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Autor: Robert Redfield  
Milton B. Singer

THE CULTURAL ROLE OF CITIES

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Instituto de Salud Colectiva  
Universidad Nacional de Lanús



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## THE CULTURAL ROLES OF CITIES

This paper has as its purpose to set forth a framework of ideas that may prove useful in research on the part played by cities in the development, decline, or transformation of culture. "Culture" is used as in anthropology. The paper contains no report of research done. It offers a scheme of constructs; it does not describe observed conditions or processes; references to particular cities or civilization are illustrative and tentative.

### Time Perspectives

The cultural role of cities may be considered from at least three different time perspectives. In the long-run perspective of human history as a single career, (1) the first appearance of cities marks a revolutionary change: the beginnings of civilization. Within this perspective cities remain the symbols and carriers of civilization wherever they appear. In fact the story of civilization may then be told as the story of cities -- from those of the Ancient Near East through those of ancient Greece and Rome, medieval and modern Europe; and from Europe overseas to North and South America, Australia, the Far East, and back again to the modern Near East. In the short-run perspective we may study the cultural role of particular cities in relation to their local hinterlands of towns and villages. (2) The time span here is the several-year period of the field research or, at most, the life span of the particular cities that are studied. Between the long- and short-run perspectives, there is a middle-run perspective delimited by

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(1) Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and its Transformations, Ithaca, New York, 1933. ix-xiii. W. N. Brown and others, "The beginnings of Civilization," Journal of the American Oriental Society, Supplement No. 4, December, 1939, pp. 3-61.

(2) Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. This study, short-run in description, also aims to test some general ideas.

the life-history of the different civilization within which cities have develop. (3) This is the perspective adopted when we consider the cultural bearings of urbanization within Mexican civilization, (4) or Chinese civilization or indian civilization or Western civilization. It is a perspective usually of several thousand years and embrances within its orbit not just a particular city and its hinterland, but the whole pattern and sequences of urban development characteristic of a particular civilization and its cultural epochs.

While these three perspectives are clearly interrelated, research and analysis may concentrate primarily on one of them. Empirical Ethnographic, sociological and geographical research on cities begins in the nature of the case with the short-run perspective, but the significant of such research increasing as it become linked with ideas and hypotheses drawn from the other perspectives. One begins, say, with an empirical study of the origins, morphology, functions and

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(3) Kroeber has recently discussed the problems of delimiting civilizations in his article, "The Delimitation of Civilizations," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XIV (1953). Mark Jefferson, "Distribution of the world's city folk: a study in comparative civilization," Geographia, 1931.

(4) Paul Kirchhoff, In "Four Hundred Years After: General discussion of Acculturation, Social Change, and the Historical Providence of Culture Elements," Heritage of Conquest by Sol Tax and others (Glencoe, Ill.; The Free Press, 1952), p. 254: "It seems to me that the fundamental characteristic of Mesoamerica was that it was a stratified society, one like ours or that of China, based on the axis of city and countryside. There was a native ruling class with a class ideology and organization, which disappeared entirely; there were great cultural centers which, just as in our life, are so essential if you described the U.S. without New York, Chicago, etc., it would be absurd. The same thing happens when you described these centers in ancient Mexico. ...It's not only the arts, crafts and science which constitute the great changes, but the basic form of the culture changing from a city structure to the most isolated form, which is, in my opinion the most total and radical change anywhere in history... When the city is cut off what is left over is attached as a subordinate to the new city-centered culture..."

influence of an Asiatic city. (5) Then one may go on to look at this city as a link in the interaction of two distinct civilizations, and see the problem of urbanization in Asia generally as a problem in Westernization, (6) or the problem of Spanish-Indian acculturation of Mexico after the Conquest as a problem of de-urbanization and re-urbanization. (7) Finally, the canvas may be further enlarged to show both Western and Eastern cities as variants of a single and continuing cultural and historical process. (8) In this paper we propose to concentrate on the middle-run perspective, i.e., we shall analyze the role cities play in the formation, maintenance, spread, decline, and transformation of civilization. We think that links with the long-and-short-run perspectives will also emerge in the course of the analysis.

In the many useful studies of cities by urban geographers, sociologists, and ecologists we find frequent reference to "cultural functions" and "cultural centers." (9) Under these rubrics they generally include the religious, educational, artistic centers and activities, and distinguish them from administrative, military, economic centers and functions. This usage of "cultural" is too narrow for the purpose of a comparative analysis of the role cities play in the transformation of the more or less integrated traditional life of a community.

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(5) Ghosh, S., "The urban pattern of Calcutta," Economic Geography, 1950.

Weulersse, J., "Antioche, un type de cité de l'Islam" Congr. int. de Géographie, Warsaw, 1934, III.

D. R. Gadgil, Poona, A Socio-Economic Survey, Poona, 1945, 1952.

(6) "Urbanization is part of the Europeanization that is spreading throughout the world," Mark Jefferson in reference (3) above Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, Princeton, 1951, pp. 148-49; M. Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, Ch. 1, "Eastern Village and Western City."

(7) Kirchhoff, op. cit.

(8) See for this approach the books of V. Gordon Childe, and his article in Town Planning Review, XXI (1950) on "The Urban Revolution."

(9) Grace M. Kneedler, "Functional types of cities," reprinted in Reader in Urban Sociology, edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reis, Jr., The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1951; R. E. Dickinson, The West European City, London: Routledge & Paul, 1951, pp. 253-54; Chauncery Harris, "A functional classification of cities in the United States," Geor. Review, New York, 1943.

Economic and Political centers and activities may obviously play as great a role in these processes as the narrowly "cultural" ones. Moreover, these different kinds of centers and activities are variously combined and separated and it is these varying patterns that are significant. In ancient civilizations the urban centers were usually political-religious or political-intellectual; in the modern world they are economic. (10) The mosque, the temple, the cathedral, the royal palace, the fortress, are the symbolic "centers" of the pre-industrial cities. The "central business district" has become symbolic of the modern urban center. In fact a cross-cultural history of cities might be written from the changing meanings of the words for city "Civitas" in the Roman Empire meant an administrative or ecclesiastical district. Later, "city" was applied to the ecclesiastical center of a town -- usually the cathedral. This usage still survives in names like "Île de la Cité" for one of the first centers of Paris. With the development of the "free cities," "city" came to mean the independent commercial towns with their own laws. (11) Today, "the city" of London is a financial center, and when Americans speak of "going to town" or "going downtown" they mean they are going to the "central business district." They usually think of any large city as a business and manufacturing center, whereas a Frenchman is more likely to regard his cities -- certainly Paris -- as "cultural centers." (12)

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(10) Gadgil, The Industrial Revolution of India in Recent Times, Oxford, 1944, pp. 6-12.

