

RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN THE KANSAS CITY
AREA AMONG BLACKS AND HISPANICS:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2011

ABSTRACT

There is considerable literature on racial residential segregation but there are few examples that examine similarities and differences between two ethnic groups within an urban area. Racial residential segregation among blacks and Hispanics in the Kansas City area is examined using two methodologies. One is an historical and cultural methodology that utilizes a theory of culture to explain differences. The second is a statistical methodology that uses data from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses. The culture theory is predicated upon three axes of a cultural framework: philosophical rationalism versus philosophical skepticism, idealism vs. materialism and the individual as an abstract entity versus the social individual as a unit of analysis. Theories of change and spatial theory are also components of this cultural theory, and the culture theory is also applied to study developers, government, and majority population. Statistical differences are explored using dissimilarity indices and isolation indices and differences between the two ethnic groups are analyzed through Mann-Whitney U tests. The design for the statistical analysis is based on (1) gradients of density, density growth population growth, and linguistic isolation gradients, and (2) an analysis of city and county areas.

It is found that the cultural framework is very useful in analyzing differences between blacks and Hispanics and understanding the development of policy. First, policy supports real estate developers in developing profitable and “ideal” communities in the Kansas City region. Secondly, black and Hispanic communities differ in the functions provided to their members. They historically have had a different level and type of contact with the majority population. Policy affects all groups, but is primarily directed toward blacks due to their proximity to majority neighborhoods and associated pressures on housing and labor markets. With the decline of manufacturing in the inner city and lack of minority access to suburbs, residential housing segregation has further deleterious effects on minorities. More recently minorities have increased their presence in the suburbs; patterns relating to indices and income characteristics in high growth areas are strongest for blacks and either very weak or mixed for Hispanics.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, have examined a dissertation titled “Racial Residential Segregation in the Kansas City Area: A Comparative Study Between Blacks and Hispanics,” presented by Keith Kelly, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
TABLES	xiv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xv
CHAPTER	
1. HOUSING AND SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY: A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF TWO MINORITY GROUPS	1
Introduction	1
Purpose of the Research	1
Organization of the Study	4
Study Parameters	6
Longitudinal Parameters and History	6
Geographical Area	7
Approaches and Concepts: Theoretical Orientations	7
Segregation and the Urban System	7
Markets, Culture and Policy	9
Culture	10
Urban Space Theory	11
Data and Sources	12
Census Data	12
Review of the Literature	13
Policy: Policies of Private Entities	15

Policy: Public Policies.....	20
The Sociology of Racial Residential Segregation.....	28
Literature Review Conclusions	30
Methodology	30
Qualitative Methods	30
Quantitative and Spatial Methods	31
Conclusion.....	31
2. CULTURE AND EXPLANATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLICY: AN EXAMINATION OF THEORETICAL UNDERCURRENTS AND ARCHITECTURES	32
Introduction	32
The Culture Concept: Components and Approaches	33
Architecture of the Model	36
Axis I: Rationalism, Skepticism and the Nature of Things.....	36
Philosophical Rationalism and Dualism	36
Critiques of Rationalism (and Dualism).....	39
Skepticism and Monism	41
Critiques of Skepticism (and Monism)	43
The Argument for Skepticism	44
Axis II: Idealism, Materialism and the Prime Movers Debate.....	47
Idealism	48
Critiques of Idealism	52
Materialism.....	54

Policy, Politics and Materialism.....	65
Markers and Levers	70
Eclecticism	72
Critiques of Materialism: Debates Over Categorizations and Classifications	73
The Argument for Materialism	77
Eight Points Regarding Resistance to Materialism	84
Axis III: Abstract Individuals and Societal Individuals in Social Analysis.....	86
Abstract Individuals	86
Societal Individuals	88
Abstract Individuals, Societal Individuals and Policy	91
Axis IV: Models of Cultural Change	95
Equilibrium.....	95
Punctuated Equilibrium.....	97
Evolution	98
Dialectics	99
Chaos Theory	101
The Unified Model	102
Nuances of the Model	102
Theory Context: Social Stratification, Uneven Development and Politics	106
Power and Top-Down Policymaking	106
Culture, Space and Policy	107
Politics	107

Policy, Racial Residential Segregation, and a Theory of Culture	107
Conclusions	110
3. RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY: A COMPARISON OF BLACKS AND HISPANICS IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURE, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY	112
Introduction	112
Policy, Residential Segregation, and a Theory of Culture	113
An Introduction to Two Histories of Residential Segregation	117
The Residential Segregation of Blacks	117
The Residential Segregation of Hispanics.....	122
Culture and the Development and Experience of Segregation.....	127
Rationalism and Development in the Metropolitan Area.....	127
Planning and the Developers	127
The Black Community	130
The Hispanic Community	132
Preference, Ideals, Market and Policy in Residential Segregation.....	132
Rationalism and Policy.....	136
The Material Basis of Urban Development.....	143
The Nature of Discrimination	144
Ethnic Competition Theory	148
Competition in Kansas City	149
Community and Wealth	156
Materialism, Planning and Policy	157

Individuals, Society and Development Policy	158
Change, Development and Policy	159
Culture, Residential Segregation and Culture Theory	160
Conclusions	162
4. RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN THE URBAN SYSTEM: CHANGE AND EMERGING PATTERN OVER SPACE AND TIME (USING THE 1990 AND 2000 CENSUSES).....	165
Introduction	165
Research Design.....	168
Construction of Gradients	169
Variables.....	178
Composition of Race and Ethnic Groups.....	178
Dissimilarity, Isolation and Interaction Indices	179
Indices and Characteristics.....	179
Gradient Results	181
Density Gradients.....	182
1990	182
2000	182
Density Growth Gradients, 2000.....	184
Blacks	184
Hispanic.....	185
Population Growth Gradients, 2000.....	186
Blacks	186
Hispanic.....	187

Linguistic Isolation Gradients, 1990 and 2000	188
1990	189
2000	189
Comparison Between 1990 and 2000: Linguistic Isolation Gradients	190
Cities and Counties.....	191
1990.....	191
2000	192
Comparison between 1990 and 2000	193
Mann-Whitney U Tests	204
Design.....	204
Procedures	204
Results of Statistical Testing.....	205
Per Capita Income, 2000	206
Years of Education, 2000	206
Median Home Value, 2000	207
Homeownership, 1990	208
Homeownership, 2000	208
Gradient Results and Residential Segregation	210
Conclusions	213
Directions for Future Research.....	215

5. RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY AMONG BLACKS AND HISPANICS: THEORY, HISTORY AND POLICY, SPACE AND MODERN PATTERNS	217
Introduction	217
A Brief Overview of Black and Hispanic Residential Segregation	218
Theoretical Framework and Findings	219
Modern Patterns, Patterns of Access and Urban Growth and Development....	224
Lessons Learned	227
Directions for Future Research.....	228
Expectations of the Research	229
REFERENCES	230
VITA	249

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. The Cultural Materialist Model of Culture	66
2. Emics and Etics	67
3. An Institutional Perspective of Culture and Economic Development.....	75
4. The Dual Hierarchies of Materialism and Maslow	83
5. Architecture of Western Culture Theories	104
6. Persons Per Square Kilometer Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 2000	175
7. Change in Population Density Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 1990-2000.....	176
8. Percentage of Population Change Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 1990-2000.....	177

TABLES

Table	Page
1. Traditions of Philosophical Skepticism and Rationalism	46
2. Identical Spatial Areas for Jointed and Separated Census Tracts Jackson, Clay, Platte and Cass Counties, Missouri and Wyandotte, Johnson and Leavenworth Counties, Kansas, 1990 and 2000.....	171-174
3. Summary of Variable Associations for Density, Density Growth, Population Growth, Linguistic Isolation Gradients and Cities and Counties for Blacks and Hispanics.....	197-203

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CHAPTER 1

HOUSING SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY: A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF TWO MINORITY GROUPS

Introduction

Purpose of the Research

Residential segregation by race is a common characteristic of the urban landscape of most major American cities, representing much more than the physical locality of housing stock used by citizens. Residence also represents a social and economic location within the urban system. As such, it is central to the community dynamics of private policy, public policy, use of space practice, access to resources, and community formation. Residential segregation by race is also an important topic to study as it demonstrates the use of space and provides a transparency to investigating the relationships of policy and culture. It demonstrates a material and historical pattern that can be tracked and is amenable to comparative and historical analysis. Studying racial residential segregation can therefore lead to a better understanding of community formation and development, the effects of policy and the built environment as a context for future policy.

Policy implications may be understood and projected into the future in two ways: some public and private housing-related policies may become transmuted but nonetheless continue in alternate forms, or they may be discontinued but their effects nonetheless institutionalized in the reproduction of economic, social and spatial relationships.

A central and unique point of this study is the articulation of a theory of culture (in Chapter 2) and the use of this theory to investigate the facets of residential segregation—the cultural characteristics of the developers, policy makers and minority groups (in Chapter 3). This is relatively unique among studies of residential segregation and certainly unique among policy studies. As used here, culture not only means the ideas, values, ideologies and beliefs of sectors of the community, but the very lifeways of community groups. This includes motivating inducements that shape those lifeways such as resource access and resource use, economic motivations and constraints, and the impact of these on social and spatial organization and the political environment. This does not represent a departure from the literature on racial segregation, as the literature features discussion about the management or control of resource acquisition and resource use. However the approach used here is different from many other studies. While other studies begin with the analysis of policy, this study explores the material cultural basis of policy that is essential to a complete understanding. It is therefore expected that understanding the roles and motivations of stakeholders or interested parties will shed considerable light on the policy process. The goal is to provide the tools to better focus and sharpen discussions about urban policy.

There is a considerable literature on the racial segregation of African Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities. However most literature focuses either on a single minority group or examines relationships between various minority groups through statistical analysis of data characteristics of several metropolitan areas. This investigation differs by comparing and contrasting the experience of two minority

groups—African Americans and Hispanics—who reside within a single urban system. This approach combines insights from both economic and cultural geography, and uses the two in an integral approach to the topic. Specifically, policies affecting the two minorities' experience will be examined. This includes formal segregation such as through deeds and covenants, policy disruptions in community such as resettlements due to highway development or building projects, and indicators of acceptance and ease of movement into neighborhoods and suburbs. Both minorities experience formal and informal discrimination and segregation. Nonetheless African-American and Hispanic populations are affected differently by these policies, in differing ways at various times, and the goal is to understand why similarities and differences exist between these experiences. It is expected that this approach will yield better insights into the topic and thus address a current gap in the research literature.

Because the dynamics considered here are multi-layered, complex, interactive and historical, it leads to a number of research questions: (1) Are there differences in residential segregation between the two minority populations over time? (2) What are the similarities? (3) What are the differences? (4) What are the operational factors underlying residence patterns between various groups in the past and present? (5) What are the theoretical bases for why similarities and differences exist? (6) How does the nature of community organization, community resources and assets, community structure, ethos or other characteristics affect the nature, timing, and degree of spatial assimilation? (7) How did—and how do—public and private policies shape the contours of the urban landscape and yield current outcomes?

The goal of this study is to address these questions utilizing two approaches. One is sociological, using demographics and sociological theories. The other is political, examining the politics and policies of resource use, political processes and conflict. To this end, the purpose of the research is not only to develop a theoretical framework of inquiry and to conduct that inquiry, but also to engage in research that creates deeper understandings of policy and policy processes.

Organization of the Study

The study is divided into three interrelated studies, presented as chapters. Chapter 2 is entitled “Culture, Policy and Explanation in Social Science: Theoretical Foundations and Underlying Architectures,” and examines the uses of the concept of culture in the social sciences and its usefulness and prospective applications to policy study.

Chapter 3 is entitled “Residential Segregation in Kansas City: A Comparison of Two Minority Groups,” and examines the historical, spatial, and policy aspects that impact the area’s urban landscape as well as the use of culture theory to understanding the characteristics of residential patterns, policy formation and community formation. Policies examined include those at the federal levels, such as policies administered by the Federal Housing Administration as well as local levels, such as city planning documents.

Chapter 4 is entitled “Residential Patterns in the Urban System: Changing and Emerging Pattern over Space and Time (Using the 1990 and 2000 Censuses).” This chapter uses the census data of 1990 and 2000 to examine the relationship between indices of dissimilarity and isolation and socioeconomic and housing variable over

gradients of density, density growth, population growth and linguistic isolation quadrants. Most importantly, it bridges the gap between the historical research and modern observations to better understand the nature of residential segregation. The study therefore examines the topic not only using historical and qualitative methodology but also quantitative methods to research important developments. The question of the differences and similarities in racial residential segregation between blacks and Hispanics remains. The approach to answering the question is different due to differences in the respective periods of inquiry. Questions that form the context for inquiry in this chapter are (1) With the end of many of the formal institutions of segregation (e.g. redlining, restrictive racial covenants and the like), how do both groups choose residence the community? (2) Is growth associated with less segregation in high growth census tract groupings for the two groups? (3) Do patterns of density, density growth and population growth interact with these minorities' patterns of residency as they do with the majority population, or does is residential segregation still prevent minorities from moving where urban growth is the strongest? (4) How do they fare in the strongest growing areas compared with each other and with the minority population in terms of per capita income, homeownership, and indices of segregation? Addressing these questions is necessary to continue the inquiry into a more recent era, and also is useful in gauging residential dynamics under changing policy, and perhaps even gives some insight as to looking for other policies or variables that effect racial residential segregation. For this reason Chapter 4 compliments the analysis in Chapter 3.

Study Parameters

Longitudinal parameters and history

This research examines the historical context and development of the minority communities and the broader events in Kansas City's urban development over time.

African Americans have a long-standing presence in Kansas City. In 1860 they represented 4.3 percent of the city's population, and by 1880 that percentage increased to 14.6 percent. They resided in "small heterogeneous residential clusters, along with whites and other minorities." Their population share began to decline somewhat over the subsequent decades, then increased upward to 12.2 percent in 1950 (Gotham, 2000a, p. 619).

Kansas City's Hispanic population has a strong presence as well, living in Kansas City largely on a transient basis in the 1850s, following the western trails that passed through Westport. In 1884 Kansas City and Mexico were linked by the railroad. By 1915 Hispanics resided mostly on the city's Westside. The 1920 census showed Kansas City having the fifth largest Hispanic population in the United States. However that population has suffered severe displacement. Major highways have sliced through their neighborhoods, older buildings demolished without replacement. The Westside population dropped from thirteen thousand in 1940 to seven thousand in 1970, and many living there spread out over the metropolitan area (Driever, 2004). For example Kansas City, Kansas and Wyandotte County, Kansas have experienced significant growth in their Hispanic neighborhoods over the past decades.

This study uses historical data, and in Chapter 4 it also incorporates use of the 1990 and 2000 censuses in the study of more recent residential segregation patterns.

Geographical area

This study considers changes in the Kansas City metropolitan area, here defined as Jackson, Clay, and Platte Counties in Missouri and Wyandotte and Johnson Counties in Kansas. The geographical area of study progressively expands over time as development occurred in outlying metropolitan areas as they developed. Where quantitative data is analyzed, it is done so at the level of census tracts within the counties.

Approaches and Concepts: Theoretical Orientations

Segregation and the urban system

There are various perspectives that oppose one another regarding their explanation of conditions and change in the urban system. A free-market technology development perspective holds that economic growth allowed for urban immigration. Subsequent reorganization of the urban metropolis based on technology, wage and land price differentials, and aided by government policy, allowed for the emergence of “different lifestyles for different locations” (Frazier, Margai & Tettey-Fio, 2003).

A related perspective deals with Tiebout sorting within and between neighborhoods. This perspective derives from the work of Charles Tiebout (1956) regarding the price residents pay for various packages of community services they consume. Based on Tiebout’s model, researchers claim that residents sort themselves out into neighborhoods based on the perceived advantages of those neighborhoods. Residents who may want more spatially compact services and public transportation chose one area, while residents

of another area may chose to live there for attributes that they find attractive (cf. Wassmer, 2005). In reality, the cost of living (of housing and the like) is not far from these considerations and implicit in these models are lifestyle values counterbalanced by ability-to-pay considerations. This implies that to a large degree the patterns we find are heavily related to consumer preferences.

Frazier, Margai and Tettey-Fio (2003) contrast these perspectives to the Marxist or neo-Marxist view which holds that the current patterns are the results of public policy and that this policy is directed by ruling elites to the disadvantage of minorities. Although the pretense of such policies is frequently that they foster more equity, opportunity, and advantage. Likewise Gotham, employing a Weberian perspective, critiques market-oriented explanations and contends that they cannot explain the origin of such consumer preferences nor why African Americans did not move to the suburbs in greater numbers. He claims, to the contrary, that private and public policy had a considerable hand in creating the outcomes observed today (Gotham, 2002, pp. 5-11).

This research will consider these theories and explores the implications for policy. While the free-market technology approach has a viable claim with respect to price differentials and the like, it is clear that restrictive racial covenants, zoning as in Kansas City's 1947 Master Plan (in addition to subsequent policy and planning practices), and market discrimination all register an impact on residence patterns. The urban environment is therefore a built environment, not a passive result that derives from an autonomous process (Harvey, 1976, p. 272).

Markets, culture and policy

While the framework of this study does not preclude the market or market effects on residential choices, the market is not always a force unto itself and the pivotal force in residential considerations. This is because markets' development at some point is in part a derivative of other factors that shape value and exchange relations. For example, city zoning requirements that mandate minimum housing lot sizes or floor space minimums for newly constructed housing make housing costs higher for the affected area, thus excluding lower income buyers. Building codes that require high quality (and high cost) features of home construction are another way that housing prices are elevated and effectively exclude lower income buyers. These are a couple of many public and private practices that affect housing prices and neighborhood composition (Harrigan & Vogel, 2000, pp. 321-324). Markets are therefore in many ways not only economic, but also social constructs. Orthodox economic theory holds that markets take on a role of allocating goods and resources that either is or very easily can be analyzed independently from political actions. An alternate view advanced here is that markets derive their functions directly from decisions of resource allocation that have their origins in politics and power relations. Supply and demand functions may be used to discuss prices, however these are at times shaped by and situated within prior public and private policy initiatives that flavor the social and historical milieu of a market or the markets. The very visible arm of politics and directed resource allocation therefore frequently guides the "invisible hand" of the market that sorts out allocation decisions. Some of the

economic and political workings of allocation of whatever sort are planned, while some invariably yield unplanned outcomes.

Culture

In comparing and contrasting the residential patterns of two minority groups, one quickly encounters the variable of culture. Culture is a central concept in the social sciences, although it defies a consensus definition. Approaches to culture and its impact on other variables such as residency and socioeconomic development vary considerably. Many social scientists favor a socio-mental definition of culture and thus define culture as values, ideas and beliefs that affect an individual's or community's worldview and lifeways. Such is the approach in Harrison and Huntington's *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (2000).

Socio-mental beliefs, however, may take a lower priority to the material conditions of life, and may very well be shaped in the first order by the context of resources and constraints. Such a perspective on culture is found in Frank Dobbin's *Forging Industrial Policy* (1994), for example. Views of culture that consider more than socio-mental attributes of culture frequently give considerable attention, if not priority, to the roles of technology, energy resources and subsistence behavior and patterns (the *mode of production*), and the impact these have on economic and organizational relationships (*the relations of production*). In this study it is proposed that these cultural components interact with and significantly shape socio-mental constructs. Theories that use this approach are neo-Marxist theories of culture, American Cultural Materialism (e.g. Harris, 1979; Ferguson, 1995), and some organizational theories (e.g. Pfeffer & Salancik,

1978; Thompson, 1967). This study gives a theoretical and analytical priority to the role of resources and constraints that communities and community subgroups have as a key influence on community lifeways and outcomes, resource use, residential patterns, and the socio-mental cultural attributes.

The theory of culture as applied in this research is posited on five axes: (1) skepticism versus rationalism; (2) materialism versus idealism; (3) the view of the individual as an abstract entity in society versus the social individual; (4) theories of change (dialectics, evolution, equilibrium and chaos), and (5) associated policy implications. Differing economic perspectives, e.g. neo-classical economics versus evolutionary or institutional economics, can be mapped on these axes. Differing cultural orientations also form the basis for debates and policy differences. Thus the use of a culture concept is not only used to compare minorities, but also to examine the implications of this perspective regarding the behavior of the majority or majorities who are also stakeholders in the control and use of resources.

Urban space theory

Specific theories or the work of specific theorists will not serve as absolute models for emulation, but instead as material used for original theorizing. Theories of urban space as propounded by Lefebvre (1991), Castells (1977), and Harvey (1978, 1983, 1985) will serve as a guide for theory development. The seminal work of Lefebvre highlighted the role of space in political economy. His work emphasized the importance of space—and the creation of space—in the processes of production and consumption of commodities. Further, spatial relations in a capitalist society are constructed in a way that defines

relationships in the urban system. For Castells, the dialectical relationship of space with other social forces, such as culture, the environment and community, is of further importance. Harvey continues to develop some of Lefebvre's concepts of circuits of capital in the urban system, applying them to the analysis of housing. These approaches fit well in analyzing racial residential segregation, patterns of change over time, and the allocation of resources in the urban system of inner city and suburbs.

The study of urban gradients—gradients based on density, density growth and population growth—is also part of this analysis. Changes from the 1990 to 2000 census will be examined for minorities in gradients defined by density growth and population growth as the ability of residents to move within the urban system in has implications for understanding the dynamics of racial residential segregation. A demographic characteristic of minority groups and associated mobility is important for understanding residential segregation (Powell, 2002).

Data and Sources

This research uses multiple sources to analyze racial residential segregation. The goal is to use census data, the literature on the topic and archival data to guide and clarify the scope of inquiry. The research therefore uses historical data, but also uses relatively recent data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses to investigate the research questions.

Census data

Census data for African Americans do not show significant irregularities. Census data for Hispanics, however, are marked by irregularities. First, many Hispanics identify themselves primarily by country of origin (Mexican, Cuban, Guatemalan, etc.), not by

the broader term “Hispanic.” Secondly, the statistical methods used by the Census Bureau are not very useful for longitudinal analysis. In 1930 there was an effort to separate Mexican and Latino counts. The 1940 census enumerated households by mother tongue, and many Latino households spoke English as their primary language. No effort was put into enumerating Latinos at all in the 1950 and 1960 censuses except for five southwestern states, and the 1970 census was based on a five percent sample in most places in the country. The 1980 census is the first that enumerated on a one hundred percent sample (Driever, 2003; Ruiz, Hernandez, & McKay, 1988). This means that only since 1980 do we have the most accurate account of Hispanic residential patterns available for detailed study and must therefore rely upon earlier historical accounts and descriptions of their community.

Review of the Literature

Fortunately, there are copious historical resources available about residential segregation, and one who pursues a better understanding of the historical dynamics owes much to Kevin Fox Gotham, author of *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience* (2002). Gotham is currently Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tulane University. During the late 1990s he did his dissertation work at the University of Kansas, and produced a work that addresses residential segregation among the Kansas City area’s African Americans.

Numerous resources are also available for studying the Kansas City area’s Hispanics. El Centro has completed several studies over the years and collects substantial demographic data on Hispanics in the Kansas City area. Dissertations, theses,

monographs and reports (e.g. Lewis, 2002, 2003, 2005; Laird, 1975; Mendoza, 1997; Ruiz, Hernandez, & McKay, 1988) provide valuable insights. The minority populations in the Kansas City metropolitan area also receive attention from university centers, departments and regional agencies. Studies of the developmental history and persons involved in development are plentiful for one seeking to understand and analyze the development of residential segregation. Archival data from area newspapers, although requiring discretionary use, are also available.

The literature reviewed here pertains to public and private policy. This literature addresses three main policy areas: (1) the private policy of residential segregation (2) the public policy of residential segregation and (3) sociological factors of racial residential segregation. There are some unique characteristics in how this literature is approached. This review does not include consideration of all or even most of the available literature. The literature reviewed, however, is among the most prominent literature that addresses the topics of this inquiry.

This research relates to policies that affect two minority groups. There are reasons to posit that policies affected both groups, and that there are both similarities and differences in the minorities' experiences. Both groups were excluded from residential areas and devalued in terms of their choice of residence. African-Americans were excluded from residential areas by racially restrictive covenants and other means. While Hispanics were discriminated against, the dynamics of the discrimination were different. Hispanics from Mexico and other Latin nations initially had (and many continue to have) very close ties with their nation of origin. Throughout the early twentieth century

Mexican consuls provided advocacy services to expatriates with varying degrees of success. In one instance in Kansas City, Missouri in 1916 Mexicans complained that they were being assigned to hospital wards serving blacks. The consul, without result, advocated with the hospitals that this practice be discontinued and subsequently enlisted the assistance of the press and mayor. The mayor “promised that he would do everything in his power to ensure that Mexicans would be treated ‘like the white race.’ The mayor kept his promise and the practice of segregating Mexicans with Blacks [in hospitals] in Kansas City ended” (Garcia, 1996, p. 122). This is not to say that Mexicans or other Hispanics fared well in Kansas City. Driever (2004, p. 216) notes that Hispanics experienced significant displacement from their Westside community with the construction of I-35 and I-670, with up to six thousand residents displaced. Hispanics also currently face housing discrimination as observed in an increasing trend in the amount of financial assistance provided by real estate agents and segregation steering (Turner, Ross, Galster & Yinger, 2002). Housing discrimination toward Hispanics, however, appears to be less formal over time (e.g. through instruments such as deed restrictions and restrictive covenants) than for African-Americans. Why these patterns exist and how they have changed over time, and how policy reflects, reinforces, or creates these characteristics, is addressed in this research.

Policy: Policies of Private Entities

Racial residential segregation begins with the emergence of private sector policies around the beginning of the twentieth century. Private policies entail the actions of land developers, housing sale and rental discrimination patterns, discrimination patterns in

obtaining housing loans from financial institutions and the role of neighborhood organizations in enforcing barriers to housing sales to racial minorities. In some respects this is a tenuous distinction, however. Housing policies do not neatly fit into the separate rubrics of “public” and “private.” Community developers affect public policy and often policies are developed in atmospheres largely defined by private actors. Notwithstanding this observation, there are identifiable entities that are private, and their role in housing and racial residential segregation is addressed in the literature. These include financial institutions, which at times may assume a quasi-public nature, real estate developers (sometimes referred to as community developers) and real estate agents.

As outlined in his book *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000* (2002), Gotham considers racial residential segregation as beginning with the private sector. In the first instance residential segregation involved private regulation and private enforcement. Gotham focuses his attention on real estate developers, real estate agents, lending institutions and homeowners associations.

Gotham centers on one particular community developer—J.C. Nichols. He observes that Nichols was influential on a local level, but also was instrumental in the National Association of Homebuilders (NAHB). Nichols’ influence was present at just the time when public monies were being allocated for single-family housing. The creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), Urban Land Institute (ULI) and private organization of the housing and community building enterprise readily meshed with public entities and public funding. Nichols was noted for land planning and sought

to offer housing in “ideal” neighborhoods that were characterized by residential and racial stability, comfort and security (Gotham, 2002, pp. 59-61, 71-78).

Interspersed throughout Gotham’s book are references to the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB, and now called National Association of Realtors). This agency assiduously followed practices that would militate against the intermixing of races in residential communities and facilitated the use of racially restrictive covenants. They worked closely with other organizations in lobbying to “remove the risks and ensure the profits of urban renewal, thwart the building of public housing, and expand suburban housing production” (Gotham, 2002, p. 92). Local realtors were also heavily involved in blockbusting in the 1960s, seeking to play upon fears of majority homeowners in seeking profits by buying cheap and selling to minorities at higher prices.

Gotham is also critical of lending institutions. He observes that in Kansas City, low-income whites have a higher approval rate than do high-income African-Americans. While loans are based on credit ratings and not income, and those with sufficient credit ratings are very likely to receive a loan regardless of race, Gotham contends that the reality of mortgage lending is that many with less than optimal credit scores apply for loans, leaving to discretion who in that group receives or does not receive a mortgage loan.

Gotham’s book points out that homeowners and neighborhood associations also play a role in maintaining segregation. Real estate developers fostered these associations, and the respective neighborhoods were marketed based on their social and racial composition attributes. Associations were perceived and functioned as gatekeepers (Gotham, 2000a,

p. 626). When segregation through restrictive covenants in deeds was no longer legal, homeowner associations sometimes resorted to other gate keeping actions, such as threatening signage and other displays of unwelcome. Throughout the process of residential segregation the private interests were at the center of the gate keeping functions that they used for their gain. Community developers, real estate agents and financial institutions worked to influence federal and local government policy and at the same time market the ideal of a homogeneous living area that reflected the values of security, stability and social status.

Worley offers another historical perspective related to racial residential segregation in his book *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (1990). His work is primarily from a business historical perspective, and does not center exclusively on racial segregation. This work is nonetheless important for understanding the nature of Kansas City's early urban development and the implications of this development in the use of urban space. Worley carefully examines the influence, impact and business strategy used by Nichols in developing real estate and particularly his role in the creation of subdivisions. Subdivisions were developed that contained deed restrictions. The restrictions involved regulations regarding the physical parameters of the property, however a sizable number of Nichol's developments, particularly in the Armour Hills subdivision, contained deeds restricting the purchase or occupancy by blacks.

Over time researchers have attempted to ascertain the level of discrimination as social and legal environments change. The work of Galster (1996, 2005) and others is at

the forefront of examining discrimination in homeowner and rental housing markets. This practical research literature (practical as it has largely been sponsored by governmental and policy entities) addresses the degree and types of discrimination by real estate brokers and those offering housing units for rent. Many discrimination tests of buyer and rental markets have been conducted that involve two-pair testing using African-American and white pairs and Hispanic and white pairs. Results show discrimination in these markets. A study of the home buying market by HUD and the Urban Institute (Turner, Ross, Galster & Yinger, 2002) found segregation steering between census tracts for black/white test pairs and editorializing of residential choices by real estate agents for these test pairs. Only segregation steering was found in Hispanic/white test pairs. A 1988 study by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development did find that 50 percent of Hispanic renters 56 percent of Hispanic home buyers experienced discrimination, and this is likely related to characteristics associated with recent immigration such as English language skill or accent (Krivo, 1995, p. 601). From 1989 to 2000 Galster and Godfrey (2005) report no statistically significant differences in discrimination in twenty selected U.S. metropolitan areas, except that black/white pairs have experienced an increase in residential steering by real estate agents.

Another area of discrimination is in real estate lending. While many, such as Gotham (2002), assert the presence of mortgage lending discrimination, Galster (1996) cites a study by Berkovee, Canner, Gabriel and Hannan that suggests the absence of such discrimination. These authors used modeling that includes creditworthiness indicators. Galster concludes his review by stating that evidence for the absence or presence of

discrimination is unclear. If Galster were correct this would mark an emerging development, at least in terms of credit access, for minorities.

Gotham's work elucidates how development has interfaced with residential segregation and is important for understanding the integrated nature of private and public policy. How, then, can Gotham's work, with its comprehensive understanding of residential segregation, be expanded? One answer is that there is still plenty of room for further theorizing and understanding that nature of urban development and urban policy. One such approach is to consider Worley's work that integrates business strategy and urban resource use and space to better understand racial residential segregation. This is especially important as many see the development of a metropolitan area as being explained in either economic (including market oriented) terms, or through political and social explanations. In reality, these explanations may best be understood as being part of the same explanatory approach.

Gotham's work is therefore important for this study in that it highlights the importance of tying in large local business interests with policy on the federal level. Worley's work is important for understanding how those local business interests were shaped. The work of Galster and others points the way to understanding current practices. Together, these are important for addressing the questions of differential effects of residential segregation on minority groups.

Policy: Public Policies

While private entities established the patterns of racial residential segregation, public policies were put in place to foster, maintain and manage the urban landscape. Perhaps

the clearest way to understand the complexities of a phenomenon is to meld an understanding of policy—as a prescribed manner and method of managing a condition or event—with the local realities that the policy addresses. Gotham accomplishes this very task with care and skill in his *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development in Kansas City* (2002). In Chapter 3, Gotham sketches out the beginning of the FHA, however he extends this analysis by blending the formation of federal policy with local developers or “community builders.” The ideology and objectives of these community builders not only shaped the communities developed but, in turn, the FHA. FHA protocols favored the large development of suburban communities in tandem with the endorsement of segregation practices that discouraged the presence of minorities in these communities. In contrast to a purely market-driven approach, Gotham claims that FHA consciously promoted practices that assured that large developers (in contrast to small developers) would have access to credit and resources for constructing these large, medium priced housing communities (Gotham, 2002, pp. 57-59). In Chapter 4 Gotham addresses the role of urban development, another topic that receives inadequate attention in much of the literature. When Gotham addresses the topics of urban renewal and public housing, he is not content to see federal programs as being only federal programs. He states that “. . .viewing public housing and urban renewal as federal housing programs diverts attention away from the private actors and organized interests, especially the real estate officials and downtown business elite involved in the programmatic design and implementation of urban renewal and public housing” (Gotham, 2002, p. 87).

Gotham not only links the federal with the local in his analysis of a “program,” but also sees how the two programmatic elements interact. Urban renewal was

synonymous with removal, and public housing specified where those removed would be relocated. Elsewhere Gotham examines the interplay of FHA loans and local development practices (Gotham, 2000a) as well as examining the role of state and local policy that affects land use in Kansas City. He does this by carefully analyzing historical documents and city planning documents (Gotham, 2000a). In this respect, Gotham joins the pieces of a puzzle by examining the various legalities, motivations, the use of resources and the interplay of these pieces in explaining the development of the current residential landscape in Kansas City.

Another important policy venue is the local city and in many regards it is the most important one as local city entities allocate resources, whether those resources are local, state, or federal. Therefore, city planning is the one of the most local and direct events in public policy and can have the greatest effects. Kansas City's 1947 Master Plan made assumptions about the allocation of public services, roads, and other amenities based on a valuation of communities as to their "normality." The layout of the city is perceived in terms of "white districts" and "Negro districts," and such designations were central to outlining a framework for planning activities (Gotham, 2000a). Gotham (2000a, p. 168) further explains that:

Urban planners in Kansas City were not just perceiving or representing an objective reality but, in a normative and strategic sense, were constructing an urban future that prescribed how and where specific racial groups should live. Under the guise of technical skills and empirical observations, planners conceived of the city as an object of investment and racial ordering that was capable of rational and scientific study. Such a conception allowed planners to put forth a seemingly objective, unprejudiced, and value-free analyses and conclusions indicating that the city could be transformed, corrected, and improved through trained and disciplined professionals and experts.

Planners defined racial residential segregation to be a normal feature of residential life and designed plans to reinforce and perpetuate the geographical separation of the races.

He notes that such features as travel routes for suburban shoppers, definition of the business district, the construction of racial “buffer zones,” and a strict segregation of public housing residents by race were offshoots of the planning process. Such progress was hailed as successful by the *Kansas City Times* and *Kansas City Star*, but widely criticized by minority groups and the *Kansas City Call*.

Inner city development over the past several decades is impressive, to be sure. However one common debate regards the relative benefits and costs of project development and urbanization—and who bears the benefits and costs.

Gotham critiques Kansas City’s urban renewal efforts as a renewal effort that nonetheless dislocated poor and primarily Africa-American neighborhoods and subsequently relocated them into higher concentrations. One of these concentrations constructed in 1953 was the T.B. Watkins Homes, specifically for African-Americans.

Gotham considers the role of ideology in policy development over time. He states that “[t]he beginnings of racial residential segregation and the promulgation of a segregationist real estate ideology coincided with the emergence of a new discourse and way of thinking about the connector between place, race and culture (Gotham, 2000a, p. 621). This ideology developed during and after the Great Migration affects on cities and was supported b housing reports and social oriented studies, federal guidelines on real estate practices, and private real estate interests.

R. Allen Hays also discusses the role of ideology in the development of pubic

policy. In the book *The Federal Government & Urban Housing: Ideology and Change in Public Policy* (1985), he outlines the role of ideology in policy making (Chapter 1) and the role ideology played in the 1970s development of federal housing policy. Hays discusses various perspectives on housing as welfare policy, housing as community development policy, and the relationship between housing policy and macroeconomic policy (Chapter 2). Conservative versus liberal tendencies in policy play out in these perspectives in the shaping of policy. His view is too complex to briefly state or simplify. Nonetheless, it is clear that policy decisions take place in the context of competing ideologies that interpret the political tasks and economic setting in the task of policy formation.

From a policy perspective, Gotham's (2000a, 2000b, 2002) work presents a more complete analysis of racial residential segregation than that of Hays. For Gotham, racial residential segregation derives from local dynamics and the role of community builders, developers, neighborhoods, and the real estate industry. These are then supported by the public sector policies. While Hays' work and Gotham's work are not incompatible, the approach used in Gotham's work establishes a better framework for theory building, understanding spatial dynamics, developing empirical inquiry and formulating future research. It could be claimed that Hays' work focuses on the national and not nearly as much on the local, thus creating a distinction between the two approaches. However, one difficulty with this is that the processes described by Gotham were not unique to Kansas City, and replicated in other similar urban settings across the nation.

A frequently cited work that addresses policy effects on African-American segregation is Massey and Denton's *American Apartheid* (1993). In the second chapter of their book, "Construction of the Ghetto," Massey and Denton's analysis of federal policy begins with the 1930s era Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC). The HOLC was the first federal program to "introduce, on a mass scale, the use of long-term, self-amortizing mortgages with uniform payments" (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 51). Under this system the valuation of homes depended upon their desirability and associated value, and the ranking derived from the racial and socioeconomic attributes of the community where the properties were located. There were four color codes, and the color code of red, the category that highly African-American occupied neighborhoods received, were not eligible for HOLC loans. Hence the term "redlining." The HOLC guidelines effectively institutionalized the categorization of housing desirability and value, and these guidelines were influential on the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) underwriting procedures and on Veterans Administration (VA) procedures. The FHA also prepared maps for its analysis, detailing the movement of black families, linking these to loan suitability. As a result in St. Louis County in Missouri, whites received five times the mortgages and six times the amount of mortgage funding from 1934 to 1960 (Massey & Denton, p. 54). The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was intended to address these disparities, however there were mixed results in its effectiveness (Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 59, 195-200, 224). Massey and Denton pay less attention to urban politics in the role of segregation, however this is addressed. They analyze the difficulty of blacks to effectively mount political protests in cities where they are a minority of the population. In such locations blacks have a relatively difficult time partnering with other

political partners in forming a coalition representing their interests. In this situation, space plays an important role. The location of amenities may not benefit minorities. Further, black voting districts frequently allowed for the formation of alliances with the majority power structure. Where blacks do have a sizable population, their power may be weakened by the development of close ties of other minority groups with the majority power structure, as observed in Chicago's alliance between Latinos and white groups (Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 153-160).

