A STUDY OF SEGREGATION AND MOBILITY IN AN URBAN COMMUNITY

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Kansas City, Kansas

by

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Table of Contents.

Introduction:

It has long been known that the tendency toward segregation of bodies of people alike in some important respect--income level, race, or color--is an important factor in human ecology. For example, physical geography, natural advantages, and the means of transportation determine in advance the general outlines of an urban plan. Personal tastes and conveniences, vocational and other economic interests, tend to segregate and classify the population. Then, as the city increases in size, the subtler influences of sympathy, rivalry and economic necessity, tend almost entirely to control the distribution of inhabitants.

Maps of those cases handled by social work agencies show a tendency toward segregation of a city's socially unadjusted persons. It is commonly believed that this "bunching" is bound up with a "natural" classification of people according to race, language, and income level, and that the "clients" of social agencies are largely, if not exclusively "the poor", negroes, and immigrants. On the whole these assumptions appear to be sound but such studies as those of McKenzie[1] in Columbus, Ohio, indicate that another factor may be even more significant than race,

1. McKenzie, R. D. The Neighborhood. Am. Jour. of Soc. V.29. No. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

nationality, and income in accounting for the grouping of persons served by social agencies. This factor is called "mobility".

The term "mobility", as McKenzie uses it, was first employed by Park.[1] Park says that we know two kinds of mobility,--physical,- actual moving about, and social which consists in the number, kinds, and intimacy of our social contacts and the ease with which we make them. While his meaning of "social" mobility seems in direct contradiction to the meaning he gives "physical" mobility for the sake of convenience we have used these same terms in the ensuing discussion as Park first used them.

McKenzie was not studying neighborhoods in Columbus, Ohio with an idea of determining the causes for segregation he found there. He was studying "community life". However, in his discussion of the people and their habits we find strong evidence in his disintegrated neighborhoods of a great deal of "physical" and a lack of "social" mobility. This seemed to be the dominant factor in their segregation. By this, we mean that there was no evidence of the segregation of people there because of resemblance in color, income, or nationality. Of course, there may be other segregating factors that have not occured to us.

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1. Park & Burgess. Introduction to Science of Soc. p. 283 & 284.

Perhaps extracts from McKenzie's report will be illuminating:

... "The Neighborhood is located in a flood plane near the center of the city. It comprises one of the oldest sections of the city and has been subject to periodic floods for years past. It is inhabited by working class people chiefly of American origin.

"This neighborhood serves as a reservoir for the city's human wastes. Families come and go in constant succession and there are also frequent changes of residence from street to street within the neighborhood. There are a small number, however, of stable superior families. These superior families usually represent early settlers who, on account of property ties, can not leave their undesirable surroundings.

"The district represents the lowest economic level in the city. Home ownership is uncommon and rents average less than $15 a month. However there are marked differences in the comparative economic status of adjoining families. Family groups in the depths of poverty are frequently living side by side with families having comfortable incomes.

"Most of the homes are obsolete both in the structure and fixtures. However, overcrowding is not prevalent.

"The neighborhood is a collectivity of very unlike

family groups. Superior wholesome families are frequently found living next door to disorderly worthless people... etc...."

One reading will show that it was not likely that the community described was a segregation of people living together because of likeness in color, race, nationality or income level. The people are chiefly of American origin, families of very unlike habits and economic status live side by side, etc., and yet the district is a "reservoir for the city's human wastes". The most noticeable fact seems to be that these people with the exception of those "tied down" by property bought when the section was new ~~or~~ are very mobile physically, and almost lacking in mobility socially,--that is, they move about a great deal even from house to house within the neighborhood, but lack local interests...(Note - It was with the idea of promoting local interests in disentegrated neighborhoods of Columbus that McKenzie made the study)

One can not help feeling that "mobility" was the key to the explanation of the segregation in the neighborhood studied in Columbus and at the same time a cause of a great deal of the unadjustment which was reported to social agencies from these.

"Birds of a feather flock together", and "water seeks its own level", might just as well apply to people who are physically mobile and lacking in social mobility as to people who are interested in preserving national traditions, habits, etc. Isn't there something about going into a district where folks belong that shuts out the man passing thru? Folks want to know his mission. "Old timers" wait awhile before they take him into their confidences. Of course it is pleasanter to be in a group where folks take you at face value--unless you value the kind, number and intimacy of your social contacts, and we all know that some folks just aren't "belongers"--that they'd rather be "on the move".

In McKenzie's study we have a neighborhood in which there was a large amount of poverty, delinquency, etc. At the same time we have a group of people in which there were very few local interests. Folks went their own way. Even the churches with the exception of the more mystic creeds, were losing ground. Neighbors expressed disapproval of each other, etc. Wouldn't it be natural in such a situation that where difficulties arose a social agent had to be called in? These people wouldn't take care of each other as individuals and they belonged to no organized groups that would. Then there would seem to be some relation between

the mobility and the segregation, and between the mobility and the social unadjustments.

At any rate, McKenzie's report was the incentive to a study which was made by three graduate students in the department of sociology at the University of Kansas during the winter of 1924-25. Our study involved the selection of three precincts of socially unadjusted people in three different cities and the determination, through a comparison with three precincts in which there was very little evidence on the records of social agencies of unadjustment, whether or not mobility was a factor in the segregation of people in the trouble area, and at the same time an explanation for the large number of social unadjustments that were reported to social agencies from there.

Here at the outset, we hope to make it understood that although we could attempt to eliminate a number of complicating factors, and thereby isolate to some extent the factor of mobility, we could not expect to eliminate all possible factors--many of which doubtless had never occured to us, and many of which would have escaped notice in the data which our questionnaire obtained.

Method of Procedure:

A. Choosing Districts for Study:

1. The Maps:

Pin maps representing the distribution of cases handled by social welfare agencies have often been used in studying urban populations. In attacking our problem we had first to select districts for study, so we used the pin map, too.

A map of those cases relieved by the Associated Charities, a map representing the distribution of delinquent youths handled by the juvenile court, and a map of the sickness cared for by visiting nurses showed us where the socially maladjusted in our respective studies were living in the year 1924. Of course they showed segregation of different kinds of interests-some color, some national, and some economic.

We have indicated before that in our study it would be necessary to make an effort to isolate the factor of mobility. In order to do this we had to eliminate outstanding factors which might complicate our study. In this particular study which is to be of two precincts in Kansas City, Kansas the elimination of other factors presents a ~~different~~ difficult problem.

2. Eliminating Complicating Factors:

Race and Color.

Where we find him we can never quite resist blam-

Map showing distribution of illnesses cared for by Visiting Nurses Assn. in year 1924 (about 2600 pins) - K. C. K.

ing the negro for our social unadjustments. It's just part of our good old "100% American" frame of mind. In selecting a problem group, then, we wished first of all to eliminate the factor of color.

It was an absence until recent years of zoning laws that has resulted in some "color" being sprinkled over most of Kansas City, Kansas. Although the negro is segregated in Quindaro, that district is not ready to be taken over by him entirely. Its location is high and sightly. White people living there now, dislike to move out, so, although he will offer almost any price to get in, the negro has not been able to "take over" the district. In a city where most of the districts are very poor it is natural that the negro would be pretty well scattered thru the whole.