Spate and E. Ahmad, "Five Cities of the Gangetic Plain. A cross-section of Indian cultural history," Geog. Rev., 1950.

P. George, La Ville, Paris, 1952.

B. Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India, Penguin, Baltimore, 1953. Map showing ancient and historic art and religious center, p. xvii.

Fei Hsiao-Tung, China's Gentry, Essays in Rural-Urban Relations, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 91-117.

(11) R. E. Dickinson, op. cit. (note 7), pp 251-52; H. Pirenne, Medieval Cities.

(12) See article on "Urbanization" by W. M. Stewart in 14th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica for some cultural variables in the definition of "city."

This symbolism is not of course a completely accurate designation of what goes on in the city for which it stands. The ecclesiastical centers were also in many cases centers of trade and of craftsmen, and the modern "central business district" is very apt to contain libraries, schools, art museums, government offices and churches, in addition to merchandising establishments and business offices. But allowing for this factual distortion, this symbolism does help us to separate two quite distinct roles of cities, and provides a basis for classifying cities that is relevant to their cultural role. As a "central business district," the city is obviously a market-place, a place to buy and sell, "to do business" -- to truck, barter and exchange with people who may be complete strangers and of different races, religions and creeds. The city here functions to work out largely impersonal relations among diverse cultural groups. As a religious or intellectual center, on the other hand, the city is a beacon for the faithful, a center for the learning, authority and perhaps doctrine that transforms the implicit "little traditions" of the local non-urban cultures into an explicit and systematic "great tradition." The varying cultural roles of cities, so separated and grouped into two contrasting kinds of roles with reference to the local traditions of the non-urban peoples, point to a distinction to which we shall soon return and to which we shall then give names.

#### Types of Cities

In the studies of economic historians (Pirenne, Dopsch) and in the studies of the currently significant factors for economic development (Hoselitz), (13) the functions of cities are considered as they effect change; but the change chiefly in view is economic change. Our attention now turns to the roles of cities in affecting change in the content and integration of ideas, interests and ideals.

The distinction Hoselitz takes from Pirenne between political-intel-

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(13) B. Hoselitz, "The role of cities in the economic growth of underdeveloped countries," The Journal of Political Economy, vol. lxi (1953). esp. 198-99.

lectual urban centers on the one hand and economic centers on the other, points in the direction of the distinction necessary to us in taking up the new topic. But the distinction we need does not fully emerge until we refine the classification by (1) separating the political function from the intellectual and (2) giving new content to the term "intellectual." Delhi, Quito and Peiping are to be contrasted, as Hoselitz says, with Bombay, Guayaquil and Shanghai because the former three cities are "political-intellectual centers" and the latter three are "economic centers." (The contrast of Rio to Sao Paulo is less clear.) Let us now add that there are cities with political functions and without significant intellectual functions: New Delhi (if it be fair to separate it from old Delhi), Washington, D. C. and Canberra (the new university there may require a qualification). Further, the intellectual functions of Delhi, Quito and Peiping (and Kyoto, Lhasa, Cuzco, Mecca, medieval Liege and Uaxactun) are to develop, carry forward, elaborate a long-established cultural tradition local to the community in which those cities stand. These are the cities of the literate: clerics, astronomers, theologians, imams and priests. New Delhi and Washington, D. C. do not have, significantly, literate; in spite of its schools and universities Washington is not a city of great intellectual leadership; these are cities without major intellectual functions. In respect to this lack, New Delhi and Washington, D. C., belong with cities with predominately economic functions. On the other hand, not a few old cities with economic functions have also the functions associated with the literati (Florence, medieval Timbuktoo; Thebes.)

We have taken into consideration, in this expanded grouping, both cities of the modern era and cities of the time before the development of a world economy. It may be useful now to separate the two historic periods, retaining the distinction between cities of the literati, cities of entrepreneurs, and cities of the bureaucracy. The following grouping results:



BEFORE THE UNIVERSAL OEKUMENE (pre-industrial revolution,  
pre-Western expansion)

1. Administrative-cultural cities  
(cities of the literati and the indigenous  
bureaucracy)

Peiping  
Ihasa  
Uaxactun  
Kyoto  
Liège  
Allahabad (?)

2. Cities of native commerce  
(cities of the entrepreneur)

Bruges  
Marseilles  
Lübeck  
Market towns of native West Africa  
Early Canton

AFTER THE UNIVERSAL OEKUMENE (post-industrial revolution,  
and post-Western expansion)

3. Metropolis-cities of the world-wide managerial  
and entrepreneurial class (Park's cities of the  
main street of the world")

London  
New York  
Osaka  
Yokohama  
Shanghai  
Singapore  
Bombay

Lesser cities and towns, also carrying on the  
world's business, may be added here.

4. Cities of modern administration  
(cities of the new bureaucracies)

Washington, D. C.  
New Delhi  
Canberra

A thousand administrative towns, county seats, seats of British and French African colonial administration, etc.

What is the relationship of such a grouping to our topic: the role of cities in processes of cultural change?

The role of cities of Group 1 has already been stated. It is to carry forward, develop, elaborate a long-established local culture or civilization. These are cities that convert the folk culture into its civilized dimension.

But the cities of groups 2, 3, and 4 do not have, or do not have conspicuously and as their central effect, this role in the cultural process. They affect the cultural process in other ways. How? They are cities in which one or both of the following things are true: (1) the prevailing relationships of people and the prevailing common understanding have to do with the technical not the moral order, (14) with administrative regulation, business and technical convenience; (2) these cities are populated by people of diverse cultural origins removed from the indigenous seats of their cultures.

They are cities in which new states of mind, following from these characteristics, are developed and become prominent. The new states of mind are indifferent to or inconsistent with, or supersede or overcome, states of mind associated with local cultures and ancient civilizations. The intellectuals of these three groups of cities, if any, are intelligentsia rather than liverati. (15)

The distinction that is then basic to consideration of the cultural role of cities is the distinction between the carrying forward into systematic and reflective dimensions an old culture and the creating of original modes of thought that have authority beyond or in conflict with old cultures and civilizations. We might speak of the orthogenetic

(14) Robert Redfield; The Primitive World and Its Transformation, Ch. 3.

