyptian migrant's adjustment to the city is facilitated by the formal and informal institutions he develops within his small community; through such institutions, migrants receive moral support from their compatriot as well as insurance against the insecurities of urban life, namely, isolation in poverty, sickness, and death.

Bascom's (1955:451) study of urbanization among the Yorubas of Nigeria claims that anomie does not seem to be apparent, unless it is found among the rural Yoruba who find themselves in the city. Abu-Lughod's study in Cairo and Bascom's study of urbanization among the Yorubas challenge Wirth's hypothesis that size, density, and heterogeneity would result in certain social consequences; namely, anonymity, dependence upon impersonal relation and the weakening of kinship bonds. It is reasonable to ask whether anomie is a result of a particular system of social organization in the urban area or an inevitable concomitant of urban life.

The value of any postulate rests upon the validity of the propositions involved; if the propositions therein turn out to be

false, the usefulness of the postulate may be challenged. Since most of Wirth's propositions are not empirically supported, his assumption that the underlying order in urbanization can be explained in terms of size, density, and heterogeneity needs reexamination and qualification. Wirth indicates that increase in size will result in increase in density and heterogeneity. The author of this paper maintains that the concepts of size, density, and heterogeneity cannot be used with a reasonable degree of precision in predicting the number, the sex ratio, the age, and economic class of those who would move to the city each year. If size, density, and heterogeneity offer no possibility of prediction in this direction, assumptions regarding cultural changes derived from these major concepts seem unlikely to hold at all times.

It is assumed that density and heterogeneity vary because size varies. It is also assumed that a change in interpersonal relation and cultural ways of life are influenced by the degree of heterogeneity and density. It is questionable whether a ceasing of rural-urban migration will result in a termination of cultural changes. If Wirth's urban theory may be interpreted to mean that size determines density and heterogeneity, then a lack of growth in size will result in lack of growth in density and heterogeneity. As density and heterogeneity decrease, it might be inferred from Wirth's formulation that cultural change would also decrease.

However, Reissman (1970:155-6) maintains that urbanization is not only the transformation of rural agricultural or folk society,

but also the continuous change within the industrial city itself. Urbanization does not stop but continues to change the city into ever different forms. The implication that the cessation of rural-urban migration will result in cultural stagnation seems quite unlikely given the numerous other sources of cultural changes.

Wirth's idea that urban population size grows gradually will be elaborated by assuming that urban population size has reached a point at which all rural residents are drawn to the city. This assumption helps delete all forms of vacillation in size, density, and heterogeneity; the assumption enables the establishment of a strong postulate from which other assumptions may be derived. Entropy does not concern itself with the size, density, and heterogeneity. It does not investigate whether or not one lives in the ghetto or the suburb. It does not investigate one's social class, income, occupation, and education. The focus is neither in the degree of folkness or urbanness of those who live in the cities. Entropy concerns itself primarily with the question of whether or not the total population of a given country lives in cities.

Entropy assumes that as rural areas are completely vacated the interacting force between the rural and urban which creates difficulty in discerning what aspects of behavior are occasioned by either urban or rural will cease. Another assumption is that as the city becomes the sole container of the nation's population, cultural changes which manifest themselves can justifiably be attributed to urbanization alone. This study claims that the first stage

to understanding urbanization is by entropy. Entropy involves a demographic concept which can be observed and measured and is assumed to be the harbinger of urbanism. As long as entropy is not achieved, generalizations about urbanization will constantly be confounded with certain rural phenomena. On the basis of this assumption, entropy has been employed as an evaluative framework for analyzing and eliminating some definitions and theories of urbanization.

Wirth's assumptions and entropy are put side by side in Figure 2 to see their similarities and differences and above all their strengths and weaknesses. Entropy presents stronger postulates upon which assumptions and predictions about urbanization can be derived than size, density, and heterogeneity.

Evaluation of the Definitions

Louis Wirth (1942:829) maintains that the city has a source from which it draws its own residents. He states that if this source is interrupted, urban population growth may be affected.

The era of uninterrupted growth of cities seems to have come to an end. The rate of increase in urban population in the decade 1930-40 was the smallest in our history. There is no reason to expect a marked reversal in the operation of the basic factors that have brought this about, namely, (1) decline in the net internal migration from rural areas, (2) drying-up of the stream of immigration from abroad, and (3) continued drop in rate of natural increase.

Davis (1955:435) claims that as the degree of urbanization rises, it becomes impossible for the rates of gain to continue. Since the

FIGURE 2

WIRTH'S ASSUMPTIONS AND ENTROPY COMPARED
AND CONTRASTED.

Wirth's Hypothesis	Entropy
<p>Some of the conditions which Wirth explains in terms of size, density, and heterogeneity can be explained by alternative hypothesis.</p>	<p>Entropy does not allow other independent variables than urbanization to influence its explanation since all citizens live in cities.</p>
<p>Wirth's vacillation in size, density, and heterogeneity leads to the implication that rural-urban migration will result in a termination of cultural changes as the rural area is completely vacated.</p>	<p>Entropy holds everything constant by assuming that all the citizens live in cities, therefore cultural changes are attributed to urbanization alone.</p>

growth in the urban population is frequently made possible by the movement of people from rural areas to the cities, it becomes evident that the city can no longer draw on a non-city population of any size as the rural population becomes increasingly a smaller percentage of the total.

Masatoshi (1968:66) maintains that the United States of America and England can estimate the rates of growth of their urban populations with reference to the proportion of their agricultural populations since the farm population of the United States of America and Europe has been reduced to very insignificant percentages, ten per cent and four per cent respectively. In this kind of situation, they do not expect a rapid and constant growth of urban population from rural areas.