In Chapter 7, "The Failure of Public Policy," Massey and Denton apply sociological analysis not only to the nature of residential segregation, but to the analysis of the policy formation process itself. This clearly augments their analysis, and integrates the complexity of racial residential segregation with the complexities of policy formation and implementation. Their analysis does leave some gaps, however these are gaps that justifiably lie beyond the scope of their book. One such gap is the nature of segregation among other ethnic groups such as Hispanics. Another area that could significantly add to the analysis is more theorizing and consideration of the sociological aspects of policy formation itself.

There is a substantial legal background to federal housing policy and its development. Schill and Wachter (1995) present a detailed legal analysis of federal housing law and its spatial effects on poverty. They examine public housing law, HOLC and FHA guidelines and effects, Section 235 (in 1968) of Homeownership Assistance Program that addresses redlining and the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977. They then take their analysis into the 1990s. They contend that the biases within federal

housing policies contribute to racial and poverty isolation into the present time. This takes place by design, but just as often—or more so—in a manner that is unplanned. This research provides insight into the nature of housing development and as such is useful for undertaking research into how the policies developed. The authors integrate public housing policy development and the statistical measures that are associated with rates of poverty, and also in examining residential loan approvals under the Community Reinvestment Act and associated patterns of mortgage loan concentrations. Criticisms of Schill and Wachter's work includes the assertion that they understate the role of discrimination in housing programs and that their concepts are conceptually murky (e.g. they discuss "low-income," "black," "welfare recipient," "poor" and the like without delineating the relationship of the terms to one another or specifying where and when they are either synonymous or how they relate) (c.f. Roisman, 1995).

Braa (1995) discusses accounts of subsequent urban projects in the 1980s. He details the struggle of tenants in designated urban development localities in Kansas City, contending that in the early 1980s the city gave relatively little attention to public housing and focused instead on relations with private developers and private interests. As a result residents were not given adequate assistance for relocating from what would be determined to be blighted areas, even though some of these areas possessed structurally sound housing. The city and Hallmark pursued mutually beneficial interests to the exclusion of lower-wage workers. Braa's work is similar to Gotham's in that it uses an historical-interpretive approach and integrates the interests of corporations and developers with the process of urban development and gentrification.

The interests of local large business developers dovetailed with the policies developed on the public level. The relevance of the public policy literature for this research is that it fosters and understanding of how public policy affected segregation, and guides to points of analysis of how specific policies affected the respective minority groups. Federal policy, law, and local planning policy are the focuses of attention for this research.

The Sociology of Racial Residential Segregation

As noted, the study of racial residential segregation is multi-faceted. There are many topics that are important in understanding racial residential segregation and policy. These topics are primarily sociological ones: residential preferences of different groups, the role of wealth (as opposed to just income) in realizing housing choices, various changes in the urban structure. Charles (2001) gives a good summary of the research of white, African-American and Hispanic residential preferences. Hispanics and African-Americans prefer more mixed-ethnic neighborhoods than do whites. Of the latter group, around 60 percent report satisfaction with residing in a neighborhood comprised of one-third minorities. African-Americans show satisfaction with highly integrated neighborhoods. Sixty percent of Hispanics, however, chose an all-Hispanic neighborhood as their first or second choice, but were not averse to substantial integration.

Residential preferences may be shaped by the social characteristics of a group. There have been a number of studies of wealth and inheritance differences between whites and African-Americans and the implications of these for homeownership and

mobility. There is considerable disparity between white and African-American inheritances (Oliver & Sharpiro, 1995). Oliver and Sharpiro claim African-Americans are limited in both social mobility and as to their housing asset accumulation due to a diminished level of wealth.

Squires has made significant contributions to the sociological literature on racial residential segregation. Squires work is quite comprehensive and covers a variety of issues: economic factors, policy and ideology, the role of federal housing policy, housing and economic restructuring, inheritances and housing choice and mobility, neighborhood amenities and neighborhood choice preferences, financing, housing and the relationship between housing, uneven development and sprawl (Squires, 1993, 2002; Squires & Kurbin, 2005). The work of Squires is also significant for this study in that it integrates a number of other factors that are highly relevant and require consideration. The assumption here is that policy is not a force that simply acts upon people to produce a given result or results. People react to it, and the dialectical interaction that shapes or addresses a condition sets the ground for further intergroup relations in a policy-society continuum. Sometimes the dialectic is simple—policy produces an intended effect with few unplanned consequences. Frequently the dialectic is complex, interacting with past patterns, current responses, and emerging situations. The work of Squires that integrates personal and community choice, income inequality, business policy, sprawl, race and gender are critical for arriving at an informed inquiry into housing segregation and thus is important to this research.

Literature Review Conclusions

The literature regarding racial residential segregation is expansive. At best, the selection of literature reviewed here points to complexities, discussions of interactions and effects, and set a stage for further inquiry. This brief overview of the literature is intended to both illustrate the nature of this study and to provide a context for analysis within the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2. The primary focus is on policy formation and policy effects at the federal and local levels, both public and private. There are some lines of inquiry that examine sociological factors such as income, education, etc. and the relationship to residential patterns between the ethnic groups, however this inquiry itself is placed within the primary consideration of policy.

Methodology

Qualitative Methods

The methodology used here heavily historical, and based on what Gotham (2000a, p. 159) terms *content analysis*. He states that:

I use content analysis of planning documents to explore the connection between representations of space, urban planning and racial residential segregation in Post-World War II Kansas City, Missouri. Lefebvre...encourages us to view space as a product of social practices (e.g. a “process of signification”) that can be decoded or read to reveal how dominant imagery and planning discourses are tied to historically constituted material practices (e.g. power relations, social inequalities, racial differences, etc.).

For the times covered by the 1990 and 2000 censuses, other analysis methods are used as a complement the qualitative research. This practice also allows for a design and data testing approach that addresses more recent trends and patterns.

Quantitative and Spatial Methods

More specific inquiry into the relationships between variables is conducted using nonparametric analysis of variance, specifically the Mann-Whitney U test. Models are generated for density, density growth and population growth gradients for blacks and Hispanics. Models will also include variables for whites as a benchmark.

Subsequent to the analysis, the insights gained in other sections of this study will be integrated, and the implications for policy effects will be examined. Thus sociological insights will be viewed in light of policies, and the effects of policy will be considered as to how policy has shaped and shapes racial residential segregation. Not all change is planned nor derives from policy. Just as importantly, changes will likely be examined that may have no connection with policy initiatives. This will be difficult as policy can change conditions and set the stage for conditions that are no longer directly affected by policy. This historical awareness will also guide inquiry into the dynamics of residential segregation in the study area.

Conclusion

This research proposes that a study of residential segregation of two minorities within a single community can add to the advancement of theory. It also assumes that careful examination of the complexities surrounding policy will add to an understanding of urban policy development, effects and place policy within the actual context where it is formulated, implemented, and institutionalized. This necessarily entails an interdisciplinary approach, which is appropriate for the analysis of a complex social, economic and geographical phenomenon.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURE AND EXPLANATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLICY: AN EXAMINATION OF THEORITICAL UNDERCURRENTS AND ARCHITECTURES

Introduction

The concept of culture is both a central and unique concept. It is at once a primary concept in the social sciences, but one that also lacks a consensus as to its meaning, components, and nature. Another notable observation about culture is that while it is ubiquitous, it does not always find its way into policy studies unless the main focus of the policy study itself explicitly pertains to culture or is in some way is perceived to be cultural. Culture, nonetheless, is prominent in the consideration of political life, politics and business relations (cf. Morgan, 1997; Wildavsky, 2006).

Culture is fundamental to the understanding of policy and organization and is deeply embedded in all socio-political processes in society. This position suggests that residential segregation and associated public and private policies can be meaningfully addressed from a standpoint of culture theory. This research therefore examines the role of culture upon and among the actors that shape residential segregation patterns. This includes federal and city planners and administrators, community developers and the minorities themselves. It is therefore a study of policy as well as the relevant factors that shape policy.

The Culture Concept: Components and Approaches

Since culture is taken as the primary organizational principle of this study, it is useful to briefly consider the ways that cultural models are posited. Cultural systems may be conceptualized in a number of ways: as adaptive systems (Butzer, 1980), systems of thought and symbols (e.g. cognitive, structural, semantic or symbolic systems) (Keesing, 1974, Tyler, 1969), significantly affected by material conditions and relations (Harris, 1968), evolution (Sahlins & Service, 1960) or sets of social relationships that can be functionally mapped with respect to what Mary Douglas calls “group,” or experiences within the social group and “grid,” or the rules that prescribe status and behavior for individuals in the group-grid approach (Douglas, 1970; Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky, 1990). These are some prominent approaches to culture theory. Most frequently there are crosscutting concepts employed in a given perspective on culture, with various cultural models varying from lesser to greater degrees of eclecticism.

The definition of culture developed in this research differs markedly from many discussions of culture and policy. Culture is not taken to be primarily the values, beliefs or symbols shared by a society or people. Values and ideas are instead tempered by livelihoods and the different complexities of relationships within a social system. Given the varied lifeways in human societies, the components of ideas, beliefs, ideals, values and attitudes do not stand in isolation from the individual’s (or group’s) actual living situation. A theory of culture should therefore consider the breadth of human experience: the political, economic, ecological, psychological, symbolic and spatial aspects of human existence.

Specifically the lifeways of a people, or culture, includes (1) their material culture (their technology and how they extract energy from and adapt to their environment), (2) the implications of their material culture (what constraints are faced and how the material conditions affect or influence the behavior of people, governments, social interests and the like), (3) the organizational aspects that affect human interaction, and (4) the repertoire(s) of behavior and the beliefs, symbols and thought that constitute their worldview(s). Many of these attributes are usually shared, but this concept also allows for the existence of subcultures or different factions within what may be called a broader culture. One objection to this perspective is that it encompasses all that is environmental and social and is therefore too diffuse to be useful lacks explanatory power. This definition of culture, however, is not in itself a diffuse and powerless definition. This is because, as used here, a definition or understanding does not depend upon excluding a set or sets of human characteristics or attributes, but instead requires an analysis based on a functional *hierarchy* of those characteristics and attributes. Moreover, the *relationships* of those attributes and qualities are essential in cultural analysis. The analysis of culture is therefore hierarchical and interrelational in its interpretive approach. This approach, instead of being diffuse, in fact requires a specific research strategy. The use of a cultural materialist perspective, for example, uses the concept of infrastructural constraints (Ferguson, 1995, pp. 25-28) while simultaneously examining the material-based “levers” based on “a relatively small number of causal parameters, each capable of wide, though not infinite, empirical variability under specified conditions; each of these is modifiable in interaction with the others in order to account

for both cultural similarity and difference, stability and change” (Price, 1982, p. 710). This necessitates a systems theory approach (Price, 1982, p. 710). This provides a context within which ideas, symbols and worldviews exist. Organizational and power relationships, especially among entities that control resources (e.g. governments, elites, and the like), also factor in to the analysis. Behavior is often reflected in symbols that reflect or react to these organizational effects. The use of space as a “text” of the city, for example, tells the story of who can go where and what space is allotted for what use in an “urban semiotics” (Madanipour, 1996, pp. 69-73). Therefore, while material conditions significantly affect the setting for the use and expression of meanings and symbols, the meanings and symbols themselves usually assume many different forms. This understanding of culture also does not preclude the prospect for the meanings or symbols to affect change or to be used for change. Since this is often related, directly or indirectly, to the use or distribution of resources and material conditions, materialists seek to first understand the materialist basis of relationships and change.

Using the dichotomies of three well-known axes further develops this definition and approach to culture: rationalism (and related dualism) versus skepticism (and related monism), idealism versus materialism, and the unit of analysis of the abstract individual versus the social individual. A fourth axis—social change—is also a component of this model of the culture concept. Taken together, unique combinations of these axes can yield an identifiable cultural view or socio-political theory. In many cases, one may also hold a hybrid model, combining both of one or more axes (eclecticism). Each of these axes is examined with a view to how they relate to policy.

Architecture of the Model

Axis I: Rationalism, Skepticism, and the Nature of Things

Philosophical rationalism and dualism

The main watershed in the social sciences is the difference between rationalism and skepticism. Early philosophers such as Socrates and Plato held that the nature of things reflect an ideal prototype and an order of exclusive uniqueness between objects or entities. This philosophical position permeated the Greek outlook on science and the universe. Knowledge itself sought to “catch up” with understanding the realities of nature that awaited discovery. Rationalism posits the existence of another world, whether based on a natural nature or spiritual nature of things (or both), which create an *a priori* template for how society and another phenomena work. In the past, the rationalist explanation was inherently spiritual. In the modern era, it is more frequently a framework found in some sciences, economics or mathematical modeling.

The approach of the rationalists frequently goes beyond science and extends deeply into inquiry about society. Leaf (1979, pp. 29-30) notes that in rationalism,

[a]lmost every sort of religious opinion is represented, a range of political views from religion autocracy through secular autocracy to radical democracy (if that is an accurate view of Rousseau), and epistemologies from relatively strong materialism (Locke) to absolute idealism. Yet in a larger view, the similarities are equally strikingly similar and show a common front against the monistic tradition, rejecting every argument the monists advanced. The rationalist all phrased their problems, various as they were, in terms of a single individual [or phenomenon] surrounded by a perceived world, by positing yet another world beyond both the individual and his perceptions. Finally, their conception of proof involved appeals to consistency in deduction from premises that were supposed to be beyond experimental challenge—always a distinctive set of concepts wherein the images and concepts of mathematics, especially geometry, were used to define dichotomous classes of relations, types of rights, positions in regard to social groups, or types of objects.

While philosophical rationalism is not exactly identical with dualism, they are closely related. One author notes that “[r]ationalism and dualism, although logically distinct, have tended to go together in opposition to the (monist) behaviorist-empiricist theory” (Braken, 1994, p. 4). Likewise, while monism and philosophical skepticism are not identical, philosophical skepticism does not hold the dualistic perspective of rationalism and tends to be more compatible with monism. In the world of the monist, “the world of appearances is taken as the only world there is. Truth, and more fundamentally human reason itself, is created by people in the course of their interaction” (Leaf, 1979, p. 7).

In sociology the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Marion Levy, Jr. represents a type of rationalism, where societies and their existence have necessary and universal functions are present in all societies, with these functions fitting within a system of mutual support, interdependence, and logic. This view of society is based upon the dualistic concept of society as an organism, with functions, roles being taught and rewarded according to the needs of a system. The logical requirements of society (similar to an organism’s needs) shape society and individuals’ roles within it (Chilcott, 1998; Hauco, 1986). In law, the concept of natural law holds that there is a natural basis for laws that lies beyond the activity of legal reasoning. Structural functionalism and natural law arguments have lost ground over time, however this does not mean that other dualistic concepts have not emerged, or even that these concepts are not still retained in some form or another in academia, jurisprudence and politics.

Still in other disciplines, such as economics, philosophical rationalism is as strong as ever. The dichotomy of rationalism and skepticism is particularly acute in the field of economics, where different schools of thought fragment both the discipline and in some cases academic departments. As one might expect, these schools have disparate views on policy as well. As opposed to institutionalist or evolutionary economics, the essence of neoclassical economics is very closely linked to mathematical modeling. Larson (2003, p.4) observes that: “For most members of the project, indeed, categories like ‘economic theory’ or even just plain ‘theory’ have become synonymous with mathematical modeling. For a contribution to even be counted as economics (or to gain an audience) in mainstream circles, it is a requisite that the author takes a mathematical approach and ultimately produces a formal model.” By the rationalist model, mathematics consists of axioms that hold, on their own and in relation to one another, for any given phenomenon that can be measured and at any given place in the universe. This approach, in a relatively absolute form, has less of an emphasis on politics and history. The approach of social scientists that rely heavily upon historical or political analysis (more akin to philosophical skepticism) is to see mathematical modeling differently. In a way reminiscent of Kuhn’s historicist perspective on science, the skeptics instead perceive mathematics as the “conventional formalization of observation,” eschewing claims of a priori truth (Leaf, 1979, p. 31).

In summation, philosophical rationalism and dualism emphasize nature over nurture, a dual world in lieu of a single world accessible by observation and perception, social orders that are shaped by the *a priori* nature of the social world itself and by the

purported exigencies of the social order, the application of mathematics to understanding structures, and logical positivism. It has its philosophical roots in thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Rousseau and Leibnetz, and its social theory roots in thinkers such as Durkheim, Comte and Parsons (Leaf, 1979, pp. 13-30, 60-77, 150-179) (Table 1).

Critiques of rationalism (and dualism)

Critiques of philosophical rationalism or theoretical frameworks that employ philosophical rationalism (the latter is more common), are abundant. Two cases are considered here: the sociology of structural functionalism and neoclassical economics.

While Parsons' work has addressed conditions of stability and logical relations of part or aspects of society, it does little in addressing conflict, the roles of minorities in the urban system and social transformation apart from segregation (R.A. Harris, 1979). Parsons' theoretical framework focuses on the articulation of logical social structures, and finds little place for the discussion of history and social and political change. Conflict is largely absent and not accounted for in his concept of the social system. Arguments are also teleological, assume a conservative society, and employ logical tautologies (e.g. a function is part of a social system; it exists as it meets some need of the system; the function continues to exist because it meets the system's needs) (Turner & Maryanski, 1988).

Likewise neoclassical economics develops a system of logic and logical interactions between variables. Like structural functionalism, neoclassical economics leaves little room for history and politics in its methodology. Models are developed that presume much. For example consumer preference structures are developed that require the

presumption that a consumer can weigh all possible combinations of consumption in a market. The result of cyclical factors and the “curse of dimensionality” (a virtual overload of consumer preference vectors) make it impossible to generate a utility maximization model as consumers cannot weigh all combinations of for the vectors (Lee & Keen, 2004, p. 176). Similarly Steedman (1989) claims that social forces and considerations shape preferences, compromising the neoclassical utility model.

Keen (2001) also agrees that since neoclassical economics examines utilities in terms that omit tastes and socially conditioned factors, the conditions surrounding the theory of utilities may be misleading. In Keen’s words, “the theory of consumer demand begins with the proposition that each consumer is unique, but then reaches a logical impasse which it sidesteps by assuming that all consumers are identical” (Keen, 2001, p. 51). Keen takes it further, arguing that other factors make it impossible to develop and aggregate indifference curve which is based on aggregate utilities. This is especially the case since different social classes (which Keen defines by examples of “workers,” “landlords,” and “capitalists”) that have different utility patterns. Deriving an aggregated model of consumer behavior is necessary for economists to do the analysis and modeling that they do. However, for reasons mentioned, this may be an elusive goal.

These tendencies in neoclassical economics lie in the economist’s lack of grounding in social realities (and to this many neoclassical economists would agree, but claim it unnecessary) and, similarly, in accepting technical methods and axioms without exploring the nature of their givenness. As one critic of the neoclassical method states:

Now the primary problem or error of the mainstream project here, as I see it, is not the anti-realist orientation of many of its participants towards formalistic economic models *per se*..., but the decision to preserve with (and to insist that all economists concern themselves with almost nothing but) the modeling project despite its long-term and continuing lack of clear empirical successes. ... This, I believe, is the key to the mainstream discipline's shortfalls, turning on the more general avoidance of an explicit concern with ontology, of omitting to investigate the nature of social reality with a view to determining the basis of potentially more fruitful alternatives. In brief, the primary failing of modern economists is ontological neglect (Larson, 2003, pp. 67-68).

To be sure, all neoclassical economists would have a reply in their defense. In some cases, this reply would indeed be germane to the nature of their research objectives (although the usefulness of the objectives might be debated). The point here is that the neoclassical model, nonetheless, relies heavily upon a mechanistic prototype of mathematics that is rarely questioned by its practitioners. It, like structural functionalism, is grounded in a montage of nicely fitted and logically arranged propositions, but the propositions stand on their own as the methodology becomes the theory. Certainty is found in the rationality of technique and not in history, tradition or inquiry into the ultimate theoretical grounding of the approach.

Skepticism and monism

In contrast to the rationalist or dualist approach there is philosophical skepticism or monism. In rationalism, mathematics was treated as an extension of Aristotle's logic with philosophers such as Leibnitz and Descartes imputing the characteristics and dichotomies of such logic upon mathematics as "knowledge *a priori*, true and apart from any prior to experience, flowing from the character of 'mind' itself" (Leaf, 1979, p. 31). Skeptics, however, denied any notion of knowledge or truth apart from experience.

Knowledge that can be verified and fit within the standards of experimental inquiry is sufficient for the monists; they had no requirement that the observation be rooted in another reality, only that it be observed and tested by experience.

Monism has a rich tradition in eighteenth and nineteenth century thinkers. The monism of Isaac Newton in physics was matched by the monism or philosophical skepticism of Montesquieu in social law. In *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) Montesquieu did not view law as intrinsically linked to a natural system, as in natural law, but instead saw law as an institution that evolved out of human experience. Laws were adapted to the environment of each nation: the surroundings of the natural environment, social relations and the relationships with other laws. Laws were derivatives of human reason, but this reason was situated within a context that shaped it (Leaf, 1979, pp. 32-36). Because laws were products of human reason shaped by the context, they were evolutionary, historical and relativistic.

Immanuel Kant recognized both types of laws, that is to say natural laws (which he also called External Laws) and laws that, similar to Montesquieu's basis for law, are conventions of established custom. For Kant,

external laws are laws that we must *follow*, recognizing that they originate outside ourselves. But of these, some are followed because it is reasonable to do so, so that even though they maybe legislated, legislation is not necessary—such 'laws' might be 'Do not leave your hand in the fire,' or perhaps even 'Do not lie incessantly,' or 'Do not what is right.' But other laws are followed because they are legislated, and they must be legislated because although there are a number of things that might equally be right under some circumstances, on of them must be chosen. (*italics in original*) (Leaf, 1979, p. 56).

In summation, philosophical skepticism or monism sees nurture over nature, a single world that is accessible by perception, social orders that are shaped by the confluence of conditions or influences that are historical, evolutionary and emergent. Monism therefore tends to utilize comparative and historical methods to explore the emergence of such social orders and why and how they are shaped. It has its roots in philosophical, historical and scientific thinkers such as Newton, Kant, Montesquieu and Mead and comparative method thinkers of the nineteenth century (Leaf, 1979, pp. 13-30, 60-77, 150-179). One might also include the historicism of Thomas Kuhn (1970) as an approach marked by philosophical skepticism, with his critiques of truth and the nature of the emergence of scientific understandings (Table 1).

Critiques of skepticism (and monism)

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century the comparative study of society was being reformulated (in anthropology) to include the observation of universals. Universals were not only observed in social and language studies, but in the most basic way about what it is to be human. The study of universals continues in the examination of socio-cultural and biological phenomena. Such studies include language studies in the vein of Chomsky's transformational grammar (e.g. Chomsky, 1957), studies of the sequence that color terms appeared in languages due to neuro-physiology (Kay & McDaniel, 1978), considerations of the biological basis of human behavior in the discipline of ethology (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1975; Wilson, 1975), cross cultural study of the biological basis of marriage and mating habits (Fisher, 1982), studies in the universal pattern of human social organization based on the "biological and psychological

constraints of human nature” (Harris, 1979, pp. 51-54), commonalities in the patterns associated with the rise of incipient city-states (Jolly & Plog, 1982, pp. 346-380), to name a few. These observations suggest that all that is social or cultural do not exclusively derive from the realm of experience. They are part of a pattern—whether biological, psychological, physiological or organizational—that exists prior to each aspect of human social and cultural understanding and development.

The argument for skepticism

Notwithstanding the discussion above on nature versus nurture, there remain ample reasons for questioning the entire adoption of philosophical rationalism or dualism. First, the support of rationalism as it pertains to many observations regarding culture is accompanied by a lack of ontological considerations. This creates an epistemological quandary. Further, advances in human understandings frequently change the footing on which philosophical rationalism stands. As Coulson (1955) noted, “There is no ‘God of the gaps’ to take over at those strategic places where science fails; and the reason is that the gaps of this sort have the unpreventable habit of shrinking.” Under modern understandings, therefore, the footing has either been questioned or has shifted from metaphysical inquiry to looking for dualism in science and mathematics.

Leaf (1979, pp. 333-334) claims that:

Each [dualistic scheme] promises to identify that one aspect of culture, social structure, or thought, or that one law of evolution or adaptation, that will explain everything, all other aspects of culture or history....In place of universal cosmology or symbolic categories, monism offers a conception of communicative process. In place of structural wholes that include entities unrecognizable to those supposedly “within” them, it offers methods for eliciting concepts of relation and order, and for discovering how they are

employed. In place of the elusive laws of evolution that pertain to linear changes of whole cultures from one stated or configuration to another, the monistic vision offers a stochastic conception of history based on interacting creative responses to options at each point in time, that create new conditions that frame new options for the next point of decision. Finally, and most importantly, instead of isolating each of these conceptions in compartments of anthropology that are cut off from one another, they are interlinked, grounded in a common conception of human nature, human mentality, and science and scientific procedure.

In addition to these strengths, monism offers methods of comparison over time and through space and historical studies based on principles of understanding that Leaf mentions above.

While this discussion does not often find its way into policy studies, the implications for policy are significant. This use of this axis faces certain limitations—it may be difficult to clearly identify the philosophical perspective of a given actor, such as a real estate developer or public policy maker, regarding some of their philosophical positions. Indeed, such considerations are unlikely to be a part of their language or thought. Yet one can ask important questions: How is the prospect of natural law perceived? Is there an ultimate destiny perceived for the development of urban centers, cities or nations? To what degree is the fate of people tied to how they believe versus what access they have to resources? How are these two related? Are policies directed to change based on changing ideas, or do they target resource availability? How much do they focus on both ideas and resource availability? How is a policy directed toward individuals? How will a policy affect aggregates of individuals versus the discrete individual? What is the nature of social change? Does, or should, change attempts be conducted in a balanced harmonious manner, or do changes inevitably arise out of conflict? Does change, or

Table 1. The Dualistic (Philosophical Rationalism) and Monistic (Philosophical Skepticism) Traditions.

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Rationalism and Dualism</u>	<u>Skepticism and Monism</u>
Nature/nurture dichotomy	Nature	Nurture
World or worlds	Dual worlds; there is another world beyond perception	Single world; the world is accessible by perception
Social and political motifs	Great Chain of Being; Divine Right of Kings; a priori nature of the social world; universals	Emerging social realities; social evolution; social history; relativism
Disciplinary tendencies	Geometry, mathematics, and their application to social world; logical positivism	History and historical relativism; evolution; study of institutions
Theory of truth and inquiry	Phenomena exist apart from human reason and are understood by discovery and progressively understanding the truths of these phenomena.	Phenomena and the understanding of phenomena are to some degree a product of human reason. Knowledge may advance, however may lack in correspondence to the "truth."
Philosophers	Aristotle, Plato, Descartes, Leibniz, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx	Newton, Montesquieu, Hume
Social scientists or other theorists	Comte, Durkheim, Parsons	George Herbert Mead, Thomas Kuhn

should change, occur gradually over time, or are there times to attempt large scale changes? How do these perspective relate to their approach to socio-economic development or their reaction to development? How do these perspectives relate to the use of resources? The use of space? These are all relevant questions using this model.

Axis II: Idealism, Materialism and the Prime Movers Debate

The dichotomy of idealism versus materialism is another axis that has implications for political theory and policy. Idealism—stressing the role of values, ideas and ideology as the prime mover of culture, stands in contrast to materialism—an approach that stresses the roles of material conditions and constraints as a prime mover. While one could easily suggest that both idealism and materialism play a role in culture and the development of policy, the matter of degree and impact on policy is far from simple or nonconsequential. To the contrary, the debate between idealism and materialism is another watershed in social science and policy thinking that yields quite dissimilar social interpretations and markedly different policy prescriptions. If this dichotomy is such a watershed in thinking, why has the idealism versus materialism debate not been more prevalent in the administrative and organizational theory literature? Adler and Borys (1993, p. 658) offer a reason for this omission. They claim that those researching organizational issues, for example, have not had access to the theoretical frameworks that inform this debate. They claim that this is so because in highly specialized research the assumption of a position is implicit in the framework itself, sidestepping the need or focus of directly addressing causal social or cultural forces. This is therefore another

area where the social sciences can provide a deeper understanding of urban administrative theory and policy studies.

Idealism

The central tenet of explanations based on idealism is that ideas, values, or thoughts are paramount to the constitution of society and to social change. The ideational model of social causality is found in the sociology of Durkheim, Weber and Parsons (Adler & Borys, 1993, p. 659). Murray (1995, p. 168) explains that “[a]n idealist model of change has two features. Conceptually, it appeals to the ‘power of new ideas’ to bring about transformations of society. Empirically, it assumes that specific historical transformations in this or that society can be causally attributed to the germination and spread of a new idea.” Adler and Borys (1993, p. 658) add more specifics as to the nature and context of these new ideas. They state that “idealists privilege the influence of more directly human factors, such as power, language, desires and norms; they thus accord causal primacy to the political and symbolic spheres.”

The ideational model of culture offers different models as to how ideas affect culture and society. Often key ideas are held to be the product of key individuals. The related “Great Man” interpretation of history, where in some way or another great men or women have affected or sparked societal change, is an example of this type of idealist thinking (White, 1949, pp. 192-197). If not great men, then it may be notable and forward-thinking people that make the difference in their communities as in Ladner’s work, *The New Urban Leaders* (2001). It may be ideas that emerge from the election process as ideas of voters play out through interest groups or by public choice

mechanisms (Berry, 1997; Lee, 1988). Still another model is that change can result from both the workings of ideas and ideology that is espoused by key people (or a key person) and this also converges with public values thinking.

Historical, social and political studies are replete with how ideas and ideology affect socio-economic growth, economic and financial development and social progress.

Weber's concept of the "Protestant work ethic" is such a case. Weber claimed that in Protestant countries the religious obligation of being highly employed in labor produced the wealth and prosperity of those countries. Weber is more specific within Protestantism, crediting various groups such as Puritans, other Calvinists and Lutherans with respective attitudes and approaches toward work (Bendix, 1962. pp. 55-69).

This thinking continues to the present day by popular researchers, urban theorists and economic development specialists. In the book *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (2000), Michael E. Porter contributes an article entitled "Attitudes, Values, Beliefs, and the Microeconomics of Prosperity." Porter makes an argument for the roles of "attitudes, values and beliefs"—which he calls culture—on the success of economic development. Porter is careful to distinguish between a belief in itself and the contexts in which that belief operates. Frugality can be a virtue but on the other hand can bode ill for recovery from a recession, for example. Porter also carefully interlaces the role of values within a discussion of economic operations, economic environments, and the dynamics of consumer choice and demand for products. Attitudes, beliefs and values must set the right conditions for prosperity, however. Porter (2000, p. 21) notes that:

Prevailing beliefs about the basis for prosperity itself are among the most central. The attitudes of individuals and organizations and their economic behavior are strongly affected by what they perceive to be the way to win. Perhaps the most basic belief undergirding the successful economic development is acceptance that prosperity depends on productivity, not on control of resources, scale, governmental factors, or military power and that the productivity paradigm is good for society. Without such beliefs, rent seeking and monopoly seeking will be the dominant behavior, a pathology still affecting many developing countries.

Porter continues to stress the importance of an economic behavior model based on ideas, innovations, collaborative efforts, competitive efforts, human capital development, standards and other factors necessary for economic development. This contrasts to “[m]onopoly is good, power determines rewards, rigid hierarchy is needed to maintain control, and self-contained family relationships should determine partnership” (Porter, 2000, p. 22). Porter contends that flawed theories and ideas and social policy create environments from which individuals take their cues—in essence they learn their behavioral lessons from the economy. Backward economies follow from misguided policies and ideas (Porter, 2000, pp. 23-24).

Another purported linkage between ideas, values and economic progress are seen, as noted, in works such as Ladner’s *The New Urban Leaders* (2001). In this work Ladner focuses on individuals who are a source of positive change for their respective communities. Ladner states that her work “examines the early stages of an emerging field, that of urban community development specialists. The figures discussed represent a promising type of leadership that is in the process of being defined, just as these leaders are in the process of testing workable strategies....[t]he direction these new leaders take represents the fusion of leadership ideologies, styles, and strategies of the Civil Rights

movement and Great Society programs” (Ladner, 2001, p. x). Her work cites mainly antidotal accounts of how new leaders and organizations have responded to urban poverty, violence, illicit drugs and other urban problems. Interestingly, she features a quote from one community worker who works on violence and housing problems and entrepreneurship. She asks this individual to cite the most pressing problems faced in the communities he works with. He states that the primary problems “are moral and spiritual...The gang kids and prostitutes that we have turned around are examples of God’s grace in action. They are moral people, who say, ‘I used to be a hooker, I used to do this stuff [drugs]. But God has entered my life. Now, let me demonstrate it another way’” (Ladner, 2001, p. 65). The idealist model espoused by Ladner and the leaders she interviews is representative idealist causal models and are frequently encountered in community and economic development models.

An anthropologist specializing in economic development attests to the prevalence of these models: “I have seen this model affect the channeling of development funds in Haiti..., in Guatemala...and in Madagascar....This model appears to be the frequent (but not exclusive) favorite of certain sectors of the Roman Catholic Church who have begun to involve themselves in matters of rural development” (Murray, 1995, p. 168). Murray further notes that training sponsored by the Catholic Church is similar to the Peace Corp training that participants receive. There is training on technical matters of development, improved cooking and conservation techniques, updated agricultural practices, coupled with community needs assessments, organization strategies, and cooperative development initiatives. The crux of the project is the success in fostering

an awareness and confidence in the new technologies and methods (Murray, 1995, pp. 168-172). Another effort with roots in idealational causality is socio-structural group development. The concept of creating these groups is that these groups will in turn create the foundation for new initiatives and repositories of thought. In describing his experience with development agencies that promote such new group creation, Murray states:

In Haiti, Guatemala and Madagascar I came across articulate advocates of an approach to social change that relies, first and foremost, not on the transmission of improved ideas but on the *organization of new local social formations*. In this model the plea is for the creation of new groups, be they farmer groups, women's groups, or whatever. New groups, it is argued, must come first. These groups will be the context in which new ideas are generated and transmitted; and these groups will decide on the specific content of any technical innovations to be introduced" (italics in original) (Murray, 1995, p. 172).

As varied as it is in its forms and strategies, idealism posits a world of change through the acquisition of new ideas, or the new acquisition and synthesis of an old idea or ideas. Change may be technical in nature, but it also depends upon the changing of values, outlooks or worldviews.

Critiques of idealism

The policy implications of the foregoing discussion of idealism are important. The focus on attitudes, beliefs and values as sources important for economic development is problematic. Progressive ideas toward prosperity, economic growth, productivity or profit by themselves shed little insight into development related to use of space and residential segregation, for example. In these cases, development that bodes well for one group can hindering the development of another, even though those ideas

may indeed support growth, profit or a certain type of development. Overemphasizing the role of ideas surrounding development may obscure a clear understanding of the role of resources and resource allocation. Under the best of circumstances, attitudes, values and beliefs may certainly play a part in development, however these attributes never stand by themselves or have an existence in isolation. They are embedded within sets of political power and economic relationships. These considerations are relevant for the analysis and formation of policy.

The materialist understands that the most basic instincts that biological entities face come from their interface with the material environment and their perpetuation in that environment. Harris (1979, p. 57) states that

Infrastructure [e.g. the means extracting energy from nature through the mode of production] ...is the principal interface between culture and nature, the boundary across which the ecological, chemical, and physical restraints to which human action is subject interact with those restraints. The order of cultural materialist priorities from infrastructure to the remaining behavioral components and finally to the mental superstructure reflects the increasing remoteness of these components from the culture/nature interface. Since the aim of cultural materialism, in keeping with the orientation of science in general, is the discovery of the maximum amount of order in its field of inquiry, the priority theory building logically settles upon those sectors under the greatest direct restraints from the givens of nature. To endow the mental superstructure with strategic priority, as the cultural idealists advocate, is a bad bet. Nature is indifferent to whether God is a loving father or a bloodthirsty cannibal. But nature is not indifferent to whether the fallow period in a swidden [slash-and-burn] field is one year or ten.

In the matter of economic development, materialist would claim that patterns of global historical development (or regional economic development, or urban economic development) and associated hierarchies within and between these geopolitical entities (e.g. within and between the “core” and “periphery”) affect development, with thought

not causing but being shaped by patterns of power relationships and control over resources. In some cases thought may simply react. This is in contrast to Porter's model of economic development. Materialists recount various instances of "matter" over "mind." While there is variation in thought and creativity, these are shaped by the context in which thought takes place (Harris, 1979, p. 58).

Materialism

The materialist interpretation of society and social change "give[s] causal priority to the technical and economic forces, paths of technological development, and efficiency pressures, among other concepts" (Adler & Borys, 1993, p. 658). According to Harris (1979, pp. 51-54) this approach gives strategic causal priority to infrastructure (within the modes of production and reproduction), followed by structure (political and domestic economies and social structures), and lastly to superstructure (ideology, belief, myth, symbol, religion).

There are many types of materialism. In historical materialism Marx and Engels adopted and synthesized the materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach and the dialectics of Georg W.F. Hegel. In ecological studies prior to Harris's cultural materialism, cultural ecologists such as Julian Steward and Leslie White examined the material bases of society, energy use and social organization (Orlove, 1980, pp. 236-239). In Harris's cultural materialism, a non-Hegelian materialist interpretation is developed (Harris, 1968, 1979).

Historical Materialism. Historical materialism, or dialectical materialism, is the best-known type of materialist theory. Marx and Engels describe a tripartite model of

society, consisting of the forces of production, the relations of production and ideology.

In historical materialism what Marx and Engels term the forces of production and relations of production are analyzed with respect to each other, inseparably. Marx and Engels thus make a strong argument for the priority of materialism with respect to the forces of production, but integrate into their analysis how the forces and the relations of production, nestled in class and power relationships, work in shaping the order of society and the formation and replication of class relationships.

Two observations are merited regarding the work of Marx and Engels. First, while the teleological and utopian outcome of what otherwise Marx and Engels describe as scientific theory is problematic in classic Marxism, they did make acute observations about the nature of the ruling class and the material basis of culture and the associated nature of consciousness. Marvin Harris (1968, pp. 230-231) credits Marx and Engels with a “breakthrough.” He notes that among their predecessors and contemporaries, they were the first to relate the concept of consciousness to materialist conditions and causality. Secondly, Marx and Engels linked their theories with a model of cultural evolution by studying the cultural historians of the day. Engels (1972 [1884]) published Marx’s notes on Lewis Henry Morgan’s *Ancient Society* under the title of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Thus many of the theoretical insights and cultural modeling of Marx and Engels were referenced by subsequent cultural ecologists, both positively and negatively, in the subsequent development of cultural ecology.