(15) Ibid., Ch. 3.

cultural role of cities as contrasted with the heterogenetic cultural role.

In both these roles the city is a place in which cultural change takes place. The roles differ as to the character of the change. Insofar as the city has an orthogenetic role, it is not to maintain culture as it was; the orthogenetic city is not static; it is the place where religious, philosophical and literary specialists reflect, synthesize and create out of the traditional material new arrangements and developments that are felt by the people to be outgrowths of the old. What is changed is a further statement of what was there before. Insofar as the city has a heterogenetic role, it is a place of conflict of differing traditions, a center of heresy, heterodoxy and dissent, of interruption and destruction of ancient tradition, of rootlessness and anomie. Cities are both these things, and the same events may appear to particular people or groups to be representative of what we here call orthogenesis or representative of heterogenesis. The predominating trend may be in one of the two directions, and so allow us to characterize the city, or that phase of the history of the city, as the one or the other. The lists just given suggest that the differences in the degree to which in the city orthogenesis or heterogenesis prevails are in cases strongly marked.

The presence of the market is not of itself a fact of heterogenetic change. Regulated by tradition, maintained by such customs and routines as develop over long periods of time, the market may flourish without heterogenetic change. In the medieval Muslim town we see an orthogenetic city; the market and the keeper of the market submitted economic activities to explicit cultural and religious definition of the norms. In Western Guatemala the people who come to market hardly communicate except with regard to buying and selling, and the market has little heterogenetic role. On the other hand the market in many instances provides occasions when men of diverse traditions may come to communicate and to differ; and also in the market occurs that exchange on the basis

of universal standards of utility which is neutral to particular moral orders and in some sense hostile to all of them. The cities of Group 2, therefore, are cities unfavorable to orthogenetic change but not necessarily productive of heterogenetic change.

The City and the Folk Society (16)

The folk society may be conceived as that imagined combination of societal elements which would characterize a long-established, homogeneous, isolated and non-literate integral (self-contained) community; the folk culture is that society seen as a system of common understandings. Such a society can be approximately realized in a tribal band or village; it cannot be approximately realized in a city. What are characteristics of the city that may be conceived as a contrast to those of the folk society?

The city may be imagined as that community in which orthogenetic and heterogenetic transformations of the folk society have most fully occurred. The former has brought about the Great Tradition and its special intellectual class, administrative officers and rules closely derived from the moral and religious life of the local culture, and advanced economic institutions, also obedient to these local cultural controls. The heterogenetic transformations have accomplished the freeing of the intellectual, esthetic, economic and political life from the local moral norms, and have developed on the one hand and individuated expediential motivation, and on the other a revolutionary, nativistic, humanistic or ecumenical viewpoint, now directed toward reform, progress and designed change.

As these two aspects of the effects of the city on culture may be in part incongruent with each other, and as in fact we know them to occur in different degrees and arrangements in particular cities, we may

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(16) Robert Redfield, "The Natural History of the Folk Society," Social Forces, Vol. 31 (1953), pp. 224-28.

now review the classification of cities offered above so as to recognize at least two types of cities conceived from this point of view:

A. The city of orthogenetic transformation: the city of the moral order; the city of culture carried forward. In the early civilizations the first cities were of this kind and usually combined this development cultural function with political power and administrative control. But it is to be emphasized that this combination occurred because the local moral and religious norms prevailed and found intellectual development in the literati and exercise of control of the community in the ruler and the laws. Some of these early cities combined these two "functions" with commerce and economic production; others had little of these. It is as cities of predominating orthogenetic civilization that we are to view Peiping, Lhasa, Uaxactun, fourteenth-century Liège.

B. The city of heterogenetic transformation: the city of the technical order; the city where local cultures are desintegrated and new integrations of mind and society are developed of the kinds described above ("The heterogenetic role of cities"). In cities of this kind men are concerned with the market, with "rational" organization of production of goods, with expediential relations between buyer and seller, ruler and ruled, and native and foreigner. In this kind of city the predominant social types are businessmen, administrators alien to those they administer, and rebels, reformers, planners and plotters of many varieties. It is in cities of this kind that priority comes to be given to economic growth and the expansion of power among the goods of life. The modern metropolis exhibits very much of this aspect of the city; the town built in the tropics by the United Fruit Company and the city built around the Russian uranium mine must have much that represents it; the towns of the colonial administration in Africa must show many of its features. Indeed, in one way or another, all the cities of groups 2, 3 and 4 (supra) are cities of the technical order, and are cities favorable to heterogenetic

transformation of the moral order. (17)

This type of city may be subdivided into the administrative city, city of the bureaucracy (Washington, D. C., Canberra), and the city of the entrepreneur (Hamburg, Shanghai). Of course many cities exhibit both characteristics.

"In every tribal settlement there is civilization; in every city is the folk society." We may look at any city and see within it the folk society insofar as ethnic communities that make it up preserve folklike characteristics, and we may see in town in ancient Mesopotamia or in aboriginal West Africa a halfway station between folk society and orthogenetic civilization. We may also see in every city its double urban characteristics: we may identify the institutions and mental habits there prevailing with the one or the other of the two lines of transformation of folk life which the city brings about. The heterogenetic transformations have grown with the course of history, and the development of modern industrial world-wide economy, together with the great movements of peoples and especially those incident to the expansion of the West, have increased and accelerated this aspect of urbanization. The later cities are predominantly cities of the technical order. We see almost side by side persisting cities of the moral order and those of the technical order: Peiping and Shanghai, Cuzco and Guayaquil, a native town in Nigeria and an administrative post and railway center hard by.

The ancient city, predominantly orthogenetic, was not (as remarked by W. Eberhard) in particular cases the simple outgrowth of a single pre-civilized culture, but was rather (as in the case of Loyang) a city in which conquered and conqueror lived together, the conqueror extending

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(17) In the heterogenetic transformation the city and its hinterland become mutually involved: the conservative or reactionary prophet in the country inveighs against the innovations or backslidings of the city; and the reformer with the radically progressive message moves back from Medina against Mecca, or enters Jerusalem.

his tradition over the conquered, or accepting the latter's culture. What makes the orthogenetic aspect of a city is the integration and uniform interpretation of preceding culture, whether its origins be one or several. Salt Lake City and early Philadelphia, cities with much orthogenetic character, were established by purposive acts of founders. Salt Lake City created its own hinterland on the frontier (as pointed by C. Harris). Other variations on the simple pattern of origin and development of a city from an established folk people can no doubt be adduced.