In addition to our difficulties with the factor of color we had trouble in sidetracking the foreigner. There are communities of Russian, Yiddish, Polish, etc. Kansas City, Kansas, offers a home near industry and foreigners seem to prefer a home near their work. The meat packing industry, possibly as great as that of Chicago, the many large milling companies, the different railroad terminals, all offer work of the type that is best done by the

strong back and the undeveloped mind. We all know that there is no decided tendency on the part of the foreigner to locate himself in the middle west but what greater Kansas City has of him is naturally "relegated" to the districts along the Kaw on the Kansas side of the river. These districts are those nearest the large industries. Now really 10,000 foreigners do not comprise a large portion of greater Kansas City, but they are a large percent of Kansas City, Kansas.

3. Choice of a Problem Group:

Eliminating the negro and the foreigner left us very few problem precincts from which to choose. Our "best bet" seemed to be that part of the city known as Armourdale.

Armourdale is a district of Kansas City, Kansas located on the north side of the Kaw river about one mile south of its junction with the Missouri. It was laid out in 1880 by the Kaw Valley Town and Site Company which was composed of Boston capitalists. This company owned another tract of land not included in the town site which they sold for manufacturing pruposes. The little town was named after Armour, the great Chicago packer, who bought and the industrial site about this time.

In 1882, Armourdale had a sufficient population

1. Armourdale. A City Within a City - University of Kansas Social Series No. 5.

to be incorporated and in 1883 the street railway was extended to connect Kansas City, Kansas, Kansas City, Mo., Wyandotte, and Armourdale, thus making the cities one as far as transportation and business interests were concerned. The year 1886 however, marks the end of Armourdale as a separate municipality for in that year both it and Wyandotte were incorporated into Kansas City, Kansas.

Armourdale as a portion of greater Kansas City has had an uncheckered career since its incorporation with Kansas City, Kansas, with the exception of the flood of 1903 which damaged all Kansas City and hindered the growth of Armourdale particularly. However, since the flood the city has spent millions of dollars to widen the river channel and build dikes which when properly managed and cared for afford ample protection to the city in flood times.

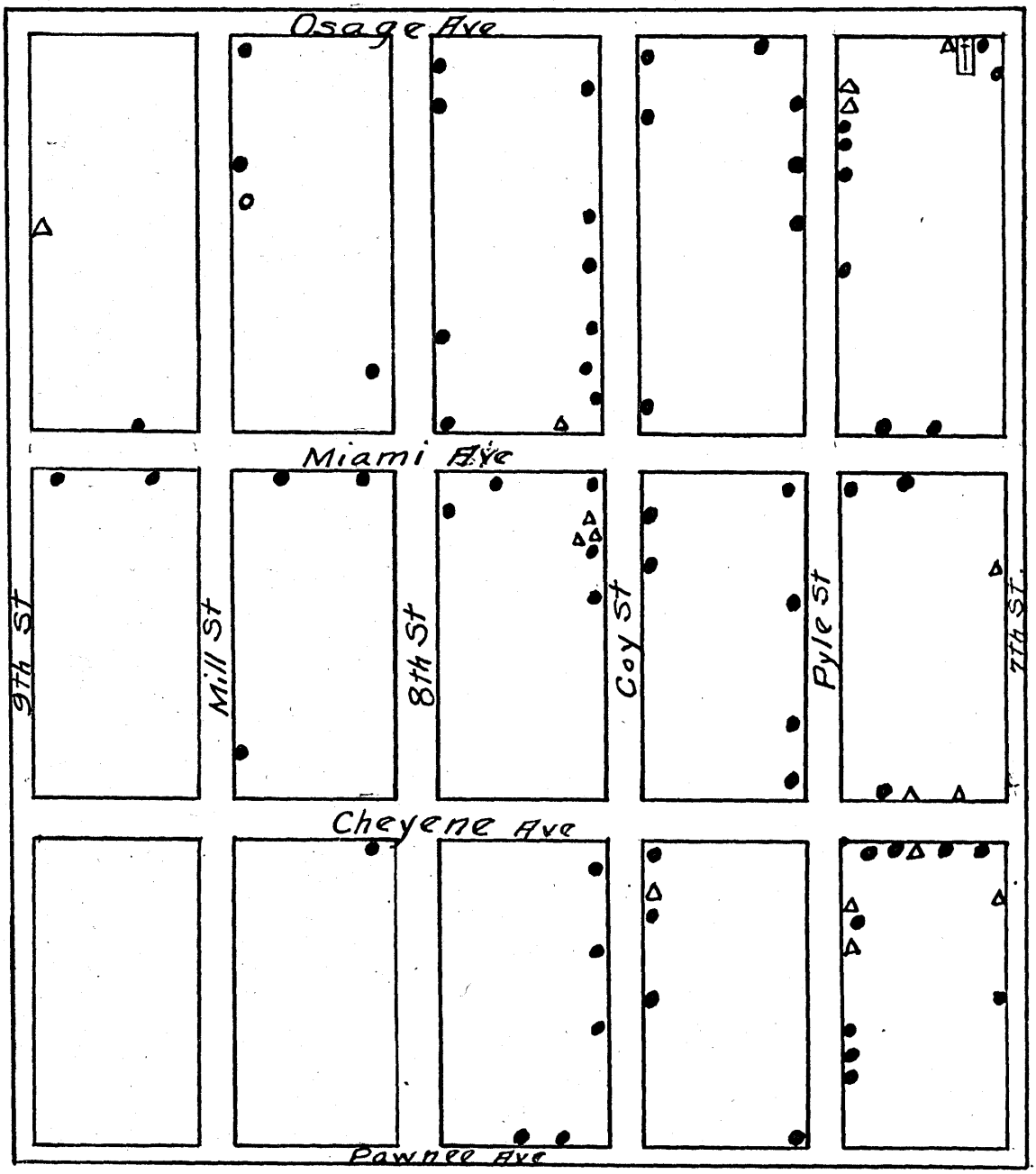
The general character of Armourdale is residental in spite of the fact that a great deal of land was sold in the beginning for manufacturing purposes and that there are now 29 factories in the district. The river bounds the whole district on three sides and on the North we find the Rock Island and Union Pacific railroads. Factories and industrial plants follow the river and the railroads and thus form a ring of industry around the residence area.

It can easily be seen that conditions are not such as to encourage the building of nice homes or the beautifying of lawns. As a consequence, we find three, four and five room houses built on twenty five foot lots and often so close together that their roofs almost touch; alleys bordered with decrepit outhouses and dry goods boxes; and the whole clouded over with the smoke from switching engines and surrounding industry. The words dingy and drab hardly do more than suggest the situation. Armourdale looks like the home of a shiftless people for it gives no indication of a community interest; our maps showed a large amount of social unadjustment; statistics showed that during the "flu" epidemic in 1918 the death rate there was higher than in any other part of greater Kansas City; it is known to have a high rate of infant mortality, so it was a good choice for a problem district.[1]

We had decided to chose only a precinct as a territorial unit for study--the precinct being a governmental unit and it being possible to obtain certain data on its voting while at the same time it didn't involve us in too large a survey. The precinct we felt, too, would give us a representative cross section of the sort of peo-

1. Armourdale. A City Within a City. University of Kansas Social Science Survey. No. 5.

Precinct B No 5 in Ward 6



Legend

- ○ Deliquent Boy
- ● Sickness
- △ Dependency
- ⊓ Church

ple who were living in the district.

The particular choice we made in Kansas City, Kansas, was No. 5 in Ward 6. Precinct 5 hereafter known as B is that area which extends 3 blocks south of Osage to Pawnee Avenue and five blocks west of 7th to 9th street. It is a residence area with the exception of a three block frontage on Osage which is a sort of community trade center.