Cultural Ecology. Ecological anthropology first developed in reaction to the early and less informed literature on the stages of social evolution such as Lewis Henry

Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Julian Steward's work focused on discrete cultures and how their organization and cultural traits were related to their discrete environment and available resources. A society's technology, demographics, institutions and economics were its central features. He posited these as the "culture core," or elements that were directly affected by the environment, with other cultural traits less affected by environmental factors. Steward explained culture—primarily by reference to the core and secondary by its other attributes—as a means of adaptation. Leslie White, however, focused more on the use of energy resources in the study of social evolution. His analysis used a model similar to Steward's, but in his model the "culture core" is primarily associated with technology, with social structure and ideology completing the scheme of a tripartite model. White's model was more "unilinear and monocausal." While both Steward and White employed a tripartite model similar to Marx's forces of production, relations of production and ideology or superstructure, White was more influenced by Marxist analysis (Orlove, 1980, pp. 235-239, 240-241).

Ecological anthropology in the 1960s stressed culture as a system of adaptation to the environment and was influenced by system theory, with analysis of feedback and optimization mechanics (Kottak, 1999, p. 23). Causes of otherwise non-ecological events and phenomena (e.g. religion) were tied back to the ecology. Although a materialist, even Julian Steward referred to warfare among simpler groups as "bloodthirsty primitive patterns of warfare' ...being means of release for pent-up aggressions rather than being in some other way ecologically determined" (Vayda, 1969, p. 202). Subsequent cultural ecologists were not satisfied with this perspective. Vayda's

(1969) article on the Ibans in Sarawak (a state on the island of Borneo) suggests that while forest was quite plentiful for this tribe, which reduced intratribal conflicts, intergroup conflict did exist in competition for rice field cultivation and trade routes. Similarly, Rappaport (1968) set out to quantify fieldwork to an unprecedented level in his study of another swidden horticulturalist group, the Tsembaga Maring (New Guinea). The Tsembaga subsisted by swidden horticulture, hunting and trapping, and raising pig. Rappaport notes that the group engaged in friendly relations with other native groups, including the exchange of trade goods and marriage partners. Hostile relations did exist with another Maring group, the Kundagai-Aikupa (Rappaport, 1968, pp. 13, 105-109). Rappaport (1968, p. 109) notes that “[h]ostile relations between Maring groups are characterized by long periods of ritually sanctioned mutual avoidance interrupted by armed confrontation or conflict.” This was preceded by allegations of taking a marriage partner without adequate permission, plundering game or sacred resources, witchcraft, rape, killing a pig after it encroached on another group’s garden, or theft of crops. Hostilities did not regularly occur between groups that in some way formed a single functional unit, such as through intermarriage or sharing of resources; Maring groups frequently formed alliances with one another versus an enemy. Hostilities were accompanied by considerable ritual and relaxation of taboos. While pigs were never killed outside of a ritual context, several pigs would be sacrificed during the period of warfare. Rappaport calculated the carrying capacity of the environment of both human and pig populations, concluding that a strain on the carrying capacity precipitated (and was the cause) of cycles in warfare. In Rappaport’s words:

Ritual among the Tsembaga and other Maring, in short, operates as both transducer, “translating” changes in the state of one subsystem into information which can effect changes in a second subsystem, and homeostat, maintaining a number of variable which in sum compromise the total system within ranges of viability....the operation of ritual among the Tsembaga and other Maring helps to maintain an undegraded environment, limits fighting to frequencies which do not endanger the existence of the regional population, adjusts man-land rations, facilitates trade, distributes local surpluses of pig throughout the regional population in the form of pork and assures people of high quality protein when they are most in need of it (Rappaport, 1979, p. 41).

Ecology is also seen as shaping the political structure of societies. One example is the leadership of the chieftain of the Yaruro Indians in Venezuela. The chieftain role is conscribed by the regularities of the climate and associated tasks of harvesting and pig herding. There are no markedly different seasons or periods of labor intensity and the technology they employed is simple. Despite their proximity to labor-intensive corn producing cultures that rely on more centralized political leadership, and despite the centuries of Spanish influence that would otherwise promote hierarchical leadership, the Yaruro maintained a loosely structured political structure as one was not required to extract resources from their environment (Leeds, 1969).

No swidden societies studied in the 1960s continue to exist in the manner described by these ethnographers. Economics and economic structures have not displaced the ecology, but they have transmuted its direct impact on human societies. While Rappaport’s discussion of the Tsembaga Maring cycles of warfare based on ecological pressures may seem a bit distant from today’s policy concerns, it is not. Many ecological pressures are experienced today, and to varying degrees they are moderated by the energy system or economic and political regimens. Cycles in publicizing the “red scare”

by government officials and at various times by the Committee on Present Danger throughout the 1950s peaked at times when U.S. corporations were experiencing lagging profits, and the military spending that began in mid-1979 was counter-cyclical to a downward trend in corporate profits (Cypher, 1981, pp. 13-14). This approach, known as military Keynesianism, bears a striking similarity to the cyclical moderation of the Maring's relationship to resource use and control described by Rappaport. Another example of promoting military spending and securing oil resources is provided by the American and British occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. The occupation of Iraq in particular allowed the United States and Britain to trump the rest of Europe's hand in the region and allowed them the attempt to control the region's oil resources (Berberoglu, 2003, p. 81; Foster, 2003, p. 6; Gowan, 2003, p. 48; Klare, 2003, p. 53). David Harvey is most pointed about the matter. He states that "whoever controls the Middle East controls the global oil spigot and whoever controls the global oil spigot can control the global economy, at least for the near future (Harvey, 2003, p. 19). The materialist claims that analyzing resource access and use and competition over resources yield a much better analysis than discussions of clashes over ideologies or worldviews.

Cultural Materialism. Cultural materialism is most commonly associated with the work of anthropologist Marvin Harris, and emerges from (and is part of) the cultural ecology tradition. Outside of some variations in the definition of cultural components, cultural materialism is similar to the Marxian model, positing an "infrastructure" or material base, a "structure" which is the political and domestic organization of the society and "superstructure," with Harris's superstructure more elaborately described

than Marx's superstructure or ideology. However there are significant differences between the two models. Cultural materialism is tied to the evolutionist tradition of anthropology and denies any association with dialectics, which Harris refers to as the "Hegelian money" of Marx and Engels' model (Harris, 1979, p. 145). Likely the most significant difference between Marx's model and the cultural materialist model is the specific nature of causality in the models. While the critical line of analysis for Marx is between the forces and relations of production vis-à-vis the superstructure, the critical line in cultural materialism is between the infrastructure vis-à-vis the structure and superstructure.

The infrastructure, that part which entails the mode of production (e.g. technology, subsistence, labor, and the eco-environment) and the mode of reproduction (e.g. demographic patterns and control of demographic characteristics), is the chief element in terms of causality (c.f. Harris, 1979, pp. 51-54). Infrastructure sets the parameters for the shape that structure may take. In turn, structure sets the parameters for the shape that superstructure may take. This relates to the concept of infrastructural determinism, meaning that human cultural existence begins with the elements of its interface with the natural environment and associated restraints that shape further cultural options or characteristics. The givenness of the infrastructure is relatively stable and difficult to change quickly, if at all in some cases, and will necessarily shape political organization and thought (Harris, 1979, pp. 56-58). The other elements of culture are set within a hierarchy by which infrastructure establishes constraints for types of structure, and structure and infrastructure subsequently establishing constraints for superstructure.

This hierarchy of causality, however, is qualified by the claim that there are a number of variables involved that may be more prevalent in one case than another. Cultural materialists also claim that although variables interact with one another in a hierarchy of the tripartite model, they are talking about the interaction of those variables within a system, not variables that simply have a single line of effect and causality. One variable may indeed be quite prevalent in a given case, however the action of this variable still plays out within a cultural system. Three of the best expressions of this come from other cultural materialists. Ferguson (1995, p. 25) states that:

infrastructural constraints should not be visualized as an empty bracket into which any number of social formations could be slotted; but rather as a topographic field, extending into and shaping structural and superstructural relations at numerous critical points. The same goes for structural conditioning of the superstructure. This is consistent with the idea of ‘system causality’ that rejects single-factor “prime movers” and sees sociocultural systems as networks of interacting, reciprocally determining variables.

Another cultural materialist echoes these claims very closely, again discussing the role of the system in cultural analysis:

Contrary to popular misconception, cultural materialism does not preclude—in fact mandates—a system model of causality rather than a single-factor or prime-mover model. Indeed, close examination of models of the latter type reveals that any postulated prime mover is itself irreducibly organized as a system....This does not, of course, imply that all causal parameters are of equal importance. Some will have a far more profound and wide-ranging impact upon the overall state of the system than will others, and cultural materialism provides consistent paradigmatically determined criteria for judging this (Price, 1982, p. 710).

A third example, related to the formation and execution of policy, explains the necessity of thinking beyond a purely infrastructural approach:

a well-designed infrastructural approach to development requires ethnographic knowledge about and anthropological sensitivity to all three domains of social life. One does not dismiss educational and organizational issues—structure and superstructure—as epiphenomenal afterthoughts that will mechanically fall into proper alignment in the wake of new material resources....Organizational variables are particularly important. In view of the financial rapacity of so many development agencies, creative and aggressive organizational measures must be taken to foresee and head off the predatory inroads that would otherwise siphon off project budgets into alien purposes (Murray, 1995, p. 181).

This is consistent with both Marxian analysis and Harris's analysis. In a letter to Joseph Block, Engels (1978[1893]), pp. 760-761) wrote that:

According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure: political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious view and the further development into systems of dogmas, also exercise influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which amid all the endless hosts of accidents...the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary (*italics in original*).

Harris (1968, pp. 244-245) cites this passage by Engels with approval. Infrastructure is the primary shaping force, but it is multi-faceted; there are many variables.

Infrastructure may therefore guarantee a given outcome, or the outcome may be quite uncertain. In the later case it may be that structural and superstructural feedback has a greater role in shaping the process and selecting the result (Harris, 1979, pp. 74-75).

Certain variables come to the forefront in their interaction within the system. These

usually include infrastructural extraction and use of energy, population demographics, and the struggle over resources. While cultural materialism allows for structure effects on superstructure, cultural materialists nonetheless delight in providing infrastructural explanations for superstructure characteristics and events such as food prohibitions, messianic movements, witch-hunts, sacred animals and warfare, as in Harris's *Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches: The Riddles of Culture* (1974). The cultural materialist always begins with seeking answers in the infrastructure. Sometimes the influence of the infrastructure on the superstructure is almost direct, with structure or political institutions acting as a conduit in the shaping of ideas and values. This would be more prominent in some cases than others, such as population pressure, values related to resource use, and the like.

Harris also proposes a rather simple behavioral psychology for humans which he terms "bio-psychological constraints." He posits that humans, for the most part, tend to favor diets of more calories and proteins rather than fewer, tend to use less energy rather than more in performing tasks, are highly sexed and act in such a way to foster affection for themselves from others. He intends to keep his behavioral psychology simple by design to allow for optimal theorizing (Harris, 1979, pp. 62-64).

Like Marx and Engels, cultural materialists give attention to consciousness. Cultural materialists also see the consciousness of people as based on the myths of social life, often having little to do with their living situation. Harris (1974, p. 4) explains that:

Ignorance, fear and conflict are the basic elements of every day consciousness. From these elements, art and politics fashion that collective dreamwork whose function is to prevent people from understanding what their social life is all about. Everyday consciousness, therefore, cannot

explain itself. It owes its very existence to a developed capacity to deny the facts that explain its existence. We don't expect dreamers to explain their dreams; no more should we expect lifestyle participants to explain their lifestyles.

In non-industrial societies participants are likely to see various realities related to their life events or ritual cycles as these are passed on in terms of myth, religion or in terms of ideals such as honor or kinship loyalty, or the like. In industrial societies—especially in the most capitalist societies—there is increasingly more and more information, however materialists would claim that the *interpretation* of information is what is important, not the realization of it. Advanced societies are characterized by increasing levels of complexity, and the interpretation of this complexity is frequently beyond the repertoire of social ideologies and political discourse. The materialist, instead, explains events like war first in terms of resources and resource use and allocation. Other concepts, such as recent (and past) American concepts such as freedom, democratic development, or the like, may indeed be used to obfuscate the realities of events. For these reasons, among others noted, the materialist finds the definition of culture as ideas, values and beliefs to be insufficient (Figure 1).

How, then, are the ideas, values and beliefs of a people (however defined) to be interpreted? Cultural materialists explain the superstructure with reference to linguist Kenneth Pike's distinction between etics and emics. Etics or etic statements are statements that are observer-oriented and statements that can be operationalized, categorized or measured in some fashion. Emics or emic statements, by contrast, are statements that are participant-oriented and statements that are embodied within the cognitive rules of behavior or belief of the participant. To test the validity of these

statements, one would check with the participant. Etics and Emics also have mental and behavioral components. In the case of the sacred cow, cattle are not killed, nor are they neglected. However sex ratios are skewed. The mental emic statement is that “All calves have the right to life.” The behavioral emic statement is that “No calves are starved to death.” However in times of food scarcity, sex ratios of calf survivors may vary considerably beyond what statistical analysis would indicate. This is a result from behavior, in spite of what the informant would claim, that favors female productive calves over bull calves, indicated by the etic behavioral statement “Male calves are starved to death,” and associated with the etic mental statement “Let the male calves starve to death when feed is scarce” (Harris, 1979, pp. 32-39) (Figure 2).

Such irregularities are not a surprise to behavioral archaeologists, who discovered that household use of perceived healthy foods are overreported and household use of perceived unhealthy foods are underreported with respect to what archaeologists find in household garbage samples (Rathje & Murphy, 2001). Cultural materialism, however, allows for the actual belief of emic behavioral and mental statements, although there is no presumption that these will or must match with etic statements. This gives the researcher a degree of privilege in the investigative process as cultural materialism gives research priority to the etic and behavioral variables (Harris, 1979, p. 56).

Policy, politics and materialism

Cultural materialism addresses primitive warfare, witch-hunts and the like, however the workings of modern industrial societies and phenomena within modern societies are a strong research focus. Harris’s *Why Nothing Works* (1981), a critique of modern

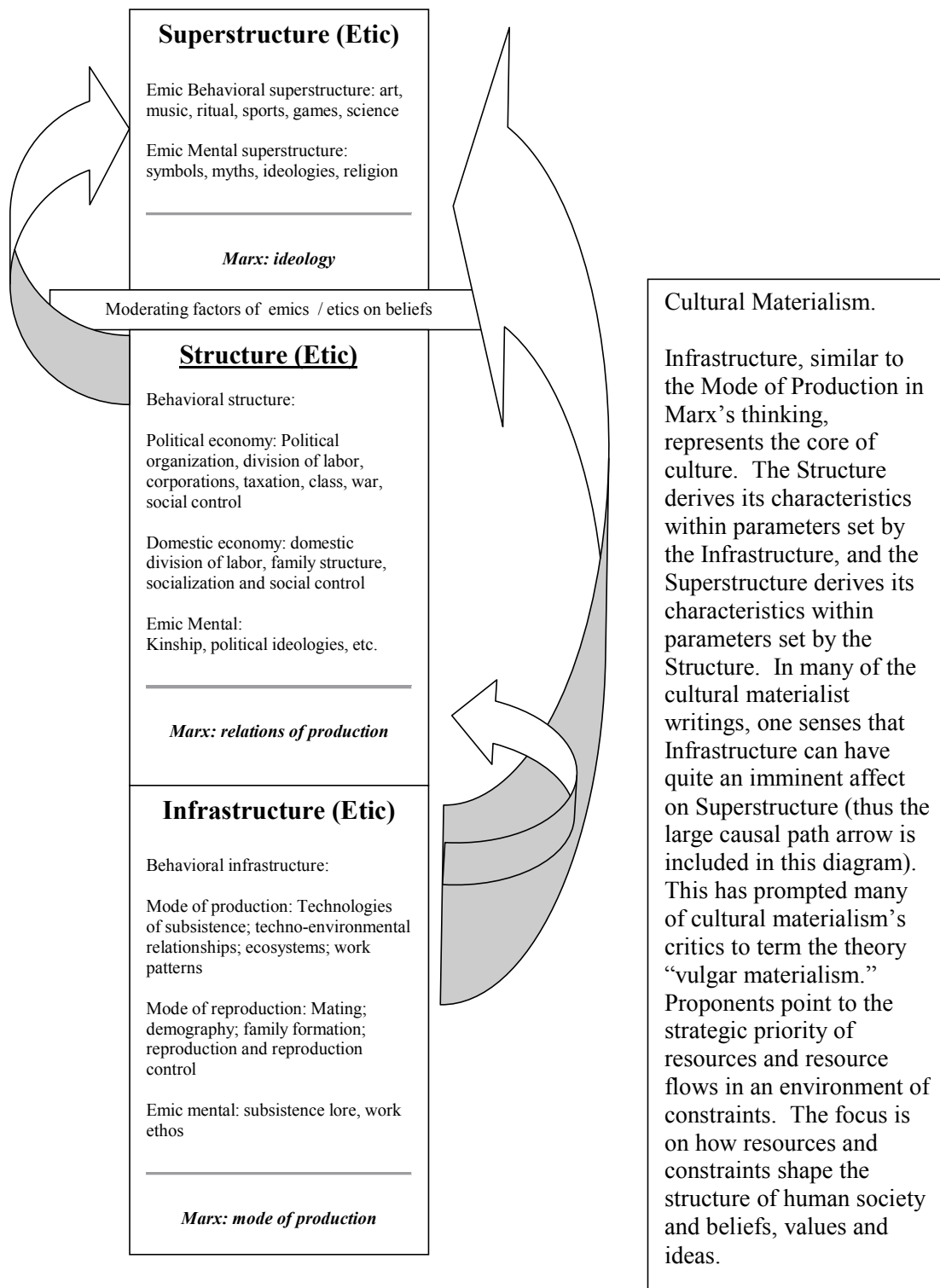


Figure 1: The Cultural Materialist Model of Culture.

Emics and Etics

	Emic	Etic
Behavioral	I	II
Mental	III	IV

I Emic/Behavioral: “No calves are starved to death.”

II Etic/Behavioral: “Male calves are starved to death.”

III Emic/Mental: “All calves have a right to life.”

IV Etic/Mental: “Let the male calves starve to death when feed is scarce.”

From Marvin Harris, *Cultural materialism: the struggle for a science of culture*, (1979), p. 38

Figure 2: Emics and Etics.

American society, is one such example. Cultural materialists study the prison system (Sharff, 1995), New York City's problems with homelessness and hunger (Dehavenon, 1995), among other phenomena. The theory is therefore useful for modern political and policy analysis. Specifically, Sharff examines the demographics of surplus or excess labor, the inability of the economy to accommodate the underclass, the profit motive of those who service the prison system and those who profit from prison labor in the analysis. Dehavenon focuses on the macro-level and micro-level causes of poverty and focuses on materialist-based policy as a means of dealing with the problem.

Murray, an anthropologist with international development experience, notes that a materialist development strategy should consider all three components of culture, but focus on the infrastructure. He observes that:

An infrastructural approach to project design is one which takes its lead from principles of infrastructural causality in human history. The materialist contention is that the determining locus of evolutionary action has been at the level of material infrastructure. If this is true, then the logical program design corollary is that program designers should earmark and target project resources first and foremost toward modifications in local infrastructural alternative, and only secondarily toward modifications of local idea sets or group structures. Such idea sets and group structures will, of course, be taken into account and included in any equation. But the bulk of resources will not be expended on these domains but place in reserve and targeted to covering expenses necessary to bring about genuine changes in the local material base. Stated differently, these principles determine there should be consistency between causal theory, project planning, and project budget. If one's theory places primacy on changes in the material base, then one's budget should not be squandered on the preparation of slide shows or discussion groups (Murray, 1995, pp. 175-176).

Murray cites financial credit assistance programs as one example of targeting the material base (Murray, 1995, pp. 176-177); the use of strategic credit, funding and

organization of material resources would begin and continue throughout the course of a project using a materialist development strategy. Other cultural domains or components remain secondary.

Materialist strategies by their nature go against the grain of conservative thought. The infrastructural base may change in a society, opening the way for new thinking regarding the use and allocation of resources, thus setting the stage for struggle. The use of resources and finances may be recommended for different purposes (sometimes meaning they may be allocated to different actors). Kearney (1984, pp. 17-23) suggests that idealist thinking has its roots in the division of labor that is at the base of hegemony. While conservatives may indeed use materialist thinking in promoting their class interests the use of material resources—and discussion over how material resources should be used—is counter to seeking ideas and solutions that lie within the idealist mode of causality. Likewise Harris (1979, p. 158) claims that materialism stands against idealism in that idealism presents a way for the ruling class to obscure and confuse the real nature of material relationships. This allows for control in society as blame for poverty is shifted to those who are impoverished rather than making a clear theoretical case based on infrastructural and structural factors within the societal system. Thus, explanations of war, poverty, and other social ills are quite different in the materialist model.

In summary, materialism is based on a framework that examines human behavior in the contexts of an environment of resources, constraints within that environment, and basic human behavioral psychology. There is generally agreement that the infrastructure

(also termed forces of production, mode of production, base, or “culture core”) affects the structure of political organization. In classical Marxist thought these are analyzed inseparably; in cultural ecology and cultural materialism the structure is affected by the infrastructure. Whatever the materialist theory, superstructure or ideology is always set apart and affected by the two other more fundamental components of culture. Its role is minimized both in terms of causality and in terms of ultimate understanding of cultural realities. The role of the superstructure is most always moderated in materialist thinking, therefore, by some interpretation of consciousness. Consciousness lies beyond the realm of some of the real workings of the cultural system (false consciousness in the Marxian system), or subjugated to the researcher’s analysis over the beliefs of the native (the etic/emic distinction in cultural materialism). Thought and ideas may be important, but only in a tertiary sense and if the variables within the infrastructure are such that the outcome is indeterminate. Workers may indeed unite. That being said, in most cases that which appears to be influenced by values, beliefs or ideology can usually be traced back to a variable (or more commonly several variables) in the infrastructure. Materialist thinking is frequently held to be non-conservative, although conservative groups may actually use materialist thinking to their advantage while espousing idealist notions of causality or motivation. Materialism also has important implications for understanding the objects of policy interest, formulating public policy, and evaluating policy.

Markers and levers

Materialist thought also sees power relations among and between groups as corresponding with the development of images and ideas about group or sub-group

characteristics. From a materialist perspective conflict, social control, and control over resources (actual or potential) entails the establishment of distinguishing characteristics among and between social groups. These “markers” emerge given changes such as population inflow and other events that affect the access to resources. Examples of marking are replete in social history. The influx of various immigrant groups, from another nation or within a nation, have elicited violence, protest, or various forms of disregard for the respective ethnic groups, whether they be blacks, Irish, Hispanics, or other minority group.

Marking may also enhance an already existing designation as well. In Kansas City, blacks and whites were not segregated in 1880. The influx of blacks from the south to northern cities changed the demographics and social dynamic of race relations. Competition over housing and employment increased. Some cities, such as Chicago, experienced more than a fivefold increase in black residents from 1910 to 1930 (Gotham, 2002, p. 34). This inflow affected Kansas City as well. Gotham (2002, p. 34) states that “[t]hese striking increases in the black population of Kansas City and other cities established the basis for the formation of an exclusionary real estate ideology that associated the presence of Blacks with declining property values and neighborhood instability.” Established or enhanced “markers” were codified into real estate practice, both public and private through such means as reports generated by Kansas City’s Board of Public Welfare in 1912 and 1913 (Gotham, 2000a, pp. 621-622), federal housing guidelines, local land-use regulations, and private practice. These designations of minority groups were the basis of “levers,” or public and private policy initiatives

regarding land-use and residential patterns. While many studies of social conflict disavow a material basis of conflict, the materialist starts first by asking about and investigating what role the access to resources plays in the dynamic between the designated social groups and among social alliances.

Eclecticism

There are two types of alternatives to materialism—those that are based on idealism, and those that incorporate both materialism and idealism into a single framework (eclecticism). Eclecticism characterizes a majority of the approaches in sociology and anthropology. Eclecticism may be rather formalized, describing how materialist and idealist forces function on various operators or within cultural components, or quite informal.

One example of a formal model that is explicitly eclectic regarding idealism and materialism is institutional or evolutionary economics (Figure 3). Veblen viewed economies as being characterized by “strong dynamic forces in which technological innovation was constantly reshaping social institutions while being resisted by them, and in which the ultimate outcome was by no means predictable” (Street, 1988, p. 447). In this dialectic of forces that favor and inhibit change, outcomes were indeterminate because technological innovation could clash with the interests of those of a position to gain, or lose, from the innovation. Ayres further developed the ceremonial-technology dichotomy to describe the obstacles ceremonialism places on technological innovation and economic development. In the preface to his 1962 book *The Theory of Economic Progress* he examines how institutions—tangible institutions known of as

“organizations,” as well as beliefs, mores, customs, values and ideology—pose an obstacle for the acceptance and practice of technological innovation, which he defines as the interplay of technological know-how and physical technology. How technology proceeds to develop depends upon a number of factors of institutional change (Ayres, 1987, pp. 45-53). For Ayres, institutions are both mental (or psychological institutions entailing beliefs and values) and political-economic organizations—“all the institutions based on legend, inherited beliefs, mores status and the hierarchical ordering of society” (Gruchy, 1972, p. 95).

Critiques of materialism: Debates over categorizations and classifications

Several critiques of materialism (here the main discussion regards cultural materialism) focus on the placement or misplacement of one cultural attribute or another within the tripartite division. These include Harris’s classification of technology in the infrastructure and then classifying science, which in many cases relates to technology development, in the emic superstructure (Weston, 1984, p. 640). Other examples are the classification of kinship in the structure under the domestic economy, while in fact kinship may take a number of different forms and functions within a culture or cultures. Kinship may be a labor resource unit within some cultures, for example, placing it within the forces of production and infrastructure, or as Godelier (1978, p. 776) points out, kinship may have a primary place in the superstructure and simultaneously the relations of production in some cultures. A close examination by some ethnographers leads them to claim, similar to Godlier, that the proper focus is not on *institutions* but *functions* of those institutions (Godelier 1978, p. 765; Berger, 1976, p. 291; Weston, 1984, p. 640).

Therefore “[t]he distinction between infrastructure and superstructure is not a distinction between institutions, but a *distinction between different functions within a single institution*” (italics in original) (Godelier, 1978, p. 764). Godelier claims that the observable element within a culture, such as kinship, may, as an empirically observable element, actually conceal and contradict the actual and real workings related to that element (Berger, 1976, p. 291). In other words, one can observe, but one has to go further to understand, recognizing the nature of contradictions, meanings and functions within cultures. Further, the nature of a function may depend upon the type of society. Religious and social units may assume multiple functions in pre-capitalist societies, with these elements hold greater influence and indeed commingled with subsistence and production activities, vis-à-vis their function in capitalist societies (Friedman, 1974). Such critics would make a distinction between the type of society—pre-capitalist or capitalist—and the relationship between institutions and function. However Weston (1984, p. 640) claims that institution and function may not be clearly distinguished in capitalist societies as well. He cites, for example, a mill worker producing clothing items whose demand is derived from trends in fashion and design, with demand for various clothing items deriving both from the need for garments (produced by the infrastructure) as well as the interest in fashion (located within the superstructure).

Another common critique relates to the psychology of Harris’s materialism. Harris’s human psychology is behaviorist, yet parsimonious, allowing for a breath of theorizing (Harris, 1979, pp. 62-63). There is the claim that it is misguided. One of the main concerns is over the distinction of the emic mental versus the emic behavioral. If

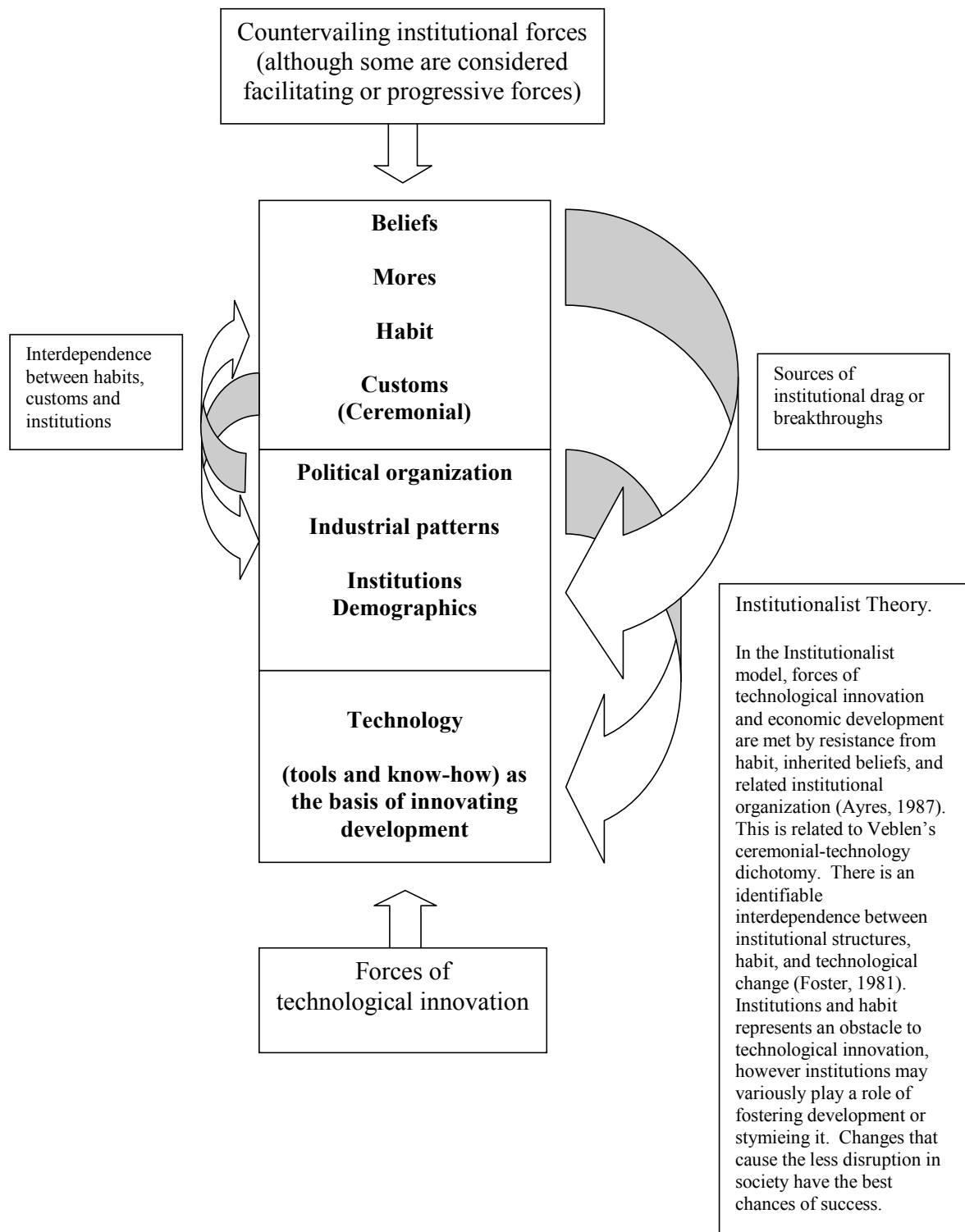


Figure 3: An Institutional Perspective of Cultural and Economic Development.

emic mental thinking is what the native member of a culture thinks, how is that different than the emic behavioral category, which also entails thought, presumably emic thought? In this view, emic mental and emic behavioral categories are the same thing, described differently (Adams, 1981; Weston, 1984). Adams (1981, p. 604) notes that “[m]ental activity is certainly behavior, and it is inconceivable that there is any so-called behavior that does not have mental concomitants.” Secondly, there is a perceived contradiction in cultural materialism regarding thought and consciousness. If thought is in many ways adaptive, such as the potlatch for redistributing goods for better functioning within a society (c.f. Harris, 1974, pp. 94-113), how is it that thought and consciousness are also confounded in the workings of a culture or society? Weston (1984, p. 643) notes that in pre-modern societies Harris attributes adaptive qualities to thought, while in stratified societies he sees the mystification of thought as a mechanism for social control. Harris’s scheme of thought in culture also negates the obvious role of ideas and education in the conduct of social affairs and social life (Weston, 1984, p. 642). This also relates to the problems of agency, i.e. how or whether human actions can affect a difference, as in population ecology theory in organizational studies.

Notwithstanding the assignment of various cultural attributes to the divisions of the tripartite model, there is the question of transmission of effects, i.e. the issue of linkages between infrastructure, structure and superstructure. Weston (1984) develops this critique, questioning the nature of the transmission between the designations within the tripartite cultural model. Weston (1984, p. 640) claims that

If one attaches a high estimate (.8) to the causal probability of each link in the chain from infrastructure to structure to etic superstructure to emic superstructure, then the actual variance accounted for is $[(.8)^4]$ or .41.This figure is itself bloated...”infrastructure” is not a single variable but a combination of many variables with numerous causal links. At best, one could hope for a probability of around .2.

Adams also critiques cultural materialism for its lack of attention to energy and energy capture as related to infrastructure. All in all, the culture that more effectively captures energy from the environment will be the most successful culture given, of course, that the energy capture is sustainable. This perspective also is important for the study of social evolution and the role of energy flow and capture regulation, mechanisms and system functioning (Adams, 1981, p. 607). Critics also note that while cultural materialists allow for the causal role of structure and superstructure, one is hard pressed to identify in their work examples of the roles these play in causation (Adams, 1981, p. 604).

The argument for materialism

Overall, the above critiques do not detract from the usefulness of materialism. Materialists, in fact, make some of these critiques. The question of institution versus function is an important one. It is important especially in pre-capitalist societies, but in capitalist societies as well. This calls for further investigation into the nature and role of a cultural element and how that element functions. Further, neo-Marxist thinking is useful in its analysis that combines the study of the infrastructure with simultaneous study of the structure.

While many criticize Harris’s psychology, Harris does have his proponents. Lloyd (1985, p. 281) states that:

Behavioral analysts sound be reading Harris. He is a friend....Both Harris and Skinner offer explanations of non-laboratory behavior that include a suggested history of behavior-environment interactions and a system of principles describing how behavior is affected by classes of environmental events....Harris is interested in behavior that becomes characteristic of a social group. Having identified such behavior, he then attempts an analysis in terms of benefits and costs, much as Skinner does with reinforcers and punishers. This seems a compatible division of labor between the social and behavioral sciences.

Skinner's behavioralism is a minority position within psychology, especially modern psychology, much as Harris's occupies a minority position in anthropology (Harris, 1984; Lloyd, 1981, Weston, 1984). Harris, however, does give more attention to the psychology of behavior than many other anthropologists (Lloyd, 1981, p. 281). The kernel of his work is that given an environment of constraints and means of interacting with that environment, behavioral analysis is integral to the analysis of social behavior.

As for the emic mental versus emic behavioral distinction within Harris's work, it can be understood that Harris's distinction derives from his study of culture and fieldwork. Harris makes no attempt to defend, nor feels obligated to develop a defense, for the knowledge of the native. Some natives will naturally be more informed or reflective than others. However ideas of the sacredness of all bovine life may indeed not coincide with expected sex ratios of surviving calves, and most ethnographers would not be surprised to encounter this event at times. Likewise, interviews with households regarding their consumption patterns will not coincide with what is found in their refuse. As for the actual beliefs, there may be variation within a society or subgroups, but there seems to be no reason what categorically the emic mental and emic behavioral need to be considered identical. One addresses the native's mental model; the other with the

attempt to enact that model through behavior, either consciously or subconsciously, with day-to-day life events and activities. Again, this is consistent with the materialist's priority with collecting observations versus collecting information related to opinion or beliefs or values. Much the same can be claimed for false consciousness. Workers develop knowledge regarding their position in the economy, but this is in an atmosphere of competing ideas, some which receive more institutional support than others. Neo-Marxists would likely argue that there are varying levels of awareness and knowledge among workers, as well. Harris (1979, pp. 59-60) directly addresses this critique. He notes that:

The intuition that thought determines behavior arises from the limited temporal and cultural perspective of ordinary experience. Conscious thoughts in the form of plans and itineraries certainly help individuals and groups to find a path through the daily complexities of social life. But these plans and itineraries merely chart the selection of preexisting behavioral 'mazeways'...The issue of behavioral versus mental determinism is not a matter of whether the mind guides action, but whether the mind determines the selection of the inventory of culturally actionable thoughts....Thus human intuition concerning the priority of thought over behavior is worth just about as much as our human intuition that the earth is flat. To insist on the priority of mind in culture is to align one's understanding of sociocultural phenomena with the anthropological equivalent of pre-Darwinian biology or pre-Newtonian physics.

Another critique is how infrastructural effects can be transmitted to the structure and superstructure. How this may occur has already been suggested by some of the critiques themselves, namely that in addition to institutions, one must consider functions. In this scenario, many constraints and parameters established by the infrastructure are so prominent that the structure may act as a conduit to shaping superstructure instead of elaborate transmissions taking place at every point. This approach both allows for

research priority to be placed on the infrastructure, however allows that the infrastructure will affect some aspects of the superstructure but not all aspects. Again the infrastructure provides constraints and conditions that allow for degrees of variation in the structure, which in turn allows for degrees of variations in the superstructure. The superstructure will usually not be misaligned with the infrastructure. Examples of this are found in Harris's accounts of superstructural characteristics that derive ultimately from the infrastructure in such works as *Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches: The Riddles of Culture* (1974). This departs solely from a model where A (infrastructure) has strong causal effects on B (structure) and B has strong causal effects on C (superstructure). In the neo-Marxist model, A and B might be analyzed together, as AB. AB might affect C. Or the variables in A might be aligned so directly as to cause a quasi-direct affect on C. If the variables in A are important to the physiological existence of humans and human society, then one might very well suppose that the variable in A will have a strong pathway to other components within the cultural system. While one could always cite counter examples, either among groups or political units such as governments, the arrangement of resources to meet human needs in housing, food and physiological needs is usually unlikely to be stymied by thoughts or ideas. Quite the contrary will occur.