Transformation of Folk Societies: Primary Urbanization  
and Secondary Urbanization

The preceding account of different types of cities is perhaps satisfactory as a preliminary, but their cultural roles in the civilizations which they represent cannot be fully understood except in relation to the entire pattern of urbanization within that civilization, i. e., the number, size, composition, distribution, duration, sequence, morphology, function, rates of growth and decline, and the relation to the countryside and to each other of the cities within a civilization. Such information is rare for any civilization. In the present state of our knowledge it may be useful to guide further inquiry by assuming two hypothetical patterns of urbanization: primary and secondary. (18) In the primary phase a precivilized folk society is transformed by urbanization into a peasant society and correlated urban center. It is primary in the sense that the peoples making up the precivilized folk more or less share a common culture which remains the matrix too for the peasant and urban cultures which develop from it in the course of urbanization. Such a development, occurring slowly in communities not radically disturbed, tends to produce a "sacred culture" which is gradually

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(18) This distinction is an extension of the distinction between the primary and secondary phases of folk transformations in Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, p. 41.

transmuted by the literati of the cities into a "Great Tradition."

Primary urbanization thus takes place almost entirely within the framework of a core culture that develops, as the local cultures become urbanized and transformed, into an indigenous civilization. This core culture dominates the civilization despite occasional intrusions of foreign peoples and cultures. When the encounter with other peoples and civilizations is too rapid and intense an indigenous civilization may be destroyed by de-urbanization or be variously mixed with other civilizations. (19)

This leads to the secondary pattern of urbanization: the case in which a folk society, precivilized, peasant, or partly urbanized, is further urbanized by contact with peoples of widely different cultures from that of its own member. This comes about through expansion of a local culture, now partly urbanized, to regions inhabited by peoples of different cultures, or by the invasion of a culture-civilization by alien colonists or conquerors. This secondary pattern produces not only a new form of urban life in some part in conflict with local folk cultures but also new social types in both city and country. In the city appear "marginal" and "cosmopolitan" men and an "intelligentsia"; in the country various types of marginal folk: enclaved-, minority-, imperialized, transplanted-, remade-, quai-folk, etc., depending on the kind of relation to the urban center.

This discussion takes up a story of the contact of peoples at the appearance of cities. But, here parenthetically, it is necessary to note that even before the appearance of cities the relations between small and primitive communities may be seen as on the one hand characterized by common culture and on the other by mutual usefulness with awareness of cultural difference. The "primary phase of urbanization" is a continuation of the extension of common culture from a small primitive settlement to a town and its hinterland, as no doubt could be shown for



parts of West Africa. The "secondary phase of urbanization" is begun, before cities, in the institutions of travel and trade among local communities with different cultures. In Western Guatemala today simple Indian villagers live also in a wider trade-community of pluralistic cultures; (20) we do not know to what extent either the pre-Columbia semi-urban centers or the cities of the Spanish-modern conquerors and rulers, have shaped this social system; it may be that these people were already on the way to secondary urbanization before any native religious and political center rose to prominence.

While we do not know universal sequences within primary or secondary urbanization, it is likely that the degree to which any civilization is characterized by patterns of primary or secondary urbanization depends on the rate of technical development and the scope and intensity of contact with other cultures. If technical development is slow and the civilization is relatively isolated, we may expect to find a pattern of primary urbanization prevailing. If, on the other hand, technical development is rapid and contacts multiple and intense, secondary urbanization will prevail.

It may be that in the history of every civilization there is, of necessity, secondary urbanization. In modern Western civilization conditions are such as to make secondary urbanization the rule. But even in older civilizations it is not easy to find clear-cut examples of primary urbanization -- because of multiple interactions, violent fluctuations in economic and military fortunes, conflicts and competition among cities and dynasties, and the raids of nomads. The Maya before the Spanish Conquest are perhaps a good example of primary urbanization. (21)

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(20) R. Redfield, "Primitive Merchants of Guatemala," Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1939, pp. 48-49.

(21) Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, pp. 58-73. See also Morley, The Ancient Maya, and Thomas Gann and J. Eric Thompson, The History of the Maya, New York, 1931.

The cases of the Roman, Greek, Hindu, Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, although characterized by distinctive indigenous civilizations, are nevertheless complex because little is known about the degree of cultural homogeneity of the peoples who formed the core cultures and because as these civilizations became imperial they sought to assimilate more and more diverse peoples. Alternatively the irritant "seed" of a city may have been sown in some of them by the conquering raid of an outside empire, the desire to copy another empire in having a capital, or simple theft from another people -- with the subsequent development around this seed of the "pearl" of a relatively indigenous, primary urban growth, sending out its own imperial secondary strands in due time. Thus while Rome, Athens, Chang-An and Loyang in early China and Peiping in later, Pataliputra and Benares, Memphis and Thebes, Nippur and Ur, may have been for a time at least symbolic vehicles for loyalty to the respective empires and indigenous civilizations, it was not these relatively "orthogenetic" cities but the mixed cities on the periphery of an empire -- the "colonial cities" which carried the core culture to other peoples. And in such cities, usually quite mixed in character, the imperial great tradition was not only bound to be very dilute but would also have to meet the challenge of conflicting local traditions. At the imperial peripheries, primary urbanization turns into secondary urbanization. (22)

Similar trends can be perceived in modern times: Russian cities in Southern Europe and Asia appear to be very mixed, (23) non-Arabic Muslim

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(22) The case of China is particularly striking, since the evidence for a dominant core culture is unmistakable but its relation to local cultures which may have been its basis is unknown. See Chi Li, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, and Wolfram Eberhard, Early Chinese Cultures and their development. Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, 1937, Washington, 1938. For a good study of imperial "spread" and "dilution," see A. H. M. Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian, Oxford, 1940.

(23) Chauncy Harris, "Ethnic groups in cities of the Soviet Union," Geog. Rev., 1945.

cities have developed in Africa and South Asia, and the colonial cities of the European powers admit native employees daily at the doors of their skyscraper banks. Possibly the nuclear cultures are homogenous and create indigenous civilizations but as they expand into new areas far afield from the home cultures they have no choice but to build "heterogenetic" cities.