Masatoshi (1968:65) further maintains that Tokyo is in the same category as New York, London, Chicago, Paris and Moscow; and that Japan is as highly advanced and industrialized as any western country, yet Tokyo continues to grow because it has a large percentage of farm population and less developed Asiatic countries around it whose people migrate to Tokyo. Japan and Tokyo cannot estimate what their populations would be in the year 2000 A.D. since Japan has not yet drawn a high percentage of people from the potential source of migration at the moment.

The above citations support the assumptions made in this paper which are: (1) urbanization has a source from which it draws

its urban residents, and (2) as the size of urban population increases, the supply from the source decreases till it gets to a zero point where the source can no longer make any further supply; at such a stage, entropy is completed. Masatoshi's writing reveals that Japan is highly urbanized, but her chance of reaching a stage of entropy is remote since the sources from which the potential migrants to Japan come are still crowded with people. As a stage of entropy is approached, rural areas can no longer supply migrants to the city; therefore, all former links between the rural and the urban will discontinue. Definitions and theories of urbanization which involve a link between rural and urban will remain obsolete. Such definitions and theories are considered time-bound.

The definitions of urbanization will be evaluated in terms of their demographic components, that is, some of the definitions of urbanization which are heavily dependent upon demographic measures will become less relevant as a society reaches a stage of entropy. Definitions will be examined to see to what degree they are dependent upon demographic measures. This examination will help detect what the various definitions have to offer given the assumption that urbanization reaches a stage of entropy.

Zetterberg's (1965) axiomatic format which involves logico-deduction is considered an essential approach in this evaluative work. In the axiomatic format, propositions are arranged in a logical way to enable the theorist to delineate his assumptions and make explicit his deductions from the postulates. Evaluation of

the definitions proceeds as follows:

1. As entropy is achieved, all residents live in cities, therefore,
 - (a) Urbanization may not be defined in terms of a proportion of the total population living in cities.
 - (b) Urbanization may still be defined in terms of population density.

2. As all residents live in cities, rural-urban ties end, therefore,
 - (a) Urbanization may not be defined as a migration from rural to urban areas.
 - (b) Urbanization may not be defined in terms of rural-urban contacts.

3. As rural-urban ties cease, cultural change within urban areas continue, therefore,
 - (a) Urbanization may be defined in terms of new forms of social organization.
 - (b) Urbanization may be defined in terms of new forms of interpersonal relationships.
 - (c) Urbanization may be defined in terms of discontinuity between some previous and present conditions.

Entropy, an evaluative criterion, rejects the meaning of urbanization defined in terms of the proportion of the total population, in terms of percentage of urban contact, and in terms of migration or movement from rural to urban areas. It confirms definitions of urbanization which emphasize concentration and cultural change. The author of this thesis, therefore, defines urbanization as:

an induced break with the pre-existing conditions which results in a new mode of social organization, new social relationships, and a high degree of concentration of people in a limited geographical area.

Evaluation of The Theories

The objective of this chapter is to examine the heuristic

potential of the three urban theories—the theory of contrast, the folk-urban continuum, and the ecological theory—in the understanding of urban life. Each of these theories has its underlying assumptions. Most of these assumptions do not persist as urbanization passes from one stage to another, neither do these assumptions explain some of the complex elements involved in urbanism. The concepts associated with each theory are first outlined before the evaluation of the main theory.

The Theory of Contrast.—Concepts associated with this theory are written under rural and urban categories as follows:

<u>Rural Category</u>	<u>Urban Category</u>
1. Sacred	1. Secular
2. Mechanical Solidarity	2. Organic Solidarity
3. Status	3. Contract
4. Folk	4. Urban
5. Military	5. Industrial
6. Gemeinschaft	6. Gesellschaft
7. Traditional	7. Rational.

Evaluation proceeds thus:

1. As entropy is achieved, all residents live in cities, therefore,
 - (a) Urbanization may not be explained in terms of the mode of life associated with rural area.
 - (b) Urbanization may be explained in terms of the mode of life associated with urban areas.

Folk-Urban Continuum Theory.—The Folk-Urban Continuum also embodies a dichotomy concept in terms of "degree, magnitude and gradient".

Evaluation proceeds as follows:

1. As entropy is achieved, urbanization may be explained in terms of a discontinuity with rural mode of life and a break with a pre-existing set of conditions, therefore the notion of:
 - (a) degree
 - (b) magnitude and
 - (c) gradient in explaining the diffusion of rural and urban traits between urban and rural areas will cease.

2. As entropy is achieved, all residents live in cities, therefore, urbanization will rather be explained in terms of the mode of life associated with urban area as follows:
 - (a) Secular
 - (b) Organic Solidarity
 - (c) Contract
 - (d) Urban
 - (e) Industrial
 - (f) Rational
 - (g) Gesellschaft.

Ecological Theory. — These are the major concepts associated with the theory of Ecology:

- (a) Population
- (b) Environment
- (c) Organization
- (d) Technology.

The evaluation of the theory proceeds thus:

1. As entropy is achieved, all residents live in cities, therefore, urbanization may be explained in terms of the presence of:
 - (a) Population
 - (b) Environment
 - (c) Organization
 - (d) Technology.

2. As all residents live in cities, urbanization may be diagnosed as:
 - (a) a system of organization.
 - (b) an integrated structure of population.
 - (c) an integrated structure of environment.
 - (d) an integrated structure of technology.
 - (e) a coordination of activities.

