The high rent neighborhoods of a city do not skip about at random in the process of movement—they follow a definite path in one or more sectors of the city.

Apparently there is a tendency for neighborhoods within a city to shift in accordance with what may be called the sector theory of neighborhood change. The understanding of the framework within which this principle operates will be facilitated by considering the entire city as a circle and various neighborhoods as falling into sectors radiating out from the center of that circle. No city conforms exactly to this ideal pattern, of course, but the general figure is useful inasmuch as in our American cities the different types of residential areas tend to grow outward along rather distinct radii, and new growth on the arc of a given sector tends to take on the character of the initial growth in that sector.

Thus if one sector of a city first develops as a low rent residential area, it will tend to retain that character for long distances as the sector is extended through process of the city's growth. On the other hand, if a high rent area becomes established in another sector of the city, it will tend to grow or expand within that sector, and new high grade areas will tend to establish themselves in the sector's outward extension. This tendency is portrayed in Figure 1 by the shifts in the location of the fashionable residential areas in six American cities between 1900 and 1936. Generally speaking, different sectors of a city present different characters according to the original types of the neighborhoods within them.

In considering the growth of a city, the movement of the high rent area is in a certain sense the most important because it tends to pull the growth of the entire city in the same direction. The homes of the leaders of society are located at some point in the high rent area. This location is the point of highest rents or the high rent pole. Residential rents grade downward from this pole as lesser income groups seek to get as close to it as possible. This high rent pole tends to move outward from the center of the city along a certain avenue or lateral line. The new houses constructed for the occupancy of the higher rental groups are situated on the outward edges of the high rent area. As

these areas grow outward, the lower and intermediate rental groups filter into the homes given up by the higher income groups. In New York City the movement was up Fifth Avenue, starting at Washington Square and proceeding finally to Ninety-sixth Street in the course of a century. In Chicago, there were three high rental areas, moving southward along Michigan and Wabash Avenues, westward in the band between Jackson and Washington Streets, and northward along La Salle and Dearborn Streets to the Lake Shore Drive.

Sometimes the high rent pole jumps to new areas on the periphery of the city, as in the case of the development of Shaker Heights in Cleveland, Ohio, and Coral Gables in Miami, Fla., but usually these new areas are in the line of growth of the high rent areas. In Charleston, W. Va., the high grade neighborhood moved from the center of the city along Kanawha Street until it reached the river, and then the new high grade area jumped to new locations in the hills in the south and north. In Seattle, Wash., the high grade neighborhood started near the center of the city and moved northeast in one sector of the city—the location along the lake on the periphery. At the same time the high grade development sprang up to the northwest, jumping intervening low grade areas.

In Minneapolis, Minn., there was a movement of the high grade neighborhood to the southwest, starting at the center of the city and repeating the same type of growth until it reached the outer edge of the city in a lake region. In Richmond, Va., the sector of the city containing Monument Avenue first developed as a high grade area. The movement of the high grade neighborhood continued out along the line of Monument Avenue until it reached the city limits and then it expanded fan shape in a sector to the north and west. At the same time a high grade development started to the north in a sector which was bisected by Chamberlayne Street.

In Detroit, Mich., the growth of the high grade neighborhood proceeded eastward along Jefferson Avenue out to Grosse Pointe along Lake St. Clair. There was another band of high grade development west of the axis of Woodward Avenue. In Miami, Fla., bands of high grade development followed Biscayne Bay to the north and south and also to Miami Beach.

As a result of the outward movement of the high rent neighborhoods in American cities, present fashionable areas are mostly located beyond the earlier settled areas of American cities. Thus, in Washington, D.C., practically all of the high rent area of today is located in a section that lies beyond the area occupied by houses in 1887. Similarly, in the 14 other illustrative cities referred to in this chapter, most of the high rent areas of today are located beyond the areas occupied by houses at a relatively recent period of time.