Precinct B as a community looks self-sufficient,-- a trade center with everything from a "corner drug store" to two well filled pool halls, a car line along Osage, well paved streets with the exception of Pawnee and Cheyenne, and close enough to be handy to a park, several churches and two schools. However, there was only one institution within the precinct and it was a branch of the Free Methodist church, which creed being of the mystic type, doesn't indicate anything in the way of community interests.

This was our problem precinct. In order to study it we desired to compare it with another district which would differ from "B" in being relatively free from the sort of trouble that brings people to social agencies but be similar in racial and national composition and in average income and education.

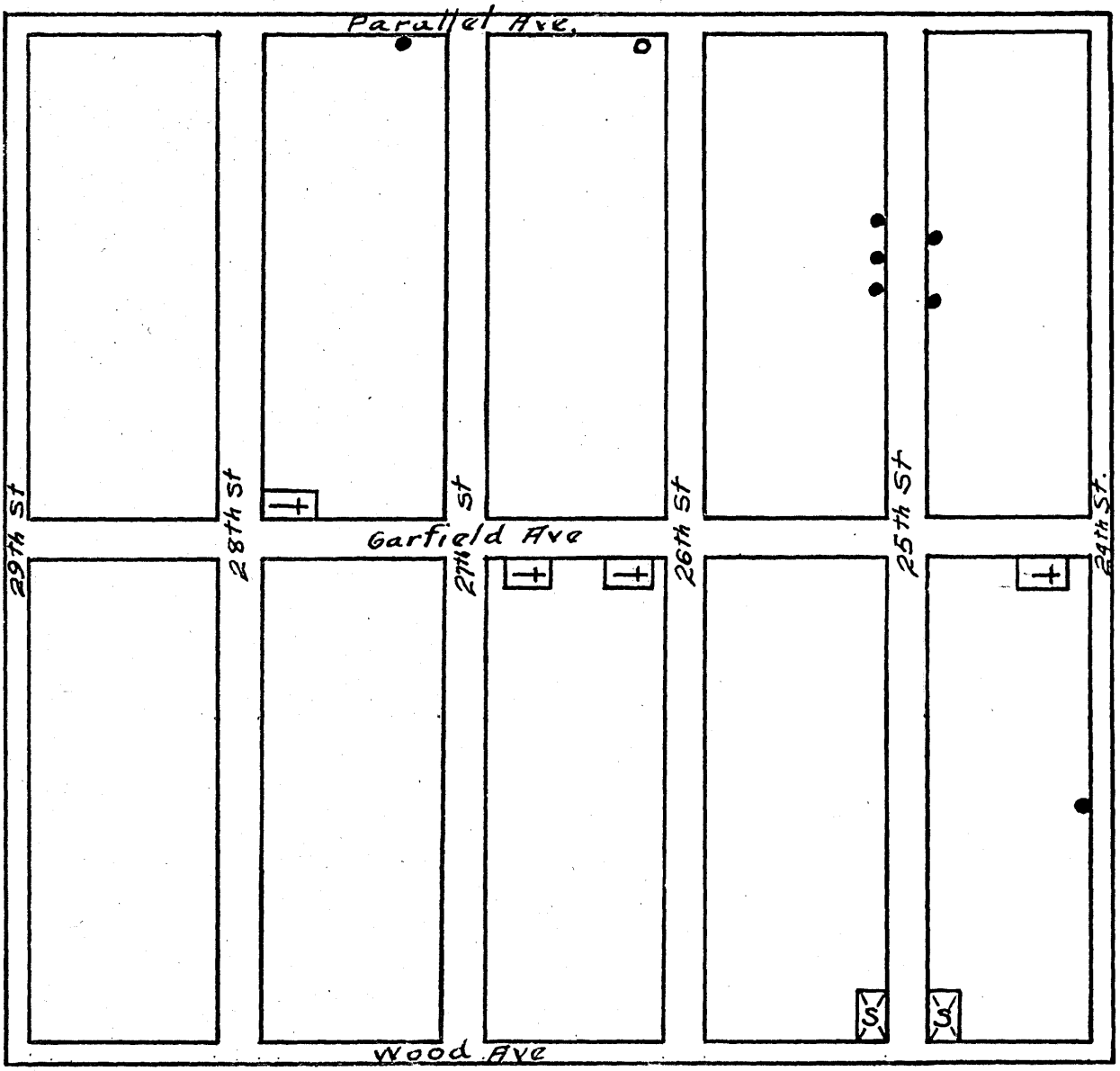
4. Choosing Our Central Group:

In choosing Precinct A we had even more difficulty than in choosing Precinct B for we had to find a group from which there had been very little social unadjustment reported to social agencies, and in which the income level, race and national composition, and amount of education, were practically identical with our problem district. (Note: We had decided in addition to the usual explanations to attempt to eliminate the possibility of a difference in education)

The maps showed very few areas where people were "making it on their own". Some of these areas were obviously of the wealthier classes and were able to pay for their adjusting. Of course we could not profitably compare them with the low waged, unskilled laborers who were the backbone of our problem families.

For this study our best choice was in a section of the city known as Chelsea Park Addition. There was practically no trouble handled by social agencies from there and the explanation could not have been a neglect by the agencies for the place is easy to reach and has no race or color factors so there would probably not be a lack of interest on the part of "visitors" even in a "100%" town. At the same

Precinct A No 37 in Ward 3



Legend

- O Deliquent Boys
- ● Sickness
- Δ Dependency
- Church
- School

time, it was a collection of day laborers and their families, so there would likely be very little difference in average income or amount of education received between it and our problem district.

Precinct A is No. 37 in Ward 3. It extends three blocks south of Parallel to Wood Avenue and five blocks west of 24th to 29th Street. The picture it presents is quite different from that presented by B. The homes are newer and much nicer. The lawns are large and well kept. Within the precinct are four churches and two new school buildings. There is a great deal of new pavement and very few unsightly outhouses. Best of all, because it is located at the city's edge, there is a world of quiet, sunshine, and dry clear air. Chelsea Park Addition looks like a community of homes, not mere abiding places.

The Actual Survey:

Our precincts for study chosen, we had the task of making a questionnaire which would give us data that would throw light on our problem.

The questionnaire decided upon was the product of a conference between the three groups working on the problem--that of Louise Griest in Topeka, Kansas, that of Robert Loosley in Kansas City, Mo., and that of Mrs. W. F. Asendorf in this study of Kansas City, Kansas.

We desired to make our blanks such that, when filled they would give us the following categories of data:

1. Family life: size, income, home equipment, etc.
2. Complicating factors if any -
   a. Wage b. race c. color d. education
3. Evidence of Physical mobility - actual moving about.
4. Evidence of Community interests or Social Mobility.

In the actual survey students from the University class in Social Surveys were used in a house-to-house canvas. These students were given necessary direct[illegible] before going into the field and supervision while in the field. We did not wish them to understand the purpose of the survey since we feared that their prejudices might color our data, but we did help them to understand how they might obtain the data and how to fill the blanks.

The districts were surveyed in the spring of 1925. Blanks were taken to Precinct B during February and March. This was at a time when industry was nearly at a standstill, particularly the packing industries.

Precinct A was surveyed during those beautiful days that came in our Easter Vacation. Spring was in the air and carpenters, brick layers, etc. were on the job.

Prec. A.

Sample Questionaire.

No. K 259 Date..... Investigator .....

Address ..... Other schedules from this address.....