The definitions and theories of urbanization are analyzed as shown in Figure 3.

Conclusion

The definitions and theories of urbanization are evaluated within the framework of entropy. Terminologies in the definitions are defined to clarify the concepts involved. Definitions are grouped under demographic and cultural dimensions; through a process of logico-deduction, the persistence and applicability of each definition are weighed. Urbanization defined in terms of the proportion of the total population, the percentage of urban contact, and the movement or migration from rural to urban is rejected within the context of entropy. Definitions which emphasize concentration and cultural change are being confirmed as enduring conceptualizations of urbanization. A new definition of urbanization is formulated from the definitions emphasizing concentration and cultural changes.

Entropy rejects the theories of Contrast and Folk-Urban Continuum since they are based on time-bound assumptions. Ecological theory and definitions of urbanization emphasizing concentration and cultural change are confirmed as enduring conceptualizations of urbanization.

FIGURE 3

ANALYSIS OF DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES

Definitions and Theories	Concepts confirmed by Entropy	Concepts rejected by Entropy	Time-bound definition and Theory	Enduring definitions and Theories
Definitions	Concentration Cultural change	Proportion Percentage Movement Migration	Proportion Percentage Movement Migration	Concentration Cultural change
Theory of Contrast	Concepts under Urban category	Concepts under Rural category	Theory of Contrast	
Folk-Urban Continuum Theory		Degree Magnitude Intensity	Folk-Urban Continuum Theory	
Ecological Theory	Population Environment Organization Technology			Ecological Theory

CHAPTER IV

ELABORATION OF THE NEW DEFINITION OF URBANIZATION AND ECOLOGICAL THEORY

In the previous chapter, urbanization was defined as:

An induced break with the pre-existing conditions which results in a new mode of social organization, new social relationships, and a high degree of concentration of people in a limited geographical area.

From the beginning of human history until the twentieth century, human societies were largely local, tribal, and rural. Our ideas, values, political structures, and social patterns were developed to meet the needs of rural life-style. The relevancy of these styles, values, and structures in modern urban communities cannot be assessed with any reasonable degree of accuracy. The family and the kin relation which formed the basis of social and economic organization can no longer endure in the modern urban communities which are characterized by heterogeneity, secondary relationships, and large-scale bureaucratic organizations. It is this irrelevancy of our former knowledge, habits, beliefs, and structures to the new urban situation that produces the feeling of worthlessness and calls for a break with these pre-existing conditions identified with the rural areas.

Present Trend

To illustrate this new urban situation, it can be seen in America that modern means of communication, radio, telephone, tele-

vision, automobile, and modern highways cause rural and urban America to be in a state of constant flux. Instantaneous communications help impose a universal mentality upon the rural and urban people. Because of instantaneous communication, rural areas are no longer isolated, but become an integral part of the larger society. The traditionalism built into agricultural operations which tended to preserve old customs, costumes, dialects, artifacts, and beliefs of the rural people is weakened. There is a reduction of cultural differentiation of social class among rural and urban residents.

The folk-urban or rural-urban concept advanced by Sir Henry Maine, Ferdinand Tonnies, and Emile Durkheim (Caplow, 1971:269-278) which shows the distinction between the rural and urban mode of social life remains an object of contention among present-day sociologists. The folk society which Redfield (1947) described as small, isolated, homogeneous, illiterate, and economically independent seems an obsolete characterization compared to rural areas in America today. Wirth's (1938) urbanism inferred from size, density, and heterogeneity are found in the present-day rural areas. Passin and Bennett's study in Strington (1943), Bennett's study in River Bottom (1944) and Lynd's (1937) study in Muncie are living examples of the existence of the urban way of life in rural communities.

Miner's (1965:291-293) research in Timbuctoo reveals the interplay of both rural and urban traits in a folk community. A careful examination reveals that these traits coexist because of the presence of the different brands of ethnic cultural units within

the contiguous boundary of the same folk community. The urban traits of secularity and impersonality were seen to dominate all interethnic relations as opposed to personal, sacred, and intimate behavior of the intra-ethnic relation.

Miner's (1952) critical evaluation of the Folk-Urban Continuum depicts that change is not always generated by one condition; the assumption that the city is the only source of change is erroneous. Cultural change, however, may not be a matter of folk-urban progression but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. The typeology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to obscure the wide range in the ways of life and value systems among the so-called primitive people. There is an interdependent relation in some of the dimensions involved in folk-urban concept to the extent that change in one would generate change in others. A single characteristic varies in its degree of folkness in different aspects of life in a single society. There are no adequate measurement scales for the traits, and hence there is an apparent need for more definite operationalization of the popular traits.

Wirth (1938) recognized that the modes of life which can be described as urban might appear among people, wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influence which the city exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation. Stewart (1958:152) maintains that demographic distinction between urban and rural in terms of residential population has limited value, and with

increased mobility, social and economic space no longer coincides with residence. Rural-urban fringe (Weheim, 1942:228) is really an extension of the city itself both actual and potential; therefore, the rural people (Whitney, 1949:49) are as thoroughly urbanized as their counterparts who live within the political boundaries of the urban places. Contemporary rural and urban America do not fit neatly into the specific characteristics assigned them by Redfield and Wirth respectively.

This paper maintains that the intensive diffusion of rural and urban traits between rural and urban places calls for (a) a fresh interpretation of the concepts of "rural and urban", and (b) a thorough reexamination of Wirth's (1938) and Redfield's (1947) rural-urban polarity stereotypes. This study will overlook all cultural dimensions which are used in distinguishing the rural from urban communities. Rural and urban areas do not differ mostly in terms of specific cultural traits, but rather in terms of degree in which specific cultural traits are manifested in rural and urban places. Attention will be paid to the influence of organizations upon the social image of urban communities.