High rent or high grade residential neighborhoods must almost necessarily move outward toward the periphery of the city. The wealthy seldom reverse their steps and move backward into the obsolete houses which they are giving up. On each side of them is usually an intermediate rental area, so they cannot move sideways. As they represent the highest income group, there are no houses above them abandoned by another group. They must build new houses on vacant land. Usually this vacant land lies available just ahead of the line of march of the area because, anticipating the trend of fashionable growth, land promoters have either restricted it to high grade use or speculators have placed a value on the land that is too high for the low rent or intermediate rental groups. Hence the natural trend of the high rent
area is outward, toward the periphery of the city in the very sector in which the high rent area started. The exception to this outward movement is the development of de luxe apartment areas in old residential areas. This will be treated more fully on a following page.

What determines the point of origin of the highest rental areas of the city and the direction and pattern of their future growth? The answer to this question is of vital importance to all students of urban growth; for the high rent sector is the pole or center of attraction that pulls the other residential areas with it.

In all of the cities studied, the high grade residential area had its point of origin near the retail and office center. This is where the higher income groups work, and is the point that is the farthest removed from the side of the city that has industries or warehouses. In each city, the direction and pattern of its future growth then tends to be governed by some combination of the following considerations:

1. High grade residential growth tends to proceed from the given point of origin, along established lines of travel or toward another existing nucleus of buildings or trading centers. This principle is illustrated by the movement of the high grade residential neighborhood of Chicago along the main axes of the roads like Cottage Grove Avenue, leading south around the bend of Lake Michigan to the east, of main roads like Madison Street leading westward, and of roads following the lake northward to Milwaukee. In Detroit, Mich., there was a trend of fashionable growth along the radial line of Woodward Avenue, the main thoroughfare to Flint and Pontiac, beginning within the Grand Boulevard Circuit and later extending to Highland Park, Palmer Woods, Ferndale, Royal Oak, and Birmingham.

2. The zone of high rent areas tends to progress toward high ground which is free from the risk of floods and to spread along lake, bay, river, and ocean fronts, where such water fronts are not used for industry. The movement of high grade residential neighborhoods away from river bottoms to higher ground or to wooded hills is illustrated by numerous examples. In San Francisco, Calif., the wealthy moved from the lowland along the bay to Knob Hill which was less subject to fogs and smoke. In Washington, D.C., the high grade neighborhoods moved from the mud flats along the Potomac in the southeast quadrant and from the lowland in the southwest quadrant, to the higher land in the northwest section. In Springfield, Mass., the best areas moved from the lowland along the Connecticut River to rising land and to Longmeadow. In Kansas City, Mo., St. Louis, Mo., and Cincinnati, Ohio, there has been a movement of settlement away from the river bottoms to the higher land.

In cities located on relatively flat land near rivers, bays, lakes, or oceans, the high grade residential neighborhood tends to expand in long lines along the water front that is not used for industrial purposes. Thus in Chicago, the lake front on the north side is the front yard of the city and is preempted for high grade residential use for a distance of nearly 30 miles north of the business center. In New York City, a high grade residential area grew northward along the Hudson River on Riverside Drive from 72d Street to Riverdale in the West Bronx. In Miami, Fla., the high rent areas extend along Biscayne Bay to the north and southeast and along the ocean front on Miami Beach. In Detroit, Mich., a high grade development extends along Lake St. Clair at Grosse Pointe. On the New Jersey coast, there is a long string of resorts along the ocean front with the highest paid residential use confined to the strip along the beach. In Charleston, W. Va., one high grade residential area extends along the high bank of the Kanawha River.

Thus, where such lakes, rivers, bays, or ocean fronts exist and offer the attractions of bathing, yachting, cool breezes in summer, and a wide expanse of water with its uninterrupted view, rent areas tend to follow the contour of the water front in long, narrow lines of growth.

3. High rent residential districts tend to grow toward the section of the city which has free, open country beyond the edges and away from "dead end" sections which are limited by natural or artificial barriers to expansion. The lure of open fields, golf courses, country clubs, and country estates acts as a magnet to pull high grade residential areas to sections that have free, open country beyond their borders and away from areas that run into "dead ends." Thus the high grade neighborhood of Washington, D.C., grows northwest toward expanding open country and estates. Thus, the expansion of high grade neighborhoods to the north of Baltimore, Md., to the south of Kansas City, Mo., and to the north of New York City in Westchester County is into areas with a wide expanse of country beyond them.