This observation has theoretical corroboration in the work of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. In the hierarchy of human needs, physiological needs are primary to all other needs. If these basic needs are not met, they become the focus of attention for survival. In a condition of famine, "[u]topia can be defined very simply as a place where there is plenty of food" (Maslow, 1997 [1943], p. 116). As needs are met at the basic level,

consideration of safety enters the consciousness, followed in an accumulative way for the need of love and belonging, esteem, and self actualization (Maslow, 1997 [1943]). It is not difficult to see this dynamic as it relates to individuals, and since individuals do not exist in isolation, these needs can—indeed must—be extrapolated to social groups and cultures. Food production and distribution systems; police, safety and defense agencies; family, social and political organizations; acknowledgments and rewards; and participation in art and cultural events represent the institutional systems a society constructs which are necessary for individuals to realize these needs. Interestingly enough, this hierarchy matches the hierarchy of causality articulated by materialists. Harris (1979, pp. 52-53) includes “technology of subsistence,” “techno-environmental relationships,” “ecosystems” and “work patterns” in the mode of production. He also includes the “mode of reproduction,” or physiological reproduction in the infrastructure. In the structure, he includes “political economy” which consists of political groups, socialization, “class, caste, urban, [and] rural hierarchies,” police and military organizations and war. In structure he also includes what he terms the “domestic economy,” which consists of family structures, division of labor and socialization. In the behavioral superstructure he includes “art, music, dance, literature, advertising” and “sports, games, [and] hobbies.” Maslow’s hierarchy of needs matches quite well with Harris’s hierarchy of causality, from the infrastructure, through structure, to the activities of the behavioral superstructure where “a musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy” (Maslow, 1997 [1943], p. 120). While Harris does not cite Maslow, it is no mistake that a hierarchy of needs would lead

to a hierarchy of human activity and human priority, similarly corresponding to cultural materialism's hierarchy of causality. What Harris describes in terms of social structure, Maslow describes in terms of human biological and psychological needs, and both describe in terms of behavior. This point can become lost in wealthy industrial societies. If this point is confusing as it relates to wealthy industrial societies or among the wealthier segments of less developed economies, one only need to interfere with the physiological needs to see what priority will reassert itself and be raised above the others. It will be what Harris calls infrastructure (Figure 4).

Further corroboration of the human priorities in the context of constraints is found in Leavitt's (2001) study of sixty societies randomly drawn from the Human Area Files Quality Control Sample Universe. In this study, Leavitt measures of cultural evolution in technology, social structure and ideology. Variables for technology include subsistence technology, the development of military weaponry and military energy, transportation, and communication technology. Social structure variables include social stratification, division of labor, political differentiation (type of chiefdom or state) and settlement size. Ideological variables include thirty-five variables in the areas of economic ideology (e.g. property rights, inheritance, subsistence ideology), sexual relations ideology, postpartum beliefs and a variety of religious beliefs. Spearman's ρ rank correlation coefficient was applied. Leavitt claims that the role of technology in social evolution is the clearest, supporting "the centrality of the technological system while also showing the importance of the other subsystems in

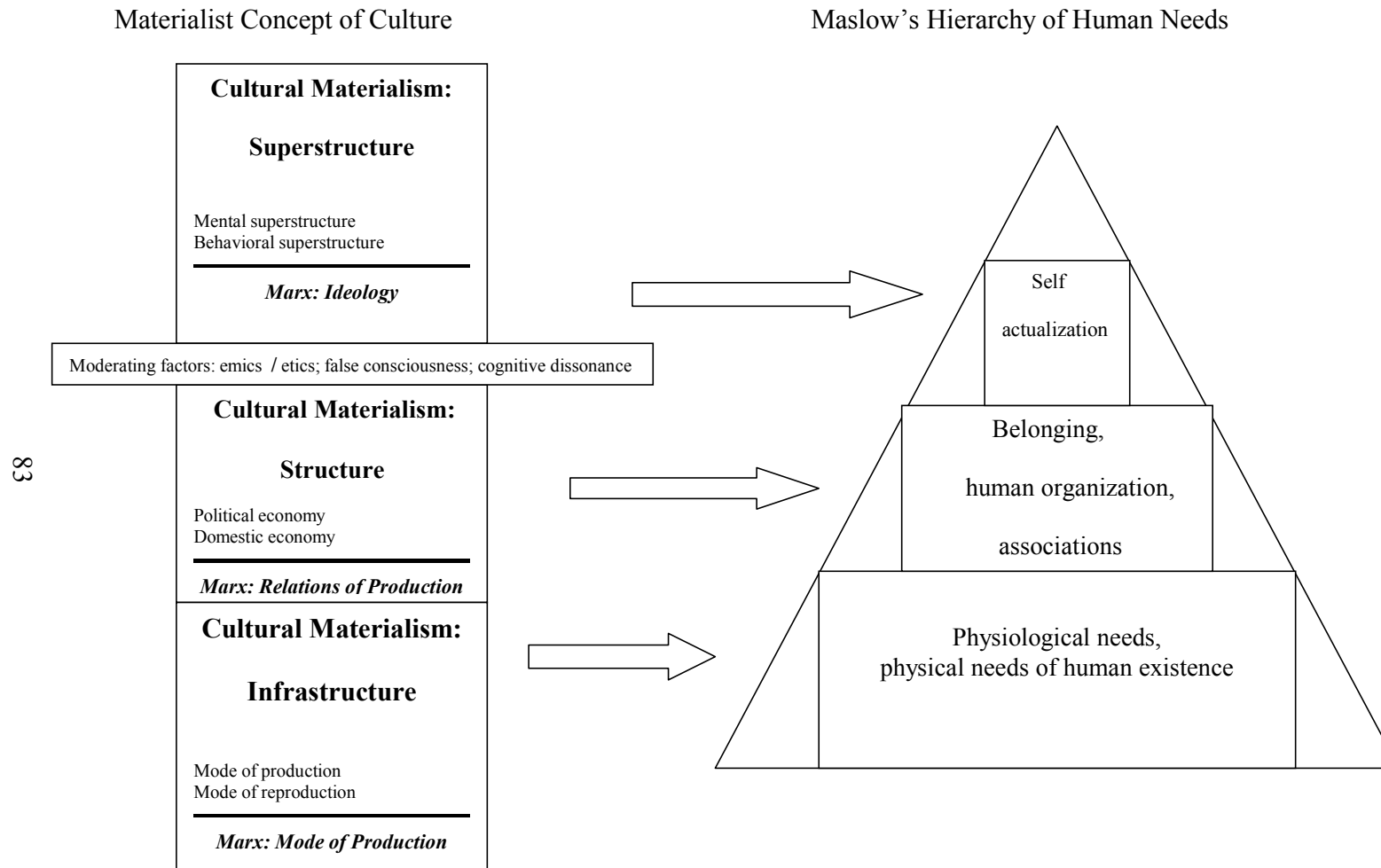


Figure 4. The Dual Hierarchies of Materialism and Maslow.

understanding social evolution” (Leavitt, 2001, p. 546). There are evolutionary relationships such as simpler societies seeing the divine close at hand, whereas less simple or stratified societies seek the divine at a distance (e.g. a “heaven or other distant locality). Such results suggest a co-evolution of the elements of culture, with the interface of culture and nature as important.

Research that also corroborates the difficulty of placing too much emphasis on the socio-mental aspects of culture is found in Jackman and Miller (1996). Jackman and Miller assess Putnam’s *Making Democracy Work* (1993), that examines the relationships between socio-mental or idealational aspects of culture and political institutional performance in Italy, and Inglehart’s *Culture Shift* (1990), that examines the relationship between political culture and economic performance and democracy on a cross-national basis. Jackman and Miller find Putnam’s analysis to fail in making a case for the linkage between culture and institutional performance on the basis of study design and statistical analysis. The results reported by Inglehart, they contend, themselves do not provide evidence of a strong cultural effect on performance and democracy. Further, they contend that the existence of long-trend clusters of attitudinal and cultural norms necessary to produce such effects are not substantiated. Consequently, Jackman and Miller are among some researchers who question the Weberian assumptions of the political culture renaissance approach.

Eight points regarding the resistance to materialism

(1.) Idealism has been the usual and customary means of describing events, actions and change in society. Idealism was bolstered by the Church and supported by the

aristocracy. It was not only the cornerstone of the upper class in explaining the political and economic order, but supported by society in general.

(2.) It is relatively easy to “tell a story”—and understand a story—based on ideas and not track the material and resource basis of human action. The former requires a study of thoughts, with some material considerations, while the latter requires a more in-depth study of data, tracking flows, resources and other more complicated analysis.

(3.) Idealists, even though they may act and have materialist motive, frequently use idealism to explain social phenomenon, right and wrong, just wars, etc.

(4.) Materialism minimizes human action and agency as opposed to elevating it. In this respect, one of the critiques of materialism is similar to that of population ecology where ecology, not human effort, shapes the population of organizations. Politics is also seen as an avocation of everyman instead of involving more complex arguments based on a materialist understanding of society. Democracy often highlights the competition of ideas, even though these are about material aspects of society. Materialism as it is used in political understanding, however, requires a more esoteric approach to achieve an understanding of social phenomena.

(5.) Materialism is linked heavily to Marxist thought, which is a lightning rod of political thinking in much of the West. Concepts such as material and system constraints, central to materialist theories, are frequently viewed as leftist. Douglas Ensminger, Director of the Ford Foundation in Nepal, India and Pakistan from 1951 to 1970, recounts when he started to discuss system constraints in development, receiving the comment “Doug, are you a Communist?” (personal communication, Douglas Ensminger, 1987).

(6.) In general, where resources go causes controversy. This is a point made by Kearney and Harris. Materialism focuses on resource flows and how those flows are directed.

(7.) Materialism was initially explored within the realm of philosophy, not economics or ecology. Feurbach, a philosopher, inspired Marx's use of materialism and Marx himself was considered a philosopher. Later, concepts such as cultural ecology, resource flows, financial mechanisms and energy flows were incorporated into the social sciences.

Materialism matured from a philosophy to a resource or economic analysis, with Feuerbach and especially Marx doing much to bridge the gap.

(8.) The development of learning and research in societies favored idealism, versus understandings based upon materialism due to the more technical nature of explanation from the materialist perspective. These include both intra-societal phenomena such as resource flows, financial mechanisms and energy flows mentioned above in addition to cross-cultural studies. The materialist method, as a method of inquiry, developed relatively late in social and political thinking, and certainly the materialist methods did.

Axis III: Abstract Individuals and Societal Individuals in Social Analysis

Abstract individuals

Various anthropologies in religion and the social sciences have examined the place of the individual from different perspectives. From one perspective, individuals are perceived as social entities that have common characteristics and qualities. Each individual is in some manner held as representing the aggregate of individuals in preferences, rights and natural characteristics. From Feuerbach, the materialist philosopher, we see the perspective that:

[m]an as an individual is man in general; i.e., every individual recognizes in himself other men, and *all* other men, simply in knowing himself as man. For in my awareness of myself, as man, I know myself both as *this* individual, and as man in general. Insofar, then, as I know myself, and posit myself, I know and posit the other, or mankind in general, as well. And thereby I cease to be merely an individual (*italics in original*) (Feuerbach in Wartofsky, 1977, p. 33).

Conservative religion also holds to a metaphysical perspective of the individual. In a polemic against liberation theologians who emphasize class and power relationships in their concept of the social individual, one critic writes:

Liberation theology's claim of concreteness is based on the fact that it devalues universal, man-as-man, categories, going straight to the subject of nations, classes, and social forces in contemporary history. The fact is that, as it does so, it becomes less concrete and more abstract....one can also speak of man as man, in universal terms, and still be more concrete and real than the liberation theologians. One purpose, at least, of speaking of man in universal terms, in terms of his loves, his passions, his sexuality, and his fears is that one can thereby speak of *each* human being as well as *all* human beings (*italics in original*) (Conyers, 1983, pp. 306-307).

There are two notable observations here. One is that a materialist may surely adhere to the concept of the abstract individual, as in the case of Feuerbach. Secondly, one may see that those speaking from a religious perspective may adhere to either the concept of the abstract individual or the social individual. While the concept of the abstract, universal individual is more closely associated with rationalism—and rightly so—it may not have a strict correspondence with that axis in a given perspective of culture. In other words, the cultural model outlined here allows for some eclecticism and hybridization of the axes.

The theory of the individual has important implications for politics and policy. Skidmore (1993) holds that perspectives on the individual have significant import for the

conceptualization of legal individual rights, versus community rights and community good. As an example, he claims that “Liberalism, populism, participatory democracy, democratic feminism, all place the importance of the individual before that of the community. They assume, in other words, that the community is nothing more than the aggregate of the individuals that comprise it” (Skidmore, 1993, pp. 53-54). Such a notion has implication for economic thinking as well. Neoclassical economics, for example, posits individuals as economic actors that similarly react or interrelate with their environments so that they maximize their utilities, minimize pain or costs, have some commonalities in the parameters that shape their utilities, resulting in a “representative consumer” as a unit of analysis (Keen, 2001, pp. 24-26, 40-47).

Societal individuals

In contrast to this theory of the individual is the theory of the individual as he or she is in the context of society. In a clear rejection of the universalist individual, Marx and Engels (1986 [1845], p. 122) claim “Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the *human* essence. But the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.” Marx and Engels (1966 [1846], p. 80) further claim that these philosophers

transform the relations of these particular individuals into ‘*human*’ relations; they interpret the thought of these particular individuals concerning their own relations as thoughts about ‘*mankind*.’ In so doing, they have abandoned the realm of real history for the realm of ideology, and since they are ignorant of the real connection, they can now fabricate some fantastic relationship with the help of the ‘absolute’ or some other ideological method. (italics in original).

An historical-based theory of the individual would strip social sciences of such concepts, showing that “Malinowski’s basic self-aggrandizing man, the universal maximizer of neoclassical economic theory, Ardrey’s aggressor, and McClelland’s universal n-achievement motivation are all...illusions” (O’Laughlin, 1975, p. 347). Some Marxist scholars see a dialectic between society and the individual, with social and individual psychological dimensions also having a dialectic of their own. Still in this understanding, the individual cannot be understood apart from the societal context (Leacock, 1985, p. 79). This is consistent with Marx’s view of what he terms “real individuals” who are individuals who are actors within their social environment, but actors who are agents of human activity. As such they hold an elevated status in Marx’s political and economic theory, providing a starting point for analysis, contrary to the concepts of Marxism that see it starting first with the analysis of class (Schaff, 1970, pp. 49-54).

Cultural ecologists also held a view of the individual, with individuals defined by their environment vis-à-vis what would be considered inherent or innate characteristics within them. Leslie White (1949, p. 184) states “[t]he individual mind is a function of the cultural system that embraces it. What it does, what it believes, thinks and feels, are determined not by the individual but by the circumambient culture.” White took what would appear to be an integral part of a mind—genius—and pointed out that before genius could be identified, observed, studied or discussed, the society of a genius had to have defined problems or puzzles and accepted unique solutions as the answers to those problems in order for the genius to exist. Simpler prehistoric societies must have had

persons of similar natural abilities as great thinkers and inventors of today. Cultural evolution allowed for a different definition and recognition of genius, however (White, 1949, pp. 197-209). Indeed, when the time is right given a level of technology and perceived need, several individuals can make similar or same discoveries almost simultaneously (Harris, 1979, p. 59; White, 1949, pp. 209-210).

Marvin Harris (1999, pp. 49-54) identifies two types of individualism. What is termed here to be “abstract individualism” Harris calls, stressing the method of analysis of the theory, “methodological individualism.” Harris’s methodological individualism begins and continues with analysis based on the role of individuals and how individuals’ actions shape reality. Harris identifies Karl Popper, Friedrich Hayek, Adam Smith and other classical economists as practitioners of methodological individualism (Harris, 1999, p. 50). “Methodological holism” is Harris’s term for analysis that considers the context of the individual or individuals as well. Harris identifies this perspective with the work of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, August Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Thomas Hobbs and Leslie White (Harris, 1999, p. 49). Interestingly enough, this list includes philosophical rationalists as well as skeptics. Also of interest is that Harris is not arguing for a social individual versus an abstract individual, but for *holism*. This is also consistent with the observations made here previously, that there are human psychological and organizational universals (which is not denied), and these universals dialectically interrelate with social and natural environments. This is stated in a section title in Harris’s (1999) chapter entitled “The Nature of Cultural Things” by the chapter’s subheading “Holism and Individualism Need Each Other.” Harris argues for

organizational memory and continuity in systems through organizations that continually renew themselves, stressing consistency and continuity in organizations (Harris, 1999, p. 55). Similarly, Raymond Williams (1961, p. 99) discusses continuity over the lifetime of organizations and organizational memory, but instead stresses the creative role of the individual in the context of the organizational life and history. The perspective utilized here is consistent with Harris's methodological holism and Leslie White's perspective, acknowledging the need for recognizing both universals and social context, but examining the individual firmly within a context that plays hosts to the individual.

Abstract individuals, societal individuals and policy

The theory of the individual is constantly in the forefront of political discourse in discussions of social problems, social remedies, and policies needed to address these problems and affect remedies. Theories of the individual and individual behavior affect policy development. The question, as one psychologist puts it, is:

From the viewpoint of the individual, do behavioral generalizations imply that the individual is ultimately responsible for his or her own behavior, or is the individual simply acting out of behavior generated from socio-environmental or genetic-biological influences?...If members of society accept behavioral generalizations that emphasize the importance of one of the three facets of the determinants of behavior [self free will, socio-environmental, or genetic-biological], a particular behavioral generalization emerges that can be quite powerful in its impact on society and public policy (Evans, 1995, p. 118).

Perspectives on the individual can affect policy development in a number of ways. What Schneider and Ingman (1990, p. 527) term authority tools (e.g. sanctions and the like) hold individuals to be responsive to hierarchies; policy tools that feature incentives see individuals as maximizing their economic utility; tools that seek to enhance the

resource and information available to individuals hold individuals to be short on resources or skills; tools that stress honor and symbolism as rewards hold individuals to seek gratification from recognition; tools that stress education assume that individuals do not know what courses of action to take. Therefore, “[p]ublic policies can be described in terms of their underlying behavioral assumptions, and variables can be created indicating the extent to which the policies rest upon different assumptions” (Schneider & Ingram, 1990, p. 527).

The nature of the individual is strongly debated in education and corrections policy. While various researchers have attributed differences to genetics or biology, Lewontin, Rose and Kamin (1984), respectively two biologists and a psychologist, question this and the associated perspective of the individual. The purported nature of the individual regarding intelligence (e.g. as measured by intelligence quotient (IQ), especially among specific groups of individuals, such as ethnic groups) is postulated, they say, in an attempt to justify variations in wealth and access to resources. Likewise the physiological nature of brain disorders in educational and prison settings often separates the individual as representing sets of isolated cases with inherent individual characteristics, versus further pursuing answers in the social and environmental settings of those individuals. They hold much of the associations on both accounts to be environmental or environmentally developed as opposed to inherent in the nature of each individual. Positions that seek to separate individuals from their societal context are, in their view, old-fashioned biological determinism that explains variations in wealth as inevitably “natural,” not socially derived.

Various concepts of the individual are also embodied within ideologies and associated political systems. Skidmore identifies theories of the individual within conservatism, liberalism, democratic capitalism, democratic socialism, communism, and fascism, among others. Skidmore notes that conservatism tends to see society as being something beyond the individuals that constitute it. Conservatives emphasize the role and importance of community whereas liberalism stresses the existence and rights of individuals vis-à-vis any rights a community might have. Conservatives do not see a chance for the betterment of the human condition in terms of greed and the desire to dominate others, while liberals are optimistic. Conservatives and adherents of liberal democracy, however, both hold private property rights as essential to society (Skidmore, 1993, pp. 52, 54).

Democratic capitalism is heavily centered on the role of and rights of the individual, similar to liberalism. Adherents of democratic capitalism seek actions toward community good, however this is achieved through the actions of individuals, whether working alone or in tandem with other individuals (Skidmore, 1993, p. 76). Kearney (1984, pp. 76-77) critiques democratic capitalism, stating that it reflects a false analogy with the natural world, where individuals would otherwise struggle against each other to survive, but where human society has formed a contract system whereby social relationships are moderated and institutionalized. Kearney (1984, p. 76) states that

The idea of social contract could only have been conceived in a market economy. This attitude is a basis of bourgeois political theory in which 'democratic' decisions are arrived at by peacefully agreeing to weigh political forces by election. And until very recently in the bourgeois 'democracies' of England, Europe, and the Americas, the right to vote was limited to male property owners; working people and women gained the franchise only by long political struggle.

Kearney (1984, pp. 76-77) notes even given these rights, “individualism among the propertied classes was re-enforced by the struggle for private profit, among the propertyless it was re-enforced by having to enter the labor market as a lone person,” with the majority in capitalism having to sell their only resource—their labor—to the propertied class. Kearney therefore sees the perspective of individualism in this political system as a means of alienation in an environment of market exchange.

Democratic socialism is concerned with both the individual and the common good, although it stresses the latter. The individual good, it is held, can only be truly and consistently realized if the community good is sound (Skidmore, 1993, pp. 95-96). Democratic socialism therefore shares relatively little with the perspectives of liberalism, conservatism and democratic capitalism.

Communism and fascism, representing respectively the left and right of political ideologies, stress the role and importance of the state, with individuals only gaining good by their support of the state and community. Particularly communism espouses the importance of the duties of its adherents and the absence of private property (Skidmore, 1993, pp. 124, 186).

The theory of the individual is important for both considering the nature of the individual in society and the relationship the individual has within the political system. Policies such as expansion of public benefits during times of urban unrest (cf. Florida & Jonas, 1991, pp. 367-368), welfare reform (cf. Hudson & Coukos, 2005), economic policies and corrections or penal policies hold varying concepts of individuals. Many policies may consider a specific group, however the unit of analysis and policy

application is with the individual; other policy perspectives, on the contrary, place more emphasis on the individual's environment.

Axis IV: Models of Cultural Change

Models of social, economic and political change include equilibrium, the modification of equilibrium as "punctuated equilibrium," evolution, dialectics, and chaos theory. These also, to a lesser degree, are associated with orthodoxy versus heterodoxy, with the exception of chaos theory. Equilibrium and punctuated equilibrium tend toward orthodoxy, while dialectical and evolutionary theories tend toward heterodoxy.

Equilibrium

Equilibrium is most often associated with homeostatic states in science and equilibriums of supply and demand and other economic relationships. The concept in Western thought dates to Aristotle, with things seen to have essences and tending to gravitate toward their places of rest. In the cosmology of Aristotle, some things fall to the surface of the earth, while others such as flames and clouds move away from it. His answer is the things in the world constantly attempt to seek their proper resting places. Thus fire being the lightest element seeks the periphery of the sublunary sphere, and air and water seek their proper places in lower levels but above the surface of the earth (Kearney, 1984, pp. 126-127).

Equilibrium theory therefore tends toward orthodoxy, with the world gravitating toward "natural" states as proposed in science and economics. So (1990, p. 21) states

It has often been pointed out that Parsons's scheme has a conservative bias, because of the assumption that society is striving for harmony, stability, equilibrium, and the status quo. This conservative bias may be a result of the influence of the organism analogy on Parsons's thinking. As the left hand of

the human body will not fight with the right hand, so Parsons assumes that institutions will generally be in harmony, rather than in conflict, with one another. Furthermore, as a biological organism will not kill itself, so Parsons assumes that society will not destroy its existing institutions.

Huaco also makes this observation. Huaco states that the claim is made that “sociocultural systems are like biological systems precisely to the extent that both fit a single model, the homeostatic model. “ He further observes “[t]he organismic analogy is a prominent component of conservative ideology, and has been used for the defense and justification of wealth, power, status, and privilege over the past five thousand years” (Huaco, 1986, p. 40). This would likely make the organism-society analogy the earliest in the cross-borrowing of biological and socio-political metaphors.

Equilibrium is therefore a controversial concept. Equilibriums are also controversial in that while the ebbs and flows of a particular phenomenon may tend around a point, it may do so quite erratically with considerable variations and lack of clear pattern. An unstable system may not disintegrate but simply continue on. As one economist puts it “such a system can display complex cyclical behavior rather like that we see in real-world weather—and, more to the point, in real-world economics” (Keen, 2001, p. 181). Further Keen notes that if the equilibrium is inherently unstable, there may be no equilibrium as such in a model between a beginning and ending point: “Instead, even simple dynamic models—of both weather and economics—will display ‘far from equilibrium’ behavior...showing where the model will *never* be” (italics in original) (Keen, 2001, pp. 181-183). For this reason Parsons defined the concept in terms of theoretical rather than in empirical terms (Bailey, 1984, p. 7). The model may be quite useful in closed systems, however (Bailey, 1984). An example of this may be the effect

of equilibrium price of housing or real estate between buyers and sellers. To some degree, however, this may be interfered with by policy actions or other conditions exogenous to the market. In the latter case, the system may emulate an open system more than a relatively more closed system.

Punctuated equilibrium

The Marxist biologist Steven Jay Gould and his colleague Niles Eldridge developed the concept of punctuated equilibrium (Goertz, 2003, pp. 132-134; Lewontin & Levins, 2002). Punctuated equilibrium means that instead of a steady progression of evolution there are times when the course of development is “punctured” by evolutionary population and genetic events that sets the course of development on a qualitatively divergent course.

This concept may be more germane to evolution than equilibrium, but it is also used to describe related actions in short-term events in theories of social development. The economist Milton Friedman espoused a similar notion when he stated, “Only a crisis—actual or perceived—produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes the politically inevitable” (Friedman, 1982). The theory of “punctuated equilibrium” is also used to describe the actions of policymakers and congressional budgeting, where periods of gradual change and development (e.g. incrementalism) undergo rapid change and direction. Robinson and Carver (2006) apply this theory to study congressional reform and budgeting, and it has been applied to

bureaucracy and budgetary changes in educational systems (Robinson, 2004), among other political institutional changes.

Evolution

Evolution is perhaps the least controversial proposition in the modern era. Accepted by radicals and orthodox thinkers alike, supported by a long heritage of scientific study and inquiry, and widely used to study the life cycles of organizations, populations and societies, evolution is both a versatile and useful approach. Evolution is a hallmark of the scientific era. Practitioners of the theory have varied in how they utilize the concept. Social thinkers such as Henry Maine (*Ancient Law*, 1861) and Johann J. Bachofen (*Mother Right*, 1861) explored the evolution of social and political organization, family and jurisprudence. It is noted that none of these works were influenced nor needed influence from Darwin's *Origin of the Species* published in 1859 (Harris, 1968, pp. 143). Marx and Engels were influenced by the work of Henry Lewis Morgan's *Ancient Society*, published in 1877. The interest in evolution by social sciences continued, with more specific incorporation of Darwinian evolution. Evolution theory in biology and the social sciences co-developed, however. As Harris (1968, p. 142) notes, "[t]he burst of activity in 'cultural' anthropology after 1860 was not triggered by Darwin's book, but rather accompanied it, as a product of the same generative influences." In some cases, evolutionary concepts such as ecology, ecological niche, variation of type, struggle, selection of form and function, retention and efficiency in energy conversion were incorporated into sociological and cultural studies (McKelvey & Aldrich, 1983, pp. 114-115; Sahlins & Service, 1960).

One analytical drawback of evolution is that it is a long-term perspective, precluding analysis of some of the nuances of political, economic and social change. This is likely the reason for a paucity of studies of public policy from an evolutionary perspective (in terms of evolutionary theory as described above). It is nonetheless useful for understanding or fitting these types of change within an historical perspective. Another obstacle that evolutionary theory has in social science and organizational studies is that it is not embraced by a segment of practitioners. Many deride the theory because of the misuse of what they see as biological and genetic principles, misapplied to the study of social phenomena or organizations (cf. Donaldson, 1995; White, 1960). Nonetheless evolutionary theory still retains a place in social theory and historical studies.

Dialectics

One of the most controversial theories of change is dialectics. Adherents of the approach see it as essential in analyzing the nature of change while its opponents see it as highly metaphysical and obscurantist. Dialectics not only examines the elements of change and the change those elements undergo, but looks deeply into the underlying processes of that change. It is intensely interested in processes. As change occurs, there is inevitably contradiction, whereby something is in a given state at one time, but is in the process of becoming something else. This results in contradictions (what something is versus what it is becoming) and negation (what it is being replaced by what it is becoming) (Leacock, 1972, pp. 62-63). That something under study can be change in a regimen of accumulation, technologies, or any other social or political processes. Proponents claim that dialectics helps see where to look in the processes of change, to

study and understand the processes of change and associated contradiction and negation. Opponents see dialectics as a banal and obsolete practice, misleading the analysis, serving as a distraction from focusing on other methods, and an impediment to truly scientific thinking (cf. Popper, 1940).

Sociologist and organizational theorist J. Kenneth Benson (1977, p. 9) explains the difference between conventional analyses and the dialectical approach:

In a dialectical analysis the organization must be studied as a whole with multiple, interpenetrating levels and sectors. This means conceptualizing the organization as a concrete total phenomenon and attending to the intricate ways in which its components are tied together. The conventional, taken-for-granted distinctions should be rejected as the boundaries of inquiry. For example, abstracting a 'formal structure' from the flux of ongoing social life is an unacceptable move for the dialectician; for concrete social life consists of an intricate interplay between form and content, between structure and process, and the like. Similarly, abstracting a sphere of 'rational action' from the daily round of events is an equally serious error. Organizational phenomena must be understood as wholes in all of their interpenetrating complexity.

As an extension of the use of dialectics in organizational studies, the dialectical approach can also be used in the study of policy networks and policy stakeholders (e.g. Marsh & Smith, 2000).

Modern evolutionary thinkers frequently eschew any affinity with dialectics. For them, choosing a dialectical method is tantamount to choosing metaphysics over science, or using both methods is to produce a confusing admixture of the two. In reality, both can be recognized methods of inquiry, as they were by Marx and Engels. Evolution is a broader view of processes on a given timeline and represents a "macro" approach, while dialectics represents the workings of the "micro" approach within processes. As always,

specifically understanding how the microlevel feeds into and forms the macrolevel is challenging.

Chaos theory

It may seem somewhat backward to include a discussion of chaos in the examination of a theory that seeks to gain new insights on the order of cultural components. Chaos, nonetheless, may be incorporated to a degree within such a theory, if not completely. Most modern theories, even those that espouse a clear research strategy and operational methodology (e.g. cultural materialism) are unlikely to deny “that social, ecological, and economic systems ...tend to be characterized by nonlinear relationships and complex interactions that evolve dynamically over time” (Levy, 1994, p. 168), though such aberrations from linearity would likely be secondary to identifiable trends and relatively limited in short-term analyses.

Chaos theory comes out of the study of complexity and non-linear dynamics (Overman, 1996). Chaos theory deals with systems and how systems produce outcomes that may be patterned but nonetheless subject to a lack of predictability. Like some other theories of change, many of its salient principles come from the realm of science. Particularly social organizations and systems are prone to human behavior and hence open to greater levels of unpredictability than other systems (Levy, 1994, pp. 168-169). Chaos theory is therefore of interest to those in management and administration studies (Levy, 1994; Overman, 1996), urban planning (Cartwright, 1991) and public administration (Morcol, 1996). It seems fair to say that the goal of chaos theory is to solve some of the problems noted above in the discussion of equilibrium theory.

The Unified Model

The combination of the forgoing axes yields a model (Figure 5) that consists of four axes that can yield corresponding policy correlates. The most orthodox perspective features the positing of a dual world or arrangement where a givenness is not derived but exists *a priori* to be discovered; a world guided by ideas, values and beliefs; and a specific emphasis on the role of the individual. In such a world, the short-term change is equilibrium, perhaps in some combination with evolution. Such a perspective would favor natural law, a givenness to social organization and position, an elevated place for the role of ideas and beliefs in societal organization, and relative stability. The most heterodox perspective features more relativism and a reality that is derived in history, not awaiting discovery; a world where the material production and relations shape ideas, beliefs and values more than being guided by them; and a specific emphasis on the context that allows individuals to find their ultimate expression. In such a world, change comes about dialectically, perhaps in some combination of evolution. The policy correlates for both of these are discussed above. The ultimate policy outcomes, however, will be determined by the interplay of groups that are mapped throughout the spectrum.

Nuances of the Model

This model is properly understood as a model that describes tendencies among common theories. The characteristics of the axes and the nature of their ideological persuasion are documented in the literature. Yet, the individual axes and their theoretical combinations (and what they might mean for policy) may be qualified in a number of

ways. One might ask, for example, can a group or movement have a social theoretical position that features rationalism, idealism, a concept of abstract individuals and equilibrium or evolutionary change, and still favor a radical policy position? This seems unlikely, on all of these accounts, however it may be argued that it is possible. One related example would be the perspective of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, which is characterized by philosophical rationalism, yet nonetheless is quite heterodox. In *Planning Theory and Philosophy*, Camhis (1979, p. 124) argues, “philosophy does not provide for a valid evaluation of theories.” He notes that materialism, a scientific perspective, must still choose what to investigate and specify the relationship between those things being investigated (Camhis, 1979, p. 125).

Yet one can observe tendencies among most positions, and theoretical positions or schools may tend to change within the model over time. Most modern neo-Marxists, for example, are likely more aligned with philosophical skepticism than philosophical rationalism. There are often tendencies even within perspectives that hold some degree of eclecticism. For example, while Harris argues for “methodological holism” of the individual and has a rather universalistic behavioral psychology, his work is prominently an examination of how particulars in the ecology or material environment shape human culture. Cultural materialism may therefore be categorized as using the concept of the social individual, with these qualifications noted. Likewise, neoclassical economists use models to specify human behavior in terms of utilities and universalistic preferences, focusing on variables that affect events in the material world of production and consumption. Many neoclassical economists would be quick to point out that consumer

Figure 5: Architecture of Western Culture Theories.

thinking, fears and confidence (or lack of it) can indeed influence economic outcomes, and these are certainly considered in economic thinking. The reality is that the nature of ideas and thought in neoclassical economics is different from the nature and role of ideas in institutional economics, another eclectic theory (i.e. on the idealism-materialism axis).

Moreover, ideologies are not always consistent. In discussing conservatism, for example, Skidmore (1993, p. 43) notes that “[t]here are numerous inconsistencies within the ideology of American conservatism itself, and, as is frequently the case across the political spectrum, additional inconsistencies exist between practice and principle.”

Likewise, political groups espousing the role of ideas and values in human progress may very well act in ways that suggest they are materialists.

Given the above qualifications, the model describes the relative positions of various perspectives in terms of tendencies that can be supported in the literature. Also notable about the model is that it can include economic perspectives in addition to sociological or political perspectives. This is accomplished easily in the case of institutionalist economics, where “the concepts of culture and instrumental valuation are the concepts from which all the rest of institutional economics flows” (Mayhew, 1987, p. 587).

Culture is a perspective that is integrated in the writings of institutional economists Veblen, Commons and others (Jackson, 1996, pp. 234-235). In neoclassical economics, however, the abstract, a-historical (and mechanical) theorizing about human behavior has isolated economic practice from the consideration of culture and stymied considerations of the role of institutions (Jackson, 1996, pp. 221-222; Mayhew, 1987, p. 588). Marxian theories are somewhat more amenable to cultural considerations (Jackson, 1996, p.

222). Nonetheless this model can, with reference to the axes and literature, analyze a variety of economic models as to how they plot on the cultural diagram.

The theoretical orientation of this analysis of culture utilized here is within the realm of heterodoxy; including a diagramming starting with skepticism (while still not denying the existence of universals), through materialism, through the individual in society (not denying the value of Harris's "holistic individualism"), and using both dialectics and evolutionary approaches to change (while not omitting the possibility of a "punctuated equilibrium" action that may occur in social change). This model used here is therefore somewhat eclectic itself, while still showing strong research strategy preferences in the analysis of culture and related correlates with policy analysis.

Theory Context: Social Stratification, Uneven Development, and Politics

Power and Top-Down Policymaking

In studying a given ethnic or interest group, or relations of groups in an urban setting, or the dynamic interplay of developers, government officials and residents in an urban setting, one must consider the nature of the positions and relationships of social stratification and power. This cultural model allows for this analysis. The goals of community groups, think tanks, real estate developers and other entrepreneurs, and government officials and agencies will be different. How stated ideas and values relate (or do not relate) to the access to resources that these groups have is of primary interest. This model can easily accommodate the analysis of the dynamics of power, position and policymaking (cf. Dye, 2001; Mills, 1956; Parenti, 1978).

Culture, Space and Policy

Closely related to social stratification is the use of space. City planning processes, the creation of buffer zones through zoning and creation of a built environment, and segregation policies are part of the political economy of uneven development. Cultural perspectives (as defined by this model), use and control of space, and policy processes all work together in creating an urban system. This model is also very compatible with a variety of geographical approaches in economic and social organization, such as center-periphery studies and other spatial modeling.

Politics

A number of developments in political culture merit consideration. Recent studies in post-industrial urban politics point to a shift from more traditional categories such as class and race to the realization of politics based on new conceptualizations and recognition of subcultures (Sharp, 2005), varying importance of class for some cities and race demographics for others, political shifts associated with increases in wealth and education, decline of hierarchies and increasing prominence of the role of individuals (cf. Clark, 1996), lifestyle issues such as group tolerance and sexual orientation (Brown, Knopp & Morrill, 2004), among other modern changes and dynamics in urban politics. These events do not negate the cultural model presented here, but do present further considerations for the application of the model.

Policy, Racial Residential Segregation and a Theory of Culture

The rather specific and detailed discussion of the culture theory used here also requires a discussion of how this theory is used. The theory postulates axes of culture

along a series of dichotomies: philosophical rationalism versus philosophical skepticism, idealism versus materialism, a theory of action or actualization based on the individual versus based on societal phenomenon, and theories of change. It is also suggested that various combinations of these axes *tend* to be associated with what can be called orthodox or heterodox political theories. This theory of culture has two sides to it. First, it may be used to describe or situate the theory used by the researcher, providing the assumptions of research and indicating the nature of the research strategy. Secondly, it may be applied to subjects, to ascertain their views and approaches in describing movements, politics, or policy. At various stages, the theory requires both of these dynamics to be effectively implemented. This relates to hermeneutics—the analytical back and forth between the observer and participant, or self and other—in the construction of meaning and the reading of the “text” of human activities (cf. Prasad, 2002). In this theory of culture, however, the researcher occupies a different position with respect to the axes of the cultural theory.

The researcher may indeed—in fact does to some degree or another—have a perspective with respect to philosophical rationalism or skepticism. This guides the analysis, however the researcher also investigates the perspectives informing the persons, policies or processes studied. This is accomplished by the examination of documents, discussions with persons, and processes of triangulating meaning of events. This axis largely relates to philosophy and informant perspective in primary.