	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Nat.	Left school Age	Left school Grade	Trade school	Occupation	Wages per week	Wks. lost	No. jobs
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											
	Others in household										
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											

	Length of time Pres. Occup.	Length of time Pres. Employ	Membership in Union	Membership in Insurance	Membership in Lodge	Membership in Benefit	Membership in Church	Membership in Reg.
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
	Others in household							
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								

Length of time in: House.....

District.....

City.....

U. S.....

City of longest residence.....

Time in city of longest residence.....

Own home.....

Furniture.....

Other property.....

Father's occupation.....

Kind of house: Single dwelling.....

Remodeled dwelling.....

Apartment house.....

No. families in house.....

No. of rooms occupied by this family.....

Plumbing: city water to: sink.....

washbowl.....

toilet.....

tub.....

other water supply.....

Light: electricity.....

gas.....

oil.....

Heat: hot air furnace.....

hot water.....

steam.....

gas heater.....

coal stove.....

How do you like this district?.....

.....

.....

What reason did you have for moving to this district?.....

.....

The Data - An Analysis:

General:

When our blanks were all returned it was found that 128 families comprising a total of 510 persons had been interviewed in Precinct A, while from the larger precinct B, there were 228 blanks and a total of 960 persons on whom we had data. These people were distributed according to age and sex in the following manner:

Table No. 1 Age-Sex Distribution
(a) Of persons for whom schedules were returned. K.C.K.

	Actual Count					
	Male		Female		Total	
Age	Prec A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B
0- 9	62	121	52	109	114	230
10-19	44	98	52	104	96	202
20-29	31	80	35	86	66	166
30-39	36	71	43	59	79	130
40-49	26	66	25	58	51	124
50-59	26	26	18	28	44	54
60-69	10	19	11	14	21	33
70-79	7	9	4	8	11	17
80-89	3	1	2	1	5	2
90-99	0	0	1	0	1	0
Doubtful	10	0	12	2	22	2
Total	255	491	255	469	510	960
Median Age	26.9	23.3	26.8	22.5	26.8	22.8

Table 1 contains several items worth note.

1. The sexes are evenly divided in A but in B their numbers are in the ratio of 100 women to 104 men.

2. The median age for persons living in Precinct A is four years higher than for residents of B. In dealing with large numbers of people four years is an important difference in medians. Our percentage table on the distribution of age and sex shows a smaller percentage of persons under age 20 and a larger number over age 50 in A. Families

Table No. 1 (b) Age-Sex Distribution - K.C.K.

Percentage Table

	Male		Female		Total	
Age	Prec. A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B
0- 9	12.1	12.6	10.2	11.3	22.3	23.9
10-19	8.6	10.2	10.2	10.8	18.8	21.0
20-29	6.1	8.3	6.8	8.9	12.9	17.2
30-39	7.0	7.4	8.4	6.1	15.4	13.5
40-49	5.1	6.8	4.9	6.0	10.0	12.8
50-59	5.1	2.7	3.5	2.9	8.6	5.6
60-69	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.6	4.1	3.5
70-79	1.4	.9	.7	.8	2.1	1.7
80-89	.6	.1	.3	.1	.9	.2
90-99	.0	.0	.2	.0	.2	.0
Doubtful	1.9	.0	2.3	.2	4.2	.2
	50.8	50.9	49.7	48.7	99.5	99.6

then, are evidently smaller and men thrown on the industrial "Scrap heap" later in life in A. This deduction is borne out in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that:

1. The median size family is slightly larger in B than in A.

2. There are more married couples over age 50 in A than B.

Table 2. Size of Families
From schedules which were returned K.C.K.

Married couples with children

No. of Children	Precinct A	Precinct B
1	36	55
2	27	39
3	14	33
4	6	22
5	5	9
6	2	4
7	2	5
8	1	
9		
Median	2.4	2.7

Widow with children

1	4	5
2	2	6
3	1	1
4		3
5		
6		1
Median	1.75	2.5

Widower with children

1	2	
2	1	
3	1	1
4		
5		
Median	1	1

Size of family	A	B
Median for total (except single)	3.7	3.9

Married but no children	16	3.1%	39	4.06%

Married Couples too old (50 and over)

	15	2.9%	15	1.5%
Total no children	31	6.0	54	5.56
Single Men	9	1.7%	20	2.8%
Single Women	15	2.9%	14	1.4%

We can not help being surprised that our median size family is so low for either district, particularly district B. These people probably know very little of birth control and we naturally expected them to make no effort to limit the size of the family. However, it is known that Armourdale has a high rate of infant mortality. Then too, although we have no data to prove it, there were doubtless many couples in B too recently married to have children. The author found many such couples herself--young people who, not knowing much about how they would eventually plan their future, had moved from a small town or the country to Armourdale immediately after their marriage.

Perhaps you will say that we had no reason to suppose that families would be larger in B than A, and perhaps you are right. However, we did expect to find this evidence of a lack of foresight in the one community as against contrariwise in the other. The rate of infant mortality and the fact that epidemics can get an easy foothold in Armourdale is, of course, part of an explanation which would bear out our assumptions.

3. While there are more widows with children in B than in A, there are more widowers with children in A. These numbers are small and possible explanations are many.

There may be a higher percentage of industrial accidents in B, men in B may re-marry earlier, widows may find it necessary to live near work in order to save, etc.

4. There are more single women relatively speaking in A than B, but more "homeless" men in B. Again the numbers aren't significant and again there may be many reasons, earlier marriages in B, a longer time in the parental home in A, etc.

Elimination of Complicating Factors:

Our maps showed definate segregation of socially unadjusted people in Precinct B and almost a total lack of trouble in A. In choosing these districts we had tried to eliminate factors of race, color, education and income.

When our blanks were returned we found that we had been entirely successful in attempting to eliminate the factor of color. There were no black, red, brown or yellow people in either district.

We may safely assume too, that we were successful in our attempts to eliminate the factor of nationality for there were only 15 foreign born persons in our "good" district and 36 in our problem group.

These people are for the most part, "Americanized", a slightly higher percent having become naturalized in A

Table 3. Foreign Born
Of persons for whom schedules were returned
K.C.K.

	Precinct A	Precinct B
Foreign Naturalized	11	22
Foreign Un-Naturalized	4	14
% of Foreign	2.9%	3.7%
% Naturalized	73.3%	61.7%
% Un-Naturalized	26.7%	38.3%

than in B. This fact is interesting as it throws some little additional light on the question of the social mobility of the group. The foreigners who were in A"belonged" to a greater extent than did those in B. They were socially more mobile.

There was some difference between the two disticts in amount of education received. However, this difference between 8.4 and 7.7 was less than one grade in favor of residents of A.

Table 4. Grade Attained and Age at which Schooling (for persons out of school) was Discontinued.

Age Grade Table
Precinct A
Out of School
Male

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5				1	4	7	15	9	31	8	6	2	7			
6																
7																
8																
9			1													
10						1										
11					1	1	1		1							
12					1		2		1							
13					1	2	4	2	2							
14							1	1	10							
15						2	5	3	11	1						
16							2	2	5	3	5					
17										3	1		1			
18					1				1	1			3			
19												1	3		1	
20						1						1		3		
21														5		

Grade Attained & Age at which Schooling was Discontinued.