Modern "colonial" cities (e. g., Jakarta, Manila, Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Calcutta) raised the interesting question whether they can reverse from the "heterogenetic" to the "orthogenetic" role. For the last one hundred or more years they have developed as the outposts of imperial civilization, but as the countries in which they are located achieve political independence, will the cities change their cultural roles and contribute more to the formation of a civilization indigenous to their areas? Many obstacles lie in the path of such a course. These cities have large, culturally diverse populations, not necessarily European, for example, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, Muslims and Hindu refugees from faraway provinces, in India; they often have segregated ethnic quarters, and their established administrative, military and economic functions are not easily changed. Many new problems have been created by a sudden influx of postwar refugee populations, and the cities' changing positions in national and global political and economic systems. While many of these colonial cities have been centers of nationalism and of movements for revival of the local cultures, they are not likely to live down their "heterogenetic" past. (24)

The Cultural Consequences of Primary and  
Secondary Urbanization

The discussion of primary and secondary urbanization above has been

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(24) D. W. Fryer, "The 'million city' in Southeast Asia," Geog. Rev., Oct., 1953; J. E. Spencer, "Changing Asiatic cities," Geog. Rev., Vol. 41 (1951). This last is a summary of an article by Jean Chesneaux. See also Record of the XXVIIth Meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations, Brussels, 1952, esp. papers by R. W. Steel and K. Neys.

a bare outline. It may be filled in by reference to some postulated consequences of each type of process. The most important cultural consequence of primary urbanization is the transformation of the Little Tradition into a Great Tradition. Embodied in "sacred books" or "classics," sanctified by cult, expressed in monuments, sculpture, painting, and architecture, served by the other arts and sciences, the Great Tradition becomes the core culture of an indigenous civilization and a source, consciously examined, for defining its moral, legal, aesthetic, and other cultural norms. A Great Tradition describes a way of life and as such is a vehicle and standard for those who share it to identify with one another as members of a common civilization. In terms of social structure, a significant event is the appearance of literati, those who represent the Great Tradition. The new forms of thought that now appear and extend themselves include reflective and systematic thought; the definition of fixed idea-systems (theologies, legal codes); the development of esoteric or otherwise generally inaccessible intellectual products carried forward, now in part separate from the tradition of the folk; and the creation of intellectual and aesthetic forms that are both traditional and original (cities of the Italian Renaissance; development of "rococo" Maya sculpture in the later cities).

In government and administration the orthogenesis of urban civilization is represented by chiefs, rulers and laws that express and are closely controlled by the norms of the local culture. The chief of the Crow Indians, in a pre-civilized society, and the early kings of Egypt, were of this type. The Chinese emperor was in part orthogenetically controlled by the Confucial teaching and ethic; in some part he represented a heterogenetic development. The Roman pro-consul and the Indian Service, of the United States, especially in certain phases, were more heterogenetic political developments.

Economic institutions of local cultures and civilizations may be seen to be orthogenetic insofar as the allocation of resources to production and distribution for consumption are determined by the traditional

system of status and by the traditional specific local moral norms. The chief's yam house in the Trobriands is an accumulation of capital determined by these cultural factors. In old China the distribution of earnings and "squeeze" were distributed according to familial obligations: these are orthogenetic economic institutions and practices. The market, freed from controls of tradition, status and moral rule, becomes the world-wide heterogenetic economic institution.

In short, the trend of primary urbanization is to co-ordinate political, economic, educational, intellectual and aesthetic activity to the norms provided by the Great Traditions.

The general consequence of secondary urbanization is the weakening or supersession of the local and traditional cultures by states of mind that are incongruent with those local cultures. Among these are to be recognized:

1. The rise of a consensus appropriate to the technical order: i.e., based on self-interest and pecuniary calculation, or on recognition of obedience to common impersonal controls, characteristically supported by sanctions of force. (This in contrast to a consensus based on common religious and non-expediential moral norms.) There is also an autonomous development of norms and standards for the arts, crafts, and sciences.

2. The appearance of new sentiments of common cause attached to groups drawn from culturally heterogeneous backgrounds. In the city proletariats are formed and class or ethnic consciousness is developed, and also new professional and territorial groups. The city is the place where ecumenical religious reform is preached (though it is not originated there). It is the place where nationalism flourishes. On the side of social structure, the city is the place where new and larger groups are formed that are bound by few and powerful common interests and sentiments in place of the complexly inter-related roles and statuses that characterize the groups of local, long-established culture. Among social types that appear in this aspect of the cultural process in

the city are the reformer, the agitator, the nativistic or nationalistic leader, the tyrant and his assassin, the missionary and the imported school teacher.

3. The instability of viewpoint as to the future, and emphasis on prospective rather than retrospective view of man in the universe. In cities of predominantly orthogenetic influence, people look to a future that will repeat the past (either by continuing it or by bringing it around again to its place in the cycle). In cities of predominantly heterogenetic cultural influence there is a disposition to see the future as different from the past. It is this aspect of the city that gives rise to reform movements, forward-looking might be optimistic and radically reformistic; it may be pessimistic, escapist, defeatist or apocalyptic. In the city there are Utopias and counter-Utopias. Insofar as these new states of mind are secular, worldly, they stimulate new political and social aspiration and give rise to policy.

#### Consequences for World View, Ethos, and Typical Personality

The difference in the general cultural consequences of primary and secondary urbanization patterns may be summarily characterized by saying that in primary urbanization, all phases of the technical order (material technology, economy, government, arts, crafts, and sciences) are referred, in theory at least, to the standards and purposes of a moral order delineated in the Great Tradition, whereas in secondary urbanization different phases of the technical order are freed from this reference and undergo accelerated autonomous developments. With respect to this development, the moral order, or rather orders, for there are now many competing ones, appears to lag. (25)

There is another way of describing these differences: in terms of the consequences of the two kinds of urbanization for changes in world

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(25) Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, pp. 72-83.

view, ethos, and typical personality. (26) To describe the consequences in these terms is to describe them in their bearings and meaning for the majority of individual selves constituting the society undergoing urbanization. We now ask, how do primary and secondary urbanization affect mental outlook, values and attitudes, and personality traits? These are in part psychological questions, for they direct our attention to the psychological aspects of broad cultural processes.

There are many accounts of the psychological consequences of urbanization. These have described the urban outlook, ethos, and personality as depersonalized, individualized, emotionally shallow and atomized, unstable, secularized, blasé, rationalistic, cosmopolitan, highly differentiated, self-critical, time-coordinated, subject to sudden shifts in mood and fashion, "other-directed," etc. (27) The consensus in these descriptions and their general acceptance by social scientists seem great enough to indicate that there probably is a general psychological consequence of urbanization, although it cannot be precisely described and proven. We should, however, like to suggest that the "urban way of life" that is described in the characterizations to which we refer is primarily a consequence of secondary urbanization and of that in a particular critical stage when personal and cultural disorganization are greatest. To see these consequences in perspective, it is necessary to relate them on the one hand to the consequences of primary urbanization and on the other to those situations of secondary urbanization that produce new forms of personal and cultural integration. Most of all it is necessary to trace the continuities as well as the discontinuities in outlook, values, and personality, as we trace the transformation of

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(26) For a further discussion of these concepts, see Redfield, *ibid.*, Ch. 4, and Redfield, *The Little Community*, University of Chicago Press (forthcoming), Chs. 5 and 6 on personality and mental outlook.