4. The higher priced residential neighborhood tends to grow toward the homes of the leaders of the community. In Washington, D.C., the White House; in New York, the Vanderbilts were the members of society that could afford an elegant home, an output near Sixteenth Street and Chicago in 1836, gave proof that the highest rented areas of the city and the direction and pattern of its future growth then tends to be governed by some combination of the following considerations:

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1 See Robert S. and Helen Transition (New York: Hart pp. 81-82, for an interest northwest section of Middlesex residential section as a result most prominent family to the
House; in New York, the homes of the Astors and the Vanderbilts were the magnets that pulled the members of society in their direction. One fashionable home, an outpost on the prairie, standing near Sixteenth Street and Prairie Avenue in Chicago in 1836, gave prestige to the section and caused other leaders of fashion to locate near the same spot.¹

(5) Trends of movement of office buildings, banks, and stores, pull the higher priced residential neighborhoods in the same general direction.—The stores, offices, and banks in the central business district usually move in the direction of the high rent area, but follow rather than lead the movement of the high rent neighborhood. Sometimes, however, when an office building center becomes established at a certain point, it facilitates the growth of a high rent area in sections that are conveniently accessible to it. Thus the office building center in the Grand Central District in New York City has aided the growth of the de luxe apartment area in Park Avenue and also the exclusive suburban towns in Westchester that are served by fast express trains entering the Grand Central Station. The establishment of an office building center at Grand Boulevard and Woodward Avenue in Detroit, Mich., aided the growth of the high grade area to the north and west of it.

In Washington, D.C., the northward trend of the office buildings, while the result of the pull of the high grade areas to the northwest, also favored the further growth of the northwest area because it made those areas more accessible to offices. Similarly, the trend of office buildings on North Michigan Avenue in Chicago favored the northward growth of the de luxe apartment area.

(6) High grade residential areas tend to develop along the fastest existing transportation lines.—The high grade residential areas in Chicago grew along the main plank road, horse car, cable car, and suburban railroad routes. In New York City, the elevated lines and subways paralleled Fifth Avenue. Fast commuters' trains connect New York City with the high grade suburban homes in Montclair, the Oranges, and Maplewood in New Jersey, in Scarsdale, Pelham, and Bronxville in Westchester, and in Forest Hills, Kew Gardens, Flushing, and Hempstead in Long Island.

(7) The growth of high rent neighborhoods continues in the same direction for a long period of time.—In "New York City," the march of the fashionable areas continued up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to Central Park for over a century. The high grade neighborhoods in Chicago moved south, west, and north from their starting points in or near the present "Loop" to present locations—7 to 20 miles distant—in the course of a century. In the century after the Revolutionary War, the high grade area of Washington, D.C., moved from the Capitol to the Naval Observatory. The high rent areas of Detroit, Mich., moved from points near the present business center to Grosse Pointe, Palmer Woods, and Birmingham, 6 to 10 miles away.

In Miami, Fla., Minneapolis, Minn., Seattle, Wash., Charleston, W. Va., Salt Lake City, Utah, and many other cities, this same continuous outward movement of high rent areas has been maintained for long periods of time. Except under the unusual conditions now to be described, there have been no reversals of this long continued trend.

(8) De luxe high rent apartment areas tend to be established near the business center in old residential areas.—One apparent exception to the rule that high rent neighborhoods do not reverse their trend of growth is found in the case of de luxe apartment areas like Streeterville in Chicago and Park Avenue in New York City. This exception is a very special case, however, and applies only to intensive high grade apartment developments in a few metropolitan centers. When the high rent single-family home areas have moved far out on the periphery of the city, some wealthy families desire to live in a colony of luxurious apartments close to the business center. Because of both the intensive use of the land by use of multiple-family structures and the high rents charged it pays to wreck existing improvements.