Age Grade Table
Precinct A
Out of School

Female

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5					4	13	9	12	62	11	10	2	12			
6																
7																
8																
9																
10						1										
11						1		1								
12					2	4	1		2							
13						3	3	4	8							
14					1		2	4	32	1						
15					1	1		1	10	5	1					
16						3	3	2	6	1	7		2			
17										2	1	1	2			
18									3	2	1	1	7	1		
19													1	3	4	
20															1	
21									1					5		

Grade Attained + Age at which Schooling was Discontinued.

Age Grade Table
Precinct B
Out of School

Male

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5		1	1	9	11	28	34	32	66	18	4	1	7			
6																
7																
8				1	1											
9				2												
10			1	1	2	2										
11					1											
12				1	5	7	2	1	2							
13				2		4	3	3	4							
14						7	13	9	11	3						
15				1		3	9	8	16	4						
16		1		1	1	4	2	8	18	5	1					
17							2	2	6	2	1		2			
18							2		5	3	2		1		2	
19									1			1	1			
20										1			1		1	
21					1	1	1	1	3				2			

Grade Attained & Age at which Schooling was Discontinued.

Age Grade Table
Precinct B
Out of School

Female

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5		2	1	5	25	29	35	34	74	18	6	3	8			
6																
7																
8		1														1
9				1												
10			1	1	4	3	1									
11					2	2	1	2								
12				2	6	4	6	1	1							
13					4	8	7	7	6							
14				1	5	9	9	6	22	1						
15					3	1	8	12	18	4	1					
16		1			1	2	2	6	18	13		2	1			
17									9		2	1	1			
18							1				2		5			
19														1		
20													1			
21											1					

Table 5. Age and Grade of Children Now in School

Age Grade Table
Precinct A
In School

Male

Ages	Kindergart'n	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5	5	3	5	3	3	6	4	3	8	1	2					
6																
7	1	2	2													
8		1	2													
9			1	1	1											
10				2	1	1	1									
11					1		2									
12						3	1									
13						2		1	2							
14								2	1							
15									3	1						
16									1		1					
17									1		1					1
18															1	
19														1		
20															1	
21															1	

Age – Grade of Children in School

Age Grade Table
Precinct A
In School

Female

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5	1	8	9	1	3	6	4	4	6	3	6	4	1			
6	1	3														
7		5	4													
8			4													
9			1													
10					3	1	1									
11				1		3										
12						1	3	2								
13						1			2	1						
14								1	2	1	1					
15								1			2					
16									2	1	1					
17											1	1	1			
18											1	3				
19																
20																
21															1	

Age-Grade of Children in School

Age Grade Table
Precinct B
In School

Male

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5	2	11	8	19	7	12	7	6	4	1	0	2				
6	2	7														1
7		1	1													1
8		3	3	2												
9			2	5	3	1										
10			2	3	1	1										
11				5	2	1	1									
12				3	1	2	2	2								1
13						2	1	2								
14				1		4	2	1	2							
15							1	1	1	1						1
16						1			1			1				
17												1				
18																
19																
20																
21																

Age-Grade of Children in School.

Age Grade Table
Precinct B
In School

Female

Ages	Kindergarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Trade	College	Doubt
5	3	11	11	12	11	9	14	10	3	1	1	1				
6	3	3														
7		6	2													
8		2	7	2												1
9			1	5	2	1										1
10			1	4	5	1										
11					2	2	4									1
12					1	3	2									
13				1		2	5	1	3							1
14					1		3	4								
15								4		1	1					
16								1								
17												1				1
18																
19																
20																
21																

There is a significant difference between the rates of retardation for residents of the two districts. This difference is consistent in both generations we studied. People in B are much more retarded than people in A although the rate is high for A.

Table 6. Percentage Table
(Acceleration and Retardation of Persons for whom schedules were returned. K. C. K.)

	Out of School		In School	
	Prec. A.	Prec. B.	Prec. A.	Prec. B.
Accelerated	3.1%	1.7%	4%	1.2%
Normal	45.8%	23.7%	63%	54.2%
Retarded	51.1%	74.6%	33%	44.6%
Median Grade reached	8.4	7.7		

There may be several explanations:

1. There may be a difference in mental ability making it impossible for residents in B to do as well as those in A.

2. The schools attended by persons in B may not have been as good as those attended by persons in A.

3. People in B may have to work part of the school year making it difficult for them to keep up with the assignments.

4. The rate of physical mobility--actual moving about from place to place may be higher in B.

5. The home life may be such that there is no incentive to "getting ahead" in B.

6. Habits formed early in childhood may limit the possibilities of persons in B.

Of course all of these explanations may also apply to A but to a greater extent in B.

We can see that there are very few college people in either district and very few to whom business training has been given.

The above data we know can not be any worse than the truth for we could expect a large amount of exaggeration here. Then too, we made liberal allowances for birthdays, etc. in figuring the percent of retardation.

A table on occupations shows that for the work done by those who are employed from both districts there is required very little training. However, at a glance, we can see that there are more skilled workers in A. More people own their own business, there are more professional men and more representatives of the skilled trades--particularly building and construction.

Very few had the advantage of a father before them in the same occupation in either district. However, this is slightly more general in A than B.

Table 7. Occupations of Persons for Whom Schedules were Returned. K. C. K.

Occupation	Head of Family		Father of Head of Family		Others	
	Prec A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B	Prec A	Prec B
Own Business	6	8	7	6	1	1
Profession	3		6	7		
Packing House	1	30	2	6	2	12
Teamster(truck driver)	8	18	1	5		7
Bldg & Constr.	23	27	20	18	4	3
Mechanic	7	21	1	4	1	6
Office	4	1	1			7
Salesman	9		1		1	
Factory Hand	4	20	1			26
R. R. (Section & St. R. W.)	20	21	6	10		3
Laborer	7	52	4	23	1	8
Clerk	6	4	1		8	10
Foreman (of any gang)	8	7		2		
Domestic & Cooks	1	3			4	
Public Office	8		3		1	
Trade	3		2		1	
Farmer			49	88		
Janitor & Watchman	4	2	1			
Steno-Clerical					2	5
Laundress	1				1	1
Stock yards		4				1
Teacher	4		2		2	
Rooms & Boards		4				4
Miscellaneous	9	19	3	14	7	14
Out of work						
Unknown	7	7	14	45	5	1

Followed profession of fathers — Precinct A 24 = 18.7% — Precinct B 39 = 17.0%

There was one factor which we had hoped to eliminate but which we found and which does complicate our study. That is a difference in income level between A and B.

In A the men over 21 made an average weekly wage of $34.11 while in B the same age and sex group made an average of $24.92. Women and workers under 21 in B made a higher median wage than in A which is only what we had expected, for in B they go to work sooner and work more steadily, while in A they work only to supplement the family income, and the women--instead of working in factories where the salaries are fair, go overtown to a department store where they get a "nice" job and a meagre wage.

Table 8. Wages Per Week
Of Persons for Whom Schedules were Returned. K.CK.

	Over 21				Under 21			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Wages.	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.
0- 4			3	2			2	1
5- 9		1	4	7	1	3	1	1
10-14	2	8		10	5	11	2	7
15-19	7	30	6	18	3	12	1	10
20-24	11	70		5	2	11		
25-29	14	44		7	1	3		
30-34	26	33	3		1	1		
35-39	25	15	2					
40-44	9	6						
45-49	4	2						
50-54	7	4						
55-59	2							
60-64	1	1						
65-69	1							
70-74	1							
75-79	1	2						
Doubtful	28	24	1	1				
Tot.Known	111	216	18	49	13	41	6	19
Unknown	28	24	19	1				
Medians	34.11	24.92	15.58	16.50	15.66	17.65	10.00	15.20

Again, the difference in family income is noticeable though not so startling. The median size family is slightly smaller (.2) in A, the median size wage is about $25.00 a month greater, and they lose less than a week from work each year as compared with nearly a month in B but the significance of this factor is mitigited by the fact that data was obtained in B at a time when industry is almost at a standstill while data was obtained in A during the busy season in late spring. The psychology of behaviour will be explanation enough for the story being sad from workers in Armourdale and good in Chelsea Park. Pepple actually forget easily and they are influenced by their feelings at the moment.