For the idealism-materialism axes, however, the approach is quite different. Here the researcher occupies a privileged position in the interpretation of events and policies. For

example, did occurrences of the “red scare” coincide with the downturn of profits among the participants in the military-industrial complex? Do the reports of household alcohol consumption match the materials in the household refuse (cf. Cypher, 1981; Rathje & Murphy, 2001). The research strategy of cultural materialism and some neo-Marxist approaches assigns research priority to the etic behavioral elements of the infrastructure to understanding cultural phenomenon (cf. Harris, 1979, p. 65). That is something that the researcher is not likely going to gather from review of documents generated by the subjects studied or, in many cases, over the course of interviews. This research approach does not mean, however, that the emic mental cannot influence human action but it does strongly hold that the etic behavioral will most significantly impact human action (Harris, 1979, p. 65). This perspective primarily relates to matters of economics, ecological relationships, production and the perspective of the subject is analyzed, however research priority resides with the etic interpretation of the researcher. One would, out of this, expect a congruent interpretation between the two axes. A party pursuing an approach out of a position of philosophical rationalism will most likely not be seen as pursuing this approach contrary to the interpretation provided by the materialist interpretation. Materialism does not require profit-maximizing behavior. One may pursue a course of action that relates to an ideal that is not profit maximizing for an individual, or perhaps even a firm, however one would usually not expect to find incongruities between ideals and the materialist aspects of human activity.

With the dichotomy of individual versus society as a source of agency, one again returns to the perspective of the group or policy being researched. This perspective

primarily relates to theories of agency and effective action and the informant perspective is primary, notwithstanding any conflicts this may have with the cultural materialist research strategy.

The researcher's investigation into the perspective on change is both approached from the subjects' view and actions and the historical observation and interpretation of events. Perspectives aligned with punctuated equilibrium, evolutionary or incremental changes, etc., can be investigated from both perspectives. Finally, the use of territory is important to understanding control over resources, making the study of spatial and political geographies another approach to augment an understanding of the role of culture on policy.

Conclusions

The theory of culture presented here is a comprehensive and unified theory of culture based on what are termed the components or axes of culture. A sizable literature exists on each of these components, and the perspective on any given component has considerable import for how policy is conducted. What is unique about this model is that the components of culture have not previously been incorporated into a single model and consequently have not been displayed in terms of a hierarchy of importance. In this model, one can examine a given perspective, map it to a combination of axes, and better understand both the perspective and the policy implications of that perspective. Various combinations of components may tend toward either orthodox or heterodox social perspectives and to some degree correlate with various economic theories and policy positions.

This model not only allows the researcher to examine actors' perspectives in the historical and political processes, but also allows the researcher to more clearly specify their perspective and how they approach the research question. The model is therefore not only descriptive and explanatory, but also normative as the researcher uses it to specify their research approach.

The benefit of using such an approach is that one can sharply and clearly analyze cultural and associated policy perspectives. This provides an opportunity to begin development of a clearer dialogue regarding policy development and policy analysis, current and historic. It avoids the quandary of defining culture as a set of "attitudes, values and beliefs" (Porter, 2000) that sends the researcher in a search of these components of culture, adrift with little in the way of a structured causal theory and research strategy, incomplete historical qualitative data, frequently questionable informant anecdotes, possible inconsistencies between thought and behavior, and an incomplete repertoire of culturally driven motivators and actions. It thereby allows for a degree of triangulation that is absent from other types of cultural research. It is expected that this approach will make a significant contribution to the research literature on historical and social research, public policy formation and public policy analysis.

CHAPTER 3

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY:

A COMPARISON OF BLACKS AND HISPANICS

IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURE, DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

Introduction

Residential segregation is ubiquitous in most large cities in the United States. It is, therefore, no surprise to see segregation based on any of a number of attributes assigned to persons as communities organize space and resources. It is well within the realm of policy studies to inquire into how policies, both public and private—if indeed public and private are easily and neatly separated—shape, control, foster and maintain the use of residential space among groups.

This analysis addresses the issue of racial residential segregation in the Kansas City area among blacks and Hispanics. The framework for this analysis is the paradigm of culture developed in Chapter 2. The cultural characteristics of the majority are examined as elements of this group affected policy and urban development, as well as the cultural characteristics of the minorities. In this research an overview of the application of the culture theory is discussed. The segregation of blacks and Hispanics is then reviewed, followed by an analysis using that theory and how these developments relate to the use and dynamics of space. It is expected that an approach that is both integrated and unique will contribute to better understanding the role and effects of policy.

Policy, Culture and Residential Housing Segregation in Space

The context for analyzing racial residential segregation using a cultural framework is set within another theory—the theory of urban space. The development of urban space usually entails shaping an environment by investments that impart an added value through improvements in topology, design, infrastructure and marketing, and creating a basis for sustained development and property values. Urban space, however, also comes to encompass additional meanings as it is designated, symbolized, legitimized (or delegitimized for a particular group as in the case of blockbusting) and institutionalized by codes and by zoning. Both of these perspectives may be understood in terms of a theory of culture.

Many observations emerge from the study of space, and one observation that regards residential segregation is the relationship between housing and labor. The spatial dynamics between housing and labor in Kansas City emerged before the advent of racial residential segregation. In 1886 Eleanor Marx-Aveling wrote to Frederick Engels:

In or rather near, Kansas City we saw some miserable little wooden shacks, containing about three rooms each, still in the wilds, the land cost 600 dollars and was just big enough to put the little house on it; the latter cost a further 600 dollars, that is, together, 4,800 marks, for a miserable little thing, an hour away from the town, in a muddy desert.

Engels noted that “[I]n this way, the workers must shoulder heavy mortgage debts in order to obtain even these dwellings, and now become the slaves of their employers for fair. They are tied to their houses, they cannot go away, and must put up with whatever working conditions are offered them” (Engels, 1970 [1887], p. 30).

This is one of the earliest mentions of the relationship between housing and labor in the Kansas City region; such a relationship between labor and housing continued to play a role in racial residential segregation, and markedly so with the advent of suburbanization.

There were many causes of suburbanization. The rural ideal, previously discussed, was often not lived out by moving to or residing in rural areas, but to areas that at least provided an escape some of the perceived drawbacks of city living. The increased availability and use of automobiles in the 1930s and federal subsidies through such instruments such as FHA and VA (Veterans Administration) loans further contributed to the growth of suburbs (Gottdiener & Hutchinson, 2006, pp. 107-108, 111). The housing boom in the suburbs preceded the relocation of businesses, with the latter seeking environments of relatively unorganized labor, thus the ability to assert more control over labor, and also lower occupancy costs (Gordon, 1984, pp. 40-41; Gottdiener, 1993a, p. 215; Gottdiener, 1994, pp. 74-77). The transformation of the urban economy from one characterized by less manufacturing and more service-oriented jobs compounded the problem of segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 220; Wilson, 1984, p. 287). First housing, primarily white single-family homes, moved from urban to suburban areas and companies and jobs then followed. The split between jobs in Kansas City, Missouri's urban core and the metropolitan area surrounding the core in 1970 was around 58 percent and 42 percent, respectively. In 1990 jobs in Kansas City, Missouri's urban core had 41 percent of the areas jobs, compared with 59 percent in the suburbs (Gotham, 1998c, pp. 9-10).

Black residential housing in the suburbs was stymied for several reasons. In addition to restrictive covenants and real estate practices, the FHA guidelines called for homes to be rated with respect to racial composition of neighborhoods, among other factors, and until recent decades redlining practices further made suburbs more open to white residents (Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 53-54; Gotham, 2002, pp. 137-138). In addition to blacks, Hispanics, specifically Mexicans, were the second group deemed by early FHA underwriting guidelines to decrease property values in neighborhoods (Gotham, 2000b, p. 309).

A further perspective on the dynamic between labor and housing is seen within spatial theories. The noted spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre postulated three circuits of capital. The first is the circuit of production. Lefebvre sees this circuit as playing a fundamental wealth creation and in the creation of surplus value. The second circuit of capital consists of real estate and housing. It likewise is important in wealth creation and is usually more stable than the primary circuit of capital (Gottdiener, 1993a, p. 212; Gottdiener, 1993b, p. 132). With this circuit of capital,

the land is either simply held onto or it is developed into some other use, it is then sold on a special market for land, the real estate market, or developed as housing for profit. The circuit is completed when the investor takes that profit and re-invests it in more land-based projects (Gottdiener, 1993a, p. 212).

The third or tertiary circuit of capital comprises the expenditures capitalists make on research and development and social expenditures to reproduce labor power (Harvey, 1983, pp. 203-204, 206).

The interplay of the first and second circuits of capital is interesting to study and relates to both the use of space and the designation of space for certain groups or sub-groups through housing segregation. Investments in the first circuit of capital, for example, interplay with the second circuit. Investment trends may switch between the two, and investment may take place more in one than another at a given period of time (Harvey, 1983, pp. 200-204). Housing also relates to labor as labor is derived from households. Manuel Castell (1977, p. 149) observes that:

...housing is one of the essential elements of the reproduction of labour power. As such, it follows the movements of concentration, dispersal and distribution of the workers and also causes, in times of crisis, a considerable bottleneck in the production process. Historically, the housing crisis appears above all in the great urban areas suddenly taken over by industry. Indeed where industry colonizes space, the housing of the necessary manpower must be organized for it, if only at the level of camping.

Government also plays a significant role in the use of space. Zoning, codes, use of taxes and tax instruments and other governmental tools affect and direct the use of space (Gottdiener, 1993a, p. 213; Madanipour, 1996, p. 185), most often in ways very favorable to real estate businesses (Gottdiener, 1985, p. 247). Indeed, the assistance of government intervention is required to assure an environment amicable to investment and profits in the development of the built environment (Harvey, 1976, p. 272).

Government and business can further build in access barriers to space. Again, this is produced by regulations, however some practices transcend formal regulations. One researcher describes the manner in which these formal and informal signals segregate:

A combination of formalized rules and regulations, informal codes and signs, and fears and desires control our spatial behavior and alert us to the

limitations on our access. Through these, we have come to know whether we can enter a place, are welcomed in another and excluded from others. More restrictions on our access to our surroundings would bring about the feeling of being trapped, alienated and excluded from our social space.

Space has, therefore, a major role in the integration or segregation of urban society. It is a manifestation of social relationships while affecting and shaping the geometries of these relationships (Madanipour, 1996, p. 185).

For Lefebvre space could be a concrete physical phenomenon but at the same time space demonstrated relations in society and itself was a fabric of social relations (Gottdiener, 1993b, p. 130). Space therefore has physical, material, and representational qualities as to the use, purpose and meaning of space. It is this observation of mental or symbolic space that augments, and indeed commingles with, business, political, economic and governmental policies and practices regarding space and community development. Seeing space as a text in the post-modernistic sense, the phrase “urban semiotics” is used in describing the meaning of urban space, including the allocation and access of space (Madanipour, 1996, pp. 69-73).

The purpose of this brief and highly simplified discussion on space is not to explore the intricacies of urban spatial theory, but to highlight spatial theory as another facet of the cultural analysis of segregation, both in terms of its historical structural and economic importance and in terms of the meanings attached to space in policy and social perception.

An Introduction to Two Histories of Residential Segregation

The Residential Segregation and Blacks

The residential segregation of blacks in Kansas City is not evident in the 1880 census

enumeration. The enumeration instead showed that “Blacks lived in small heterogeneous residential clusters usually with Whites and other minorities. . . . Interestingly, Blacks moving into nineteenth-century Kansas City did not form a unitary, autonomous, and racially and culturally defined community with specific geographical boundaries. Thus, people did not perceive a connection between black ‘culture’ and a particular ‘place’ occupied exclusively by Blacks” (Gotham, 2002, pp. 27, 31). This did not mean that discrimination did not exist. It existed through mandated school segregation, segregation in medical care and discriminatory hiring practices (Garcia, 1996, p. 122; Gotham, 2002, pp. 21, 31).

Blacks were nonetheless not spatially segregated in the city. The development of black residential segregation that occurred in Kansas City and elsewhere occurred at a time when a number of factors pushed blacks from the South and pulled them to different regions of the nation. What came to be known as “Great Migration” of 1910 to 1930 was based on a number of factors. Factors that prompted relocation from primarily the South included a “general dissatisfaction with conditions, the boll weevil’s destruction of crops, the black press, low wages, poor housing on plantations, inadequate school facilities, rough treatment and cruelty from law officers, unfairness in the courts, lynchings, the desire to travel, labor agents, and the advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed” (Hawkins, 1973, p. 142). In the northern states blacks found greater opportunities for employment, higher wages and networks of migrants encouraging relocation for this reason. The employment opportunities for blacks increase significantly with regulations that decreased immigration to the United States

from 1910 to 1915, when 870,000 fewer foreign-born persons were admitted (Hawkins, 1973, pp. 143-144). Blacks took the place of European immigrants at a time of industrial growth and later during of the First World War (Donald, 1921, pp. 434-435).

Blacks were assimilated into the Northern workforce, heavily into the construction, steel and rail industries, and also began occupying work ranks previously inaccessible to them. The demand for labor was quite high during this period, but the supply of housing did not meet the needs of incoming migrants. Rehabilitated houses, remodeled barns, camps along railroad lines and conversion of retired passenger cars provided housing options for these workers and families. Competition and pressures over housing was the first point of tension. Before long, however, competition over employment in some areas also became a source of serious conflict (Donald, 1921, pp. 438-440). Black migration slowed considerably during the Depression, however it continued as living in the South was still more difficult than living in the North. Whites displaced blacks in lower paying jobs during this era. Subsequently blacks were more fully integrated into the war effort during the Second World War than in the First, and black migration again increased in the industrial North (Hawkins, 1973, pp. 146-147).

The developments in the Kansas City, Missouri area are a rather imprecise mirror of the national events. They mirror the national events, but do so to a lesser degree and manner that is more variegated than in other large cities. Black residents as a percentage of the total population were over 10 percent in each decade from 1860 to 1900. Then through 1930 the growth began to decrease to around 9.5 percent. The percentage of black residents in Kansas City, Missouri has increased ever since, from 10.4 percent in

1940 to 31.2 percent in 2000 (Gotham, 2002, p. 17). The black population in Kansas City, Missouri increased appreciably from 1910 to 1930, nearly doubling. However this increase was not near the fivefold increase in Chicago from 1910 to 1930 (to 234,000), the more than threefold increase in New York City during this period (to 328,000), or the more than eightfold increase in Cleveland, Ohio during the same period (to 72,000) (Gotham, 2002, pp. 17, 34).

The beginning of residential segregation around 1910 in Kansas City is generally characterized by a high rate of substandard housing, elevated crime rate, lower rate of educational attainment and a relatively weak participation in employment as measured by the stability of work and by the rate of remuneration (Martin, 1913; Board of Public Welfare, 1913; Webster, 1949). Into the 1940s housing conditions were substandard. In one nine-block black residential area slated for project development east of Paseo “tuberculosis was twenty-three times the city average, but police calls were only twice the city average” (Webster, 1949, p. 32).

Moreover, blacks faced shortages in available housing for several decades. C. A. Franklin, the founder of the *Kansas City Call*, noted that by 1923 “there was not an unoccupied foot of ground where Negroes could go and live without having to fight to do so” (quoted in Schirmer, 2002, p. 101). White real estate agents did not sell to blacks in disallowed areas, restrictive covenants were used to preclude black residents from certain residential areas, and per the Underwriting Manuals of the Federal Housing Administration contained race references and guidelines up through the 1950s (Gotham, 2002, p. 127). When blacks did purchase homes in disallowed areas, other tactics were

used. The full record of violence against blacks and their homes is sketchy in the literature. Six black homes were reportedly bombed in 1910 and 1911 on Montgall in Kansas City, Missouri. During the period of 1921 to 1928 black residences in disallowed areas were bombed. In one of the years in this period, seven black homes were bombed (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 42, 101). In the 1940s there are reports of blacks being stoned as they left buses, experiencing vandalism against their houses, receiving threatening telephone calls, being fired by employers because of living in non-black neighborhoods, and being sued and evicted because of violating restrictive covenants (although no suit is recorded as being made against the white seller) (Webster, 1949, pp. 114-115, 121-122, 174-175). No new housing specifically for blacks was built in Kansas City, Missouri until 1941. When black labor was needed for the war effort the Federal Public Housing Authority did fund 100 temporary dwelling units for black war labor occupancy in 1944 and 84 temporary units for returning black veterans in 1946 (Webster, 1949, pp. 47; 81-82). The price of housing was generally elevated for blacks as the black population grew and yet was restricted to certain geographical areas, and blacks faced limited financing options from both government and private sources (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 99-100; Webster, 1949, p. 47).

Racial segregation for blacks in the Kansas City area became an institutionalized phenomenon, supported by government policy, developers, real estate boards, legal codes and market dynamics. Fair housing codes in the Kansas City metropolitan area, where they did exist, were not uniformly enforced (Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1971, p. 5). This simultaneously created a condition of written and unwritten policy that

excluded blacks from residential areas and created conditions of relative housing shortages for blacks at various periods of time due to population growth and associated housing needs. While redlining and other discriminatory practices were not uncommon throughout the 1970s and beyond (cf. Gotham, 2002, pp. 137-138), patterns of residential segregation based on historical and socioeconomic factors shape the landscape of the Kansas City metropolitan area to the present.

The Residential Segregation and Hispanics

The residential segregation of Hispanics takes a quite different dynamic and form from that of black residential segregation. Mexicans' main presence in the Kansas City area is first associated with care of animals in the wagon train movements from Overland and Santa Fe trails in the 1830s, with trading activities and temporary residence in the area as traders in the 1850s. In the 1884 a rail connection between Mexico and Kansas City was established and it is clear that in 1905 around 155 Mexicans working as railroad tracklayers settled in the Kansas City area (Driever, 2004, pp. 108-109). The 1910 census indicates that 200 Mexicans lived in Kansas City (Board of Public Welfare, 1913, p. 12), however it is very likely that his enumeration is very understated due to the transient nature of the residents and lack of participation in the census (Driever, 2004, pp. 108-109). By 1913 the number of Hispanics, all of Mexican origin, was considered to be around 2,000. Of these 2,000 persons, only five percent resided in a family setting. In 1914 another source states there were approximately 3,000 Mexicans in the Kansas City area (Garcia, 1996, p. 113). By 1930 the Mexican population numbered at 2,984 in Kansas City, Missouri and 2,615 in Kansas City, Kansas, for a total of 5,599 between the

two cities (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 5). The Mexican population in Kansas City, once it began to grow, grew quite quickly.

Mexicans, like blacks, moved to flee hardships and pursued employment and better livelihoods in the North. Many Mexicans, particularly after 1910, fled the effects of the Mexican Revolution (Denzer, 2004). They also were attracted by more plentiful jobs in the United States due to the curtailment of Chinese and Japanese railroad workers and a decline in the influx of European workers during the First World War. Mexicans in the Kansas City region competed with other immigrant groups, such as those from Greece and Italy, and competed with black and white workers as well (Laird, 1975, pp. 26, 54, 63; Mendoza 1997, p. 152). Most worked for packinghouses and railroads and spoke only Spanish (Board of Public Welfare, 1913, p. 12). Throughout the early part of the twentieth century they occupied substandard housing. When they did expand their community, it was often by purchasing homes from immigrants that were moving to more desirable housing (Laird, 1975, p. 54).

There was little organization to the Mexican community, and interests were tied heavily to Mexico. The Mexican population at the time was characterized not only by residential mobility, as noted above, but employment mobility. The Prospectus (1913, p. 12) states that

The Mexican colony is commonly composed of a class of people who are shiftless and improvident. Mexican laborers move frequently from one job to another, thereby losing time and money. Not being acquainted with American language and customs, they do not know how to collect their wages and frequently go to another job without getting paid for their work.

Mexicans occupied specific areas of the region. They were located in the Argentine and Armourdale districts of Kansas City, Kansas and in the Westside of Kansas City, Missouri. The character of some of these regions differed. For example, the northern Westside area was home to many single men and was characterized by residential mobility while the south Westside area was home to more families. Many Mexican businesses were present in the 1920 in the southern area of Westside (Driever, 2004, pp. 109, 111), and Westside was the cultural, business and religious center of the Hispanic presence there in the Kansas City metropolitan area. Homeownership began to develop in Armourdale in Kansas and in Westside in Missouri (Mendoza, 1997, p. 52, 151).

The Mexican community in the greater Kansas City area was in a unique situation. It was relatively demarcated, yet pursued by area merchants for trading; it was also drawn upon by business for labor supply, yet intentionally isolated from the rest of the metropolitan area by discrimination. Mexicans tended to do business in Mexican stores where Spanish was spoken and where they could access a line of credit, and where they would not be exploited (Garcia, 1996, p. 123; Mendoza, 1997, pp. 152-153). Yet non-Mexican stores, eager to trade with this population, competed for Mexican business and hired Mexican clerks (Mendoza, 1997, pp. 149-150). Mexicans were frequently denied services in eating establishments, theaters, barbershops and other public places outside of their residential areas (Garcia, 1996, p. 134), and Mexican children were not allowed in public schools until the late 1920s (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 3). Mexicans, like blacks, were also denied access to healthcare facilities. In 1926 the director of the Guadalupe Center noted that Mexicans could, due to their efforts, “receive

hospitalization as white patients in Kansas City, Missouri” at St. Mary’s Hospital, and later the Mexican consul, after much work and press, successfully advocated that Mexicans not be relegated to black hospital wards, but be “treated ‘like the white race’” regarding hospital access (Garcia, 1996, p. 122).

For the Kansas City region, “Hispanic community” largely meant “Mexican community,” as Mexicans became identified with certain regions of the metropolis. Other Hispanic groups from Central and South American countries did not have a community identified with them and did not arrive in historical migrations (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 8). The Mexican communities in the Kansas City area took on a specific function of maintaining ties back and forth between Mexico. New immigrants would be assured of contacts in their destination community to ease access to housing, jobs and the larger society. This strategy, called “transnationalism,” allowed immigrants to “live their lives across international borders by simultaneously occupying social fields in both the origin and destination countries” (Pandit & Holloway, 2006, p. iv). The community in the host country thus served not only as a destination, but also as the medium by which new immigrants adapted to life in a host nation and maintained contact with their homeland. This fostered the identity of a specific community—a community that was fairly demarcated and strongly established. For this reason, it observed that:

In 1987, metropolitan Kansas City’s Hispanic population was still concentrated in the traditional Mexican American neighborhoods of 80 years ago: Argentine, Armourdale, and Rosedale in Kansas City, Wyandotte County, Kansas; and the Westside in Kansas City Jackson County Missouri (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 13).

Much has changed since the 1990s, however, and likely before that time, as it is relatively difficult to obtain a count of Hispanics. One researcher (Driever, 2004, p. 211) notes:

Today, most Kansas Citians still picture the Latino community as it was back in the early twentieth century and assume that the vast majority of Hispanics in the Kansas City area still live and work in the same three communities. Nothing could be further from the truth.

With the significant influx of immigrants in the 1990s, population size and distribution has changed markedly. In one recent study, Kansas City was ranked 29th out of 36 metropolitan areas with respect to the degree of segregation of Hispanics (Driever, 2003). The Hispanic population of Greater Kansas City was given as 93,000 in the 2000 census, however the total is estimated to be between 130,000 and 150,000. Approximately seventy six percent of Hispanics in the Kansas City area have Mexican origins or heritage, however around ninety percent of new immigrants are from Mexico, with around 6 percent from Central American and Caribbean countries and around 5 percent from South American (Driever, 2004, p. 211). According to the U.S. Censuses of 1990 and 2000, a number of Kansas City area cities also show increases in their Hispanic population from 1990 to 2000—156 percent in Johnson County, Kansas, 137 percent in the cities of Grandview and Belton, Missouri and 136 percent in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Other cities in the metropolitan area show increases of around 80 to 90 percent, with the lowest increases in Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri at 64 percent increase, Lee's Summit, Missouri at 60 percent increase and Leavenworth County, Kansas, with only an 18 percent increase.

Culture and the Development and Experience of Segregation

Having covered the basis of the development of segregation of blacks and Hispanics (primarily Mexican Hispanics) in the Kansas City metropolitan area, the focus turns to the question of how culture shaped the nature of segregation and of policy. The topic here includes both the culture of the majority and the business sector of the majority as well as the minority groups of blacks and Hispanics.

Rationalism and Development in the Metropolitan Area

Planning and the developers

Although the conjunction of planning and philosophy is rarely one of discussion and study, the influence of philosophical rationalism is present in some popular planning perspectives. The perspective of developers had a significant impact upon racial segregation. Philosophical rationalism influences in planning are observed in the use of the scientific method and deductive thinking and the conceptualization of an all-encompassing system as the object of planning (Camhis, 1979, pp. 24-25). It is noted that “[t]he rational-deductive ideal finds its best expression in the work of so-called visionaries of town-planning at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries” (Camhis, 1979, pp. 26-27). Such plans often included utopia like constructs of the city that melded city and rural life, guided by scientific principles directed toward understanding and fashioning a residential environment within a city system. The goals of planning are set within the terms of a market system, the acclamation of “universal acceptance,” scientific method and the extension of supposed characteristics of rationality among individuals to the rationality of the society of

individuals (Camhis, 1979, p. 24). Such an approach is antithetical to the approach of incrementalism, or seeing changes that occur in steps toward achieving (or partly achieving or not achieving) a goal, or rather taking steps to alleviate problems rather than achieve an overall end goal (Camhis, 1979, pp. 39, 41). Rationalist planners would create a livable environment through conceptualizing and executing communities that were set apart, not within, the existence and form of previous (non-planned) communities. As one observer (Callahan, 2009) observes that:

Unlike [Jane] Jacobs, mid-twentieth-century urban planners, possessed by the rationalist mindset, looked at city tenements and saw only chaos. The residents of such neighborhoods were subjected to the noisy activities of industry and commerce, disturbing their peace. Their children, living in densely built-up districts, were forced to play on the sidewalks! What these people lacked was fresh air, sunshine, green spaces, and quiet.

Developers sought to construct a rational, scientific, encompassing and, as they would see it, livable community. This was J.C. Nichols's goal in his developments. Nichols (1936) conceived of the city as a "civic machine ...dependent upon the efficient performance of its every part, as is the body, the human machine, dependent upon the workings and relation of its parts," and that "a city is an economic body with the service rendered by any section or part of the city as directly influenced by the efficiency of the other parts of the city as any member of the human anatomy is directly affected by any other part of the body. He also spoke of the "scientific planning" governed by scientific street grids, grades and widths, use zones, and the need for a scientific discipline of real estate taught in colleges and universities (Nichols, n.d.a). Nichols held that "We are not scientific unless we constantly endeavor to improve the product of our hands—unless we

develop to the highest specialized uses every part of our city or town—a civic structure—an organic machine—every part related to every other part—as in the structure of the human body or in any well-organized industry” (Nichols, n.d.b). Work places and factories should be separated from residential areas, and the design of the city should take into account areas that are public and areas that are private, so as to separate the two (Nichols, n.d.c). Residential areas should not be separated from the natural environment, to allow for the presence of grass and flowers and the cultivation of gardens (Nichols, n.d.d).

The green and quiet neighborhoods envisioned by Nichols was set within a comprehensive city plan, assured by the steps needed to produce the desired results. In this sense, his notions of the desired neighborhood were complete, yet it is questionable as to the completeness with respect to the entire city. Whereas he saw order that needed to be brought out of a heritage of non-planning, other urban thinkers such as Jane Jacobs saw the need for an inclusiveness with respect to the entire city as a mixed use environment, thriving off the diversity of people and environments (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 152-177). In fact, even in light of planning, each environment would ultimately be unique and defy its established purpose due to the inevitable complexities of an environment such as a park or street (cf. Jacobs, 1961, pp. 433-444). For Jacobs, change has to occur in ways in which things fit the needs of the neighborhoods—in other words not related to a master plan, not seeking to destroy inevitable complexities and depending upon the needs of the neighborhood. This is consistent with incremental change, the antithesis of Nichols’s view of neighborhood and city building. To control

the neighborhood, Nichols's approach must invariably segregate and isolate elements of the city, hence the use of racially restrictive covenants, heavy zoning and enforcer neighborhood associations and the like (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 17, 110-111). For this reason, historian William S. Worley observes that urban thinker Samuel Bass Warner, Jr., "[in] the same sentence in which he pronounced Nichols's work a 'city planning triumph,' . . . insisted that Nichols created a 'social disaster' for Kansas City . . . and that the 'disaster' was inevitable because Nichols practiced class and race separation" (Worley, 1990, p. 8).

The black community

Among the black community there also existed a perspective that could be linked to philosophical rationalism. Early black attorneys, those of the post Civil War era, postulated a standard of rights based on natural law and sought this basis in the founding documents of the country such as the Declaration of Independence and the constitution. But before the twentieth century this natural rights approach was largely displaced by arguments that were more strictly anchored in constitutional and legal arguments without influence of natural rights arguments (Mack, 2005, pp. 273-274). During the civil rights era, while the legal environment may not have changed, the philosophical environment did change. During this period:

The torch of black leadership thus passed from the legal lawyer-leadership of a Thurgood Marshall to the political movement-protest leadership of a Martin Luther King. This leadership transformation reflected the urgent need and desire of African Americans to bring about more immediate and far-reaching policy change unrestricted by the legalities, structures, and formalities of courts and litigation (Barker, 1994, p. 3).

No longer interested in studying legalities and placing the conflicts of race in a mainly legal argument, the message of King resonated among those seeking civil rights. The debate and arguments offered by civil rights leaders still referenced the constitution, but many, including King, also set this within a natural rights perspective that subsequently referenced constitutional rights (Allen, 2000, p. 72). As such, this is a philosophical rationalism perspective, and a perspective that would be challenged. In a debate with James Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond New Leader*, in November of 1960, King was specifically challenged on the legal basis of civil disobedience and boycotts. With pressure still on to develop a legal basis for such protests, King was relatively unprepared in the debate. By most accounts, King did not demonstrate a legal understanding associated with his perspective. An extensive analysis of the debate by Lucile Bluford of Kansas City's *The Call* concluded likewise, but a response to both King and *The Call* by John H. Herriford, a political science student at the University of Minnesota, provided King with legal insights in support of his position and seemingly consistent with the *Federalist*. King maintained his natural laws-based perspective, buttressed with his newly formed legal perspective (Allen, 2000, pp. 93-96). Many blacks thus drew upon a perspective that could be characterized by philosophical rationalism. The degree of rationalism changed from time to time and was challenged, but was prominent in much of the civil rights movement.

The Hispanic community

The literature on the perspectives of Hispanics is scant in comparison to the literature for blacks. While Hispanics did have situations very similar to blacks, the development of their civil rights movements are more geographically isolated, less prominent and developed subsequent to the civil rights movements of blacks (cf. Carter, 1992).

Specifically within the Kansas City metropolitan area of this analysis, Hispanics raise the concern that their rights and treatment are perceived secondarily to those of black because of they represent a smaller minority (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 44). Philosophical rationalism is common in society in general and the church in particular, and this may impact the approach of some Hispanics. Hispanics did have a concept of justice that demanded equality, such as being treated as whites with respect to healthcare (Garcia, 1996, p. 122), although the attention of many are heavily directed toward Mexico in addition to their community in the Kansas City area (cf. Lewis, 2003, p. 13).

Preference, ideals, market and policy in residential segregation

The concept of a residential ideal in terms of philosophical rationalism is further seen in the ideals and mental images of residential living. The majority who was in the best position to pursue this ideal, from both the sides of demand and supply, referenced established preferences for living and residing. Nichols's developments, as noted, sought to incorporate closeness to nature and removal of residences from factories and businesses and busy city streets. Such an enterprise entailed transposing the rural ideal into the suburban ideal. Such notions dated to Thomas Jefferson and writers such as Emerson and Thoreau. Architectural homebuilding practices integrating the rural ideal

in the suburbs started with J.C. Loudon in England and was Americanized by Andrew Jackson Downing (Marsh, 1990, p. 5). The rural ideal not only resonated with persons who had a long family history in the United States, but immigrants as well (Warner 1978, p. 5). While Nichols's developments did not specifically reference the "rural ideal" the advertising and description is suggestive. The developments were advertised with phrases like "'Escape!' and 'Live Better for Less'" (Gotham, 2002, p. 59), and "Build a home in the beautiful Country Club District and insure a healthy growth for your boys and girls—give them the advantages of out-of-door life, pure fresh air desirable associations and beautiful surroundings" (Worley, 1990, pp. 192-193). The developments either featured or came to feature streets that were narrowed and not completely graded (i.e. leveled) to keep traffic flow, factories and businesses set apart from residential areas, and the like (Nichols, n.d.c, Nichols, n.d.e.).

The rural ideal that influenced many developers in the past has been an enduring interest to homebuyers at various times, depending upon their perception of and satisfaction with city living (cf. Warner, 1978, pp. 11-12; Johnson & Beale, 1998, p. 23). Other interests of prospective buyers included the maintenance of stability in their property values. Nichols and developers included this within their development plans, too. Deed restrictions were used to control land and residential conditions dating from Riverside, Illinois in 1869 and Roland Park, Maryland in 1890 (Weiss, 1987, p. 23) and after 1910 these deed restrictions became relatively widespread among large developers (Gotham, 2000a, p. 617). Nichols used such measures, along with zoning, to ensure the desired outcomes in land use. In short he sought the "public regulation of all private

development,” within the context of a public-private relationship with governments, national and local, and private developers (Weiss, 1987, pp. 65-66). Such measures, in conjunction with other measures, protected land and inhabitants from encroachments possible from outlying areas. These other protective measures included barriers or buffers such as parks, golf courses, and “public or private schools with large grounds, churches, neighborhood libraries, or other semi-public institutions at the edges of the subdivision” (Nichols, 1929, p. 134). They also included racial restrictions in the deeds to exclude blacks that might be able to afford entrance into the residential development, whether by neighborhood associations or by the design of developers, including chiefly Nichols in the Kansas City area (Gotham, 2000a, pp. 623-624).

Outside of the developer projects, whites often had their ideals of the desired neighborhood that included neighborhood racial composition. There is a significant body of literature on this topic, but here the focus is on the Kansas City area. In the early 1920s Kansas City real estate agent Fortune J. Weaver worked hand-on-hand with white real estate agents, and would purchase large numbers of houses in an area for black occupancy. Tactics often varied among realtors. In another instance, large clusters of houses were purchase through plotting:

Other real estates agents, black and white, would encourage white flight with the “straw man,” a white or light-skinned person who would buy a house in a white residential block. Once the house had been resold to a black buyer, the block was “busted,” and the remaining white residents would likely sell out en masse, leaving the wily realtor with several listings of offer to blacks at inflated prices. Black-owned Square Deal Realty and Loan accompany preferred to advertise that it had entered “negotiations” with white property-owners to convince them to sell. One successful parley in 1922 allowed

Square Deal to put the entire 2500 block of Tracy Avenue up for sale “only to highly respected Negroes”....That year, Square Deal claimed to have made more than one million dollars in real estate sales (Schirmer, 2002, p.100).

Such an event was a cause for celebration in the black community and announced with fanfare in the *Kansas City Call*. The publisher of the *Call*, in fact, having abandoned the hope of convincing whites otherwise, expressed gratitude to those whites who informed him that they would rather sell to blacks rather than to be their neighbors (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 100-101). Blockbusting occurred up into the early 1970s (cf. Gotham, 2002, pp. 114-115). Often white residents would move to the suburbs and Nichols’s protected districts in search of the ideal livelihood (Schirmer, 2002, p. 107). The onslaught of encroachment by blacks who otherwise had no place to expand residency was considered in terms of *invasion*, even in the academic literature. Articles entitled “Invasion and racial attitudes: A study of housing in a border city” in *Social Forces* (Jones, 1949), “Racial invasion and racial antagonism in Chicago” in *Phylon* (Winder, 1951) and “A study of the effects of Negro invasion on real estate values” in the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* (Gillette, 1957), all about the geographical expansion of black residency, were not uncommon nor apparently particularly objectionable. Such attitudes were buttressed by national and local policy. These phenomena were rooted in dynamics that can be understood in terms of a materialist approach, discussed below. It was policy that allowed for the link between residential ideals and their implementation through law, legislation and the practices of bureaucratic organizations and private developers.

More recent studies of preference suggest that blacks prefer to reside in neighborhoods that are racially diverse. Whites, however, do not have such a preference but prefer more racially homogenous neighborhoods. Surveys show that in a number of cities, including Kansas City, “blacks strongly prefer a 50-50 mixture and that whites have little tolerance for racial mixtures beyond 20 percent black” (Massey 1994, p. 475). Hispanics have historically lived in close proximity to one another, however they now reside in Missouri and Kansas suburbs in much greater numbers. Hispanics may reside in a suburban Hispanic community, such as “Little Mexico” in Olathe, Kansas, but even recent immigrants often relocate to suburbs in search of employment (Driever, 2004, pp. 212-214).

Rationalism and policy

Policy related to constructing what was termed desirable neighborhoods is the subject of many books and articles, and it is not the intent of this research to replicate this well-documented topic. Policy allowing for the development of racially segregated living was developed on a number of levels based on lifestyle ideals, ideal community type and the prototypical image of the scientific and extremely livable city. Policy occurred on many levels: the federal level, national organizational level, neighborhood organizational level, state level, within city government, and among private developers.

Many policies that affected residential segregation were manifested simultaneously between geopolitical entities; federal policies extended down (or in some cases up) to (or from) local policies.

On the federal level, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), in its underwriting Manuals from 1938 through the 1950s, listed blacks as “adverse influences” on property values and cautioned against actions that would mix minorities with non-minority neighborhoods (Gotham, 2000b, p. 309; Squires, 1993, p. 142). The FHA also “established a racially dual home financing market by refusing to insure mortgages in areas not covered with a racially restrictive covenant, thus denying mortgages to African Americans and channeling capital into suburban housing construction.” Because of this, blacks received less than two percent of FHA insured mortgages in the early years of FHA subsidies (Gotham, 2000b, p. 309). It was not until around the time of 1948 and into the 1950s that the FHA ceased to support racially restrictive covenants (when the United States Supreme Court disallowed them), changed its underwriting guidelines and removed the designation of racial undesirability from its underwriting manuals (Squires, 1993, p. 142; Gotham, 2000c, pp. 160-161; Gotham, 2000a, p. 626).