Such apartments can rise even in the midst of a poor area because the tall building itself, rising from humble surroundings like a feudal castle above the mud huts of the villeins, is a barrier against intrusion. Thus, when the railroad tracks
Development of Ecological Framework

were depressed under Park Avenue in New York City and the railroads were electrified, that street, originally lined with shanties, became the fashionable apartment avenue of New York City. In Chicago, the wall of apartments on the sands where Captain Streeter once had his shack is now occupied by the most exclusive social set. In both cases, there was a renaissance of an old neighborhood. It is only where intensive apartment uses occupy the land that such an apparent reversal of trend occurs.

9. Real estate promoters may bend the direction of high grade residential growth. While it is almost impossible for real estate developers to reverse the natural trend of growth of high grade neighborhoods, even by the expenditure of large sums of money and great promotional effort, it is possible for them to accelerate a natural trend or to bend a natural trend of growth.

Miami Beach, directly on the Gulf Stream in Florida, was favored by nature as the site for high grade resort homes. When it was a mangrove swamp, separated from the mainland by Biscayne Bay, it was almost inaccessible. Carl Fisher, by building a million dollar causeway and by pumping up 2,800 acres of land out of the bay and erecting thereon golf courses and hotels, made it possible for these natural advantages of Miami Beach to be utilized. Similarly, George Merrick acquired a great tract of land at Coral Gables, Fla., and, by spending millions of dollars in laying out streets, in planting flowering trees, and in establishing restrictions, gave the area a high grade character which it did not otherwise possess. So, likewise, did the developers of Roland Park in Baltimore, Shaker Heights near Cleveland, and the Country Club District of Kansas City take large areas in the line of growth and establish high grade communities by means of building restrictions, architectural control, community planning, and other barriers against invasion.

In all these cases, the high rent area was in the general path of growth; but which area of the many in the favored area became the fashionable center depended upon the promotional skill and the money expended by individual promoters.

As a result of some or all of these forces, high rent neighborhoods thus become established in one sector of the city, and they tend to move out in that sector to the periphery of the city. Even if the sector in which the high rent growth begins does not possess all of the advantages, it is difficult for the high rent neighborhood to change its direction suddenly or to move to a new quarter of the city.

For as the high rent neighborhood grows and expands, the low and intermediate areas are likewise growing and expanding, and they are taking up and utilizing land alongside the high rent area as well as in other sectors of the city. When these other areas have acquired a low rent character, it is very difficult to change that character except for intensive apartment use. Hence, while in the beginning of the growth of the city, high rent neighborhoods may have a considerable choice of direction in which to move, that range of choice is narrowed as the city grows and begins to be filled up on one or more sides by low rent structures.

It is possible for high rent neighborhoods to take over sections which are marred by a few shacks. These are swept aside or submerged by the tide of growth. Negro houses have even been bought up and moved away in some southern cities to make way for a high grade development. This possibility exists where the houses are flimsy or scattered, where the land is cheap, where it is held by one owner, or where the residents are under the domination of others. It is extremely difficult otherwise. The cost of acquiring and tearing down substantial buildings and the practical impossibility of acquiring large areas from scattered owners, usually prevent high grade areas from taking over land once it has been fairly well occupied by middle or low grade residential uses.

Now that the radius of the settled area of cities has been greatly extended by the automobile, however, there is little difficulty in securing land for the expansion of high rent areas; for the high rent sector of the city expands with an ever widening arc as one proceeds from the business center.

The next vital question to be considered is how the various types of high rent areas are affected by the process of dynamic growth of the city and how the various types are related to each other in historical sequence.

The first type of high rent development was the axial type with high grade homes in a long avenue or avenues leading directly to the business center. The avenue was a social bourse, communication being maintained by a stream of fashionable carriages, the occupants of which nodded to their acquaintances in other passing carriages or to other friends on the porches of the fine residences along the way. Such avenues were lined with beautiful shade trees and led to a park or parks through a series of connecting boulevards. Examples of this type of development, in the decades from 1870 to 1900, are Prairie and South Michigan Avenues, Washington the Lake Shore Dr., New York City, Md., Va., and Summit fashionable area expanded in a long business center. The transition within a short high grade street.

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Avenues, Washington and Jackson Streets, and the Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, Fifth Avenue in New York City, Monument Avenue in Richmond, Va., and Summit Street in St. Paul, Minn. The fashionable area in this type of development expanded in a long string in a radial line from the business center. There was usually an abrupt transition within a short distance on either side of the high grade street.