Modern industrial urban communities, the author maintains, are webs of complex organization. In this study, complex organizations are considered as the mutually exclusive trait that differentiates urban from rural communities. Whyte's Organization Man (1956) shows how modern men band themselves more and more into organizations; citizens of modern urban societies are born in organizations, edu-

cated in organizations and work in organizations. Members of modern societies to a large extent obtain their material, social, and cultural satisfactions from large-scale organizations.

Modern society is to a large degree a bureaucratic society; that is, many of its functional requirements—such as allocations of means and social integration—are carried out and controlled by complex organizations, not only does modern society as a whole tend to be bureaucratic, but the most powerful social units of modern society are also bureaucracies... . Finally, some organizations develop into social monsters, embracing more and more social activities and controlling so many aspects of the lives of their members that they almost become societies in themselves (Etzioni, 1969:293).

Presthus (1962:94), in his book entitled Organizational Society, claims that organizations are indeed miniature societies since they have a hierarchy of status and roles, a system of myths and values, and a catalogue of expected behaviors. They inculcate majority values in their members, reward compliance, and punish those who resist their demands. A change in culture brings a change in mode of organization (Richardson, 1956:169). We may infer from Richardson's statement that a change from folk culture founded on agriculture to that rooted on complex organizations in urban communities will generate a corresponding change in the institutional structure, and man's style of life, not merely in the way he makes a living, but in the basic patterns of social relationships and economic organizations.

The contention of this paper is that the urban way of life is greatly influenced by adult socialization patterns which take

place in formal organizations. The author holds that adult socialization and resocialization in urban communities into respective roles take place within the framework of formal organizations. Under this assumption, urban communities must be understood within the socialization context performed by formal organizations. This study will explore (a) why socialization of adults takes place in formal organizations and not in the family, (b) the techniques, and (c) the outcomes of the socialization which occurs in formal organizations.

Windham (1964) proposes that pre-adult socialization in a rural area presupposes low achievement levels in urban society. If the validity of this proposition is established, it may be inferred that the basic socializing institutions, the family, education, and religion, will be ineffective and inappropriate socializing agents in preparing an individual for urban living unless they themselves undergo changes. The values which they emphasize would engender a low achievement level in urban society. Windham's proposition indicates that socialization for urban community must be handled by other institutions outside one's family and religion. Educational institution must adapt itself if it aims at preparing an individual for urban living which is the major trend.

Why Adult Socialization is External to Family and Religion

The socializing institutions of the family and religion are embellished with traditions, customs, and ideologies which are heavily characterized by tribal, racial, and ethnic overtones; as

such, they are unable to socialize the heterogeneous populations of the urban area. Social class differences will reflect variations in the modes of socialization (Bronfenbrenner, 1958) adopted by different families.

Glick (1957) assumes that physical changes in the individual, social, and cultural changes in the society make childhood socialization obtained from the family inadequate for the task demanded of the individual in later years. As an individual moves through different stages in the life cycle, some of the expectations of the society change from one age to the next, and the individual is required to meet these changed expectations, as such; the family cannot be relied upon to socialize individuals through their life cycles to enable them to meet the cultural expectations. As an individual moves through his life, some situations may induce him to alter, modify, or adhere to the kind of socialization obtained from the family. Benedict (1949:297-308) shows that cultural discontinuities may take place, and the successive roles learned might conflict with what was learned earlier.

The geographical and social mobility together with heterogeneity of subcultures in complex modern societies complicate and make career patterns and role demands placed on the individual unpredictable; therefore, one's family and religion cannot control these situations to enable them to determine the direction of socialization.

Rapid social changes, technological obsolescence in one's

occupation, shifts in sexual folkways indicate that childhood socialization cannot suffice at all times and at all levels, therefore, it must be supplemented by adult socialization.

Brim and Wheeler (1966:24-25) maintain that there is a change in content between childhood and adult socialization.

The substantive content of socialization differs, of course, in important ways at different stages of the life cycle and in different major social institutions. People learn different things at different times and places in their lives.... The most important change, perhaps, is the shift in content from a concern with overt values and motives to a concern with overt behavior. Some other changes are described in other aspects of socialization content. These are as follows: from acquisition of new material to a synthesis of the old; from a concern with idealism to a concern with realism; from teaching how to mediate conflict among expectations; from a concern with general demands of society to a concern with role specific expectations; and finally a change from "I-me" components of personality to other components.

A change in socialization content emphasizing the internalization of basic values and norms of the society to that emphasizing overt behavior in roles means that socialization must take place within institutions or establishments which have pervasive and catalytic influence in the society upon individual and group behavior. This study maintains that only formal organizations can meet the above criteria; they have pervasive and catalytic influence upon individual and group behavior.

The succeeding paragraphs investigate the techniques which formal organizations employ in socializing their members to enable them to meet the biological, social, and cultural heterogeneity of

of the urban area.

This paper defines formal organizations as deliberate structures or establishments for the accomplishment of specific goals; their constituent social positions and relations are specified independent of the characteristics of the person occupying the position. This definition is too general and seems to encompass all types of organizations which are directed towards the achievement of specific goals. It is general because this study deals with the general function which every organization consciously or unconsciously performs. Organization may be the type that fits into Etzioni's (1969) scheme which classifies organization on the basis of authority and compliance system without regard to the differences in the type of product; it may follow Blau and Scott's (1962:45-58) typology based on the nature of service. Organization may fall under Parson's (1956) classification which emphasizes the integrating aspect of the function or Goffman's (1961:1-25) total institution which stresses resocialization of the individuals. This author is not interested in the specific and manifest functions of individual organizations, rather the focus is on the socialization aspect which operates informally in all kinds of organizations.