In 1968 Section 235 was added to enhance the access to credit by persons with lower income levels—that is to say that action was taken to reduce the practice of redlining (Hays, 1995, pp. 88-89). The obstacle to obtaining a mortgage for minorities was that their housing was often older and lower valued because of its location. Further, mortgage lenders and real estate interests often located away from the inner cities to locations where they had a higher volume of business (Squires 1993, p. 143). The remedy to this was the Section 235 program that would make loans easier for poorer people. Under this plan mortgages would be underwritten and the risk would be managed by a number of means, including mortgage insurance. The results in Kansas

City show that the availability of mortgage credit set off a demographic shift, with speculative realtors inducing neighborhood panics and profiting from high turnover rates. Many neighborhoods and schools that were near equally mixed became around 80 percent African American (Gotham, 2000d, p. 26). This event represented the hastening of a demographic trend. It is noted that the “Census data indicate that in 1950 only 3 out of 33 census tracts in the area bounded by Troost Avenue, 25th Street to 75th Street, and the Blue River had a population of 50% or more African American. This number increased to 13 census tracts in 1960, 28 by 1970, and all 33 census tracts by 1980. By 1980, over 20 out of 33 census tracts within the area east of Troost Avenue were over 90% African American” (Gotham, 2000d, p. 24). Private lenders soon withdrew, leaving the bulk of loans underwritten by the Veterans Administration or FHA. Foreclosures left many houses in the deteriorating corridor boarded up (Gotham, 2000d, pp. 31-32). A program designed to make homeownership more prevalent primarily effected a stronger spatial segregation and in the end registered lackluster results with respect to its chief aim.

The goals of national organizations, such as the National Association of Real Estate Board, were also consistent with the early federal policy approach. By the later part of the 1920s, this organization and the National Association of Home Builders “pressured local governments to enact various land-use policies and subdivision regulations to maintain a rigid color line in housing” (Gotham, 2000b, p. 301). From 1924 until 1950, the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards warned realtors

from taking actions that would lower property values by introducing minorities into neighborhoods (Gotham, 2000b, p. 301; Squires, 1993, p. 143).

It is a mischaracterization to claim that private developers stand apart from federal policy. As members of the national associations they significantly influence federal policy and practices (cf. Gotham 2000a, p. 625). Increasingly the large developers were behind community housing construction. Houses constructed by these contractors rose from 5 percent in 1938 to 24 percent nine years later in 1949 to 64 percent twenty years later in 1959 (Gotham, 2000b, p. 309).

In the Kansas City region, “[b]y the late 1930s the Nichols Company had acquired control of more than 4,000 acres of land and was building racially restricted subdivisions in Johnson County, Kansas, across the state line, and adjoining his original projects in Kansas City, Missouri. These areas included more than 80,000 white Kansas City residents and would eventually encompass entire communities such as Prairie Village, Roeland Park and Fairway in KansasAs late as 1962, Nichols’ Prairie Village subdivision in Johnson County contained more that 50,000 residents but only two black families.” Recognizing that “neighborhood solidarity” was important in maintaining racial segregation, he instituted the innovation of requiring mandatory homeowner associations that would enhance the enforcement of this provision. These groups frequently applied pressure in the form of meetings, letters, signs and posters to promote their cause (Gotham, 2000a, p. 626). Such social controls, the direction provided by real estate investors, and the support of the legal system were the chief means of partitioning.

One of the instruments used to control the racial composition of neighborhoods was the restrictive covenant. Prior to 1900 the main restriction that existed on the ownership transfer of property in Kansas City, by race or by whatever restriction, was that which was executed in an individual property deed. Neighborhoods were typically mixed with respect to race and income. This began to gradually change when the index of black residency pattern increased from 12.7 in 1890 to 13.2 in 1900. After 1900 the index began to climb precipitously, with the index of isolation rising to 21.7 in 1910, to 23.7 in 1920, and to 31.6 in 1930 (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 24). The first racially restrictive covenant was executed in 1900 in Johnson County (Kansas), followed by Clay County in 1903, Jackson in 1908, and Platte County in 1930. These racially restrictive covenants were either executed between homeowners and neighborhood associations or applied at the sale of houses in new subdivisions (2000a, pp. 623-624). A 1948 Supreme Court decision nullifying the covenants affected 354 subdivisions in the Kansas City area: 148 in Johnson County, Kansas, 138 in Jackson County, Missouri, 34 in Clay County and 34 in Platte County. Patterns and practices were slow to change, however. Racially restrictive covenants were still recorded, however: 222 in Johnson County, 54 in Clay County and 957 in Jackson County. Racially restrictive covenants are recorded until 1954 in Platte County, 1960 in Jackson County, and the last in 1962 in Johnson County, 14 years after the Supreme Court declared them unenforceable (Gotham, 2000a, p. 623). Typically the language of a deed included provisions that disallowed properties to be sold, rented or occupied by blacks for a period of twenty five years, or alternately language that disallowed sale, lease, rental or occupancy to blacks at *any* future time, as

well as to persons that are, by one forth blood or greater, “Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Turks, Persians, Syrians and Arabians” unless these persons occupy the premises as “bona fide domestic servants” (Webster, 1949, p. 173). Interestingly enough, among deed examples found, there is no mention of Mexicans, Hispanics or Latino buyers or inhabitants. This is likely due to the nature of the demarcated Hispanic community in the Kansas City region.

Assumptions about residential planning can be gleaned from Kansas City’s 1947 Master Plan. This plan allocated public services, roads, and other amenities based on a valuation of communities as to their “normality.” The layout of the city is perceived in terms of “white districts” and “Negro districts,” which guided the planning activities (Gotham 2000c, pp. 167-168). As already noted, the relationship between the planning perspective guided by philosophical rationalism entails an all-encompassing system, rational-deductive thinking, scientific principles that are broadly accepted and taken as a natural part of the system context for planning (cf. Camhis, 1979, pp. 24-27). Gotham’s (2000c, p. 168) explanation of Kansas City’s planning approach shows the presence of these characteristics:

Urban planners in Kansas City were not just perceiving or representing an objective reality but, in a normative and strategic sense, were constructing an urban future that prescribed how and where specific racial groups should live. Under the guise of technical skills and empirical observations, planners conceived of the city as an object of investment and racial ordering that was capable of rational and scientific study. Such a conception allowed planers to put forth a seemingly objective, unprejudiced, and value-free analyses and conclusions indicating that the city could be transformed, corrected, and improved though trained and disciplined professionals and experts. Planners defined racial residential segregation to be a normal feature of residential life and designed plans to reinforce and perpetuate the geographical separation of the races.

Several public housing sites were built in the early 1950s, usually on a segregated basis. Various projects housed whites and non-black minorities, while other projects housed blacks. Moreover, as slums were removed and housing projects built, public housing residents were concentrated within a six-mile radius of one another around the inner city due to the objections of outlying neighborhoods to the presence of public housing (Gotham, 2000b, pp. 298-303). Likewise while many of Kansas City's mayors suggested disbursing the residential demographic of poorer neighborhoods, surrounding areas have responded by weighing in with heavy opposition. Residents of suburban cities have rallied "against HUD-sponsored low-income housing plans in Lee's Summit, Blue Springs, Independence, Clay and Platte Counties, Shawnee, Lenexa, and Kansas City, Kansas" (Gotham, 1998b, p. 459). Housing projects have therefore remained huddled together in a relatively small area of Kansas City.

Loans for residential housing were also differentially made to whites and blacks. In 1992, for example, the Kansas City ratio of "white to black [mortgage] rejection" was 2.8, meaning blacks are 2.8 times more likely to experience decline of a mortgage loan than whites. This places Kansas City with the second highest mortgage rejection ratio in the nation, just behind Chicago. It is frequently argued that these results are not directly linked to applicants' credit ratings. This is because while those with a very desirable credit rating will have a 97 percent success rate in obtaining a home mortgage regardless of race, there are many prospective homebuyers who do not have a very desirable rating. In these instances there is room for discretion as to the degree a lender will work with a

prospective mortgage holder, and blacks are thought to be at a disadvantage in these instances (Gotham, 1998a, p. 401; Gotham, 1998c, pp. 17-18).

Among those who established housing policies, the ideal prototypes of city living, ideal neighborhoods, desirable neighbors and sound city layout were buttressed by a system of federal, national, local and city practices. These practices were purportedly based on rational and scientific principles that were in conformity with the “natural” workings of the urban system. A perspective of philosophical rationalism thus guided planning among selected areas and among selected portions of the city’s population. This explains some of the ideas that formulated policy, however the analysis of ideas and perspectives alone is insufficient to fully understand policy formation. Ideas took place within a context of an economic and material environment, and without understanding the constraints and opportunities of that environment, it is not possible to understand how both the ideals and environment interplayed to produce the policy of residential segregation.

The Materialist Basis of Urban Development

Materialism seeks to find the rationale for social events and dynamics in what Harris terms the infrastructure or what Marx terms the mode of production. This includes subsistence, ecological relationships, and the earning of livelihoods and patterns associated with work and production (Harris, 1979, p. 52). Materialism also seeks to understand the infrastructural bases of human conflict and cooperation, dynamics that invariably play out in politics and policy.

Urban development can be understood from a materialist perspective. The conflicts associated with the development policy of the community builders, federal government, and local entities such as cities and real estate organizations and agents were based on profits. Nichols indicated that one of the reasons he was in the real estate business is that there was and will continue to be money in it (Nichols, 1937). As understandable as this is, the conditions that made such an endeavor possible, and how this affects racial segregation, are important. This leads to a number of certain questions. What is discrimination? Why does it exist? Why are the pariahs of society variously, at different times and places, Irish, or Catholic, or Protestant, or black, or a host of other groups signaled by a set of markers or marker that becomes highly relevant at one time and considerably less relevant at another time? A review of the prominent literature examines some of these questions with respect to racial discrimination.

The nature of discrimination

One of the most seminal and celebrated studies of the nature of discrimination against blacks is Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944). This study was commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation to study the problems of race in American society. The Corporation chose Myrdal, a relatively young Swedish economist who had developed an academic reputation in Europe, who was from a non-imperialist nation, was politically astute and as one who had a fresh perspective on the problem by virtue of not having studied it. Myrdal also had a "social problems" perspective to his work and was strong on social engineering and public intervention in matters of economics and politics (Jackson, 1990, pp. 32-33). Myrdal's

work on race left a legacy. His *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) was cited in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* in militating against school segregation and the “separate but equal” doctrine (Kindleberger, 1987, p. 397). One researcher even declares that “Scientific racism did not begin to disappear from American universities until the 1940's—not until the publication of such consensus-creating documents as Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* in 1944” (Hovenkamp, 1985, p. 671).

Myrdal's approach to the problem of racism toward blacks was to study the ideas of the majority and to view these ideas with other historical ideological prototypes associated with the United States, such as the American Creed. Myrdal would then examine the contradictions of values, incorporating psychological and values perspectives into the analysis.

Myrdal argued that the American Creed was a standard reference for civil society, entailing “liberty, equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everybody” (Myrdal, 1962, p. lxxii). Myrdal (1962, p. 87) argued this creed was inconsistently applied to actions and policies toward blacks. Myrdal also argued that the discrimination that blacks faced was due to a “vicious circle” of ideas about blacks that were in an initially instance caused by white discrimination, resulting in poverty, low levels of education and the like, then with the results of that initial discrimination being used as a rationale for further discrimination—“[w]hite prejudice and Negro standards thus mutually ‘cause’ each other” (Myrdal, 1962, p. 75).

Throughout Myrdal's work one can see the use of concepts such as values, creeds, beliefs, ideologies, psychologies, and political persuasions as factors relating to the establishment and maintenance of policies and attitudes about race. As one reviewer notes, "the 'value problem' Myrdal identified in America reads like a psychoanalytic case history of the whole nation. Values were the medium for social integration, yet also that which cause disintegration. There was something wrong with American values, both in regard to their content and their structure within the psyche" (Berggren, 2001, p. 446). This approach and psychological interpretation is frequently puzzling. The explanations Myrdal provides for lynchings, for example, are highly socio-mental and psychological. Myrdal (1962, p. 562) states that "[t]he South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally." He further suggests that "[t]he atmosphere around lynching is astonishingly like that of the tragic phenomenon of 'witch hunting'. . . The sadistic elements in most lynchings also point to a close relationship between lynching and thwarted sexual urges." Myrdal (1962, p. 563) also sees religious services as well as thwarted urges as playing a role in the practice: "Occasional violently emotional revival services, and regular appeals in ordinary preaching to fear and passion rather than to calm reasoning, on the one hand, and denunciations of modern thought, scientific progress, and all kinds of nonconformism, on the other hand, help to create a state of mind which makes a lynching less extraordinary."

Many problems are noted with Myrdal's approach. Myrdal's reliance on the use of the American Creed came into question. One reviewer (Platt, 1992, p. 138) notes that

“[l]eftists had little hope that the "American Creed," which was used to justify imperialism and neocolonialism abroad, could be the harbinger of racial equality at home.” A review of the development of Myrdal’s study also suggests that Myrdal, inexperienced in such analyses, conducted it favoring socio-mental and psychological explanations and pulled from them as they seemed to fit the analysis (or perhaps not fit, as in the explanation of lynching above). The concept of the American Creed is again an example. As Platt (1992. p. 138) notes, “Myrdal did not approach the study with a clear design or theoretical framework; rather his views were formed in the course of doing the study and his famous interpretation of the ‘American Creed’ was almost an afterthought.”

This discussion focuses on Myrdal’s work, however idealational approaches to cultural phenomena such as racism consists of explanations of ideas not tied to the basics of causality, with ideas themselves occurring on their own, *ex nihilo*. Ideas are related to themselves or to ideas or values that develop over time, often involving some psychological characteristic inherent in humans or an identifiable group. To be sure, the ideas and events Myrdal describes did and do exist; however the nature of these phenomena requires further explanation. It is argued here that the “vicious circle” of white perception of black lifeways, being acted upon to ensure the perpetuation of those perceptions and lifeways as described by Myrdal, does not contain sufficient factors of causality.

Ethnic competition theory

A theory that is consistent and complimentary to a materialist perspective is ethnic competition theory. This is because ethnic competition theory, while not specifically cultural materialism, nonetheless shares with cultural materialism a strategy of examining work patterns, economic conditions and how these conditions, in tandem with political organization, to explain social phenomena (cf. Harris, 1979, pp. 51-54). Events of racial discrimination over time and space can be studied in the context of specific environments. One study using event-history analysis shows that competition among ethnic or racial groups is related to discrimination and violence in a number of ways. In *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*, Susan Olzak (1992) argues that the process of job competition in environments of economic contraction, changes in the types of jobs groups tend to occupy (which she terms “job queues”) and immigration patterns are associated with the rise of minority organizations (e.g. unions and associations), racial violence and discrimination (Olzak, 1992, pp. 87-89, 135-144). Findings are that minority poverty itself is not associated with racial minority rioting or tensions (Olzak, Shanahan & McEneaney, 1996). However in conjunction with desegregation, or elevated contact, differential access to resources may be associated with increasing racial violence and discrimination under conditions of competition (Olzak, 1992, p. 213).

The competitive ethnic competition explanation of lynching is much more grounded and understandable than Myrdal's:

How does our hypothesis regarding the effects of southern social structure and political process fair? First consider the effect of cotton prices. Both the lagged price of cotton and the year-to-year change in the price of cotton have significant effects on the frequency of lynching. But the effects differ in sign. Lynching declined during periods of peak cotton prices. But when the annual cotton price rose, lynchings surged. Why would this be the case? To answer this question, we must return to the historical speculations about the impact of economic prosperity on the rates of racial violence in the South: the greater the prosperity, the greater the dependence on King Cotton. By this argument, economic prosperity increased the need to exert social control over the sources of cheap labor in the south, the Africa-Americans. The positive and significant effect of annual changes in cotton prices suggests that short-term economic shocks had direct effects on lynching (Olzak, 1992, pp. 133-134).

There are other events associated with increases in lynchings such as downturns in low-skilled industries, political cycles and political competition (Olzak, 1992, pp. 133-134). This approach to a social phenomenon is much more empirically based and closely tied to observable factors. It provides not only understandable but documented associations—associations that can be further explored and perhaps explained by examining longitudinal patterns in the context of historical qualitative data.

Competition in Kansas City

Competition occurred in Kansas City, Missouri in a several ways. First, blacks competed with other groups regarding access to housing. There are claims that housing competition was not consistent over time. One researcher doubts that racial tensions were linked directly to housing availability, but instead the desired characteristics of neighborhoods:

...the bombings of black householders began in Kansas City in 1923, near the peak in a period of unprecedented home construction, and the bombings ended in 1927, shortly after homes construction began to decline. This evidence suggests that the motive for violence in Kansas City was not

competition for a finite group of houses, but contention over the character of specific neighborhoods. The location of the core black community meant that, when the community expanded, it expanded into neighborhoods that had ceased to meet Kansas City's standards for an ideal residential district sometime before (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 106-107).

The degree to which there was direct competition over housing is questionable and somewhat complicated. Housing construction itself may not be a good indicator. In the 1920 census a total population of 324,410 in Kansas City, Missouri is recorded, and dwellings, "including those occupied by institutions" is recorded at 61,321. This means that an average of 5.29 persons are resided in each dwelling. In the 1930 census a total population of 399,746 is recorded for Kansas City, Missouri, and the number of dwellings "including those occupied by institutions" is recorded at 79,401. This means that there were an average of 5.03 persons per dwelling. This is indeed a lower ratio of persons to dwellings than in 1920, however the ratios do not seem highly dissimilar. It is also likely that older dwelling areas were more contested than newer dwelling areas. Both whites and blacks increased in population. Whites population increased from 266,197 to 357,741, a 34 percent increased; the black population increased from 30,719 to 38,574, a 26 percent increase (U. S. Census, 1930). It is nonetheless the case that the desired characteristic of neighborhoods also played a role for an economic reason other than scarcity, and that is the perceived maintenance of value.

The condition of crowding among blacks persisted in future decades. A similar situation existed in Kansas City between 1940 and 1958 when a mere 106 single family building permits were issued for black-occupied housing (Greene, Kremer & Holland, 1993, p. 162). Housing competition was particularly heavy after soldiers' return from

World War II, and in Kansas City the percentage of crowded non-white homes was around 10 percent, whereas the percentage of crowded white homes was around five percent (Greene, Kremer & Holland, 1993, pp. 160, 177).

Competition over jobs is another type of competition to consider, and one frequently associated with discrimination and conflict. This competition, if accompanied by discriminatory practices, can also affect race relations and residential segregation. In the early twentieth century, there was “a universal feeling among white laborers that it is not right to employ Negroes when there is white labor to be had” (Martin, 1913, p. 48). While businesses tended to claim that labor was not based on race but economics, “in hundreds of cases white laborers have refused to work with Negroes, especially in the skilled trades” (Martin, 1913, p. 48). This resulted in a division of labor whereby the most difficult and uncomfortable work generally went to blacks (Martin, 1913, p. 48). During this time, however, Kansas City meat packers drew upon the black population to break strikes, and blacks began to increasingly compete with other laborers, taking less of a role as servants, barbers and the like (Thelen, 1986, p. 54).

Competition continued throughout the 1930s. In both the cities of the North and South black unemployment was substantially higher than white unemployment and “[c]ompetition between white and Negro workers became acute” in both the North and the South. During this time of economic depression whites began to work more in the less desirable jobs that were primarily worked by blacks (Hawkins, 1973, p. 146; Johnson, 1942, pp. 854-855).

During the 1940s employment discrimination began to be met by protests and organized resistance when blacks were not hired or trained in defense industries and barred from labor unions (Webster, 1949, p. 27). Frequently blacks were hired for specific jobs. The North American Aviation Company plant in Kansas City, Kansas hired blacks only as janitors. Protest, publicity and eventual government intervention caused the local plant to institute a temporary policy of non-discriminatory hiring (Granger, 1949, p. 74; Schirmer, 2002, pp. 182-186; Weaver 1945, pp. 599, 610). Some plants, such as Standard Steel in Kansas City, stated that “[w]e have never had a Negro worker in twenty-five years and don't intend to start now” (Granger, 1942, p. 74). In Pratt & Whitney in Kansas City, the machinists union insisted upon separate eating facilities in the company cafeteria, causing a boycott, and excluded blacks from an equal level of membership in the union (Weaver, 1945, p. 622). There is also a position in the literature that claims conflict at the plant came from managers and foremen, not from rank-and-file workers who described race relations at that level as “harmonious” (Schirmer, 2002, p. 188). It is claimed in Kansas City that management, the middle class and wealthier citizens were the ones who enforced color lines more often than non-black laborers and other low income workers (Schirmer, 2002, pp. 63, 76, 94-95). This would suggest that (1) lower income workers did not have the degree of prejudicial sentiments of middle and upper income non-blacks or (2) that they did not have power or means to enact discriminatory actions consistent or complementary to middle and upper class majority members, or (3) that with owners, managers, unions, and the like taking a less than favorable stance toward black laborers the role of their involvement in

enforcing such a position would not be highly relevant. These possibilities require further study and research. Also consistent with what ethnic competition theory might suggest, are the practices of redlining and differential access to home mortgages. These practices and additional access to housing resources and funding for whites placed whites at a greater advantage in terms of mobility and access to jobs in the suburbs where jobs were increasingly available.

Competition affected the Hispanic community, however the dynamics were different. While Hispanics are located throughout the metropolitan area, in many places, like blacks, Hispanics still tend to occupy specific areas. They previously expanded their boundaries as upwardly mobile groups moved into higher quality housing. Over the past few decades Hispanics have increasingly moved into other areas of the metropolitan area, however the political and legal environment is quite different from the early years of notable housing segregation practices. Hispanics also occupy a unique niche regarding employment. While Hispanics are in every occupation, they are more likely than other area workers to work in laborer and production positions and less likely to work in technical positions, clerical and office positions and marketing and sales (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 24). Some of this likely relates to language barrier. Hispanic immigrants frequently work in employment within their community in labor-intensive jobs, and in many Hispanic communities this is within Hispanic small businesses. In a study of the types of work ethic group members perform, Mexicans and Central Americans consistently had smaller portions of workers in supervisory roles and jobs that require computer and mathematical skills (Hum, 1992, p. 92). In a 2006 study

of Kansas City area immigrants, it was found that Hispanic males typically work in construction (26 percent), hospitality (19 percent), manufacturing (11 percent), janitorial (10 percent), labor (9 percent), landscaping (5 percent) and retail (5 percent) jobs. Hispanic female immigrants most frequently work in hospitality (33 percent), janitorial (20 percent), manufacturing (9 percent), retail (8 percent) and health care (5 percent) jobs. Among female Kansas City immigrants surveyed in 2005, 8.1 percent did not work (Lewis, 2006, p. 26). Hispanics also work in the most dangerous jobs and have the highest occupational death rates in the Kansas City area and nationally (Casey, 2005), and many take jobs in less desirable work conditions if they are undocumented immigrants because they lack the ability to protest unfair treatment (Johnson & Oliver, 1989, p. 453). Hispanics regularly face a number of risks not shared with other workers due to “regulatory neglect, lack of medial coverage, and greedy or indifferent employers who tolerate unsafe working conditions or an ill-trained workforce” (Valle and Torres, 1994, p. 1).

The social dynamics of black and Hispanic communities are different. There are also instances of competition between blacks and Hispanics for jobs. Polls and reports state that blacks feel there is competition between some segments of their group and Hispanics (Jackson, 1995, p. 247; Johnson & Oliver, 1989, p. 453). It is also suggested that the two minority groups both tend to search for employment in low-growth areas, while whites tend to search for employment in high-growth areas. This may be related to the cost of the job search (e.g. transportation costs), and is evidence of a link between residential segregation and access to employment (Stoll & Raphael, 2000, pp. 202-203). However

the two groups go about finding employment differently. Hispanics are more likely to obtain employment through contact with persons such as neighbors or workers at a company, while blacks more frequently utilize employment services (Elliott & Sims, 2001). This likely reinforces the relationship between residential segregation and employment for Hispanics. One must be cognizant, however, that while some generalizations are made that these are qualified, as Hispanics represent a variegated group within metropolitan areas (Aponte, 1991). Another consideration is the social or spatial proximity of Hispanics to other ethnic groups. Ethnic competition theory suggests that the more segregated the Hispanic community is, or at least has been in the past, the less likely it is that conflict will develop despite their depressed living standards and conditions (cf. Olzak, Shanahan & McEneaney, 1996, p. 591). However it is worth noting that Hispanics tend to have lower dissimilarity and isolation indices than blacks, (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 77). The degree of self-advocacy by Hispanics does not match that of the black community. The presence of immigration heavily affects the character and function of the Hispanic community and Hispanics frequently and historically have their attention tethered not only to their local community but also to ties in their country of origin. As an example, one study states that among Kansas City area respondents surveyed that 49 percent sent remittances to family members in the country from which they immigrated. The median monthly amount was \$200 (Lewis, 2003, p.13), suggesting strong ties and orientation toward the native countries. These reasons, particularly given the nature of immigration and population change, the Hispanic community never did develop a unified political stature that the black community did.

Starting within the decade of the 1960s an Hispanic civil rights movement began to take shape, however it never reached the prominence of the black civil rights movement (Ruiz, Hernandez & McKay, 1988, p. 1).

Much of what is observed in the Kansas City region is also documented elsewhere. A study of blacks, Irish, Eastern Europeans, Italians, Germans, French and other ethnic groups that also accounted for religious groupings found that the economic and labor conditions experienced by respective groups, in conjunction with other economic factors such as industrialization and immigration trends and events, affects rates of inter-group intolerance. Greater intolerance is also found between various groups and blacks in secondary labor markets than in primary labor markets. In short, the characteristic of ethnicity itself is overshadowed by the respective economic and socio-structural circumstances that affect the relations between ethnic groups (Cummings, 1980).

Community and wealth

It would be remiss not to discuss wealth in the analysis of residential segregation. As residential segregation provided a demarcation between groups in terms of the geography of housing, enforced and reinforced by policy, preference and organizations, wealth also served to demarcate groups in terms of housing affordability and access to resources. The disparity of wealth between whites, blacks and Hispanics in the Kansas City area is evident in U.S Census data of 1990 and 2000 analyzed in Chapter 4. Wealth is an historical disparity which usually mirrors income but that has a dynamic of its own in addition to earned income. Holding wealth in terms of net worth or net monetary assets further divides the ability of respective ethnic groups to build value in their housing

stock (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997, pp. 58-60), as would the differential patterns of inheritance between ethnic groups (cf. Avery & Rendall, 2002).

Materialism, planning and policy

A materialist perspective considers the access to and flow of resources among segments of the population and among and between groups. Policy, whether public or private, is that which controls the access, flow and direction of those resources. A materialist perspective does not deny market forces, but analyzes how interested parties act given those market forces, and in many cases actually shape those market forces, or both.

The present analysis points to events that are interpreted within a materialist framework and occur simultaneously on a number of levels and simultaneously among different groups. The Federal Housing Administration, the developers who helped shape policy, realtors, homebuyers, neighborhood associations and city planners all acted within a single but multifaceted environment that affected residential segregation. The Federal Housing Administration and nationally known realtors and developers pursued a housing development path that was profitable and provided housing to homebuyers. Kansas City area developers, neighborhood associations and city planners formulated a plan whereby developers could offer housing that met the perceived needs of residents of the day in terms of neighborhood characteristics and property value stability. Many of the policies were pursued in terms of the ideals and images prevalent in the day regarding preferred housing type and the comforts of neighborhood living. While many of these perceptions and ideals have little to do with the materialist rationale of housing

development at the level of ideas, they dovetail with what would be expected from a materialist analysis.

Individuals, Society, Development and Policy

Each group studied in this analysis saw their efforts and future tied to their respective communities. The developers, blacks and Hispanics all see societal action and development in the context of a broader society. The developers understood the communities they developed in terms of neighborhoods and sought commonalities in shared norms of neighborhood and community. City planners sought development of the build environment in terms of “white” and “black” neighborhoods and, like the developers, sought buffers between various groups and features within the community (e.g. white areas, black areas, park areas, public housing areas, and the like). The black community understood their development in terms of a common struggle for civil rights, justice and equality. The Hispanic community likewise had a common perspective that stressed the community.

What separates these groups the most is how community is perceived. The developer’s perspective at various times proscribed the idea of community to a specific audience within the community that they wished to serve, to the exclusion of others. At other times, real estate agents and companies saw two communities and took advantage of this through the practice of blockbusting. Blacks perhaps had the most comprehensive perspective on community as they sought to assimilate into new housing areas and markets and advance in the socio-economic structure. The perspective of city planners was also relatively holistic, but proscribed instead of opened access to

resources. Hispanics also sought civil rights in access to healthcare and education. Their identity, however, was specifically and heavily tied to a geographic area within the city, at least until the past few decades, as well as to their country of origin and its immigrants moving to the Kansas City metropolitan area.

Policies established to create desired communities among the parties involved have been described; they variously entailed restricted access to neighborhoods, racially restrictive covenants, planning of buffers to delineate access, access to housing loans, the use of neighborhood associations to enforce access or access restrictions to neighborhoods, planning to maintain a segregated order. The social order that was institutionalized by these policies was variously enforced by legal and vigilante means by some parties while being protested and challenged by others. This came to involve all branches and levels of government as segregation policies were variously formed, redefined and weakened or eliminated.

Change, Development and Policy

The theory of change in the study of residential segregation and policy is of importance. The practices of the Nichols Company in the early years appear piecemeal when compared to its later practices of community and neighborhood building. Early approaches to development did not entailed perpetual deed restrictions; deed restrictions later grew from 10 years to 20 and 25-year durations, only later to become perpetual (Nichols, n.d.d.). Nichols also started to sell lots with improvements added, buy land more strategically and came to support zoning and the creation of neighborhood organizations to foster neighborhood stability (Nichols, 1924; Nichols 1937). This

approach to real estate development and city planning required that if change were to happen, it must happen in a coordinated way and over fairly short time horizons. Blacks, too, changed their tactics to achieve change. Black leaders began to abandon the approach of change by the use of legalities, which tends to insure incrementalism, in favor of establishing a political movement (Barker, 1994, p. 3). Change fostered by the pressure of a movement may be deeper and faster acting. This is because that "the political logic that underlies movements is that only large-scale action and demands can get beyond incrementalism to achieve fundamental changes in the structure of social relations, political power, or economic reward" (Salisbury, 1989, p. 22). Such efforts on the part of Hispanics were not nearly as successful and many of their protests regarding changes in access to schooling or healthcare may be regarded as incremental. Municipal planning, for the most part, was incremental. It nonetheless followed the path of planning established by the developers. This path was comprehensive, holistic and also required the coordination among several planning and political entities to achieve development goals. Thus both the perspectives on change of developers and black leaders can be interpreted as punctuated equilibrium. However many of the outcomes, especially in civil rights, are incremental or evolved, as the result of legislative and court battles.

Culture, Residential Segregation and Culture Theory

In analyzing the cultural perspectives of each party in terms of the culture theory outlined in Chapter 2, some interesting observations emerge. The perspective of the developers and black leaders is not significantly different. The position of the black

community is nearly as orthodox as that of Nichols's. Even the analysis in the *Call* regarding the debate between Kilpatrick and King pointed to an acceptance of legal and constitutional arguments as opposed to those based on less grounded ideology. Both perspectives are characterized by philosophical rationalism. Both espouse the importance of ideas as prime movers, however there is somewhat more of recognition of materialist factors on the part of the developers. Nichols, for example, discusses the need for not pursuing purchases of a series of small parcels, instead strategically purchasing larger tracts, and discusses the flow of traffic patterns and other material aspects of planning (Nichols, 1924). Both see events as unfolding in the context of a community, not in terms of individual actions or mechanisms that stand apart. Both also came to hold a perspective that can be characterized as punctuated equilibrium, moving from one equilibrium to a qualitatively different and more desirable equilibrium. Where these two groups differ is in their respective policies and approaches to residential policy and this is significantly related to their respective positions as to how they fare in the material order. Nichols stood to gain from his approach, but blacks did not. The importance of this observation is that while two groups may have a theory of culture that lies along the same axes, or nearly so, the relative position of the groups with respect to the material order may make their respective approaches quite different. This highlights the importance of the idea and materialist axis—from the standpoint of the researcher applying the theory—in understanding the implications for policy. One may notice as well that the theory can be used to analyze respective parties, their positions and their behavior, but the theory can also be used as establishing a position from which the

researcher performs the analysis. There is little in the way of documents that describes the Hispanic approach to the philosophical rationalism versus skepticism axis or the idea versus material axis. They certainly perceived the presence and action of community as paramount in their daily lives and future. Their perspective on change was largely one that initiated changes is steps, first in achieving access to one resource, then to another. This incrementalism also informed their perspective on policy and the pursuit of policy goals. As noted Hispanics did have a civil rights movement, however this movement was far from prominent and not nearly as significant as the black civil rights movement. Whether this is due to the legalities and dynamics of immigration, linguistic isolation, or strong exogenous ties to their nation of origin is a topic for study and consideration.

Conclusions

The purpose of this analysis is twofold. First, it is to analyze and compare the differences and similarities of blacks and Hispanics with respect to residential segregation. This analysis is performed using a concept of culture.

The experience of blacks is quite different than the experience of Hispanics. Blacks immigrated to the Kansas City area with a higher volume of immigrants at certain periods since the course of initial immigration. Hispanics migrated in relatively smaller numbers in the early period of Hispanic immigration, and their communities functioned differently. Their communities were and are markedly different with respect to character and purpose. Blacks moving into the Kansas City area moved from a number of different areas, most throughout the South. Hispanics, mainly Mexicans, moved from various locations in Mexico, however they were able to establish ties with other

immigrants from their native country and many, even in the present day, maintain close ties with family in their motherland. There was a intragroup unity in both the black and Hispanic communities in the Kansas City region. Blacks, however, had a much stronger civil rights movement, not only in the Kansas City region, but nationally. Hispanics did have a civil rights movement, but this was quite weak in the Kansas City area compared to that of blacks.

Another difference between these two minorities was their relationship to the majority white community. Both minorities experienced discrimination. Blacks, however, were in greater contact with white residential areas and were more likely, even adjusted for their greater number, to move into a white neighborhood. As we saw in ethnic competition theory, racial conflict increases with desegregation. Hispanics, until the past few decades, largely remained in an identifiable community. They frequently expanded their community area by purchasing housing from other immigrant groups as those immigrant groups became able to buy housing elsewhere. As a result of these dynamics, the formal public and private means of controlling space were most often directed toward blacks. Whether through Kansas City, Missouri's city planning, restrictive deeds, neighborhood association or other control instruments the focus was directed mainly toward blacks, although at times to other immigrant groups to a lesser degree. Residential segregation often interfaces with other types of segregation or discrimination, such as with employment. Housing segregation therefore does not stand by itself as a form of discrimination, but occurs in the context of other discrimination.

Secondly, the purpose of this study is use a theory of culture to analyze a social phenomenon and the policy associated with that phenomenon. What is unique about this analysis is that the assumptions and underlying nature of housing segregation are brought directly to the front as the primary means of examining and understanding racial residential segregation. As a result, this study is as much about culture and culture theory and policy as it is about racial residential segregation. There is a considerable literature that examines the history, trends, laws, formal and informal tools and patterns of racial residential segregation. In much of this literature the underlying perspective informing the research is often unstated and not specifically examined. In many celebrated works, such as Myrdal's research, adequate data is not brought to bear on the topic. The purpose of this analysis is to bring to policy and urban studies the realization that culture is not a superfluous consideration in studying policy development or an urban phenomenon, but instead an integral and central part of that analysis.

To accomplish this, this research examined both majority and minority cultural attributes using four axes of a cultural theory: rationalism versus skepticism, idealism versus materialism, the individual versus the community and theories of change. There is an extensive literature on each of these axes, and it is found that there is ample literature on racial residential segregation in the Kansas City region that can be linked to these axes. It is expected that this research will elucidate an innovative approach to the study of the nature of policy and policy formation. It is also an approach that can inform policy research in a number of areas, both for historical analysis and future policy formation as well as for both domestic and international policy evaluation and research.

CHAPTER 4

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN THE URBAN SYSTEM: CHANGE AND EMERGING PATTERNS OVER SPACE AND TIME (USING THE 1990 AND 2000 U.S. CENSUSES)

Introduction

This chapter uses the census data of 1990 and 2000 to examine the relationship between indices of dissimilarity and isolation and socioeconomic and housing variable over gradients of density, density growth, population growth and linguistic isolation quadrants. Most importantly, it bridges the gap between the historical research and modern observations to better understand the nature of residential segregation. The inquiry into racial residential segregation therefore examines the topic not only using historical and qualitative methodology but also quantitative methods to research recent developments using 1990 and 2000 census data. The question remains one of identifying similarities and differences in the racial residential segregation of blacks and Hispanics. This entails examining how patterns of density, density growth and population growth interact with these minorities' patterns of segregation and what relationships between variables and segregation patterns exist. Data is also analyzed for city and county areas. In this way the research complements the historical observations made in Chapter 3 regarding racial residential segregation, particularly in an era marked by the diminished formal and informal restrictions minorities once faced.

The effect of policy and culture over time explains much about the segregation patterns of blacks and Hispanics and how those patterns are both similar and different. This leaves much to question, however, about what the nature of current settlement and residential patterns in more recent years, particularly what similarities and differences these two groups share in high growth and low growth or declining areas of the metropolitan area. Do growth patterns have an effect on residential segregation as demonstrated by statistical modeling? This analysis uses urban and social ecology frameworks—density, density growth, population growth, city or county regions and gradients of linguistic isolation—to answer this question.

Such urban and social ecology approaches are implicit in many social and location theories that entail residential patterns. The Tiebout model, for example, postulates residential choice in terms of competing arrays of services that community residents wish to consume (Tiebout, 1956). In this model consumers weigh the various options of community services, transportation resources, preferred neighborhoods and other factors in considering their choice of residency (Wassmer, 2005). However such residential choices are frequently based upon the resources of the consumer themselves, and as will be demonstrated here, minorities face a differential in their average holdings of income and resources vis-à-vis the minority population (whites) and vis-à-vis each other. Further, these choices take place in a complex interaction between and among a variety of factors that have demographic effects: the historical patterns of residence as affected by public and private sector residential policies (Gotham, 2000a, 2000b), race and ethnic differentials in wealth and income (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997), and the matching, or rather

mismatching, of residential localities and the location of employment (Elliott & Sims, 2001).