Although we could not make this factor constant the wage is not high enough in A or low enough in B to keep the two districts from being on a common footing socially. Of course, 25.00 a month added to $120 does make a great difference but not great enough to prevent "hobnobbing".

Table 9. Wages per Week per Family
For Families from which Schedules were Returned.
K.C.K.

Size of Family Precinct A

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	(Total)
0- 4		2		1								3
5- 9	2	1										3
10-14												
15-19	2		3		1							6
20-24		2	2	3								7
25-29		4	5	2	1			1				13
30-34	1	8	6	5	1	1		1				23
35-39		7	8	6	2	1						24
40-44			3	2	3	1	1					10
45-49		1		2		1	1					5
50-54				2	2							4
55-59	1		1									2
60-64				1	1			1	1			4
65-69		1		1								2
70-74			1									1
75-79							1		1			2
80-84						1						1
85-89												
90-94						1						1
95-99												
100-104												
105-109			1			1						2
Doubtful		8	11	6	1		1			1		113
			Medians									35.10

Table 9. (Continued)

Wages per Week per Family
For Families from which Schedules were Returned.
K.C.K.

Size of Family Precinct B.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	(Total)
0- 4												
5- 9		1										1
10-14			2		1	1	1					5
15-19	3	9	6	3		1	7					29
20-24	2	12	19	7	6	3			1			49
25-29	1	9	8	5	7	1	1		2			34
30-34		7	4	8	9	4	2					34
35-39		1	10	4	5	1			2			23
40-44		2	4	2	4		2	1				15
45-49		1		1	1	1		1				5
50-54		2	1	3	1	2						9
55-59			1		1	1						3
60-64	1	1	1	1		1	1					6
65-69									1			1
70-74				1				1				2
75-79		1	2		1							4
80-84						1						1
85-89									1			1
90-94												
95-99				1								1
100-104												
105-109												
Doubtful	2	7	3	3	4	3		1				223
	Medians											29.03

Physical Mobility:

While we could not eliminate the factor of income we have evidence that it could not have been the only factor. Our data show that there is a large amount of actual moving about in Precinct B as compared with Precinct A.

In the first place, in A we have a larger number of persons born in Kansas than in all other states put together, while in B there were nearly twice as many born in other states as in Kansas. In both districts residents have come from those states near. It is interesting to note the fact that there were no people from Oklahoma except fifteen children from Precinct B. This may be evidence of "homesteading" in that state which had quite a vogue a few years back.

The most significant data on actual physical mobility however, is that on length of time in house, district and city.

It was found that people in A had lived nearly four times as long in the house in which they were at the time when interviewed as people in B where the median length of residence was less than a year (11+ mo.)--(more than one-third of this whole group having lived in the home less than six months.)

Table 10. Birthplace of Persons for whom Schedules were Returned. K. C. K.

State	Persons over 21 Prec A.	Prec B.	Persons under 21 Prec A.	Prec B.
Kansas	112	103	162	252
Missouri	63	186	21	121
Illinois	28	28		
Iowa	15	22		14
Ohio		14		
Kentucky		16		
Oklahoma				15
Doubtful	5	38	2	16
All Others	75	108	27	27
	298	515	212	445

Percentage Table

State	Persons over 21 Prec A.	Prec B.	Persons under 21 Prec A.	Prec B.
Kansas	37.5%	20.0%	76.4%	54.3%
Missouri	21.1%	36.1%	9.9%	27.2%
Doubtful	1.7%	7.5%	.9%	3.6%
All Others	39.7%	36.4%	13.8%	14.9%

The difference between the median lengths of residence in the two districts was much less. People in A had been in their district only about a year longer than people in B. This is due to a number of things. Obviously there is a great deal of moving from house to house within the district in B, while in A where there are many new homes many of the families have been in the district no longer than in the home.

Again there is a great difference (4 years) between the median lengths of stay in the city although

the median length of residence in city is rather high even for the more mobile district (9 years). The fact of a difference of nearly 4 years between the lengths of time in district and in city, establishes evidence of a large amount of intra-city transiency for district B. There is an even greater difference in district A but as we have indicated before the probability is, that many of these people had moved here to a new home while in B there are no new homes and no inducements in the way of betterment of conditions since it is one of the worst residence districts in the city.

Table 11. Length of Time in House, District, City and U.S. Of Persons for Whom Schedules were Returned in K. C. K.

Time	Home Precinct		District Precinct		City Precinct		U.S.A.(Foreign) Precinct	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Less than 6 months	13	72	8	28	1	14		
6 months to 11 months	7	43	5	16	0	8		
1 year and under 2	14	32	8	17	5	10		
2 years and under 3	16	16	11	24	5	15		
3 years and under 4	20	19	18	14	8	10		
4 years and u under 5	9	6	6	12	5	7		
5 years and under 10	24	21	24	49	19	54		1
10 yrs. and under 15	12	6	18	13	27	18		
15 yrs. and under 20	6	5	7	15	6	24		1
20 yrs. and under 25	2	3	7	13	9	24		1
25 yrs. and under 30	1	2	2	5	10	6		
30 yrs. and over	4	3	14	18	33	31		1
Doubtful				4		7		
	128	228	128	228	128	228	3	4

Median Precinct A
House 3 yrs 8.4 mo.
District 6 yrs 4. mo. (Many new homes in this District)
City 13 yrs 10.6 mo.

Median Precinct B
House 11 mo. 25 da.
District 5 yrs 3.6 mo.
City 9 yrs. 7.2 mo.

Table 12. Length of Time in City of Longest Residence of Persons for whom Schedules were Returned. K. C. K.

Time	Precinct A		Precinct B	
	Kans. City	Other city	Kans. City	Other City
Less than 1 yr			3	3
1-2 years	3		5	
2-3 years	4	1	4	2
3-4 years	4		7	2
4-5 years	4		4	2
5-10 years	15	5	34	10
10-15 years	20	2	21	11
15-20 years	8		25	7
20-25 years	7	7	19	6
25-30 years	10	1	8	4
30-35 years	8	1	8	4
35-40 years	8		6	2
40-45 years	2		3	3
45-50 years	2			
50 and over	2	1	2	
Unknown	10	3	10	13
	107	21	159	69
Total	128		228	

Table 12 shows that Kansas City was the city of longest residence for more people in A than in B. This difference is not great but it makes our difference in favor of A more consistent.

It is interesting to note that people in B change jobs more frequently than do people in A. This is easily seen in the scatterogram in table 13. They are considerably more mobile both in their changes from occupation to occupation and employers to employer.

Table 13. Number of Jobs Held During Year.
By Workers for whom Data was Returned.

Precinct A.

Time Lost	1	2	3	4	5	6	Many	Doubtful	
Less than 1 wk.	76	2							78
1-2 wks.	2								2
2-3 wks.	4								4
3-4 wks.	4								4
1-2 mos.	10								10
2-3 mos.	4	2	1				1	1	9
3-4 mos.	4								4
4-5 mos.	6								6
5-6 mos.	1								1
6-7 mos.	3	1			1				5
7-8 mos.	1						1		2
8-9 mos.	1								1
9-10 mos.									
10-11 mos.	5		1	1					7
11-12 mos.	1	1							2
Doubtful	24	3	1				1	31	60
									195

Precinct B.