The assumption of this study is that socialization is a necessary and a complementary aspect of every organization. In some organizations, socialization is a manifest function and latent in others. This study views organization in a wider sense as establishments which have the power of drawing many people or hetero-

geneous individuals into close contact with one another; this contact in turn promotes a change and exchange in ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and skills.

Socialization Techniques in Organization

Formal Aspects of Socialization.--The formal structural aspects of organization socialize members and employees in order to induce compliance to organizational goals, and engender full participation to facilitate high achievement level, productivity, and morale. These goals may be pursued by different approaches, such as: Max Weber's authority concept, Bernard's cooperation approach, Etzioni's power-compliance frame of reference, and March and Simon's equilibrium approach which emphasizes inducements and contribution as means to further participation in an organization. These theories of organization summarized by Amitai Etzioni (1969) can be viewed as mechanisms of socializing members and employees in order to facilitate the attainment of organizational goals.

By quartering a larger number of heterogeneous individuals in one place, organizations impose a common standard expressed through rewards, rules, and sanctions. This common standard helps mold, collapse, and modify the diverse cultural backgrounds which individual employees bring to the work environment. Where face-to-face contact among the members is not possible because of the bigness of the organization, socialization goes on through the structural nature of formal organizations which engender uniformity in work performance.

Max Weber (1946) presented what he considered to be the structural model of an organization which would maximize rationality. He assumed that coordination of activities would be facilitated if the jurisdictional areas are regulated by rules; the authority pattern is made hierarchical; the administration is based on written documents, and the offices are occupied by professionals. This type of structure assures uniformity in organization regardless of the geographical distance between the main office of the organization and the branch offices. This organizational logic safeguards the employees against love, hatred, personal, irrational, and emotional elements which are not calculated in an official capacity. The structure imposes certain behavioral characteristics upon the employees, and this behavior facilitates the attainment of organizational goals. Organizations which have such structural characteristics are bureaucratic in nature.

Informal Aspects of Socialization.--The informal aspects of organizations also socialize individuals for urban society. For example, where face-to-face contact is possible, the interaction may promote understanding among heterogeneous population. Festinger and Kelley (1951) in their book entitled Changing Attitudes Through Social Contact indicate how contacts are effective in producing attitude changes. Neighbors who did not know each other were brought together and were induced to participate in community activities. Participation in community activity enabled the development of channels of communication and a decrease in hostile attitudes among the

participants.

Informal groups within organizations are major assets to the organizations; through them the values of the organization are inculcated in the members. Informal groups reward compliance and punish those who resist their demands; informal groups perform pervasive socializing functions within organizations.

Formal organizations and the larger society perform overlapping or complementary socializing functions. Presthus (1962:11-12) maintains that big organizations are satellites of the larger social system; the behavior of their members is shaped by the values of the larger society.

If social structure is critical in molding individual behavior and personality, the big organization can usefully be conceived as a small society whose characteristics of specialization, hierarchy, and authority have a similar influence upon its members. The mechanisms that society employs to inculcate its values may also be seen at work within the organization. The organization, in a word, socializes its members in a way similar to that of society.

Presthus' statement that big organizations are instruments of socialization which provide physical and moral sustenance for their members and shape their thought and behavior in countless ways agrees with the author's assumption that modern industrial urban communities must be sought through formal organizations.

Outcomes of Socialization by Formal Organizations

From the writings and researches in the field of urbanization and formal organizations, the following conclusions regarding

urban community and urban residents are drawn:

1. Modern urban communities are organization-oriented. (Whyte, 1956)
2. Organizations emphasize the group more than the individual. (Presthus, 1962:25)
3. The individual is shaped by the values, beliefs, and ideologies of the organization. (Presthus, 1962:16)
4. The organization robs the individual of his identity. (Presthus, 1962:17,25)
5. Lack of identity produces frustration and makes an urbanite anxiety-stricken. (Presthus, 1962:17)
6. Heterogeneity in both urban community and organizations enhances anonymity, and deprives an urbanite of the warm emotional attachment of the rural area; his relationship with others becomes impersonal. (Wirth, 1938)
7. Hierarchical structure in organizations blocks communication (Blau and Scott, 1962); lack of communication produces alienation; alienation generates fear, and fear breeds hostility and cynical behaviors among urban residents.
8. Organizations are microsocieties within macrosocieties; there is exchange between the two in areas embracing values, social structures, personality, and status. (Presthus, 1962:11-12,25)
9. Differential socialization by organizations produces differences in personality types (Presthus, 1962:12,93), hence, some characteristics of urbanism may equally be associated with the structural and the socialization characteristics of formal organizations.

An attempt to evolve some order out of the rather fragmented conclusions drawn from studies on urbanization and formal organizations is made. Perhaps this order will enable the reader to take a

fresh look at the urban communities and offer alternative reasons for events happening in them. This search for new reasons will enable us to avoid stereotypes, oversimplifications, unfounded generalizations, and hasty conclusions about urban phenomenon. It will generate both insight and foresight into urban phenomena and guide our urban programs.