The axial type of high rent area rapidly became obsolete with the growth of the automobile. When the avenues became automobile speedways, dangerous to children, noisy, and filled with gasoline fumes, they ceased to be attractive as home sites for the well-to-do. No longer restricted to the upper classes, who alone could maintain prancing steeds and glittering broughams, but filled with hoi polloi jostling the limousines with their flivvers, the old avenues lost social caste. The rich then desired seclusion—away from the "mauding crowd" whizzing by and honking their horns. Mansions were then built in wooded areas, screened by trees. The very height of privacy is now attained by some millionaires whose homes are so protected from the public view by trees that they can be seen from outside only from an airplane.

The well-to-do who occupy most of the houses in the high rent brackets have done likewise in segregated garden communities. The new type of high grade area was thus not in the form of a long axial line but in the form of a rectangular area, turning its back on the outside world with winding streets, woods, and its own community centers. Such new square or rectangular areas are usually located along the line of the old axial high grade areas. The once proud mansions still serve as a favorable approach to the new secluded spots. As some of the old axial type high rent areas still maintain a waning prestige and may still be classed as high rent areas, the new high rent area takes a fan-shaped or funnel form expanding from a central stem as it reaches the periphery of the city.

The old stringlike development of high rent areas still asserts itself, however, in the cases of expansion of high rent areas along water fronts like Lake Michigan, Miami Beach, and the New Jersey coast. The automobile, however, has made accessible hilly and wooded tracts on which houses are built on the crest of hills along winding roads.

The fashionable suburban town, which had its origin even before the Civil War, has remained a continuous type of high grade area. Old fashionable towns like Evanston, Oak Park, and Lake Forest near Chicago, have maintained their original character and expanded their growth. Other new high grade suburban towns have been established. The de luxe apartment area has been a comparatively recent development, coming after 1900, when the wealthy ceased to desire to maintain elaborate town houses and when the high grade single-family home areas began to be located far from the business center. A group of wealthy people, desiring to live near the business center and to avoid the expense and trouble of maintaining a retinue of servants, sought the convenience of tall elevator apartments.

The high grade areas thus tend to preempt the most desirable residential land by supporting the highest values. Intermediate rental groups tend to occupy the sectors in each city that are adjacent to the high rent area. Those in the intermediate rental group have incomes sufficient to pay for new houses with modern sanitary facilities. Hence, the new growth of these middle-class areas takes place on the periphery of the city near high grade areas or sometimes at points beyond the edge of older middle-class areas.

Occupants of houses in the low rent categories tend to move out in bands from the center of the city mainly by filtering up into houses left behind by the high income groups, or by erecting shacks on the periphery of the city. They live in either second-hand houses in which the percentage needing major repairs is relatively high or in newly constructed shacks on the periphery of the city. These shacks frequently lack modern plumbing facilities and are on unpaved streets. The shack fringe of the city is usually in the extension of a low rent section.

Within the low rent area itself there are movements of racial and national groups. Until only comparatively recently, the immigrants poured from Europe into the oldest and cheapest quarters on the lower East Side of New York and on the West Side of Chicago. The earlier immigrants moved out toward the periphery of the city. These foreign groups moved in bands or straight lines out from the railroad stations near the central business district. The Italian colony of Chicago moved westward along the area in the point between Harrison Street and Roosevelt Road and northwestward along Grand Avenue. The Poles proceeded northward along Milwaukee Avenue and expanded southwest along the stockyards. The Russian Jews moved west between Roosevelt Road and Sixteenth Street. The Czechoslovaks shifted southwest from Eighteenth and Loomis Streets to Twenty-second and thence westward to Cicero.
With the decline of immigration after the World War, new immigrants ceased to fill the old houses in the downtown area and this outward progression of foreign groups slackened. Many of the tenements in the lower east side were boarded up, and some of the oldest quarters near the central business district of Chicago were demolished.