Time Lost	1	2	3	4	5	6	Many	Doubtful	
Less than 1 wk.	106	14	1						121
1-2 wks.	11	3	1					1	15
2-3 wks.	11	3							14
3-4 wks.	10	2							12
1-2 mos.	22	8	3	1					34
2-3 mos.	17	4	5	2			1		29
3-4 mos.	8	6					4		18
4-5 mos.	6	3	1				4	1	15
5-6 mos.	4	2	1	1			1		9
6-7 mos	7	1	1	1	2	2	11	1	26
7-8 mos.	1	1	3	1			5		11
8-9 mos.		2	1						3
9-10 mos.		1			1		1		3
10-11 mos.	1	2					2		5
11-12 mos.	2	1					1		4
Doubtful	1			1			3	25	30
									350

Table 14. Length of Time in Present Occupation and Present Employment. For Persons from whom Schedules were Returned. K. C. K.

Time. P	In Occupation				In Employment			
	Over 21		Under 21		Over 21		Under 21	
	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.	Prec A.	Prec B.
0- 1 yr.	11	54	8	20	15	84	9	26
1- 2 "	11	19	2	13	13	26	1	12
2- 3 "	12	31	2	11	21	36	2	8
3- 4 "	12	36	1	4	17	30	1	3
4 - 5 "	14	16		0	12	12		0
5-10 "	30	34		3	25	28		1
10-15 "	12	27		0	9	17		0
15-20 "	6	13		0	6	8		0
20-25 "	7	14		0	4	8		0
25-30 "	8	4		0	4	3		0
30- "	9	5			5	5		
Unemployed	4	16		3	4	19		5
Total	136	269	13	54	135	276	13	55
Doubtful	40	23	6	4	51	16	6	3
Grand Total								
Medians	5yr. 11 mo.	3 yr. 7 mo.	9 mo.	1 yr. 4 mo.	3 yr. 11 mo.	2 yr. 6 mo.	8 mo.	11 mo.

While workers in A had been at their same trade for nearly six years, workers in B had plyed their trades only four. Even the workers under age 21 had stayed closer to the job as is shown in the fact that while they had only been in their present occupation nine months, they had been with their employers eight months--where youths in B had a median occupation record of sixteen months, and a median employment record of eleven months.

Lack of Social Mobility:

Although persons in B moved about a great deal they were not socially mobile. In other words, they did not form

ties or contacts in places where they lived. As evidence, view the fact that only 30% owned their own home as compared with 72% in our "good district".

Table 15. Home Ownership. Percentage Table

	Precinct A	Precinct B
Own Home (Paying for Home included)	71.9%	30.7%
Own Other Property (Cars included) (Furniture not included)	34.4%	21.9%
Own no Property	5.7%	8.7%

Remembering the difference in income level you will perhaps suppose that the people in Armourdale could not afford to buy. However, this isn't likely the whole explanation, perhaps not at all. In the first place homes can be bought for between $1500-$2000 in Armourdale, whereas in Chelsea Park Addition one simply couldn't find a home for less than $3500. In the second place, it is probably not much more expensive to buy than to rent in Armourdale for rents run from $15 to $25 a month--$18 and $20 being charged for the very smallest and poorest equipped homes. The likely explanation is in the fact that residence is uncertain,— that people don't want to be tied down by home ownership. Of course this idea is only the beginning of the cycle. People buy because they expect to stay and they stay because

they have bought. There are many people living in Armourdale now, who perhaps would be somewhere else if they did not own a home there.

In addition to the difference in ties formed by people in A and B, there is a great difference in the numbers of social contacts indulged in.

Table 16. Membership in Organizations.

	A	B
Union	32	49
Church	234	292
Benefit	14	31
Lodge	87	84
Union and Lodge	2	7
Church and Lodge	51	27
Union and Church	13	12
Union, Lodge and Church	2	4

Although there is very little difference between the number of "union men" and participants in a benefit society in the two districts, there are 29% of the persons over 20 holding a lodge membership in A as compared with 9% in B. About 21% of these people belong to both a lodge and a church as against 5% of the people in the same age group in B.

Church memberships are very significant since they may afford the stimulus for a number of useful attitudes. First, they may be motive for the maintenance of

Table 17.

Church Membership and Non-Membership
Of persons for whom schedules were returned K.C.K.

	Protestants								Catholic				No Church and do not attend		Doubtful	
	Members				Non-members				Members							
	Regular Precinct		Irregular Precinct		Regular Precinct		Irregular Precinct		Regular Precinct		Irregular Precinct		Precinct		Precinct	
Male	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Over 21	58	21	30	33	7	7	3	1	19	26		6	29	102	8	70
Male Under 21	37	17	4	9	11	20	2		22	15			10	24	3	43
Female Over 21	62	38	24	48	5	7	2	1	23	23	1	5	23	73	8	50
Female Under 21	37	21	4	11	13	32	1		13	19			8	29	6	41
	194	97	62	101	36	66	8	2	77	83	1	11	70	238	25	204
Male too young	20	89														
Female too young	17	75														
	37	164														

Percentage Table

Precinct A.
50.1% Protestant
73.3% " members Regular
15.3% Catholic
98.8% " regular
8.6% Non-members attend
15.7% No Church - don't attend

Precinct B.
20.4% Protestant
49. % " members Regular
9.7% Catholic
88.3% " regular
7 % Non-members attend
24.7% No Church - don't attend

one's own self-respect and secondly, they may be the stimulus to a feeling of helpfulness in time of another member's need.

Church membership in A ran to 50% for the Protestant churches as against 20% in B. Of these three-fourths were active in A while scarcely one-half were regular attendants in B. It is interesting to note that even the Catholics were more regular in A than B--being almost 100% faithful in the one and 88% in the other. The difference is really small but we all know that the Cathdic is more regular than the Protestant so we think it is worth note.

In the trail of such data we are not surprised to find that in the larger precinct B, there were only 280 persons registered to vote last fall while in A there were 307 who wanted a voice in their government. When one remembers that Precinct B is almost twice as large as Precinct A the difference in percentage will be seen to be very high.

It is interesting to note their own answers where asked why they chose the district and how they liked it. You will note that "close to work" was the favored theme in B, while people in A chose their location because they liked it--its neighborhood institutions, the location, etc.

There were a larger number with no definite reason

Table 18. Reasons for Living in District.
Expressed by persons for whom schedules were returned.

Reason	Actual Count. Precinct A-K.C.K	Precinct B-K.C.K.
Close to work	11	66
Close to friends or relatives	18	19
Liked Neighborhood	37	13
Church		
Schools		
Location		
Etc.		
Best they could afford	7	19
Accustomed to this district, only		
"Home"	22	29
Birthplace		
Etc.		
No positive reason (Miscellaneous)	33	82
	128	223

to give for their choice in B--36% of these people had no definite answer as against 25% of the persons interviewed in A.

Table 19. Attitude Toward District
Expressed by persons for whom schedules were returned.

Attitude	Actual Count Precinct A - K.C.K.	Precinct B - K.C.K.
Positive	94	68
Negative	4	59
Indifferent	30	94
Blank Forms		7
	128	228

Attitude toward the district was decidedly more favorable in A than B. Only about one-half as many were indifferent and nearly three times as many were positive.