The urban residents have become organization minded; their lives are designed and circumscribed by the values of the organizations. It is not an exaggeration to say that organization robs an individual of his identity and makes him a part and parcel of a group. Presthus (1962:25) maintains that big organizations tend to view man instrumentally; organizational demands restrict the individual's discretion and subordinate his values and aspirations to the major purposes of the organization. Individuals are evaluated and rewarded on the basis of organizational values; he can only compete for rewards within the context of collective values.

Loss of identity shows that one remains anonymous; anonymity places social barrier among people who live in close proximity, hence one cannot identify with one another. This lack of identification creates alienation, frustration, and a state of strong anxiety in urban residents. Under this condition, the city is said to spawn the nameless, the normless, and the lonely who lack the warm sense of personal dignity which marks the village life of rural areas. Perhaps it is not the city itself when viewed as a geographic location which produces lostness and anonymity, but rather the organiza-

tional structure which generates a new situation for man. This situation produces frustration, loss of identity, and impairs a smooth transition from the village, where we live in close intimacy with one another, to the city where we live in isolation. It is the irrelevance of our former identity, knowledge, habits, and beliefs to the new urban situation that produces the feeling of worthlessness, anomie, alienation, apathy resulting in broken homes, delinquency, divorce, apathy, and the weakening of kinship bonds which are often associated with urbanism. James Baldwin (1961:117) states the problem of change as follows:

Any real change implies the breakup of the world as one has always known it, the loss of all that gave one an identity, the end of safety. And at such a moment, unable to see and not daring to imagine what the future will now bring forth, one clings to what one knew, or thought one knew; to what one possessed or dreamed that one possessed. Yet, it is only when a man is able, without bitterness or self-pity, to surrender a dream that he has long cherished or a privilege he has long possessed that he is set free--he has set himself free--for higher dreams, for greater privileges. All men have gone through this, go through it, each according to his degree, throughout their lives. It is one of the irreducible facts of life.

Wirth characterizes urbanism as having heterogeneity. Embodied within this concept of heterogeneity are cultural, ethnic, social, and racial implications. According to Wirth, heterogeneity is the product of size; as size increases due to addition of individuals to the existing city population, the degree of heterogeneity increases correspondingly.

The alternative view advanced by the author of this paper

is that heterogeneity increases directly with increase in different kinds of formal organizations. The claim is based on the assumption that since the individuality of the employees is subordinated to organizational demands, values, ideology, and practices, a universal mentality or outlook is imposed upon the workers, therefore, making them respond rhythmically as a unit with the same personality traits. "The same personality traits" may be defined as any item of behavior exhibited by a large number of people in the organization. Class and ethnic differences which may influence the basic personality are recognized.

Wirth (1938:18) points out that if an individual would participate at all in the social, political, and economic life of the city, he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure immerse himself in mass movement. The accepted values of the organization, according to Presthus (1962:16) shape the individual's personality and influence his behavior in extravocational affairs. Organizations shape the thoughts and behavior of their members in countless ways.

By imposing a common personality trait upon thousands of those working in the organization, the degree of heterogeneity is brought under manageable limits, therefore facilitating the prediction of group behavior rather than that of the individuals making it. Wirth (1938:17) claims that organized bodies facilitate the prediction of collective behavior.

Individuals who are thus detached from the organized bodies which integrate society comprise

the fluid masses that make collective behavior in the urban community so unpredictable and hence so problematical.

Again, the social contact and socialization by organizations produce the "we spirit" among the employees. This feeling of togetherness fosters the rise of voluntary associations, clubs, trade unions, and occupational communities that specialize in different activities which the society needs.

Urban Associations As Adaptive Measures

Urban living is marked by a high degree of social and cultural brokenness or disintegration. This brokenness is confronted with voluntary associations which urbanites develop in order to help them adapt to urban living. The role of urban associations in the social fabric of the community deserves special attention. Urban associations are indeed compensatory devices for the social disintegration that permeates the traditional social institutions in urban communities. It is a means whereby the urbanites obtain mutual and moral support, adapt themselves to urban conditions and free themselves from the shock of anomie and alienation.

Urban associations help integrate complex segments of a heterogeneous urban community. Little's (1955) study in Sierre Leone reveals that urban associations bring different tribes together and bridge the gap between the literate and traditional world. Associations provide protection where kinship ties are diminishing. Some kinds of associations operate to strengthen tribal consciousness in the urban environment. Such associations

assist newcomers in finding jobs and living quarters (Little, 1962: 1-9). Trachtman (1962:183-200) shows the importance of labor unions as an agent of socialization for the industrial force. Lloyd (1953:30-44) claims that craft organizations in a Yoruba town in Nigeria socialize the members through the structure of relations based on territorial division and common interest rather than lineage. This socialization function may help mediate changes in values, and establish links across kinship lines. Forde (1953) observes how political parties, social and recreational clubs, and the persistence and growth of ethnic associations have helped urban centers in West Africa to acquire a sense of collective existence. Regardless of the strong tribal, kinship, ethnic, and racial coloration, urban associations are adaptive institutions to urban life and a movement from primary to secondary relationships.

Occupational Community as an Adaptive Measure

Different occupational communities tend to produce different individuals with varying outlooks upon life. An organization may produce a homogeneous outlook upon its members to the extent that they perceive themselves almost in an identical manner. McKay (1962:643-649) assumes that there seems to be a direct correlation between the place where one lives and the way that one behaves. Duncan (1955:493-503) notes how occupation influences the way in which people sort themselves and how sons of those whose fathers had the same kind of occupation tend to live together. Lipset and others (1956) in studying International Typographical Union ob-

served how the night situation forced night workers in the printing shop to be more involved in the occupational community than the day workers. Gouldner's (1954) study of coal mine workers revealed how hazardous conditions in the coal mine made the workers bind themselves together and enjoy greater social cohesion and extensive social relationships. These studies seem to indicate that identical occupation produces a common outlook and understanding. This understanding in turn affects demographic distribution in the city and enables us to realize that an individual finds satisfaction in the context of his work group and work associates.