During the World War and after, however, there was a great influx of Negroes into the northern cities to take the place of European immigration. The Negro neighborhood in Harlem, New York, expanded in concentric circles. In Chicago, the Negroes burst the bounds of their old area along State Street and the Rock Island tracks, Twenty-second and Thirty-ninth Streets, and spread eastward to Cottage Grove Avenue and south to Sixty-seventh Street. In this movement in Chicago, they spread into an area formerly occupied by middle-class and some high income families. The area, however, was becoming obsolete and did not offer vigorous resistance to the incoming of other racial groups.

Thus, in the framework of the city there is a constant dynamic shifting of rental areas. There is a constant outward movement of neighborhoods because as neighborhoods become older they tend to be less desirable.

Forces constantly and steadily at work are causing a deterioration in existing neighborhoods. A neighborhood composed of new houses in the latest modern style, all owned by young married couples with children, is at its apex. At this period of its vigorous youth, the neighborhood has the vitality to fight off the disease of blight. The owners will strenuously resist the encroachment of inharmonious forces because of their pride in their homes and their desire to maintain a favorable environment for their children. The houses, being in the newest and most popular style, do not suffer from the competition of any superior house in the same price range, and they are marketable at approximately their reproduction cost under normal conditions.

Both the buildings and the people are always growing older. Physical depreciation of structures and the aging of families constantly are lessening the vital powers of the neighborhood. Children grow up and move away. Houses with increasing age are faced with higher repair bills. This steady process of deterioration is hastened by obsolescence; a new and more modern type of structure relegates these structures to the second rank. The older residents do not fight so strenuously to keep out inharmonious forces. A lower income class succeeds the original occupants. Owner occupancy declines as the first owners sell out or move away or lose their homes by foreclosure. There is often a sudden decline in value due to sharp transition in the character of the neighborhood or to a period of depression in the real estate cycle.

These internal changes due to depreciation and obsolescence in themselves cause shifts in the locations of neighborhoods. When, in addition, there is poured into the center of the urban organism a stream of immigrants or members of other racial groups, these forces also cause dislocations in the existing neighborhood pattern.

The effects of these changes vary according to the type of neighborhood and can best be described by discussing each one in turn. The highest grade neighborhood, occupied by the mansions of the rich, is subject to an extraordinary rate of obsolescence. The large scale house, modeled after a feudal castle or a palace, has lost favor even with the rich. When the wealthy residents seek new locations, there is no class of a slightly lower income which will buy the huge structures because no one but wealthy persons can afford to furnish and maintain them. There is no class filtering up to occupy them for single-family use. Consequently, they can only be converted into boarding houses, offices, clubs, or light industrial plants, for which they were not designed. Their attraction of these types of uses causes a deterioration of the neighborhood and a further decline in value. These mansions frequently become white elephants like those on Arden Park and East Boston Boulevard in Detroit, Mich.

On the other hand, houses in intermediate rental neighborhoods designed for small families can be handed down to a slightly lower income group as they lose some of their original desirability because of age and obsolescence. There is a loss of value when a transition to a lower income group occurs, but the house is still used for the essential purpose for which it was designed; and the loss of value is not so great. There is always a class filtration to occupy the houses in the intermediate rental neighborhoods. Hence, a certain stability of value is assured.

Since the buildings in low rent areas are occupied by the poorest unskilled or casual workers, collection losses and vacancy ratios are highest. The worst buildings are condemned or removed by demolition to save taxes. Formerly these worst quarters in the old law tenements of New York or the West Side of Chicago were occupied by newly arrived immigrants. With the decline of immigra-
tion, this submarginal fringe of housing is being wrecked or boarded up as the residents filter up to better houses.

Thus, intermediate rental neighborhoods tend to preserve their stability better than either the highest or lowest rental areas.

The erection of new dwellings on the periphery of a city, made accessible by new circulatory systems, sets in motion forces tending to draw population from the older houses and to cause all groups to move up a step leaving the oldest and cheapest houses to be occupied by the poorest families or to be vacated. The constant competition of new areas is itself a cause of neighborhood shifts. Every building boom, with its new crop of structures equipped with the latest modern devices, pushes all existing structures a notch down in the scale of desirability.