(27) See L. Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of life," and G. Simmel, "The metropolis and mental life," both reprinted in Hatt and Reiss, *Reader in Urban Sociology*; E. Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, David Riesman and collaborators, *The Lonely Crowd*, and A. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 1948, sec. 121. For the effects of urban life on time-coordination, see H. A. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, Ch. 15, and P. Hallowell, "Temporal orientation in western and non-western cultures," (?) *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937.

folk societies into their civilized dimension. The "peasant" is a type that represents an adjustment between the values of the precivilized tribe and those of the urbanite. The "literati" who fashion a Great tradition do not repudiate the values and outlook of their rural hinterland but systematize and elaborate them under technical specialization. The cosmopolitan "intelligentsia" and "sophists" of the metropolitan centers have a prototype in the "heretic" of the indigenous civilization. And even the most sophisticated urban centers are not without spiritualists, astrologers and other practitioners with links to a folk-like past. (28)

The connections between the folk culture, the Great Tradition, and the sophisticated culture of the heterogenetic urban centers can be traced not only in the continuities of the historical sequence of a particular group of local cultures becoming urbanized and de-urbanized, but they also can be traced in the development of two distinct forms of cultural consciousness which appear in these transformations.

#### Cultural Integration Between City and Country

From what has been said about primary and secondary urbanization it follows that city and country are more closely integrated, culturally, in the primary phase of urbanization than in the secondary phase. Where the city has grown out of a local culture, the country people see its ways as in some important part a form of their own, and they feel friendlier toward the city than do country people ruled by a proconsul from afar. The stereotype of "the wicked city" will be stronger in the hinterlands of the heterogenetic cities than in those of the orthogenetic cities. Many of these are sacred centers of faith, learning, justice and law.

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(28) Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, Ch. 11; R. E. Park, "Magic, Mentality, and City Life," reprinted in Park, Human Communities. N. C. Chaudhuri, The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, Macmillan, 1951, gives some interesting observations on the survival of "folk" beliefs and practices among the people of Calcutta, pp. 361-62. P. Masson-Oursel, "La Sophistique. Etude de philosophi comparée," Revue de metaphysique et de morale, 23 (1916), pp. 343-62



Nevertheless, even in primary urbanization a cultural gap tends to grow between city and country. The very formation of the Great Tradition introduces such a gap. The literati of the city develop the values and world view of the local culture to a degree of generalization, abstraction and complexity incomprehensible to the ordinary villager, and in doing so leave out much of the concrete local detail of geography and village activity. The Maya Indian who lived in some rural settlement near Uaxactun could not have understood the calendrical intricacies worked out in that shrine-city by the priests; and the rituals performed at the city-shrine had one high level of meaning for the priest and another lower meaning, connecting with village life at some points only, for the ordinary Indian.

On the other hand, primary urbanization involves the development of characteristic institutions and societal features that hold together, in a certain important measure of common understanding, the Little Tradition and the Great Tradition. We may refer to the development of these institutions and societal features as the universalization of cultural consciousness -- meaning by "universalization," the preservation and extension of common understanding as to the meaning and purpose of life, and sense of belonging together, to all the people, rural or urban, of the larger community. Some of the ways in which this universalization takes place are suggested in the following paragraphs. The examples are taken chiefly from India; they probably have considerable cross-cultural validity.

1. The embodiment of the Great Tradition in "sacred books" and secondarily in sacred monuments, art, icons, etc. Such "sacred scriptures" may be in a language not widely read or understood; nevertheless they may become a fixed point for the worship and ritual of ordinary people. The place of the "Torah" in the lives of Orthodox Jews, the Vedas among orthodox Hindus, the "Three Baskets" for Buddhists, the thirteen classics for Confucianists, the Koran for Muslims, the stelae and temples of the ancient Maya, are all examples of such sacred

scriptures, although they may vary in degree of sacredness and in canonical status.

2. The development of a special class of "literati" (priests, rabbis, imams, Brahmins) who have the authority to read, interpret, and comment on the sacred scriptures. Thus the village Brahmin who reads the Gita for villagers at ceremonies mediates a part of the Great Tradition of Hinduism for them.

The mediation of a great tradition is not always this direct. At the village level it may be carried in a multitude of ways -- by the stories parents and grandparents tell children, by professional reciters and storytellers, by dramatic performances and dances, in songs and proverbs, etc.

In India the epics and puranas have been translated into the major regional languages and have been assimilated to the local cultures. This interaction of a "great tradition" and the "little tradition" of local and regional cultures needs further study, especially in terms of the professional and semi-professional "mediators" of the process.

3. The role of leading personalities who because they themselves embody or know some aspects of a Great Tradition succeed through their personal positions as leaders in mediating a Great Tradition to the masses of people. There is a vivid account of this process in Jawarhalal Nehru's Discovery of India, in which he describes first how he "discovered" the Great Tradition of Indian in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and other archeological monuments, her sacred rivers and holy cities, her literature, philosophy, and history. And then he describes how he discovered the "little traditions" of the people and the villages, and how through his speeches he conveyed to them a vision of Bharat Mata--Mother India--that transcended the little patches of village land, people, and customs. (29)

(29) Jawarharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India, John Day, New York, 1946, pp. 37-40, 45-51.

4. Nehru's suggests that actual physical places, buildings and monuments -- especially as they become places of sacred or patriotic pilgrimage -- are important means to a more universalized cultural consciousness and the spread of a Great Tradition. In India this has been and still is an especially important universalizing force. The sanctity of rivers and the purifying powers of water go all the way back to the Rig Veda. The Buddhists -- who may have started the practice of holy pilgrimages -- believed that there were four places that the believing man should visit with awe and reverence: Buddha's birth place, the site where he attained illumination or perfect insight, the place where the mad elephant attacked him, and the place where Buddha died. In the Mahabharate, there is a whole book on the subject of holy places (Arareyake Book). Even a sinner who is purified by holy water will go to heaven. And the soul ready for moksha will surely achieve it if the pilgrim dies on a pilgrimage. (30) Today the millions of pilgrims who flock to such preeminent holy spots as Allahabad or Banaras create problems of public safety and urban over-crowding, but they, like Nehru, are also discovering the Bharat Mata beyond their villages.