(An indifferent answer was one in which such words as "pretty", "fairly", "tolerably", were used. A negative answer was such as that of the woman who said she would jump off the back porch if she thought she might have to live there always. A positive answer showed real attachment such as, "They have such good schools".)

Of course, we realize that there is a large degree of possibility in this data's becoming subjective but with the care we exercised in not showing our prejudices we think it is worth while.

Summary and Conclusions:

It is easy to see that we had a large amount of physical mobility in B as compared with A, and a decided lack of participation in the life of organized groups. Let us see what sort of people this group actually represents and at the same time consider their environment .

The families are not large--four people being an average size. They do not lack education, having a median almost two grades higher than that of the army when statistics were compiled in 1918, and the income is larger than

would be required to support a family of five if such income were properly budgeted and if there were no great mishaps? Yet we find a large amount of unadjustment reported from there and handled by social agencies. Let us look at the environment. We have already taken a cursory view but let us look carefully.

The homes are largely cottage in type in both districts. Most of the dwellings are what we call single which merely means that only one family lived in them. However, there are more multiple dwellings in B than A.

Table 20. Type of Dwellings.
For families for which schedules were returned.
K.C.K.

	Precinct A	Precinct B
Single Dwellings	108	152
Multiple Dwelling (Two or more families in house)	20	76
	128	228

Percentage Table.

Single Dwellings	84.4%	66.7%
Multiple Dwellings (Two or more families in house)	15.6%	33.3%
	100.0%	100.0%

There is very little overcrowding in either district. Persons in A enjoy the range of 1.2 rooms per individual and persons in B have .98

Table 21. Size of House per Size of Family
Information from Schedules Returned K.C.K.

Precinct A

Size of Family	Number of Rooms in House											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1							1					4
2		2	3	8	8	3						6
3		1	4	13	18	3			1			21
4	1			5	11	5	2					132
5				4	8	4	2					145
6				2	1	3	1					150
7				1	2	3						56
8					1	3	1					9
9						1	1					
10						1						
11												620
12	4	7	18	114	187	137	42		3 =	512		

Doubtful - 10

1.2 rooms per individual

Precinct B

Size of Family	Number of Rooms in House											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1	1	1		1								7
2	4	1	10	10	5	2						113
3		8	6	16	10	4	1	1				185
4		2	8	14	10	4	1					173
5		2	6	13	9	2		1				139
6			3	5	8		2					194
7			1	4	4	2	1					58
8			1	1	1			3				36
9			2	1	2	1		1				34
10						1						6
	9	43	151	267	217	93	26	41	= 835			845

Doubtful - 56

.98 rooms per individual

Our data on home equipment however, shows the problem district to be decidedly undesirable as a home location.

In 228 homes we found only 63 sinks, 18 washbowls, and 20 toilets with a sewer connection. In our control district nearly all the homes had sinks, and more than half had indoor toilets and bath tubs.

There wer 10 hot air furnaces in B and 40 in A. Most of the people in both districts had to worry along with coal stoves which shows that in reality there was very little difference between the economic level of the two districts.

One third of the people in B cooked on gas while nearly all used gas for cooking in A.

There was only one modern feature of home equipment that was common to nearly all homes in both districts--that was electricity. Electricity is very cheap in Kansas City, Kansas, so nearly everyone uses it for lighting purposes.

Now that we have viewed the people in the place where they live, discussed their mobility, etc., let us compare what we found with the things McKenzie found in Columbus, Ohio.

Our trouble district too, is located in a flood plane near the center of the city (greater Kansas City). It too, comprises one of the oldest sections of the city. There is a tradition of floods, but there hasn't been one since 1903.

The inhabitants are working class people chiefly of American origin and yet the district seems to be a reservoir for a great deal of human waste. Families there, as in the district studied in Columbus, come and go in constant succession and there are frequent changes of residence from street to street within the neighborhood. There as in the district studied in Columbus there are some stable superior families living side by side with worthless wrecks--doubtless many of these people are people who bought many years ago when the district was new, and now cannot afford to move.

Like the district studied in Columbus, the economic level is perhaps one of the lowest in the city. Home ownership isn't common and rents are low as compared with other districts. Again, however, there are marked differences in the economic status of adjoining families and again there is often a lack of neighborliness in many of the streets. Doesn't our picture resemble exactly the disintegrated neighborhood in Columbus, Ohio, and can we explain our segregation of socially unadjusted persons there on the basis of race, nationality or income level? Folks of very different economic states are living side by side and we have no factor of race or nationality.

Let us then study this problem of why folks having trouble happen to be segregated in Armourdale rather than Chelsea Park Addition.

We have described the two districts. You see the one--low, in a once flooded area. It is surrounded by industry. The landlords who own it are just waiting to sell out to some new factory, hence aren't improving their property. There are no zoning restrictions. The other is high and sightly--a natural home site. The air is good, the homes are well improved, the district is zoned to keep out industry and instead of factories we find institutions representing organized group life within the community. Is it likely that folks whose main idea was the finding of a home and the establishment of wholesome family life would select the district in Armourdale? There is no evidence of it,--there are practically no new homes and very little attempt to beautify those that are there,--and we have their word for it--residents choose Armourdale not because they liked it, but because it was near work. That fact alone is a possible explanation for the fact and extent of the kinds of mobility we find in B as compared with A. Jobs change we know but a home can't be a home and be changing two or three times a year. In A no doubt the jobs change and the home remains where it is, but in B when the job

changes so does the home for people there, want to be near work.

It is easy to get into the district in B. People are constantly moving in and out. Though we would not expect transients to gather there naturally--it not being a rooming house district,--we do feel justified in view of the constant moving about within the district and the fact of its location, lack of zoning restrictions, etc., in expecting to find a mobile population--which of course is what we found.

Now as to the relation between their mobility and their social unadjustments. It is reasonable to believe that where folks do not form many or intimate social contacts they will of necessity depend on social work agencies for help. We can see that people in Precinct B do not "belong" to a great extent. Only about 20% are members of churches and only about one half of these are regular attendants.

There were very few other ties that we looked for and we found little evidence of them. Very few belonged to a union or a benefit society and a negligible percent held lodge memberships.

Remember that these same people have a median length of residence in the house in which we found them of eleven

months. We know they move about a great deal. Would it be likely that they could save very much money? And would it be likely that they would have formed contacts in the neighborhood that would prove valuable in time of need? Doesn't it seem only natural that in time of trouble with no organized group interested and no neighborhood spirit back of them, these people would have to call on a public agency. We found they did. May we not safely conclude then that in this study of two precincts in K. C. K., there was a direct relation between the mobility and the segregation and between the mobility and social unadjustments? We think so.

Many may doubt the value of this study. They may say it doesn't prove anything. Let them read the article entitled Blacks in a Social Map which appeared in the August 15, 1925 Survey, in which Mrs. Bruere says: "No generation has yet seen itself. Yet if things like this story come faster and faster, if they cover more ground both geographically and intensively, if they show us the relation of cheap electric power to the fact that women hate housework, and the relation of excess profits on coal, copper, silk and cotton to whether women must work in factories while their children are under 5, and the bearing of our inadequate school system and chaotic production on race prejudice and onr un-Americanized masses, we may be able to look ourselves

in the face--may even be able to do something about making our world a good and pleasant habitation".

This study of segregation and mobility as we found them in two districts in Kansas City, Kansas, is merely a block in the social map.