Most organizations are hierarchically structured; this structure affects residential distribution in the urban area. Duncan (1955) claims that occupational rank of an area's population has the power to attract different groups of potential residents. Jacques's study (1952) revealed how hierarchical management in a factory blocked the free flow of communication to the extent that management became the object of criticism by the subordinates. This study shows that differentiation of status may also affect residential community. The purpose of these citations is to indicate that not only racial and ethnic but also social and economic homogeneity influence residential demographic distribution and land use in the city.

Within the heterogeneity of the urban area emerges the homogeneity of occupational members. City life involves individuals in group life; the individual expresses himself in groups and is

controlled through groups. He reacts to a situation not as an individual but as a member of a group which responds more or less in the same way. This means that most people in the city are greatly influenced by those who run large organizations.

Ecology as an Enduring Urban Theory

Figure 3 on page 41 of this thesis indicates that ecology is the only enduring urban theory. This paragraph will briefly define ecology, identify its major aspects, and indicate the problems which it tries to confront. Urban ecology is a systematic study of the collective life in the urban community. An ecological framework embraces four main concepts, namely, environment, population, organization, and technology. The analysis and the combination of these four variables may result in the development of numerous other concepts, such as: segregation, invasion, competition, cooperation, symbiosis, succession, dominance, integration, coordination, interrelationship, interdependence, adjustment, concentration, deconcentration, centralization, decentralization, and many others. Most of these concepts serve as hypotheses for guiding research in urban areas.

Ecology deals with the problems of how increasingly organisms maintain themselves in a constantly changing but ever restricted environment. Within the limited environment, life involves a continuous struggle for adjustment of organism to organism and organism to environment (Hawley, 1944); individual actions are organized and coordinated to form a single functional unit. Any valid judgement

regarding the heuristic potential of ecology in explaining urbanization as defined and explained in the thesis depends on the relevancy between ecological concepts and the major propositions found in the new definition.

The relevancy between the two reveals the degree of reliance to be placed on ecology as an explanatory theory of urban communities. The relevancy is shown in Figure 4. As major statements in the new definition of urbanization are translated into ecological concepts, ecology helps the writer perceive the urban area as:

- (a) a highly complex community.
- (b) an integrated structure of population, physical, social, and cultural environment.
- (c) a communal activity which individual's share in the activity is designated as his role.
- (d) a system of an organization of activities, arranged in an overlapping and interpenetrating series of activity groups.
- (e) a social organization and a collective adaptation of a population to its environment.
- (f) an ecological complex which the organization is reciprocally related to environment, population, and technology.

Figure 4 provides enough evidence to warrant the assumption that the new definition of urbanization and ecological perspectives are indeed enduring conceptualizations of urbanization and that both are congruent.

Conclusion

Rural and urban America are welded into cultural and social

FIGURE 4
 RELEVANCY BETWEEN ECOLOGICAL
 CONCEPTS AND URBANIZATION AS
 DEFINED IN THE THESIS

Propositions from urbanization as explained in the thesis	Ecological concepts
1. Urban community is a web of complex organizations.	Integration, interdependence, symbiosis, coordination, interrelation, competition, organization.
2. Modern means of communication cause rural and urban America to be in a state of constant flux	Change, adjustment.
3. Understanding of urban community must be sought within the socialization context of formal organizations.	Occupation or niche.
4. Formal organizations and larger society perform overlapping or complementary socializing functions.	Cooperation, symbiosis, coordination, occupation, interdependence, integration.
5. Socialization helps mediate change in values and establish links across kinship lines.	Integrate, adjustment.
6. Urban associations help integrate complex segments of a heterogeneous urban community.	Integration, competition, organization, coordination, niche.
7. Clubs and associations help urban centers acquire a sense of collective existence.	Adjustment, coordination, concentration, symbiosis, interdependence.

FIGURE 4 (continued)

RELEVANCY BETWEEN ECOLOGICAL
 CONCEPTS AND URBANIZATION AS
 DEFINED IN THE THESIS

Propositions from urbanization as explained in the thesis	Ecological concepts
8. Individuals can only compete for rewards within the context of collective values.	Adjustment, cooperation, symbiosis, interdependence.
9. Occupation influences the way in which people sort themselves; identical occupation produces a common outlook; this outlook affects demographic distribution in urban area.	Segregation, invasion, succession.
10. Social and economic homogeneity affect demographic distribution and land use.	Segregation, invasion, succession.

unity by modern means of communication. Rural values, traditions, customs, and structures are impractical in the urban setting. Two modes of organization make the distinction between the rural and urban. Agriculture forms the basis of organization in the rural while the urban community is based on formal organizations. Changes from the rural to the urban modes of organization produce changes in values, traditions, social and economic structures in urban areas.

Since the uncertainty of the future limits the applicability of childhood socialization in many walks of life; bureaucratic organizations undertake the task of socializing adults into their respective roles. Organizations and the larger society overlap, therefore, socialization obtained from major organizations enable individuals to function as law-abiding citizens in the larger society.