In India "sacred geography" has also played an important part in determining the location and layout of villages and cities and in this way has created a cultural continuity between countryside and urban centers. In ancient India, at least, every village and every city had a "sacred center" with temple, tank, and garden. And the trees and plants associated with the sacred shrine were also planted in private gardens, for the households too had their sacred center; the house is the "body" of a spirit (Varta Purusha) just as the human body is the

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(30) D. Patil, Cultural History from the Vāya Purāna, Poona, 1946, appendix B.

house of the soul. (31)

At each of these levels -- of household, village, and city -- the "sacred center" provides the forum, the vehicle, and the content for the formation of distinct cultural identities -- of families village, and city. But as individuals pass outward, although their contacts with others become less intimate and less frequent, they nevertheless are carried along by the continuity of the "sacred center," feeling a consciousness of a single cultural universe where people hold the same things sacred, and where the similarities of civic obligations in village and city to maintain tank, build public squares, plant fruit trees, erect platforms and shrines, is concrete testimony to common standards of virtue and responsibility.

Surely such things as these -- a "sacred scripture," and a sacred class to interpret it, leading personalities, "sacred geography" and the associated rites and ceremonies -- must in any civilization be important vehicles for the formation of that common cultural consciousness from which a Great Tradition is fashioned and to which it must appeal if it is to stay alive. It is in this sense that the universalization of cultural consciousness is a necessary ingredient in its formation and maintenance. Moreover, as the discussion of the role of "sacred geography" in the formation of Hinduism has intimated, this process does not begin only at the point where the villager and the urbanite merge their distinct cultural identities in a higher identity, but is already at work at the simpler levels of family, caste and village, and must play an important part in the formation and maintenance of the Little

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(31) C. P. V. Ayyar, Town Planning in the Ancient Dekkan, Madras, no date, with an introduction by Patrick Geddes. See also Patrick Geddes in India, ed. J. Tyrwhitt, London, 1947. N. V. Ramanayya, An Essay on the Origin of the South Indian Temple, Madras, 1930, and Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Calcutta, 1946. H. Rao, "Rural habitation in South India," Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. 14. J. M. Linton Bogle, Town Planning in India, Oxford University Press, 1929. Mudgett and others, Banaras: Outline of a Master Plan, prepared by Town and Village Planning Office, Lucknow.

Tradition at these levels. (32)

The integration of city and country in the secondary phase of urbanization cannot rest on a basic common cultural consciousness or a common culture, for there is none. Rural-urban integration in this phase of urbanization rests primarily on the mutuality of interests and on the "symbiotic" relations that have often been described. (33) The city is a "service station" and amusement center for the country, and the country is a "food basket" for the city. But while the diversity of cultural groups and the absence of a common culture makes the basis of

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(32) See Robert Redfield, The Little Community, (ms. to be published 1954) Ch. 8, on the little community "As a community within communities." In addition to the above factors, it has been usual to single out special items of content of the world view and values of a Great Tradition as explanations of the "Universalization" of Great Traditions. It has been frequently argued, e.g., that religions which are monotheistic and sanction an "open class" social system will appeal more to ordinary people and spread faster than those which are polytheistic and which sanction "caste" systems. (See e.g., H. J. Kissling. "The sociological and educational role of the Dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire," in G. von Grunebaum (ed.), Studies in Islamic Cultural History.) F. S. C. Northrop and Arnold Toynbee both attach great importance to the ideological content of cultures as factors in their spread, although they come out with different results. It may be that such special features of content are important in the formation and spread of some particular religions at some particular time, but it is doubtful that they would have the same role in different civilizations under all circumstances. In his recent study of the Coorgs of South India, Srinivas argues with considerable plausibility that the spread of Hinduism on an all-India basis has depended on its polytheism, which has made it easy to incorporate all sorts of alien deities, and on a caste system which assimilates every new cultural or ethnic group as a special caste. (28) Another difficulty about using special features of content of some particular tradition as a general explanation of the formation and maintenance of any Great Tradition is that one inevitably selects features that have been crystallized only after a long period of historical development and struggle. These are more relevant as factors in explaining further development and spread than they are in explaining the cultural-psychological processes that have accompanied primary urbanization" of universal faiths takes us into the realm of secondary urbanization where diverse and conflicting cultures must be accommodated

(33) R. E. Park, "Symbiosis and socialization: a frame of reference for the study of society," reprinted in Human Communities, Free Press, Glencoe, 1952.

the integration primarily technical, even this kind of integration requires a kind of cultural consciousness to keep it going. We refer to the consciousness of cultural differences and the feeling that certain forms of intercultural association are of great enough benefit to override the repugnance of dealing with "foreigners." We may call this an "enlargement of cultural horizons sufficient to become aware of other cultures and of the possibility that one's own society may in some ways require their presence. To paraphrase Adam Smith, it is not to the interest of the (Jewish) baker, the (Turkish) carpet-dealer, the (French) hand laundry, that the American Christian customer looks when he patronizes them, but to his own.

This is the practical psychological basis for admission of the stranger and tolerance of foreign minorities, even at the level of the folk society. (34) In a quotation from the Institutions of Athens, which Toynbee has, perhaps ironically, titled "Liberté-Egalité-Fraternité," we are told that the reason why Athens has "extended the benefit of Democracy to the relations between slaves and freemen and between aliens and citizens" is that "the country requires permanent residence of aliens in her midst on account both of the multiplicity of trades and of her maritime activities." (35)

When all or many classes of a population are culturally strange to each other and where some of the city populations, are culturally alien to the country populations, the necessity for an enlarged cultural consciousness is obvious. In societies where social change is slow, and there has developed an adjustment of mutual usefulness and peaceful residence side by side of groups culturally different but not too different, the culturally complex society may be relatively stable. (36)

But where urban development is great, such conditions

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(34) Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, pp.33-34 for the institutionalization of hospitality to strangers in peasant societies.