The specific use of density as an urban ecology concept was popular in the decades of 1950, 1960 and early 1970s (Huie & Frisbie, 2000, p. 509). The use of density as a conceptual framework subsequently waned, however there are several relatively recent uses of density analysis in the studying urban questions. Density is a framework for studies analyzing urban pollution (Nechyba & Walsh, 2004), residential satisfaction (Baldassare, 1982), creativity and intellectual development (Knudsen, Florida, Gates & Stolarick, 2007) and economic segregation (Yang & Jargowski, 2006). Studies that inquire into the interrelationship between density and racial residential segregation are relatively few, but present (cf. Cutler, Glaeser & Vigdor, 1999; Huie & Frisbie, 2000; Pendall, 2001; Powell, 1999 for some examples). Huie and Frisbie (2000), likewise, postulate a link between density patterns in the density of housing structures and racial residential segregation. Cutler, Glaser and Vigdor (1999) also postulate an association between density rates and racial segregation. Different conclusions do exist as to the nature of the associations. Nicheyba and Walsh (2004, p. 184) point out that some researchers see the fastest growing regions of a metropolitan area as experiencing less racial segregation, while others such as Powell see residential segregation increasing in both areas. Powell (2000), for example, states that:

It was the concentration of middle class whites at the periphery of the region that helped cause and made possible the concentration of low-income minorities at the center Racial discrimination in housing, employment,

and educational opportunities, has operated to concentrate poor communities of color in the central city while economic opportunities as well as middle and upper class whites have moved out to suburbia.

Research Design

This study investigates the relationship between the demographic and socio-economic characteristics among blacks and Hispanics in census tract clusters based on density, density growth, population growth and linguistic isolation measures from 1990 to 2000. This is accomplished by the construction of gradients of census tracts based on these demographic characteristics within Jackson, Clay, Platte and Cass Counties in Missouri and Johnson, Wyandotte and Leavenworth Counties in Kansas. Dissimilarity indices, Interaction indices and Isolation indices are first developed. The results are then compared to tract characteristics (per capita income, homeownership rates and other variables). Some comparisons are also made with whites to further develop a basis of comparison.

Mann Whitney U tests for statistical significance are then performed for blacks and Hispanics on the variables of homeownership, median home value, median rent value, per capita income and years of education in the population gradients as well as within city and county areas.

Data is taken and developed from the 1990 and 2000 census years. For 1990, the demographic framework is that of density gradients, linguistic isolation gradients and city and county areas. For the 2000 census, the demographic framework is that of density gradients, density growth gradients (from 1990 to 2000), population growth gradients (from 1990 to 2000), linguistic isolation gradients and city and county areas.

The Construction of Gradients

The gradient is one of the main geographical units of this research. Gradients of census tracts are grouped based on demographic factors, not locality. The gradient was selected as a unit of analysis instead of other popular but lesser defined and structured units. Concepts such as center-periphery or sprawl, for example, are popular in the literature, but may not capture dynamics of change for several reasons. Urbanized areas within the Kansas City metropolitan region are polycentric, not monocentric, and are often characterized by “leapfrogged” development in various spaces throughout the metropolitan region. Sprawl is not a sufficient concept itself for analysis, based on the unevenness of development and associated problems of definition, including “leapfrogging” over the development horizon whereby residential and other development occurs unevenly, leaving space that may later be filled in with development (Irwin & Bockstael, 2006, pp. 89-90). Weissbourd (2004, p. 61) also notes that economic development may occur in a number of different ways, often simultaneously within the same metropolitan area. Similarly, Nechyba and Walsh (2004, pp. 178-179) observe that sprawl is a concept that can display many different characteristics and occur within a number of contexts:

Urban sprawl can take different forms. It may involve low-density residential developments or so-called "edge cities" (clusters of population and economic activity at the urban fringe) that give rise to business activity like office buildings, retail and even manufacturing. It can take the form of planned communities that have their own "downtown" or are aligned to a lake or park. Or it can occur as individual houses pop up across formerly rural landscapes.

Another approach used in this research is not to only examine density, but to also study the change in density from the 1990 to 2000 censuses and to study changes in census population counts as well. This is to account for the prospect that a census tract or tracts can take on population growth within a given area of the tract, but not significantly increase the density of the tract.

To construct the gradients, census tract maps from 1990 and 2000 were compared for the seven counties and identical spaces were identified to assure spatially identical units. In rare cases, several census tracts as a unit from the 1990 census were transformed into a unit that is comprised of several census tracts from the 2000 census. In most cases, a census tract from 1990 was developed into a corresponding census tract unit comprised of two or three 2000 census tracts, or vice versa. This assures identical units for analysis, and is detailed in Table 2, below. This procedure yields 415 census tract units for both the 1990 and 2000 censuses.

For analysis using Mann Whitney U tests, gradients are developed into eight sets. Each set, from the highest density, density growth or population growth to the lowest, is comprised of 50 census tracts each, except for the last category that contains 64 census tracts. The gradients are constructed in this manner due to the relatively larger number of lower data observations among the cases in the least dense and most declining census tracts gradient.

Table 2. Identical Spatial Areas for Joined and Separated Census Tracts for Jackson, Clay, Platte and Cass Counties, Missouri and Wyandotte, Johnson and Leavenworth Counties, Kansas, 1990 and 2000.

	1990 Census Tract(s)	2000 Census Tract(s)
Jackson County, MO	114.03	114.05
		114.06
	135	135.01
		135.02
	136	136.01
		136.02
	138	138.01
		138.02
	139	139.01
		139.02
		139.03
		139.04
	140	140.01
		140.02
		140.03
	141.03	141.07
		141.08
	142.01	142.03
		142.04
	145	145.01
		145.02
	146.02	146.03
		146.04
	147	147.01
		147.02
	149	149.01
		149.02
		149.03
		149.04
		149.05

Table 2. *(continued)*

	1990 Census Tract(s)	2000 Census Tract(s)
Clay County, MO	218	218.01 218.02
Platte County, MO	302.03	302.08 302.09
	303.03	303.05 303.06
Cass County, MO	600	600.01 600.02
	603	603.01 603.02 603.03
	610	610.01 610.02
Wyandotte County, KS	409.01 409.02	409
	411.01 411.02	411
	412.01 412.02	412
	425.01 425.02	425.01
	439.01 439.02	439.05
Johnson County, KS	524.01	524.12 524.13
	524.04	524.16 524.17
	524.06	524.10
	524.07	524.11 524.14
	524.06	524.10 524.15

Table 2. *(continued)*

	1990 Census Tract(s)	2000 Census Tract(s)
Johnson County, KS <i>(continued)</i>	526	526.01
		526.02
		526.03
	528.02	528.02
		528.03
	529.02	529.04
		529.05
		529.06
	535.01	535.55
		535.56
	536	536.01
		536.02
	529.03	529.07
		529.08
	530.01	530.04
		530.05
		530.06
	530.03	530.07
		530.08
		530.09
		530.10
		530.11
	531.03	531.05
		531.06
	532	532.01
		532.02
		532.03
	534.01	534.03
		534.04
		534.05
		534.06

Table 2. *(continued)*

	1990 Census Tract(s)	2000 Census Tract(s)
Johnson County, KS <i>(continued)</i>	534.02	534.07
		538.08
		534.09
		534.10
	535.03	535.06
		535.07
		535.10
	535.04	535.06
		535.09
Leavenworth County, KS	705	705
	706	
	708	708.01
		708.02
	711.98	711.01
		711.02

The range of the sets for density, from the highest density set to the lowest, is:

- (1) 5,302.509 to 2,024.864 persons per square kilometer;
- (2) 1,999.439 to 1,622.877 persons per square kilometer;
- (3) 1,618.583 to 1,262.399 persons per square kilometer;
- (4) 1,255.593 to 1,055.720 persons per square kilometer;
- (5) 1,051.881 to 795.864 persons per square kilometer;
- (6) 789.377 to 469.533 persons per square kilometer;
- (7) 469.401 to 139.077 persons per square kilometer;
- (8) 138.339 to 0.917 persons per square kilometer.

This distribution is reflected in the following graph of population density per square kilometer, graphed in Figure 6.

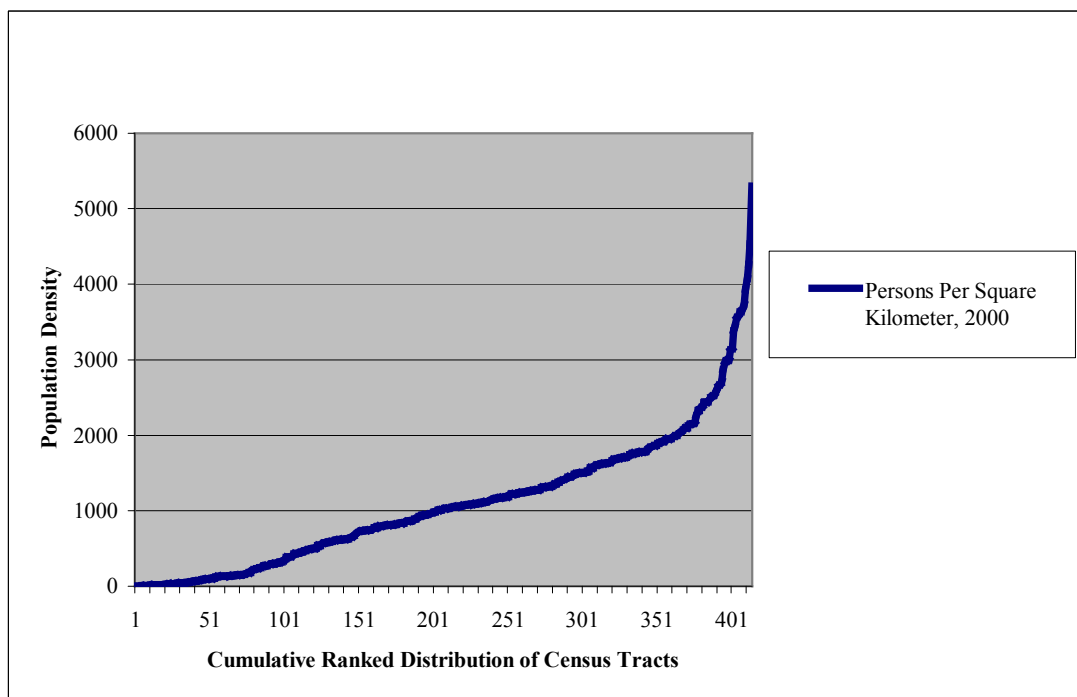


Figure 6. Persons Per Square Kilometer Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 2000.

The range of the sets for density growth, from the highest density growth set to the lowest, is:

- (1) +1,134,477 to +139.259 persons per square kilometer;
- (2) +132.259 to +46.864 persons per square kilometer;
- (3) +46.482 to +11.036 persons per square kilometer;
- (4) +10.972 to -3.606 persons per square kilometer;
- (5) -3.632 to -28.237 persons per square kilometer;
- (6) -28.455 to -75.880 persons per square kilometer;
- (7) -77.272 to -169.871 persons per square kilometer;
- (8) -170.021 to -1,462.481 persons per square kilometer.

This distribution is reflected in the following graph of population density growth per square kilometer, graphed in Figure 7.

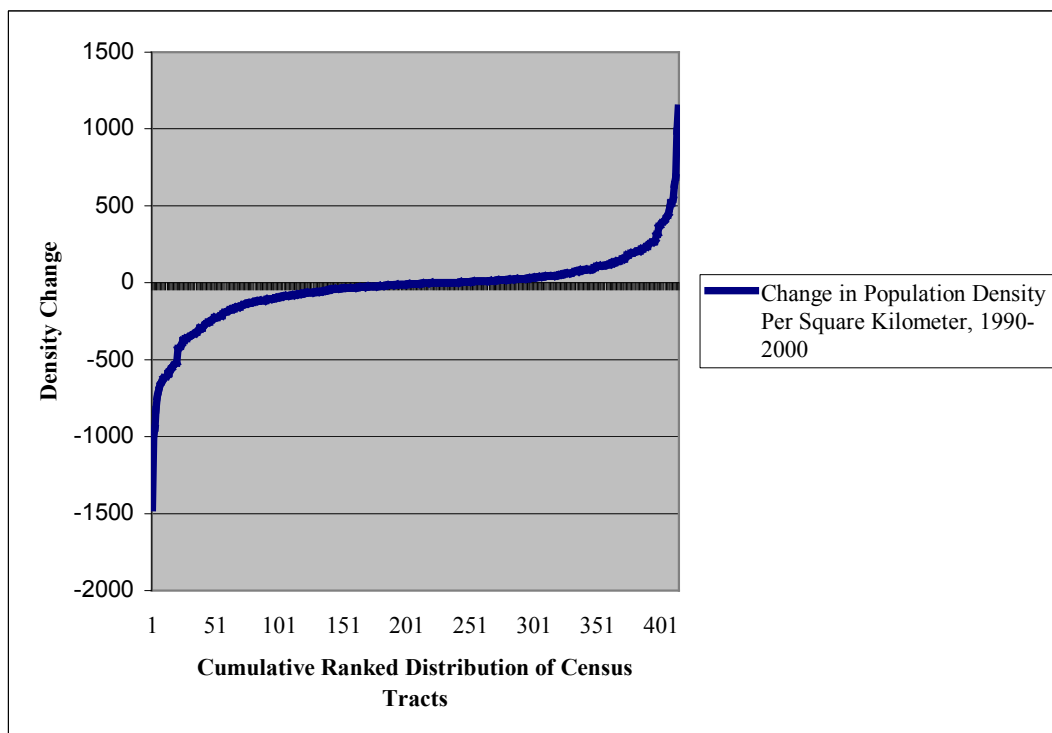


Figure 7. Change in Population Density Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 1990-2000.

The range for the sets for population growth, from the highest population growth set to the lowest, is:

- (1) +667.742% to +37.680%;
- (2) +37.482% to +15.749%;
- (3) +15.609% to +3.768%;
- (4) +3.689% to -0.595%;
- (5) -0.6373% to -3.579%;
- (6) -3.580% to -7.751%;
- (7) -7.774% to -12.897%;
- (8) -12.927% to -100.000%.

This distribution is reflected in the following graph of percentage of population change per square kilometer, graphed in Figure 8:

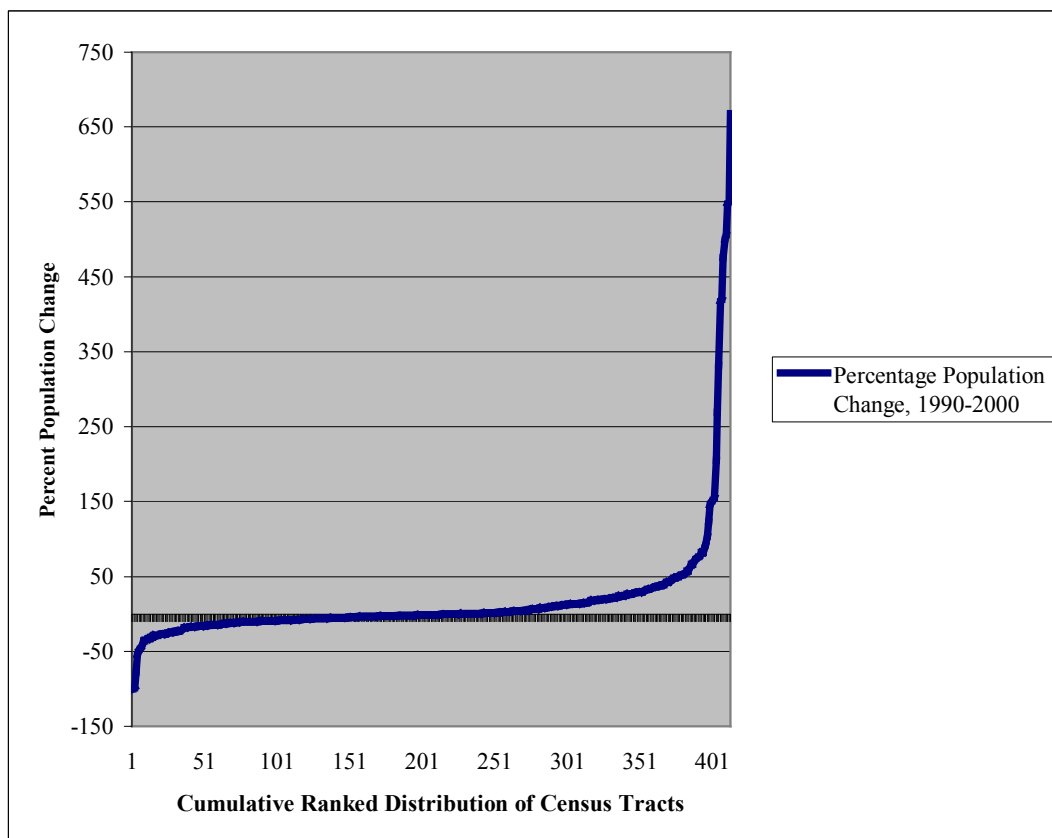


Figure 8. Percentage of Population Change Among Kansas City Area Census Tracts, 1990-2000.

In addition to gradients for density, density growth and population growth, the indicators and indices are also developed into quadrants, with each quadrant consisting of a respective set of two gradients.

Gradients for linguistic isolation clusters are based on those persons who speak Spanish. These clusters are based on the following ranges, from lowest linguistic isolation clusters to highest:

- (1) 0.000% to 10.000%;
- (2) 10.000% to 25.000%;
- (3) 25.000% to 40.000%;
- (4) 40.000% to 100.000%.

Variables

Variables are taken or derived from the 1990 and 2000 censuses. Variables are also used that represent the interaction between the population percentage of race or ethnicity with the respective years of education, per capita income or household income. The primary difference between the 1990 and 2000 regards questions of Hispanic ethnicity. Differences include the instructions to answer both the race and Hispanic origin questions, but placing the Hispanic ethnicity question ahead of the question about race, adding the word “Latino” in the 2000 census form, and requiring respondents to designate their own type of Hispanic origin instead of selecting from a given group of Hispanic origin responses.

Composition of Race and Ethnicity Groups

Since Hispanics may be of white, black or other races, the variables for Hispanics invariably crosscut race categories. Hispanics are included within the racial categories of

white, black, Native American, Hawaiian or Pacific Islander and Asian, with the option to select another non-designated race or to designate that the respondent is of more than one race. Many Hispanics select the response that indicates Hispanic, but of another race. The rates for this response are quite high, representing 44 percent of responses among Hispanics in Jackson County, 28 percent in Clay, 38 percent in Platte, and 21 percent in Cass Counties in Missouri. In Kansas, Hispanics who provided this “other race” response include 52 percent in Wyandotte, 36 percent in Johnson and 26 percent in Leavenworth Counties. Most Hispanics, with the exception of those in Jackson County, Missouri and Wyandotte County, Kansas, selected white as their race in the 2000 census.

In this research, the racial category of “white” represents only non-Hispanic whites, since the goal is to compare the majority population to the minorities. This is the case for population counts for indices and for retrieving or developing variables such as per capita income, owner-occupied housing, and the like. In other words, references to whites in the statistical counts and variables are for non-Hispanic whites to the exclusion of Hispanics who also claim white as a racial identity. The percentage of black Hispanics is very small, from one to four percent. The counts and variables developed for black residents includes both Hispanic and non-Hispanic blacks.

Dissimilarities, Isolation and Interaction Indices

Indices and Characteristics

In this analysis, dissimilarity, interaction and isolation indices are generated for gradients and cities or counties. The dissimilarity index is a common measure of the evenness of a population in a given area (Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 284). The

dissimilarity index represents the proportion of group that would have to move from each smaller designated area (e.g. neighborhood, city or other unit) for there to be an evenness in the population of the larger designated area (e.g. respectively city, greater metropolitan area, etc.). The dissimilarity index ranges from 0 to 1. The resulting value represents the percentage of a minority that would need to relocate to a different residential area to achieve an even distribution of the minority (Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 284). Areas marked by higher levels of segregation would therefore have a higher dissimilarity index.

A dissimilarity index of 0 would indicate that no movement is required to achieve a greater evenness. A dissimilarity index of 1 indicates the presence of complete segregation (Feitosa, et al., p. 2; Iceland & Weinburg, 2002, p. 119; Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 284). The dissimilarity index, D , is given by the formula:

$$D = \sum_{i=1}^n \left[\frac{t_i |pi - P|}{2TP(1 - P)} \right],$$

where t_i is the total population of each of the smaller designated areas i , pi is the minority portion of the smaller designated areas i , T is the total population size of the total area studied and P is the specific minority portion of T . As an example, in deriving the dissimilarity index for a city, i would represent each census tract within the city, t_i would represent the total population of each census tract, pi would represent the proportion of the minority population of t_i , T would represent the population of the metropolitan area of which the city is a part, and P would represent, for example, the portion of Hispanics in the total population.

Another index is the isolation index, which indicates the degree that a minority group is only exposed to itself. With a single minority group this can be viewed as the remaining portion of the interaction index, except where there are two minority populations, the index value will not sum to 1 (Iceland & Weinburg, 2002, p. 120). The isolation index, xP^*_x , is given by the formula:

$$xP^*_x = \sum_{i=1}^n [xi / X] [xi / ti],$$

where xi represents the members of each smaller designated unit of minority X members, X represents the number of minority members in the larger unit and ti represents the total population of each unit i . This index yields the probability that a member drawn from a minority population is also co-located with another minority member in a given area (Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 228).

Gradient Results

Density, density growth and population growth gradients are presented in eight gradients as well as four quadrants. Only the density gradient is presented from the 1990 census. Density, density growth and population growth gradients are analyzed for the 2000 data, with the growth gradients representing the ordering of census tracts based on growth in the 1990 and 2000 census data periods. First, density and population growth rates are derived from identical census tract areas from 1990 and 2000, then the 2000 tract areas are placed in gradients based an ordering of these results. This allows a comparison of the characteristics and indices of blacks and Hispanics based on density and population growth.

Density Gradients

1990

Blacks. While a higher percentage of whites is found in less dense gradients, the highest percentage of blacks is in the densest gradients. The percentage of blacks as a portion of the population is 42 percent in the densest gradient and one percent in the lowest density gradient. The highest per capita income for blacks is also found in the densest gradient. Black dissimilarity indices are highest in the densest gradient—around 0.74 in the first three densest gradients—then range from 0.69 to 0.49 in the remaining gradients as population density falls. Black homeownership rates increase as density falls, ranging from 0.44 in the highest gradient to 0.63 in the least dense gradient.

Hispanics. Hispanics show a pattern similar to blacks in terms of dissimilarity and isolation indices. Hispanic dissimilarity indices tend to be higher in the denser gradients, at 0.50 in the first gradient, then decrease somewhat uniformly to 0.24 in the last gradient as density declines. Unlike the situation for blacks, Hispanics in the very densest gradient, which has an Hispanic population of six percent, have the lowest per capita income. As gradient density decreases, the percentage of Hispanics that are homeowners increases, from 49 to 77. Overall Hispanics tend to have considerably lower income than blacks but a higher rate of homeownership.

2000

Blacks. In 1990 the highest per capita income for blacks was in the densest gradients. In the 2000 census data, however, the densest gradient has the second lowest level of per capita income for blacks (in the third most dense gradient their per capita income is

slightly lower). In the 2000 data there is a clear inverse relationship between population density and per capita income in the quadrants, with a few variations noted in the eight gradients. Black dissimilarity indices are higher in the densest gradients, at 0.70 in the first quadrant (or first two gradients) and an isolation index at 0.70 in the first quadrant. These indices decrease as population density decreases. As an example, the black dissimilarity index for the last quadrant is 0.59 and the isolation index is 0.29, almost the same for this quadrant in 1990. In the densest population gradient, black dissimilarity and isolation indices show a small decline from the 1990 census data. The homeownership rate for blacks is highest in the least dense gradient in the 2000 data, but there is not a uniform relationship between homeownership rates and per capita income.

Hispanics. Hispanics have a relatively even population distribution throughout the census tract gradients. In the densest gradient Hispanics have the greatest share of the population at 17 percent, the lowest per capita income at \$10,966 and the lowest rate of homeownership at 44 percent. There are also high dissimilarity and isolation index measures at the highest rate of linguistic isolation with a dissimilarity index of 0.53, an isolation index of 0.28 and a linguistic isolation rate of 31 percent in the first quadrant. The subsequent quadrants then show a relative increase in per capita income and homeownership rates and decreasing linguistic isolation. The least dense population gradient has the highest per capita incomes and highest homeownership rates among Hispanics, at 72 percent and \$15,175 respectively. In the least dense population gradient (and quadrant), Hispanics have a lower per capita income level than blacks but have a higher rate of homeownership. Overall the per capita income for Hispanics is lower than

that of blacks. In both the 1990 and 2000 census data, per capita income tends to be higher for blacks, homeownership rates tend to be lower for blacks, and dissimilarity and isolation indices are higher for blacks.

Density Growth Gradients, 2000

Blacks

While one would expect the highest density growth rates to occur in the least dense areas—which is what happened between 1990 and 2000—the density and density growth data show perceptible but imprecise inverse images of one another for blacks. In the highest density growth gradient in 2000 blacks had a dissimilarity index of 0.54. In the slowest growing (i.e. most declining) gradient in 2000, however, the dissimilarity index was 0.70, with the per capita income being slightly lower. The highest rate of homeownership is in the highest density growth gradients where the per capita income is the greatest at \$17,273 and isolation index the least at 0.25. Throughout the gradients, as the density growth rate decreases, per capita income decreases to \$13,170, the black isolation index increases to 0.85 (and the black dissimilarity index also increases, but unevenly so), and the percentage of homeownership increases unevenly from 36 percent to 53 percent. Blacks experienced an increase share of the population in each of the density growth gradients as density growth declines, especially in the least density growth gradient, where they constitute 60 percent of the population. In the highest density growth gradient blacks constitute 6.7 percent of the population of this gradient and almost 9 percent of the metropolitan area's blacks live in this high density growth gradient.

Hispanics

Unlike the case for blacks, the density growth pattern for Hispanics is not a close inverse of the density pattern. The highest percentage of Hispanics is found in the highest density growth gradient, at 7.5 percent, and it is there that they have the highest dissimilarity index, at 0.60. However this gradient represents a little over 24 percent of the Hispanics in the metropolitan area, as here defined. It is here that they have the lowest per capita income, and in the highest density growth gradient their linguistic isolation is the greatest at 28 percent. There is little pattern throughout the gradients with respect to per capita income and homeownership and dissimilarity and isolation indices. Hispanics have their highest isolation index (0.23) in the gradient of least density growth, where the dissimilarity index is the second highest at 0.53. They have their highest dissimilarity index (0.60) in the highest density growth gradient where their isolation index is 0.19, or in the mid-range for the distribution of isolation. As noted, Hispanics have their highest percentage of linguistic isolation in the highest density growth gradient at 28 percent, but their second highest rate of linguistic isolation in the lowest density growth gradient at 26 percent. Hispanic per capita income appears to be relatively unaffected by the rate of density growth. While curiously the greatest percentage of Hispanics reside in the highest density growth gradient, their per capita income is not at the highest level like it is for whites and to a lesser degree that of blacks. This suggests that there may be Hispanic enclaves within this gradient where Hispanics have not integrated into the occupational positions or industries as well as whites or blacks. The population of Hispanics increased in every gradient.

In summary, the greatest percentage of whites is found in the highest density growth gradient while the inverse is true for blacks. The percentage of Hispanics in each growth gradient is relatively stable across the growth gradients. Some of the highest rates of homeownership for whites are in the highest growing gradients, while black homeownership rates are highest in the lowest growth gradients and Hispanic homeownership rates are highest in the mid-range density growth gradients. It is quite likely that, among other factors, a group's tenure in an area also relates to their rate of homeownership. Black dissimilarity index measures increase with declining density growth while Hispanic dissimilarity measures vary, except being the highest in the highest density growth gradient and relatively high in the least density growth gradient.

Population Growth Gradients, 2000

Blacks

The analysis of population growth gradients shows that they are not identical to the density growth gradients. As population growth increases, the percentage of the black share of the population decreases, black per capita income increases, and the percentage of black homeowners decreases, except for the highest gradient of population growth where black homeownership is the highest at 63 percent. The most notable observation regards per capita income. The highest per capita income rates for blacks is in the highest population growth gradient, with a per capita income level of \$31,046 in that gradient compared to the lower per capita income of \$29,815 for whites. The highest homeownership rate for blacks, as noted, is in this highest population growth gradient of the eight, at 63 percent. The second and third highest homeownership rates for blacks

are in the last two population growth gradients at 55 and 52 percent, respectively, and in this last gradient the homeownership rate for blacks (52 percent) exceeds that of whites (33 percent). This is likely due to this gradient being of declining growth and located where blacks are concentrated in population; blacks in this gradient constitute 58 percent of the population.

Hispanics

For Hispanics, the first of eight fastest growing gradients is where they see the largest gains in terms of per capita income and rate of homeownership, and the lowest isolation index (at 0.03) and least linguistic isolation (a little under five percent). Hispanics constitute 2.4 percent of the population of this gradient; a little over 8 percent of Hispanics in the metro area live in this fastest population growth gradient. The remaining gradients are remarkable in that they do not show a clear pattern with respect to rates of homeownership, dissimilarity, or isolation, i.e. they are fairly close to one another and without a clear trend. The percentage of linguistic isolation in these gradients tends to be around 20 percent, with the exception of the third fastest density growth gradient where it is at 30 percent (with lower income and higher dissimilarity and isolation).

The lowest percentage of Hispanics throughout the gradients is in the highest population growth gradient, as noted above, at 2.4 percent. Otherwise, the percentage of Hispanics across the population growth rates does not show a clear pattern. The highest per capita income rate for Hispanics is also found in the highest population growth gradient, and their per capita income rates fall commensurably with the decline of

population growth across the gradients. The homeownership rate for Hispanics is highest in the fastest growing population growth gradient, falls for the next gradients, peaks toward the middle, and then again decreases to a rate that is slightly lower than that of blacks in the slowest growing (declining) gradient. What is clear is that in each gradient, the per capita income for Hispanics is consistently lower than that of blacks. The dissimilarity indices for Hispanics are lowest in the highest population growth gradient and unevenly increase as population growth rates decrease. The percentage of linguistic isolation is also the lowest in the highest growing population growth gradient at 4.8 percent, then peaks at the third gradient of eight at 30 percent, then remains around 20 percent in the remaining gradients.

Whites, as a portion of the population gradient, decreased in each 2000 population growth gradient compared to the 1990 census data. Blacks, except in the fifth and eighth gradients, have an increasing share of the population in the population growth gradients. Hispanics uniformly have an increasing share of the population from 1990 to 2000 in each population growth gradient. Hispanics are the only group to gain in population as a percentage of their group in both the declining density and population growth gradients of eight gradients.

Linguistic Isolation Gradients, 1990 and 2000

Linguistic isolation indices are developed for 1990 and 2000 data, both calculated separately into census tract groupings that are not identical, but based on the percentage of linguistic isolation. Linguistic isolation is defined as Spanish speakers who speak English not well or not at all. Linguistic gradients are divided into four census gradients:

tract groupings that have the following percentage of linguistic isolation: from 0 to 10 percent, from 10 to 25 percent, from 25 to 40 percent and from 40 to 100 percent.

1990

In 1990 the dissimilarity and isolation indices for blacks did not show a clear pattern over the linguistic isolation gradients, however these indices for Hispanics showed that they have increasing dissimilarity and isolation indices as linguistic isolation increases, with the exception of the third linguistic isolation gradient where these indices show an increase. Both blacks and Hispanics experience a decrease in per capita income as linguistic isolation increases, and the median rent value decreases as linguistic isolation increases. A steady decrease in the percentage of homeownership is observed for blacks, with a decrease noted for Hispanics as well with the exception of the second gradient, where the percentage of homeownership for Hispanic increases. Home values for 1990 by race or ethnic group are not available. The patterns for both blacks and Hispanics suggest that gradients marked by increasing levels of linguistic isolation are relatively poorer areas in terms of income and housing stock.

2000

The dissimilarity and isolation indices for blacks in 2000 both show a decrease as linguistic isolation increased, except for an increase in the second gradient. This is also the case with the Hispanic dissimilarity and isolation indices. Per capita income decreases for both groups as linguistic isolation increases, with blacks earning more than Hispanics in each gradient. Housing and rent values show a decline for blacks as linguistic isolation increases, with the exception of the second gradient where home and

rent values increase before declining along the gradients. Home values decline for Hispanics as well, showing median values of \$110,463, \$75,908, \$47,111 and \$48,330 and linguistic isolation increases. Both blacks and Hispanics experience a uniform decline in the percentage of homeownership as linguistic isolation increases. Again, earnings and home values would suggest that gradients marked by high levels of linguistic isolation are also relatively less wealthy than those at lower levels of linguistic isolation.

Comparison between 1990 and 2000: Linguistic isolation gradients

The census data for 1990 and 2000 show a different state of the metropolitan area as linguistic isolation increases. The number of census tract areas marked by the lowest level of linguistic isolation decreases from 280 in 1990 to 247 in 2000. Increases in census tracts marked by linguistic isolation are noted for the most linguistically isolated gradients from 1990 to 2000, with an increase from 30 census tracts in 1990 to 47 in 2000 for tracts showing a 25 to 40 percent rate of linguistic isolation, and an increase from 21 census tracts in 1990 to 35 in 2000 for tracts having over 40 percent linguistic isolation. Both blacks and Hispanics increase their share of the population as linguistic isolation increases for both census periods, and inversely, the percent of whites among the gradients decreases as linguistic isolation increases. The percentage of whites was relatively similar in the lowest three linguistically isolated gradients in 1990 at around 82 to 86 percent, then decreased to 47 percent in the most linguistically isolated gradient. In contrast, in the 2000 data, the percentage of whites declined from 86 to 70 percent in the

first three least linguistically isolated gradients, but only declined to 66 percent in the most linguistically isolated gradient in 2000.

Cities and Counties Results

1990

A comparison to cities and counties is made to develop insights into geopolitical areas and residential segregation. Blacks have the highest per capita income in Johnson County, Kansas and Lee's Summit, Missouri (both nearly identical) and Blue Springs, Missouri. Their lowest per capita income earnings are, in descending order, in Independence, Kansas City in Jackson County alone, the entirety of Kansas City, Missouri and in Leavenworth County. The percentage of homeownership is the highest and identical in Blue Springs and the Grandview and Belton area (57 percent), followed by Wyandotte County, Kansas (49 percent), Eastern Jackson County (48 percent), the portion of Kansas City in Jackson County (47 percent), Lee's Summit, Missouri (47 percent) and the entirety of Kansas City, Missouri (47 percent). The rate of black homeownership is not closely associated with black per capita income or black dissimilarity indices, however. While per capita income and dissimilarity indices are not uniformly associated with one another, it is frequently the case that relatively higher levels of dissimilarity are associated with lower per capita income. Home value data is not available by race or ethnic group in the 1990 census.

Similarly, Hispanics have their highest per capita income in Lee's Summit, Missouri followed by Johnson County, Kansas. Their lowest per capita income is found in Wyandotte and Leavenworth Counties in Kansas. These areas of low per capita income

for Hispanics are not where their highest levels of linguistic isolation are, however. They are the most linguistically isolated in Kansas City, Missouri in Jackson County alone, the entirety of Kansas City, Missouri, Blue Springs, Missouri, then Wyandotte County, Kansas and in the Northland suburbs in Missouri, in that order. While there are exceptions, overall there does not seem to be a strong association of low rates of linguistic isolation with high per capita incomes, high homeownership rates or low isolation indices throughout the metropolitan area for 1990.

2000

Results from the 2000 census for metropolitan area cities and counties again show that per capita income is highest for whites, followed by blacks, then Hispanics. There are some interesting patterns, however. The highest incomes areas for whites are Johnson County, Kansas, Lee's Summit, Missouri, and Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri, in that order. The lowest levels of white per capita income for whites are in Wyandotte County, Kansas and Leavenworth County, Kansas. In the 2000 census, blacks still retain their highest per capita incomes in Lee's Summit, Missouri, followed by Johnson County, Kansas and Eastern Jackson County in Missouri. Blacks in Lee's Summit, Missouri also experience the highest rate of black homeownership at a rate of 74 percent, followed by Blue Springs, Missouri at 67 percent and the Grandview and Belton area at 61 percent. This disjuncture with the higher per capita income and the low rate of homeownership in Johnson County, Kansas is likely resolved by noting that the market for real estate in Johnson County, Kansas demands much higher purchase prices for homes. Black's lowest level of per capita income is still in Independence, Kansas

City in Jackson County alone, the entirety Kansas City, Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas. Their lowest level of homeownership is in the Northland suburbs, at two percent, where their percentage of the population is at two percent as well.

Again, for Hispanics, there does not seem to be a strong association of low rates of linguistic isolation with high per capita incomes, high homeownership rates or low isolation indices across city and county areas. Their highest per capita income in Lee's Summit, Missouri is followed by Johnson County, Kansas. Their lowest per capita income is found in Wyandotte and Leavenworth Counties in Kansas and in the portion of Kansas City, Missouri that is in Jackson County. However in 2000 their highest levels of linguistic isolation are respectively in Wyandotte County, Kansas, the portion of Kansas City that is in Jackson County, Grandview and Belton, Johnson County, Kansas and the entirety of Kansas City, Missouri. While there are some examples of a lower linguistic isolation rate being associated with high per capita income and high homeownership rates and low isolation index values, such as in Lee's Summit, Missouri, there does not seem to be strong association between these characteristics among the city and county areas. The strongest association appears to be between per capita income and median housing values, and this is the case with all groups.

Comparison between 1990 and 2000: Cities and Counties

Whites as a percentage of the population declined in every city and county area. Blacks as a percentage of the population increased in cities and counties with two exceptions. In the Northland suburbs and Leavenworth County, Kansas, their percentage of the population did not change much between 1990 and 2000. Similar to a previous

study that addressed black dissimilarity changes (Gotham, 2002, p. 20), black dissimilarity indices have declined, showing less segregation, in both the central city and in the suburbs. The exception here is with Leavenworth County where the dissimilarity index is almost identical in 1990 and 2000, and in Grandview and Belton, Missouri, where the dissimilarity index rose from 0.42 in 1990 to 0.62 in 2000, representing a move from a moderate level of segregation to a very high level. Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri, Independence, Missouri and Blue Springs, Missouri decreased from moderate to low racial residential segregation from 1990 to 2000. The black homeownership rate increased in Eastern Jackson County, Missouri, in Blue Springs, Lee's Summit, Grandview and Belton, Missouri and Wyandotte County, Kansas. Declines in homeownership rates are noted in the Northland suburbs in Missouri and in Independence, Missouri.