Organizations socialize individuals through its bureaucratic structure, face-to-face contacts, and reward systems; these mechanisms breed group consciousness at the expense of individuality. On the other hand, hierarchical structure produces alienation, frustration, and impairs upward flow of communication; formal organizations therefore shape and modify the society in countless ways.

Voluntary associations, clubs, kinship relations, and occupational communities are indeed adaptive measures that free urbanites from the shock of anomie and alienation. They integrate individuals, groups, and activities into a functional whole.

Ecology is defined, its major concepts and the problem it attempts to solve are presented. The relevancy between the new definition of urbanization and ecological concepts are drawn. The translation of the definition into ecological concepts helps the definer perceive the true picture of the urban community as a social system of interconnected interest groups woven into a working system of activity. The new definition of urbanization and ecological theory are congruent.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

From the testimony of innumerable works, great cities, wherever they are throughout the world, have become an issue of public concern. They demonstrate failures on the part of man to create and control his ecosystem. The city sprawls over the landscape, edging imperceptibly out of its setting; description becomes increasingly difficult as the boundaries become more vague.

The spread of urbanization, however, is one of the characteristic features of our civilization; it has become a global phenomenon during the twentieth century. The developing nations of Africa, Latin America, and Asia are experiencing urbanization in an increasing rate and scale; this new phenomenon is labeled "Westernization", "Modernization", and "Detribalization". The nations of the west, particularly the United States of America and England, are noticing a new pattern of urbanization in the forms of suburbanization, metropolitanization, and the development of the megalopolis.

There is no evidence to warrant the assumption that metropolitanization and suburbanization are the highest point in urbanization nor the prediction that urbanization would revert to ruralization.

Urbanization is a complex process; it seems so familiar and yet difficult to define. The term "urbanization" connotes different gradations of meaning among individual scholars and between

time periods. There is no consensus on what constitutes an index of urbanization.

One of the objectives of this work is to support the author's contention that individual scholars conceptualize urbanization differently and these conceptual differences reflect in various definitions and theories of urbanization. In addition, a new definition is contributed and developed based upon the analysis of the previous definitions.

The survey of literature reveals that the definitions of urbanization present a blurring spectrum which is characterized by apparent contradictions, confusion of ideas, and ambiguous definitions. Various writers conceive of urbanization as a transformation of a whole society, as a proportion of the total population living in cities, as a movement or migration from rural areas to the cities, or as a social change. These varying definitions suggest that urbanization lacks a universal meaning. Differences in definition largely reflect an oversimplification of the meaning of urbanization. Definitional inadequacies impede the development of appropriate theories and techniques of investigation;

These generalizations about urbanization are the outcome of a special technique of research which involves the grouping of various definitions of urbanization, the development of an evaluative framework known as 'entropy', and the application of a logico-deductive approach in eliminating some definitions and theories of urbanization which are considered time-bound. A new definition of

urbanization emerges based upon those definitions which seem to remain at all stages of urbanization.

The Introduction emphasizes the importance of library research as it contributes immensely to concept clarification and the understanding of urbanization.

Chapter Two consists of the summary of the available literature on urbanization which reflect the opinions and scientific findings of leading scholars. The findings are arranged under the historical, social, and functional headings. Differences and similarities of opinion among scholars as reflected in definitions and theories of urbanization are presented. All the definitions of urbanization point to man as the active agent in the urban scene. It is man who engages in creating many social forms, designs traffic and settlement patterns, and regulates behavior through laws. Major theories of urbanization are presented indicating an attempt to explain urbanization at different time periods.

An evaluation of the definitions and theories of urbanization is presented in Chapter Three. Terminologies are defined in order to clarify the concepts involved. Definitions are grouped under demographic and cultural dimensions. The concept of 'entropy' is used as an evaluative framework and through a process of logic-deduction the persistence and applicability of each definition are weighed.

'Entropy', meaning the stage in which all the citizens of a given country live in cities is discussed. It is shown as a

demographic aspect of complete urbanization capable of being observed and measured, thus enabling the prediction of a state of complete urbanization at some time in the future. The concept of 'entropy' is used as an heuristic device for assessing the various theories and definitions of urbanization. Logico-deduction involves the arrangement of propositions in a logical way enabling the theorist to spell out his assumptions and make explicit his deductions.

Definitions of urbanization in terms of the proportion of the total population, the percentage of urban contact, and the movement or migration from rural to urban are rejected within the context of an 'entropy'. The ecological theory and definitions which emphasize concentration and cultural change are confirmed as enduring conceptualizations of urbanization. A new definition of urbanization emerges from those definitions which persist.

Chapter Four demonstrates that an understanding of the urban community must be sought within the socialization context of formal organizations. Urban community is defined as a web of complex organizations which place new demands upon individuals. These new demands differ from those of the rural areas and call for a change in values, customs, and socialization patterns associated with rural setting.

Formal organizations become the major socializing institutions in urban areas. These institutions socialize adults into respective roles. Bureaucratic structure, face-to-face contacts,

and reward systems are mechanisms of socialization employed by formal organizations. Through socialization, organizations bridge the gap between themselves and the larger society. One's status in the organization may be indicative of his social position in the larger society.

Hierarchical structure in organizations produce alienation, frustration, and impairs upward flow of communication. By developing homogeneous outlook among its members, an organization becomes instrumental to the development of voluntary associations, clubs, and occupational communities.

The main statements in the new definition of urbanization are translated into ecological concepts; the relevancy between major propositions in the new definition of urbanization and the ecological concepts are seen to exist. The thesis supports the author's contention that urbanization is conceptualized differently by various scholars and that concept clarification is an important asset to the understanding of urbanization.

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