(35) Arnold Toynbee, Greek Civilization and Character, Beacon Press, Boston, 1950, pp.48-49. See also David G. Mandelbaum, "The Jewish way of life in Cochin," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. I (1939)

(36) Redfield, "Primitive Merchants of Guatemala."

are apt to be unstable. Each group may be perpetually affronted by the beliefs and practices of the other groups. Double standards of morality will prevail, since each cultural group will have one code for its "own kind" and another for the "outsiders." This simultaneous facing both inward and outward puts a strain on both codes. There may then be present the drives to proselytize, to withdraw and dig in, to persecute and to make scapegoats; there may even be fear of riot and massacre. In such circumstances the intellectuals become the chief exponents of a "cosmopolitan" enlarged cultural consciousness, inventing formulas of universal toleration and the benefits of mutual understanding, and extolling the freedom to experiment in different ways of life. But they do not always prevail against the more violent and unconvinced crusaders for some brand of cultural purity.

In primary urbanization when technical development was quite backward, a common cultural consciousness did get formed. The travelling student, teacher, saint, pilgrim or even humble villager who goes to the next town may be startled by strange and wonderful sights, but throughout his journey he is protected by the compass of the common culture from cultural shock and disorientation. In ancient times students and teachers came from all over India and even from distant countries to study at Taxila, just as they came from all over Greece to Athens. In secondary urbanization, especially under modern conditions, technical developments in transportation, travel and communication enormously facilitate and accelerate cultural contacts. The effects of this on common cultural consciousness are not easy briefly to characterize. They make the more traditional cultural differences less important. They provide a wide basis of common understanding with regard to the instruments and practical means of living. It is at least clear that the integration of country and city that results is not the same kind of sense of common purpose in life that was provided to rural-urban peoples through the institutions mediating Little and Great Traditions referred to above. At this point the enquiry approaches

the questions currently asked about the "mass culture" of modern great societies.

Cities as Centers of Cultural Innovation,  
Diffusion, and Progress

It is a commonly stated view that the city rather than the country is the source of cultural innovations, that such innovations diffuse outward from city to country, and that the "spread" is more or less inverse to distance from the urban center. (37) The objection to this view is not that it is wrong -- for there is much evidence that would seem to support it -- but that the limits and conditions of its validity need to be specified. It seems to assume for example that in the processes of cultural change, innovation, and diffusion, "city" and "country" are fixed points of reference which do not have histories, or interact, and are not essentially related to larger contexts of cultural change. Yet such assumptions -- if ever true -- would hold only under the most exceptional and short-run conditions. It is one thing to say that a large metropolitan city is a "center" of cultural innovation and diffusion for its immediate hinterland at a particular time; it is another to ask how that center itself was formed, over how long a period and from what stimuli. In other words, as we enlarge the time span, include the rise and fall of complex distributions of cities, allow for the mutual interactions between them and their hinterlands, and also take account of interactions with other civilizations and their rural-urban patterns, we

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(37) P. Sorokin and C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, Ch. 17, "The role of the city and the country in innovation, disruption, and preservation of the national culture."  
 Chabot, G., "Les zones d'influence d'une ville," Congr. int. de Geog., Paris, 1931, III. pp. 432-37.  
 Jefferson, Mark, "The law of the primate city." Geog. Rev., 1939, 226-32.  
 Spate, O. H. K., "Factors in the development of capital cities," Geog. Rev., 1942, pp. 622-31.  
 R. E. Park, "The urban community as a spatial pattern and a moral order," "Newspaper circulation and metropolitan regions," both reprinted in Park, Human Communities.  
 Hiller, "Extension of urban characteristics into rural areas," Rural Sociology, Vol. 6 (1941).



find that the processes of cultural innovation and "flow" are far too complex to be handled by simple mechanical laws concerning the direction, rate, and "flow" of cultural diffusion between "city" and "country". The cities themselves are creatures as well as creators of this process, and it takes a broad cross-cultural perspective to begin to see what its nature is. While this perspective may not yield simple generalizations about direction and rates of cultural diffusion to widen the viewpoint as here suggested may throw some light on the processes of cultural change, including the formation and cultural "influence" of cities.

In a primary phase of urbanization, when cities are developing from folk societies, it seems meaningless to assert, e.g., that the direction of cultural flow is from city to country. Under these conditions a folk culture is transformed into an urban culture which is a specialization of it, and if we wish to speak of "direction of flow" it would make more sense to see the process as one of a series of concentrations and nucleations within a common field. And as these concentrations occur, the common "Little Tradition" has not become inert; in fact, it may retain a greater vitality and disposition to change than the systematized Great Tradition that gets "located" in special classes and in urban centers. From this point of view the spatial and mechanical concepts of "direction" and "rate" of flow, etc., are just metaphors of the processes involved in the formation of a Great Tradition. The cultural relations between city and country have to be traced in other terms, in terms of socio-cultural history and of cultural-psychological processes. Physical space and time may be important obstacles and facilitators to these processes but they are not the fundamental determinants of cultural "motion" as they are of physical motion.

Under conditions of secondary urbanization, the spatial and mechanical concepts seem more appropriate because people and goods are more mobile and the technical development of the channels of transportation and communication is such as to permit highly precise measurement of their distributions and of "flows." But here too we may be measuring

only some physical facts whose cultural significance remains indeterminate, or, at most, we may be documenting only a particularly recent cultural tendency to analyze intercultural relations in quantitative, abstract, and non-cultural terms. The assumption of a continuous and quantitatively devisible "diffusion" from a fixed urban center is unrealistic.

We may see Canton or Calcutta as a center for the diffusion of Western culture into the "East." We may also see these cities as relatively recent metropolitan growths, beginning as minor outliers of Oriental civilizations and then attracting both foreign and also uprooted native peoples, varying in fortune with world-wide events, and becoming at last not so much a center for the introduction of Western ways as a center for nativistic and independence movements to get rid of Western control and dominance. "Everything new happens at Canton," is said in China. We have in such a case not simple diffusion, or spread of urban influence from a city, but rather a cultural interaction which takes place against a background of ancient civilization with its own complex and changing pattern of urbanization now coming into contact with a newer and different civilization and giving rise to results that conform to neither.

The city may be regarded, but only very incompletely, as a center from which spreads outward the idea of progress. It is true that progress, like the ideologies of nationalism, socialism, communism, capitalism and democracy, tends to form in cities and it is in cities that the prophets and leaders of these doctrines are formed. Yet the states of mind of Oriental and African peoples are not copies of the minds of Western exponents of progress or of one or another political or economic doctrine. There is something like a revolution of mood and aspiration in the non-European peoples today. (38) The Easterner re-

(38) For further discussion of these concepts of "mood," aspiration and "policy" as they might figure in community studies, see Redfield, The Little Community, chapter on "Little Community as a History."