Hispanics as a percentage of the population increased in every city and county area, without exception. Their population as a percentage of the city or county doubled from 1990 to 2000 in the Jackson County portion of Kansas City, Blue Springs and Lee's Summit in Missouri, and Johnson and Wyandotte Counties, Kansas. The results of dissimilarity indices are mixed, and are characterized as either low or moderate levels of segregation. Every city and county that was low in segregation in 1990 remains low in 2000, and every city or county that is moderately segregated in 1990 remains moderately segregated in 2000. The homeownership rate increased appreciably for Hispanics in Eastern Jackson County, Missouri, and also individually in Blue Springs, Lee's Summit, and Independence, Missouri. The Hispanic homeownership rate decreased in the

Northland suburbs, Grandview and Belton area, Jackson County, Kansas, and in Wyandotte County, Kansas. This means that homeownership rate gain or decline for blacks and Hispanics moved in different directions in Independence, Missouri (favoring Hispanics), and in the Grandview and Belton area in Missouri and in Wyandotte County, Kansas (favoring blacks).

There is little relationship between dissimilarity indices of segregation and per capita earnings for both blacks and Hispanics. Among city or county areas that experienced a change in dissimilarity indices of ten percentage points or more, four are noted for blacks: a decrease in the portion of Kansas City in Jackson County, Missouri and in Blue Springs and Lee's Summit, Missouri, and an increase in the Grandview and Belton area. In the areas where the dissimilarity index decreased, Kansas City in Jackson County and Blue Springs Missouri showed a decrease in per capita income and Lee's Summit, Missouri showed a significant gain in terms of black per capita income increase, with black per capita income exceeding that of whites. Where the black dissimilarity index decreased in Grandview and Belton, Missouri, blacks experienced an increase in per capita income, as indexed to 1990 (with 2000 indexed as 1.34). Homeownership rates increased in Blue Springs, Lee's Summit and the Grandview and Belton area. For Hispanics, a decrease in the dissimilarity index is noted for Lee's Summit, Missouri. In this case, Hispanic per capita income was \$14,712 in 1990 and \$19,374 in 2000, which shows no gain or loss in per capita income when adjusted for inflation, however the percentage of homeownership increased. In the Jackson County area of Kansas City they experienced a decrease in per capita income.

This analysis highlights that the two minority groups experience different dynamics of socio-economic standing, housing markets and segregation. Both blacks and Hispanics have an increasing share of the population. Patterns over gradients and geo-political areas are easier to detect for blacks than Hispanics. This would suggest that Hispanics face different circumstances of location, if not more complex residential choices. This is likely due to the differing population dynamics of Hispanics. According to a survey report in 2002, the high growth rate Hispanics experience is largely from immigration (Lewis, 2002, p. 3). Immigration is directly related to settlement patterns as family provides a means of adaptation for new arrival still, both in the past and especially in recent years.

In summary, the associations between the variables of dissimilarity indices, per capita income, homeownership rates, and linguistic isolation vary between blacks and Hispanics. As noted, this likely relates to the unique development of the Hispanic community and the unique role it serves in introducing newcomers into the community and serving as an “incubator” for acclimating its members in accessing services, employment and support. The associations between variables are different for blacks and Hispanics and the associations vary between 1990 and 2000 (Table 3). This relates to the changing dynamic of the respective communities and the unique function of the community for each minority group.

Table 3. Summary of Variable Associations for Density, Density Growth, Population Growth, Linguistic Isolation Gradients and Cities and Counties for Blacks and Hispanics.

Density Gradients, Blacks, 1990		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	Inverse in the most and least dense gradients; otherwise positive.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+ / -	
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	0	No clear pattern noted.
Density Gradients, Hispanics, 1990		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	-	
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+	
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	-	
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	-	

Table 3. (continued)

Cities and Counties, Blacks, 1990		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	0	No clear pattern noted.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	-	
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	+	
Cities and Counties Gradients, Hispanics, 1990		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	+ / -	Positive for concentrated population locations; otherwise inverse.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	0	No clear pattern noted.
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+ / -	
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	-	
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	-	

Table 3. (continued)

Density Gradients, Blacks, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	+	Inverse association in last gradient.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	Both increase as density decreases
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	+	Inverse association in last gradient.
		Black population is greater in the denser areas.
Density Gradients, Hispanics, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	Per capita income increases as density decreases.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	Both increase as density decreases.
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	-	Homeownership increases as density decreases.
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+	Both decline as density decreases.
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	-	Per capita income increases as density decreases.
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	-	Homeownership increases as density decreases.

Table 3. (continued)

Density Growth Gradients, Blacks, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	Dissimilarity indices increase as density growth decreases.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	-	Increase in homeownership rate as density growth decreases.
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	+	Both increase as density growth increases.
Density Growth Gradients, Hispanics, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	Highest rates of homeownership in middle density growth ranges.
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	-	
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+	U-shaped distribution from high to low density growth gradients.
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	-	W-shaped distribution for linguistic isolation as density growth decreases.
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	-	W-shaped distribution for linguistic isolation as density growth decreases.

Table 3. (continued)

Population Growth Gradients, Blacks, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	Per capita income decreases as population growth decreases.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	High level at the highest growth gradient that levels off with PCI decreasing.
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	+ / -	Inverse association for three fastest growth gradients followed by positive association.
Population Growth Gradients, Hispanics, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	0	No clear pattern noted.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	Per capita income declines after the first three growth gradients.
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	-	Positive association only in the last population growth gradient.
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+ / -	Association is positive, then inverse in the last two gradients.
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	-	Per capita income declines as linguistic isolation increases for all groups.
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	+ / -	Inverse association among first four growth gradients; positive among last four.

Table 3. (continued)

Cities and Counties, Blacks, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	-	
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	Positive; blacks tend to rent more than Hispanics
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	+	Positive, except in Blue Springs, Missouri and Lee's Summit, Missouri Population proportion is highest in Kansas City, Missouri and Wyandotte County, Kansas.
Cities and Counties Gradients, Hispanics, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Per Capita Income and Dissimilarity Index	+ / -	Inverse where population is most concentrated; otherwise positive.
Per Capita Income and Homeownership	+	
Dissimilarity Index and Homeownership	-	
Linguistic Isolation and Dissimilarity Index	+	
Linguistic Isolation and Per Capita Income	0	No clear pattern noted.
Linguistic Isolation and Homeownership	-	
		Population proportion is highest in Kansas City, Missouri and Wyandotte County, Kansas.

Table 3. (continued)

Linguistic Isolation Gradients, as Linguistic Isolation Increases, 1990		
Variables	Association	Notations
Black Dissimilarity Indices	0	No clear pattern noted.
Hispanic Dissimilarity Indices	+	
Black Per Capita Income	-	
Hispanic Per Capita Income	-	
Black Homeownership	-	No clear pattern noted.
Hispanic Homeownership	0	
Linguistic Isolation Gradients, as Linguistic Isolation Increases, 2000		
Variables	Association	Notations
Black Dissimilarity Indices	-	
Hispanic Dissimilarity Indices	+	
Black Per Capita Income	-	
Hispanic Per Capita Income	-	
Home Values	-	
Black Homeownership	-	
Hispanic Homeownership	-	

Mann-Whitney U Tests and Results

Design

To better understand residential segregation and how it differs among blacks and Hispanics over the gradients and city and county areas, statistical testing is performed on per capita income, years of education, median rent values, median home values, and percentage of homeownership between blacks and Hispanics.

Procedures

Due to incompatible results from parametric testing due to nonlinear distributions, nonparametric methods are used. The Mann-Whitney U test, similar in purpose to ANOVA, is employed in the analysis. The Mann-Whitney U test is based on the ranking of observations of two groups, not on the calculation of means (Garson, <http://faculty.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/PA765.mann.htm#mann>). Subsequent results were neither contradictory nor incompatible with the medians or the calculated means for census tract gradients. Means were calculated for white, black and Hispanic groups, as well as median observations for blacks and Hispanics.

Care must be used in examining the means and medians when reading the results. For example, the value of housing in the second density gradient for 2000 is \$52,900 for blacks and \$84,400 for Hispanics. Yet a p value of 0.217 would indicate the absence of a statistical significance and the effect size of -0.140 indicates any effect is very small. Plotting the distribution of ranked housing values yields a distribution of home values that is nearly identical except for the last several observations. The range for the last six observations of home values for blacks is between \$231,962 and \$625,000 while the

range for the last six observations for Hispanics is between \$225,000 and \$450,000. This anomaly and a couple of other variations exist in a distribution, however no difference is indicated by the ranking procedure of the Mann-Whitney U test. For this reason, standard deviations for home values were calculated. Two-tailed results are generated for the p value. Effect sizes are also calculated. The effect size does not indicate whether differences between groups are significant, but indicates the magnitude of any significance. Effect sizes are considered large if they measure 0.5 or above; at 0.5 an effect size would account for 25 percent of variance. Effect sizes of around 0.3 are of a medium effect, accounting for around 9 percent of variance, and effect sizes of 0.1 are small, accounting for around one percent of total variance (Field, 2009, pp. 56-57). Effect sizes are gauged as a distance from zero, meaning an effect size of -0.50 is large. The effect size r for the Mann-Whitney U test is given by:

$$r = \frac{Z}{\sqrt{N}},$$

where Z is the z-score and N is the number of observations used in the analysis (Field, 2009, p. 550).

Results of Statistical Testing

Several tests show statistically significant differences that have medium to large effect sizes. It is difficult, however, to associate some of these results with patterns in dissimilarity or isolation. Discussed below are cases where dissimilarity or isolation indices are associated with statistically significant differences between the groups within a variable.

Per capita income, 2000

There are statistically significant differences between blacks and Hispanics in the first, second and third density growth gradients (gradients showing the most growth), with

$p < 0.005$ and medium effect sizes. Here blacks have higher per capita income than Hispanics and here blacks have, with one exception, their lowest isolation indices results. This pattern is reflected in the population density growth gradients. Here, the first and second gradient shows $p = 0.000$ with effect sizes that are above the medium range but not large. The sixth gradient shows $p < 0.01$ with a medium-range effect size of 0.28. Blacks again have the higher per capita income in each of these population growth gradients and their lowest dissimilarity and isolation indices results. The same pattern can be observed for Hispanics, but not quite as strongly.

The most notable observation in the linguistic isolation gradients occurs, as one might expect, is in the last linguistic isolated gradient, with $p = 0.005$ and the effect size being medium at -0.332 . Here blacks have a high dissimilarity index at 0.72 and Hispanics have their highest dissimilarity index result at 0.54. Both groups have their highest isolation index results in this gradient; for blacks it is 0.78 and for Hispanics it is 0.31. Both blacks and Hispanics have per capita income that decreases as linguistic isolation increases.

Years of education, 2000

In the four linguistic isolation gradients, there are statistically significant differences between blacks and Hispanics as linguistic isolation increases, in the second, third and

fourth gradients. In each of these gradients $p = 0.000$. The effect size is medium to small in the second gradient (-0.256), medium to high in the third gradient (-0.431) and very high in the fourth gradient (-0.670), with blacks having more years of education than Hispanics. Blacks have their three smallest dissimilarity index results here, from around 0.60 to 0.65 compared to 0.72 in the first gradient. Hispanics also have their smallest dissimilarity index results here, from around 0.38 to 0.45 compared to 0.24 in the first and least isolated gradient. In the linguistic isolation gradients statistical significance uniformly increases and larger effect sized accompany increasing linguistic isolation.

Using the 2000 census data for cities, it is noted that there are statistically significant differences between blacks and Hispanics in Wyandotte County, Kansas, with $p = 0.000$ and a large effect size of -0.488 . It is also noted here that both blacks and Hispanics have their highest dissimilarity and isolation indices results in the metropolitan region with the exception of Kansas City, Missouri. The black dissimilarity index result is 0.58 and the isolation index result is 0.59; the Hispanic dissimilarity index result is 0.46 and the isolation index result is 0.15. Blacks have the most years of education for all results.

Median home value, 2000

There is a statistically significant difference between blacks and Hispanics in the fourth linguistic isolation gradient, where Spanish speakers speak English poorly or not at all, with $p = 0.000$ and a very large effect size of $r = -0.735$. Blacks reside in the higher priced homes in this gradient but have the smallest standard deviation for home values. The standard deviation for home values for blacks is \$49,745; the standard

deviation for home values for Hispanics is \$89,041. Hispanics have nearly the highest dissimilarity index result in this gradient and the highest isolation index result for their group. This is not the case for blacks, for which there is little pattern.

Homeownership, 1990

There are statistically significant differences between blacks and Hispanics in density gradients 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 in 1990 (with one being the most dense). The significance levels and effect sizes are $p = 0.000$ for the first gradient with an effect size of -0.375 ; $p < 0.005$ in the second gradient with an effect size of -0.336 ; $p = 0.001$ in the third gradient with an effect size of -0.345 . In each of these gradients, Hispanics have the higher percentage of homeownership. The dissimilarity indices results for blacks and Hispanics are both relatively high in these gradients, at around 0.70 for blacks and ranging from 0.2 to 0.5 for Hispanics.

Homeownership, 2000

There is a statistically significant difference between blacks and Hispanics in the third density gradient, with $p < 0.005$ and an effect size of -0.303 . The Hispanic rate is the higher. There are no cases where statistically significant differences between blacks and Hispanics exist in the density growth, population growth and linguistic isolation gradients that have a substantial effect size.

The analysis of homeownership rates for blacks and Hispanics in the city and county areas present some interesting observations. Where there is a statistically significant difference, Hispanics have the higher rate of homeownership. Also the statistically significant cases of higher homeownership rates for Hispanics decreased from 1990 to

2000 in the both the density gradients and in the number of city and county areas. This is likely because while black real per capita income increased in all city and county areas, Hispanic real per capita income did not. Hispanic real per capita income increased in Kansas City, Missouri, Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri, the Northland Missouri suburbs, Independence, Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas. It remained the same or close to the same in the portion of Kansas City in Jackson County, Eastern Jackson County, Missouri and in Lee's Summit, Missouri. It decreased in Blue Springs, Missouri, the Grandview and Belton area of Missouri, Johnson County, Kansas and Wyandotte County, Kansas.

The homeownership rates for blacks increased particularly in Kansas City, Missouri, the portion of Kansas City in Jackson County, Missouri, in Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri and in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Homeownership rates for Hispanics, in contrast, decreased in all of these geopolitical areas except for Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri, where the rate remained the same at 57 percent. This mirrors the dissimilarity indices results. Blacks have a decreasing dissimilarity index result in each city and county area of the metropolitan area whereas Hispanics have an increase in the dissimilarity index in Kansas City, Missouri, the Northland suburbs in Missouri, Eastern Jackson County, and in Johnson and Wyandotte Counties in Kansas. Interestingly enough while the dissimilarity index has increased in Eastern Jackson County, it has decreased in the cities of Blue Springs and Lee's Summit, which are part of that area. The Hispanic dissimilarity index result has also decreased in Grandview, Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas.

Overall, there is not a clear pattern in density and population growth patterns and the percentage of homeownership. There is, however, a pattern in the density gradients of 1990, where statistically significant differences favoring Hispanics are noted for high-density areas. Also of interest is that Hispanics do not uniformly experience a statistical significant advantage over blacks along the linguistic isolation gradients in homeownership rates. Moreover, there is not a clear relationship between per capita income and homeownership rates. This suggests that the residential patterns and residential options for Hispanics are more complicated than for blacks.

Gradient Results and Residential Segregation

The above discussion references the variables of statistical differences and the associated dissimilarity and isolation indices that correspond to those differences. A further question relates to what these differences may mean, especially given that some statistically significant differences do exist for variables that do not have an associated pattern over the gradients or quadrants. Some of the points of difference may therefore be spurious and not directly associated to residential segregation. Interesting patterns do emerge, however, that are most clearly associated with residential segregation.

At the outset of this analysis, it was expected that higher density growth and population growth areas experience greater degrees of segregation than lower density and population growth areas for both blacks and Hispanics. The data do not fully support this expectation. In the density growth gradients black dissimilarity indices do not show any pattern throughout the gradients. There is a pattern, however, for black isolation and interaction indices, with greater growth being associated with lower

isolation indices and higher interaction. The indices for Hispanics show no pattern.

The results are the same for both groups in the population growth gradients.

It was also expected that indexes of residential concentration, as measured by segregation indexes, have lessened for blacks vis-à-vis Hispanics in metropolitan area census tracts from 1990 to 2000. The rationale for this hypothesis lies in these observations: the tendency for linguistic isolation to affect Hispanics to a greater degree, and the inclination of Hispanic communities to serve a role of receiving and assisting immigrants. The results regarding this are mixed. From 1990 to 2000 the dissimilarity index for blacks decreased from 0.72 to 0.69 for the metropolitan area. The black isolation index decreased from 0.61 to 0.54. The black isolation index increased very slightly from 0.364 to 0.389. The results for Hispanics are somewhat more mixed. The Hispanic dissimilarity index decreased from 0.34 to 0.21. The Hispanic isolation index, however, increased from 0.11 to 0.17 and the Hispanic interaction index decreased from 0.79 to 0.71. Blacks show changes in all indices that indicate less segregation, less isolation and greater interaction, whereas Hispanics show less segregation only in the dissimilarity index, although the decrease in this index is significant.

It was expected that there would be no statistically significant differences in per capital income between blacks and Hispanics who reside in growing census tracts. Blacks and Hispanics are both expected to have relatively limited, but nonetheless roughly equal geographic mobility with respect to per capita income and their relocation to growing areas. However it is found that blacks have higher per capita incomes in the fastest growing areas but not statistically different incomes in lower growth or declining

areas. Blacks have higher per capita incomes in the four highest growth density gradients and in the sixth gradient. Blacks also have higher per capita incomes in the two highest population growth gradients and the sixth gradient. The sixth density growth and population growth gradient is somewhat of an anomaly, but higher per capita income in higher growth tracts presents as a clear pattern.

Home and rental housing prices remain roughly the same for both groups in the respective gradients. One surprise regarding homeownership, however, is that Hispanics have a lower per capita income but higher homeownership rates, and a higher homeownership rate in every instance where there is a statistically significant difference. This again calls for further inquiry into the residential patterns of Hispanics. It could likely be that the influx of immigrant family members requires more neighborhood stability, and this lends itself to making home purchases instead of rental behavior that would be more consistent with a greater degree of mobility.

Some differences are noted between blacks and Hispanics within linguistic isolation indices. In the linguistic isolation gradients, the lowest level of linguistic isolation is associated with the lowest Hispanic dissimilarity index, the highest Hispanic per capita income (this is also the case for blacks), the lowest Hispanic isolation index, and the highest rate of Hispanic homeownership (also the case for blacks). As linguistic isolation increases, the Hispanic dissimilarity index nearly uniformly increases, the isolation index uniformly increases, per capita income uniformly decreases and the percentage of owner-occupied housing uniformly decreases. This is partly due to the economic conditions of the gradients, as black per capita income behaves similarly to

Hispanic income, but a much clearer pattern is found among Hispanics regarding dissimilarity and isolation. These observations suggest that linguistic isolation is a major factor in income, educational attainment and quality of housing for Hispanics. The percentage of Hispanics of foreign birth also increases as linguistic isolation increases. The percentage of Hispanics born outside of the United States is 17 percent in the least linguistically isolated gradient, 32 percent in the second gradient, 50 in the third gradient, and 61 percent in the fourth gradient.

Differences are noted in the city and county areas. From 1990 to 2000, black dissimilarity indices decreased in all metropolitan areas except for the Grandview and Belton area and in Eastern Jackson County, and in the latter the index results decreased in Blue Springs, Missouri and Lee's Summit, Missouri. By comparison, the Hispanic dissimilarity index increased in Kansas City, Missouri, the Northland suburbs in Missouri, Eastern Jackson County, Missouri, and Johnson and Wyandotte Counties in Kansas, with only a slight increase in Wyandotte County, Kansas. This left a decrease in Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri, Blue Springs, Lee's Summit and the Grandview and Belton area in Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas. The dissimilarity index in Eastern Jackson County, Missouri remained about the same.

Conclusions

The urban ecology model shows mixed results. It does show that density, density growth, population growth and linguistic isolation gradients have some associations with dissimilarity and isolation dynamics. It is useful starting point for understanding variations in urban structure and residential segregation. However a complete

understanding of urban population dynamics of minority groups also requires attention to the respective minority's resources, consideration of the functioning of their community and how policy interplays with these factors. While the urban ecology approach that focuses on growth and decline in urban areas does not deliver a complete portrayal of urban dynamics, this analysis perhaps sheds light on both the benefits and limitations of the framework for this particular purpose.

What it does show is that particularly with the highest density and population growth gradients, blacks have their highest income and lowest dissimilarity index. The opposite is true for Hispanics in the highest density growth gradient, but the results converge with those of blacks in the highest population growth gradient—they have the highest income and lowest dissimilarity index in the highest growth gradient. Several observations are made with respect to the patterns of Hispanics. Their pattern along gradients is not nearly as predictable as that of blacks. There are fewer clear patterns associated with indices of dissimilarity or isolation and with indicators such as homeownership, per capita income or density or population growth. Blacks show progress in terms of dissimilarity indices and other socio-economic indicators throughout the metropolitan area however the trend for Hispanics is mixed throughout both metropolitan geographies and the density and population growth gradients. This, as noted, is due to their more complex residential options, complex in that it is likely constrained by where immigrants can live and receive the most support from a community. Also related to this is the high percentage of linguistic isolation that Hispanics face, interrelated as well to the role of the community for immigrants adapting to a new life and livelihood. Yet the matter is not so simple

with respect to linguistic isolation. Hispanics have slightly higher (but not statistically significant) per capita income in the least linguistically isolated gradients in both the 1990 and 2000 data. As linguistic isolation increases blacks and Hispanics both experience a uniformly decreasing per capita income level in the 1990 and 2000 data. As linguistic isolation increases, blacks have a decreasing dissimilarity index and Hispanics have an increasing dissimilarity index and isolation index in the 2000 data. It is clear that the study of more discrete neighborhoods would lead to greater insights into the structure of residential segregation.

Directions for Future Research

This analysis is one based on an urban demographic framework, employing the concept of density and growth. Certainly other approaches are possible with the current data. Longitudinal analysis using models of change based on the percentage change in dependent and independent variables is possible when comparing identical census tract groupings in the 1990 and 2000 censuses. Other data are available to augment analysis, such as neighborhood studies and drilldown studies that capture data not available in the census. The use of Geographical Information Systems would also be useful in analyzing the questions presented in this study. Further the use of the 2010 census data, where it is compatible, and studying the effects of the current recession would provide other approaches to the questions. Tracking mobility of residents, inflows and outflows of people would be useful, as well as analyzing the spatial mismatch of jobs and population among blacks and Hispanics. In short, there is no lack of opportunity for analysis that can be performed using census data or other data sources. In the end such approaches

would no doubt shed further light on the question presented here, but; the use of quantitative methods alone will likely not be completely sufficient in addressing the research questions at hand.

The examination segregation indices and socioeconomic characteristics of minorities within growth gradients, linguistic gradients and cities and counties allow for further analysis of racial residential segregation. Such analysis provides insight into the similarities and differences among blacks and Hispanics after the era of segregation policies and practices. This research shows that there are still factors at work that affect residential patterns and choices. The patterns related to mobility are much clearer for blacks than for Hispanics, suggesting that Hispanics face more complicated residential choices.

CHAPTER 5

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY

AMONG BLACKS AND HISPANICS:

THEORY, HISTORY AND POLICY, SPACE, AND MODERN PATTERNS

Introduction

This research analyzes a phenomenon that defined the American urban landscape beginning in the late nineteenth century and persisting to this day—racial residential segregation. While there is a sizable literature on racial residential segregation and housing policy, this literature does not often focus on an important aspect of policy and the formation of social and political phenomenon, which is culture. What is called the use of cultural analysis is frequently a summation or explication of ideas, values and language, or worldview, of the respective parties in the analysis. Contrary to this approach, this research first develops a theory of culture that includes the material component of culture and develops a specific research strategy. The research strategy is then applied to the problem of understanding racial residential segregation and associated policies in the Kansas City region.

Several questions were asked at the outset: (1) Are there differences in residential segregation between the two minority populations over time? (2) What are the similarities? (3) What are the differences? (4) What are the factors underlying residence patterns between various groups in the past and present? (5) What are the theoretical

bases for why similarities and differences exist? (6) How does the nature of community organization, community resources and assets, community structure, ethos or other characteristics affect the nature, timing, and degree of spatial segregation or assimilation? (7) How did—and how do—public and private policies shape the contours of the urban landscape and yield current outcomes?

A Brief Overview of Black and Hispanic Residential Segregation

There are important residential segregation differences between the blacks and Hispanics. There are periods of heavy immigration to the Kansas City region by both groups. For Hispanics this includes not only periods of early immigration, but heavy immigration in the past few decades as well. Throughout the history of the two groups, blacks resided in close proximity to whites, albeit in clearly delineated neighborhoods after the beginning of significant segregation. After this period, their population growth place pressures on the need for expansion, and this lead to tension and conflict. Competition between whites and blacks existed not only in the area of housing, but employment. This occurred at sometimes more than others depending upon the economic cycle, but was a constant condition. Local real estate and financial business practices, local development, federal and local public policies and enforcement by neighborhood associations served to maintain a “color line.” Hispanic community expansion, in contrast, occurred frequently when Hispanics assumed the housing occupied by other immigrant groups who vacated this housing as they improved their economic condition. Moreover, Hispanics maintained a strong sense of community to serve particular needs. These needs include serving as a place were immigrants could

find their way within a new community and adapt to economic and social life in the United States in spite of barriers such as linguistic isolation. Additionally, many in the Hispanic community had a strong sense of identity with Mexico and frequently communicated with persons there and remitted monies to family members in Mexico. For these reasons, while there was discrimination against Hispanics, formal policies and instruments that enforce segregation (such as racially restrictive housing covenants) were not directed as heavily toward Hispanics as they were toward blacks.

As a result both groups are marked by residential segregation, but the dynamics are different. Developments in mobility and socioeconomic characteristics of both groups over the past few decades show other patterns. While earnings are higher for blacks than Hispanics, Hispanics have a higher rate of homeownership. This may be partly explained by the increasing mobility of blacks. As blacks move throughout the metropolitan area, including into high growth areas, their tenure there may not be sufficient to begin developing a high rate of homeownership. Hispanics are no longer associated only with a few historically Hispanic neighborhoods but have achieved a broader geographical presence in the metropolitan area. This is not associated with higher levels of income, however, and linguistic isolation plays a very strong role in the socio-economic characteristics of Hispanics.

Theoretical Framework and Findings

What are the theoretical bases for the patterns observed in the residential segregation of the two groups? In this research, theory is not considered in any way ancillary to policy study, but an integral part of it, and the theoretical basis of this research is a theory

of culture. The culture theory espoused here is thoroughly grounded in the anthropological and related literatures on culture. While it is unique, each axis of the theory is not novel; they have been developed within sizable literatures. It appears that much policy analysis—whether domestic or international—is performed without due consideration of many of the relevant factors that would inform the relevant social and policy questions. Often in organizational research, for example, researchers do not have exposure to concepts such as idealism and materialism, and proceed into highly specialized research that foregoes consideration of the theoretical framework that underlies the research (Adler & Borys, 1993, p. 658). This type of specialized approach runs the risk of overlooking the essential tools that come from the ontological bases of the theory. For example if one is not acutely aware of the deeper or more fundamental basis of a theory, the tools or methods developed or used will not be as focused or directed in the course of research.

The context of this theory is the nature of urban space. The occupation and use of space implies a control over resources. Space also takes on a symbolic sense in that it becomes an urban center's text that can be read and interpreted politically, economically and socially. Space is also enforced through political and legal means as well as informally. The use of space sends messages about where people or groups may be, where they are welcomed and whether or not they are excluded. The cultural theory is used to understand social and policy events and processes in terms of three dichotomous axes—philosophical rationalism versus philosophical skepticism, idealism versus materialism and the societal or communal individual versus the autonomous individual.

The theory also examines theories of change. Throughout these analyses, and this is the task in Chapter 3, the cultural theory is used to elucidate processes of policy formation, policy implementation and policy continuation, and as such provides a useful interpretation of the policies of and related to racial residential segregation in the Kansas City region.

This research approach also examines the role of the respective actors in the analysis. This includes the role of real estate developers, blacks, Hispanics, city government and the majority population. The findings are quite interesting for a number of reasons. Philosophical rationalism holds up an ideal held by each of the parties, and within a party it may have more than one meaning. For developers and the majority population it may mean ideal communities, in many respects favoring the rural ideal. But to the developers it also meant a city based on order and science. This bringing order out of chaos is the path toward a scientific city that is harmonious in both social relationships (at least among those that it is planned for) and regarding the general workings of the city such as neighborhood stability, traffic flows and socio-cultural amenities. For the black community, the ideal community was one where there were civil rights in access to space and community participation. This was significantly expressed in the Civil Rights movement. Hispanics, too, fought for access to education and healthcare. Their civil rights movement was not as prominent as that of blacks, especially in the Kansas City region. Their image of community was and is shaped by the function of community in providing a haven for immigrants who find common bonds and shared language.

Movements and counter movements based on the above respective models guided both public and private actors and affected the development of policy.

The cultural theory espoused here makes use of ethnic competition theory. While ethnic competition theory is not expressly cultural materialism (or other type of materialist theory) it is very consistent with the materialist perspective. The material basis for the behavior of the respective actors also sheds light on policy development and action. In fact the material basis of behaviors and policy formation is critical to understanding the dynamics of racial residential segregation. Real estate developers sought to delineate, develop and segregate a community for profit. Their influence was important on the national level of policy as well as the local level. The practice of blockbusting is another profit strategy that was usually employed by smaller real estate developers. This practice of introducing a member(s) of another race to a residential area then working to scare prospective sellers to sell their soon-to-be devalued homes yielded profit as the homes were sold to minorities at high prices. Competition in housing and employment, as described by ethnic competition theory, fed into discrimination as blacks and the majority came into closer proximity to one another and sought a relatively limited number of jobs and housing units, at some times more than others depending upon the economic cycles of economic growth and housing construction. The community of Hispanics likewise featured a material advantage to those arriving into the country in search of relatively stable community, common language, and knowledge about jobs. The dynamics within and between these groups were not simply the product

of ideas or ideals within the minds of the participants, but were characterized through the allocation of access to space, material resources and livelihood.

Contrary to neoclassical economic theory the perspective of the individual was not that of the largely autonomous unit, but instead all parties saw the individual within the context of community. Developers, the majority population, blacks and Hispanics all saw the community as central to their hopes and efforts. Community variously meant something different to each—peaceful living and comprehensive order, unity in the face of struggle, or a community marked by common bonds and language. Each perspective stressed the association of individuals over the autonomous individual.

Various theories of change also interplayed with other aspects of culture. Developers were interested in a comprehensive plan that would require the right conditions on a number of levels—marketing, politics, financing and the logistical aspects of development—to ensure fruition of their development plans. This punctuated equilibrium theory of change also arose out of previous development efforts that resulted in bottlenecks if approached in a piecemeal fashion. The black community itself evolved from an incremental approach marked by legal steps and legal recourse alone to an approach of favoring the arrival of an era of civil rights. The literature on Hispanics is relatively scant, but in the early years approaches centered around access to education and healthcare, with civil rights, at least in the Kansas City region, not close to approaching the intensity of the black civil rights movement. This theory of change happened to be closely associated with philosophical rationalism for the developers and blacks.

Taken together this culture theory serves two purposes in the analysis. It establishes a research strategy from which the researcher selects and asks questions, focuses on distinct observations and history related to the analysis and interprets the events and conditions surrounding racial residential segregation. The perspective also makes it possible to determine where the interested parties lie along the axes and the perspectives that inform their actions. The position occupied by the researcher and the subjects of research may be different.

Modern Patterns, Patterns of Access and Urban Growth and Development

Chapter 4 differs markedly from the previous chapters in both content and methodology. The concern here shifts from historical data to longitudinal data covering the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses. Specifically the questions relate to how blacks and Hispanics differ, or are similar, among portions of the Kansas City area that are characterized by various degrees of density and population growth (or decline). City or county areas are also analyzed. There are several reasons for this approach. Given the historical and social observations of the theory, how do group residential patterns now look, particularly in light of laws that militate against segregation practices? This does not mean the previous theory cannot be applied today, but it does mean that further empirical study is useful in understanding the current dynamics and how the theory might be applied.

The results are interesting. The analysis shows that blacks have a disproportionate share of the population in the areas marked by population decline. Overall black homeownership rates are highest in the lowest density and population growth gradients

(except they are very highest in the fastest population growth gradient). This suggests that where blacks have traditionally resided the longest they have higher homeownership rates. In the higher density and population growth gradients where their population is growing they have higher per capita income but they have not yet purchased houses. It is difficult to discern any patterns in the segregation indices or social demographics for Hispanics over the gradients, suggesting that they have less mobility, or if they do move there is not a strong association between the density or population growth characteristics of their destination and their income or other measures. There are patterns, but far fewer and less uniform than for blacks. Where there is high population growth, Hispanics do not enjoy the increase in per capita income like whites and to a lesser degree like blacks do. Overall, the lack of a clear pattern between socio-economic and segregation indices for Hispanics on one hand and density or population growth on the other calls for further investigation into Hispanic residential patterns. Their socio-economic and segregation measures are relatively unresponsive to growth patterns, which is not the case for blacks and certainly not the case for whites. There are no statistically significant cases where blacks have higher rates of homeownership than Hispanics and there are no cases where Hispanics have higher per capita income than blacks.

The strongest results derive from linguistic gradients. Language is a barrier to per capita income for Hispanics and it is also associated with lower rates of educational attainment and lower housing values. In the highest gradient of linguistic isolation, where 40 to 100 percent do not speak English or speak English well, 61 percent of Hispanics are born outside of the United States. Census tracts marked by this level of

linguistic isolation have increased from 30 in 1990 to 47 in 2000. High Hispanic population growth rates in the metropolitan area are largely from immigration (Lewis, 2002, p. 3).

The results for city or county areas show whites decreased as a share of the population in all areas, blacks increase most of the areas and Hispanics increase in every area. The Hispanic share of the population even doubled in the Jackson County portion of Kansas City, Missouri, Blue Springs, Missouri and Lee's Summit, Missouri. The black dissimilarity indexes decreased and their per capita income and homeowner rates increased in Blue Springs, Missouri, Lee's Summit, Missouri and the Grandview and Belton, Missouri areas. Black per capita income (at \$30,313) exceeds white per capita income (at \$27,260) in Lee's Summit, Missouri. Hispanic dissimilarity indices decreased in Independence, Missouri, Blue Springs, Missouri, the Grandview and Belton area in Missouri and in Leavenworth County, Kansas. Their homeownership rates increased in Blue Springs, Missouri, Independence, Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas. Of these, their per capita income increased only in Blue Springs, Missouri and Leavenworth County, Kansas when indexed for inflation. In the four regions where their dissimilarity indices decreased, their share of the population increased very slightly between 1990 and 2000; in 2000 it was small, from around two to four percent of the population. The city and county results for Hispanics were not nearly as noticeable as for blacks, suggesting that blacks have greater mobility. Some of this relates to linguistic isolation, however this does would not seem to account for all of the reasons Hispanics have less mobility than blacks.

Lessons Learned

First, it is clear that the theory developed in Chapter 2 can be applied to policy studies and community studies. Secondly, it is interesting to note that competing groups may be at odds on goals, but may lie along the same axes in their viewpoints. Both J.C. Nichols and the black community, for the most part, have a trajectory of philosophical rationalism, a hybrid of idealism and materialism, the perspective of the social individual and punctuated equilibrium as their viewpoint profile. They did not share the same goals, however. Both had fundamentally different perspectives on favorable ideals and had differing material goals and motivations. Further, these differences were in diametric conflict. Interestingly enough, both perspectives were not explicitly heterodox, and blacks also sought to meld a conventional legal and constitutional view to the changes in the legal system that would bring about civil rights. Thus, trajectories across the axes of culture, as defined here, must also be informed by the respective positions within the axes for the persons or groups studied. From the researcher's standpoint, given a specific trajectory across the axes, specific questions will be asked in accordance with the researcher's own cultural perspective.

It is also recognized that while both blacks and Hispanics are minority groups who have experienced residential concentration and have less access to resources the dynamic between the two groups are quite different. Racial residential segregation concentrated both groups, but the policies were directed toward blacks, who sought housing and economic opportunities in closer proximity with the majority population. The factor of

immigration for Hispanics also stymies their opportunities and places them in a relatively limited range of job occupations.

Directions for Future Research

There are many avenues for further research in terms of both theory and the specific research topic. The theory espoused here can be used in a number of fields and disciplines: history and historiography, political science, policy studies, community studies, international studies, women's studies, ethnic studies, anthropology, religious studies, cultural geography and other disciplines and sub-disciplines. Further city comparisons on the same topic would serve to delineate policy differences and similarities and explain why these exist.

With respect to the research topic, several research directions are relatively undeveloped and can fruitfully be pursued. These include, first and foremost, further historical study of the Hispanic community. A history of Hispanics in the Kansas City area is certainly present, but there are gaps in the research. One may find many resources on the establishment and development of Mexican communities, but the historical record becomes sparser during and after the World War II period. Further research into the nature and development of Hispanic mobility in the region, or lack of it, is also needed. This is especially the case for those who are not linguistically isolated. Studies of urban semiotics and the text provided by urban space, including symbolism and significance assigned to space is another area for further research, however the position here is that this must follow a materialist perspective, not replace it. Further insight into policy processes may also be gleaned from more specific study of city

government records and other records such as those of the Housing Authority. Further research is also possible in modeling segregation indices by more complete modeling, studying trend developments over a greater time period, examining how or if segregation changes in times of economic boom or recession, and fully exploring the relationship between segregation and employment. In short, there is no lack of opportunity for the conduct of further research.

Expectations of the Research

Even if the specific viewpoint derived from the axes differs from that of this research, it is expected that the theory presented is useful for sharpening discussions of the policy-culture interface. At best, this would avoid the sizable number of studies that reference “culture,” as if this is a concept that hardly needs an introduction. Instead the concept of culture is not only hotly debated, but it is also complicated. The theory developed here certainly makes the concept more manageable from an analysis point of view. Secondly, this research stressed the need and importance of a research strategy. Thirdly, as would be implied, this study also points to the importance of researchers mastering concepts within sizable literatures on culture that are conducted across space and time, and comparing these as to how well they are grounded in evaluating their usefulness. As to the topic of racial residential segregation, it is expected that researchers could have sharper and more powerful tools of analysis in exploring residential segregation and related topics such as urban development, policy, housing and employment. Thus researchers will not only be able to better explore culture, but also policy.

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